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**The European Capital of Culture 2019: Matera
between culture and creativity**

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INTRODUCTION

Creativity, a fundamental element for the competitiveness of businesses and of the territories of the contemporary economy, can be defined as "the ability to produce new and useful ideas". Creativity is considered a central resource and a direction in which to orient strategies for urban development. Likewise, culture determines what a place is and creativity is its lifeblood. There is still no precise statistical knowledge of the cultural phenomenon, but what is certain is that in modern society, culture has taken on a fundamental role not only in representing the image of a population but also for stable economic growth and as connective tissue of the city.

Keeping this in mind, the work tries to give explanations of how the city of Matera, European Capital of Culture 2019, has been able to exploit its cultural and creative resources in order to boost its innovation, modernization and openness process. The work developed in these pages starts from the awareness that the combination of the analysis of a territory, the creative capacities and the strategic management of cultural and social resources, is crucial to achieve the cultural, social and economic development of a community, a city or even a region itself.

In an era in which there is an ever-greater competitiveness between territories and cities that compete to carve out ever narrower spaces of visibility and image, creativity will therefore be seen as a competitive advantage and a possible solution for the relaunch of a city and of territory that for too long have been isolated. The candidacy for the European Capital of Culture, a goal achieved thanks to a commitment that has been going on for decades, represented the greatest challenge and an unmissable opportunity for Matera to exploit its enormous cultural potential and put it at the service of creative and social capital, which made it possible to relaunch the image of the city, to extend its cultural borders, accelerate the race for innovation and create a stronger connective tissue with the community. If on the one hand the times do not leave room for optimism and the economic crisis triggered by the pandemic due to COVID-19 has certainly inhibited and undermined what could have been a totally successful 2019, on the other hand, however, Matera had to face the difficult situation and find a way to overcome it. Here then is when creativity can be conceived as an aid to come up with new ideas and innovations; conditions for thinking, planning and acting with imagination; create new employment

opportunities and elaborate strategic development. Thanks to creativity conceived not only in its conception of artistic production and "individual genius" but also as an industry that generates numerous economic, social and cultural advantages, these territories can boost their visibility both in the national and international context. Creative cities are in fact the frames of reference for territorial marketing processes, strategic plans and urban regeneration, "creative" tools that can contribute to development and growth in response to the challenges arisen by the crisis of urban development models, but also to the construction of a new image of the city itself. Rethinking and creating a new image can be seen for example as a strategy to increase attractiveness and acquire new tourists, generate new investments and improve economic expectations.

From an operational point of view, the work was divided into three parts.

In the first chapter, a brief analysis of the literature concerning the concepts of culture and creativity is proposed, to then move on to present them in their most diverse meanings. Creativity and culture linked to the economic aspect, social class, places and territories are then analysed. I tried to make an overview as broad as possible, taking into consideration the different points of view, periods and historical contexts. Given the vastness of the topic, the discussion does not claim to be exhaustive, but rather the desire to provide the necessary premises and limit the scope of discussion.

Chapter 2 sees creativity in places as a starting point from which to analyse how and why creativity can represent a factor of attraction and competitive advantage, especially for a city and the territory that surrounds it. The definition of intelligent territory will also be provided and some approaches to creativity elaborated by the cornerstones of the theoretical framework relating to creative cities will be analysed: Charles Landry's Indices, the creative class by Florida and Allen Scott's approach to the creative field.

The Matera 2019 case will open instead within Chapter 3. The city was chosen as an emblematic example of a reality that straddles a consolidated cultural heritage and a creative potential that, following the event, had to be strengthened and exploited. An overview of the history of Matera will be made to explain how over the years the city has gone from shame of Italy to a reason for pride for its citizens and for the entire Basilicata region, through the stages first of the cultural heritage of the stones and then a nomination of European Capital of Culture. The final part of the chapter is dedicated to an analysis of

the quantitative data collected on the event and on the reception of the public for Matera 2019.

Finally, Chapter 4 will contain two interviews with the artist Rossana Cafarelli and the artistic director Christopher Torch, who contributed, albeit in different ways, to the development of the program. Their points of view, which will be divergent given their different positions and tasks carried out within the program, have been fundamental in trying to find answers regarding Matera 2019. One wonders if and to what extent the management of Matera as a creative city and cultural has worked, whether there is indeed a parallelism between creativity and culture and whether or not it fits the example of Matera. In addition to that I wondered how crucial such a large event was to the legacy of the program in terms of the city's future cultural, creative and social development and how the approach was taken in planning and carrying out the activities, if a more bottom-up or top-down type, and the role of creativity and creative capital in the development of the Matera 2019 program, the indicators that the Commission used to evaluate the work done during the program, to what extent the program can be considered innovative, the results achieved from the point of view of social sustainability and finally how much attention has been paid to environmental sustainability.

Finally, after having collected a number of information and testimonies from those who have personally lived the Matera 2019 experience, I will draw my conclusions and I will try to give my answer to the questions I asked myself at the beginning of this work, with greater knowledge and awareness of what a creative and cultural city is, of who Matera is and of how this city has faced the challenges posed by its candidacy for European capital of culture.

CHAPTER 1 – Creativity and Culture

1.1 Creativity and Culture: a two-way interaction

1.1.1 What do we mean with “creativity”?

What do we mean with “creativity”? “Creativity can be perceived as an inherent capacity and a need of the human species that has survival value for the individual as well as the culture” (Albert, 1990). The Hungarian-American psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1996) asserted that creativity is the cultural counterpart of genetic changes resulting from biological evolution. In fact, while biological evolution random variations take place in genes and chromosomes, cultural evolution changes take place in memes, i.e. in units of information and culture created, maintained and transmitted from one individual to another by imitation. The knowledge of language, values, social norms, tools, carvings, paintings and ideas such as freedom or love are, among others, examples of “memes” passed from generation to generation. The biological fruitless evolution changes may disappear after a few generations and those that proved to be vital for survival may be built into innate structures. On the contrary “memes”, the outcomes of cultural evolution, cannot be automatically handed down onto the next generation. Each person should learn them from the start for the sake of survival and continuation of culture. When some people dare to change these existing memes for the sake of survival, those efforts can be identified as a creative endeavour. Creativity, however, will retain a useful meaning only if it results in an idea or product that is recognised as desirable or adopted by others (Rudowicz, 2003). Result is that we should not figure creativity as a mental process isolated from the socio-cultural context in which the individual acts. These socio-cultural systems can catalyse or hamper changes in memes as well as influence the judgements about a creative product or an idea. Creativity is to be perceived as a cultural and social phenomenon rather than merely a mental process.

There is still no precise conceptualization of the term creativity, or at least, none that is able to make it the complex and multidimensional character it has, even if there is a common agreement in defining something creative as being capable of introducing elements of innovation in a process or product. It is therefore seen with positive connotations. For creativity we also mean the ability to produce ideas. According to the

definition of creativity by Henry Poincaré's¹, it consists "in combining existing elements with new and useful connections" (Poincaré, 1982). The term creativity has among its first meanings that of producing and growing, and in fact coherently with its origin, the term is not only associated with cultural and artistic activities, but also with the economic growth of a place. It is then defined as a cognitive ability distinct from other mental functions and, in particular, distinct from what we call intelligence. It involves the ability to synthesize, the ability to sift data and requires self-confidence and willingness to take risks, since creative work is often subversive and destabilizing to the creator himself. Creativity and culture are an indissoluble binomial, where one is the central core of the entire cultural sector: to produce culture and knowledge it takes creativity, to produce creativity it takes ability to generate emotions. The idea of creative genius rarely helps, but instead creativity draws crucially from our normal abilities: As Richard Florida² claimed "Those who think that creativity is a rare or special power, cannot reasonably hope that perseverance or education will ever allow them to join the creative elite. Either one is already part of it, or it will never be part of it" (Florida, 2003). A very different attitude is possible for those who think that creativity is based on the ordinary skills that we all have, and on a practical competence to which we can all aspire. As Keith Simonton (Florida, 2003) said "Creativity is fostered by an intelligence that has been enriched by different experiences and perspectives and is always linked to a spirit that gives evidence of a wide variety of interests and knowledge. So the various forms of creativity that we consider far from each other are actually closely connected.

"Creativity needs long times and social cohesion since it is often exercised in a group. It presupposes very specific ways of thinking and living that must be cultivated both by the person and by the society that surrounds it, because the creative ethos penetrates everywhere, and it flourishes better in a very particular environment that is stable enough to give continuity, but also sufficiently varied in order to provide a wide range of stimuli, both social, cultural and economic. Perhaps this is why it has been combined with the concept of "serendipity", that is the ability to move in open fields without too many binding objectives and being able to find things so different from what the research process had been activated for" (Merton and Barber, 2002).

¹ In a chapter titled "Mathematical Creation" from his 1904 tome "The Foundations of Science: Science and Hypothesis, the Value of Science, Science and Method" the French mathematician and philosopher of science Poincaré observes a process profoundly applicable not only to mathematics, but to just about any creative discipline.

² Richard L. Florida is an American urban studies theorist focusing on social and economic theory. He coined the concept of the creative class, which helped characterise the widespread gentrification of urban neighbourhoods.

It comes from men, and it is not linked to gender, colour, religion or personal preferences. It is not an absolute good but a human capacity that can be used for very different purposes, therefore it must certainly be channelled and oriented, even if it can be pursued but not planned.

From an economic point of view, it is an anti-utilitarian asset, a non-exhaustible and non-saturable asset, it is a resource, difficult to reproduce and pass from one generation to another with the same quality level, but still it represents a strategic factor in the art assets value chain. Numerous recent studies have stressed the importance of creativity as a source of competitive advantage as the economy and society are increasingly influenced by creativity, the ability to produce ideas, knowledge and innovation. It produces new ideas, but at the same time combines existing elements with new connections.

It has become the most wanted “asset” of the modern economy, even if it is not really an asset. Somehow it requires organization, even if sometimes such schemes could close its wings, because a creative environment must be able to feed itself. Today it represents a process of qualitative differentiation to companies, of strategic distinction from competitors, with the opening of niches and segments of excellence. However, it is not simply represented by a series of sensational new inventions, new products and new enterprises, but it is pervasive and continuous, multidimensional and manifests itself in many forms (Amadasi and Salvemini, 2005). For example, there exists technological and economic creativity that is in turn powered by the artistic and cultural one and interacts with it. The creative spirit leaves the strictly working sphere to permeate every aspect of our life, therefore creativity is both decisive for the achievement of an entrepreneurial competitive advantage and also fundamental to the development of new forms of sociality.

"Industrial capitalism ... is now re-read as cognitive capitalism ... it does not generate value by transforming the material conditions of existence but by transforming and using thoughts, emotions, identity" (Rullani, 2004). And as Rifkin also claims (2000), "cultural capitalism is based on the transformation of cultural resources into personal experiences and paid entertainment". So, experiences by incorporating culture, they enhance the culture itself.

1.1.2 The concept of culture related to creativity

Culture determines what a place is and creativity is its lifeblood, the supreme renewable resource (while heritage is a non-renewable resource); is it possible to create interesting combinations of these two?

It is almost impossible to give a unique definition of the concept of culture, as it varies according to contexts and disciplines. Many attempts have been made, starting for example from the definition given by the Polish anthropologist Malinowski for which culture includes "the artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values that are socially transmitted." It modifies and structures its own mental models of interpretation of reality and of individual action within it. According to this perspective, culture includes the mental categories that people internalize to live within a community, which are determined by the environment and in turn characterize the collective identity that is the values, symbols, objectives, needs and rules of behaviour (Legrenzi, 2005).

For example, the economist David Throsby classifies two different categories of culture: culture as a process, referring to customs and habits, beliefs, values and customs, which are all elements that identify and are shared by a group; and culture as a product, in the most material sense of the term, referring to the intellectual, moral and artistic aspects of human life. Throsby himself (2005) indicates three criteria for defining activities that can fall within the cultural sector:

- some forms of intellectual property shall be involved
- creativity shall be present in the production process
- the creation and communication of symbolic meaning shall take place

Because of the impossibility of giving a univocal definition, according to the classification proposed by Santagata³ (2001), culture also includes four areas of activity: pure creativity, cultural production, infrastructure for consumption, distribution activities and ancillary activities.

There is still no precise statistical knowledge of the cultural phenomenon, but what is certain is that in modern society, culture has taken on a fundamental role not only in representing the image of a population but also for stable economic growth and as

³ Walter Santagata was an Italian economist who was full professor of Finance Sciences and Economics of Culture.

connective tissue of the city. Free time has grown steadily in all sections of the population and cultural consumption has been growing despite the economic straits.

Since the 80s culture has become an increasingly important component also in urban regeneration strategies. We can talk about culture as a driver of development if it involves multiple subjects and the related political strategies of a given context. The cultural growth of a local system affects the quality of life, creates a stimulating environment and is open to novelties, consolidates the bond with the community, fosters cooperation between the players of the economic system and creates not only monetary benefits in the labour market. Investing in art and culture is not rewarding just from the economical point of view, there are forms of utility: the economists Frey and Eichenberger (1997) have for example shown that even if the investment in terms of capital yields lower profits in the long-run than other investments, it is still worth the effort, because it pertains to the cultural heritage of a nation, also in the sense of belonging and identity. Despite the universal spirit of culture, all areas that produce cultural goods are defined by the production of goods intensely linked to the territory, based on creativity and intellectual property. They translate creativity into culture and culture into goods and services of economic value. In this regard, it has been found that permanent activities have a greater development potential than others, that population density and concentration and metropolitan dynamics make investments in culture more advantageous, because cultural activities have a greater impact if they involve the population, and the fallout will be more important if they are mutually reinforcing.

To get a rough idea of what we are talking about, it is certain that the culture industry in Italy contributes to the GDP of our country in an important way. It is not coincidence that Italy is the first country in the world for cultural influence. From what is called the "Cultural and Creative Productive System", that is the set of companies, public administrations and non-profit organizations that actively work in the cultural field in Italy, more than 92 billion euros were generated in 2017. With related activities, all production activated in the related sectors, up to 255.5 billion, equivalent to 16.6% of the national added value. A wealth that also has a direct impact on employment: 1.5 million people work in the enlarged cultural sector, representing 6.1% of the total number of people employed in Italy. The size of the contribution that art and culture provide to Italy is therefore considerable, but to art and to culture we give back much less. The truth is that there is no adequate return, neither with regard to training systems in general, nor

in terms of stimulation and promotion of employment. Culture cannot be considered a burden, but on the contrary, it is an essential sector for the country, for its economy, for the international image, for the quality of life it can offer⁴.

Finally, it should be said that culture clearly has a profound influence on conceptualisation of creativity and on creative expression and the interaction between the forces of culture and creativity is not only reciprocal, but also historical, societal and individual factors are involved. Thus, an appreciation and exploration of the contributions of a given culture are important for our understanding of the nature and manifestations of creativity as a multifaceted phenomenon, whose manifestations also have to be studied and understood from the unique perspective of an individual involved in the creative process. After the middle of the 20th century, a series of changes in socio-economic dynamics began to manifest globally, which translated into transformations in territorial processes. With the industrial dismantling and the trend towards an economy based on services, the new focus of attention was on cultural, sports and entertainment practices that were beginning to reveal a certain impact on economic and urban development. In this sense, the object of study of this chapter will be to analyse some of the facets of this relationship between urban development, economy and culture, in light of the notion of creativity.

1.2 The Creative Industry

In the paragraph the concepts of creative industries will be discussed, as well as the reasons why they have gained notoriety in economic debates.

If we were to define the term “creative industry” we should say that it is a specific business sector that offers goods and services that are the result of individual or cooperative creative effort and entrepreneurship and whose most important elements are content and symbolism. Consumers or commercial buyers purchase these goods because they somehow appeal to some sort of meaning. This meaning functions as the basis for a certain experience. To that extent, the creative industry plays an important role in the

⁴https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2019/03/08/news/la_forza_della_cultura_un_milione_e_mezzo_di_occupati_il_6_del_pil-221007301/ (La Repubblica, 2019).

development and maintenance of lifestyles and cultural identities in the society. Creative industries encompass professions in the sphere of design, media and expressive arts and also comprehend professions that are involved with distribution, publishing and business services. As a consequence, such a thriving sector often involves large amount of money. Cities with a flourishing creative industry are often places characterized by economic prosperity, that's the reason why in these years there happens to be such a 'rush' to creative facilities implementation and cities are desperately seeking for ways to become creative in order to attract the so called "Creative Class". Many cities want to become creative cities, and in their strive to ear the title, top-down implementations are made in order to build the creative infrastructures that should be able to attract the creative class. Often however, there is less attention to existing theories about the pre-conditions for creative city development or the desires from 'creatives' themselves. Sometimes, municipalities don't really know what they're doing. They want to be 'inside the creative game', but they have no clue about the dynamic that lays behind. Hartley (2005), who wrote the book "Creative Industries", once said that the "Creative industries" idea combines – but then radically transforms – two older terms: the creative arts and the cultural industries." Hartley also claimed that this change is fundamental because it brings the culture and art in direct contact with large-scale industries such as media-entertainment. It is also important because of 'the possibility of moving beyond the elite/mass, art/entertainment, sponsored/commercial and high/trivial distinctions that have been thinking about creativity in policy as well as intellectual circles, especially in countries with European traditions of public cultures." (Hartley 2005, 5/6).

1.2.1 The origin of the term

In the recent years, several authors have tried to define the term creative industry. Possibly one of the oldest is the definition that came from the UK Government Department for Culture, Media and Sport⁵. According to this definition creative industries are those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have

⁵ The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) is a department of the United Kingdom government, with responsibility for culture and sport in England, the building of a digital economy, and some aspects of the media throughout the UK, such as broadcasting and Internet. It also has responsibility for the tourism, leisure and creative industries.

a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.

The term “creative industries” was born in the mid-1990s and was initially disseminated nationally by the UK Government. The concept responded to the need to change the terms of the debate about the real value of the arts and culture. Although the arts were sponsored to a greater or lesser extent by the bulk of the governments, they were activities perceived as dependent on state subsidies and with a marginal impact on economic life. Proponents of the notion of creative industries believed that this was a myopic vision: to understand the true contribution of creative and cultural activities it was necessary to consider the totality of the economic activities and commercial forms to which they gave life. This included not only traditional artistic expressions such as theatre, music, and film, but also service industries such as advertising (which sells its creativity primarily to other industries), manufacturing processes related to cultural production, and the marketing of creative goods. Those industries with roots in culture and creativity were argued to be an important and growing source of employment and wealth. The adoption of the creative industries concept was closely linked to the 1997 election of the Labour government and the creation of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which assumed the functions of the former Department of National Heritage. One of the new entity's first decisions was the creation of a creative industries worktable, which produced the landmark document *Mapping the Creative Industries* in 1998, as well as a follow-up report in 2001. The 1998 mapping was the first systematic attempt to define and measure creative industries. It was designed both to collect data on industries and to promote knowledge of the sector, narrating its history so that politicians, journalists, investors, academics, and officials understood it easily. The study revealed, to the surprise of some, how determined economic industries turned out to be: they generated almost a million jobs and 4% of Britain's Gross National Product, and that it was invoicing £ 7.5 billion in exports. They were divided between a group of small companies and merchants, and a handful of giant multinational companies. To the extent that people understood the way the British economic environment was changing thanks to the creative industries, the notion of change of force. In this sense, the definition adopted by DCMS and the list of creative industries that derived from it were especially influential. DCMS considers the creative industries as “activities that have their origin in creativity, skill and individual talent, and that they have the potential to create jobs and wealth through the generation and harnessing of intellectual properties” (DCMS, 1998).

In its first application of the mapping method, dating back to 1998, DCMS established the following industries as creative:

- Architecture
- Art & Antiques Performing Arts
- Crafts
- Film & Video Design
- Fashion Design
- Advertising
- Music
- Edition
- Interactive Leisure Software
- Computer & Television
- Software & Services.

Although minor adjustments have been made to the list in response to these and other objections, the 1998 definition is, in essence, the same that DCMS maintains today and has served as a basis for other countries to develop their own definitions. The idea of creative industries that was raised in the DCMS document was quickly embraced not only by the Government of Great Britain, but also by its local, regional and city-level agencies. This was largely due to the efforts of the DCMS3 Regional Issues Task Force, as well as a multitude of initiatives and programs launched by many state agencies. So much so, that the word creative became the new buzzword in economic development circles, while for the last decade, the creative industries sector was a priority, at one time or another, for each and every one. from the regions of England. Such enthusiasm coincided with strong job growth in these British industries during the late 1990s, a phenomenon that underscored the importance of the model. However, over time it has become clear that the creative industries cannot be examined in isolation and that they must consider other key aspects such as:

- their ability to add value to other industries, mainly through design, advertising and brand strengthening;

- its potential as a source of employment for people with specialized knowledge and skills, a characteristic that makes it a part of the “knowledge economy” (that sector of economics that employs personnel with university degrees);
- its ability to revitalize towns and cities;
- its potential to articulate and work with higher education institutions;
- its importance as a scenario of union between communities and people through collective experiences.

In 2006, the UK government formally adopted the term creative economy to capture the broad contribution of creative industries to the economic and social life of the country. This guide focuses on the mapping of the creative industries as such, which is why these more global contributions and relationships are outside their natural realm. However, these connections are important and may be subject to further investigation once mapping is carried out. The decision to produce the first Creative Industries Mapping in 1998 resulted determinant. It was the first systematic exercise in measuring creative industries on a national scale. As such, it drew attention to a sector whose mix of technology with a complex cultural baggage clearly differentiates it from other sectors of the economy. Although mapping focused exclusively on the creative industries, it was the origin of many changes that have resonated throughout the British economy and have led to greater recognition of the importance of creativity in the economy and society in general. This, in turn, has generated a greater understanding of the creative sector and has served to design public policies both in the United Kingdom and internationally.

1.3 The Creative City paradigm: concepts and theory

“Today about 50% of the world population lives in cities, and by 2050 75% will live in cities, so we better start to think about sustainability attractiveness of cities before it's too late, because cities have the solutions and the answers to the most of the world's problems in them.” (Evert Verhagen⁶, 2013).

⁶ Evert Verhagen is a senior project manager working for his companies Creative Cities and REUSE, a program focuses on complex regeneration projects of former industrial or military sites.

Cities have become melting pot of all sort of networks and clusters. Much has been said about the dynamic between forces (both local and global) and how international flows in goods, trades, information and culture are affecting private and public local spaces (Tay in 'Creative Industries', 2005) and the place where these flows come together is the city. It might be argued that the fact that so many different flows and networks converge in the city, this boosts the creative process of its citizens. Therefore, it's no surprise that the largest share of innovative work in science, arts, technology etc. found its soil in big cities. Landry⁷ claimed that creative and pioneering ways of thinking are becoming more and more important in cities because there was a 'paradigm shift' that affected the typical city of 40 years ago which led to the concept of modern city. He also asserted that "older solutions do not work. What might seem an impenetrable problem from within one mindset might be eminently solvable from within another" (Landry, 1995).

Just as Florida did, Landry gave a broad definition of the term "creativity". That may be because according to him, all urban issues (from traffic safety to the collection of rubbish to street-children) that are approached in an original way point out the creative capacity of a city. His message was addressed to the urban managers who should be aware of the creative potential that lurks in a certain city. Any innovative idea or original initiative coming from the bottom could be a successful one, that is why they should be recognised and supported. Creative initiatives from the bottom are very often found in arts, music, design, architecture and they represent the creative core. They are often capable of creating (informal) networks and when the number of creative people is increasing in a city, creative clusters could spill out where people could draw on each other's knowledge, creative ideas and contacts. When the creative sector is interwoven with either the public sector or the more traditional business world, interesting things could happen and value will be added, in terms of economic level and at social and cultural level as well. Cities with a good cultural environment are successful in attracting new talents because some kind of domino effect develops. People (especially creative and highly educated) want to live in that city because of its reputation as a dynamic, dazzling city with a diverse cultural life and possibilities for them to improve their personal and professional skills.

Paradoxically, the Creative City model has made similar observations to the diagnoses of positive externalities and cooperation basins, pointing out an overflow of production

⁷ Charles Landry is an author, speaker and international adviser on the future of cities best known for popularising the Creative City concept. His book *The Creative City: "A Toolkit for Urban Innovators"* became a movement to rethink the planning, development and management of cities.

cycles outside the classic areas of work and the territory of the company. As mentioned before the term creative city is first introduced by Charles Landry in his reference text, *The Creative City: A toolkit for Urban Innovators* (1995). It introduces the economic potential of the 'place' - of the specific characteristics of the cities - as fundamental elements for the attraction and condensation of innovation processes beyond the scope of the industry. The reference texts of the creative cities model will begin to suggest that the recent wave of creative companies currently tends to be located in the city center, as opposed to the classic suburban office parks (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). Certain elements will be pointed out as crucial to attract the interest of high-tech companies and they choose to establish themselves in a city. Among them, the central part emerges as the geography in which the value of concentrating both historical and modern structures is highlighted, offering a good public transport service that allows circulation and connection with the rest of the city, a developed artistic scene, music and entertainment industry. These factors are not considered only as aesthetic attractions, but explicitly productive; spatial relationships offer opportunities for interaction and facilitate relationships and knowledge sharing (Landry, 1995; 2006). These so-called vital public spaces emerge as a new place of production. Paradoxically, the novelty that has managed to introduce approaches as controversial as those of Richard Florida or Charles Landry from the paradigm of the creative city, has been the centrality given to the proliferation of creative environments that to a large extent resemble the notions of ecologies of the cooperation or basins raised by the perspective of cognitive capitalism. At the base of the creative city model, lies a firm commitment to the strength of condensation (Florida, 2009: 69), which transcending the abstraction of the global or the functional - in a way, obviously crude - has managed to locate the relationship between city, production and wealth in its 'more molecular' sense. These approaches have not only managed to go beyond the prominent place given to large financial flows, but they have also managed to circumvent the reduction to the formation of human capital, which constitutes the basis of argumentation for the paradigm of the new informational city (Rodríguez, 2007: 194).

1.3.1 The Creative City's paradigm

Creativity has always existed in cities, but today the difference is that we have self-consciously said how we can make and be a creative city. The city has always been the laboratory to find the solutions of the problems of its own making and when you look at anything that is fantastic today that has been kept today's classic, it was often yesterday's innovation. The Eiffel Tower has incredible innovations in it and this is an image of it near a hydroponic building and perhaps both of these will become a classic in the future. Now the creative challenge is really what is its goal and what is its target, why are we doing it now.

“In the 19th century for example the creativity required was about public health dealing with Cholera, which is why so much infrastructure was built to create sewage systems to separate water from bacteria and so on. But then, probably about 35 years ago as we realized that everything was becoming the same and bland, when globalization was reaching a new level, people said that actually, one major resource is the artistic imagination, and policy makers got involved in thinking through what that might be for the future, how we could use that as a resource, and we have used it as a resource in many cities” (Evert Verhagen, 2013).

We often say culture is good. The first thought about how you can create a place to make it simple is creative city making, it is an empowering ethos that tries to make the best out of what people have, it brings out the opportunities that they have inside them in order to use that to solve problems in an interesting way and create opportunities and find hidden resources that are usually not seen. The problem is of course that culture and creativity are not easy to measure and therefore some people think it's not important or it may not even exist; so the scope of creativity affects every sphere of development in a city in a place, which is why many cities around the world are thinking through what does this mean, how can we harness these fantastic resources? If we look at the trajectory of these ideas, we can see that we need to sense that there is a different sort of city. To put it in simple terms, we can spot three types of cities:

- 1) the city 1.0, which is the urban engineering hardware driven approach;
- 2) the city 2.0, which is more software hardware, perhaps soft urbanism;

- 3) the city 3.0, which is a co-creative city where we are harnessing all of our collective imagination together and that requires public rounds, public spaces, that make us feel good and make us want to communicate with other people, that convey a sense that there is a space where we are together and we can share what we have, and when we look at the way cities have developed in the last periods we notice that most cities name themselves as cities of culture, and what they were trying to do with that strategy is to create some sense of destination, a place where you could come and stay, not leave. Secondly, it is a city of knowledge and intelligence, that should implement strategies in order to get people to stay, to bring that knowledge, to gather that collective knowledge that mostly exists in a place (Evert Verhagen, 2013).

There is something that cities are now looking for, and it is creating a bigger footprint to make the city stand out, to generate some sort of magnetism for which people want to stay rather than move somewhere else and therefore create the opportunities to meet exchange transact, to do things together, which of course is the co-creative spirit, that often comes from distinctiveness. And now the big phase is about creating cities of opportunities in a start-up culture.

“Let us just remind ourselves that there is Venice, we know that there is Naomi Campbell in Venice and this is probably the Venice in Las Vegas, that’s a copy of Venice, and there is also a Venice in Macau too, which is a copy of a copy of Venice where you could find the Grand Canal, where you have the gondolas into the station and you have a copy of a copy of a copy of Venice and what we are really talking about is that in a sense everything becomes rather boring, less unique, less special, less distinctive” (Evert Verhagen, 2013). A suitable example could be the project started in Kosice, that is the second biggest city in Slovakia, where someone said “these very old communist buildings, we don't like them, can we build the original house that was there in the past, can we build it on top of your apartment?” All the apartments there said no except for one, and they built the past on top of what they thought was the future and this is now one of the main tourist attractions in that city. In a sense this is about who we are, so making these transformations, being a creative bureaucracy, being a creative administration to link partners together across different divisions and to get out of these boxes requires unbelievable courage, but only if

we do that and bring the collective imaginations of the different types of people in a place together that place will succeed. And this requires rethinking the regulations and incentives regime of our cities. According to this, we could focus on four clusters of ideas:

- 1) the first is how do you identify and nurture potential in a place, and the key thing to do all of this, is openness, transparency, accessibility;
- 2) the second is the learning landscape, that is “can I relearn some of my old ideas and rethink afresh in general? Am I more open than closed in my city? We can enable and support this energy, this engine of potential that exists in every place by looking at the political framework, by stressing if people think strategically, if they can think ahead and be agile and secondly, if they actually turn ideas into reality, and this of course requires rebuilding the trust relationship between everyone in a city;
- 3) the third is questioning “how do we harness and exploit this? Are entrepreneurship and innovation encouraged? How does the city communicate with itself and the outside world? Is that is about innovation?”;
- 4) and finally, how this is lived and expressed in this place. Do people feel it, are they encouraged to be open and give their best? This is when and where the distinctiveness thing comes in.

Going deeper in the triple classification of cities, we could say that the city 1.0 (which follows the urban engineering hardware driven approach) and conceptually those people who have thought about that, is really just about structures, roads rates, sewage systems, that is absolutely vital, because of course we want engineering knowledge and so on. But that 1.0 city is also just a very much top-down way of looking at cities, it is about planning, and as I said before the focus is mostly on the hardware than on the software.

The 2.0 city is one where hardware thinking and software thinking are seen as having greater value to people and there's more consultative planning. The culture of that is slightly different than the 1.0. There is a container, a theatre for example but there is not

that much content. The 2.0 is probably a bit more associative where we begin to think of things like the creative industries or cultural industries.

The 3.0 city is really where we should be going to and perhaps some cities are already there. Beyond all that thinking about the hardware, this is a typical hardware driven city which goes beyond thinking.

We could call it the urban engineering approach and it is really about understanding the sensory landscape of city, understanding that the city actually is an emotional experience. It's also a place where we recognize that people can have ideas, that open-source works and that sharing things is actually better than not sharing things. It's more ultimately about a collaborative sharing economy where the planning for things is seen more holistically and in an integrated way. The city 3.0 is different, it looks and feels differently than the 1.0. It's a place where we seem to be able to bump into each other, where public domain is more important and it also has a different operating dynamic: the bureaucracies are different, there's obviously more partnership between different sort of parties and so we might call that a paradigm shift.

“Let us say the creative city is a place where you identify resources and much of them have a good talent landscape, it's a place that is more open than closed, it's a place that enables and supports people, it's a place where the political framework is strong and transparent, where people are very professional, it's a place which harnesses and gets rid of some of the clutter of some bureaucratic elements where there is more trust and where in facts people can incubate ideas, be entrepreneurial, communicate well with each other. I think this is a place that goes and operates beyond the ordinary, it's a place that lives and feels, it's a place where the pictures go” (Evert Verhagen, 2013).

1.3.2 Florida's Ts

This is similar to the theory developed by Florida about the conditions that should be met for cities to attract the creatives. Florida's great innovation will be to give consistency to a new relationship between wealth and urban environment, placing, within a calculation of correlations, elements until now unusual within the value production chain. The “talent index” correlates higher education levels with percentages of the population between 22

and 29; with number of bars, clubs, art galleries and museums per capita. The “bohemian index” will cross between occupations linked to the cultural sphere, with location ratios by region. To understand how diversity is a fundamental element for attracting investment, Florida designs the “diversity index” and the “gay index”, to measure the percentage of the population of foreign origin and homosexual family nuclei of men who live in a region. These indices as a whole are correlated with variations in the price of housing, the index of variation in per capita income, the number of patents registered in a region, and significantly with other variables such as the climate of the city, urban density, the presence of recreational environments, bicycle path systems and other elements of the urban landscape. It is noteworthy that so little attention has been paid within the critical analyses of the figure of Florida and the model of the creative city to the role that these knowledge production technologies have played. The international echo that Florida's proposals have gained is linked to these indices. It is from them that in his later reference texts (Florida, 2002a; 2005; 2009) he will elaborate his well-known formula of economic growth in creative cities based on the 'three Ts': Talent, Tolerance and Technology. All cities that wish to be identified as creative should achieve those T's, otherwise their strive for creativity and innovation efforts would be vain. Cities able to achieve the “T” from Talent have often a broad range of knowledge institutes and a wide spectrum of job opportunities in many different sectors. Cities that satisfy this requirement are more likely to attract a broad range of young and talented people from all over the world than cities without the presence of higher education institutions (such as high schools, universities, research facilities and so on).

Florida further argued that creative people who get to the city because of the presence of either knowledge institutes or the chance to improve themselves on a ‘professional’ level often go for places that are tolerant, diverse and open to new ideas. “Diversity increases the odds that a city will attract different types of creative people with different skills, sets and ideas. When they meet each other and cooperate, new combinations could emerge. Tolerance and diversity also refer to the variety of nightlife opportunities, cultural facilities or the presence of bohemians, gays and other people who do not lead an average ‘family-life’ and prefer the dynamic, sparkling and open-minded space of the inner-city” (Florida, 2003). From the evaluation of various metropolises, it will suggest that those cities with high concentrations of creative population (artists, musicians, homosexual communities, professionals related to high technology and knowledge production), maintain high levels of economic development in the city.

Tolerance also refers to the acceptance of a wide variety of minorities in a certain city. In fact, particularly in creative cities, a large part of the urban crowd consists of minorities; people from all sorts of cultures, gays, bohemians etc. It should be mentioned that this focus on the value of a rich spectrum of urban cultures for the attractiveness and vitality of the city is not new. In fact, Harvey came up with this almost fifteen years before Florida did. Peck cited Harvey in his article "The Struggle of the Creative Class" (Peck, 2005) in which Harvey himself claimed that "The urban terrain is opened for display, fashion, and the presentation of self in a surrounding of spectacle and play. If everyone, from punks to rap artists to the 'yuppies' and the haute bourgeoisie can participate in the production of an urban image through their production of social space, then all can at least feel some sense of belonging to that place (Harvey, 1989: 14)". Instead the "T" of Technology seems a bit conflicting in our time. Without ignoring the great importance of technology in diverse parts of society, it could be acknowledged as a pre-condition for almost any kind of economy or industry nowadays, and also it is not confined to only one sector. Further, especially developed countries, the presence of (high) technology (media technology, advanced computer systems, electronic machines and equipment) is just a fact. Technology is considered as a sort of pre-given phenomenon in the average Western city, unlike the presence of talent or an open, diverse and tolerant environment where creative people feel at home. Technology is without any doubt important, but hardly a distinctiveness anymore, unless a certain city is known for its presence of pioneering 'marriages' between technology and various art-forms. (In that case, technology could be typified as somewhat of a smaller "T", for it's mostly the Talent and the Tolerance that provide the real key factor for the creative class to arise.

The correlation of measures of human capital with various location ratios and spatial indicators has allowed Florida to defend the relationship between certain urban qualities and economic prosperity. One of the fundamental maxims of the creative city model is 'in the knowledge economy, proximity matters'. That which Richard Florida and others have defended as 'the force of concentration'. Concentration is especially important for innovation ... Ideas flow more freely, are more refined, and can be implemented more quickly when Innovative people, that is, those who put ideas into practice and who give them financial support, are constantly in touch both at work and outside of it. Creative people show up not only because they enjoy each other's company, but also because they prefer cosmopolitan places with a lot of leisure offer (Florida, 2009: 39-40).

Along with technology and talent, it is pointed out that those creative centers that wish to obtain high scores regarding the quality of the space, must have specific local characteristics: attractive natural and built environments, wide sidewalks and a 'vibrant street life' (Florida, 2002a), multiculturalism and an environment of tolerance for a 'wide range of people'.

Apart from the Florida's "Ts", also the architectural ensemble seems to affect the development of creative climates. In the 1960's Jane Jacobs stated that "Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings; new ideas must use old buildings." (Jacobs, 1962). And history shows us that he was right, because since about the last twenty years, many empty factory buildings – relics of a once thriving industrial age – became more and more popular among creative people (artists, designers, musicians etc.) who were looking for 'creative niches' in their cities. As those creatives could not afford the rent of a regular premise, so they sought for alternative places and found them in ready-for-demolition empty factories. Successful enterprises and collaborations promoted by creative people started to develop in and around those factory-grounds attracting the interest of a bunch of entrepreneurs (often friends and acquaintances) who committed to these creative niches' initiatives. Over the years the organization of exhibitions and public parties in these former factories attracted a wide variety of people to them.

It was such a rapid development that several former factory grounds are nowadays safeguarded by local authorities as true 'gems', clusters that have the potential to be transformed in successful places for creative industries, which represents a major difference with the vision of local authorities towards these empty factories in the recent past. These authorities and real estate developers tend now to be rather quick when it comes to make plans and implement strategies that should lead to a successful upgrading of the before-mentioned industrial heritage. As a consequence, the urban restructuring projects turn these areas into inner-city yuppie-areas, which are branded as combinations of living, shopping, leisure and work places. However, either they are people from the creative core, yuppies or other "urban people", it seems that the presence of industrial heritage is capable of attracting more people to the city centre by giving new possibilities and diverse solutions to these areas. What is more they serve as "niches" for creatives to carry on their activities and promote initiatives also because rents are usually lower, there is some room for experiment and they are free to express their creativity because the whole process is bottom-up oriented. After presenting the point of view of some of the

novelists who wrote a big part of the literature we passed through in the chapter, it is worth summing up the main features which would make a city boast of being creative.

A creative city is a city characterized by:

- a varied cultural life and a large range of opportunities in the entertainment sector;
- the capability of attracting talented and highly educated people;
- high percentages of “creatives” (artists, musicians, designers, architects, writers, novelists, journalists etc);
- mutual collaboration between the public sector, the creative core and the more traditional business;
- a mixture of top-down and bottom-up approaches, to the extent that local authorities have consciousness about the present creative potential and are willing to boost it. Local authorities must be aware of the fact that innovation and urban changes start from the “underground” and cannot be scheduled on desks; and the same goes for creativity;
- chances for creative entrepreneurs to experiment (it is possible when there are no strict regulations and restrictions “from above”);
- an architectural complex suitable for promoting the development of creative niches (for instance empty factory buildings, possibly close to the downtown);
- the existence of networks and clusters within the creatives but also between the “external world” and the creative core;
- high degrees of tolerance towards minorities (homosexuals, immigrants, bohemians).

1.4 The “Creative Class”: the contribution of Richard Florida

Given that in today's society we increasingly carry out creative activities in our day life, these ones have found expression in the rise of a new and specific category of people. By definition, a class is a set of individuals who share common interests and tend to think, feel and behave in a similar way, affinities that are essentially determined by economic factors and the kind of work that people do for a living. The American economist and

sociologist Richard Florida in his analysis of the study of cities combines various "system" indicators including the presence in the city context of a new class which, he first defines, creative class: "the creative class includes all highly talented individuals motivated by the search for numerous high quality work experiences, openness to diversity of all types and by the opportunity to confirm their identity as creative people" (Florida, 2003). The roots of the birth of the creative class can therefore be defined economic and this class presents itself with certain characteristics. It is made up of all those who use their intellectual abilities in the normal course of their work and also the traditional knowledge handed down from generation to generation. It is a class that aims to create new and significant forms, consisting primarily of a "super-creative" nucleus, a nucleus that produces new forms or new solutions that are easily reproducible and widely used, activities in which they are regularly engaged. Its core includes people engaged in the scientific field, engineering, architecture and design, education and art, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create ideas, technologies and/or contents. Beyond the operational core, the creative class also includes "professional creatives", people in charge of solving problems by drawing on a sophisticated complex of knowledge, a larger group of professionals in the fields of business, finance, law, medical care and related fields. People engaged in solving complex problems who require a considerable dose of independence of judgment and a strong cultural and human capital, engaged in non-standardized or routine activities. The difference with other classes lies in the fact that those who belong to the creative class are paid mainly to design, and therefore enjoy greater autonomy and flexibility. The creative class grows as the consideration given to creativity grows. But not all of them are doomed to be part of it. Next to this class there is therefore another growing social group called "class of services": it arises from an economic necessity consequent to the way of operating the creative economy, and includes low-level occupations, but also includes all those workers who operate within the sector of "microservices" (Cicerchia, 2010), ancillary but necessary, which complete the cultural offer. Going back to the creative class, his rise is reflected in a radical transformation of values, norms and customs, which become: individuality, meritocracy, openness to diversity.

Florida reports a fact for which 38 million Americans (around 30% of all employees) are part of it, and during the 1900s this class increased dramatically in the United States, the place where Florida applied its analysis. It is, for example, more numerous than the

worker class, even if it favours an opening limited to creative people with a high level of education. It is a class that is not as willing as others to have its identity labelled or to entrust self-esteem to the company it works for. Since they identify themselves as creative people, they feel the need for a lifestyle centered on experiences that are also of a creative nature, they are intolerant to the clear demarcations that used to separate work, home and leisure. Driven by the creative ethos, they merge work and lifestyle to build a new identity, also merging different interests and roles. The lifestyles of the creative class are summed up in a passionate search for experiences compared to the traditional one of products and services, but, while Pine and Gilmore (2000) refer to pre-packaged experiences (for example Disney) the members of the class creative people prefer more active and participatory experiences. They have a tendency to ignore more formal encounters, and if they attend them, they do so with a desecrating spirit. They prefer more authentic meeting points that offer a wide range of options and where they too can contribute to creating them, but finding places of this type can prove to be an arduous undertaking. The creative class members share fluid lifestyles, not rigid but often long work hours, periods of considerable work overload alternated with periods of relative calm, particular interests (Creative Research Group, 2009). Also, the logistical issue is fundamental to them, they are looking for attractions right in the cities, because very often they do not have time to move elsewhere. The presence of meeting places for social interaction is also fundamental, such as cafés, bookstores, restaurants. But the creative class is also attracted to the culture of the street. Compared to the creative class concept, many authors have taken part in the debate, and are more or less in line with the theory by Florida. Since the case of this particular class is closely connected with that of a creative city, questions were also raised about the role of urban cultural policies rather than the role of cultural industries. David Hesmondalgh (2004), for example, wonders about the relationship between cultural policies and cultural industries, Pratt claims instead that too much importance has been given to cultural consumption at the expense of production, and that policy makers themselves can achieve more successful regeneration if they approach industrial culture as an object that connects production and consumption. Then try to understand whether or not the creative class really can be "a causal mechanism of urban regeneration" (Pratt, 2008). Mcgranahan and Wojan (2005) also support the thesis of the creative class, claiming that there is a strong correlation between this and the growth, although in their opinion a measure of recast of the creative

class is necessary by excluding many occupations with low creativity requirements from the initial measurements and above all those engaged in economic reproduction.

1.4.1 A new creative labour market

In an effort to attract talented people and harness their creativity, the most diverse work environments tend to be more and more similar. With the term knowledge economy, and subsequently the economy of culture, we refer to the fact that work processes have become more and more dependent on human resources of an intellectual and emotional type, and therefore they are becoming less and less routine. Wherever this type of economy develops, a new conception of work seems to eradicate the old division between "white collar" and "blue overalls" (Florida, 2003): we now have on the one hand an elite workforce, whose business consists of highly qualified tasks based on creativity and problem solving, and on the other a workforce called to perform flexible tasks with cognitive-cultural contents. The most qualified layers of the workforce of these productions, which Florida calls the "creative class", can be identified with different occupational categories. If you want to draw up a short list of the determining factors in choosing the job for the creative class, you can include: flexibility, challenge/responsibility, working environment, rewarding, professional development, appreciation by peers, stimulating colleagues/superiors, stimulating content of tasks, organizational culture, location and characteristic of the community.

Key change is that the use of time has intensified, every minute is filled with experiences and activities, therefore the perception of time and the way of using it are deformed and take on new configurations. And in fact, creative people work in their spare time and play when they should work, this because nobody can decide when to turn on or off the creativity. Another significant feature of the new labour market that has been created is that workers do not feel more connected to the company, they identify themselves more with their occupation and instead of progressing vertically up the structure of a company, they move sideways, taking on greater responsibilities at every stage of their career. What is changing is the job market and the working environment as well, the rules of clothing and schedules (which does not simply mean reduced hours, but rather flexibility). Two of the most popular strategies for stimulating creativity in the workplace are those of "job enrichment" and "job enlargement", enrichment and expansion of tasks. Or even the "job

sculpting", that is, sculpture of the workplace, where companies strive to model the contents of the work so that they better reflect the deepest interests of the employee, who also takes into account job satisfaction. It is not obvious that those who get good results are also happy. They are not easy paths to follow, what is certainly creative work cannot be tailored because the dedication of creative people is not constant and the motivation is mainly internal. If on the one hand the traditional industry worker could work unabated till the limit of his physical endurance, on the other the modern creative worker needs to benefit from the "creative idleness", that is a privileged but not passive condition in which work is almost intertwined with play, study, trying to produce on the same time joy, play, wealth, while the organization manages to free itself from the old Taylor rituals and find the courage to reduce controls and give collaborators the maximum freedom of time and place in which to carry out their tasks. What creativity really needs is free time: because only free time can ensure the atmosphere fundamental for transforming abstract fantasy into concrete creativity. Nowadays the greater part of workload is made by the machines and an increasing percentage of workers carries out activities that involve flexibility, initiative, intelligence and even creativity. According to Florida, the key point for a creative economy is that organizations of all sizes and all types must be part of it, each with a different role and where they can interact with each other to develop and refine ideas and bring them to the market. The creative economy is in fact increasingly the result of a team effort in which each contributes with his or her specialization, but in the creative era, high levels of emotional and mental stress are also created. You aspire to flexibility, but then you have less time to devote yourself to the things you really care about. The technologies that were supposed to free people from work, they invaded human life. At this point the creative class itself must adapt to being part of a new creative era.

1.4.2 The creative capital

The availability of staff with talent and creativity today determines where companies choose to locate and grow and these choices in turn determine how cities will compete with each other. In turn, creatives do not just move to where there are more job opportunities, but go to places that are centers of creativity and where they like to live. In general, it can be thought that the quality of a place has three dimensions: what is in there, who is there and what happens to it. It is necessary to keep in mind that:

- the creative class is moving away from traditional "corporate communities", from industrial centers and even from cities towards creative centers;
- creative centres tend to be the winning places of our time, there is a high concentration of people but also of concrete creative results;
- creative centres do not thrive thanks to traditional economic factors, but they are successful only because that is where creative people want to live;
- the creative people do not move to these centres for traditional reasons, for example not for material infrastructures, on the contrary they prefer aspects such as neighbourhood life;
- companies gather in these centres to draw on the concentration of talented people, the engine of innovation and economic growth.

In fact, Florida sees creative workers as the engine of economic growth for this new stage of the economy: according to him, in urban competition it is essential that cities manage to attract those creative workers who bring competition and growth with them, and therefore must also adapt to their needs, offering attractive places according to their parameters. Places where the interaction takes place in a fluid, easy and immediate way thanks to a complete offer of infrastructures for recreation and relaxation, "in a nutshell, a good foundation for a local community" (Niessen, 2007). Creatives are attracted to communities where:

- social barriers are low;
- there is a strong social and cultural heterogeneity, in terms of professions, origins and sexual orientation;
- there is strong concentration of other creatives;
- street life is really active;
- there is much presence of "amenities" (Peck, 2005) that characterize the creative class's leisure and relax.

Obviously, several criticisms have been made about this approach, in particular Allen J. Scott⁸ criticized the one-dimensional nature of Florida's thinking. Indeed, Scott argues that the presence of the creative class is not sufficient to automatically determine the growth of a "creative milieu", but planning of far-reaching urban policies is also

⁸ The Geographer Allen J. Scott is one of the great names in economic geography across the Atlantic. A prominent representative of the Los Angeles School, a professor at the prestigious UCLA University, he was one of the first to take a keen interest in the cultural economy, the growth and development of which he analysed.

necessary (Scott, 2006). Another critical aspect because missing in Florida's analysis, again according to Scott, is that of "gentrification" processes: triggered by creative requalification, they involve the risk of social polarization due to the proliferation of low-income jobs and low specialization in creative industries, which isolate themselves in certain neighbourhoods. Finally, it is also important to underline the dispute carried by Markusen, who considers the Florida's definition of "creative class" to be too ambiguous and broad, as it is an aggregate of heterogeneous subjects to which a unity of values and aspirations that does not exist in reality (Markusen, 2006). In essence, Florida's sense of creative class is considered too broad, because it includes very distant professional skills that would hardly really make up a class. Even Scott (2006), highlighted how much the capacity of a city of producing culture is strictly dependent on the presence of specific communities in the city. He believes it occurs when three conditions are met:

- existence of some form of previous cultural production that led to the formation of a community of workers with creative and artistic skills (strictly dependent on the specific history of the city, and can for example derive from the circles intellectual or artistic or from cultural associations);

- functioning of these communities, where by community we mean a group of people united by the same artistic sensitivity: since these people carry out often complementary activities and pursue interdependent careers, success is achieved thanks to the coordination between different specializations;

- these communities in turn need the city, which allows for a high amount of interactions, exchanges and institutions.

In the past years, several authors have theorized the "theory of human capital", based on the idea that regional development is represented by people. According to this theory, in creative centers it is not necessary to reduce costs but rather to acquire qualified and productive people. Human capital theory states that economic development occurs in places where the population has a high level of education. Florida takes a step forward from this theory by elaborating another one, which can be defined as "theory of creative capital" where it believes that it's the creative people who detain the creative capital. This theory maintains that the keys to understanding the new economic geography of creativity and its effects on economic results come from the three T's of economic

development, which (as we have previously seen) summarize the truly critical factors for the success of a Country in the current economic system:

- Talent: number of exponents of the creative class, their incidence on the total workforce and percentage of inhabitants with title of higher study;
- Technology: impact of foreign population on total residents and their integration;
- Tolerance: towards homosexuality.

Each of them is indispensable but not sufficient in itself, in order to attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate development; a place must therefore own all three. The quality of a city is very important for a place that wants to attract talents, where quality means (Florida, 2003):

- amenities, the environment;
- the urban social environment, interacting people;
- life quality, available experiences.

It is important to also underline the aspect of the size of the city, because “an attractive place does not necessarily have to be a big city, but must be cosmopolitan, a place where everyone can find other groups that can stimulate it, a place where there is interaction between different cultures and ideas...” (Florida, 2003). The theory of creative capital leads to the conclusion that, where a combination of creativity and diversity occurs, there is a stimulus for population growth and increase in employment. In the Italian context, some studies (Amadasi and Salvemini, 2005) have highlighted differences in measurement and in identifying the creative class with respect to the situation in the United States, because in Italy creative professionals do not feel they belong to a specific class characterized by cultural elements and common values, and they have not a common identity either. Furthermore, while in the United States Florida identifies the 3T of the city, in Italy instead four ways are identified in order to undertake a real transformation process:

- investing in technology, especially in research and development at Italian universities;
- cultivate creativity;

- empowering tolerance and openness to the new and the different;
- enhancing existing resources, in the sense of rediscovering one's roots and opening up to the future.

Among the determining factors of the choice of location we find diversity: the attraction is determined by the variety of opinions, by the openness and vitality. Places are also appreciated for authenticity, uniqueness and identity, that is, the will to actively contribute to the construction of the place where you live in a way that reflects your person. Creatives prefer communities with character, characterized by the precariousness of relationships and weak bonds, allowing them to live independently and not in ways imposed by others. Other studies, however, have shown that the 3 Ts are not always adequate to capture the attractive factors of creative talents in Italy (Cappetta, Carlone and Salvemini, 2006) and have rather proposed the 2 "S", attraction factors related to the symbolic and cultural offer. The first "S" is defined by the presence of "high-symbolic" companies, while the second "S" is measured in reference to the companies of the entertainment and cultural offerings. The places are therefore affirmed, and in the effort to becoming creative communities in the broadest sense of the term (Jacobs, 2000) the studies have highlighted the relevance of seven further factors: the age of the cities, the density, the wealth, the income, the diversity, the presence of symbolic businesses, the cultural and entertainment offer.

CHAPTER 2 – Creativity in places

2.1 Cities as attractive places

In our society what has been defined as a socio-territorial system has been triggered, that is the result of the “territorializing” process that transforms space into territory. This type of city is transformed into a place of consumption and entertainment, and it is not limited only to a place of living. The territory is a complex and multidimensional entity, a space transformed by society. It is therefore necessary to adopt a view from below, centered on the territories and the communities that inhabit them. “The third millennium city (post-modern, since it develops from the crisis of early modernity) is a communicational city where the importance of places is not underrated, but they acquire new meanings. They are complex metropolises that have evolved by concentrating multiple activities, where the immateriality of communication predominates” (Fiorani, 2009). Places, despite their diversity, acquire importance, some grow and others decline. Indeed, certain places are more attractive to talents than others, and this leads to inevitable consequences on the development and growth of certain areas at the expense of others, since they are not uniformly distributed. And “the ability to attract these talents has increasingly become a fundamental condition for growth and development, because they are dynamic, qualified and innovative people who can reconvert economies in difficulty, start new economic and entrepreneurial activities and attract the attention of the most innovative companies and expanding” (Tinagli, 2008). The places therefore have their own attraction, not only from the tourist point of view nor exclusively industrial, but which has become synonymous with liveability, pleasantness and liveliness which in turn stimulate new interesting policies. We can speak of “gentrification” (Scott, 2006) about the places, with which we mean a continuous transformation of the city's vast proportions, on the one hand new cognitive cultural activities, on the other new urban architecture, for example reuse and restructuring of old industrial and commercial areas of the city. In the American cities, where it was originally theorized, the phenomenon of gentrification has materialized in the transfer of a large part of the working class to other areas of the city. A visible sign of its occurrence lies in the arrival in the area of groups of bohemian artists along with studios, cafes, clubs. Culture is not an exclusively urban fact; however, it is evident that most of the times when we speak of a place of cultural innovation, we can only refer to the

city, which is par excellence. Cities are culture at least from three relevant points of view, because:

- they contain art treasures, but also because they are the result of a process of accumulation of cultural capital through the conservation of buildings and works;
- they are locations of continuous production and fruition of culture;
- they are centers of development of culture.

Today the diffusion of new information and communication technologies could raise the problem of obsolete cities, but actually we are also facing phenomena of affirmation of the local space re-interpreted in light of new needs and needs for identity and roots. Territories are recognized today as containers of localized knowledge, linked to the experience of those who live in that specific context, from which businesses can draw and then rework them in a creative way. These are "local collective goods", that is, resources that are linked to the local aspect, the basis of industrial districts. In this context we arrive to the concept of "cultural globalization" in reference to the diffusion of behaviours, habits, lifestyles characteristic of economically and politically hegemonic contexts, which are able to import their culture to less developed countries. However, understood in a negative sense, as a process of cultural homogenization that reduces the specificity of places, impoverishes the variety of local cultures, favouring their flattening on dominant cultural characters (Vicari, 2004). Next to standardization and cultural homologation there are counter trends that point to cultural heterogeneity. According to Scott (2008), it is in recognizing local specificities in products/services that cities are rediscovering an increasingly important role in global competition by developing innovative local policies. However, this local knowledge has one characteristic: it is tacit in nature and therefore not easily identifiable.

The beauty of a place is important from a visual point of view but also because it can affect psychological and social mechanisms, as well as in self-identification mechanisms. As the large urban planner Jane Jacobs (2000) widely underlined at the time, there are many aspects that determine the level of dynamism of a place, but the determining factor is that of acceptance of diversity, interests, professionalism, points of view and styles of life. He argues that the places that end up establishing themselves are multi-dimensional and different ones, which do not have a single type of industry or social class, which offer creative exchanges. According to her, large cities are places where people of all

backgrounds can transform ideas and energies into innovation and wealth. The city is a place that allows individuals to differentiate themselves and consequently allows freedom. The modern city is a city of different cultures, it is the place of diversity and offers the context in which individuals' self-realization projects can take shape and be realized. From the evolution of the modern city, the metropolis was born where a pervasive dissemination of information and physical mobility of people takes place. In recent years, some cities have implemented urban revaluation programs for the recovery and revitalization of historic centers and have shown renewed attention to their image. Initiatives have flourished, in short, cities have returned to being and wanting to be not only rich and functional, but also beautiful, pleasant and fascinating. The aesthetic and cultural element is not something elitist for the benefit of a few, but an aspect appreciated by all citizens regardless of their level of wealth, education, gender and age. There is in fact an "urban symbolism" that is inevitably linked to the physical and aesthetic aspect of a city and which contributes to making the city more than an agglomeration of people and houses (Tinagli, 2008). This awareness of the aesthetic role has been growing among the "policy makers" and it is now that architects have intervened in redesigning the city. But any urban intervention must be brought down to the human level of the context in which it fits. Talking about the role of the territory in the process of attraction and enhancement of talents, in addition to the aesthetic-urban aspect, should not be overlooked that of "urban environment", that is, the social and cultural conditions to integrate these resources within them. It means having, among others, also "a good network of entrepreneurial, university and institutional infrastructures that function in a lean way and that offer the right intellectual and professional. It also means having an open, positive and dynamic social climate, a system that feeds and circulates the energy, skills and ideas that people come out with (Tinagli, 2008).

2.2 Creativity as a driving factor to innovation and competitive advantage to cities

Creativity is considered a central resource and a direction in which to orient strategies for urban development. Since the end of the last century, in fact, the idea of a creative city has attracted many acclaim, referring to a city that "is characterized by the presence of a lively cultural and intellectual urban environment, activities related to the economy of culture and of knowledge and, above all, of a class of talented and highly specialized professionals

who operate, with new ideas and new technologies, in currently strategic sectors." The interest in this topic is evidenced by a large literature which, through approaches and different methodologies, analyses the factors capable of supporting creativity and making it an important factor of competitive advantage and a direction in which to orient the strategic development of the territory (Montanari, 2014, Grandi, 2010). In recent years, the ongoing crisis and the need to give alternative answers to the growing questions about the city re-propose the creative city as a positive model to aim for.

Some studies on urban creativity (Landry, Florida, Bianchini), focus their attention on the need to field actions closely related to individual contexts to their identity, social aspects, human capital, as well as the physical characteristics of the spaces. In general, urban strategies creativity-oriented assume a set of actions that enhance the diversity, contrasting the standardization processes, which propose innovative solutions more oriented to the creation of the new, the reuse of the existing, the small scale, the local dimension, bottom-up approaches, cooperation and sharing.

Nowadays, the connection between creativity and social innovation is the basis for a series of urban regeneration actions that, focused on culture and focused on environmental and social aspects, produce different outcomes, sometimes even contradictory for the urban areas concerned and for the different recipients. The success of the idea is based on the belief that actions based on culture are more easily achievable, in terms of resources, times, which ensure visibility and consensus; these actions should be in close connection with the idea of making the city beautiful and seductive, to attract investments, investors, residents and visitors, talents, and to promote innovation.

Creativity and culture are therefore seen as tools to contrast the social and economic decline of contemporary cities grappling with the processes of transformation of their development model. Innovative strategies able to contribute decisively to the physical and economic regeneration of the city, especially in building a new image, through new activities from national and international spheres and connected to the development of innovative sectors such as art, technologies, culture. In fact, the creative city proposes itself as a pre-condition for innovation, a response to the structural challenges with which contemporary cities are compared, to economic transformations, to climate change, to the phenomena of social polarization and to the needs of competitiveness and of a higher urban quality (Carta, 2007).

Creativity can be seen as a social process affected by the context people operate in". On the one hand, the environment affects the creative processes of individuals and on the other creativity can be turned into a competitive advantage key factor for the territory and for the businesses that operate there. So, it is fundamental to understand those factors that can positively influence the environment conditions that promote creativity. Local administrations that are aware of the potential of this competitive advantage start creative-led policies focusing on creativity as a lever for social and economic development, in order to enhance and retain internal talents on the spot, attracting external ones and facilitating the clustering of creative activities in different forms: an example is represented by the "Gentrification" (a term coined by the British sociologist Ruth Glass to indicate the physical and social changes of a neighbourhood downgraded, following the arrival of new high-income residents) which influences the processes of grouping of creative activities and interactions between individuals in a certain area.

2.3 Intelligent territory and creative economy space

Western economies are currently undergoing a process of profound change under the impact of global competition, the imperatives of environmental sustainability and the urgency of the so-called knowledge economy. Although it is still an incomplete scenario, the truth is that, in recent years, a change has been taking place in the nature of the economy, where sustainability, creativity and knowledge represent key aspects for the socio-economic development of the territories. The main objective of this document It is to carry out a conceptual introduction on two innovative concepts in the field of sustainable development related to smart territory and creative economy space. Thus, an intelligent territory is one capable of giving a coherent response to the urban trilogy: environmental sustainability, social cohesion and economic competitiveness. For its part, the space of creative economy refers to the economic and competitive dimension of the territory, also considering the sustainable dimension of development. The study of intelligent territory arises from the confluence of different disciplines related mainly to urban planning, architecture, the cultural heritage, the environment and the economy. Sustainability and the so-called built advantage are fundamental aspects in the conceptualization of the terms mentioned above. In recent years, a shift of the concept of environmental sustainability into the economy and society as a whole has been observed.

From this perspective, long-term integrated development is pursued that considers not only the economic impact but also the environmental impact and that exerted on social well-being. Likewise, the notion of competitive advantage has also evolved from these new concepts. To begin with, more and more territories consider it essential to build competitive advantage tailored to the capabilities and identity of a given territory. Among other competitive factors, the so-called creative class represents one of the basic pillars on which to build so-called smart territories. The region and cities take on increasing relevance in the current new economic scenario. However, a new concept of territory will be defined overcoming the current geographical and administrative limits that have traditionally defined it: the Smart Territory.

2.3.1 The definition of “Smart Territory”

In recent years, the concept of smart territory has had a growing depth among experts and agents dedicated to the study of sustainable development. From the perspective of urban planning and architecture, the definition made by Alfonso Vegara and Juan Luis de las Rivas stands out, who are the authors who, more explicitly, coin the concept of intelligent territory in the following terms: “smart territories are those innovative territories, capable of building their own competitive advantages in relation to their environment, within the framework of a global, complex and interrelated world. Likewise, smart territories pursue a balance between aspects of economic competitiveness, social cohesion and sustainability” (Vegara A., Rivas, 2014). In short, smart territories are those capable of equipping themselves with city projects, achieving the right balance, discovering their uniqueness and building their own competitive advantages in a global framework. Any territory, regardless of its size and level of infrastructure, can be a smart territory. A key element of the preceding definition is the concept of sustainability, producing its basis from the environment to the economy and society as a whole. In the new global context, development increasingly has to do with economic, social, political and environmental processes. Economic development models must be at the service of the community, guaranteeing a full commitment to equity, distributive justice, solidarity and environmental sustainability. In other words, development must respect the so-called triangle of economic, social and environmental sustainability. Smart Territory is a new theoretical concept that emerges from the confluence of different scientific disciplines

related, mainly, to urban planning, architecture, cultural heritage, the environment, the economy of innovation and regional development. The ability to integrate different perspectives of development analysis in the concept of intelligent territory is particularly relevant if it is taken into account that, until now, the field of study of economic and social development has been approached from different and unrelated perspectives of analysis. For example, while from the perspective of the economy, development in recent years has been linked to issues related to technological innovation, other disciplines, such as urban planning and architecture, prioritize the design of new infrastructures as a fundamental element of development. The environmental factor comes to unite the concepts of economic development and the territory until now, often unconnected, giving rise to a new vision of sustainable development. The territory also takes on a renewed conception. Since globalization, the territory, increasingly, is forced to compete in a global environment and to consider different strategies and opportunities. The phenomenon of globalization is linked to geography. In essence, globalization and the processes of sustainable development at the regional and local levels are part of the same process of economic transformation. However, globalization does not occur in all places of the same mode and with the same intensity. The particular character of the territory interacts with the processes on a large scale, generating specific results. Globalization does not occur from top to bottom. Everything global is local. We must not forget that global processes started in specific places. Until now, the concept of intelligent territory has been restrictively adjusted to that space that is capable of offering a coherent response to the changes imposed by the challenge of globalization. Thus, smart territories can become authentic sustainable territories due to their ability to balance the trilogy of economic strategy, social development and environmental quality. In other words, globalization generates greater opportunities for those territories that prove to be more competitive, innovative and sustainable. If in the past low production costs represented one of the main competitive advantages, today, the attraction that a territory can have is measured by the local capacity to develop clean technologies, companies in sectors with high knowledge intensity, new research institutes and talented human resources.

2.3.2 The space of creative economy

The concept of creative economy space is closely linked to the concept of intelligent territory, since the first would encompass the second and, in turn, the second represents "il cuore" of the first. In particular, the term creative economic space refers to the eminently economic and competitive dimension of smart territories, without forgetting the sustainable dimension of development. For some authors, the intelligent territory is the culmination and synthesis of the sustainable and creative territory, the territory of science and digital, where the arts and sciences come to unify, for once, with urban ecology and the advances in communication and sustainable technologies. This definition accentuates the fact of the emergence of new productive sectors linked to the so-called knowledge economy. This economy is frequently associated with the emergence and preponderance of sectors with high technological intensity, such as biotechnology and telecommunications. However, it has been pointed out that the process of metamorphosis that current economies are going through is complex, involving profound changes in all productive sectors, even in the most mature ones, such as food. From the perspective of regional development and economic competitiveness, the regional system of innovation and clusters represent, among others, clear antecedents in the conception of the space of creative economy.

Like the aforementioned concepts, the creative economy space configures a network system - local and international - made up of the following areas of interrelation:

- Economy: regionalization of the development economy: "open systems", interactions between companies, integration of knowledge generation and commercialization, smart infrastructures, strong local and global business networks, smart financing.
- Government: multi-level government of associations and interest groups, strong policies for innovators, increases in research budgets, global position of local advantages, leadership of innovative policies.
- Knowledge: research of excellence, research adapted to the economic and social needs of the region, researcher-entrepreneur, development and innovation.
- Community: cosmopolitanism, sustainability, talent of human capital, creative cultural environments and social tolerance. Regarding the

territorial dimension, creative economic spaces exceed the regional and local limits. From this perspective, the concept of intelligent territory approaches the concept of functional region or, what is the same, natural areas of economic and cultural development. In this sense, it exceeds the most traditional definition of an administrative region. The intelligent territory integrates all kinds of spaces; It constitutes a polycentric system of cities (middle cities, historic centres, natural areas, rural areas, access points to the territory).

The interdependent economic platform and the cluster of excellence stand out, respectively, as new units of analysis on which to define competitiveness strategies and identify components of excellence in a given territory. While the interdependent economic platform facilitates the understanding of the role of smart territories in the competitive development of a specific territorial space, the cluster of excellence allows to identify the territorial elements that present a level of attractiveness and notable success, contributing, in a special way, to their uniqueness.

The way in which the different spaces use their resources is decisive in order to consider them smart territories, understanding as such those that are capable of valuing their own assets by creating conditions favourable to innovation, collective learning and development. It is these capacities that are largely determining for certain spaces to be considered winners or emerging, allowing progress from situations of economic growth to other less developed. In other words, this definition underscores the fact that the territories' ability to transform existing knowledge, qualifications and talents in a territory into a sustainable advantage. The ability to retain and attract strategic resources represents another success factor in building the competitive advantage of the territories.

Finally, we highlight some relevant aspects in the configuration of the so-called smart territories:

1. The triumph of those territories that are committed to environmental sensitivity and responsibility and that are concerned with issues of cohesion and social development.

2. Equally basic is the ability of cities to create their competitive advantage. Therefore, it is a matter of choosing correctly the objectives that will give each territory its own uniqueness.
3. Political leadership, participation and innovation are the three fundamental elements in any work methodology for the construction of an intelligent territory. Likewise, dialogue with the environment and new forms of government that cover the different territorial configurations are demanded. In short, smart territories are those capable of equipping themselves with city projects, achieving the right balance, discovering their uniqueness and building their own competitive advantages in a global framework. This situation provides a set of opportunities for the territories in general - not only for those who already have a relevant role in the global economy - in their competence to attract creative people and develop new capacities. Under these criteria, any territory can be "smart", regardless of its size and the level of its infrastructure.

The term creativity in recent decades has been used not only in relation to artistic and cultural activities, but also to the economic development of companies and geographical areas (neighbourhoods, cities, regions). Creativity, understood as "ability to know how to generate new ideas or useful solutions in relation to product or service innovations", has taken on a crucial role in the new global competitive scenario; also the European Commission in 2010 (in the book "The cultural and creative industries, a potential to be exploited") reaffirmed the centrality of creativity and innovation for the economic development of a country. The studies that analyse the organizational and contextual factors capable of supporting creativity and making it an important source of competitive advantage, both for companies and for the territories, are increasingly numerous. Creativity is, in fact, used by local administrations as a strategic lever for the development of the territory, so various lines of research and managerial discipline study how to increase the creativity threshold of a territory and its degree of attractiveness, also in support of territorial action policies. Creativity plays an increasingly important role both from the point of view of the economic and social value produced by the creative industries and from the spill over effects, that is, the positive effects that it is able to generate even beyond these areas. Statistical data show that creativity has made a strong contribution to economic growth over the past two decades. It has therefore become essential, in the current competitive context, to identify strategic policies that can enhance

the creative resources in the area and attract new talents that can contribute to economic growth. With this in mind, we have gone from an “individual” vision of creativity to a more “social” type vision: creativity should not be conceived as a genetic gift, individual and not transferable, but as a social process strongly influenced by the reference context and relational dynamics that take place there.

2.5 The three approaches to creativity

Creativity, a fundamental element for the competitiveness of businesses and of the territories of the contemporary economy, can be defined as "the ability to produce new and useful ideas". In every activity (operational, managerial or artistic) it is possible to activate creative processes and this happens when new ideas or new ways of organizing work are generated. In order to define an idea or process as creative, certain conditions must be met:

- i. the first condition is novelty, that is, its uniqueness and difference from other ideas or solutions;
- ii. the second condition is the usefulness of the result produced by the creative process, that is, which brings about an improvement in the pre-existing situation or contribute to the solution of a problem.

Creativity and innovation are often used as synonyms, but to be more precise, creativity is the ability to produce new and useful ideas, innovation is the concrete realization of these ideas: creativity is the necessary but not sufficient condition, because an innovation can be realized. In the last twenty years the traditional vision of creativity as a genetic and individual gift has been surpassed by a more social vision, focusing attention on the role played by both the reference context and the relational dynamics, which vary I can positively influence creative processes. Creativity is a social process, so ties play an important role. Some strands of studies have analysed, with different approaches, the variables that can influence creativity (Montanari, 2011):

- A. The psychological perspective. According to this view, creativity is individual and is influenced only by characteristics of the person, such as demographic characteristics (age, gender), personality (degree of introversion / extroversion)

or cognitive factors (cognitive styles, knowledge). Historically, this line of research identified creativity with the ability to solve problems (problem solving). At the basis of creativity there would be some mental dispositions (fluidity of analysis and synthesis) that would allow the solution of problems or the generation of a new idea, in two ways: by trial and errors, that is to say the solution of the problem through various attempts, and by insight, that is, the solution is reached unexpectedly, after a moment of "functional fixity" (in which any ability to generate new ideas is cancelled because only the most usual, fixed and "incubation" solutions (in which the mind no longer works in a rational and conscious way, but proceeds unconsciously) come to mind. The psychoanalytic approach, also thanks to Freud's work, considers creativity as an unconscious function, capable of organizing experience and knowledge effectively. In the 1940s the first techniques were created to encourage individual and group creativity to overcome "functional fixity". The best-known method is brainstorming of ideas, which applies to group contexts; then, the "in the box techniques", which provide a wide range of solutions to be used for solving problems, and the "out of the box techniques", which also includes brainstorming, which leverage the unconscious and the processes automatic; Futuring and Visioning techniques, on the other hand, allow to predict the possible future evolutions of a given sector. In addition to techniques to improve creativity (i.e. the generation of new ideas), in recent years attention has also been given to techniques to foster innovation, to ensure that these new ideas can also become "useful". In recent years, in support of Innovation, the Lead User Theory (Von Hippel) is spreading: unlike the consumer who hardly manages to communicate the perceived need, they are individuals who are able to express needs, succeeding to imagine uses and products different from those on the market.

- B. The perspective of the context: creativity is influenced by the context in which individuals carry out their activities. Some scholars, including Teresa Amabile, have identified 5 categories of organizational factors that can encourage creativity:
- i. The orientation of the organization towards creativity.
 - ii. The characteristics of the Tasks and Activities. The ways in which the tasks are planned and the tasks influence creativity, in particular it increases

- when the complexity of the work is greater, and the autonomy recognized in carrying it out;
- iii. The pressures exerted within the organization: time limits positively stimulate creativity (if not at excessive levels) while excessive workloads have a negative influence on creativity.
 - iv. Resources invested to support creativity (economic and non-economic)
 - v. Organizational obstacles: e.g. high levels of conflict (Amabile,1996).
- C. The perspective of the Social Process. According to this perspective, creativity is a social process and the ability of individuals to generate creative ideas is influenced by the social context and developed ties: those who work together develop strong mutual trust, feel free to experiment with new ideas and learn from each other.

2.6 Creative cities: the different theoretical perspectives

Various scholars, starting from the assumption that creativity is the strategic lever for the economic and social development of a territory, have analysed which factors can contribute to making a territory "creative" and which factors are capable of retaining talent creatives and attract new ones. Their goal is to analyse how it is possible to make a city "creative", meaning by such definition not cities with important personalities and works, but cities that having a high rate of general creativity use this resource for economic and social development. The three main theoretical perspectives on the relationship between creativity and urban context identify, with different approaches and solutions, which levers are capable of promoting the creativity of a territory, retaining and attracting the best skills.

2.6.1 Charles Landry's idea of a Creative City

According to the British scholar, the economic and social development of the territory is favoured by a creative city: a city is creative when all the development policies of a

territory are focused on creativity: that is, policies aimed at making creative cities must concern not only cultural activities, but all aspects of the city (transport, educational services, street furniture). For Landry, a very important lever to make the city creative is to promote interculturality: while the perspective of multiculturalism is limited to recognizing the rights of linguistic, religious and cultural minorities, interculturality favours the creation of innovative ideas through the interactions between different individuals, exchanges of cultures and comparisons. The city must acquire intercultural competence. An important role can be played by what Landry defines as "Intercultural Innovators", that is, those who, being able to understand the different ways of thinking and seeing of some cultures, manage to absorb different cultural elements and, operating as agents of change, manage to produce new ideas, new lifestyles, behavioural models and new ways of producing.

2.6.2 Richard Florida's Creative Class idea

According to the American scholar, the fundamental resource for the economic development of a city is the creative class: economic growth depends on the availability of people belonging to the so-called creative class on the spot (according to Florida studies it represents in the United States about 30% of the workforce). He identifies two types:

- a. A Supercreative Core, which includes pure creatives (scientists, engineers, musicians, poets...);
- b. professionals who carry out highly employed jobs (doctors, lawyers). In order to attract the creative class, cities must act on three dimensions that Florida calls the 3T: Talent, Tolerance and Technology.

Talent: creatives are attracted to places where they can easily get in touch with their peers for the purpose of mutual exchange and learning.

Tolerance: creatives are attracted to "tolerant" contexts where it is possible to exchange experiences with different cultures and different ways of living and producing.

Technology: creatives are attracted to high-tech contexts (broadband, free wi-fi). Florida underlines that to attract creatives it is necessary to act on the amenities of a city:

creatives are attracted to places with a high artistic and cultural offer and are attracted in particular by the urban social environment, identified by permanent forms of connection (cultural, social and technological) capable of facilitating new opportunities for professional learning and the quality of life offered by the city (nightlife, outdoor gatherings, bookstores, theatre spaces).

Starting from the work of Florida, in 2005 the Italian scholars Amadasi and Salvemini highlighted that the measures of the 3T are not always adequate to attract creatives. The creative class is also attracted to the contexts characterized by the 2S, that is the Symbolic Offer (high-symbolic companies such as radio, TV, cinema, advertising) and the Cultural Offer (libraries, museums, theatres). In fact, the creatives are usually concentrated in large metropolitan areas such as Rome, Milan, Bologna, Florence.

2.6.3 The idea of a creative field by Allen Scott

According to the American scholar, the fundamental resource for the economic development of a city is the creative field: economic growth depends on the specificity and peculiarity of the cultural products and services that are made by a community concentrated in a specific geographical area. The traditions and cultural conventions of each professional community, concentrated in a territory (creative field), they represent a unique and distinctive patrimony of "cultural raw materials" which each member of the community draws from carrying out his/her activity. The creative fields are deposits of cultural capital and also perform the function of magnet towards external talents, attracted by the specificity of that place (e.g. Milan is a creative field of fashion), which in turn can bring new ideas to local specificities.

In summary:

Landry (creative city): to encourage and retain creative talents, creative-led policies are needed on all aspects of city life, not only on cultural ones.

Florida (creative class): to encourage and retain the creative class you need to invest in the amenities of a city, on the quality of life (especially technological infrastructure and creative and cultural activities).

Scott (creative field): unlike the other perspectives, he claims that the concentration of creative talents in a territory is only the consequence of the peculiarity of a creative field, which produces specific outputs linked to the traditions of the place. Relationship between creativity and territory.

Creative-led policies are not sufficient to encourage the development of a territory. They must be supplemented by actions that act on complementary dimensions, for example, social composition, traditional economic activities, public services, training. It is important to understand the historical dimension of the territory considered, to recognize the distinctive elements of the cultural and social heritage consolidated over time. It is also important to consider the relational dimension, favouring the methods of exchange and social connectivity which play a fundamental role in the production of new ideas.

2.7 Florida's Indexes

Over the years the geographical hub has moved from traditional industrial regions towards new forms of creativity and innovation. This happened because the creative class itself has strongly moved towards large cities and regions that offer a wide range of economic opportunities, a stimulating and attractive environment for every possible lifestyle. A redesign of economic geography therefore occurred, closely linked to class identity. We can talk of "Indexes of profitability and cultural creativity" which represent the relationship between the production of culture and its conservation. In a globalized era, a country that does not preserve culture risks the hegemony of other cultures. And in Italy there is a trend that is leading towards the decline of the index, where there is a specialization in "archaeology of culture" (Santagata, 2007) since production is considered less important than its consumption. According to Florida (2003) the amount of creative class present in a city is one of the main indicators of the creative potential of the territory and has attempted to evaluate the position of the various regions in the creative economy through the "Creative Index", the basic indicator which combines in multiple ways the new geographical distribution of the classes and secondly the recognition of the centres of the creative class as economically successful. Taken together, the data from the Creative Index indicate that a large and disturbing transformation is

underway. The creativity index consists of a mix of four factors to which equal weight is attributed:

- the relationship between the creative class and the total workforce
- the innovation, based on the number of patents per capita, measured by the Talent Index
- the spread of the high-tech industry measured with the Tech Pole method
- the diversity, measured by the Bohemian and Gay Index, which are two reliable indicators of the openness of a region to ideas and non-aligned people.

Florida goes so far as to say that homosexuality represents the last barrier of diversity in our society and that therefore if a place welcomes the gay community it means that it welcomes all kinds of people, a very important element for an environment that aims at stimulating creativity. Creative class movements go beyond the differences of race, nationality and sexual orientation: creative people from the most diverse backgrounds all migrate to the same type of city. Everyone moves to areas where there is already a significant concentration of members of their class, their decisions are not dictated only by economic opportunities but also by the desire to a particular lifestyle. The places where the presence of the creative class is greatest are also at the top as centres of innovation and high-tech industry. The new data released by Istat in 2005 relating to Italian employment allow to update the employment estimates of the creative class, which therefore went from 9% to 21% in Italy (Tinagli, 2005). It is in this context that the idea of drawing up an index of creativity also emerges. And it was made, for example, through the "Italian Creativity Index" (ICI) developed by the Creativity Group Europe, or also through the "Synthetic Creativity Index" proposed by the Association for the Economy of Culture and by Federculture, driven by GAI (Young Italian Artists) and applied to provincial capitals in Italian cities. For this last analysis, in particular, six elements have been taken as indicators which should be inserted as an example: human capital, openness and diversity, cultural environment, technology, institutional environment, products of creativity. What emerges in the conclusions of this research project is, for the umpteenth time, the lack in Italy of a perspective political vision within the category of the cultural policies, which, in Italy, continue to have a propensity towards the conservation of the patrimony rather than towards the new artistic production, both in the visual arts and in the performing and shows ones.

2.8 Charles Landry's Indexes

Origins

“Cities want to know how well they are doing and evaluating them is becoming a phenomenon. We live in a world of measurement. We are entranced by measuring things: by length, volume, income, size, energy or some other aspect of reality. We measure wealth and poverty, happiness and depression, whole societies, economies and now even cities. This helps position a city and to aspire to do better” (Landry, 2010).

The Creative City Index, developed by Charles Landry and his friend Jonathan Hyams, is a way for evaluating cities from different points of view. This helps evaluate their creative potential and abilities, an imperative necessity for downstream innovations and economic and cultural boosting. This strategic tool provides a good model for good policies to be easily achieved. Doing the Index, which 20 cities have done, helps a city point out what it needs and the direction it should go to get it.

The central goal of being creative is for cities to create and control their own destiny rather than being victim to circumstances conditioned and caused by others or others' impact.

The Index was originally conceived and developed in collaboration with Bilbao Metropoli 30 in 2008/9. It was a long-term project which helped the city reinvent itself. The team that took part in the development had a specific goal: “We know we are innovative, but are we creative? How can we measure that?”. This allowed Landry and Hyams shape the thinking about creativity for more than 25 years.

The Creative City Index is useful to evaluate the urban projects and processes with the goal to stress their creative pulse. The difference between Landry's Index and most indexes lies in the fact that the former considers the city globally as an integrated whole, by adopting both the insider and the outsider perspective in its analysis.

“Cities can be considered as creative only if they display a culture, attitudes and a mindset open to imaginative thinking, widely visible. Many cities have inventive projects in them, which does not mean they are creative as a whole. Uncreative places clearly decline and

fail, since they do not interrogate their past and present or reassess their resources and future prospects” (Landry, 2010).

There are further conditions that could determine the capacity of a place to exploit its potential, and incentives regime, particular attributes such as research good education, smart rules and skills are between them.

Domains

The Index is based around ten cross-cutting fields, which means sections or groups of indicators for creativity. These are summaries of urban dynamics designed from deep experience in evaluating the success and failing of cities. In assessing these each participant looks at its city as a whole. Within each section there are key features or questions indicating creativity (Landry, 2010):

- Entrepreneurship, exploration and innovation
- Strategic leadership, agility and vision
- Talent development and the learning landscape
- Political and public framework
- Distinctiveness, diversity, vitality and expression
- Communication, connectivity and networking
- Liveability and well-being
- Professionalism and effectiveness
- The place and place-making
- Openness, trust, accessibility and participation

We focus on domains given their broadness and depth. They comprehend many interwoven fields of interest and knowledge. The consequence of harnessing all these factors through an integrated approach will make people more easily see they belong to their city and to see their work as relevant to subjects such as the economic or social. For example, the public and political framework of a city is as pertinent to an educationalist as it is to the social worker or the business community. Equally effective is the

communications, that represents a significant line to people and organizations in any field. These domains are not the obvious categories but are holistic, combining together components that affect all sectors, people, organisations and aspects of city life.

“A strong showing is needed in the following qualities: motivation, tenacity, awareness, clarity of communication, broad thinking, inspiration, aspiration, adaptability, dynamism, openness, participation, design awareness, sensory appreciation, professional pride, leadership, and vision. A city – like an individual or an organization - needs many of these traits if it is to be alert, forward focused and alive: these are preconditions of creativity” (Laundry, 2010).

Methodology

The Creative City Index adopts as a baseline some key facts collected about each city: the location, the geographical position, the geo-politics, then statistics like the size, levels of employment, activities belonging to varied industrial sectors, participation rates and voting models, cultural and recreational initiatives and so on. In addition, both an internal self-evaluation and external harnessing shall be used, based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. These mix an insider perspective through the points of view of the citizens and a more objective outsider view by groups of peers. Parallely two more activities will take place. The evaluation tries to dive deeply in the day and night city life getting in touch with its institutions, sites and landmarks in order to get a full experience and understands the city to the core. At the same time a wide range of one-to-one and group interviews with acquainted and reliable experts across multiple sectors is carried out. Here interviewees first individually and then collectively stress how well the investigated city is doing, scoring each domain on a percentage basis.

A wider audience will also be captured thanks to self-completion online questionnaires made separately. All samples consider a varied range of backgrounds interests, and social groups. The results resolve to a series of scores based on weighting devices and multiple analyses, allowing them to be viewed in a range of ways and compared with other participating cities.

Group meetings involving different people and interests together to argue a joint agenda from differing experiences is a useful characteristic of the internal assessment. Here no individual's knowledge or subject is more important than another's when discussing the

domains. This often provides a rare cross-disciplinary chance to discuss the city from a horizontal perspective. The evaluators from outside need comparative knowledge about the global urban dynamics and the creativity of cities. Comparing internal judgements and group evaluations with external results can be extremely revealing (Laundry, 2010).

Those cities that wish to adopt the Index are offered different options: the full Creative City Index assessment, a motivational and interactive presentation, a customized workshop or a deep study analysis which focuses on the particular requirements of the city that needs to be evaluated.

Results

Cities that decide to adopt the Index use this method as a benchmarking tool. Participants become part of a comparative global dataset, necessarily highlighting and sharing good practices. So far twenty cities have been involved, including: Bilbao, Helsinki, Adelaide, Mannheim, Ghent, Canberra, Taipei, San Sebastian, Oulu, Cardiff, Freiburg, Seville and even Kirovograd in the Ukraine.

Taking part in the Index analysis has been a stimulating experience for participants and several thousand people have been engaged. It engages people across diverse sectors to talk about their city in an untold way, providing a rare opportunity to be freed from professional constraints and thinking to debate about issues of common interest.

A number of lessons have emerged so far. The process can be of significant impact since it forces a strategic conversation across disciplines, it questions received discipline-based knowledge bringing up problems that would not emerge if examined in a fragmented way: it fosters collaboration and its empowering. It promotes a mutual learning process and it reframes debates about the future of the city. What is crucial is the discussion that raises when arriving at a score. This surprises people, as it can move the city agenda rapidly forwards. Taking part in the Index evaluation method is itself a creative process which can trigger innovations downstream.

The diverse range of views on similar matters can be astonishing even though people are looking at the same reality. The young and old often look at the political framework in a

city or its capacity to communicate in definitely different ways. The results have varied by over a 100%.

“The same is true in assessing distinctiveness or strategic agility and the capacity to implement. The major issue arising again and again is the predominance of thinking and lack of collaboration within and between sectors. Despite years of stressing the need for joined up thinking, cities are a long way from working though issues or potential together. Many work in multi-disciplinary ways where each profession or area of expertise provides their input, but rarely in trans or inter-disciplinary ways” (Landry, 2010).

CHAPTER 3 – Case Study: Matera, between culture and creativity

3.1 The city, the region and its history

Matera, the eternal city, the oldest urban settlement in which life flows uninterruptedly from Prehistory to the present day. A small great jewel in the deep South of Italy that has decided to challenge time, winning its challenge by becoming World Heritage Site⁹ by UNESCO in 1993 and European Capital of Culture¹⁰ for 2019. The semantic root of the name Matera, whether it is “meta” (rock) or “materia” (timber), denotes an evident reference to the morphology and characteristics of the landscape. The same name “Sassi” translates the specific and spectacular aspect of the housing system created in the geological material, in the limestone (tuff), along the steep walls of a deep natural, singular and majestic incision, the Gravina.

Also called the "City of the Sassi", named after the ancient and characteristic districts carved out of the tuff, Matera is the capital of the homonymous province of the Basilicata region. Located at about four hundred meters above sea level, the city has about sixty thousand inhabitants distributed between the city perimeter and five hamlets.

Matera is located in the Lucanian part of the Murgia, a vast karst plateau whose predominant element is the rock (from "murex" in Latin). The first very important prehistoric settlements and the ancient Sassi districts overlook the Gravina river which over the millennia dug its bed, creating a sort of natural canyon around it. The surrounding area has thus been adapted to the various needs of man, to become part of a complex system of water conservation. The history of Matera is very ancient, the city has experienced many troubled vicissitudes that have led it to be extremely poor, a place where the infant mortality rate was among the highest in Italy. In the Sassi districts the Matera people shared the struggle for survival with the animals, the latter were considered important to the point of living together with the people in caves used for houses, often of very narrow dimensions, with families that more than often exceeded ten

⁹ World Heritage Site is a landmark or area with legal protection by an international convention administered by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). World Heritage Sites are designated by UNESCO for having cultural, historical, scientific or other form of significance.

¹⁰ A European Capital of Culture is a city designated by the European Union (EU) for a period of one calendar year during which it organises a series of cultural events with a strong pan-European dimension.

units. Matera is one of the oldest cities in the world and its territory conceals much evidence of human settlements starting from the Palaeolithic up to our days. It represents a fascinating page written by man through the millennia of its long history.

«Human action does not simply follow the environment; it transforms into a stratification of interventions based on the harmonious management of space. The terraces and shelters of the transhumant agro-pastoralism, the archaic methods to defend against heat and cold, to preserve the products, to convey the water in the vegetable garden, on the clearing in front of the cave to the cistern, the fulcrum of the local organization, constitute the still identifiable matrix texture on which the urban fabric grows” (Laureano, 2012). Matera is a city with an incredible and complex history: a city of contrasts, of challenge and fusion of landscapes, of cultures and civilizations. From the rock civilization to the Byzantine and Eastern ones, to the advent of the Normans, the systematic attempt to reduce the rock city to the rules of the culture of the European city: from the Romanesque, to the Renaissance, to the Baroque, the last eight centuries of construction and finishing of the city have attempted to shape pre-existing habitat, giving birth to urban architectures of high originality and quality.

Manfredo Tafuri wrote: "the case of Matera, on which the Italian culture is so concerned, is certainly not the most serious of the national underdevelopment: it is however the most 'literary', and this justifies the concentration of interests." (Tafuri, 1982). Around the "Matera case" an imaginary of the Sassi began to take shape, the magic of an archaic and unknown peasant world, suddenly revealed to the world through the pages of the writer Carlo Levi¹¹, who after the end of the Second World War with his work "Christ stopped at Eboli" and the support of the subsequently leader of the Italian Communist Party Palmiro Togliatti, raised the question of Matera as an extremely poor city for the first time nationally and backward. Togliatti defined the Lucanian capital "national shame" without half measures.

"I came to a road that was lined with old houses on one side and bordered a precipice on the other. In that precipice is Matera. In front of it there was a bald and barren mountain,

¹¹ Carlo was an Italian painter, writer, activist, anti-fascist, and doctor. He is best known for his book "Cristo si è fermato a Eboli" (Christ Stopped at Eboli), published in 1945, a memoir of his time spent in exile in Lucania, Italy, after being arrested in connection with his political activism.

of an ugly greyish colour, with no sign of cultivation nor a single tree: only earth and stones beaten by the sun. At the bottom a stream, the Gravina, with little dirty and swampy water among the stones of the shore.”

[...] “Inside those black holes with earthen walls I saw the beds, the miserable furnishings, the rags spread out. On the floor lay the dogs, the sheep, the goats, the pigs. Each family generally has only one of those caves per home and they all sleep together, men, women, children, beasts. There was an infinity of children. naked or covered in rags. I saw children sitting on the doorstep of houses, in the dirt, in the scorching sun, with half-closed eyes and red, swollen lids. It was trachoma. I knew there was something down here: but seeing it like this in the filth and misery is another thing. And the flies landed on their eyes and they didn't seem to feel them with their wrinkled faces like old men and skeletal from hunger: their hair full of lice and scabs. Skinny women with undernourished and dirty infants attached to dirty breasts, seemed to be in the middle of a city affected by the plague.”

(Carlo Levi, *“Christ stopped at Eboli”*, 1945).

“In our century, the community management capacity of environmental resources is disappearing. The modern city expands upstream of the watershed lines, on the clays and the springs, however, always left free by the ancient city. The burial of drainage courses to make them road arteries and the destruction of the capillary water collection network, break the millennial bonds that imposed a balance between rare resources and the size, shape and use of the house and the city. It follows the densification of the urban fabric, the saturation and housing promiscuity, the collapse of the overall system” (Laureano, 2012)

In July 1950 the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi visited Matera and in 1952 he signed the Special Law for the displacement of the Sassi. Several decades of abandonment and degradation followed, the people of Matera wanted to leave behind a past made of shame, deaths from diseases, hunger and misery.

Following the Gubbio Charter’s instructions¹², the conference organized in Matera by the magazine "Basilicata" in 1967 raises the question of the recovery of the Sassi, now

¹² The Gubbio Charter is the final declaration approved unanimously at the conclusion of the National Convention for the Safeguarding and Restoration of Historic Centers (Gubbio, 17-18-19 September 1960) promoted by a group of architects, urban planners, jurists, scholars of restoration and by representatives of some Italian municipalities.

intended as "historic centre". On that occasion Carlo Levi observes how the Sassi have a universal value, a unique case in the history of peasant civilization, and for this reason he urges to consider its cultural value, a monument that should be protected also through a housing reuse that allows its "safekeeping". In 1993 the "Sassi di Matera" were recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, the first site in southern Italy to obtain this recognition. It was the first stage of a long and tortuous process of recovery, redevelopment and enhancement, in which the old tuff quarters have become protagonists of city life and have been gifted to the world as an example of survival in extreme living conditions. The neighbourhoods on which the houses once stood, once the scene of misery and death, thus began to live again.

Beyond the above-mentioned reasons why Matera has been experiencing an evolutionary phase, it is to mention that the Lucanian capital was and still is a location much loved by directors from all over the world. Among the most important productions it must certainly be remembered, in 1964, that of "Il Vangelo secondo Matteo" by Pier Paolo Pasolini. This film began a long series of religious-themed productions that have concerned the birth and death of Christ. In the following decades, the city of Matera began to be better known, becoming an ideal set for many other Italian and foreign productions, even Hollywood ones. Some of the most famous actors and registers on the world scene have arrived in Matera. Impossible not to mention the famous Hollywood star Richard Gere, actor in "King David" (1985), Mel Gibson, director in "The Passion of the Christ" (2002), Catherine Hardwicke, director of "The Nativity Story" (2006) and Morgan Freeman, actor in the remake of Ben Hur (2014) as long as others productions such as "Basilicata coast to coast" by Rocco Papaleo, "La lupa" by Alberto Lattuada and "Cristo si è fermato a Eboli" by Francesco Rosi. Taking as example the film "Basilicata coast to coast", it is worth mentioning that there are several attempts of product placing, through which traditional products are evocated and well-known places of the Basilicata region are mentioned. The insertion of these elements into the story has a double meaning: the first one is to promote and enhance the area from a touristic/cultural point of view, the second is to move the metaphorical sceneries depicted in the movie to the real and open spaces. Such a precise representation of the region ends up proposing a symbolic-metaphorical landscape of Basilicata that urges the viewers to see and visit the real set of the movie, enabling to highlight the unique identity of the territory and to start a sort of iconization process of a typical localization that stretches between the protection of traditions and

the modernization of its socioeconomic potential, as a specific brand. This kind of promotion was able to boost a fair tourism and had great economic impact, and it is certainly what a slightly valued and little frequented region like Basilicata needs for its pursuit of notoriety. All this film production played a fundamental role in the evolutionary phase which brought to the "Renaissance" of the city over the last decades.

"Some parts of the city are 2,000 years old, and the architecture, the stone blocks, the surrounding areas and the rocky terrain added a perspective and backdrop that we used to create our impressive Jerusalem sets. We relied heavily on the view that was there. In fact, the first time I saw it, I lost my mind, because it was simply perfect."

(Mel Gibson, New York Daily News)

Today Matera presents itself to the world as the flagship of southern Italy and the whole nation, a concrete example of social redemption. The "West Jerusalem", as the city was renamed, is a city that produces culture thanks to the many museums and the many attractions present, the exhibitions in the Sassi, the countless historical testimonies from the entrenched villages to the rock churches that help us better understand human evolution and has also become prime choice of film productions around the world as location for their productions. The many visitors from all over the world can live the unique experience by staying in the caves, in the same places where men and animals once lived together, enjoying the local genuine and exquisite cuisine.

On October 17, 2014 Matera obtained another very important recognition. The city was designated to be the European Capital of Culture in 2019. A historic milestone that represents the consecration of a city dedicated to culture and tourism, an extraordinary example of a southern location that offers and does not require. The definitive redemption for generations and generations of Matera, once imprisoned in the definition of "national shame" and today proud of their origins.

3.2 The World Heritage List nominee

To be included in the World Heritage List, the sites must have universality, uniqueness and irreplaceable values and must satisfy, for selection, at least one of the criteria established by the World Heritage Committee (Unesco World Heritage Centre, 2008). Until the end of 2004, according to the operational guidelines for the implementation of the 2002 World Heritage Convention, a site, in order to be included in the List, had to meet, in addition to the criterion of authenticity, one or more criteria chosen from a list of six criteria for cultural sites and four criteria for natural sites. With the adoption of the 2005 operational guidelines, there is a single list of criteria structured as follows:

- 1) representing a masterpiece of the human creative genius;
- 2) witnessing a considerable cultural change in a given period both in the archaeological, architectural and technological, artistic or landscape fields;
- 3) bringing a unique or exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or civilization;
- 4) offering a prominent example of a type of architectural or landscape or technological construction illustrating one of the periods in human history;
- 5) being a prominent example of human interaction with the environment;
- 6) you. be directly associated with events related to ideas, beliefs or artistic and literary works of exceptional universal significance (possibly in association with other points);
- 7) representing natural phenomena or atmospheres of natural beauty and exceptional aesthetic importance;
- 8) to be one of the representative examples of great historical periods as evidence of life or geological processes
- 9) to be one of the eminent examples of the ecological and biological processes going on in the evolution of the ecosystem

- 10) containing the most representative and most important natural habitats for the conservation of biodiversity, including threatened spaces with a particular universal value that is exceptional from the point of view of science and conservation.

The area of the site, during the seventeenth session of the World Heritage Committee held in Cartagena, Colombia, from 6 to 11 December 1993, was included in the World Heritage List with the following motivation:

"The whole of the Sassi and the Archaeological and Natural Park of the Rupestrian Churches of Matera constitute a unique testimony of human activity. The exceptional universal value derives from the symbiosis between its cultural and natural characteristics. "

The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)¹³ in its report to the World Heritage Committee has thus evaluated the quality and authenticity of the site: "The Sassi of Matera represent the most complete existing example of continuity in the Mediterranean region of this type of settlement, which has developed in perfect harmony with the ecosystem."

In addition, the site meets the following criteria for measuring the Outstanding Universal Value:

- criterion 3: The Sassi and the Park of Matera are a notable example of a rock settlement perfectly adapted to the geomorphological context and ecosystem through a continuity of over two millennia;
- criterion 4: The city and the park are a notable example of an architectural and landscape complex that illustrates a significant number of stages in the history of humanity;

¹³ The International Council on Monuments and Sites is a professional association that works for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places around the world.

- criterion 5: The city and the park are a notable example of human settlement and traditional land use that show the evolution of a culture that has maintained harmonious relations with the natural environment over time.

Matera saw the designation as a tool to start the recovery and rehabilitation plans of its Sassi and to signal the state of danger that such an important part of the city was experiencing.

3.3 The Capital of Culture nominee

«The "European City of Culture" program, an annual title awarded in turn to various cities in European Monica Sassatelli countries, is one of the main cultural initiatives of the EU, progressively introduced to develop a European awareness or feeling as a means of legitimation beyond the sphere economic. Indeed, it openly stands as an attempt to awaken a European identity by spreading its symbols, but respecting the contents of national and above all local cultures. " (Sassatelli, 2005).

As the researcher Monica Sassatelli points out the initiative relating to the European Capital of Culture is one of the most prestigious and visible European cultural events, the scope and breadth of which are considerable and consequently the requirements necessary to obtain the title are rigorous, both from an artistic and cultural point of view. The success of the event depends on the quality of the program, the commitment of the public authorities, particularly in terms of funding, and the participation of the city's social and economic partners. It was initially conceived as a tool to bring all European peoples together, and it was on this basis and on the proposal of the Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercuori, that in June 1985 the EU Council of Ministers decided to appoint Athens as the first "European city of culture". Since then, 52 cities have been designated European Capitals of Culture, from Berlin to Madrid, from Florence to Stockholm, from Rotterdam to Patras. Over the years, the event has acquired increasing importance, but has never forgotten its main objectives: the enhancement of both the richness and the diversity and common traits of the various European cultures; the improvement of mutual knowledge of the citizens of the Union; the awareness of belonging to the same "European"

community. If in the early years cultural purposes were prevalent, also by virtue of the appointment of large cultural capitals already unanimously recognized, with the designation of Glasgow there were also economic and urban regeneration purposes and in the 1990s the title was used to reposition itself at international as a destination for cultural tourism or with a high creative density or as an urbanistically regenerated city. In the year 2000, nine cities were given this privilege: Avignon, Bergen, Bologna, Brussels, Krakow, Helsinki, Prague, Reykjavik and Santiago de Compostela, chosen both for their territorial layout and for their ability to interpret different cultural identity, firstly local, secondly, European. Since 1999, the name of the event has been changed to “European Capital of Culture”, transforming itself into community action and guaranteeing a subsidy to the selected cities through funding from the 2000 culture program; a rotating designation system has been defined, ensuring that each Member State has the opportunity to participate at regular intervals and, in addition to this, it has been possible to host the event in a given year, rather than just one, more cities , setting the number at two since 2005.

3.3.1 Objectives of the event

It is the decision 1622/2006/EC that establishes what the objectives and criteria of the event should be, highlighting the elements that prove to be decisive for the success of the initiative. The program of the cities wishing to apply for the title must obviously satisfy a strong need for artistic and cultural quality and it is essential to remember the following:

- candidate cities have the possibility of associating a specific regional territory with their program;
- a city is not designated as Capital only for what it is and for what it has done, but for what it proposes to do. It is awarded the title above all for the program of particular cultural events that it proposes to organize during the year in question, which must be an exceptional year. It is important that the program is directed towards the future, without neglecting the history on which the city bases its identity. The innovative nature of the event and, in this context, the space reserved for contemporary cultural forms and the ability to foster creativity by involving both local and European artists are of essential importance. The program must be

supported by a cultural dynamism that must enhance the identity of the places by developing innovative cultural products;

- the event is an opportunity to improve cooperation in the cultural sector and to promote dialogue at European level in a lasting way; it must emphasize both the common aspects and the diversities of the various cultures, favouring mutual knowledge of European citizens and bringing out a feeling of belonging to the same community. Consequently, the fact that two “European Capitals of Culture” of the same year establish links between their respective programs is welcomed;
- cities that have seriously prepared an application were then able to benefit from the reflections carried out even when they were not finally chosen for the award of the title. The mobilization of operators in the sector, the reflections on cultural policy, the partnerships envisaged, proved to be useful in giving impetus to the entire cultural life of the city.

First of all, it is necessary to emphasize what is called the "European dimension" of the candidacy, that is to strengthen cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities of the Member States concerned, to bring out the richness of cultural diversity in Europe or to emphasize common aspects of European cultures; it's about underlining the role that the candidate city has played in European culture, the links it has had with it, as well as its current participation in the community's artistic and cultural life. In our case it is necessary to ask ourselves what Matera and its territory can say to other European cities, how Lucanian cultural realities can connect and work with European ones in developing creative projects that respond to the challenges that Europe faces. The following are the challenges of Europe 2020:

- smart growth (integrated urban planning of a city of culture and knowledge that integrates economic development, culture, creativity and digital technologies);
- sustainable growth (combining creativity and technologies for energy production and efficiency or the enhancement of scarce environmental resources);
- inclusive growth (promotion of intercultural dialogue also in the light of the changes taking place in the Mediterranean basin, and of social inclusion).

Secondly, the involvement of the “city and its citizens” is fundamental. The European Commission encourages the participation of citizens residing in and around the city and

aims to arouse their interest, as well as that of citizens living abroad. This criterion aims to build a European Capital of Culture that is on the one hand attractive and able to catalyse foreign tourists and on the other participatory and actively to the extent that it involves the entire population of the city, the region and other more distant places. Another aspect to take into consideration is that of sustainability: the program drawn up must fit into the long-term development of the city, producing beneficial and lasting effects, giving rise to long-term cooperation, which have in themselves the elements of economic and organizational sustainability.

Although it is not possible to clearly indicate which ones are the winning moves to create a successful event, there is no doubt that there are some elements that, if well-conceived, contribute to the final goal. First of all, you need to have clear ideas about what you want to achieve, by developing a project consistent with the "philosophy" of the year in question: a simple sum of heterogeneous events cannot constitute the program of a European Capital of Culture. It is also necessary to be able to involve at the same time the operators of the cultural and socio-economic world, as well as the local population, promoting their interaction and reconciling artistic needs with others of a practical-logistic type, adopting a bottom-up approach.

3.4 Has Matera been a successful Capital?

Through its program "Matera 2019", the city of Matera clearly set the goal of being appreciated and recognized as a relevant sight of interest thanks to the numerous themes proposed and also for the way it will welcome the people interested in living and sharing an experience in a creative and cultural city. The vision of the project is to empower the relationship between art and science, find new approaches to resilience and perform innovative civic challenges. All the people involved, intellectuals, artists, specialists and common persons are invited to let down their "comfort zone" and get involved in order to start true dialogues and active participation.

Five main themes have been the core of the program, each one holding a group of projects that regarding a certain subject through a series of activities of different nature. The program basically follows two key projects: the Institute of Demo-Ethno-Anthropology (I-

DEA) and the Open Design School (ODS). We'll discuss both of them in the following paragraphs and the main topics exposed in the candidacy.

Together with the general cultural program the "I-DEA" and the "ODS" are considered as strategic drivers of the development strategies for Matera and the Basilicata region, that is the pillars of Matera 2019. Tourism and cultural assets should be empowered through better city and regional governance oriented to modernize regional and municipal regulations for managing and effectively valorising the whole patrimony of cultural heritage (Matera candidate city European Capital of Culture, 2019).

3.4.1 Main Goals of the City

Nowadays the global scenario is characterised by harsh competition between territories. And in such a context of continuous territorial revitalization, the exceptional chance of being nominated European Capital of Culture represents an unrepeatable and unmissable occasion to start a process of innovation and improvement of the socio-economic and territorial potential, so that a collaboration among the great event and the territory can take place. The underlying concept is to take advantage of the event as a way to kick-start a whole series of development programs of the territory, adopting a perspective that goes beyond one-year nominee.

A first draft of the key elements listed for the "European Capital of Culture 2019" was initiated by the city of Matera in 2014 and included resiliency, flexibility, inclusiveness, integration, and initiative, a special care for the "virtual" communication and the world wide web, not just as a showcase to enhance the bottom-up identification and enhancement process of the heritage, but also as a tool to manage contacts with potential visitors, in order to dodge any impact of the event on the environmental and cultural components of Matera and of the region itself. In addition to this, the team leading the strategy of the project also took into consideration the nature of the tourism demand in the 20th century, whose distinct features in the new millennium are based on a kaleidoscope of reasons really difficult to figure out, which lead more and more tourists to choose not just "places to visit", but rather "destinations to be experienced" in which, thanks to an participative and proactive attitude, they can get in touch with customs and traditions, food and wine, handicraft activities, routes to travel and workshops to

experience, playing the role of peers as the communities they get to know and sharing true and original emotions. “Thus, the so-called “empirical” or “experiential” tourism has been developing from the desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives” (Rinella A., Rinella F., Antonietta I., 2019).

The project that made Matera prevail over the other competing cities aims at welcoming an estimated audience of about 700,000 “temporary citizens”, offering them a highly-debated notion in the scientific field of an urban space that is now going through an internal restoration, opening its doors to glocal tourism showing high resilience, inclusiveness, eco-friendliness and initiative carrying out a bottom-up recognition and awareness renewing process to offer a self-centred, sustainable and long lasting management model to preserve the environmental and cultural heritage.

The objectives of the preliminary dossier aimed at:

(i) moving the first steps towards a “virtual” territorial reconfiguration;

(ii) understanding how effectively the city could take up a “renewal” and sustainable process at a symbolical, material and organizational level by focusing on the quality of social relations constructions, landscape, protection of identity, culture, traditions and history.

A second dossier was submitted later in 2019 matched with the slogan “Open Future” which underlined the possibility of combining scientific and technological expertise with the peculiar creative ability that has always been a hallmark of the manual skills of the Italian craftsmen. Through the event Matera 2019 the hope was for the city to combine its extraordinary traditions and the incredible architectural and cultural heritage with the capability of becoming a meeting place for different European populations. The objective of the programme is to harness creativity and culture as propellants for conceiving of an open future, to boost the breadth and variety of citizens who participate actively in culture, extend Matera’s relationships; build sustainable and useful cultural infrastructures, engage in a capacity-building programme for socio-cultural operators, increase the international visibility of the city and enhance tourist potential and consolidate its leadership in the world of open-data. In few words, to make Matera the most important open cultural system platform in Europe.

Many are the socioeconomic goals that the city of Matera, by virtue of European Capital of Culture, aims to achieve, with respect to different main categories. The main objectives involve strengthening and broadening an open culturally diversified citizenship and enhancing international relations, making creative and cultural movements emerge and above all making Matera the most relevant platform of open culture in southern Europe. The following are the addressed goals pursued through the Matera 2019 program:

- Culture;
- Strengthen the breadth and diversity of citizens;
- Increase capital of personal relationships and connectedness;
- Engage in a systemic capacity-building program;
- Build useful, relevant and sustainable cultural infrastructures;
- Enhance the international visibility of Matera and its ranking as a tourist site;
- Open Future (Matera candidate city European Capital of Culture, 2019).

A qualitative method has been followed in the field research to deeply examine the context of Matera 2019 in all aspects. The most important result achieved concerns the high expectations coming from the residents about the socio-economical goals envisaged by the program, albeit mitigated by some historical scepticism towards the ability of public institutions to manage efficiently the whole project. The main clue of increasing social interest is given by a strong attention coming from traditional media and particularly from social media users. Anyway, citizens demonstrated that they understood the importance of this opportunity and stated to be willing “to do something on their side”. Almost everybody is aware that the city and even the region abounds with human, cultural and civil resources to be more exploited than before, and that much more efforts should be put in future researches, to achieve both tangible results, such as visible and measurable effects (infrastructures, increase in urban tourism facilities) and also on less tangible initiatives activities namely the development of new ideas and a new image of the city, that are connected to increasing civic commitment and social participation in community building (Datacontact, 2019).

A very important point concerning the future of a city nominated European Capital of Culture is the question of the legacy in the long run, considering the high level of

investment it attracts. In facts, even though all the cities that have been capitals of culture since 1995 have set long-term goals, only half of them have managed to pursue them. Other cities have highlighted projects that continued to exist after the year of culture, but in general they were not able to fully exploit the potential for long-term development and later regretted for not having taken into account the theme of sustainability while planning the event.

As such, Matera 2019 wishes to dedicate its future main research attention to the next topics:

- Exaltation of pride and self-esteem of the city/region;
- New networks and increased cooperation in the cultural sector;
- New cultural development of the city/region;
- Increase the flow of visitors in the city/region;
- Growth or expansion of the public local culture users (Matera candidate city European Capital of Culture, 2019).

The complete cultural program designed by the Foundation was made available for the visitors in the official website in which they were asked “Are you ready to become a temporary citizen?” to live a complete 365-day experience. The premise for the visitors was to be ready to be a “Time Traveller”, to go through the spatial and temporal context not simply as an observer, but as an integral part of a community, to connect with it and get emotionally involved by it: this is the reason why the event was defined as “a full-immersion experience at 360-degrees”. The “Time Traveller”, wearing steampunk goggles whose glasses reflected a Lucanian landscape, and wondering “what the past would look like if the future had happened sooner, is the central image of the event campaign and an important communication factor.



Figure 1: Flyer “Passaporto per Matera 2019”. (Source: lecronacheluchane.it, 2018)

3.5 A “Mega Event” that involves the entire community

The study by Angela Pepe, researcher in Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM)¹⁴, stresses from a territorial marketing point of view that big events are one of the ways used by a territory to enhance or reposition its image, exploit its resources, attract tourist flows and start development processes.

These events play an important role to the formation of a strong sense of the place and a sense of belonging, they become landmarks for tourist attraction and entertainment and also have a big social impact on the host community. In detail the case “Matera European Capital of Culture 2019” focuses on the welcoming spirit of the Lucanian community, the local people involvement and the value created by the big event on the perception of the

¹⁴ La Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei è un istituto di ricerca che svolge ricerca sui temi legati allo sviluppo sostenibile e alla governance globale.

city. The election as “European Capital of Culture 2019” could enhance its cultural value and let Matera achieve a new model of territorial development. “In fact, in the competition among geographical areas, mega events appear as an instrument apt both to create value in the context and to promote the city and territory image in the perception of external people. Passing its geographical borders, the city transforms its creativity into a laboratory and its culture into a driving force and an encouragement for the creation of new wealth, involving its territory in a social and economic challenge” (Pepe, 2019).

In Angela Pepe’s study, great attention is given to the benchmarking analysis of other past successful European Capitals of Culture, which let the researcher investigate the key factors to success and the problems as well. Before examining the results of the research, it is useful to get the idea of what a “big event” (or “mega event” as the case of Matera) is.

In fact, the ECoC belongs to the so-called “mega events” category that is those events whose organisation and planning have significant implications on territorial level. These high-profile interventions, characterized by important private and public investments are usually of relatively short duration, and involve numerous participants. Despite the limited duration over time, its effects can last long after the event: the legacy is what the mega event leaves to the urban and territorial context after it is over. It can be cultural identity elements, infrastructures, symbolic values, but also facilities and buildings to use in the post event period.

What really differentiates the path towards the designation of Matera as European Capital of Culture 2019 in contrast with other programs that in the last fifty years gave contribution to the positive changes of the trajectory and image of Matera, lies in the fact that this candidature was planned together with the citizens of Matera and the region. As a proof of this bottom-up willingness to take up the ECoC challenge is the application report presented on September 2013 which opens with the following statement: «The citizens of Matera and Basilicata, men and women, elderly and children, want the city and the region to take part in the competition because they wish to open up to Europe, link up with other cultural inhabitants and, with them, look forward to a better future for our communities» (Piano di gestione 2014 – 2019, 2014).

Matera’s path highlights the collective and social dimension of culture and the role played by citizens in the change and care of the city, a participation that prefigures a model of

open culture, accessible to everyone thanks to new learning processes and license-free contents. This long journey was started in 2009 by a group of citizens who proposed Matera's candidacy through interventions aimed at raising awareness of an objective considered by the most distant in time: why can our city desire the representation of European Culture in 2019? Since the 1950s Matera has been an important hub for experimentation, innovation and attraction for famous artists and directors, but also a meeting point of hybridization between foreign and local resources.

The objective is to make Matera not only an open cultural place capable of attracting tourists (the tourist presence is an indicator of the success of the ECoC) but also a place of attraction for human capital capable of creating added value both in the creative sector and in the innovative one. Thus, the goal is also «to create a place to live in and make culture, innovation, best practices; to show the role of Basilicata as the ultimate innovating region; to increase the importance of Southern Italy as a socioeconomic and cultural hub; to combine culture and technology; to attract new private investments and increase the number of residents in the Sassi» (Pepe, 2019).

For Pepe's analysis, a quantitative and qualitative methodology was used through the adoption of face-to-face interviews and semi-structured questionnaires as survey tools to the citizens of Matera. A sample of 300 citizens was given a closed question structured questionnaire from July to September 2015. The questionnaire was structured into 3 parts:

- The first focused on tourism and the relationship between territory and residents: it therefore questioned the behaviour of inhabitants towards tourists and their opinions on the territory in which they live.
- The second part highlighted the residents' perception regarding the designation of Matera as European Capital of Culture.
- The third part investigated the characteristics of the respondents (i.e. age, job, level of education and gender).

The framework of the empirical survey has shown that the Matera community is aware of the cultural value of the city, of its cultural heritage, beyond the exposure that Matera will face in the tourism market and the economic incomes deriving from the status of Capital of Culture. In the perception of citizens, the impact of the event causes a positive change

in the image of the city and implies greater participation of the community. The Angela Pepe's study gave proof that also in the case of Mater a key factor for the success of the European Capital of Culture event is the participation and active involvement of the citizens, which is such a fundamental step to be considered as the preliminary stage of a communication strategy. The most successful European Capitals of Culture have always received the support of their residents.

3.6 Matera candidate city European Capital of Culture 2019

“In the past weeks, we have constituted the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation, whose activities will be sustained until 2022 through the allocation of € 25 m on the part of Basilicata Region, as well as an additional € 5 m allocated by the Municipality of Matera. We have launched a thematic TV channel entirely dedicated to the activities surrounding our bid. Our voyage through the towns and cities of Basilicata continues to be met with enthusiasm and unabated participation on the part of citizens and institutions. If in our first bid book the keyword was together, for this second document we have chosen the slogan “Open Future”. However, a timeless city such as Matera is ideally placed to consider the future without fear; so many times has this city reinvented itself and conquered the challenges of time in the past. For many years, Matera shared the fate of countless small- and medium-sized European cities whose role was as consumers of centralised culture originating in the great centres of cultural production. In recent years, however, a movement has emerged that has systematically stripped away the barriers to culture: it wields new technologies and adopts open licensing strategies to forge a model in which cultural production is participatory, horizontal, democratised. If cultural events of great value can be initiated by the nascent cooperation of a large number of connected citizens, then smaller cities are able to survive and thrive on the markets of culture without being squashed by major cultural capitals. The future will not be won by concentrating major institutions in a handful of cities, but by leveraging existing institutions to mobilise the greatest possible number of people and motivate them to generate culture. Matera has chosen to use its candidacy as a way of opening up to new and unexpected forms of making culture. One example: today Matera is, by a long chalk, Southern Italy's leader in

open data available for use in an extraordinary variety of ways, from science to artistic creativity. This “open” candidacy has shown the city that anybody can reinvent themselves in new roles and perform a role in the great play of cultural production. We want Matera and Basilicata to invent and adopt new, risky and open ideas, just like the future we have decided to embrace” (Matera committee, 2019).

3.6.1 Which were the City’s goals for 2019?

The citizens of Matera and Basilicata, men and women, elderly and children, wanted the city and the region to participate in the competition because they wanted to open up to Europe, connect with other inhabitants of culture and, with them, await a better future for their community. Matera looks forward not only to a future that connects with the extraordinary traditions and the great architectural and cultural heritage that already attract thousands of tourists to the region, but also the one where the city functions as an open and neutral territory open to collective experimentation of possible solutions to the contemporary problems that Matera and Basilicata and other cities and regions in Italy and Europe have in common. The old tradition of the city, based on the ability of its inhabitants to live in inhospitable places and make up techniques to fetch water, has now inspired groups of young people to reject the idea that Matera was destined to decline and die. Nowadays Matera is among the safest cities in Italy. It also has the highest penetration of private digital technologies and has seen the fastest growth of youth companies in the field of culture. Even so, a wrong communication and investment model continues to alienate too many young people and many of the opportunities available remain untapped. At the beginning of the path started with the “Piano di gestione 2014”, 20% of the population was willing to participate in projects associated with the application, 18% was willing to volunteer and 28% wanted to take part in initiatives to make the city more beautiful (Datacontact, 2014). An active community had gathered ready and willing to take direct responsibility to address common problems and seize opportunities. Matera’s challenge now is to maximize the impact on the entire population and overcome apathy by stimulating the drive to participate, to provide the time and conditions necessary to carry out the process. The main city’s objectives were favouring a diverse, broad and open cultural; strengthening international relations, promoting the movement of an emerging creative bureaucracy and, above all, making Matera the first platform for open culture in southern Europe. Culture: the driving force behind envisioning an open future. In Matera,

as in southern Italy in general, culture, knowledge and innovation offer a real opportunity, especially for young people, to imagine a future in which they will not be forced to leave their homeland, a future in which the direction of the journey is reversed so ideas, talent, investments, innovators, and communities of new thinkers flow rather than go. Preparing infrastructures and actions in the field of open design, culturally motivated social innovation, digital storytelling to fully exploit heritage, involving at least 5,000 people between 2015 and 2020 and promoting the establishment of 25 new economic entities. 80% of the cultural programming expected the direct involvement of citizens through the co-creation and co-production of projects. By 2020, 70% of people would say that Matera is an attractive city for young people. By 2020, 90% of people would believe that culture plays a huge role in the economy of the future. By 2020, 70% of people would say that Matera is an innovative and creative city. Strengthen the breadth and diversity of citizens who actively participate in the cultural program, encourage them to learn and install in them a sense of belonging and responsibility for the care, protection and regeneration of culture.

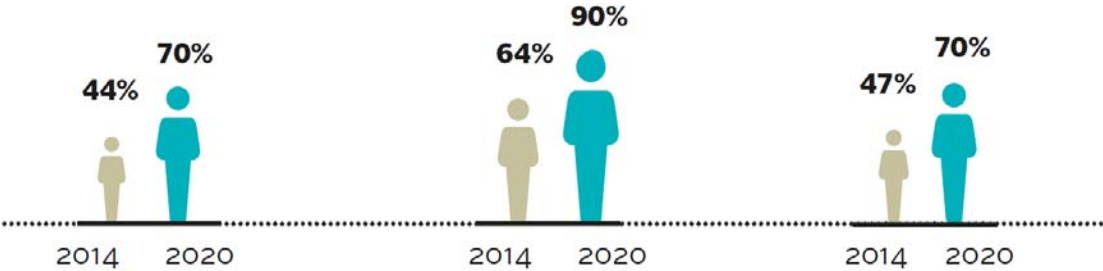


Figure 2: “Future prospects for Matera about attraction, culture and innovation by 2020”. (Source: Dossier Matera 2019, 2014)

After 2019, the goal is to reach an annual influx of 600,000 visitors to the city, of which 50% from abroad. Increase average visit time by 30%. Improve accessibility between Bari and Matera from 2016 through a public transport system by road and rail that connects the two cities with a travel time of 45 minutes. Change the way tourists travel by reducing dependence on private transport and promoting the use of integrated public transport with low environmental impact. At least 10% of the artists would be hosted by local families.

3.7 Matera 2019 legacy

From the beginning, Matera's candidacy was based on the principle of reduce, reuse, recycle. The cultural program is the expression of these principles: it adopts a strategy of "cultural growth" that builds the potential of what already exists in and around Matera, trampling as little as possible in terms of large new infrastructure projects. However, the Matera 2019 program left behind new key infrastructure projects such as the I-DEA, the Open School of Design and the Ark of Prometheus theatre that will affect the culture of the city for a long time. Through the I-DEA, Matera will fit into the European map of the main international institutions originated in the 21st century: a versatile and receptive transdisciplinary institution capable of generating a critical discourse between visual art, anthropology and the social sciences that will be a great draw for long-term visitors. The Open Design School will place Matera at the forefront of innovation in design and new crafts; will allow the city to "grow at home" a new generation of talented producers who will immediately find applications for their skills in the production of the 2019 cultural program. After that, the school will continue to live as a continuous incubator of new ideas and skills in the field of art, design and technology that will exponentially increase its ability to stimulate innovation and create employment over time. Furthermore, it will establish Matera as one of Europe's key benchmarks in the field of open culture and the sharing economy, bypassing many richer northern cities that have less incentive to rethink their social and urban policies. By building bridges between institutions, administrations and individuals, the Matera 2019 cultural program broke the barriers that hinder collaboration; it introduced a new culture of openness and responsibility on the part of administrations at all levels. In the end, however, one of the most important legacies of Matera 2019 is intangible: a new confidence in the city and the region's potential. After decades of disgrace, marginalization and closure, Matera will finally look to Europe with renewed self-esteem; its younger generations will step on the European stage not as migrants leaving poor provinces, but proud to be citizens of a city that was able to reinvent itself by constant innovation. The process of opening the doors of the city to the greatest artistic excellence in every corner of Europe will also stimulate competition par excellence among the protagonists of the cultural scene of Matera, thus increasing its potential. By getting used to operating on the European stage and establishing contacts with international networks, the bar is raised: the ambition for cultural excellence at the highest levels will in the long run become a long-term systemic

aspect of Matera's identity, which in turn will generate a positive social impact and economic return. This process also means that some of the most treasured legacies that Matera 2019 will leave behind are impossible to predict: they will take the form of new, exciting and innovative projects that will emerge from the extraordinary convergence of talent, energy and inspiration that Matera 2019 will unleash. The city will become an incubator of ideas that will ignite a virtuous cycle of innovation, experimentation and inspiration, an exciting new chapter in the thousand-year history of this city and region.

3.7.1 Results before Matera 2019

The survey with data collected by Datacontact on the perception and expectations of the Matera 2019 candidacy in Basilicata, commissioned by the Matera 2019 Committee in view of the presentation of the second dossier (2019), involved a thousand citizens of Basilicata, of which 600 in Matera city, 108 in the province of Matera, 239 in the province of Potenza and the remainder in Potenza city. Among the most interesting news that emerged, it should certainly be remembered that 91.7% of Lucanians considered the role of culture to be important (63.9% of which very important) in the economy of the future. 57.8% of the people interviewed also believed that the cultural offer evaluation proposed by the city has increased even if it needs to be further improved: it is the citizens of Matera who defined it more markedly (64.8%) while as the distance from the city increases, the opinions tended to fade (54.6% Matera Province, 45.6% Potenza Province and 39.6% Potenza city). In the opinion of the Lucanians interviewed, Matera's cultural offer should still be further enhanced (74.6%) in order to meet the expectations of citizens and tourists. Also in this case it was the residents of the city who supported it most, while the judgment of almost 1/4 of those who live in the province of Matera (23.2%) considered that it is adequate as it is.

Still about the candidacy for European capital of culture, 55.1% of Lucanians were proud that Matera was among the six finalist cities. However, a more widespread sense of indifference was recorded among residents in the province of the city (21.3%).

In the opinion of the Lucanian sample interviewed, the Matera candidacies can be useful for:

- "enhance tourism and Matera's international visibility" 96.6% with an average grade of 3.6 on a scale of 1-4 (which rises to 3.7 among the segment of residents in the city and stands at 3.5 for the other interviewees);
- "contribute to preserving and enhancing the Sassi" 95.1% with an average grade of 3.6 (of which 3.4 Potenza city);
- "enrich the cultural offer of the territory" 95% with an average grade of 3.5 (of which 3.3 Matera Province);
- "bring benefits to the entire Basilicata region in terms of image/tourist flows/work-employment" 90.3% with an average grade of 3.4;
- "strengthen the pride and sense of belonging of citizens" 90.2% with an average grade of 3.4;
- "improving the quality of life of citizens" 81.1% with an average grade of 3.2;
- "increase employment" 77.2% with an average rating of 3.2 (which drops to 2.9 among residents in the Province of Matera).

Awareness of Matera's candidacy as European Capital of Culture was present in 88.4% of cases. This information was more consolidated among Matera residents (95.8%) and tended to decrease outside urban areas (88.7% Potenza; 81.5% Matera Province and 72.8% Potenza Province).

When asked for availability to support the candidacy, 33% of the interviewees replied that foreign tourists would be willing to stay at home, 54% would be willing to participate as a volunteer for Matera 2019, 57.2% would like to be the protagonist of a cultural project, the 69.5% could join Matera 2019 initiatives to make the city more beautiful. The difference between the image of Matera perceived today and that which can be envisaged for the future records a tendentially incremental deviation for the different dimensions investigated. In fact, the various elements obtain more consistent percentage values in the future attribution than the current one.

Specifically, the comparative and longitudinal reading (today vs tomorrow) portrays the following situation:

- Matera European city: 83.5% vs 94.9%
- Matera, an attractive city for young people: 64.9% vs 89.5%
- Matera, an attractive city for tourists: 89% vs 97.3%
- Matera, an attractive city for artists / creatives: 79.9% vs 93.4%
- Matera known and known for its heritage: 86.9% vs 93.7%
- Matera innovative and creative city: 70.4% vs 89.2%
- Matera, a welcoming city where it is beautiful / easy to live: 88% vs 94.5%
- Matera, a beautiful and touristic city where it is difficult to live: 46.4% vs 54.9%

In particular, there is also an attitude of the Materans (compared to the other interviewees) more critical than today and, on the other hand, more chances/optimism for tomorrow. Furthermore, women are overall more optimistic than males (both for contingent and prospective judgment), while young people are more critical and pessimistic than the elderly.

Another research carried out by Angela Pepe (researcher in Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei) had the specific objective of understanding the relationship between residents, tourists and the territory. Some questions were designed to analyse what the positive and negative consequences of tourism on the territory and heritage of the city are according to the inhabitants of Matera and their involvement in tourism planning. Most of them agreed that the presence of tourism had effects and positive benefits for the community. In fact, 56% answered "I agree", while 35% "completely agree". 70% of the interviewees believes that the tourist presence contributes to improving "the identity and cultural heritage of Matera", and 66% of them think it leads to the enrichment of the "community quality of life". It should be noted that the percentage of people who gave negative answers is very limited. Only 3%, in fact, do not believe in any positive effect from tourism, stating that tourism damages "local identity and culture". As part of the relationship between tourism and territory, residents were asked if they had the feeling of being involved in the city's tourism planning process and the answers were twofold: 59% believe that their involvement was "adequate / very adequate" while 41% found it "inadequate / completely inappropriate".

The questionnaire continues with a focus on the designation of Matera as ECoC 2019. In detail, attention was paid to the assignment and enhancement of this title in relation to the various social, cultural and economic aspects and to the vision of the future city. 43%

of the interviewees believed that the name gives greater visibility to Matera and the entire Basilicata region as a tourist destination, 26% considered it an important recognition for the community as a productive and economic reality and 18% reported for the benefit of the realization of redevelopment of urban projects. Fewer respondents, 8%, believed it is an opportunity to have more cultural events. Only 5% replied "I don't know / I don't care about the designation". After analysing the information of the community on the cultural trajectory of Matera 2019, it can be observed that 33% of the residents were informed through social networks and 32% through the newspapers and the local press. Fewer respondents indicated other digital media such as the Matera Municipality website (6%) or the Matera 2019 portal. The significant difference between the use of social media and other digital channels reflects the ongoing and profitable communication work carried out by the Matera 2019 Web team during the application process. 56% of the interviewees see Matera as a cultural and tourist city in the future, while 12% of them as a city where to live, work and study, 14% see it as a European city, 10% as a city for young people. Moreover, 3% see Matera as an experimental laboratory of innovation and technology. Most of the residents interviewed (92%) are convinced that the cultural sector of Matera can be attractive to outsiders, in detail the most important resource is considered the archaeological historical heritage (49.7%). While 91% believe that the cultural sector of the Matera area can have positive repercussions on the regional economy, specifically 35% say that it can generate employment, 25% believe that it can diversify productive sectors, 24% believe that it can restore historical memory. Finally, 30% of citizens emphasize the possibility of improving the Matera 2019 road through the organization of international events and activities, the organization of various meetings in the city to discuss and participate in the program (22%), the creation of many events to discuss Europe and its cultures (18%), the improvement of research and in-depth studies on digital and innovation (13%) (Pepe, 2019).

3.7.2 Results after Matera 2019

The balance of the results obtained last year in Matera is more than positive. The data, collected last July, speaks of 450 events, with 40% of artists from other European countries. Over ten thousand people participated in the organization and 50 thousand in the inaugural ceremony.

On February 19, 2020, a survey commissioned by the Matera-Basilicata Foundation 2019 and conducted by Datacontact to understand the 2019 experience and the legacy of the European Capital of Culture provided useful and important material for reflection and stimuli to face new challenges, areas for improvement and opportunities derived from the legacy left by this great event.

The follow-up is divided into five chapters: introductory questions (target residents), Matera 2019 events and passport (target residents and tourists), satisfaction and position of the program (target residents and tourists), expectations for the future (target residents), experience and opinions of tourists (tourist destination). Rossella Tosto, Vice President of Datacontact, presented the results. There are two types of interviews, carried out from December 14, 2019 to January 9, 2020: one face-to-face with interviews with residents and tourists visiting Matera and another with questions addressed to people who subscribed to the Matera 2019 newsletter as follows: 2,866 residents (1,700 face-to-face and 1,166 online interviews); 1,743 to tourists (845 in person and 898 online). From the analysis of the results it is immediately striking that almost all interviewees now believe that Matera is a more international and well-known city compared to the pre-candidacy phase, while 77.9% consider it more culturally alive. There is also important data that shows that around 85% of citizens are very proud of the path run by the city, with 87.4% and 82.5% open and willing to receive both tourists and citizens from other cities or countries, and from people with different abilities.

According to the survey "Compared to what Matera was like before it was named European Capital of Culture", 96.8 percent answered that today it is more famous and 92.8 percent more international. But for 80% of those surveyed it is even more chaotic. Many citizens who, after the Matera 2019 experience, feel changed. 84.8% said they were proud of the trip made by the city, 66.8% said they were willing to commit to improving the city through volunteering, and almost 62% expressed their desire to get involved first-hand. Regarding cultural projects, while 82.5% responded that they are more open to those who are different and to those with different skills.

According to 83.5 percent of those interviewed at the Matera 2019 events, a type of audience participated that had not previously participated in initiatives such as theatre, dance and opera. In particular, compared to before 2019, approximately one in two

respondents said they had attended exhibitions more than before, while one in three went to the theatre more than before.

“Nearly 70 percent of those surveyed said that the Matera Passport 2019 encouraged them to participate in more events than they would have done without a passport. And again, according to 70 percent of those surveyed, the Passport has facilitated the expansion of the number of spectators at cultural events in general; 70.4 percent of those interviewed said they were satisfied with the Matera 2019 event, expressing their gratitude. Especially for the variety and richness of the program (66.3 percent), for the originality of the content produced (63, 8 percent) and for cultural containers (72 percent) (Datacontact, 2019). There is no shortage of critical issues raised and denounced by citizens such as the event reservation system (53.1 percent), the parking system (47.9 percent), the management of tourist flows (35.8 percent) and requests. of larger spaces. (28.7 percent). In any case, according to 75.2 percent of those interviewed, Matera was able to take this opportunity to promote and improve its image.

Wealth and variety, as well as originality, are the most appropriate adjectives to describe the perception of the content proposed by cultural programming, which corresponds to an appreciation for the enhancement of new spaces (such as Cava del Sole), the unpublished use of some (Matera prison, for example) or the reorganization of others (especially museums). In fact, the survey shows that 85.9% of the most popular events were exhibitions, 73% shows (theatre, opera, dance) and 64.3% concerts and events. Only 8 percent of the tourists interviewed stated that the visit to the city of Matera was below expectations, while for 36 percent it was above expectations and for 55.8 percent in line with expectations. expectations. Most of the tourists interviewed got to know Matera European Capital of Culture through traditional media, television and the press (59%), and the title of European Capital of Culture (68.1%) influenced the choice of the visit. Finally, but equally important, is the sentiment that Matera 2019 has sown among citizens. "What feeling does the year of Matera 2019 leave you?". "Happiness especially because it was an exceptional year (36.8 percent), sadness because it is over and I would like it to continue (31.7 percent)". In fact, these sensations affect almost 60% on average of citizens who hope for a future in which Matera and Basilicata continue to be places where culture is produced and where international events are still organized. There is a desire for more events, shows, and music at the Cava del Sole, a desire for opera and theatre, exhibitions and even more engaging activities for young people.

CHAPTER 4 – Empiric Research

4.1 Assumptions and research questions

The final chapter of my work was meant to try to make questions and to find the relative answers about many interrogatives that arose during the insight into Matera case study. Those questions regard both the management of the event (and thus the board of directors who were charged with the writing of the initial bid book¹⁵, the organization and implementation of activities) and the realization of initiatives, together with the participation of the collaborators, creatives people such as artists, entrepreneurs and also the spectrum of associations that contributed to carry out what had been planned in the bid book. As a result the decision to come up with two (at times similar at times different) groups of questions turned out to be the most efficient solution in order to satisfy the desire to understand both the management's point of view and the creative's point of view, whose perspectives and considerations about the "creative city" and the European Capital of Culture model might not overlap due to the different roles that they played during the event. As for the group of questions that were figured to be addressed to the management side, the intent was to investigate the actual existence of the parallelism between creativity and culture and if it is suitable to the Matera example or not. In addition to that I wondered how crucial such a big event has been for the legacy of the programme in terms of cultural, creative and social future development of the city and how was the approach adopted in the planning and implementation of activities, whether a more bottom-up or top-down type. Other aspects that it was made a point of were the marginality or centrality of the role of creativity and creative capital in the development of the Matera 2019 program, the possible emergence of a new network of "creative people" (associations, groups, entrepreneurship) created thanks to the Matera's experience, to which extent it affected the local community, and still the indicators that the Commission used to evaluate the work done during the program, how was performance measured, to which extent the program could be considered innovative, the results achieved from the point of view of social sustainability and finally how much care was taken about the environment sustainability.

¹⁵ The bid book is the first 2014 edition of the Programme edited by Alessandro Bollo and Joseph Grima for the candidacy to European Capital of Culture.

The second bunch of questions was designed to get the impressions about the event of a person, a creative, who had the chance to live a closer experience in the event and who could witness real feelings about Matera 2019 and give his different point of view. Besides the provision and narration of the example of a creative activity run during the event, the investigation encompassed the way that the groups of artists and creatives were managed and their contribution to the quality of the programme, as well as the role they played during the development of the activities. Information about the encouraging to participation and to cohesion between the social groups involved (in particular artists and creatives, socio-cultural operators and the local community) in the territory involved was asked, as well as a final general evaluation of the event.

4.1.1 Methodology

The methodology that was chosen to respond to the interrogatives is the question-and-answer session based on semi-structured questions that would be adapted on the need to match the information coming from the counterpart. This methodology allowed to arrange a vis-a-vis with the interviewees that would feel free to speak their mind to their liking and provide both great deal of information and in-depth answers, which turned out to be really useful to get details about their experiences and catch the nuances regarding their perspective and feelings about the entire program and their own experience in Matera. The formula of closed questionnaire was deliberately avoided because it might have prevented the interviewees from letting emerge deep considerations as well as precious anecdotes about the facts, or generated not precise or incomplete answers.

4.1.2 Interviewees

After some web researches the two people who were chosen to be interviewed were Christopher Torch, artistic director of the programme Matera 2019 representing the management side of the discussion, and Rossana Cafarelli, one of the seven partners who carry on the business of “La luna al guinzaglio”, a strange, intriguing and prosperous reality that took part in the development of creative activities during the event. I would

like to take the opportunity to thank both of them for their time and availability, which has been fundamental to conclude my work.

4.2 Rossana Cafarelli and “La luna al guinzaglio”

Rossana Cafarelli was born as a sociologist and now she is one of seven partners who form the cultural association “La luna al guinzaglio”, a Potentine cultural association engaged in artistic paths that combine an ecological approach to the themes of childhood and community. Each workshop, performance, installation and event arise from the construction of experimental processes in which the object, broken or thrown away, activates narratives, relationships, collective creative dimensions. The association, active since 2003, addresses to all the people who want to re-discover the desire and amazement through a series of works, those moments in which the individual through an empathic relationship manages to create a situation of wonder and amazement, which do not belong only to children but to all those who approach the “idea of the possible”. In 2013 “La luna al guinzaglio” was charged to contribute to the achievement of the ECoC candidacy in front of the MiBAC¹⁶ commission and the European commission with the construction of the so-called “Patamacchine”, 19 artworks that were to represent the strengths of Matera's candidacy: simple things like the neighbourhood, the relationship, the cultural inhabitant, which had a universal design, simple and understandable by all judges, and that when it was triggered it generated an acoustic or olfactory dimension consciously designed to recall some moments of the daily, ancient and rural life of the life in the city and to generate a feeling of unexpected wonder. The commission was so amazed by the “Patamacchine” that Matera won the candidacy. Later once the official Programme was released, the association applied for “Basilicata coast to coast”¹⁷ one of the activities that were on the list and that mostly suited the spirit of “La luna al guinzaglio”. The result of the group's efforts was “Memori”¹⁸, the Mediterranean Museum of the Revisited Object which contained a great range of collected and re-created objects coming from the five cities included in the “Basilicata coast to coast” tour: Genoa,

¹⁶ The Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities (Italian: Ministero per i Beni e le Atti Culturali - MiBAC) is the culture ministry of the Italian Republic.

¹⁷ Basilicata coast to coast objective: Basilicata Coast to Coast reconciles Matera with its mare nostrum. A small sailboat is due to set sail from Metaponto bound for Europe carrying Matera 2019 ambassadors—ambassadors from East and West who will be coming aboard for different stretches of the journey to tell the story of Europe, starting with the history of the places it stops approaching European cultural diversity and richness.

¹⁸ Memori is the work developed for Matera 2019, the synthesis of the association's way of working and approaching things and being amazed at small things. Memori is a Mediterranean museum of the revisited object of simple objects that have managed to become artifacts through wonder and amazement.

Marseille, Malaga, Tétouan and Tunis. The aim was to tell stories and places of the Mediterranean, of the city, of local artisans and artists who, when they move their hands, amaze with their craftworks, colours and sounds. The five cities were subsequently visited by the group who, accompanied by local people and students, were able to collect a wealth of objects, information and knowledge functional to the construction of “Memori”, the traveling museum that wants to tell that Mediterranean made of amazement, small and simple objects that acquire a meaning only after being rejected, the importance of the hand as a tool of the local craftsman, of the museum as a meeting place for the community, a center of activity and space for ever-evolving laboratory narratives, which contain the stories of the territory.

4.2.1 Matera 2019 according to the creative class

Thanks to the witness of the cultural association “La luna al guinzaglio” and the interview with Rossana Cafarelli, an artist who lived the Matera experience so closely, it was much easier for me to make some points about the whole event, the meaning and the management of a creative city and the role of the creative and cultural capital in events like this.

First of all, it was immediately clear that the event brought great enthusiasm to the entire area involved and not just to Matera. The groups involved were many and comprehended tourists, citizens, associations, artists and creatives from all over Basilicata and even beyond the borders of the region. One of the strongest points about the event was the pursuit of social sustainability, that is engaging the largest share of local people into the activities of the programme – The choice to design a schedule that included 50% of local players also gave a great boost to the creation of collaborations and partnerships between the various Project Leaders¹⁹ who took part in the initiative” says Rossana “and if we also consider that the region is far from the most active crossroads at both social, cultural,

¹⁹ The Project Leaders were the 27 entities that were shortlisted by the Foundation to co-create the projects designed for the event.

creative and economic levels, we can realize the enormous impact that Matera 2019 has had at the level of social sustainability. –

In fact, it's not a case that the tagline of the event was "Open Future", and in this sense of open opportunity to gather around a common goal and make community efforts, ensured that everyone in Basilicata, regardless of their social class or role in the program, joined the initiatives to re-discover the most authentic values of the Sassi, the city and their territory. Rossana also believes that the creative capital played a fundamental role in the success of the event – I feel I can say that the role of creative capital during the event was central. Furthermore, the fact that most of the creatives came from local groups meant that their works were charged with the spirit, values and knowledge of the region and the city – ; Rossana claims that thanks to a 360° participation from the Project Leaders during the activities, a system of continuous comparison, exchange of information and collaborations between creatives was created, suggestions and information regarding the city and the territory were given directly to the participants, which helped to increase the quality of the experience for everyone.

Besides the enjoyability of the event itself during the development of the scheduled activities, events like ECoC are also important because of the legacy they lug and leave to the city. Talking about the legacy of Matera 2019, Rossana explained me that everybody in the region realised that something actually changed in Matera, that the city is now somehow more creative and more cultural: – The legacy of Matera 2019 was not indifferent and will remain as a heritage available to the territory for the organization of new initiatives and events in the years to come. In addition to a number of new infrastructures (museums, exhibitions, theatres, design schools), attractions and digitization processes I am also referring to the development of assets intangible. In fact, what in my opinion Matera 2019 has bequeathed to its community is above all the strong ties and interconnections that have been created between artists and creatives, resident and temporary citizens, associations and foundations that have took part in the project, a network that will continue to develop in the future and goes beyond the time limits of the event. – Rossana claims that a re-discovery of the values of Basilicata also occurred, that is a great awareness of oneself, of the potential of the territory, of the cultural, social and creative capital of a city like Matera that have been underestimated for too long. All this has certainly had and will have a significant impact on the development and growth of the territory in the long term.

Anyway, one of the greatest spinoffs generated by the event regarding the creative class is the legacy in terms of human connections created between the Project Leaders. – Before becoming ECoC, Matera and Basilicata could not in fact boast of groups of artists and creative people who were in close collaboration with each other: we were a spectrum of associations and private artists in which everyone worked separately and for himself. After the application and with the beginning of the development of the program, the various initiatives have allowed us to weave ever more intense partnerships and co-working. The most striking result was the birth, last February 2019, of the “Comitato Matera 2019”, which brought together under a single banner 24 associations and foundations with an artistic-creative background, realities that previously did not enjoy any regional recognition, and who are now dedicated to the development of collective projects for the social, cultural and creative promotion of the territory. Furthermore, the fact that Matera is objectively a nice place to live, an affordable, small city in which relationships can be created, has pushed all the creatives who have joined the project to come back, for a reason or for the other, in Basilicata; and some even moved to live here, to find the contacts they had created during the event. –

Since creativity is often synonymous with innovation and creative cities need to invest into innovative processes if they want to thrive, it was spontaneous to talk with Rossana about innovation in Matera. – I think the event was drenched with innovation, both because of the large number of citizens' participation and because it brought a European dimension that was totally foreign to Basilicata, a region that is not used to big events and large demonstrations. – Rossana believes that innovations stays also in the fact that great dialogue started between artists and creatives, which allowed to broaden the horizons of each, develop a critical thinking with respect to the numerous themes promoted by the initiatives, have an artistic and social comparison that otherwise would have been difficult to create without Matera 2019. – What I can tell you is that 50% of PLs, that is all the local creative actors who have joined the program, have adopted creative methods, and often creativity coincides with innovation. When you adopt creative processes more easily, innovative processes arise, both of product, process and creation, and this happens above all when professionals work in a context, in a territory that is distant from theirs, when they collaborate and co-create. I must say that I have seen many new proposals in Matera. – Innovation was brought also in the environmental sustainability field, and even if Rossana admitted she could not tell me anything about whether or not the sustainability

directives have been followed (except for the fact that she assures that attention was paid also to environmental issues) she spoke on behalf of the creatives who took part in the programme – As regards the PLs and the creative associations with whom I have collaborated, there was certainly a collective effort to use second-hand material, to give space to creativity to recover rejected objects, to set up exhibitions and displays with reusable and low environmental impact materials. –

Although it was clear how much enthusiastic Rossana was while talking about the event, the region commitment and her team's participation to the creative initiatives, she could not deny that there was some disappointment with the system of the management that ran the programme. In particular she said that the communication with the board of directors before and during the course of the program was not always fluid and continuous, and sometimes generated critical issues that were harmful to the implementation of the activities. In events like Matera 2019 it is so important to set the approaches which should be in managing the communication between the directors, the Foundation and the creatives (the Project Leaders in this case). – I think that the logic that was adopted was the top-down type as regards the planning of the entire schedule, which fell into the hands of the general manager and the artistic directors, who actually did an excellent job, because Matera 2019 was a program of really high level both culturally and artistically. The problems emerged due to bureaucratic slowdowns, continuous program changes regarding the start of the various activities, the delays in the stipulation of contracts with the associations of artists and creatives and the allocation of public spaces in which to carry out the activities, which have caused a few problems for us and other colleagues. – The Project Leaders had to continuously adapt and change the line-up of their activities, find new solutions – ...on the other hand – says Rossana – this is also our job. As for the implementation of the initiatives, the approach was more basic and saw the active participation of artists and creatives who still had ample margins of autonomy and self-management in the choices related to their own workshops and activities. – The only directions coming "from above" were to favour inclusion and participation; and that's exactly what has been done: creating networks, collaborations and alliances between creatives, which have led the creatives to reshape programs at the PL level to co-create the exhibitions, host artists in the exhibitions and be hosted to unite and merge their works.

When Rossana was asked to provide a general opinion about the event, Rossana said that it was easy to open a narrative of Matera, to give the time and opportunity for those who came from outside to understand and get to know the city. But "Big event" also means traffic, registrations, online tickets that usually did not exist, because Basilicata is not used to managing large-scale public events. She didn't hesitate to stress that Matera 2019 could have been exploited much better, both as a cultural and creative city and as the management of the social capital employed. Yet she is also conscious of the fact that the main problems came from long before the event: – Matera 2019 was actually the first major event in Basilicata. So, I think it was also normal that there was not always total harmony between management, creatives, structures etc. I think this is a natural process. But if I have to make a criticism of my region, I must say that we lacked a levels organization system; I mean that the regional law that works on material and immaterial culture was not aligned with the Matera 2019 proposal, that is, the systems remained disconnected, the private, the public, the Foundation were traveling at different speeds, there was little vision rather than bureaucratic slowness. The polls and the change of political leadership also weighed heavily on these disconnections. –

Coming to the results of such a big event it was interesting to hear from Rossana that, despite the fact that she could not give precise indications on the general budget or on the particular indicators adopted by the Foundation to measure the performance, nonetheless she said that the Commission asked all the Project Leaders to fill out a questionnaire to understand how much employment they had generated. "La luna al guinzaglio" in particular has moved about 120 people including interpreters, warehouse workers, translators, porters, artists, curators, creatives and designers. Later, the "Comitato Matera 2019" also compiled a qualitative-quantitative economic-employment questionnaire where each PL declared the budget, numbers and amounts generated during the event.

Going now beyond what Matera 2019 was, it is important to make some considerations about prospect and future estimates for the city and its territory. Will Matera continue to be "European Capital" even after 2019? How will it manage to be attractive? Rossana has clear ideas about that – In my opinion Matera will continue to be attractive because it is objectively beautiful, it is a place out of the world, it represents in an emblematic way the landscape richness of Southern Italy and, moreover, it does not yet enjoy media strength.

In my opinion, the question to ask is whether this region can work as a cultural enterprise, exploit what has been created by the great teamwork of creatives and all the subjects who were active during the event. Whether or not Matera will still remain attractive depends also on the governance capacity to keep it economy alive, to ensure that subjects stay in Basilicata leveraging on the new awareness of the potential of the territory that has been re-discovered. If Basilicata and the city manage to win this challenge, then Matera 2019 will have a future. –

4.3 Christopher Torch

Christopher Torch is a Swedish independent cultural expert and curator. In the last years he worked in many cultural projects mostly as cultural and artistic director. He carried on at Intercult as Senior Associate and Program Director, combining with other long-term European projects like Rijeka 2020 (bid team and Program Director) and Timisoara 2021 European Capital of Culture, where he served as Head of the Artistic Unit from January 2017 to July 2019. Once Matera was shortlisted after the first round of the call, a team was put together by Paolo Verri (executive director) formed by three people chosen to lead the artistic leadership for the development of the program of the bid book: Joseph Grima, Agostino Riitano and Christopher Torch – I worked as artistic director for a period of over a little bit more than a year and we put together the program for the cultural capital, that is the application to the commission – explains Christopher. The Christopher’s role as artistic director was crucial in my work to get the management’s point of view about Matera and mainly to investigate whether the parallelism between creativity and culture is suitable to the Matera example or not.

4.3.1 The artistic director’s point of view

Every city would like to be recognised, especially in the European level and especially a city whose future is visitors, tourism and use of the cultural heritage; so any such city receiving such a title like “European Capital of Culture” has a certain status and prestige. It usually has been a kind of visionary project which starts out with great enthusiasm from the local people, the associations involved, the town council etc. Also Christopher Torch

started out with big enthusiasm and clear ideas. The tagline of Matera 2019 was “Open Future”; the programme in fact focused primarily on getting as many local people as possible involved in the event’s initiatives, awakening the Lucani’s awareness of the social, cultural and creative potential of their homeland. In the initial directors’ mind there was the idea of establishing new and stronger connections between the community, the artists and creatives, the Foundation and the region, in order to make culture, innovation, communication and information open and available to everyone. Talking with Torch about the social sustainability results (in terms of encouraging the participation and cohesion of the social groups involved, in particular artists and creatives, socio-cultural operators and the local community etc.) achieved with Matera 2019, he explained that the original cultural programme in the bid book spoke much about this question, about the so-called shame of Matera because of its poverty and suddenly transformed into UNESCO heritage site and tourist attraction. – This narrative needed to be pushed forward and what we were doing in the original bid book was primarily capacity building. We had a lot of working with the creatives and local people, artist, strengthening and empowering them and giving them the chance to be able to work themselves, creating structures that function, that sustain their hold. – It is clear that the cultural project as it had started out aimed at the increase of creativity for social and human development of the community, which actually the central part of the European Capital of Culture model – The program itself – claims Torch – whether it has one performance or another it’s not so important, it’s the totality of the spirit. Sustainability and creating a good spirit for social and cultural entrepreneurship was certainly part of the original vision. I think some of that got lost, if you want me to give an opinion about the event itself. I think great people that worked there, with “Open Future” and other large scale, digital artistic architecture, design schools, they never realised fully, but this is a political and economic question. –

What was really interesting about interviewing Mr. Torch was getting his perception of the employment of the creative capital that I realised to be slightly different than Rossana’s. If on the one hand the point of view of the creative class was quite positive about the working efforts made during the event, on the other the management side took a contrasting position – Creativity was considered central in the early vision, but later during the event I think it became marginal. Anyway, we are talking about a cultural capital not a creative capital²⁰. The reality is that Matera didn’t have a lot of creative

²⁰ It is important to make differences between cultural and creative industries. Cultural industries are those economic activities that produce tangible or intangible artistic and creative products and which can be exploited to generate wealth through exploitation of cultural assets. They often comprehend creative activities.

capital, it was a small town which was slowly building tourism based on the “Sassi” and the cultural heritage of the place, but it didn’t have a theatre, it didn’t have a functioning institution, not museums (except for the regional museum), but for a city of 70’000 people there were a lot of marginalised people and there was not a lot of creative capital. – There is no doubt that the programme’s main goal was to invest more on people, on creative and cultural capital, to make Matera a place where people wanted to stay, to live, to let their kids grow up in, but the willingness to make Matera a sort of lighting model for Southern Italy Renaissance in one of the poorest region in Italy was a really harsh task – Unfortunately I think that that didn’t happen; certainly a lot of competence was brought from the outside, because it did not exist in Matera, but then it didn’t stay, it went back to Milano, Torino, Rome or someplace else. – Another fact that Torch pointed out regards the tourism and the mediatic attention brought to the city. The director claims that small realities like Matera, especially many southern Italian cities, should not be charged with invasive type of tourism – A policy like this doesn’t work in an Italian old city reality like Matera: the politics of culture, the meaning of arts is so much different in the south of Italy, this idea of cultural capital... the type of critical mass that should exist for tourism boost to happen, it exists only in big urban centres; a place like Matera can register a tourism increase but it has to be soft, not invasive [...] I think that eventually the city was taken a little bit off balance, too many people were unsatisfied. – Of course there have also been many positive spinoffs that should be pointed out and as Torch himself admitted there always be some traces left after an event like Matera 2019 which are “despite what” happened in the event rather than “because of”. – There are things that happen without being planned but sometimes leave very good traces. –

For what concerns the approach adopted towards the Project Leaders and the other collaborators, Christopher explains that it was pretty bottom-up – There was a lot of dialogue with people, especially with the public administration, and there was also a lot of trust in the PLs we contacted. – Of course it was bottom up as much as it could be possible and as far as there were enough talent, quality ideas and thinking going on and capacities - You can get nothing from the bottom if the bottom is not interesting. It had to be imported a lot of staff because Matera like a said is a small town, Basilicata is a small and poor region, and this was not a question of just everybody does the best they can, a

Creative industries are economic activities that are based on an individual’s skills and talent whereby the talent is exploited and generated to create wealth and to develop intellectual property. The basic inputs in these industries are creativity and intellectual capital, while the end products are tangible goods and intangible intellectual property or artistic services (ukessays, 2018).

European Capital of Culture has to have European quality to it which we needed therefore to import, in order to create alliances with people outside Matera. So, I think it was half bottom-up and half top-down where it was necessary to bring in competences that did not exist. –

In accordance with Rossana also the artistic director seems to consider that one of the best parts of Matera 2019 legacy consists of social and creative capital. A new network of creatives (associations, groups, entrepreneurship) has been created thanks to the Matera's experience, and that is due to the fact that many people worked together around, the event was a kind of magnet that brought debate, chaos and conflicts sometimes too, and it was positive – There was like one central pole around which everyone was dancing in the creative and cultural sectors. Therefore, they needed each other, they found new alliances, new companions, new business partners, new collaborators, and I think that contributed to create new networks. Yet, I don't think it's up to the Culture Capital to maintain those networks, I mean the city has to provide better structural basis so that everything can be carried on and developed in the future, in new ways. –

When we consider a cultural event like ECoC, probably the first thing that comes to our mind is that it is meant, as the name itself says, to enhance the cultural capital, to increase the attraction potential of the city it takes place in. But ECoC is probably more than this, because all the programme should be scheduled in order to point out the peculiar characteristics of the cultural city. So, the palimpsest of Matera had to take into account the reality which surrounds the city and the region, a reality made of scares connections, uninhabited places and poor territories. What Basilicata and Matera actually needed was therefore innovation, initiatives to look at the future. When Christopher Torch was asked if innovation was present in the programme, he answered: – Yes of course it was innovative, because there was participation of a great deal of citizens, because it brought in a European dimension that normally does not exist in Italian or most European countries' regions or local community. – What Torch meant is that by importing a European dimension to the city, the world becomes bigger – I lift my sights above walls, I see new things that are happening and define ourself more as Europeans. I see new possibilities and opportunities for Matera and its citizenship. – As for the innovative push coming from the creative class that operated during the event Christopher says: – I know there was great deal of art and participation in unconventional spaces, public spaces, schools, hospitals, playing fields etc... I think this is good. They found some new beautiful

places to make art. I think that was probably an innovative line that has opened up and helped the town a lot. –

Instead according to Torch one of the main weaknesses of the European Capital of Culture program is the performance indicators that are used to assess the success of the event – Most of times the commission has to prove they are reaching the objectives, so if the objective is to make as much money as possible, no one questions whether or not the profit motive is the right one or not [...], basically speaking, the only one that the commission continuously uses as a primary criterion is one: the economic stability, that is if what was promised in money actually is coming or not; although they have no instruments to enforce it, they can continuously point out that the money is not flowing the way it was supposed to flow. The second thing is the European dimension, that measures if there is a European added value to the event, that is not just a bunch of local institutions getting more money for a couple of years, it's really about adding a European meaning. –

In Torch's opinion even Matera 2019, as well as other ECoC he worked with, could have been exploited in a better way, and he is sure that the key is to bet on broad events rather than big events. – I think there is no problem in coordinating cultural activities in a strategic way to manage a European Capital of Culture, but that should be done with many de-centralized activities in relationship to one another, because every time there is an attempt to make large spectacles, there is frustration, desperation and often there's not really even a very strong impact; you bring 50'000 people to look at some fireworks but in facts everybody is still hungry when they go home. – He believes that the biggest change now is the pandemic, because it has had major effects on this idea – The large entertainment industries spectacles will die now, and they should die. Because they have become meaningless, I'm talking from Disneyland, to McDonald's Rock N Roll, big festivals, to hundred thousand people watching television cameras where you can't even see the artist; they can tell you they're having a good time but people have understood now that there is not intimacy, that there's actually a distance from each other, and when art starts moving to neighbourhoods, starts acting in smaller dimensions that is when it is best appreciated. I think all the entertainment industries and therefore cultural politics and strategies are going to change radically, and that's the hub, what we really tried to do

with Cultural Capitals before, tried to build it into the Matera model, we did not succeed, but the pandemic may have succeeded. –

The last question concluding the interview with the artistic director regards the creative cities, and in particular if Matera is to be considered more a cultural or a creative place, and to which extent. He answered that in his opinion there is in some ways a slightly false comparison between the creative and the cultural – If a city is cultural, it will be creative. If a city is creative, it will become cultural. Some of the creatives will become artistic, will become cultural in the meaning of life, life quality rather than production or innovation, but I think they go hand in hand. I do not think they can be completely separated. The question strategically is whether one focuses on the developing, for example, of cultural awareness and participation among children (knowing that in a generation they will become creative networks, creative industries, creative corporation and ideas) or if you start by supporting the creative industries, knowing that their children and even they will also want more museums, more art education in the schools, going to theatre performances, concerts etc. So, they are combined, I mean, Richard Florida, I saw you mentioned him on your table of contents, he was very strong about the fact that the more creative the class development in the city, the more demand will be on having cultural institutions and other kinds of more relevant entertainment experiences, so they go hand in hand. I would say that Matera is a cultural city because of its history, very interesting politically, economically, but I also think it is more creative now than it was before Matera 2019; I think the programme has definitely given something to the creative kick. There really are some people staying in Matera now that normally would have migrated away to other environments but who decided to remain because they found some kind of forces to co-working and living. – And talking about the UNESCO Creative City²¹ program he concludes saying: – Matera is an amazing little city, an archaeological pearl deserving of all recognition and protection it can get. The UNESCO Creative City is a program that could fit well for Matera, certainly in the area of Gastronomy and Wine. –

²¹ The **UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN)** is a project of **UNESCO** launched in 2004 to promote cooperation among **cities** which recognized **creativity** as a major factor in their **urban** development. As of 2017, there are 180 **cities** from 72 countries in the network.

CONCLUSION

Matera 2019 as European Capital of Culture turned out to be an excellent candidate for the analysis of the impact of creativity, culture, strategic management of a city that has made enormous efforts to build an efficient and flexible system capable of setting itself objectives and ensure the tools for their realization, still belonging to its own territory. What emerged is that there are both positive and negative spin-offs deriving from the Matera 2019 experience. Probably Matera is still far from being considered a creative city in the meaning of the term provided by industry experts such as Florida and Charles Landry: the city and Basilicata still remain territories far from the major crossroads that affect culture, innovation and development typical of larger urban centers and physiologically more exposed to media attention, tourism, attraction of capital and investments. There were many difficulties that a small reality, traditionally rural and anchored in an isolated territory for a long time has had to face. Nonetheless, the ECoC candidacy was an act of courage of a city and a community that, aware of these limitations, decided to raise their heads and make a common effort to bring out the best of the social, creative and cultural potential that was completely latent until a few years ago. The history of Matera Capital of Culture is therefore a history of managing culture, creativity, innovation, social development and the continuity of a project that is not doomed to stop in 2020.

In fact, an event such as the ECoC aims at the development of culture that is not based so much on a purely economic notion, centered on the increase in GDP, but rather on the fact that culture and creativity generate innovation, thus creating employment, that time produces progress and development, with a better dialogue between all stakeholders, whether it refers to the "consumers" of culture and creative products, or to businesses, institutions, associations, administrations, artists.

What has been evident is that to achieve these objectives, a double push, both from below and from above, is needed by actors who must work in symbiosis and guarantee maximum fluidity and efficiency in development, design, implementation and evaluation. final of the program that aims, as in this case, to relaunch the economy and visibility of a territory, a city and its values.

The two main protagonists of the management of Matera 2019 were the general management of the Foundation, which relied on the experience and professionalism of the artistic directors of the project, and the local realities, composed of associations, public and private foundations of artists and creatives under the name of Project Leaders, who were in charge of carrying out the activities and initiatives throughout the event. The interviews with the artist Rossana Cafarelli and the artistic director Christopher Torch helped me a lot to understand the dynamics of the event and to draw my own conclusions from the whole experience.

What is certain is that creativity has played a fundamental role in involving the community and "temporary citizens" in the activities carried out and in the communication of Lucanian values and symbols. The creative class played a leading role in the pursuit of social sustainability, that is engaging the largest share of local people into the activities of the program and it was due to the choice to design a schedule that included a lot of local players, which gave a great boost to the creation of collaborations and partnerships. The "Comitato 2019) is perhaps the greatest legacy left by the event to the creative class, which was born from the need and desire to unite, collaborate and co-create together. Creativity was also synonymous with innovation at Matera 2019, and is linked to the large audience participation to which Basilicata was not used to, and to which it had to adapt by resorting to greater digitalization, to a new European dimension that did not exist before and has opened new horizons, and to the innovations promoted by the creative community that have adopted new methods, worked in contexts never experienced before and due to the need to adapt, which has generated different types of innovation: product, process and artistic-creative level.

The study of the Matera case and the comparison with those who lived the experience more closely helped me make some reflections on the management of the event, and in particular if and how much appropriate it is to adopt a bottom-up rather than top-down management approach. What has been observed is that, despite the efforts of the creative class being commendable and that the creative-cultural capital is enriched after the event, initially there were large gaps and many skills were imported from outside. Consequently, the greatest critical issues arose precisely because, to a not always brilliant management and planning "from above", due to the lack of experience in organizing large events typical of a region that is not used to hosting them, was added the difficulty in managing a creative and cultural capital that is too fragmented and with little awareness of one's potential.

The criticality of bringing an event like ECoC into a small reality such as Matera lies in the fact that too many times we focus on large numbers, on the influx of tourists, on the purely economic measurement of the results typical of large events. Instead, perhaps it is appropriate to speak rather of large events, in which many de-centralized activities are organized in relationship to one another. where people can enjoy more the intimacy, that there's actually a distance from each other, and when creativity and art start moving to neighbourhoods, start acting in smaller dimensions, that is when the event is best appreciated, and Matera was handled this way only partly.

Finally, the big question behind all the work is how much a cultural city like Matera can also be defined as a creative city. I must say that the Matera case, whose heritage has an undisputed cultural value, has proved to be an excellent candidate to address this topic. In total agreement with what was said by the artistic director Christopher Torch, it must be said that it exists in some ways a slightly false comparison between the creative and the cultural - If a city is cultural, it will be creative. If a city is creative, it will become cultural. - In most cases, the creatives will become artistical, will become cultural in the meaning of life, so they go hand in hand they can't be completely separated. Regarding the specific case of Matera, however, I believe that before the ECoC 2019 event the city was only endowed with a European recognition that included "Sassi" among the names of UNESCO World Heritage Sites and presented a completely fragmented reality of creatives, isolated and devoid of any recognition. After the event, however, this creative class, together with the whole community, became aware of their potential, their ancient values and the possibility of starting a race for innovation and the development of their social, cultural but also creative capital. Therefore in the Matera case it emerged what Florida argued about the fact that the more creative the class development in the city, the more demand will be on having cultural institutions and other kinds of more relevant entertainment experiences, and this is demonstrated by the fact that there really are some people staying in Matera now that normally would have migrated away to other environments but who decided to remain because they found some kind of forces to co-working and living. As Christopher Torch argues, "I think it is more creative now than it

was before Matera 2019; I think the program has definitely given something to the creative kick. "

If before the event Matera could be associated with what Evert Verhagen defines as a 2.0 city, after Matera 2019 I think it is much more a 3.0 city:

“The city 3.0 is different, it looks and feels differently than the 2.0. It's a place where we seem to be able to bump into each other, where public domain is more important and where there is more partnership between different sort of parties. Let us say the creative city is a place where you identify resources and much of them have a good talent landscape, it's a place that is more open than closed, it's a place that enables and supports people, it's a place where the political framework is strong and transparent, where people are very professional, it's a place which harnesses and gets rid of some of the clutter of some bureaucratic elements where there is more trust and where in facts people can incubate ideas, be entrepreneurial, communicate well with each other. I think this is a place that goes and operates beyond the ordinary, it's a place that lives and feels, it's a place where the pictures go.”

(Evert Verhagen, 2013)

APPENDIX

Transcript of the interview with the artist Rossana Cafarelli released on September 22, 2020

Q: Can you tell me something about yourself, your work and what the “La luna al guinzaglio” is?

A: Ours is an association that was founded in 2003 in Potenza as a response to a period of university training for members who decided to start working on art, especially on the relationship and community. The name “La Luna al Guinzaglio”, the title of a poem by Gianni Rodari, was born from the initial desire to address the childhood target. In 2006, however, the preparation of a truck was requested that was to make the Potenza-Berlin route and that had to build a narration about Basilicata through a series of stops around Italy. So, we had to rethink about our target and we realised that the association wanted to speak to an age-old childhood, that is to a childhood that is not an age-old but a spirit one, and is aimed at all the people who want to re-discover the desire and amazement through a series of works, those moments in which the individual through an empathic relationship manages to create a situation of wonder and amazement, which do not belong only to children but to all those who approach the “idea of the possible”. Our meeting space took the name of “Le Salon des Réfugiés” (which in French is identified as “exhibition of waste”, generally known as an exhibition of works rejected by the jury of the official Salon of Paris in the nineteenth century, that unrecognized current of artists who give life to their art) name given in a somewhat ironic way to the garage in which the group of artists used to meet in a suburb of Potenza.

Q: How did it become part of Matera 2019?

A: In 2008, now having a fairly large space, the Association began to consider the idea of joining the circle of exhibitions, in addition to the usual set-ups which were however temporary. Thus, the idea of the “Patamacchine” was born, which was awarded in 2012 with the “Arte Laguna” prize at the Venice Arsenale, an exhibition that identifies the group

of artists very much. Pataphysics²² is a science, the science of imaginary solutions. The Patamacchine were born with the intention of building a traveling exhibition that would make fun of this issue and this approach to the community, starting from which the work of "La luna al guinzaglio" always starts.

The modus operandi of the group is in fact always starting from the community, and therefore starting a work with a questionnaire addressed to other associations, acquaintances, friends, family members: The choice of the questionnaire is functional to calibrate the action on the linguistic register of our target. The community thus assumes a fundamental role in the logic of the association and confronting it was of great help to outline the trajectories of the group and of the Patamacchine project: what emerged from this questionnaire was that the things that the community was willing to donate were not economic resources nor skills, but rather waste material, easy to find, material that therefore becomes the element of the poetics of the group of artists. What people were asking for were "machines" that made them dream, thought-purifying machines, anti-wakefulness machines, a machine to enhance one's self and so on.' These are all necessary elements to live in Basilicata, an isolated territory, far from the trajectories, almost forgotten, where people need self-esteem and the dream is a cornerstone of their life. The community, which Rossana defines as 'the lunar people', then indicated the way in which they would work, asking that pataphysics be used not as a tool for solving imaginary problems, but rather for existing problems.

Following the creation of the Patamacchine, the then superintendent of Matera saw the works and asked to urgently bring them to Matera because he believed they were a beautiful expression of contemporary art in Basilicata. When the time came for the city to apply for the European Capital of Culture 2019, the Foundation asked the artists of the association to create a Patamacchina as a symbol of good wishes for Matera 2019. Dr. Paolo Verri, the then director of the program, explicitly asked to build objects that are easy to use but at the same time full of amazement, starting from simple objects that, unlike most contemporary works, 'spoke' to the community 'and made clear the way to enjoy the object itself, to use it. The purpose of this assignment was to take the last ECoC 2019 candidacy exam in Rome in front of the MiBAC commission and the European commission

²² Defined initially as a hypothetical science of imaginary solutions by its creator, the French writer and playwright Alfred Jarry, who argued that only through play and irony can man try to save himself. In the book "Gesta and Opinions" by the pataphysicist Dr. Faustroll, it is often regarded as a logic of the absurd. Other exponents are Umberto Eco, Enrico Baj etc.

and succeeded in overtaking the competitors Ravenna, Perugia, Cagliari and Lecce. Rossana, as representative of the creative group, had the task of representing in the exam session something that amazed the judges: 19 artworks were built, small music boxes that were to represent the strengths of Matera's candidacy, that is simple things like the neighbourhood, the relationship, the cultural inhabitant, since tourists had to perceive that they were treated as temporary citizens, who had to enter homes, eat local food, integrate into the community of the city. It was important that the works had a universal design, simple and understandable by all judges, and that when it was triggered it generated an acoustic or olfactory dimension consciously designed to recall some moments of the daily, ancient and rural life of the Matera community (for example a post-it note, a teaspoon, a valve, a clothes peg which, if activated, released the smell of the laundry that still today can be found lying between a stone and another in the Sassi) and to generate a feeling of unexpected wonder. The result is that Matera won the competition.

At this point "La luna al guinzaglio" participated in the announcement of the schedule for creative subjects of Matera 2019. I find it a really effective practice assigning 50% of the creative activities scheduled to local subjects, the so-called Project Leaders. In fact, Basilicata is not a territory that can boast of an audience throughout the year (unlike cities such as Florence, Venice, Rome and so on) and having created a program with such a large number of local associations guaranteed a constant participation of the public, because we worked not only with tourists, but also with schools, the order of architects, local cooperatives: if the local actors had not been so involved, it would have been difficult to engage the entire community, even more so if we take into account that the region is not used to hosting such complex "big events". In this way, on the other hand, the collaboration with associations like our has made it possible to create channels, almost messengers of the concepts on which the entire program is based, and it has been possible to convey in a capillary way who Matera is, what it could become, what possibilities it could offer the region.

Q: Could you describe me your activity implemented during the event?

A: As for the call, the subjects interested in participating could respond to the issues that were already present in the Dossier, written by the Foundation following a sort of investigation with local associations. In the Dossier there was a chapter called "Basilicata coast to coast", which represented the poetics that most reflected the association.

Although it was necessary to adapt and force a bit the sense of the theme, the result of the group's efforts was "Memori", the Mediterranean Museum of the Revisited Object, which takes its name from the homonymous card game, precisely because its game logics are usually studied and applied in the installations and exhibitions promoted by the association, where the revisited object "is not only what is discarded but also rejected again". At this point the mission was to visit some places in the Mediterranean and try to find lines of union or fracture in the Euro-Mediterranean basin, all traveling by boat. The places chosen were Genoa, Marseille, Malaga, Tetouan and Tunis, territories that were investigated through the support of lighthouse associations, entities similar to "La luna al guinzaglio" to which "Memori boxes" were sent that contained some material that would guide the investigation: the aim was to tell stories and places of the Mediterranean, of the city, of local artisans who, when they move their hands, amaze with their works, colours and local artists. The five cities were subsequently visited by the group who, accompanied by local people and students, were able to collect a wealth of objects, information and knowledge functional to the construction of Memori, the traveling museum that wants to tell that Mediterranean made of amazement, small and simple objects that acquire a meaning only after being rejected, the importance of the hand as a tool of the local craftsman, of the museum as a meeting place for the community, a center of activity and space for ever-evolving laboratory narratives , which contain the stories of the territory, indications regarding what to investigate, who have interacted with the local community by intermediaries.

For example, there is this calligrapher from Genoa who works in the port and every morning, upon arrival of fruit loads from Tunisia, transcribes and translates the unloaded products. Our team collected all the waste material produced by the calligrapher's work (as well as that of the potter, cabinetmaker, etc.).

Q: What objectives have been achieved from the point of view of social sustainability (understood as encouraging the participation and cohesion of the social groups involved, in particular artists and creatives, socio-cultural operators and the local community) in the territory involved?

A: The event certainly brought great enthusiasm to the entire area involved and not just to Matera. The groups involved were many and include tourists, citizens, associations,

artists and creatives from all over Basilicata and even beyond the borders of the region. The choice to design a schedule that included 50% of local players also gave a great boost to the creation of collaborations and partnerships between the various Project Leaders who took part in the initiative. If we also consider that the region is far from the most active crossroads at both a social, cultural, creative and economic level, we can realize the enormous impact that Matera 2019 has had at the level of social sustainability, since the opportunity to gather around a common goal and to make a community effort to rediscover the most authentic values of the Sassi, the city and the territory in general have ensured that everyone, regardless of their social class or role in the program, has joined the initiatives.

Q: What was the role of creativity and creative capital in the development of the Matera 2019 program? Was it central or marginal? What kind of contribution did they make to the quality of the program and to the city in general?

A: I believe that the creative capital played a fundamental role in the success of the event. And this was determined above all by the artistic character of the direction and organization upstream, which was led by artistic directors with a wealth of experience and important artistic skills, whose imprint and guidelines drawn up for all collaborators were from the outset aimed at attracting the greatest number of artists, creatives, designers who with their works, creations and initiatives could guarantee performances of the highest level. Therefore, I feel I can say that the role of creative capital during the event was central. Furthermore, the fact that most of the creatives came from local groups meant that their works were charged with the spirit, values and knowledge of the region and the city. This allowed the creative capital to be both supplier and user of the initiatives. As a PL myself, I was able to participate in numerous shows and exhibitions and remain in close contact with other artists, the community and temporary citizens: for this reason a system of continuous comparison, exchange of information, collaborations between creatives was created, suggestions and information regarding the city and the territory given directly by the artists to the participants, which helped to increase the quality of the experience for everyone.

Q: What are the lasting aspects of the event and how what has been built so far can become an integral part of the long-term cultural, creative and social development of the city?

A: The legacy of Matera 2019 was not indifferent and will remain as a heritage available to the territory for the organization of new initiatives and events in the years to come. In addition to a number of new infrastructures (museums, exhibitions, theatres, design schools), attractions and digitization processes whose realization was made possible only thanks to the funds obtained through the title of ECoC, I am also referring to the development of assets intangible. In fact, what in my opinion Matera 2019 has bequeathed to the region, the city and its community are above all the strong ties and interconnections that have been created between artists and creatives, resident and temporary citizens, associations and foundations that have took part in the project, a network that will continue to develop in the future and goes beyond the time limits of the event. In fact, a strong spirit of collaboration and above all a rediscovery of the values of Basilicata has arisen, that is a great awareness of oneself, of the potential of the territory, of the cultural, social and creative capital of a city like Matera that have been underestimated for too long. . All this has certainly had and will have a significant impact on the development and growth of the territory in the long term.

Q: Was it a bottom-up or top-down approach adopted in the planning and implementation of activities involving communities and artists / creatives? Did it turn out to be a winner?

A: Unfortunately, communication with the board of directors before and during the course of the program was not always fluid and continuous and sometimes generated critical issues that were harmful to the implementation of the activities. However, I would say that it can be said that both approaches have been used, and leaving aside the difficulties I think it was a good choice. The logic that was adopted was of the top-down type as regards the planning of the entire schedule, which fell into the hands of the general manager and the artistic directors, who did an excellent job because Matera 2019 was really a program of high level both cultural and artistic. The problems emerged due to bureaucratic slowdowns, continuous program changes regarding the start of the various activities, the delays in the stipulation of contracts with the associations of artists and creatives and the allocation of public spaces in which to carry out the activities, which have caused quite a few problems for us and other colleagues in the industry. We have had to continually adapt and change the line-up of our activities, find new solutions, but on the other hand, this is also our job. As for the implementation of the initiatives, the

approach was more basic and saw the active participation of artists and creatives who, in the difficulties I mentioned earlier, still had ample margins of autonomy and self-management in the choices related to own workshops and activities. In this sense, the only indications coming "from above" were those to favour inclusion and participation; and that's exactly what has been done: creating networks, collaborations and alliances between creatives, which have led us to reshape programs at the PL level to co-create the exhibitions, host artists in our exhibitions and be hosted to unite and merge our works.

Q: Has a new interconnection of "creative people" (associations, groups, entrepreneurship) been created in the area affected by the event? To what extent does this fabric intertwine / interact with the local community?

A: As far as I'm concerned, one of the most important aspects about Matera 2019's legacy towards the creative sector is precisely the creation of a strong creative fabric that has emerged over the last 2-3 years thanks to the event. Before becoming ECoC Matera and Basilicata could not in fact boast of groups of artists and creative people who were in close collaboration with each other: we were a spectrum of associations and private artists in which everyone worked separately and for themselves. After the application and with the beginning of the development of the program, the various initiatives have allowed us to weave ever more intense partnerships and co-working. The most striking result was the birth, last February 2019, of the Committee of Creative Associations, which brought together under a single banner 24 associations and foundations with an artistic-creative background, realities that previously did not enjoy any regional recognition, and who are now dedicated to the development of collective projects for the social, cultural and creative promotion of the territory. Furthermore, the fact that Matera is objectively a nice place to live, an affordable, small city in which relationships can be created, has pushed all the creatives who have joined the project to come back, for a reason or for the other, in Basilicata; and some even moved to live here, to find the contacts they had created during the event.

Q: Can we say that the event was innovative? From which point of view? From a creative point of view?

A: I think it was quite innovative, both because of the large number of citizens' participation and because it brought a European dimension that was totally foreign to

Basilicata, a region that is not used to big events and large demonstrations. It also gave life to a lasting dialogue between artists and creatives, which allowed to broaden the horizons of each, develop a critical thinking with respect to the numerous themes promoted by the initiatives, have an artistic and social comparison that otherwise would have been difficult to create without Matera 2019. What I can tell you is that 50% of PLs, that is all the local creative actors who have joined the program have adopted creative methods, and often creativity coincides with innovation. When you adopt creative processes more easily, innovative processes arise, both of product, process and creation, and this happens above all when professionals work in a context, in a territory that is distant from theirs, when they collaborate and co-create. I must say that I have seen many new proposals in Matera.

Q: And from the point of view of environmental sustainability? Can we talk about sustainable tourism in Matera?

A: At the general level of the program and the schedule, I know that attention has also been paid to this issue, but I cannot answer whether and to what extent the lines drawn have actually been implemented. Certainly there have been some critical issues due to the predominantly mountainous conformation of the region, although there is no rail transport within Basilicata and the management of the flow of tourists was very complicated, resulting in an overcrowding of vehicles in the city. However, as regards the PLs and the creative associations with whom I have collaborated, there is certainly a collective effort to use second-hand material, to give space to creativity to recover rejected objects, to set up exhibitions and displays with reusable and low environmental impact materials.

Q: General evaluation of the Matera 2019 event. How advantageous do you think it was to host a "Great Event" like the "ECoC" for Matera? How could its potential have been exploited more? From a creative point of view?

A: Yes, it could have been exploited much better, but here the problem is much older. Matera 2019 was actually the first major event in Basilicata. So I think it was also normal

that there was not always total harmony between management, creatives, structures etc, but I think this is a natural process. But if I have to make a criticism of my region, I must say that there was no system of various levels, the regional law that works on material and immaterial culture, was not aligned with the Matera 2019 proposal, that is, the systems are remained disconnected, the private, the public, the Foundation were traveling at different speeds, there was a slowness rather than bureaucratic, vision. Voting and the change of political leadership also weighed heavily on these disconnections.

Q: What are the prospects and future estimates? Will Matera continue to be “European Capital” even after 2019? How will it manage to be attractive both locally and on a European level?

A: In my opinion Matera will continue to be attractive because it is objectively beautiful, it is a place out of the world, it represents in an emblematic way the landscape richness of Southern Italy and, moreover, it does not yet enjoy media strength. In my opinion, the question to ask is whether this region can work as a cultural enterprise, exploit what is created by the great teamwork carried out by the subjects tested during the event, whether it can remain attractive, keep the economy alive and ensure that subjects remain, who therefore have an awareness of the potential of the territory. If Basilicata and Matera manage to win this challenge, then Matera 2019 will have a future.

Q: Have you ever thought about Matera's candidacy as a UNESCO Creative City so far? If so, in which category?

A: I have not heard this. But for us as an association, having participated in ECoC made us consider the opportunity to participate in other calls and other applications, for example we participated in Pistoia Italian Capital of Culture 2017 and in the applications of Palermo, Vinosà, Parma and Terni. Participation in Matera 2019 has certainly made us more experts on some processes, such as tenders.

Q: Is there a general budget and are there indicators that the Commission uses to evaluate the work done by the city? How was the performance measured?

A: I fear I cannot give you precise indications on the general budget or on the particular indicators adopted by the Foundation to measure performance. But I can tell you that they asked all the Project Leaders to fill out a questionnaire to understand how much employment we had generated. The moon on a leash in particular has moved about 120 people including interpreters, warehouse workers, translators, porters, artists, curators, creatives and designers. Later, the Committee also compiled a qualitative-quantitative economic-employment questionnaire where each PL declared the budget, numbers and amounts generated during the event.

Transcript of the interview with the artistic director Dr. Christopher Torch released on September 29, 2020

Q: Can you briefly tell me something about your experience, the role you played in the program and a general evaluation of the event?

A: My role was this, after Matera was shortlisted after the first round of the call, a team was put together by Paolo Verri (executive director), we were 3 people chosen to lead the artistic leadership for the development of the program of the bid book together with Joseph Grima and Agostino Riitano. I worked for a period of over a little bit more than a year and we put together the program for the cultural capital, that is the application to the commission. I did not remain for a longer time, because what happened is that quite soon after the city was chosen there was a political change and the 3 of us were not welcome by the new major and the political system anymore, and it took a lot of time (almost 2 years) for that to be solved.

Q: What were the reasons why Matera took part in the competition?

A: Every city wants to be recognised, especially in the European level and especially a city whose future is visitors, tourism, use of the cultural heritage, so any such city receiving such a title has a certain status and prestige. It usually has been a kind of visionary project which starts out with great enthusiasm from the local people, the town council etc.

Q: What objectives have been achieved from the point of view of social sustainability (understood as encouraging the participation and cohesion of the social groups involved, in particular artists and creatives, socio-cultural operators and the local community) in the territory involved?

A: The original cultural Program in the bid book spoke much about this question, about the so-called shame of Matera because of its poverty and suddenly transformed into UNESCO heritage site and tourist attraction. This narrative needed to be pushed forward and what we were doing in the original bid book was primarily capacity building, we had a lot of working with the creatives and local people, artist, strengthening and empowering them and giving them the chance to be able to work themselves, creating structures that function, that sustain their hold. The cultural project as it had started out aimed at the increase of creativity for social and human development of the community (this is the central part of the cultural capital). The program itself, whether it has one performance or another it's not so important, it's the totality of the spirit, and this spirit was very much behind the vision that won. Sustainability and creating a good spirit for social and cultural entrepreneurship was certainly part of the original vision. I think some of that got lost, if you want me to give an opinion about the event itself, I think great people that worked there, with "Open Matera" and other large scale, digital artistic architecture, design schools, they never realise fully, but this is a political and economic question.

Q: What was the role of creativity and creative capital in the development of the Matera 2019 program? Was it central or marginal?

A: The Program was considered central in the early vision, but later during the actual event itself I think it became marginal; there always be some traces left after an event like Matera 2019 and any other cultural capital and they usually are "despite what" happened in the event rather than "because of", there are things that happen without being planned

but sometimes leave very good traces. Anyway, we are talking about a cultural capital not a creative capital, let's make clear what are the differences between the so-called creative industries and cultural ones. The reality is that Matera didn't have a lot of creative capital, it was a small town which was slowly building tourism based on the "Sassi" and the cultural heritage of the place, but it didn't have a theatre, it didn't have a functioning institution, not museums (except the regional museum), but for a city of 70'000 people there were a lot of marginalised people and there was not a lot of creative capital; the idea was to build more, to make Matera a place where people want to stay, to live, to let their kids grow up in, and would make it in one of the poorest region in Italy a kind of lighting model for Renaissance somehow, but unfortunately I think that that didn't happen; certainly a lot of competence was brought from the outside necessarily, because it did not exist in Matera, and then it didn't stay, it went back to Milano, Torino, Rome or someplace else. Unfortunately it doesn't work a policy like this in an Italian old city reality like Matera: the politics of culture, the meaning of arts is so much different in the south of Italy, this idea of cultural capital... there isn't a lot of money to be made for PR, communication companies in Matera, there are no big film companies, no future, because this type of critical mass that should exist for tourism boost to happen, it exists only in bid urban centres, a place like Matera can register a tourism increase but it has to be soft, not invasive. "So the questions arises as to whether the Culture Capital is for the citizens or for the visitors. We have talked about the temporary citizens, and that is a good word but in facts no one lives in the Sassi, there are B&Bs, restaurants, hotels but most of people live outside, so this invasive tourism, I think it caught Matera a lit bit off balance, there was no balance, eventually too many people were unsatisfied.

Q: Was it a bottom-up or top-down approach adopted in the planning and implementation of activities involving communities and artists / creatives? Did it turn out to be a successful approach?

A: It is pretty bottom-up. There was a lot dialogue with people, especially with the all public administration, and there was also a lot of trust in people we contacted. There was a bottom up as much as could be possible, I think it's important to define that you can only have bottom up when there's enough talent, an enough idea, enough engagement, from the bottom, because you can get nothing from the bottom if the bottom is not interesting.

And so, as far as there was quality idea and thinking going on and capacity, they were very much taking into account and ideas were in the program. On the other hand, it had to be imported a lot of staff because Matera like a said is a small town, Basilicata is a small and poor region, and this was not a question of just everybody does the best they can, a European Capital of Culture has to have European quality to it which they needed therefore import alliances with people outside Matera. So, I think it was half bottom-up and half top-down where it was necessary to bring in competences that did not exist.

Q: Has a new network of "creative people" (associations, groups, entrepreneurship) been created thanks to the Matera's experience? To what extent does this fabric interact with the local community?

A: Yes, I think so. I think maybe one of the nicest things about European Capitals is that many things happen that people work together around, it's kind a magnet that brings people. It brings debate, chaos and conflicts sometimes too. But there is one central pole around which everyone is dancing in the creative and cultural sectors. Therefore they need each, they find new alliances, new companions, new business partners, new collaborators, and I think that that creates new networks, but I don't think it's up to the Culture Capital to maintain those networks, I mean the city has to provide better structural basis so that everything can be carried on and developed in the future, in new ways.

Q: What is the legacy of the event in terms of cultural, creative, social future development of the city?

A: I have to admit that I cannot say anything really about that, because I did not follow the program in its final development. I know there were many disappointments, and I also know there was great deal of art and participation in unconventional spaces, public spaces, schools, hospitals, playing fields etc... I think this is good. They found some new beautiful places to make art. I think that was probably a line that has opened up and helped the town a lot. I think the other positive spin off is that Matera had many visitors and a lot of attention brought to itself, and eventually any of the problems would be

forgotten, and would just be remembered the Matera was like an old champions league winner from the 1988, it will just always be one of greatest team ever, even though it will never play again. That's a macroeconomic advantage.

Q: Could we say that the event was innovative? If it was, from which point of view? From a creative point of view? And from the point of view of the environmental sustainability?

A: Yes of course it was innovative because there was participation of a great deal of citizens, it was innovative because it brought in a European dimension that normally does not exist in Italian or most European countries' regions or local community, that is with a European dimension the world becomes bigger, I lift my sights above walls, I see new things that are happening and define ourself more as Europeans, I think that was quite innovative in times when nationalism is growing. There was for sure an ecological and environmental question going on all the time in our works because Matera was an example of a place to be taken care of, to be sustained, to be maintained. Yes, very much. Mostly as art should do and as cultural events do, they bring attention, they don't come with solutions, the world green groups, environmental groups and other who are working concretely with environmental challenges who we collaborated with. But if you bring attention, for example there was a program imagined (but I don't think it was realized), called "Dark Skies", it is about light pollution, about turning off all the lights suddenly seeing the sky, and doing that in place like Matera would have had a large symbolic value of about what we are doing to our environment; there was another about sound, and alike turning off all sounds, the TVs, the radios, everything else and therefore listening to the city... these are examples of how the art as metaphors can become instruments of implementation in practical ways around the environment for sure.

Q: What is your general opinion about "Big events" like ECoC? Was it successful for Matera or could it be exploited more, in a better way?

A: This is a big question; it is probably more related to my feelings about Timisoara after so many years of working, where I both worked on the bid book and implemented and going through it. First of all, there is a difference between big events, and broad events. I think there is no problem in coordinating cultural activities in a strategic way to manage a European Capital of Culture but that should be done with many de-centralized activities in relationship to one another, because every time there is an attempt to make large spectacles, there is frustration, desperation and often there's not really even a very strong

impact; you bring 50'000 people to look at some fireworks but in facts everybody is still hungry when they go home. So, I don't think the question is about the scale of the investment, I think the investment in culture should be five times of what it is today at all levels, here around and not just in the ECoC.

Q: Do you think the potential of Matera could have been exploited more?

A: Yes, I think of Matera and any other European Capital of Culture that I've worked with, as what starts out as a cultural program which means changing people's attitude about things to a political program changing people's opinion about things, and then it starts to become instead of a real change of the social fiber of the community, it becomes to be used as just a political instrument and finally somehow just become a shadow of all cultural policy of the last 100 years: national identity, buildings' architecture, icons, big events, big festivals. The biggest change is the pandemic: it had a major effect on this idea, the large entertainment industries spectacles will die now, and they should die. Because they have become meaningless, I'm talking from Disneyland, to McDonald's Rock N Roll, festivals, to hundred thousand people watching television cameras where you can't even see the artist; they can tell you they're having a good time but people have understood now that there is not intimacy, that there's actually a distance from each other, and when art starts moving to neighbourhoods, starts acting in smaller dimensions (they can be thousands of participants for sure, I'm not trying to take away the fact that we like to be together) that is when it is best appreciated. I think all the entertainment industries and therefore cultural politics and strategies are going to change radically, and that's the hub, what we really tried to do with Cultural Capitals before, tried to build it into the Matera model, we did not succeed, but the pandemic may have succeeded.

Q: Are there indicators that the Commission uses to evaluate the work done during the Program? How was the performance measured? Has any indicator been used?

A: I have to say that one of the weaknesses of the European Capital of Culture program the Commission is quite unique, in facts it acts actually relatively cowardly, and that means that every Culture Capital including Matera provides them with figures that they have decided themselves are important and then they have to prove they are reaching those objectives, so if the objective is to make as much money as possible, and no one questions whether or not the profit motive the right one or not. However, when you

choose the city you choose it because it gives you the guidelines that are contained in the application, and then the commission follows “are you doing what you said you were going to do?”, so the criteria were already into the bid book which is in fact the contract between the commission and the Foundation. Basically speaking, the only one that the commission continuously uses as a primary criterion is one: the economic stability, that is if what was promised in money actually is coming or not; although they have no instruments to enforce it, they can continuously point out that the money is not flowing the way it was supposed to flow. The second thing is the European dimension, that measures if there is a European added value to the event, that is not just a bunch of local institutions getting more money for a couple of years, it’s really about adding a European meaning.

Q: Do you think that Matera could be considered a creative city (to which extend?) or a cultural city (to which extend?)?

A: In some ways I think it’s a slightly false comparison between the creative and the cultural. If a city is cultural, it will be creative. If a city is creative, it will become cultural. Some of the creators will become artistical, will become cultural in the meaning of life, life quality rather than production or innovation, but I think they go hand in hand. I do not think they can be completely separated. The question strategically is whether one focuses on the developing, for example, of cultural awareness and participation among children (knowing that in a generation they will become creative networks, creative industries, creative corporation and ideas) or if you start by supporting the creative industries, knowing that their children and even they will also want more museums, more art education in the schools, going to theatre performances, concerts etc. So they are combined, I mean, Richard Florida, I saw you mentioned him on your table of contents, you know, was very strong about the fact that the more creative the class development in the city, the more demand will be on having cultural institutions and other kinds of more relevant entertainment experiences, so they go hand in hand. I would say that Matera is a cultural city because of its history, very interesting politically, economically, but I also think it is more creative now than it was before Matera 2019; I think the Programme has definitely given something to the creative kick. I think there are some people staying in Matera now that normally would have migrated away to other environments but who decided to remain because they found some kind of forces to co-working and living.

Q: Do you think that Matera could ever aspire to apply for the UNESCO Creative City candidacy? If yes, for which category?

A: Matera is an amazing little city, an archaeological pearl and deserving of all recognition and protection it can get. The UNESCO Creative City is a program that could fit well for Matera certainly in the area of Gastronomy and Wine.

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