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Cagliari's urban landscape: a commons?

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Abstract

Cities are the mirror of globalization; they reproduce and anticipate the same trends and contradictions from the inside. The controversial notion of urban landscape is here explored in connection with the commons paradigm, those resources which have been studied by Elinor Ostrom, Nobel prize for economic sciences in 2009 and Author of *Governing the Commons,* the fundamental text for the study of collective institutions and the governance processes of natural and artificial resources. In the text the landscape is excluded from the list of commons because these identify self-governed microsystems of local-territorial resources, that is to say, a set of practices and rules of access and fruition that are the exclusive pertinence of the users of local communities. The landscape is perhaps more similar to public goods, with one condition: that its fruition from a specific point of view does not impede the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation of others, nor compromises its own existence. Nevertheless, apart from this, the "health" of urban landscape is given by the simultaneity and compresence of different spaces, as is shown by the "fight" against the commercialization of public spaces of the inhabitants of the Marina neighbourhood in Cagliari.

The beauty of women is only skin-deep. If men could only see what is beneath the flesh and penetrate below the surface with eyes like the Boeotian lynx, they would be nauseated just to look at women, for all this feminine charm is nothing but phlegm, blood, humours, gall.

Odo of Cluny (c. 878-942 AD)
Saint of the Catholic Church
and Eastern Orthodox Church

1. Introduction

This work is another product from a wider reflection, which has already generated the essay *Il paesaggio come bene comune. Alla ricerca di "buone pratiche" per l'organizzazione del territorio* [Landscape as a common good. Looking for "good practices" in territorial organization] (Tanca, 2014) and the volume *Landscape as mediator, landscape as commons. International perspectives on landscape research* (Castiglioni et al., 2015). The question mark that is present in this title (*Cagliari's urban landscape: a commons?*) is born from the convergence of two other research lines: (i) the problem of the relationship between the concept of landscape and commons, intended as territorial typicalities strictly linked to the history and the ecological and socio-economic assets of the local *milieux*; (ii) a reflection on the perception and fruition of public spaces in Cagliari, that is connected to more in-depth research on spatial justice (Cattedra and Tanca, 2015).

There is no doubt that the notion of "urban landscape" is a controversial, if not problematic, one, since it puts together two supposedly heterogeneous ideas, that should not really stay together. Historically, the idea of landscape evokes a typically extra-urban space, where "the noblest objects of nature", as Alexander von Humboldt called them in his *Ansichten der Natur,* stand out: Ocean, the forests of the Orinoco, the Savannahs of Venezuela, the solitudes of the Peruvian and Mexican Mountains (Humboldt, 1850, p. IX) – images of a somewhere else that is at the same time the anti-city, the other-from-the city, "stranger to the destinies of mankind", as Humboldt writes again (p. 6) a metaphor of freedom as it is perceived by bourgeois culture, as autonomy *from* the politic, in other words, as emancipation *in* nature from the dominating political and behavioral models. If we turn our attention to the field of artistic representation, the image of the city isn't celebrated by landscape painting, but in *Vedutism,* a pictorial genre halfway between cartography and painting, strictly related to topographic drawing in the sharpness of the trait (Romano, 1991; Quaini, 1991). The continuity of the constitutive elements testifies it (blueprint-type point of view, clarity, precision, etc.) from Hartmann Schedel's *Map of Rome* (1490) to Caspar van Wittel's *View of the Piazza Navona* (1699), in a line that takes us as far as Canaletto's works. As Françoise Chenet-Faugeras (1994) observed, we will have to wait until the second half of the XIX Century and Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens* in order to acknowledge (or return to) a dignity to the urban landscape, a privilege that had been conceded, until that moment, to the "contemplation of nature" only. It is only then that the neurosis of the "swarming city", Paris, the city of "yards" and *ateliers*, of the "deserted Seine" and the Louvre, of prostitutes and *spleen*, will rise side by side with the descriptions of an exotic nature far away; and it is not a coincidence either that this paradigm shift takes place in an era that sees a radical transformation of the urban scenario in the principal European cities. Chenet Faugeras' thesis deserves some attention from this perspective, because of the little Copernican revolution it introduces the way in which to conceive the relationship between landscape, nature and city. The urban aspect is not, as we usually think, one of the possible declinations of landscape; on the contrary, it is the landscape that becomes "a modality of the urban" (Chenet-Faugeras, 1994, p. 27). In other words, there is no landscape that is not also intrinsically urban, because it is seen and defined by someone who is watching it from a specific point of view, which is the city itself: "the landscape – even its void version, without buildings and exclusively rural – is seen from the city, by a citizen, and it's built through its stare" (*ivi*, p. 29). What interests us more in this definition is the emphasis that is put on the stare as a "point of view" on reality, which unveils a dialectic relationship between landscape, nature and city. The landscape is other-from-the-city, a nature to contemplate aesthetically; yet, the necessary condition to appreciate nature aesthetically resides in putting a distance from it with the adoption of an "urban life" (Simmel, 2011, p. 519). If, first of all, it is the way we gaze at things, the point of observation that we choose to adopt, which defines the nature of the things that interest us, what happens when we stop looking at nature from the city to direct our attention to the urban landscape? A possible answer is given by Leibniz's *Monadology* (1714), where, in §57, we read: "And as the same town, looked at from various sides, appears quite different and becomes as it were numerous in aspects" (Leibniz, 1898, p. 248). To this first consideration, the source of the so-called "perspectivism", we add another, this time from Leibniz's short essay *On social life* (1679): "Thus one can say that the place of others […] is a place proper to help us discover considerations which would not otherwise come to us; and that everything which we would find unjust if we

were in the place of others must seem to us to be suspect of injustice" (Leibniz, 1988, p. 81).

In these two fragments Leibniz is not just simply stating that the vision of the city from different points of view enables us to observe different things; but that *the city does not exist as a "total" object,* a reassuring and definitive unit. In order to bring into focus a global image that is as variegated and accurate as possible, it is necessary to *multiply* the points of observation. The result of this operation goes well beyond the specific case: a single look at the city is, for its own nature, misleading; the *compresence* of different gazes (of different evaluation criteria, different observation practices, etc.) overcomes the limits that every individual point of view holds, and it is a necessary condition to discover new things. Truth – if you want to use a pompous and disused word – needs an integrated confrontation between different versions of reality; its discovery or definition is not a lonesome or a solipsistic practice, because it tackles the ability to see things with the eyes of the other, to put ourselves "in the place of others". The considerations here expressed imply a methodological pluralism: the more the eyes on things, the higher the probability to intercept shards of meaning (and injustice) that otherwise would remain unknown. This will not consume the world's richness of details – the virtually infinite series of relationships among things – but at least it will enable us to "discover considerations which would not otherwise come to us". That forces us to do our best to appraise the plurality of points of view and perspectives analysis.

Still, in order to put it into action, this observation program requires the respect of the subject's mobility. Bernardo Secchi often repeated that "urbanism is made by feet" (even on his last visit to Cagliari, in February 2014, some months before his passing). The city is a space we experience with our body: "bodies in movement that with their movement explore territories […] Bodies of men and women, bodies that meet houses, sidewalks, pieces of asphalt and stone, cars and trains, pools and gardens" (Secchi, 2000, p. 143). This principle is immediately linked with the idea expressed by Armand Frémont, who, quoting René Musset, talks about a *géographe aux pieds crottés* (Frémont, 2005, p. 28), a restless geographer, with feet stained with mud (so geography can be done with feet, too!), and with James Gibson's ecological approach to visual perception (1986). These otherwise heterogeneous approaches have in common the rejection of the idea on which the modern experience of landscape is based: a static subject, staying motionless in contemplation of what is put in front of him – reality is a still image. On the contrary, the experience of places implies movement, and for this reason it necessarily passes through our body, forcing us to confront ourselves with the hardships connected to corporeity ("bodies that meet houses, sidewalks, pieces of asphalt…"). We have to walk, we have to move, to change our point of view, if we really want to catch different aspects of reality. In every city, in Cagliari too, it's sometimes enough to walk a few yards to meet, cross, bump into different things.

2. Landscape is a commons?

The term "commons" (which has a specific meaning, and a well delimited field of use) has come into use with increasing frequency, with the risk of transforming it into an "axiologeme" (Antelmi, 2014, p. 53): that is a generic expression, a fashionable word, a successful slogan to be used as a predicate in a growing variety of situations. The increasing extension of a concept comes at a price: its heuristic charge is weakened, with a (potential) trivialization of the term. From this point of view, quoting two apparently antithetic statements, such as Giovanna Ricoveri and Salvatore Settis', may help us recognize some of the strong points and some of the weaknesses connected with the inclusion of landscape in the commons category. Ricoveri traces the borders of an open and elastic phenomenology: "It is not possible, and besides it would be a mistake, to define commons precisely, once and for all. Their strength and *raison d'etre* depend instead on the specificity of a place, and the flexibility with which local communities are capable to adapt to change" (Ricoveri, 2013, p. 29). If for the first scholar the ontology of collective resources is inclusive and subject to variations in time and space, Settis denounces the inflation risk of this formula and suggests a less open phenomenology: "We easily talk about commons when we want to defend anything that is considered in danger". And again: "As with every other inflation [in the Author's examples, with a clear reference to the Italian debate, an occupied theatre, sports, night trains are considered commons], this one can have negative consequences too, producing the wearing out of the formulas and reducing their efficacy" (Settis, 2012, p. 61). I think the two points look more distant than they really are; in

my opinion they integrate perfectly.

In order to answer our first question – how to define, in a Kantian sense, the conditions of possibility that allow us to affirm that the landscape and commons belong to the same area of propositions –, we have to remember Elinor Ostrom's theories. In her book *Governing the Commons*, the fundamental text for the study of collective institutions and the governance processes of natural and artificial resources, the 2009 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences says: "The central question in this study is how a group of principals who are in an interdependent situation can organize and govern themselves to obtain continuing joint benefits when all face temptations to free-ride, shirk, or otherwise act opportunistically" (Ostrom, 1990, p. 29). In Ostrom's use of the word, the term commons identifies the auto government microsystems of local-territorial resources: reservoirs, fishing and grazing areas, forests, etc. Her analyses are always based on documented and well delimited empirical cases: irrigation systems in Spanish huertas, fishing areas in Canada, Sri Lanka and Turkey, grazing areas in the Swiss Alps (for example in the village of Torbel), the game reserve of Native Americans. All these cases[1] represent a challenge to the conventional theory based on a rigid dichotomy between what is public (the State) and what is private (the market): "These cases clearly demonstrate the feasibility […] of robust, self-governing institutions for managing complex CPR [common-pool resources] situations" (*ivi*, p. 103). Moreover, notwithstanding their differrences, these empirical cases have a fundamental trait in common: all the microsystems of use of common goods have relatively small dimensions. The reason is simple: auto-organized systems of resource management have more chances of being successful if the limits of the collective resource and the actors who have the right to access to it are clearly defined. Local communities of small and middle dimension – the most meaningful case involves a community that is no more than 15,000 units big – seem to have an advantage when it comes to communicating and reaching internal agreements, establishing some management rules and observing them. In short, there are no common goods without a shared common idea,

an agreement that makes the appeal to external authorities for the observation of rules absolutely superfluous.

Does landscape respect these criteria? Can we include it in this perspective and consider it *sic et simpliciter* as commons? My answer is no. If we read *Governing the commons* carefully, we realize that the reported case studies relate to territorial systems which, while they maintain a landscape component, cannot simply be reduced to it. Commons are defined by the (shared) rules of their functioning; while their fruition is "internal" to local communities, the vision of the landscape mobilizes a subject contemplating a territory from a certain distance, which is, for this reason, "external". When we "translate" commons' theory from a landscape point of view we have to address Farinelli's *witz of the landscape* (Farinelli, 1999), that is the innate ambiguity and duplicity of this concept, which is at the same time "the thing" and "the image of the thing", "a way to see" and "an ensemble of existing things", the expression of a tension that is at the same time aesthetic and scientific. Including the landscape among the commons without meditating enough on this aspect, we lose ourselves in a labyrinth of contradictions:

- as a visual asset, panorama, imago loci, *tour d'horizon*, and in the absence of unfavorable atmospheric conditions, the landscape *is visible to anyone*, under the condition, stated by Leibniz, that the "point of view" be accessible;

- as an ensemble of practice, resources, local and territorial peculiarities, the commons respond to a precise access to and fruition of rules which are the *exclusive pertinence of the users*, that is to say, of the local communities.

In the first case, fruition is free and open to anyone, of public domain, and for this reason it is included in the category that Ostrom (2010) defines as "public goods": non-rival and non-exclusive goods[2]; in the second case, we deal with common-pool resources, which are not exclusive but rivals. The problem of a greater or lesser accessibility to landscape is not only a

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[1] And we may add the Italian examples of Marano's lagoon, of civic uses in Sardinia, of Valdotaine *consorterie*, Costacciaro's Università degli Uomini Originari etc. (Arena and Iaione, 2012; Cacciari et al., 2012).

[2] The *rivalry* of a good (later redefined by Ostrom subtractability of use) is as high as its fruition by some reduces the possibility of access of others; it is low, if this possibility is not inhibited. The *exclusivity* (later redefined by Ostrom difficulty of excluding potential beneficiaries) identifies instead the possibility to inhibit or not inhibit access by the users.

theoretical problem, but it reflects the cohabitation rules that society is based on, and the way we rule the access to resources. As Anne Sgard highlights: "The accessibility to the landscape implies not only the free access to a point of view, but also the freedom to move freely between places, and the non-obstruction of the stare: so, the actual appropriation of the landscape often comes with the limitation of accessibility, sometimes even with the privatization of a public space. The most grotesque example is the illegal appropriation of the access to the sea: French law defines the foreshore as a public space, accessible to anyone; in spite of this, beaches and coastal areas are regularly bought out by private owners who interdict the access, or by touristic structures (beaches with admission charge, private terraces, etc.). The accessibility criterion highlights the conflicts between the land appropriation of the owner of the site and the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation of visitors; it points out the symbolic dimension of landscape and, for this reason, it shows its strength" (Sgard, 2010, p. 26). The "access right" falls into crisis when it is frustrated in at least one of the two following ways:

a) by the conflict between the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation of places (connected to the non-obstruction of the stare) and the estate appropriation of resources;

b) by the conflict between the freedom of movement and the privatization of public space.

As we will see in the following paragraph, the inhibition of the "freedom to move at will through spaces" and the "limitation of the access to public spaces" can have a negative influence on the landscape's "health" in general, and more specifically on the urban landscape: as soon as the possibility of differentiating spaces and the free access to resources is denied, then we are putting the premises for a situation which is potentially a generator of inequalities[3].

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[3] Inequalities or injustice? According to Vincent Veschambre the term injustice contains a value judgment that can be shared, or not, while "even if to talk about inequalities [inégalités] is never neutral, they relate to measurable and localizable phenomena, therefore objective facts" (Veschambre, 2010, p. 265).

3. Cagliari and its urban landscape

Urbanscape represents a specific and concrete case of application of the discourse around the commons to landscape, and for this reason is particularly effective to grasp the aporias. Without forgetting that our discourse is developed on two different levels, which are separate but not necessarily alien to each other – one about the landscape as a "way of looking", whose appropriation is free and open to anybody, and the other about public spaces as an ensemble of "existing things", organized by rules of access and fruition, but more and more often exposed to the risk of privatization and commercialization – and that these two plans (the significant and the signified) are held together by the landscape's witz, we will try to focus our attention on an empirical case, represented by the city of Cagliari, the region's capital and principal urban center of Sardinia, chosen as a concrete example of a number of processes that redefine the relationship between public and private.

As with other Italian and foreign cities, Cagliari also has been affected by transformation processes of its urban landscape on a "cultural" basis. The political, administrative and economic centre of the region, after impersonating for some years the ambiguous role of the "hinge" (Boggio, 2002) between the interior and the exterior parts of the island, has undergone a crisis since the 80s, whose most evident signs are demographic decrease and the ageing of the resident population. In thirty years, its residents have decreased by almost 50,000 units, from 197,517 inhabitants in 1981 to 149,883 in 2011[4]. As we have already mentioned, this phenomenon has been accompanied by a decline in birth rates and the ageing of the resident population: in thirty years, between 1981 and 2011, the under-25 percentage of population passed from 43.3% to 19.35%, while the over-65s rose from 9.3% to 24.37% (Comune di Cagliari, 2014). The crisis is also evident from the physiognomy and the configuration of places; it is especially manifest on an infrastructural level, characterized by delays and void proliferation in urban spaces and street furniture, and by the fragility and scarce quality of architectonical decorum, which is the mirror and effect of the absence of a project direction –

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[4] At the same time, due to the counter-urbanization phenomenon, the residents in Cagliari's metropolitan area have increased from 176,371 in 1981 to 262,935 in 2011.

especially in the historic city centre. Following a tested pattern (Harvey, 1989, 2007; Jessop, 1997; Swyngedouw, Moulaert and Rodriguez, 2002; Pratt, 2011a and 2011b) the "recipe" to overcome this phase and encourage Cagliari's regeneration has been found in the establishment in a "new urban policy" inspired by the neo-liberal ideology, which tries to make the city competitive through marketing and urban branding (symbolized by the slogan "Cagliari, capital of the Mediterranean" and a series of development incentive interventions of a "cultural" nature that will be better presented in

Cattedra and Tanca, 2015). A risk connected to this kind of operations of urban regeneration is the transformation of the city from a place where social heterogeneity and the differences in terms of values and practices are given with the maximum spatial closeness (Loda et al., 2011, p. 59) to an *entrepreneurial city*, i.e. a space guided and redefined depending on the inner workings of economic competition, not always governable or even clear to its own inhabitants (Figures 1-3).
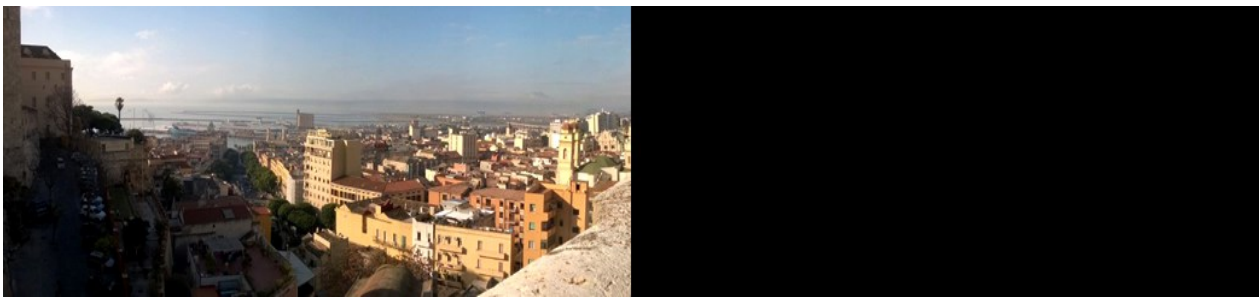

Figure 1. "The non-obstruction of the gaze...the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation of places...". A point of observation of the urban landscape in Santa Croce Street in Cagliari. Photo: M. Tanca.
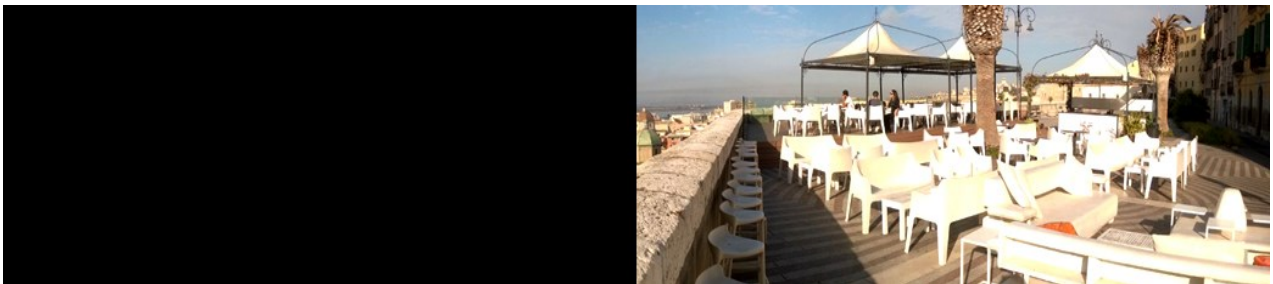

Figure 2. "The estate appropriation of resources through the privatization of public space...the limitation of freedom of movement". Dehors in Santa Croce Street in Cagliari. Photo: M. Tanca.
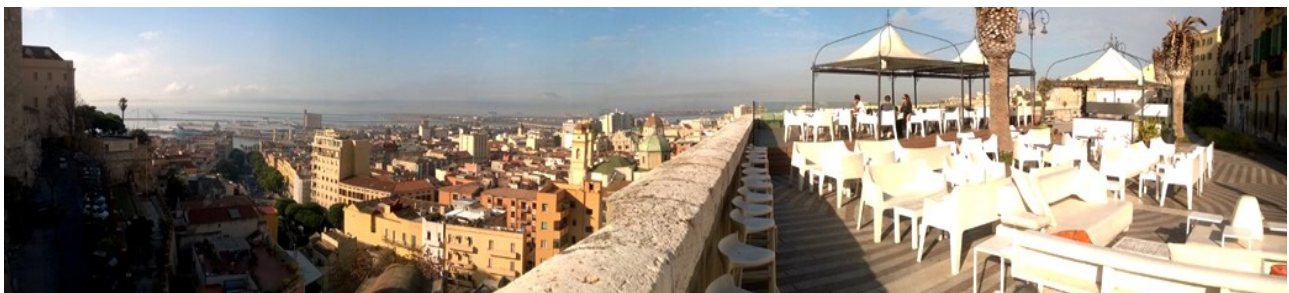

Figure 3. These two plans (the non-obstruction of the gaze and the limitation of freedom of movement) are held together by the *landscape's witz* that ensures their coexistence. Photo: M. Tanca.

When operations like this end up in the adoption of models of urban coexistence imprinted with forms of consumerism, with the tendency to eliminate the uses of space which are not suitable to the consumeristic modality (*ivi*, p. 60) the same chance to see more things, and get to know the city better as "the place of difference" (Secchi, 2000, p. 78) is weakened and neutralized. Even though the plurality of the places to gaze from appears as a fundamental requirement to overcome the limits that any "situated" point of view implies (fragmentation, incompleteness and partiality), it alone is not enough if we contemplate, in front of our eyes, a uniform and monotonous landscape, always identical: the plurality of points of view and the plurality of situations observed appear as the two sides of the same coin.

Let us say it once again: urban landscape is a public good as long as its fruition by those who contemplate it from a specific point of view does not hamper the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation by others, nor compromises the very existence of the resources. Yet, if we move our gaze from the *image of the thing* to the details that form this landscape, *to the very thing*, we will realize that this is complex and articulate, and that on the inside it is divided into spaces and very different property regimes: in addition to proper *public spaces* such as roads, squares, parks, stations, libraries and gardens, we have *private goods*, which are exclusive and rivals, as in the case of a parking lot or the private yard of a house; *club goods*, non-rival but exclusive and characterized by the presence of fee services, such as pay and display parking lots; and, last of all, *common goods*, such as urban gardens and neighborhood commons, and/or temporary experiences of reuse of neglected spaces or buildings, managed on a shared rules basis by a "third" party. The plurality of property regimes for urban spaces can be emblematically represented with a scheme like the following, proposed by Pierre Donadieu, which highlights the aspects of its interconnection and variety (Figure 4).
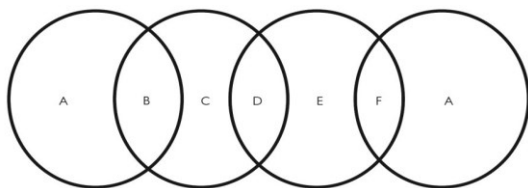

Figure 4. The categories of landscape goods and services: a) pure public goods; b) commons made public; c) commons; d) privatized commons; e) pure private goods; f) private goods made public. Source: Donadieu, 2012, p. 12.

We can deduce that, if it is licit to talk about the urban landscape's "health", this must necessarily contemplate the pluralism of the forms of fruition and appropriation of spaces, and where this pluralism fails, conflicting situations can be created, where urban coexistence modalities are put at stake.

This kind of conflict is shown, for example, in the opposition of a group of people from the Marina neighborhood, one of the historic neighborhoods in Cagliari, to the comercialization of some of its public spaces (streets and squares), which is linked with the touristic revamp of the city. The name discloses the proximity of the neighborhood to the port, and represents the nearest destination for cruise passengers disembarking in the town (Iorio, 2014) and looking for services and attractions (food, shopping, etc.). The problem lies in the coexistence of an adequate fruition of public ground and the right of citizens (especially residents)[5] to a peaceful environment against the interests of public and commercial establishments and their owners. A mediation is not always easy to reach, if the truth be told, as the most recent news never fails to ruthlessly remind. Among the episodes of this hardly ever idyllic relationship between the demands of public actors and their private counterparts, we will remember here the petition that was forwarded to the mayor by Marina's inhabitants in June 2013. While they understood that the valorization of the city center would necessarily imply the meeting of tourists' needs, the petition signers claimed the use of the street network and the little squares of the neighborhood as an everyday space, not entirely absorbed by economic functions.

In particular, the "tablination" – the invasive spread of bar tables in the open air, a phenomenon which is favored by Cagliari's Mediterranean climate and the consequent lengthening of the tourist season, and by the recent conversion of Marina into a pedestrian area –, which has become one of the most peculiar traits of the neighborhood, was bitterly criticized.

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[5] The protests of Marina's inhabitants are especially frequent in summer, when the nightlife buzz goes on until morning (Figure 5). Cfr. the vast documentation that is present on the *Committee Rumore No Grazie* (No Noise Thanks)'s website http://rumorenograzie. wix.com/index which gives voice to the issues of the residents of Marina and Stampace, the other historical Cagliari neighborhoods. In July 2015 the *Piano comunale di classificazione acustica*, which establishes precise parameters for noise emissions in the different areas of the city, was finally approved.

Figure 5. A blanket shouting the protest of the inhabitants of a condo in Marina: "cercasi regole, basta schiamazzi notturni" (Looking for rules. Stop with night squalling). Photo: M. Tanca.

Wishing for a concerted management of public spaces, the petitioners called for the right to "children that a free space, without tables, chairs and glasses which alter it and make it unsafe for play could exist and resist" (Unione Sarda, 2013). The reference – an inevitable one, in a neighborhood especially lacking in adequate public areas – is the Santo Sepolcro square, suitable for hosting ludic activities for children from Marina and adjacent Stampace, but which is experiencing an intense commercialization (Cagliaripad, 2013). Even though there are people who have named this controversy "table war", maybe it is a bit too much to be talking about an "urban fight" in this case; yet, it is also true that, in Turco's words, we are facing a conflict between an self-centred and a heterocentred territorialization (Turco, 1988, pp. 144-147) generated in this case by the *impossible overlapping* of the objectives, which are thought of, promoted and directed from the inside by the residents' community, and from the outside in the other case. It is no coincidence that the residents appeal as in the text we have quoted, to a "natural" fruition of the public space, which is, first of all, "free".

Another element that should not be underestimated is the use that this kind of "bottom-up" mobilizations makes of instruments such as social networks, which make communication viable and permit a participated organization. We can find an example of this with the two Facebook pages "Marina: viabilità" and "Piazzetta San Sepolcro: giocare liberi da gazebo e tavolini". The first one is defined as an "open group of dialogue and confrontation about living problems in Marina and other historical Cagliari's neighborhoods. These living problems include road conditions, pedestrian areas, and the use of common spaces". The latter, we read, "reunites members interested to the protection of San Sepolcro square in Cagliari, which has been destined for years to Marina and Stampace's children, who can play freely there, and which has been partially occupied by the tables of a bar since 2013 thanks to an indiscriminate concession of the municipality. For this reason, we intend to coordinate activities safeguarding the square and the right of the citizens-children to play". Aggregating ideas, proposals, contacts, images and contents provided directly by the residents, these two pages represent communication channels that are alternative to official ones, making it possible to catch in real time (and without mediations) the instances and testimonies of city users that not always to find immediate reception on traditional media. Even with all the limits that are related to this form of communication, operations like this one remind us of how the urban landscape is internally animated, and crossed with apprehension and different ideas on what we want our cities to be.

4. Conclusions: the urban landscape between privatization and social practices of a public city

For the reasons we have tried to explain, it is difficult for the landscape to be included in the ranks of commons. Its fruition in fact lacks those features that Ostrom assigns to this kind of goods: it would rather seem that it is, for its intrinsic characteristics, closer to public goods than to common-pool resources. There is no doubt that we can heavily modify its visible aspect, and that there are thousands of ways to bring about its death (Dagognet, 1982); yet, as long as the aesthetic, affective, patrimonial and identity appropriation remains non-rival and non-exclusive, the landscape will belong to everyone without being owned by anybody. The problems arise instead from the obstruction of the gaze and the limitations connected with the access to public spaces. Is it not the case that Marina's inhabitants' protest against the commercialization of the *espace vécu* a reminder of the irreducibility of the inhabitant into a consumer, and of the impos-

sibility of reducing the city to a unique parameter of economic growth? An answer that has been given by the municipal administration, and which can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to affirm once again the ability of the public to embody the general interest, consists in the approval, in April 2014, of the *Regolamento per le occupazioni di suolo pubblico* (Guideline for the occupation of public land)[6]. This document shows us the relational aspect of urban spaces, their quality of being significant, filled with meaning by the multiple social relationships (peaceful or conflictive) that are instilled on the physical and material characteristics of places. The text – which especially takes into consideration the components of the city Centre including Marina and Yenne square (a sort of a liminal space between Marina and Stampace, with a strong commercial vocation owing to the presence of beach umbrellas and gazebos of the overlooking restaurants – starts with an important assumption: the anthropic charge makes "urgent and necessary" the regulation of spaces destined to restoration in the open air, linking directly the "high concentration of eating posts" and "the entity of spaces apt for these uses" present in the area. But, most of all, the Guideline, acknowledging the need to guarantee the exercise of those functions typical of public spaces, the conservation of the identity aspect, the aesthetic coherence of places, and, once again, the residents' quality of life, forbids the concession of public places in the squares of the neighborhood, Piazza Santo Sepolcro included.

The problem remains open, and it is not easy to predict that other fights awaiting the inhabitants of Cagliari's historic neighborhoods. So we will say, in conclusion, that a city, in order to maintain its public character, needs to maintain both its plurality and the coexistence of practices and social spaces intact (Mazzette, 2013), or, quoting Leibniz, it must guarantee the presence of spaces that do not hamper the assumption of the other's point of view – "open" spaces, from which it is possible to see the city from different points of

view. Their suppression "must seem to us to be suspect of injustice".

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