Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Master's Degree Programme

in

Economics and Management of Arts and Cultural
Activities

Final Thesis

The case of Rione Sanità

An example of bottom-up regeneration process

Supervisor
Ch. Prof. Irene Popoli

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Abstract

Attention to, and investigation of, the phenomenon of cultural and creativity as source of urban regeneration process is now widespread. This thesis contributes to the debate through the study of a concrete case: Rione Sanità in Naples. The district has had a nasty reputation for decades, considered one of Italy's most dangerous neighbourhoods due to the presence of criminal associations. Thanks to some recent local initiatives aimed at enhancing the heritage, it has started and successfully completed an urban regeneration process. The aim of the research is to demonstrate how completely bottom-up redevelopment initiatives can be considered a valid alternative to top-down strategies embedded in urban planning contexts. In doing so the case has been analysed and presented taking into account its historical background and proceeding with a 'narrative' of the key events that triggered the regeneration process. To contextualise and introduce the case study an overview on the existing literature, both for theoretical concepts and concrete examples, has been undertaken and summarised in the first two chapters.

1. Introduction

Can a purely cultural local initiative lead to a successful urban regeneration process?

Can a cultural regeneration process, led by the local community, be a catalyst to the development of a creative cluster?

This study aims at answering the two preceding questions. In doing so the work is structured to guide the reader through the existing literature, familiarising with technical concepts such as: Urban Policy, Urban regeneration and Culture-led renewal processes. The built theoretical structure anticipates the practical applications of chapter two, allowing a faster comprehension of the mechanism behind the "regeneration" label. In this first chapter, a special attention has been given to the definitions of culture aiming to highlight the multiple faces of the concept, the wide of its boundaries, favouring over many interpretations those most closely linked to the concept of culture as a social component. Within this introductory chapter, four theoretical models of urban regeneration are finally identified and presented: Urban

regeneration through major events; Cultural clustering strategies; Urban regeneration through new cultural infrastructure; Creative City model. Chapter three is structured precisely on the grounds of these four types, starting from the detection of practical examples which could embody the key points of the theoretical models and offer a clear exemplification of them. For every case the historical context, the actions undertaken, the necessary investments and both the social and economical impacts has been analysed; but the whole investigation always started with (and aims to answer) two specific questions regarding what has been considered turning aspects for the case success. In the first instance the case of the Tate Modern is presented, one of the most studied and outstanding examples of regeneration through new cultural infrastructures. The following one, Lille - European City of Culture, is a successful example of urban regeneration through major cultural events. It continues with the requalification through a creative quarter, Dublin Temple Bar has been the chosen example. In conclusion to the second chapter, the last model of the creative city is presented and clarified through the example of the city of Copenaghen.

Comprehension of the theoretical frame has been important in order to build the tools to use in the analysis of the Rione Sanità case study. The case has been selected based on some key criteria:

- The historical moment: the trial took place within the last twenty years and is at the same time old enough for information to be readily available.

- Culture not only participates in the regeneration process while still playing an essential role in it.

- It is one of the few examples in Italy of regeneration from the bottom-up, both during the conception and launch phase as well as in the development of the project.

The case's analysis in chapter four begins with a paragraph on the historical context and the role it plays in Rione's urban degradation in the last century. A summary identifying the choices, characters and habits responsible for the degradation process, placing them in time and space. The study proceeds with the presentation of the co-operative la Paranza: its birth, its aims and its evolution. The social and economic impacts considered are both direct and indirect in order to offer as broad a picture as possible of the influence the work has had on the whole territory. Proceeding with this temporal narrative, the current conditions of the neighbourhood and its inhabitants are finally reported. The comparison between before and after the regeneration process solves the first hypothesis of this thesis research, demonstrating the effectiveness of bottom-up strategies. The final chapter focuses on the creative impulse that has been transforming the rione into a creative district in recent years. A process identified in the spread of new cultural art initiatives involving citizens and attracting international artists.

2. Background Introduction

The first part of the thesis provides a theoretical presentation on the main themes that are addressed in this paper. It defines the key terms of culture and urban regeneration, and conceptualises culture-led urban renewal processes, including the main kinds of regenerations and the impact of culture. This part is drawn heavily on existing literature, especially on theories of city growth, economic development and urban design. Based on these elements, it concludes with an idealised classification of cultural renewal process, presented as a series of necessary conditions and success factors.

2.1 The interpretation of Culture

> Culture (/ˈkʌltʃər/) is an umbrella term which encompasses the social behavior and norms found in human societies, as well as the knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, customs, capabilities, and habits of the individuals in these groups. (Wikipedia - The Free Encyclopedia)

Why does it start with a Wikipedia quotation? Certainly not because of its completeness or impartiality, nor due to its author's reputation (@pinkunicorn a "science fiction and computer geek") but rather because it is probably the most *popular* English-language definition of *'Culture'* of this period. Only in the last 30 days it has been viewed by 67,286 users: 2,443 per day. Making a rough estimate it could be more than 800,000 people in one year alone. What other source can boast alone such an audience?

Over the years researchers have struggled to provide an all-encompassing definition of ''culture'' and so much has been written that the most noticeable feature of all these definitions is their diversity. Poets, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, politicians, historians used the concept of cultures in a variety of ways. The aim of this paper is not to contribute to this debate; however, a clarification is essential in order to understand how culture can be a tool in urban regeneration processes.

The term "culture" originally stems from the Latin word "colere" which means "cultivate". The Ancient Roman orator Cicero introduced the concept of "cultura mentis" figuratively: an agricultural metaphor for the development of a philosophical soul. Although used in different contexts, the term has remained for centuries linked to its original sense, used as a synonym for development or production: ''the culture of the arts'' or ''the culture of rise''. It is in the 18th century that the French word began to refer to the qualities of an educated person (Jahoda, 2012). A distinctive meaning that has endured over time, leading to an almost exclusive use of the word in reference to something "high", made for and generated only by a well-educated social class. A century later, the writer Matthew Arnold is still proposing a similar view, describing culture as ''the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world, and thus with the history of the human spirit'' (Arnold, 1873). In the nineteenth-century most of the theorists were identifying culture as the creation of a consensus over values and standards (Billington et al., 1991): a non-written norm which codifies acceptable conduct in a specific society and guides aspects like behavior, language, dress, etc. An example is the anthropologist Edward Tylor who begins his definition with the words ''Culture, or civilization ... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, [etc.] and any other capacities acquired by man as a

member of society'' (Tylor [1871] 1958, p. 1). It is only in the 20th century that the term starts to refer not only to a specific (high) group of knowledge and values but it finally encompasses any kind of custom, habit or behavior that may belong to a human group. One of the most comprehensive definition is provided by the United Nations agency UNESCO, in 2001, in which culture appear to be a "set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."(UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001). From a sociologist perspective Ruth Benedict[1], in her book *Patterns of culture* (2019), provides a method to approach the concept of culture through a similarity with the linguistic field "It is in cultural life as it is in speech: selection is the prime necessity". The argument starts by assuming that the sounds which can be produced by vocal cords and nasal cavities are unlimited. Just thinking that the four dozen produced by the English language doesn't have much in common, not even with the relatively close dialects of French and German. It will be impossible and useless to create a language capable of containing them all: each language has to be constructed only on a selection of these sounds in order to be intelligibile. Culture must be approached in the same way: as a "great arch" on which are arranged all possible tiles of history, environment and human activity. A culture combining all of them would be incomprehensible like a language which uses all the existing gottals, labials, gruttuals, dentals, clicks and sibilants sounds together. It is precisely the selection of some segments of the arch which gave identity and meaning to the culture of different human groups. Rejecting some elements and marrying others is what characterised

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[1] Ruth Fulton Benedict was an American anthropologist and folklorist.

and differentiated every human society from the others, each one, from the point of view of the others will seem "ignoring fundamental and exploiting irrelevancies" (Benedict, 2019).

This concept of diversity is one of the pillars on which the European agenda for culture[2] has been built. The introduction to the first document drafted (2007) already states:

> *"Culture is all the dreams and labour tending towards forging humanity. Culture requests a paradoxical pact: diversity must be the principle of unity, taking stock of differences is necessary not to divide, but to enrich culture even more. Europe is a culture or it is not."*
> Denis de Rougemon*t*

Finally, it is also essential to bring into the discussion the relationship between culture and creativity and the role of the former in stimulating the latter.

Shao et al. in their research "How does culture shape creativity?" provide substantial evidence in supporting the profound role of culture in defining and assessing creativity and underwriting creative processes (2010). In their paper "Culture and creativity: A process model." Chiu and Kwan defined human culture as *cumulative*, a characteristic that differentiates it from the one of other animal species. "When a piece of new knowledge has been created, other humans take this as a starting point and move forward from there. Once the wheel was invented, the next generations did not have to invent it again." (Chiu et al. 2010) Human creativity, instead, brings them to the invention of carriages, and then motor vehicles. Through this vision it is already clear how this wealth of knowledge, experience and belief is an essential prerequisite of any creative process. But the impact of culture on creativity can be also manifested in other ways: for example people from different cultures have distinct conceptions of creativity

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[2] Through the "European agenda for culture" the European Commission defines highly relevant priorities for policy making in the field of culture at EU level and for the key themes of European cultural cooperation
(https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policies/strategic-framework-for-the-eus-cultural-policy).

and different reference points for evaluating new ideas; many studies proved that experiences with cultural diversity are conducive to the development of creativity. Summarising culture and creativity are deeply connected because social norms and situations-dependent motives drive the creative behaviours of the individual (Morris et al., 2010).

Shedding light on the cause-effect links between human societies, culture and creativity is an essential prerequisite for introducing what follows in this thesis. Within this network are in fact also the instructions which, over the years, have led to the creation of a specific type of artificial environment (material and immaterial). Understanding the influence that culture can have on urbanistic planning, architecture, political choices, and social dynamics, is the first step to gain awareness on "how to use" culture to generate changes in these spheres.

2.2 Defining Urban Regeneration and Urban Policy

> Urban renewal (also called urban regeneration in the United Kingdom and urban redevelopment in the United States) is a program of land redevelopment often used to address urban decay in cities. (Wikipedia - The Free Encyclopedia)

It is pertinent to begin this paragraph by clarifying that this thesis uses the concept of urban to mean 'spatial concentrations of human economic, social, cultural and political activities' (Pacione, 2009). Urban policy responds to the necessity of maintaining a safe and healthy environment by dealing with the city problems. In doing so the government adopts and pursues a course of actions (policy) which concerns urban spaces, urban processes, and the populations who live in urban areas. A significant component of Urban policy is the Urban regeneration, more or less developed in line with the way the first has evolved in the different geographical areas in the post-war

period (Tallon, 2021). The Evans' distinction between the concepts of renewal and renovation must be also be kept in consideration: while in renewal processes all the actions are placed in order to survive economically, the regeneration ones are made in response to a degree of sustained degeneration, defined as 'the transformation of an area that has displayed the symptoms of environmental (physical), social and/or economic decline' (Evans, 2011). The investigation of this thesis is structured around this second concept. According to Roberts (2000) urban regeneration can be seen as 'a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement.' This definition is somewhat ideal since it represents regeneration as a total package process at its final stage.

To be more concrete and complete it must be integrated with the notes of Turok (2005) who stress that the *comprehensive* is a rare characteristic of regeneration plans which often operates in a fragment manner and rarely solves all the problems. In order to appreciate the efficacy of urban regeneration processes, the author's classification in three categories: *people*, *business* and *place,* has been considered the most appropriate.

According to Tukor, regeneration should improve skills, capacities and aspirations of people to enable them to take part in social and community life and benefit from opportunities. From the *business* perspective it must address the aim to 'improve economic competitiveness in terms of business performances, to create more local jobs and prosperity'. And finally, in order to attract both people and business,

regeneration should involve architecture and design contributions in order to improve the general appeal of a place (Turok, 2005).

To conclude this section, a table summarising the dimension of the different urban regeneration approaches has been reported.

Table 1: *Approaches to urban regeneration*

Dimension	Concerns
Economic	Job creation Income Employment Skills Employability Development
Social/Cultural	Quality of life Health Education Crime Housing Quality of public services
Political/Environmental	Infrastructure Built and natural environment Transport and communications
Governance	Nature of local decision-making Engagement of local community Involvement of other groups Style of leadership

Source: Andrew Tallon, Urban Regeneration in the UK, 2021

It is only through the recognition of the interconnection between economic, socio-cultural and physical spheres that a successful urban regeneration can be achieved.

Due to its nature of process shaped on the inner characteristics of the city, a *'one size fits all'* approach risks being harmful not to mention useless. However, key successful factors can be detected from an ex-ante investigation of concrete examples and transformed in guidelines.

Aim of this research is to contribute, albeit in a small way, to the construction of these guidelines. By highlighting, through the study of a concrete case, some virtuous conducts and efficient dynamics with the hope that they may become a source of inspiration and reflection for other urban requalifications.

2.3 Culture-led Urban Renewal Processes

> "Culture in his widest sense, from cultural industries to museums or events, has become a crucial pillar of economic development in post industrial cities" (Degen et al., 2012)

In this chapter we will proceed to investigate how the concepts described above can be combined: how to include culture in urban regeneration processes and what benefits this can bring to the local community. A conscious use of culture as a tool for urban change is a prerogative of the 20th century. In most of the historical transformation of social environments, conversely, there was no consciousness or purpose behind. A clear example is the Gothic architecture which began as nothing more than a preference for altitude and light and ended as the homogeneous and unique art of the thirteenth century (Benedict, 2019).

A mention is also required on the ethical debate which divides academics between supporters and critics of culture-led urban regeneration. The dispute concerns the possibility to affect the inherent value of culture by the over-evaluation of its economic contribution to urban regeneration projects. There are several authors who complain about a 'functionalization' of culture. According to Zukin (1982), despite the original intentions of the cultural producers and developers involved, the regeneration processes are exploiting culture in a consumption vision to attract middle-class consumers. For others, such as Bassett et al. (2005), contemporary capitalism

transformed the notion of culture from 'way of life' to 'culturalization of the economy'.

On the other hand, extensive research has recognized the importance of including culture in regeneration processes as a means not only of economic growth but of creating vibrant, vital cities (Bayliss, 2005); addressing issues of social inequalities (Miles and Paddison, 2005); high-lighting local identity and sense of place (Nisson, 2018); and much more. Lak et al., in their paper "*Urban regeneration through heritage tourism: cultural policies and strategic managemen*t" propose to downsize the debate to a misunderstanding issue in the use of the word "regeneration" as a synonym of "economic development". A parallel erroneously given that it ignores local conditions that might provide the impetus for renewal (Lak et al., 2019). Finally, from Looseley (1999) perspective, also assuming the "strumentalized" use of culture, the regeneration process should always be encouraged in the perspective of a more complex interaction between culture and the economy:

> [...] And if the latter (culture is strumentalized) is indeed the case, when is this becoming a problem and for whom? Will this inevitably lead to a destruction or inflation of original artistic values, and to a (re)commodification of the related spaces, thus driving out the original cultural values? Or is it also possible that we are seeing the development of a new, more complex interaction between culture and the economy, a situation implying that the classical notion of l'exception culturelle, according to which the arts and the market represent mutually antagonistic dynamics, is in for a change (Looseley, 1999).

In his research *'Cities of culture and the regeneration game'* Evans (2011) provides a distinction between Culture and Regeneration; Culture-led regeneration; and Cultural Regeneration. The first model is often characterised by small-scale interventions in which the cultural activities are not completely integrated at the stage of urban planning but are proposed in a second moment; as a public art program organised once the museum has been already designed. The 'Culture-led' approaches involve the

use of cultural activity as the main driver of regeneration and it is likely to have a high-public profile. The culture, also if it does not involve the whole actions, became a symbol of regeneration activity. This approach is commonly called 'cultural flagships'. An example of this model can be the design and construction of a building or an activity program like the European's program *'City of Culture'*. The latest, 'Cultural regeneration', implies the integration of cultural activity into a broader strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere (Evans, 2011).

Another way of classifying different types of urban regeneration is the nature of the cultural intervention that drove the process. Four models have been detected and will be analysed in the following paragraphs: Urban regeneration through major events; Cultural clustering strategies; Urban regeneration through new cultural infrastructure; Creative City model.

2.3.1 Urban regeneration through major events

> Mega-events are short-term events with long-term consequences for the cities that stage them. (Roche, 1994)

Major-event model of urban regeneration was born in the late 19th century, during a period of nationalisation and empire building, in which different countries (mainly in the USA and west Europe) worked to restore the image of a strong and united power to the world. A period which Eric Hobsbawm (1992) described as characterised by a wave of 'inventions of tradition'. Roche in his article "Mega-Events, Time and Modernity" suggests that the persistent popularity and officialisation of mega-events since the early modern period stems from their social function in "making time and history in a

social world". In his studies, major events are described as 'catalysts' for city regeneration processes due to a number of benefits: they create new infrastructure and renovate old; they boost the confidence and pride of the local community; they generate positive consequences in terms of tourism, increasing inward investment and supporting local economies; improving the city's image and visibility (Roche, 1994).

Also if most large-scale events, on the agenda for cities in search of a regeneration boost, are focused on either sports (Olympics, World Cups) or technological showcases (Expos, World Fairs) (Garcìa, 2004) it is possible to find many successful art festivals examples. To name a few between the others: Edinburgh Art Festival, Festival d'Avignon, Salzburg Festival, Venice Biennale and Adelaide Festival of Arts. To the 'cultural-festival' category belong also the initiative "Cities of Culture": a year-long international event promoted and sustained by the European Community, during which a chosen city has been financially supported to integrate culture in its long-term development plans.

Another point to emphasise which makes this model particularly effective is that, as suggested by Garcia (2004), the form of the event creates more inclusive participation in the art, countering possible perceptions of elitism historically linked to theatrical performances or museum exhibitions.

In analysing the benefits of this type of initiatives, it is important to take into account certain types of problems that are easy to be encountered. Foremost, precisely because of their size and complexity, these events can create discomfort and stress among citizens, contradicting local traditions and habits and sometimes affecting the natural environment. As pointed out by Hall (1996) the argument that local groups are to benefit through tourism, inward investment and short-term job creations is not

sufficient. Major events should always be planned and organised following proper grassroots consultations (Stevenson, 1998) in order to balance local community needs with the interests of the other stakeholders (turist, sponsors, etc.). Secondly, to achieve a more immediate economic result, the tendency is prioritising the spectacle of major events addressing a more tourist-oriented program. This attitude can compromise the possibility for achieving long-term social and cultural legacies with the local community (Garcia, 2007). To avoid this happening, the event should not only be guided by rational economic indicators, but be initially designed whilst keeping in consideration social aspects such as expectations, life quality, sense of belonging of the local community.

2.3.2 Cultural clustering strategies

> The cultural clusters are spatially limited and distinct areas - buildings complexes or entire quarters - that contain a high concentration of cultural activities and facilities (Wansborough & Mageean, 2000)

This definition brought the focus to a fundamental aspect of this model: the centrality of the physical space in which the cultural activities take place. A special attention will be given, in this model, to all those actions aiming at enhancing the local environment: increase of the streetscape permeability; use of the building stock in a varied and adaptable way; increase the quantity and improve the quality of public spaces; etc. (Montgomery, 2003). Great cities all around the world have a long history of growth which has led, almost accidentally, to the creation of important cultural quarters such as Soho in London, New York's Lower East Side, or the Left Bank in Paris, just to mention a few. Despite (or precisely because of) the success of these examples, it is

only in the last 10-15 years that the development of cultural quarters has been deliberately introduced in urban policy as a mechanism of regeneration. Nonetheless, many researchers are still wondering if it is better, for the success of cultural quarters, to grow spontaneously or if public policy interventions are required (Montgomery, 2003).

According to the author, a set of indicators (summarised in three categories: activity, form and meaning) can be used to assess the success of cultural quarters. From all these elements a prerequisite is the presence of cultural activities which should include both the production and consumption of culture. A predominant orientation on production or consumption can be a characteristic which mirrors the context and history of the area (Mommaas, 2004). Another key aspect is the presence of venues, where the objective is to encourage a more active social life. It is also important that many venues remain open also during the evening or in the night to encourage the development of more activities "around the clock". Thereby, most of the successful cultural quarters have developed a strong evening economy. The main business activities should be small-scale ones which trades both with consumers and other businesses and in particular, since we are talking about a cultural district, a good proportion of them should operate in the field of creative and cultural industries. In this way cultural districts are often characterised by a wide range of offers, from visual arts to pop music, combined with a great variety of other entertainment elements such as bars, restaurants, health and fitness complexes, etc.

As anticipated before, this kind of process of requalification can be initiated both at the urban planning level, as a method to revitalise urban quarters, or from private parties searching for ways to strengthen the market position of their brand creating a

connection within local cultural and leisure activities (McManus et al., 2014). Last but not least the transformation of cultural clusters is also suitable for grassroots movements: informal groups of cultural producers which turn urban spaces (mainly spaces left over urban planning) into cultural sites. The main advantage of this latter system is a regeneration effort oriented to the social engagement of the neighbourhood. A policy which not only favours the creation of space for cultural production and creative development over recalling tourists' attention but which, thanks to the active participation of the local community, will also have more chance to succeed in the long run. A concrete example of successful grassroot movement is the requalification of the Cathedral Quarter Belfast analysed by McManus & Clare Carruthers (2014). The authors conclude their research stating: "in essence, it was the presence of the grassroots cultural base that acted as a driver of the regeneration process from the outset".

2.3.3 Urban regeneration through cultural infrastructure

"Cultural infrastructure refers to places where culture is experienced, participated in or showcased in" (Sindhu et al., 2020).

Design built environment is one of the most important issues of urban planners and architects. Historically large-scale international cultural artefacts have been used as an instrument to attract the tourist's flow, some of them become so famous (thinking about the Sydney Opera House or the Eiffel Tower in Paris) which are now a symbol of the city itself (Plaza, 2000). Museums, theatres, and concert halls have always been the preferred cultural mediator to deliver and promote, through their original architectures, messages of prestige, fame and status: the Guggenheim Museum of New

York, the Neue Nationalgalerie and the Jewish Museum in Berlin, the Centre Pompidou in Paris are just few examples. Designed and re-designed by archistars, these places of culture began, in the last 50 years, to be built not only to fulfil their original function of preserving cultural heritage and collective memory, but also with the view of a social mission. They become more and more committed to demonstrating their contributions to the local society: programs and activities started to be projected in response to the community needs; reaching out, through this way, to a diverse, and previously under-served, audience. A transformation which also impacts the museum's role in regeneration processes: moving from economic engine and tourist attractions to social development and integration tool (Lazzeretti & Capone 2013). In many successful examples museums, theatre and other cultural centres had been active protagonists of urban regeneration strategies, attracting interest from the perspective of the economics of creativity, being reevaluated as creative places devoted to the production and diffusion of knowledge (Santagata, 2009). In 2021 the European commission decreed that: "Access to experience with cultural heritage contributes to social cohesion and inclusion, by strengthening resilience and the sense of belonging, bringing people together and improving well-being" (European Commission Decision C(2021)4200 of 15 June 2021). This result has been achieved in the last years through a proliferation of activities which attempt to involve the local community and stimulate an interchange between different audience groups and cultures: music and dance events, interactive workshops, lectures, temporary installation, happenings and much more. In their study 'Museums as Societal Engines for Urban Renewal' (2013) Lazzaretti and Capone identified four different functions of museums which enhance their transition from a mainly economic/tourist attraction to a social function: Museum as a

space for education and research; Museum as an instrument for safeguarding identities and authenticities; Museum as a public creative space which can stimulate new ideas and innovations; Museum as an instrument for social cohesion and welfare.

Although the role of museums in urban regeneration processes has changed over the years, the same cannot be said of the criteria used to evaluate it. The ratios used for measuring the impacts are still mainly related to the economic sphere (number of tourists attracted, jobs created, amount of public and private investments etc). Due to this gap, only a small number of studies focus on assessing the goodness of a cultural regeneration project through social indicators (Evans, 2005). Between these a Canadian research (Torjman, 2004) detected four areas of evidence where culture contributes to the quality of life and well-being of individuals and communities: contributing to physical and emotional health; influencing the development of personal skills such as creative thinking, decision-making, problem-solving and tolerance; forming a social identity through groups activities and multicultural understanding; and finally increasing economic wealth bringing tourists and investors.

2.3.4 The Creative City's Model

> *"The creative city notion is about a journey of becoming not a fixed state of affairs. It is a challenge, when taken seriously, to existing organisational structures, habitual ways of doing things and power configurations."*
> Charles Landry

The idea of a Creative City emerged in the late 1980s and was introduced in the urban planning strategies only in the 1990s, more as a form of inspiration than as a concrete model to follow (Landry, 2005). The philosophy behind is developed around the concept of putting people back at the core of city planning; following the assumption

that ordinary people can make the extraordinary happen if given the chance. An inclusive approach based also on the idea, widely emphasised by Landry, that creativity can come from any source (not only from artists) and brough potential solutions to any urban problem. As such government bodies should place at disposal opportunities and create the necessary conditions for people to think, plan and act in a creative manner. Its use should be encouraged both in the private as in the public sphere since, as stated in the 2019 edition of the European Commission report "The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor", it boosts the creation of new jobs, it foster novel business activities and innovation, and is a powerful tool in bringing people closer together, it build a sense of community and encourage citizens to be active members of society. Concretely this strategy required a combination of soft and hard infrastructure with a focus on the educational ones, such as universities, libraries, research centres, museums, etc. in order to generate an adequate atmosphere where ideas and inventions can flow.

Hospers (2003) identifies four types of creative cities: technological-innovative, cultural-intellectual, cultural-technological and technological-organisational cities.

The technological-innovative cities are characterised to act as birthplaces for new technological developments. Generally led by few innovative entrepreneurs which transform the urban fabric into a network of people working together in a climate of innovation and expertise. Sometimes these innovations are responsible for real technological revolutions like in the case of Detroit in the 1900, where Henry Ford laid the foundations of the American automobile industry.

History shows that cultural-intellectual cities have a common past where the tension between 'the established conservative order and a small group of innovation-minded

radicals' brought about a creative reaction. A generation gap which Hospers considers responsible for the rise of a new culture and science. In this case it was philosophers, artists, poets, musicians, etc. who led the revolution. The city started to be perceived as the perfect place to cultivate talents and consequently it became a magnet for new outsider intellectuals.

Cultural-technological cities combine both technology and culture. Result of this melting pot are the so-called "creative industries" such as the Hollywood film industry or the Paris fashion industry. One of the most recognised and encompassing definitions is that of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

"Creative industries are the cycles of creation, production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs; constitute a set of knowledge-based activities, focused but not limited to arts, potentially generating revenues from trade and intellectual property rights; comprise tangible products and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value and market objectives''.

Finally then there are those cities that deserve the title of creative because of the way they are governed: the technological-organisational cities. Local administrations have found creative solutions to large scale urban-life problems: need for infrastructure, supply of water, transport, housing etc. This type of "urban innovation" can be appreciated in specific periods of some city history such as the nineteenth-century London and Paris where the underground rail system has been built, or the 20th century New York which faced a space need through the invention of skyscrapers.

To summarise the three major facets of a creative city are: a wide offert of cultural and knowledge-based infrastructures; the contribution of creative Economy in terms of

employment, job creation and innovation; and an enabling environment that help cities attract creative talent and stimulate cultural engagement (The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor - 2019 Edition).

In conclusion it must be specified that not every city can be turned into a creative one, a lot depends on the local people's effort. All the action authorities plan to do can only increase the chances that urban creativity will germinate, without any guarantee of success. As Hospers concludes in his research: "Local authorities wishing to give their city a place in the knowledge economy will have to be content with the fact that they can only give chance a helping hand."

3. Lessons from other case studies

In the course of this chapter, the theoretical concepts introduced above will find practical application in four real examples of urban regeneration. Each of them has been chosen as particularly illustrative of one of the theoretical models presented above (urban regeneration through major events; cultural clustering strategies; urban regeneration through cultural infrastructure; the creative city's model). For each case, the reader will find: a short historical introduction followed by the presentation of the implemented urban strategies and a detailed analysis of the results obtained both at first instance and over the years. All data concerning the social and economic impacts of regeneration processes are based on existing literature and, when available, on materials produced by the stakeholders themselves.

3.1 The Tate Modern - London Bank Side

3.1.1 Introduction

In the next paragraphs it is analysed the case of Tate Modern, London, as an example of Urban requalification based on new cultural infrastructures.

The case is organised in order to have an overview also on the situation above the Tate and preview efforts done by the local administration. In particular the analysis is structured to understand

- *What differentiate the Tate gallery from the other cultural institutions of the area?*

- *Which aspects of the gallery's philosophy must be considered crucial to successfully replicate the model?*

3.1.2 Historical context

South Bank is a London district, generally defined as a narrow strip of riverside land between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge.

The area, next to the River Thames, it's now one of the most dynamic centres of London, between entertainment and commercial activities.

A big step away from the nineteenth century cluster of industrial infrastructure and working-class estates. The renovation process has a long history behind: for all the twentieth century planners worked to integrate the industrial cluster into the great London of finance, culture and policy. The first effort to revive the area was made in 1915 through locating the London County Hall. But the hopes, to attract investors with the prestige of the building, were dashed. The conclusion reached by city planners was that the area needed a more cultural print. Consequently, in the sixties, other organisations were founded under the project of the Great Cultural Centre idea: The National Theatre, The Hayward Gallery and the Queen Elizabeth Hall. Again the result was far from the expectations: South Bank's Centre became synonymous with "high brow arts" and the image of socio-economic deprivation of the working-class estates.

During the Second World War the area suffered bomb damage, and afterwards a significant amount of housing was demolished when South Bank was chosen as the main site for the 1951 Festival of Britain.

From 1962 the trend was to dedicate the South Bank area to office development and central uses but its marginal position on the London office market nullified the efforts.

Meantime many industries of the area closed, moving away from the city, and the level of population in the area suffered a drastic decrease. From fifty thousands, just after the war, to five thousands in the early 1970s.

In the mid-1980s the district situation was economic desolation: the South Bank quarter seemed to have been left untouched by the city growth.

3.1.3 The Tate Era

One of the factories that closed in those years was the Bankside Power Station. The construction of the industrial building, 200m of red bricks, began in 1891 and for the first half of the twentieth century its generating equipment supplied electricity to all the city. The rising of oil prices made the station uneconomic compared to coal-fired power stations, so it was first decommissioned and then closed in 1981.

The station was at risk of being demolished by developers but many people campaigned for the building to be saved and put forward suggestions for possible new uses. A National Lottery Bill has been launched: offering £50,000 grant towards acquiring a site at Bankside and an additional £1.5 million to decontaminate the site.

Meanwhile, the Tate Britain (one of the most renowned museums of London, considered the bearer of British visual art) announced its plan to split the modern Foreign and British collections. Due to funding constraints, the initial intention was to lease a temporary building, but just a few days later it became aware of the opportunity that lottery funding and a low property market offered.

In 1994, the Tate gallery announced that the Bankside Power Station would become the home of the new Tate Modern. A decision that, by any standards, can be considered brave. A competition has been launched to choose the architects that

would design the building transformation.The project had to follow a specific vision: create a spectacular landmark in London and a signature building for Britain in the new millennium (Travers, 2005). This aim brought to create more than an amazing modern architecture, but even a new type of museum: open, inclusive and welcoming. Much of the original internal structure has been kept as a symbol of urban and economic transformation and re-use (Dean et al. , 2010). The breadth internal spaces, which seems to absorb the great amount of visitors, helps to perceived the gallery as a more accessible space[3] far from the eclectic style of the other cultural institutions. The huge collection hosted inside the building offers a broad visual on modern art and an immersive cultural experience[4] .

3.1.4 Investments

The patronage model of the Tate Modern was drawn differently from other international and successful examples such as the state funded Centre Georges Pompidou (Paris) and the privately funded MoMA (New York). It offered a new paradigm for the 21st century museums: successfully combining public and private sources and attracting greater audience numbers than MoMA and the Pompidou (Dean et al. , 2010). The total project cost for Tate Modern was £134.5 million, 60% of the total funding provided by the public sector and 40% by the private sector.

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[3] The access to permanent exhibitions at the Gallery is free. According to Visit London (https://www.visitlondon.com/it) the Tate Modern is the third most popular free visitor attraction in London.
[4] In the permanent collection are exhibited over a hundred years of art, from the birth of modernism in the early 1900s, to today's masterpieces. It includes paintings, sculptures, installations and video works, made by artists from all over the world.

3.1.5 Economic impact

From the first year the gallery attracted two times the number of Moma visitors: 5.2 million (including 100,000 school children) versus the 2 million of the most famous American gallery. This gap has been confirmed also in the following years making the modern gallery the most famous and visited in the world. Inside these numbers there are over a million of international visitors: a key input to London and Britain's economic competitiveness. Before the opening a company, McKinsey & Company, was hired by the Tate to undertake a study on the potential economic impact of the then proposed Tate Gallery of Modern Art at Bankside. To mark the first anniversary of Tate Modern, McKinsey re-evaluated the impact of the gallery in the light of the actual figures for the first year. What comes out from those observations was that, in only one year, Tate Modern has become the third most visited tourist attraction in Britain and that the economic impact on this area has significantly exceeded expectations.

The most important outcome of this study are reported on the official website of the Tate, summarised in seven points[5]:

- In terms of its economic viability, it is estimated that Tate Modern generates £100 million per annum for the London and UK economies, of which £50- £70 million is specific to Southwark[6].

- Approximately 3,000 jobs have been created in London, of which about just over half are specific to the Southwark area.

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[5] Page on the official website were to find the article:
https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/economic-impact-tate-modern
[6] Southwark is a London Borough located in the south of the City. The part of the South Bank within the borough is home of Tate Modern and other attractions.

- Tate Modern itself has created 467 jobs in addition to 283 during the construction phases. Currently 30% of those employed at Tate Modern come from the local area.

- The number of hotel and catering businesses in the local area has increased by 23% from 1997 - 2000. This has led to an estimated 1800 new hotel and catering jobs in the Southwark area.

- Property prices and commercial investment levels are increasing faster in Southwark than London averages.

- Commercial development in Southwark has outpaced the London average. As has the increase in the number of new businesses.

- Tate Modern has been one of the major factors in the regeneration of the South Bank and Bankside. 26 % of people questioned in a recent MORI[7] the poll associated the area with the gallery.

When the area became the location of a major cultural institution, as it was the Tate, a clustering of creative enterprises followed it. The sector, still underestimated at that time, has been finally put under the lens: a study revealed that over £100 billion of the economic value were produced, each year, only by the Creative Industry and that over a million people were employed. The road to understand and evaluate the sector began with the observable impact of Tate Modern. From that moment the London government weighed differently the sector's needs.

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[7] Ipsos MORI is a market research company based in London, England, and it is a member of the British Polling Council and Market Research Society.

3.1.6 Social impact

As an institution, Tate Modern has been very active, and arguably very successful, in its outreach and inclusion activities (Dean et al. , 2010).

Following its mission "to increase public knowledge, understanding and appreciation of art"[8] Tate's strategy focused more and more on education programs and on a comprehensive interpretation of modern art. Many initiatives have seen Tate providing opportunity and access for the communities of south London, in order to transform the gallery into a space open to everyone. To mention few between the others initiatives: schools workshops, educational programs, family-focused events[9], public events, films presentations, etc. But the most evident example of this openness policy is the free entrance to the permanent collection. From day one, Tate found a way to be a model of inclusion for all the other cultural institutions of London.

Also if the original conception was not to regenerate part of Southwark, but to make more of Tate's artworks available to the public, the Gallery was aware of its "engine" role in the requalification process of the area. From the beginning Tate leadership and Southwark Council worked together with local residents to ensure that economic benefits would be retained within the area. Agreements were made about the use of local labour and the Institution worked closely with local business and community organisations in order to develop employment opportunities in the cultural, tourism and business sector.

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[8] as determined by the 1992 Museums and Galleries Act.
[9] like the workshop "Small Steps in a Big Space", "Raw Canvas" and many others.

3.1.7 Conclusions

"Tate Modern has been one of the most successful cultural projects of modern times." Tony Traver

People at Tate are not seen as mere consumers. They are in a free public space, participating in a communal experience that is at once intellectual, emotional and, for some, spiritual. As John Holden[10] wrote in the report "Tate modern: the First Five Years": "People don't just visit. When they come to Tate Modern they are not spectators, they are actors; the public are themselves part of the Tate Modern phenomenon". The centrality of the audience in the gallery's philosophy and its effort in being inclusive must be considered the crucial aspect of this model, allowing Tate to succeed where other cultural institutions had failed before. The policy of free access combined with the quality of the visiting experience, were able to demonstrate the fallacy of the preconception of art as something for the few "an entirely middle-class interest", whose value risks being diminished by large-scale access.

3.2 Lille - European Capital of Culture

3.2.1 Introduction

In the next paragraphs it is analysed the case of Lille, designed European Culture Capitals for the year 2004. An example of Urban requalification based on major events but also development and regeneration of the existing cultural structures (Liefooghe, 2010).

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[10] Visiting Professor at City University, London and Associate at the think-tank Demos.

The case is organised in order to have an overview also on the actions that preceded and followed the requalification of 2004. In particolar the analysis addresses the following questions:

- *How has the philosophy of cultural planning, that has been defined through the years, contributed to the success of 2004?*

- *Which are the different initiatives adopted and the impacts from the economic and social perspective?*

- *What has been done in later years in order to maintain the good dynamic initiated in 2004?*

3.2.2 Historical context

Lille is a French metropol located in the north of the country. Close to the North Sea and the Belgium border it sits at the crossroads of the triangle Paris-London-Bruxelles. In the nineteenth century the city, with Roubaix and Tourcoing, underwent a local development based on the textile industry. Until the 1970s-1980s fabrics production grew massively and the area became a leader of the French textile industry.

With the de-industrialization many factories closed down. After 150 years of rough development by and for heavy industry, the area suffered from the social and environmental perspectives (Paris & Baers, 2011). It became necessary to find a new input for the local growth: cultural regeneration appeared not only as a policy strategy to redevelop the area (at both the local and the regional levels) but also a social necessity. In 1970 a new regional public institution was established, the *Etablissement Public Regional* (EPR), to improve urban areas operating in the fields of culture, environment and transport. The major actions set up by the EPR were strongly related

with performing arts, since the music sphere has always been very popular in the region. In 1976 was created a Symphonic Orchestra (Opera National De Lille), starting point of further major cultural developments. This new institution, founded and directed for 30 years by one of the most famous french conductors[11], quickly made the name of Lille associated with high music production. In ten years (1980-1990) several cultural initiatives followed. Among the others we can find the *Festival de Lille:* an international short film festival which became, over the years, the 3rd biggest in France. This initiative played an important role engaging the local community and opening the city to major international artists. Another important contribution has been brought by the creation of two new theatres, Le Théâtre du Nord and La Rose des Vents, which gave rise to the emergence of local drama companies. The Atelier lyrique of Tourcoing, another result of those years, still constitutes an international reference for baroque music (Paris & Baers, 2011).

Also figurative arts had their chance to be evaluated in this contest: the Museum of Modern Art opened in 1983, hosting a major collection of twentieth-century paintings; the Fin Art Museum has been renewed and the impressive result awarded with the Museum prize by the Council of Europe. Also in the nearby cities the urban renovation took a cultural perspective. An example is Roubaix where an art deco swimming pool has been transformed into the fascinating museum of Art and Industry.

3.2.3 European Cultural Capital

The European Cultural Capitals program represents a key opportunity to drive urban development. Since it was created by the European Community, in 1985, this official

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[11] Jean-Claude Casadessus. Before Lille he was hired as assistant conductor at the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique.

program aimed at "putting culture at the heart of European cities with EU support for yearlong festivals of art and culture"[12].

The selected cities will have four years to organise this complex event, following the guidelines of the Commission, and they will receive a Prize to support the initiatives (currently 1.5 M euro).

In the case of Lille, as we saw above, the city already experimented the use of culture and creativity as a key factor to achieve long-run urban metamorphosis. The EEC program was seen as an opportunity to extend the process, from the historical city centre, to the whole metropolitan area (193 cities and towns). This sense of brotherhood was matched with the target of a massive local people's participation in order to "promote social cohesion and enhance pride and self-confidence of the residents" (Sacco & Blessi, 2007). Local people were directly involved in the cultural program, not only in its creation but as a key resource of the events themselves: 17,800 volunteers ambassadors were chosen among the general public; 17,500 cultural producers took part in the large number of disseminated events and more than 1200 schools have been involved in the program.

Another choice taken in order to engage the community, has been to encourage the massive development of free events (39% of the programmed events had free admission). In a metropolis with a low median income of no more than €17,000 a year, people are therefore reluctant to invest a massive budget in cultural services (Lusso & Grégoris, 2014).

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[12] sources: Europea Commission Official Website
https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policies/culture-cities-and-regions/european-capitals-culture

3.2.4 Investments

The total budget of the program has been around 74 million euros, provided both from private sponsorships and public funding, and mainly used to finance the program (58.6 million euros) and its promotion (7.5 million euros). The amount of corporate sponsoring raised, from national and regional firms, represent the 18% of the total budget (13 million euros): an impressive result wich defined an all-time record in the EEC programs (dubbing the previous record of Luxemburg and Burges which was "only" 6 milions). A separate budget of 19 million euros was allocated for the restoration program and enabled the total restoration of the Opera House and some of the most ancient churches and monuments of the city.

3.2.5 Economic impact

The ECC program attracted more than 9 million tourists among which 730.000 took part in the opening ceremony. The visitor presence had an increment of 39.7%, against a regional figure of 3.9% and a national figure of –0.5% (Liefooghe, 2013).

The project of Lille 2004 was proposed following the hypothesis that the economic development of a city lies in its capacity to gain more than a regional role but to also be integrated in the international landscape. Being the European capital of Culture managed to achieve this goal and attracted the attention of an international audience. As illustrated by Lille Horizon 2004 reports, the number of journalists, international delegations, video reports and newspaper publications reached an unprecedented level that year. As published in the journal La Voix du Nord from 11th of December 2004 "Lille 2004 managed to do what 30 years of promotional campaigns failed to do: change the image of the city".

The event had not only an impact on the local economy but also on the regional economy, enhancing all the efforts started since the 80s - 90s in terms of urban regeneration. As such Lille managed to outperform in comparison to national statistics:

Table 2: *Impacts of Lille 2004: evolution of employment between October 2003 to September 2004*

	France	Nord Pas-de-Calais	Lille intramuros
Cultural activities	+ 0,4%	+ 4%	+ 22%
Retail trade	+ 1,2%	+ 1,1%	+ 3%
Accomodation facilities	+ 0,5%	Stable	+ 15%
Restoration and Liquors stores	+ 1,4%	+ 3%	+ 7%

Source: INSEE - Lille Horizon 2004, impact de Lille 2004 sur l'économie du tourisme

3.2.6 Social impact

The urban regeneration process started in the 80s, and accelerated by Lille 2004, managed to transform an ex industrial city into an attractive metropole.

From the disposal of textile factories many activities were converted into creative industries, in particular related with cinema, gaming and TV, leading also to the rise of related services such as advertising, packaging, photography, fashion design etc. Many complex and industrial buildings have been turned into cultural centres such as Contemporary Art Studios. The cultural development city had both a direct impact on local employment (such as 1341 jobs created for Lille 2004) but also an indirect one by creating a positive dynamic for the metropole attracting both tourists and large companies such as Gallerie Lafayette (Liefooghe, 2013).

In order to maintain the good dynamic initiated by Lille 2004, it was decided to launch Lille 3000, a festival happening every 3 years with the aim to keep Lille on the cultural map and to strengthen the local social link.

Many private and voluntary initiatives followed the inputs given by local and regional authorities (like the Soup Festivals and the Speaking Windows) enhancing and accelerating the transformation process.

3.2.7 Conclusions

When in 2004 Lille was nominated Capital of culture, the city reacted positively with a richly varied programme of events, entertainment and activities[13].

The strong participation of local people, a decisive feature of the initiative's success, reflected an appetite and interest for culture grown up through the years, thanks to all the realised initiatives. What has been achieved in this case, using the requalification measures previously described, concerns the transformation of life and habits of citizens. First purpose has always been to revitalise an area which lost its identity when the factories closed down, creating new opportunities of growth in a different sector.

The tourists flow and the international interest are a consequence of this first successful step.

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[13] 2500 local events, exhibitions and appearances of all kinds; 17'000 artists; 17'000 ambassadors chosen among the general public, especially young people; 9 million participants (of which 730'000 attended the inauguration ceremony)

3.3 Dublin Temple Bar

3.3.1 Introduction

Dublin's Temple Bar is today one of the most characteristic areas of Ireland's capital. The case has been chosen as an example of Urban requalification through the creation of a creative quarter. The analysis is structured in order to make the reader aware of the area's history, and the actions that preceded and influenced the requalification's decisions. In particular, the aim is to answer a few key questions:

- *Which role had the resident population in the protection and renovation of the area?*

- *Which are the different initiatives adopted and the impacts from the economic and social perspective?*

3.3.2 Historical context

The Temple bar area covers 200 acres in West Dublin, on the south bank of the River Liffey between Dublin Castle and Trinity College. It was developed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries around printing, bookbinding and publishing activities and in the nineteenth century it had become a local centre for the clothing and woollen trades. In the 1950s the area experienced accelerated economic and physical decline, as manufacturing firms and other businesses closed or relocated out of the area (Montgomery, 1995). To regenerate the area, as it was announced, in 1981, by the CIE (the Irish State Bus Company), the plan was to demolish buildings and fabric to redevelop the area as part of a transportation centre. Many oppositions raised from the residents to protect the historical buildings and streets. These oppositions were

sustained by An Taisce (the National Trust for Ireland) in its 1985 report entitled 'The Temple Bar Area—A Policy for its Future'. The report rejected CIE's proposals and emphasised the potential of the area as a historic, cultural quarter that could improve the city's image and thereby attract tourists. The local community self-organised itself into a council (Temple Bar Development Council) to prepare an alternative strategy to the destruction. The first step proposed by the TBDC was to acquire all of CIE's properties in order to maintain the characteristic atmosphere of the district. The demolition would have been replaced by a series of environmental improvement initiatives, investments in cultural activities and thereby broadly based cultural regeneration (Montgomery, 1995).

In 1990 it was created the Dublin Corporation which, together with a consortium of local architects, put forward an application for European Union funding for a pilot project to examine the feasibility of creating a cultural quarter in Temple Bar, and a European Regional Development Fund allocation of £3.6 million was granted for this proposal in 1991. The designation of the city as European City of Culture in 1991 added to the impetus for culture-led regeneration, and the Prime Minister again emphasised the area's potential as a visitor attraction.

3.3.3 The strategy

The urban renewal of the Temple Bar area has been built on a combined series of objectives: consolidation and development of cultural activities; regeneration of the resident population; expansion of retail outlets and service industries; attraction business, activity and people to the area; improvement of the Temple Bar environment (John Montgomery, 1995).

The Development Program for the area, made public in the early months of 1992, has been built street-by-street, block-by-block, and it contains proposals for land uses and activities.

The entire quarter had been thought as a mixed-use quarters vertically organised: in the same building spaces are shared between restaurants and cafes on the ground floor; offices and studios at the first floor; residences on the upper floors. Creating a pooling of different activities where the commercial ones are structured to cross-subsidise cultural activities and other not fully commercial ones (Montgomery, 1995).

From the urban design perspective an architectural competition was held in 1991. The winner, Group 91, had the responsibility to create new public spaces and improve the area's permeability and legibility.

Another key part of the overall programme was to strengthen cultural activity in the area, by a combination of measures, incentive and interventions. Maintain and develop the existing mix of cultural activities; develop a number of major cultural centres (like the Irish Film Centre, The Temple Bar Gallery and Artists Studio Complex, the Temple Bar Photography Gallery, etc.); optimise the job creation potential for the cultural industries; incorporate newly commissioned artworks from artists into TBPL's developments and the environmental enhancement and urban design programme (as the 'Street-Art' initiative); enhance the international profile of Dublin through Cultural Program of festivals, concerts, open air theatre, etc (Montgomery, 1995).

Finally, in order to re-establish a residential population in the area, new residential accommodations have been created: family apartments, student flats, artists studios,

ect. A variety of opportunities to meet the different needs and create a socially mixed community.

3.3.4 Investments

The total value of the developments undertaken during this five-year project is around £100million. This amount has been financed by a combination of sources: first of all at the european level by the European Regional Development Funds and the European Investment Bank; at the national level by the Bank of Ireland and tax incentives; and at the local level through the sale and rents of the property portfolio (Montgomery, 1995).

3.3.5 Economic and social impact

The results achieved by TB Area and reported by Mongomery in 1995 clearly show up the success obtained from this strategy:

2000 people employed in Temple Bar, an increase of 300% from 1991.

133 residential apartments, 63 new retail units and seven hotels established

140 new businesses, including 108 ground floor retail units, developed

Pedestrian movement in the area had doubled since 1991, and the area had become the fourth most popular tourist destination in Dublin.

McCarthy (1998), on the other side, highlighted some negative consequences: firstly physical improvements brought an increase in capital value and rents. As a consequence many local groups of people like students and artists couldn't afford anymore the renting prices and have been forced to leave. Secondly, although the

maintenance of the area's historic streets and buildings was a key point in the regeneration process, there have been many significant losses and alterations.

A report published by An Taisce in 1996 highlighted the issue of development of licence permise, criticised for its dominance over other uses. In addition, as some residents and visitors pointed out that, due to the over developments of night life, the area has become uncongenial and possibly threatening (Harrison, 1996).

3.3.6 Conclusions

The interventions allowed to protect an important cultural heritage transforming the crumbling buildings and streets in one of the most attractive areas of Dublin, destination of a massive tourist flow. On the other hand, the structural, economic and social changes provoked a deep transformation of the environment and, consequently, a partial loss of the area's original ambience.

If the process certainly brought an improvement in the resident day-time, when creative industries and cultural tourism light up the area, its livability seems to be narrowed down by the long and crowded nights of parties.

3.4 Creative City - Copenhagen

3.4.1 Introduction

"Creativity, knowledge sharing and human resources have become the most important parameters of competitiveness… It is the goal of this government that Denmark develops to become one of the creative regions in Europe" (Pia Gjellerup, Minister of Trade and Industry of Denmark, 2000a).

In the following paragraphs it is analysed the case of Copenhagen, as an example of larger scale renewal processes which combine the different strategies mentioned above. Recently Denmark's government adopted the concept of 'creativity' in its urban planning vision and strategy as the new distinctive feature in the European cities' competition. Aim of the analysis is to understand:

- *How has the rhetoric of the 'creative city' been concreatelly applied?*
- *Which are the different initiatives adopted and the impacts from the economic and social perspective?*

3.4.2 Historical context

In the 1970s and 1980s, the central city of Copenhagen underwent severe crises caused by a set of eroding processes. Such as the de-industrialization process, which provoked the closure and downsizing of manufacturing firms, and a strong outward movement of middle-class families looking for better work and dwellings' conditions (buildings in the city centre were relatively old and suffered from a lack of basic amenities). Consequentially those who remained in the city centre were youngsters (such as students and workers with low incomes) and elderly people: combining higher need for public welfare with diminishing tax revenue. These combination of factors led the city, at the end of 1980s, on the verge of bankruptcy (Andersen & Winther, 2010).

3.4.3 Bet on Infrastructures and Knowledges

Much effort has been done, from the 1990s, to change the image of the city from a post-industrial to a knowledge-based economy, following the idea of 'Creative City'.

The process required to design an environment which provides physical pre-conditions upon which the creative activities can develop. A creative milieu containing the necessary requirements, in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure, in order to generate a flow of ideas and inventions (Landry, 2005). Hard infrastructures projects like: the Metro underground system, the Øresund Bridge, the transformation of Islands Brygge from derelict and polluted dock into a public open air swimming pool, and the implementation of the new urban centre of Ørestad. The enhancement of soft infrastructure included: the establish of new large intellectual infrastructures such as universities, business academies and research institutes (to mention among others: IT University of Copenhagen, KEA - Copenhagen School of Design and Technology and Copenhagen Business Academy); the design of new prestigious architectures, container of cultural centres like museums, art galleries, libraries and theatres (some examples are the Opera House; the Arken museum for modern art; and the Royal Library). All these major infrastructure projects have been intended also as global landmarks, accentuating Copenhagen on the world map and attracting investors and highly educated labourers to the city (Bayliss, 2007). Over the years several large pharmaceutical firms, telecommunication firms, biotech firms raised all around the region flanked by creative industries, especially fashion, design, advertising, music, computer games and film. Moreover the spreading of cultural life around the city attracted many international brands which answered the needs of the highly educated labour class: access to cafes and restaurants, shops and leisure and entertainment opportunities.

3.4.4 Economic impact

The numbers reported in the following lines have been extrapolated from the different years' reports of the Ministry of Culture & Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs: Denmark in Culture and Experience economy.

The analysis has decided to take the entire country into account, rather than just the capital, since the city size, in terms of population and concentration of industries, has an important weight on the economy of Denmark as a whole. In 1998 Copenhagen population represented around 20% of the entire Denmark population and the County's 83,915 cultural industry employees represented, alone, 32% of the nation's total cultural industries employment (Bayliss, 2007). In 1998 the Danish culture economy (art, music, books, theatre, radio/TV, film, toys, printed media, architecture/design, sports, fashion, tourism, advertising, edutainment and content production) embraced roughly 14,000 companies, generating a total turnover of approximately DKK 75 billion (over 4% of the total private sector yield): growing 29% from 1992. More than 59,000 people were employed on a full-time basis within the industry, which is equivalent to 5 percent of the number employed in the private sector, as a whole. Roughly 4 per cent of total exports stems from the cultural industry. (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2001). In 2001 the cultural industry contributed to the Danish economy with: an income of DKK 175 billion annually (over 7% of the total private sector turnover), 170,000 full-time employees (approx. 12% of the total private full-time employment), and exports of DKK 68 billion annually (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2003). From what regards tourism between 1998 and 2003 it increased approximately 90% moving from 2,7 M visitors to 21,12 M and it continues growing(UNWTO data).

3.4.5 Conclusions

In order to face a social and economical crisis the Denmark government adopted a strategic and long-term plan of creative solutions investing in both hard and soft infrastructures, with a preference for knowledge and culture facilitators. A policy which led to the rise of creative and technology industries and which attracted, due to the wide cultural offer, outsider resources (both humans and capitals). The economic impact offered a clear image of the success obtained through this regeneration process.

4. Rione Sanità

4.1 Introduction

Rione Sanità case study is linked to a local community herigitization project and therefore is a good example of a purely bottom up approach. Through the analysis of this case study, the objectives are to understand if:

- *Hypothesis 1: A purely cultural local initiative can lead to a successful urban regeneration process*

- *Hypothesis 2: a cultural regeneration process led by the local community can be a catalyst to the development of a creative cluster.*

For this purpose, after an overview of the methodology and a presentation of the historical context, the results are presented and analysed.

4.2 Methodology

This research has been conducted using a mix of primary and secondary datas.

First of all, an extensive research and data collection has been carried out within the existing literature. Research, statistics, association reports and general archives have been gathered in order to be analysed. To determine the impact of this project on the regeneration process of the area, not only data concerning the Catacomb project were collected, but also statistics on diverse topics such as tourism and socio-economic factors for the Rione Sanita area. These numbers have been compared to local and

national data. The analysis of the secondary sources has been useful to provide a general overview of the situation but insufficient to fully illustrate the motivations, the aspirations and the perception of the local community which are both the main actors and beneficiaries of the regeneration process. Numbers provide a strong understanding of the historical evolution and current economical context but are not sufficient to grasp the complexity of human, cultural and social realities. As such, on site visits and interviews were conducted. Through this primary research, a qualitative approach rather than a quantitative one was to gather information on stakeholders observations and experiences. Several in depth interviews were conducted with members of La Paranza organisation, local habitants, tourists and artists.

4.3 Historical context

Located in the south of Italy, Naples is among the most ancient cities in Europe with a long history of supremacy in the region and a very rich cultural heritage (Salomone,2016). The huge panorama of the city's historical sites and artefacts attracts millions of tourists every year (Istat report). A crowded and herigitizated city welcomes the visitors with an offer, in terms of cultural activities, museums, historical sites, that exceed expectations of the most picky tourists. Different suburbs compose Naples urban area, each one defined by its own characteristics and peculiarities. Among those, the Sanità District, a little-known inner-city community, has been chosen for the purpose of this thesis research. It is located at the bottom of Capodimonte hill, in the valley outside the city wall creating a periphery within the city centre. Although characterised by a rich cultural heritage, a proof of its important role in the history of the city, the cluster remained for years a marginal touristic player (Canestrino et al.

2018). The urban development of the area is mainly concentrated in the 17th century after the construction of Santa Maria della Sanità Church. Many nobles and bourgeois Napolitan families moved to live in the area, considered a prodigiously healthy place for the "pure" air and for the numerous healing miracles. Until the 19th century the Rione remained the core of the city's activities and the main way used by the royal family to go from the city centre to their palace "Reggia di Capodimonte" (Canestrino et al. 2018). The rise of the Maddalenda bridge in 1809, a construction built to faster connect the city centre to the Palace, meant the decline of the district's fame: now separated from the rest of the city (Loffredo, 2013). This geographic isolation soon became a social isolation, transforming the Sanità district into a ghetto. Densely populated by the working class, distanced from Naples' economy, the district became a city inside the city with its own rules and markets. Degradation and criminality arrived as consequences of the abandonment from public administration, leaving a breeding ground for black market (Canestrino et al, 2018). The decay also affected important historical and cultural artefacts like the Catacombs and San Gennaro Church. Both public institutions and citizens seem to have forgotten about heritage protection and valorization and important cultural sites started to be used as raw materials recovery or storage areas.

In more recent years, between 2004-2005, in the Scampia's quarter a fight between 2 clans for the control of the area (one of the most profitable squares of drug trade) exploded. In six months, from october 2004 to march 2005, almost fifty people died and 150 have been arrested by the police (Di Gennaro et al., 2017). The clans had to leave from Scapia and they moved to a nearby quarters, abandoned by the public administration: Rione Sanità. But the war didn't stop: the blood feud continued in the

new headquarters of Camorra. In those two years, 209 murders committed by the Camorra were registered in the district – 65.5 percent of the total of 319 (Alfaro, 2016). This situation worsened during the years and this was the result in 2011:

According to the information provided by Naples municipality, drawn up on Istat data, indicators like unemployment and level of education did not differ significantly from the other Naples areas, but they are slightly lower than the Italian average: 19 points percentage (Comune di Napoli, 2011). However, important differences emerged, from one municipality to the others, in terms of urban layout, school drop out rate and criminality.

The Municipality III (which contains Rione Sanita suburb) has a percentage of dropouts in the primary school that is the highest in all the municipalities: 4.6 times higher than the average of the others. Between 2011-2012, statistical data from the municipality showed that 1.4 kids out of 100 regularly registered at school abandoned their studies. This data is even more significative if combined with two others: the number of drops out in the year before (2010-2011): 0,14%; and further another war between clans which involves Rione Sanità, quartieri-Stato di Forcella and quartieri Spagnoli, and started in 2011 (Di Gennaro et al., 2017)

The Municipality III also suffered for the lack of public amenities which closed down between 2000-2015, aggravating the situation. An example is the Public library "A. Anguilli" which has been relocated in 2006: 18000 books (some of them ancient and rare) and furnitures were supposed to be moved to a more accessible location in Stella street. The day before the move the operations were blocked due to some work which the new library still needed. The books and furniture were "temporarily" moved into a storage room and never returned to the local community. Eight years later the local

community were still reclaiming the return of the books. To mention some examples among others which closed down: some hospital departments of San Gennaro; a kindergarten; the historic cemetery of the Fontanelle (reopened due to protest movements); Campanella high school; Primary school in Salita Mauro; a retainment house; the bank branch of Banco di Napoli.

In the same period, the public transport line which connected the Rione with the city centre was deleted. The public park San Gennaro has been closed many times and reopened after complaints and occupation.

Usually described by the media in terms of crime and the pervasive role of the Camorra, the district became a sort of black box that it was suggested tourists and locals do not enter. (Loffredo, 2015). It was in this context of poverty, social inequality, lack of services, unemployment and widespread crime that La Paranza advanced the idea of "changing things", inspired by the vision of Antonio Loffredo.

4.4 La Paranza

> *"Hope has two beautiful daughters, Anger and the Courage to see that things do not remain the way they are"* St. Augustine

This quote, reported on the website of the cooperative La Paranza, clearly shows the engine behind the regeneration process. It was sparked by the anger of seeing the lack of care and abandonment of a common precious heritage. But anger is not enough without the will to change and the courage to do it, that's why for decades nothing has changed. Then, finally, the resolution of a group of people innescate the process and a virtuous circle started.

In 2000 Antonio Loffredo arrived in the district as the new priest, with the specific and courageous vision: "to change reality through the creation of a new attitude towards work" (Canestrino et al, 2018). First he worked to obtain the trust of the young diffident residents: involving them in activities, organising travels, until he created a real community. With the years the relations among them became stronger and the community became a group of friends (Porzio interview). Loffredo also showed them the possibility to use their time in a social and remunerative way. Some of the most negative aspects of the Rione, young unemployed and abandoned cultural-artistic heritage, become strengths and opportunities (La Paranza, official website). Agreeing with the Diocese of Naples, he obtained permission to reopen San Gaudioso catacombs, located in Santa Maria della Sanità Church, and with a little group of youth from the Rione he organised guided tours. Through these informal activities the involved players learned how to preserve, restore and manage cultural heritages.

The young of Loffredo were doing these activities as volunteers: all the revenue from the guided tour were reinvested to reopen and improve other areas of the Rione in order to attract visitors. The first successful project was the restoration of an ancient and abandoned convent, La Casa del Monacone, located in the main square of the district just beside Santa Maria Cathedral, turning it into a cosy B&B (Canestrino et al, 2018). From the diligence and passion of this first group, in 2006 a cooperative named "La Paranza" was founded. The purpose of the group took a defined shape: reviving the quarters through the rediscovery of its artistic and cultural heritage and increasing the life quality of its residents. As Loffredo illustrates in one of its interview: "It's not possible to save the people without saving first the environment where they live" "non si possono recuperare le persone senza recuperare anche l'ambiente e il luogo dove si

vive". With this clear idea in mind not only the abandoned heritage sites were reopened and renovated but also other closed or private spaces became new public centres for activities, meetings and lessons (Loffredo, 2015). The cooperative financial resources were collected thanks to private donations and voluntary investments, like L'Altra Napoli Onlus. From 2006 the original network widened, establishing relationships with local associations and foundations from both the south and north of Italy.

Banco di Napoli, the San Paolo Foundation, the Johnson and Johnson Foundation and Fondazione per il Sud become key partners of La Paranza. This allowed the cooperative to make broader and more ambitious projects, like the reopening of the other catacombs located in the area.

In 2008 the No-profit Foundation CON IL SUD[14] published an artistic-historical tender to allocate some funds to promote the growth of new social business. The cooperative immediately saw in the prize an opportunity to reopen the San Gennaro Catacombs: "We understood it was perfect for us, extremely in line with our vision; the reopening of San Gennaro catacombs, thanks to the strategic entry position (few metres outside from the Rione), could literally represent an open door on the cluster, a new way to bring the tourist discovering the area" (Vincenzo Porzio co-founder). The project, made in partnership with the Arcidiocesi of Naples and the Vatican state, was submitted and La Paranza won the competition. This was a turning point for the members of the cooperative. The amount invested by Fondazione con il Sud was doubled by a

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[14] Fondazione CON IL SUD was launched in November 2006 (as "Fondazione per il Sud"), as a result of the alliance between bank foundations and Italian third sector and volunteer organisations; it was created to foster social infrastructure in Southern Italy (so-called "Mezzogiorno"), focusing on building up and qualifying the intangible structures to promote development.

fundraising campaign reaching more than EUR 700,000. Since that first contribution, all the collected resources for the development of the project came from private funds (Loffredo, 2015). The cooperative also found the support of key partners and sponsors, like the Officina dei Talenti which allowed them to realise a LED lighting system in San Gennaro Catacombs. For the inauguration, in 2010 a night opening was organised for visitors and the tour, called "Lux in Tenebris", sold out.

In 2014, from the numerous relations created with organisations and players of the district, the Fondazione di Comunità San Gennaro Onlus was created. The aim was promoting the social and economic growth of the local context supporting new and existing projects (San Gennaro official website).

4.5 Communication / The importance of storytelling

> *"Le persone, specialmente in questo quartiere, più che essere convinte vogliono essere commosse".*
> "People - especially in this quarter - more than being convinced want to be touched"
> Don Antonio Loffredo

The choice to organise guided tours has been a crucial factor in the success of the catacombs experience. What emerges from the interviews and from personal experiences is the strong emotional engagement felt during the visit. The entire visit, besides the knowledge, is structured to emotionally impress the visitor in a positive way. Key success factors of the tours are:

1. Sense of identity: the guides are narrators of their own story. The tours are led by citizens of the Rione or people intimately bound with the history of the catacombs, the local context, which operate with a sense of belonging to a specific community. This personal interest is an added value to the experience.

As Luca Mandara explained to us in his interview, work for La Paranza means to marry its mission and values and do it with the idea of a long-temporary job: "It is assumed that you stay long, that you grow together with the cooperative". From a survey made on 765 visitors emerges that kindness and competency of the guides are the heavier factors in the visitor satisfaction rate. The youth guides follow a long training period in order to accumulate all the information and the knowhow that is needed to be transmitted during the tour.

2. Educative and engaging: beside its history the Rione is famous for the traditions, beliefs and habits of its citizens. Different sources of information composed the fascinating storytelling that led the visitors to discover the area: sacred and profane; events of chronicle and legends; archaeological discoveries and anecdotes.

3. Feeling participating: the end of the visit is dedicated to the recent history of the quarters and the changes happened. The "common dream" behind the efforts done and the results achieved have the power to affect and involve the visitor which, in a certain way, feels to have invested his time and resources in supporting a local project.

The quality of the experiences also act as a conduit in the creation of new audiences: as demonstrated by an analysis of the University Luigi Vanvitelli, "world of mouth" represents the channel through which 36% of people discover the catacombs.

4.6 The activities

"Come si riqualifica un territorio? Noi pensiamo, diversamente da qualcuno, che fini e mezzi debbano sempre coincidere: non è possibile utilizzare qualunque mezzo per raggiungere un fine. Se il fine nella nostra comunità è la cura del bello e la cultura della responsabilità, del dono, allora i mezzi devono essere soltanto questi."

"How to requalificate an area? We believe, unlike some, that ends and means must always coincide: it shouldn't be possible to use whatever means to reach a specific end. If the end of our community is the care of beauty and culture of responsibility, then the means must be only those ones."
Don Antonio Loffredo (Tedx, 2010)

In order to enhance the artistic heritage of the area many activities have been realised, starting from the works that preceded the reopening of the underground area. Since the catacombs have been abandoned for several years, access to it was challenging and dangerous. Some areas were completely inaccessible due to the stratification of mud brought by the rain. Excavation activities allowed the discovery of new original frescos and the reopening of a lower, more ancient level of catacombs. Until 2018 more than 12000 square metres of heritage has been recovered and many places, originally abandoned and excluded from any tourist itinerary, were finally reopened: San Gaudioso catacombs, the Cathedral of Santa Maria alla Sanità, the San Gennaro catacombs, Casa del Monacone and Casa Tolentino.

In 2009 a new-born cooperative of young people from Rione Sanità, Officina dei Talenti, worked on the creation of a lightning system in the archaeological site. The LED technology used was a choice to preserve the vast heritage of paintings and mosaics not exposing the works to infrared or ultraviolet radiation. The system has been implemented through high performative technologies which allowed the group to remotely monitor the situation inside the catacombs (like moisture sensor, radon detection, video surveillance, etc.). The organised guided tour remained one of the key activities of the cooperative, they currently offer mainly three tours (from Thursday to Sunday): The catacombs of San Gennaro; The catacombs of San Gaudioso and The Holy Mile.

The Holy Mile tour (il Miglio Sacro) is a sacred, one-mile long journey in the discovery of the Rione Sanità and its treasures. It's the perfect example of the cooperative working method: to offer the visitor a different image of the Rione by showing traditions, contradictions, but also the way it's changing. The tour starts from the newest Basilica of Incoronata Madre del Buon Consiglio; it continues through the Catacombs of San Gennaro; the Basilica of San Gennaro Extra Moenia follows; the Fontanelle Cemetery; the Basilica of Santa Maria della Sanità; Palazzo Sanfelice; Palazzo dello Spagnuolo; the Church of St. Mary of the Virgins; and it ends at the most ancient gate of Naples: Porta San Gennaro (Catacombs official website). In four hours they bring the visitor to discover the chaotic and charming mixing of people and cultures, the ways they live and work and the extraordinary coexistence of sacred and profane that survives in the local folklore. In this way, visitors have the chance to discover an alternative image of Sanità, far from the usual stereotype of the poor and violent district that it has been burdened with for a long time. "To *experience* the Holy Mile means to support the revival of Rione Sanità by affirming its long history and inner chaotic beauty.[15]"

From 2009 the sites are working to become accessible to everyone: walkways and ramps have been already realised[16] and a blind and tactile tour for visually impaired visitors is now available on reservation[17]. It must be underlined that, according with the last Istat census, only half of the Italian museums (53%) are properly equipped to guarantee accessibility to the museum's spaces and enjoyment of the collections to the

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[15] https://www.catacombedinapoli.it/en/percorsi/theholymile
[16] together with Tutti a Scuola association
[17] In association with SAAD (University Service for activities by students with disabilities) of the Suor Orsola Benincasa University and the Iron Angels social cooperative, the Napoli tra le Mani ("Naples in your Hands")

disability audience; even less are the museums which propose solutions for sensorial disability (12,6% of the census structured). From the key activities an absolute priority is given to the restoring and enhancing of the artistic and monumental heritage. In order to protect and maintain the rich pictorial and mosaic heritage a campaign has been launched named Teniamo in Vita il Passato ("Keep The Past Alive"). The movement aimed to receive donations in order to support restoration activities in Rione Sanità. The project has been enthusiastically received by private associations and firms (between the others: Poste Italiane S.p.A., Parmacotto; The Art Raising Association; the Union of Young Chartered Accountants of Naples (UGDC); etc.). In order to bring the tourists to really experience Rione Sanità and led them to spend more time visiting, the cooperative also worked on the creation of accommodation facilities (completely absent from the area). The first one, the cosy B&B Casa del Monacone, has been obtained by the reopening and renovation of the ex-convent of Santa Maria della Sanità Church. A project which once again concerned the reuse of an unspent space and the creation of employment for youth citizens.

4.7 The challenge

Some of the interviews have been used in order to understand which were the hardest challenges that the organisation had to face and how they had been overcome.

It has been observed a coherence in the attribution of the first position: changing the image of the Sanità district among both neapolitan citizens and tourists.

It's a match that is still playing despite the achievements.

In 2015 Loffredo claimed, during the TEDX talk, that unemployment and criminality are still the most discussed topics of the newspaper chronicle regarding Sanità district.

"In the common vision is a place that is better to not enter, also for napolitan citizens, a place where you can have bad meetings"
"Nell'immaginario comune è un luogo da evitare, anche per gli stessi napoletani. Un luogo dove si possono fare brutti incontri." Antonio Loffredo (TEDX, 2015)

A research conducted by the Department of Social Science of the University Federico II of Naples, shows how the image of the district has changed, from the outside perspective, in the last ten years (2009-2019). The content analysis has been done on 1.450 articles (Repubblica Mattino 2009-2019) and the Google Trends 2009 - 2019 with the aim to investigate the different sources which contribute to the creation of the Sanità storytelling. What emerged is that primarily the interest for the district increased: the amount of theme-based articles published on the Repubblica Mattino goes from 157, published in 2009-2014, and 764 between 2017 and 2019.

Secondly, from the Google Trends analysis, a shift in the key searching words shows a positive trend which associates Sanità district increasing to concepts like: art, bottom art urban regeneration, culture, top-down regeneration. Concepts like violence and police operations are still present but far fewer searched. The returned comprehensive image, according to the analysis, went from a bad consolidated image to a dual contradicting image where beauty fights violence and criminality.

Nowadays Rione Sanità is considered a must in visiting the city. In 2020 It won the TripAdvisor prize "Traveller's choice" for the constant positive reviews from the visitors. In addition San Gennaro Catacombs are in the third place of the list of attractions and places to visit in Naples (before Cappella San Severo, Palazzo Reale or the Monumental Complex of Santa Chiara).

4.8 Social impacts

4.8.1 Direct

The perception of the Sanità. The visibility of the catacombs combined with the visitors' growing number brought also deep changes in the perception of safe conditions in the quarter, which determined a spread of new local commercial and tourist activities, such as bars, restaurants, b&b, bakeries, etc. In order to understand the social impacts on the lives of citizens and merchants, the research group of the Department of Social Science of the University Federico II of Naples organised 40 semi-structured interviews. What emerged is an increased sense of belonging and community identity; a better atmosphere in general.

Another important data is the total number of recuperated cultural sites: 43 sites for more than 12000 square metres saved between 2006 and 2018.

But the most evident result of these years of good practice and social activism is revealed by the creation of job opportunities. In 12 years the Cooperativa La Paranza went from 5 to 34 employees with permanent contracts. These numbers are even more impressive if we consider that the consequences on the quality of life doesn't only concern the hired person but also their families.

From the employee perspective, being part of the cooperativa doesn't mean only a wage:

- It also implies the possibility to remain in their city without being forced to move away looking for a job.

  > "[...] the satisfaction of being able to work in my city, in my district - one of the poorest of the south of Italy - without being forced to move away, compensate for the sacrifice of renunciate to a better wage or career perspective." Luca Mandara

- It means being involved in a social project.

- Differently from other touristic realities, where employees are often replaceable, at La Paranza each person is an important component of the group and participates in its growth. In this vision the working positions are thought to be for the long term, retracing the characteristics of a family business model.

4.8.2 Indirect

A university research (Le catacombe di Napoli l'impatto sociale ed economico, 2019) demonstrates that the reputation of La Paranza had an indirect impact on the employment of other 65 people inside the Rione and 217 in the whole city of Naples.

La Paranza acted as a generator of drop-down events, inspiring the private initiative of other groups and families of the Rione. Other non-profit organisations, foundations, private spontaneous actions, rise up in the wake of events, sharing the same "modus operandi" of self-promotion and recovery of internal resources, and following the principles of a network of social economies.

> *"Il vero punto di forza di realtà come la nostra non è solo la replicabilità , ma la capacità di stimolo anche per i soggetti circostanti"*
> *"The real strength of models like ours is not only the replicability, but the ability to inspire and stimulate also the neighboring entities"*
> Vincenzo Porzio (Interview 2016 on Labsus[18])

- In 2008 the project of Sanitansamble was born, inspired by the experience of "El Sistema": a venezuela learning model which offers the free access for kids and youth to music lessons and which use the collective music practice as a system of community development in complicated social contexts. The success of this initiative is proved by the extraordinary participation of childrens and

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[18]https://www.labsus.org/2016/07/catacombe-di-napoli-quando-il-patrimonio-culturale-e-uno-strumento-per-lo-sviluppo-economico-e-sociale/

their families (today the association counts more than 80 youth between 7 and 24 years old) families: in contrast with the scholastic dropout rate in the district, the attendance at musical lessons is about 95 per cent. Moreover, Sanitasamble has participated in, and is invited to participate in, many public events, such as the October 2011 concert for the then-President of the Italian Republic, Giorgio Napolitano, the 2014 concert for Pope Francis and the public concert held at the RAI Auditorium in Naples. In terms of its social goals, Sanitansamble answers to the lack of training and educational services in the district by offering children not only the chance of social contact but also the opportunity to develop competences for future employment. Sanitansamble is thus more than a promising symphonic orchestra: it is the spearhead of a wider and deeper project to replace the background of socially deprived adolescents with culture and civic pride.

- In the same years, in order to enhance and create job opportunities for local youth and disadvantaged people, the Officina dei Talenti was born. This social cooperative's first work was the installation of an LED light system to preserve the paintings and mosaics in the catacombs and is now in charge of the maintenance and restoration of the artistic and architectural heritage of the district (spin-off of La Paranza). It employs 22 people – electricians, plumbers and construction workers - 16 of whom are ex-convicts and former drug users (Canestrino et al., 2018).

- L'Altra Casa onlus is an education centre which from 2009 works to provide to kids and youth of the Sanità, the social, relational and linguistic knowledge to avoid them suffering marginalisation. Between the several objectives of the

onlus can be found: fill the basic missing knowledge which preclude the kids to successfully follow the rest of the class; transmit new virtuous behaviour's models; offer support to the parents while engaging their parenthood.

- The 29th may 2012 Sanità Music Studio was inaugurated in the fascinating location of the Basilica San Severo Fuori Le Mura and completed, in a few months, by an independent record label. The company curates all the different steps of the music production and promotion, and from 2013 it has launched more than 20 titles. Strongly tied to its origins as a social cooperative, the firm follows numerous projects in different educational realities and participates in the urban regeneration of Rione Sanità. Among the others: the musical festival Take Me To Church aimed to spread music culture and the Apogeo Spring Contest, a musical competition dedicated to the young people.

- From 2012 the onlus La Casa dei Cristallini is active on the territory. It represents from more than 10 years an important actor for many families of the Sanità district: it hosts everyday more than 50 childrens leading them in a growing path and supporting their education. The project has been financiated by BNL, Fondazione Banco di Napoli, IKEA e IBM.

- In 2013 a new theatre was established, Nuovo Teatro Sanità, giving new life to a church of the eighteenth century. The artistic collective, composed mainly by youth under 30 both theatre professionals and local residents, works to provide a high quality cultural offer. Since it's beginner stage, the theatre perceives a social mission: fight the school drop-out and prevent them from joining criminal organisations. In doing so free courses to kids and their mum are provided; thanks to the support of Intesa-SanPaolo Foundation, more than 60 students

had the chance to attend, free of charge, courses held by professionals of the field to become experts and technicians. In 2017 the theatre was rewarded, with the Giuseppe Fava Prize, for its civil commitment.

- San Gennaro Foundation was created in 2014 as a concrete answer to the needs of the area. A network of social enterprises which now employ 75 people and are constantly involved in developing projects to reduce the social problems that plague the district. "It was born with the aim to structure and organise the changing processes happening in Rione Sanità from an educational, economic and territorial innovation perspective[...]. The Foundation acts as an aggregator and facilitator of social processes being the juridical body that better represents the territory, understands the needs and supports the growth."

- The Iron Angel is a social cooperative founded by Riccardo Dalisi, a famous Italian designer, which uses poor metals to produce little objects and artworks, and which organises training in artistic blacksmithing for the young people of the district. It's a spin-off of La Paranza for which it created a tactile route for blind visitors in the catacombs: tactile reproductions of some of the crypts and murals were made, supported on copper and tin bases, to create a tactile exploration route for blind and visually impaired visitors. The Iron Angels employs two people with full-time open-ended contracts and two people with collaboration contracts.

- The theatral laboratory, Sanità Academy, offers different activities dedicated to kids, pregnant women and eldery, like sports, theatre lessons, creative activity using recycled materials, introduction to literature, dance and karate. It is

financially supported by Johnson & Johnson foundation and hosted in the sacristy of San Vincenzo e Immacolata Church (in state of abandon for many years)

About 100 people who live in the district benefit from this project that, on one hand, provides much needed space for sport and recreational activities, while on the other hand offers youths a chance to escape from the criminality that surrounds them.

- Il Vicolo della cultura is another recent initiative (2019) happening inside the Rione. The local Onlus Opportunity with the support of Toraldo (an italian leader in coffee production) create, near to the votive aedicules, more modern cultural aedicules containing books. An initiative which transformed the historically dangerous[19] vicolo into an open air library. The onlus (founded in 2012 by four youth residents) openly fought the Camorra organisation using culture and beauty as weapons[20]. Since 2017 the Onlus has collaborated with the municipality in the caring of two confiscated spaces; which have been transformed into open after-school centres for the kids of the Rione.

- In October (2021) the alley was involved in another initiative "Segui la Voce" where some Qr code gave access to short stories (podcasts and videos) played by local kids and famous personalities of the theatre world like Elena Bucci, Marco Sgrosso, Federica Fracassi and many others.

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[19] The votive aedicules were created in the eighteenth century to lighten the little streets of the rione and make them more safe.
[20] https://www.volontariatoinitalia.it/it/la-nostra-storia/

- The non-profit organisation "Il Fazzoletto di Perle" together with three street artists: Francisco Bosoletti, Tono Cruz, maestro Mono Gonzalez conceived and built participatory art interventions with the youth of the district.

Also if the role of La Paranza in the rise of all these new activities is impossible to determine, the evidence which emerges comparing the situation in the Rione before 2006 and in the years immediately after has the size of a revolution.

4.9 Economic impacts

As already mentioned before, the numbers produced in these years reflect the efficacy of the model. The growth of the visitors of the catacombs is exponentially and impressively constant through the years. With a growth of +25% per year the number of tourists went from 5,160 in 2006 to 129,830 in 2018 (Table 3). All the tours present a constantly positive growing rate.

This data is enhanced by the fact that 88% of the interviewed visited the catacombs for the first time. A demonstration of the wide interest around the site is also given by the diversity of provenance of the visitors: 36 nations have been counted.

The Catacombs have been also one of the reasons to visit the city for 61% of the test sample of 765 visitors.

In order to better understand the impact of such a growth a comparison with the number of visitors of other neapolitan cultural centres will be reported, theorising the potential audience reached by them if the same business model were to be applied (Table 3).

Table 3: *Visitors growth rate*

	visitors in 2016	visitors in 2017 + growing rate		visitors in 2018 + growing rate		visitors in 2019 + growing rate	
Holy Mile	3924	5330	+36%	7136	+34%	7717	+9%
San Gennaro	57971	78692	+35%	97553	+24%	118715	+22%
San Gaudioso	16586	19687	+19%	25141	+28%	30515	+21%
Total	78481	103709	+32%	129830	+25%	156917	+21%

Source: Internal data provided by the cooperative

Table 4: *Potential growth of other cultural institutions on the Catacombe models*

	San Gennaro Catacombs	National Archaeological Museum	Capodimonte Museum	San Martino Museums
Actual audience	129.830	331.496	100.639	66.190
Potential audience	129.830	1.556.499	430.332	521.062

Source: Internal data provided by the cooperative and collected by the Economy department of Università degli Studi Luigi Vanvitelli

Another evidence appearing from the comparison table, is that the catacombs manage to outperform in 15 years the numbers of museums, like Capodimonte Museum and San Martino Museum, which have an historical presence on the territory (respectively open in 1957 and 1866). Moreover the report (Le catacombe di Napoli l'impatto sociale ed economico, 2019) shows the average expense of the interviewed visitors in Rione Sanità. The most significant items, like parking, transport, food, museums and cultural sites, shoppin, return a cost average per person around 40 euros. Based on this data and the number of visitors of the Catacombs in 2018 an estimation brings to discover that the total economic impact of Catacombs (74% of the interviewed visitors never went to the Rione before) for the year 2018, is 5.366.632,55 Euro.

4.10 Creation of the model

The aim of this research is not only to analyse the impact of a local project on the regeneration process of an entire suburb, but also to determine the key drivers of this success in order to propose a model that could be replicated. What emerges from the interviews, the searches are and the analysis of the data collected are six key points:

1. Mode of foster care: the availability of propriety is fundamental in order to act in an independently and flexible way. Without having the same freedom of choice the process will hardly bring similar results. An example of missing autonomy is the already mentioned occupation of "Fontanelle Cemetery": although the evident success of months of guided tour, the impact of the area, the example of the catacombs so close; once the site returned under the management of the public institution none of this activities has been carried on.

2. The team. Is not a case that the cooperative name is *La Paranza*. A napolitan word which was born to indicate small fishing boats and that has been used metaphorically to describe little groups of close friends with a common mission or scope.

   The cooperative was founded by a group of six friends, a "paranza", which decided to enhance this relation in the significant name it brings.

   Through the time the team grew, comprehending specialised expertise and different divisions.

3. Private funds.

4. A Coach/Visionary Leadership: Antonio Loffredo has been a fundamental personality in the first stages of the cooperative. Due to his profession (priest of

Naples diocese from 1986) he is used to putting people first: being able to recognize the value and talents in others has been fundamental for the success of the cooperative. Being visionary, as he demonstrates, is another essential mindset.

As a good coach today he is leaving the floor to youth.

5. Sustainability. Each project aims to become sustainable after the start-up phase.

6. Community involvement. Since the objective is to increase the life quality of the residential community, needs and requests are always kept in consideration. Moreover the cooperative supports other activities in the Rione both economically and "personally". An example is how, during 2020, the guides of La Paranza helped many families of the Rione with the remote learning system.

4.11 The role of public administration and Pontifical State

As already shown in a few paragraphs above, the district is historically characterised by the absence of public administration in the maintenance of public areas and in the provision of fundamental services. This factor played an important role in the decline process of the district. Through the time the local citizens learned that they couldn't count on public support, they lost trust in the administration, which, year after year, was depriving the area from amenities and welfare services. Many associations were born to compensate for that lack and to offer support to the most disadvantaged part of the society: La Paranza creating job opportunities, L'Altra Casa to provide education, San Gennaro Community sustaining the growth of the local organisations, and so on.

But why did the cooperatives, although having the chance, didn't take advantage of public fundings or start to work in partnership with the local municipality?

Through the interview emerges that the reason are mainly 2:

On one hand there is the heavy bureaucracy system which slows down every process and sometimes frozen taking decisions. In a reality where it is the fire of feelings and emotions which keeps evolution alive, a similar aseptic partner would have been a disaster. A close example is the Fontanelle Cemetery. The cemetery was closed due to some structural problems and renovated for 1,8 million euros. Although the works were finished and the inauguration ceremony was done, the site remained closed. The local community, linked to the tradition and the religious meaning of the site, longly asked for the reopening without any success. In 2010 they also organised a physical occupation of the site complaining that the site could represent a growth opportunity for the entire area, bringing tourists and creating employment. During four months of occupation the community organised guided tours inside the cemetery, with the aim to show a better use of this unique space and the impact it could have on the territory.

Also if the action led to the openness of the site, the guided tours are still not provided. A solution that, as pointed out by Porzio, doesn't generate any work nor enhance the heritage. On the other hand, the cooperative had the necessity to remain near to the local people. The choice to not structuring and formalising their actions was to leave the impression on the community of an organisation open to the exchange, welcoming new ideas and new participants. "It wasn't a matter of protest - as Loffredo claimed in a TEDX conference - it was a strategic choice.[...] I wanted to go to them (local community) with my bare hands".

On the contrary, the strong relation with the church has been a resource, in many occasions, for the development of the area. From the beginning of this process the

Napolitan diocese, through the figure of Antonio Loffredo, acted as a "sponsor": allowing the reuse of spaces and authorising the reopening of historical sites. For what concerned the catacombs, an agreement between Italy and the Pontifical State, established that the Vatican would be in charge of all duties for the maintenance and administration of all the catacombs on the Italian territory (ca. 120, only 20 opened to the public). This responsibility should justify the high percentage demand to the private organisations which outsource the opening of the sites to the public: 50% of the incomes. Differently from all the other operators, the cooperative La Paranza received a "privilege" treatment from its first stage (Repubblica, 2018). An understandable choice which recognized the investment done by the group to reopen the site and the social aim behind the economic activity.

In 2018 the Pontifical State ordered a change of course, reclaiming a restabilish of the common conditions. A request that, according to what has been declared by the cooperative, would never be sustainable. The cooperative, different from the other operators, has a complex structure to maintain: more than 30 employees; maintenance, renovation and utilities for more than 12,000 square metres; ecc. (Repubblica, 2018). Also if the Catacombs generated a positive income, without the sponsorships received the financial statements would have been loss-making. Is immediate to understand why such a high fee would signify the business shut down.

The group answered by launching a petition letter to the Pope, on the platform Change.org[21] which received more than 130,500 signatures. The local shops complained against the Vatican's demand exhibiting protest papers on their windows.

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[21] https://www.change.org/p/papa-francesco-bergoglio-lettera-aperta-per-salvare-le-catacombe-di-napoli

4.12 From herigitization process to creative quarter

As explained above the process undertaken started as an "heritagization". This process, according to Walsh (2002), aims at making inhabitants in a region feel that certain cultural heritage is more relevant to them than to foreigners. The renovation of Rione Sanità has mainly been built on the restoration of local cultural ruins and historical buildings, exposing the heritage as a way to contrast the desolation of the area with the beauty of local artefacts. In the following 15 years, many other cultural and social activities arose in the quarter inspired by the experience of La Paranza. The more the inner beauty of the area was enhanced, the more the local community felt inspired and desired to be socially engaged. A higher stage has been reached when the creativity melting pot of the quarter started to attract the attention of affirmed artists and professionals from all around the world.

In 2013 the italian playwright Mario Gelardi moved to Rione Sanità inspired by the energy and desire of learning theatre practises of a group of local youth, becoming the artistic director of the New Sanità Theatre. Despite its short life, the theatre stage has already hosted important names from the local and national art scene. Since its creation, the company has offered theatre courses for the children of the district and, thanks to the support of the Intesa-San Paolo foundation, also professional courses for adults. Since 2016 the NtS' collective has received important awards such as the "Giuseppe Fava" for its civil commitment combined with theatre or the "Rete Critica" as the best Italian theatre project and organisation. The theatre has also taken part, as a protagonist, to large international projects, like the festival Circle, and it collaborated with well-known international institutions such as the Goethe Institut.

In 2016 the spanish street artist Tono Cruz took part in a partecipative project together with CON IL SUD Foundation, San Gennaro Foundation and with the support of Intesa Sanpaolo and Save the Children: an education and social inclusion initiative for young inhabitants of the Rione through art. A series of practical workshops and theory lessons in which more than 60 young people aged between 16 and 25 were able to participate. Result of this collaboration has been the work "Luce". The mural painting depicts the smiling faces of some of the children who took part in the initiative immersed in a funnel of light: an exhortation to look to the future with hope and optimism. The clear varnish alternates with the original, deteriorated plaster of the building, highlighting the contrast between the district's past (which should be maintained in the memory) and its future in the hands of proactive youth. After the lockdown, in 2020 the artist homaged the city with another artwork: "Totò e Peppino". The work represents the famous coffee scene between Totò and Peppino De Filippo in the movie "La banda degli onesti"; giving passers-by not only beauty but a reason to smile, even in difficult times.

From 2016 many other buildings and streets of the Rione started to be "lighted" by the intervention of international street artists. Mono Gonzalez, a Chilean artist and set designer, turned on with his colourful artworks the bell tower and the rectory of the Fontanelle cemetery. The Napolitan artist Jorit Agoch guided the works of a group of youth from the district, teaching them the mural art technique. Francisco Bosoletti, from Argentina, is the author of the huge artwork "Resis-Ti amo", which occupies the entire facade of the seventeenth-century basilica of Santa Maria della Sanità. "Perseveranza '' by Matias Noguera Matu, on the external wall of the basilica San

Severo Fuori le Mura, represents an homage to the music produced inside by the orchestra Sanitansamble.

In 2019 the international artist Jago decided to donate his sculpture named "Il Figlio Velato" to the quarter and its citizens. Inspired by Giuseppe Sanmartino's Veiled Christ, the sculpture depicts a lying child covered by a veil. He is an innocent victim of adult choices and a denunciation of the atrocities of modern times. Through this image the sculptor wants to draw attention to a reality in which crime, migration, massacres and sacrifices are still part of everyday life but also offer a symbol of hope and renaissance.

During the quarantine, in 2020, Jago decided to establish his laboratory inside the Rione, in one of the Sanità's churches, S. Aspreno ai Crociferi, which has been finally reopened after more than 40 years. This initiative has brought the attention of the media and has stimulated the curiosity and participation of the citizens.

During this period at Sanità, the artist created two other works inspired by the events of the neighbourhood, which had a huge international echo and attracted tourists from all over the world. The first one is entitled "Look down" and is a bitter reflection on the difficult conditions that some people were experiencing during the lockdown period. Once again the work expresses a denunciation, a demand for help on behalf of the weak and forgotten. A monumental marble child curled up in a foetal position has been chained to the cobblestones in Plebiscito Square the night of 5th on November 2020.

The second work is "La Pietà", a new version of Michelangelo's famous sculpture, in which the figure of the Madonna is replaced by a father holding his son's lifeless body in desperation and helplessness. In 2020 the artist also declared (La Repubblica) his intention to create an art school in Naples. What emerges from the research is that the vitality and genuine atmosphere of the Rione is perceived by many artists as the

perfect ground to create something new: "Qui, appena metti un seme: germoglia."

"Here, as soon as you place a seed: it sprouts", Jacopo Cardillo, 2020.

Through collected information the following key elements have been detected as responsible for such an interest. 1. The cultural wealth of the area which not only offers the opportunity to live surrounded by beauty, but also acts as a source of inspiration . 2. The art and culture of the area belong to the citizens as part of their traditions and habits. Therefore it constantly changes and is enriched with new meanings and stories. Far from concepts of high culture or musealization, here the heritage directly or indirectly impacts the habitants' everyday lives. 3. The commitment of local people working to change the situations from the inside, personally and with their own means, stimulates in the others - especially in creative personality - the desire to contribute to such a higher purpose

The spread of creativity of these last years is no longer just about how to enhance and maintain cultural heritage but has moved towards the creation of new art - in its wider sense-. A transformation that could be considered a first step in the evolution of the Rione into a creative quarter.

4.13 Conclusions

In conclusion to what has been presented in this chapter, the answer to the question whether bottom-up processes can be a valid alternative to top-down approaches is explicit.

Through this case study it has been shown how, a series of private local initiatives, can transform the quarter into a cultural melting pot; where requalification of the existing heritage, social engagement and new art creation are all taken in action. In particular it

has demonstrated the capacity of the citizen to be more than a useful resource in the matter of renovation but rather the real engine of the process. The studies on the historical background has been fundamental for the comprehension of recent events and choices; the analysis on the Istat data and indicators allows to evaluate the social impacts and the occurred changes through the years; the interviews brought to a closer encounter with the motivations and commitment of some of the protagonists. All the collected information has been fundamental to complete the puzzle and recognize the essential ingredients which determine the success of the model. In spite of the unrepeatability of some key aspects of this process - such as the multi-faceted skills of its protagonists or their willingness to act personally - there are just as many that ensure that the overall process can be effectively replicated. For example, the fact that the initiative is born and remains totally private guarantees a wide margin of organisational and decision-making freedom, which is essential for maintaining that spontaneous link with the neighbourhood: hiring young people from the quarter; promoting activities to involve the local community; supporting the creation of other associations and cooperatives.

The effort made to invest in and enhance internal resources has been rewarded by the occurrence of numerous chain reactions: results of the spontaneous initiative of other groups and families of the Rione. In the space of a couple of years, this proliferation of activities has radically transformed the district in many ways, leading to a concrete redevelopment of the area. Not only have a number of cultural sites been saved and restored - first and foremost the catacombs - but thanks to the work of international artists, aslo the appearance of the district has started to change. The economy has undergone an important turnaround, thanks both to the creation of jobs and the

increase in tourist flows. Other important transformations, even if it is more difficult to demonstrate the cause-effect relationship, are the living conditions of the citizens. The birth of this - La Paranza - and other cooperatives seems to have generated, over the years, an increase in the schooling rate against a decrease in child crime, a proliferation of commercial and tourist services but also family support services, a greater sense of security and well-being in the neighbourhood. Today, the Rione not only enjoys a better reputation but has become a meeting place for artists and creatives in search of inspiration. This vibrant reality is today perceived by many artists as the perfect ground to create something new and at the same time contributing to a social revolution. Most of them homage the quarters with their works, all representing the change taking place and in which common people became heroes of an almost-mythic narrative. Artwork donations, participation in social programs, sharing of knowledge and experiences, are the response of artists and creative people to the desire to be involved.

The role of the Church, through the figure of Antonio Loffredo, established, from the beginning of the process, a "pacific" rebellion which transformed the ancient fight against criminal organisations into an indiscriminate invite to collaborate in the aim of a better life. A welcoming atmosphere which still characterised the community, not only in the inner relationship, but also from an external perspective: tourists, strangers, passersby have declared the unexpected feeling to "find themselves at home".

5. Conclusions

The aim of this research was to assess whether bottom-up regeneration initiatives when presenting specific characteristics can be considered valid substitutes for top-down approaches and whether it can lead to the creation of a creative quarter.

Starting from the analysis and comparison of existing literature on some well-known regeneration cases has made it possible to identify and draw up the main types of urban regeneration. Despite the different strategies applied some convergence points emerged. The most visible and most incisive for the purpose of this research is that they all owe their success to the massive and active participation of local people. In each of the four cases analysed, the turning point occurred when the local community went from being considered a passive entity, that would have suffered/benefited from the redevelopment, to being a protagonist of the change, thus participating also in the decisional and organisational aspects. Without this resource all the other elements such as the presence of major sponsors, substantial public investment, the creation of infrastructure, the drafting of an articulated urban plan, appear to be important but not sufficient conditions.

The Catacombs of Naples, the fifth and last case of this thesis, was chosen to assess the essentiality of this aspect, seeking to understand to what extent citizen participation and private initiative could compensate for the lack of all the 'important but not sufficient' conditions. As pointed out in the third part, the regeneration of Rione Sanità was not part of an urban policy framework and, at least in the beginning, it could only rely on available internal resources: labour force and cultural heritage. Despite this, the data collected show that the redevelopment process has in fact taken place, involving

both the economic and the social sphere. In the last few years the quarter completed its transformation acquiring to all intents and purposes the characteristics of a creative and cultural district. It not only attracted the attention of international artists but also allowed the rise of a "creative class" out of the local people themselves. A generation of musicians, writers, actors, street artists, is being shaped in the district, sons of the creative citizens which in the last 10 years worked together to improve the life conditions in the Rione.

Limitations and possible further analysis:

One of the reasons behind the choice of this case study is certainly its actuality, which enables us to get directly in touch with the protagonists and be the direct witnesses of the ongoing transformation. However, the temporal proximity of the reported events do not allow an evaluation of the effects on the long term. Further investigations could be carried out in the next few years in order to assess which form the neighbourhood will take once the ongoing transformation into a creative quarters is completed. Maybe it will fit in one of the models detected by Hosper (2003): technological-innovative, cultural-intellectual, cultural-technological or technological-organisational. Elsewhere it will be the first example of something new, to which no previous model is applicable.

Future research could also examine this case from the perspective of the scientific results achieved. The wider access granted to visitors has, in fact, led not only to an increase in the number of tourists but also to a renewed interest of the scientific community. The opening up of previously inaccessible areas has facilitated on-site analyses and allowed for a real archaeological rediscovery of certain abandoned sections.

Finally, the exploration conducted on the case could be also compared with similar bottom-up regeneration processes both at a similar and at a different stage of evolution. One possibility could be to compare the regeneration of Rione Sanita to the one of the Navigli area of Milan led by two self-organised civic networks presented by S. Rabbiosi in her analysis: *Urban regeneration 'from the bottom up'. Critique or co-optation? Notes from Milan, Italy.*

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