CULTURAL RESILIENCE: PHYSICAL ARTIFACTS, INTANGIBLE ATTRIBUTES, NATURAL RISKS

Thirteenth Interdisciplinary Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture

Hosted by University of Basilicata, Matera

PROCEEDINGS
MATERA, ITALY, 28-29 NOVEMBER 2019
UNEECC FORUM VOLUME 12.

Editors: OVIDIU MATIU GLEN FARRUGIA

ISSN 2068-2123
Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu Press, 2020
The editors and publisher of this volume take no responsibility as to the content of the contributors.
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Introduction – Cultural Resilience in the context of ECOCs
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The Context

Cultural resilience may be defined as the ability of cultural systems, which involve processes and procedures in different communities, and which are able to address threats and weaknesses, embrace sustainable transformation and turn such components into an opportunity to continue developing. In this respect, the concept of cultural resilience draws from a series of important elements which, on the one hand has continuity, and on the other transformation as its central components. A community which is culturally resilient often takes advantage of what may be seen as negative elements, such as political instability, health risks and wellbeing and turns this into a counteracting tool to reinforce cultural sustainability.¹

The 13th Interdisciplinary conference of the University Network for the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) draws from the concept of Cultural Resilience in the context of Matera 2019. “UNeECC is an organisation made up of a number of Higher Education Institution within the European Union which contributes toward the ‘recognition of the role of European universities in ensuring the success of cities designated with the title of European Capitals of Culture’ (UNECC 2018). Such contribution may occur in various forms and as stipulated by the foundation or organisation entrusted with the management of the ECOC title. In its Guidelines for the cities’ own evaluation of the results of their ECOC, the European Commission (2018), indicates how designated cities may collaborate with local universities to gather and process the necessary data so as to obtain key indications on the impacts specific activities organised by the ECOCs are affecting key stakeholders (e.g. the general public, public cultural organisations, and cultural entrepreneurs among others). While the majority of ECOCs’ do involve local academics and universities, the reality with regard to other designated cities may be completely different. Through its members, UNeECC has been regularly taking stock of these synergies and presents the results as case studies during its yearly conference”.²

The UNeECC Matera Conference

This publication is the outcome of the UNeECC annual conference which was held in Matera, Italy in November 2019, just a couple of months before the country was heavily

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struck by the Covid-19 pandemic. There were twenty-one papers delivered over three plenary sessions, eleven of which have been selected to be part of this volume of conference proceedings along with an invited paper. The topics discussed in this publication range from urban regeneration to “touristification”, from community involvement to politics. The methods employed by the authors, particularly those which draw from systematic evaluation and monitoring of ECoC projects and events provide a useful platform for discussion for the cities that are going to be designated as European Capitals of Culture in the future.
Liverpool 2008 World Heritage Site(s): To Keep or To Lose?

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Abstract
Liverpool Mercantile Maritime City is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is ‘in danger’ and threatened with deletion from the UNESCO list of sites because of its 21st century culture-lead renaissance and its impact on the heritage environment of the city. The Liverpool World Heritage site is 136 hectares in area and contains 380 protected buildings. It comprises six sections and a buffer zone surrounding these sites.

Growth, decline and renaissance describe Liverpool over the last 4 centuries. Its heritage is based upon the wealth, philanthropy and civic pride resulting from its pre-eminence in the 19th century as the 2nd city and port of the British Empire. This produced an impressive variety of buildings and institutions. In the 20th century it declined in importance as a result of the decline of the British Empire and Britain’s position in the world, the growing importance of Europe and general post-industrial decline. This lead to redundant and derelict urban and port landscapes (and opportunities?) and a continuation of the relative economic and social disadvantage which was associated with much the 19th century growth.

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries a culture and tourist lead renaissance stimulated by European social, regional and cultural funding and Liverpool’s designation as a European City of Culture in 2008 lead to a rediscovery of civic pride and large scale investment and development. This lead to the current crisis as much of the development put the World Heritage status at risk. The socialist council was presented with the dilemma of conservation or development or combining the two approaches through a period of local and global austerity.

Key words: Liverpool - UNESCO - World Heritage – development – conservation

1. Liverpool

Liverpool’s modern era history can be described by the three words: Growth, Decline and Renaissance. By the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries it had grown to be the second city and port of the British Empire. As a result, today it has international links, an urban infrastructure, heritage buildings and social and cultural institutions dating from this period. Its peak population was 867,000 reached in 1937.

The early to late 20th century was characterised by the First and Second World Wars, dereliction and decline. As a result, in 1985 Parkinson wrote ‘Liverpool on the Brink’ (1985) where he described the 1982 civil unrest, 30% unemployment, the rise of the politically extreme left Militant Tendency, post-industrial decline, the gradual abandonment of the docks and poor labour relations. Apart from the Mersey Sound musical era of the 1960s (the Beatles, Gerry and the Pacemakers, The Searchers) the city declined and by the start of the new
millennium (2001) its population had declined to 530,000 and morale and reputation had reached an all-time low.

Figure 1. Liverpool, Ireland and Europe

The early part of the 21st century was marked by a significant improvement, described by Parkinson (2019) as ‘Liverpool Beyond the Brink: The Remaking of a Post Imperial City.’ This heralded the rise and renaissance of the city, a period in which it remains, with contributions from the EU, the blond Conservative politician Michael Heseltine, the Merseyside Development Corporation, the International Garden Festival (1984), its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (2004), the designation of Liverpool as 2008 European Capital of Culture, the growth of culture, tourism and the visitor economy and the rebirth of Liverpool Football Club as European Champions. By 2015 the population of the city had grown to 565,000. Things had improved but the city remained characterised by gross social and economic inequalities.

For many Liverpudlians the last twenty years have been a period of great excitement, increased pride, confidence and renaissance, much of this fuelled by international recognition associated with the European Community (grants and events) and UNESCO. In 2003 Liverpool was nominated as the United Kingdom’s European Capital of Culture and in 2004 it was awarded World Heritage Site Status. The Capital of Culture year (2008) was considered a great success in Liverpool, the UK and across Europe and provided the springboard of continued growth through to 2019 based largely upon culture and tourism (the visitor economy). The only challenge to this story of success was the threat to its World Heritage Site status mainly due to the contrasting demands of heritage conservation and economic growth. Large scale urban regeneration has caused a conflict between the maintenance of UNESCO World Heritage status and the physical regeneration
characterised by high rise offices and accommodation and redevelopment of the Mersey waterfront.

Figure 2. Liverpool, Merseyside and North Wales

In 2012, the Liverpool Waters development plans from Peel Holdings (Peel Holdings 2020 lead to the World Heritage Site being officially ‘in danger’ and this was followed in 2017 by a Final Warning of possible ‘delisting’ by UNESCO. Despite the establishment by the City Council of a Heritage Task Force and the publication of a 2017-24 Management Plan in 2017 the threat of delisting in 2020 remains a possibility.

2. World Heritage

For a location to be designated as a World Heritage Site it must have Outstanding Universal Value:

- Outstanding relates to the most remarkable places on earth which are ‘exceptional’ or ‘superlative’
- Universal requires a phenomenon to be outstanding from a global perspective
- and Value refers to its natural and/or cultural qualities.

In addition, to be considered of Outstanding Universal Value, a property needs to meet:
• one or more of ten criteria
• conditions of integrity
• conditions of authenticity (cultural)
• and have a system to protect and manage its future.

The ten criteria for selection are:

• human creative genius
• interchange of human values
• cultural traditions or civilisation
• stage in human history
• traditional human settlement, land and/or sea use, representative of a culture
• associated events, traditions, beliefs, artistic or literary work
• exceptional natural beauty
• stages in earth’s history, landforms
• ecosystems, communities
• conservation, threatened species

There are currently (Wikipedia accessed 13th October 2019) 1,121 World Heritage Sites in 167 countries. Of these 869 are cultural, 213 are natural and 39 a mixture of cultural and natural sites. Twenty countries have over 14 sites lead by China (55), Italy (55), Spain (48), Germany (46), France (45), India (38), Mexico (35) and the UK (32).

3. Liverpool and World Heritage

3.1 Characteristics
Liverpool is a World Heritage Site because of 5 characteristics:

• innovation;
• its central role in the British Empire, global trade and migration;
• its port;
• its tradition of cultural exchange;
• and its distinctive character and tangible sense of place (https://www.liverpoolworldheritage.com/why-is-liverpool-a-world-heritage-site/)

It abounds in architectural, engineering, transport, port management and labour system innovation. Its central role in the British Empire and global trade and global migration is exemplified by its many buildings and monuments, stories and records. The heritage of its port function is of global importance and the uniqueness of its docks, warehouses, commercial buildings, cultural buildings and dwelling houses all contribute to its designation. The city is also important because of its role in the process of cultural exchange with the USA, West Africa and Latin America through popular music and its patronage of the visual arts. Finally, it is widely recognised as having a distinctive character with its intangible sense of pride, humour, militancy, or memory and unique tangible spirit of place through its buildings and docks.
3.2 Liverpool’s World Heritage Sites

The Liverpool World Heritage Site (Figure 3) unusually comprises six Areas and a surrounding Buffer Zone (www.liverpoolworldheritage.com/explore-our-world-heritage-site/).

![Map of Liverpool World Heritage Site](image)

**Figure 3. Liverpool World Heritage Site Character Areas**

This covers 136 hectares with dimensions of 4km x 1.5km and contains 380 protected buildings. This is a very large (and possibly too ambitious?) heritage site. For many people from Liverpool, the rest of the UK and overseas, The Pier Head (Area 1) represents the iconic international image of Liverpool. It comprises three early C20th buildings called locally the Three Graces, the Liver, the Cunard and Port of Liverpool Buildings fronted by a 21st century statue of the Beatles.

A short distance upstream is the Albert Dock Conservation Area 2 which comprises monumental dockside warehouses grouped around a system of historic
docks. It forms one of the largest groups of Grade I listed buildings in England. It
closed as a working dock in 1972, became derelict and filled with river sediment but
was rescued and reopened in 1984. It currently comprises the Slavery & Maritime
Museums, the Tate Gallery North, a Holiday Inn, private apartments, various
restaurants and bars and tourist shops.

Downstream, to the north, is the Stanley Dock Conservation Area 3. This is
surrounded by an extensive granite Boundary Wall providing security to the
Stanley, Collingwood, Bramley-Moore, Nelson and Salisbury docks (built by Jesse
Hartley), lined by a multitude of warehouses, traversed by the Leeds-Liverpool
Canal, and including various features including the Victoria Clock Tower.

The fourth section, the Commercial District - Castle Street, Dale Street and
Old Hall Street Conservation Area 4 comprises C18th -20th architecture built to
service the commercial demands associated with the British Empire’s trading
prowess. Its Georgian and Victorian architecture was built around the medieval
street pattern and to some extent remains the historic commercial and civic centre of
the city.

Further inland is the fifth zone, ‘The Cultural Quarter’ - William Brown
Street Conservation Area 5, here are buildings originally associated with the civic
investment associated with Victorian philanthropists whose wealth was the product
of maritime mercantile trade. These buildings include the World Museum, Central
Library, Walker Art Gallery, St George’s Hall and a variety of statues
commemorating national and local heroes and events.

Finally, the Merchants’ Quarter – Lower Duke Street Conservation Area 6,
represents the first ‘boom’ in the city’s mercantile economy comprising merchants’
houses and warehouses built to serve the original Pool of Liverpool Old Dock from
1715. The fine architecture is now the home of restaurants, bars, night clubs and
hotels.

The six UNESCO sites are surrounded by an almost continuous belt termed
the ‘Buffer Zone’ comprising a heterogeneous mixture of the Georgian terraces of
Rodney Street, the two cathedrals, Chinatown, Rope Walks and the Baltic Triangle.

4. World Heritage in Danger and Threats

As of 13th October 2019, many World Heritage Sites (Wikipedia) including
Liverpool were classified by UNESCO as being ‘in danger’. The purpose of this
designation was to increase international awareness of the potential threats and to
encourage counteractive measures. There are three categories of threat:

• proven,
• imminent or
• potential.

These are reviewed annually with the following actions available to UNESCO:

• taking additional conservation measures,
• reinstating the site or
• deletion of the site from the list as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.
There are many potential threats including wars, natural disasters, pollution, poaching, uncontrolled human development, species loss, lack of legal controls, deterioration of materials, and climatic change. In July 2019 53 sites were classified as being at risk, 17 from natural and 36 cultural causes. The sites were located as follows: 21 Arab States, 16 Africa, 6 Latin America & Caribbean, 6 Asia & Pacific, 4 Europe & North America.

Examples of World Heritage Sites at threat of being removed from the list include Oman’s Arabian Oryx Sanctuary which was designated in 1994 and in 2007 was the first World Heritage Site to be removed as a result of poaching and habitat degradation caused by oil exploration which reduced the Oryx population to 4 pairs and the protected area of the site by 90%.

In Germany, the Dresden Elbe Valley was designated in 2004. In 2005 a referendum was held over a proposal to build the 20km long Waldschlösschen Bridge across the beautiful Elbe Valley. This was held without informing the voters that the UNESCO designation was at stake. As a result the site was placed on the 2006 on Endangered List but in 2007 the construction was initiated and in 2009 the site was removed from the list. The Bridge opened in 2013.

5. Threats to Liverpool

The fundamental threat to Liverpool’s World Heritage Site status is the recent and planned large scale urban regeneration. This has caused a conflict between the maintenance of UNESCO World Heritage status and the physical regeneration of the city which is characterised by high rise offices and accommodation as part of the redevelopment of Liverpool City and the Mersey waterfront as a figurehead for the renaissance of Liverpool’s City Region.

UNESCO identified a number of specific threats to the Liverpool World Heritage Site(s) these included:

- the height and dominance of the tall buildings,
- the quality of design and materials being used;
- and the impact of these on the views of the townscape, skyline and riverfront.

Of particular concern was the multi-million pound Liverpool Waters Project planned by Peel Holdings which stretches for several miles along the waterfront from the Pier Head to the northern docks. Apart from the impact of the building heights other concerns include the extent, urban density, coherence, authenticity and integrity of the developments.

UNESCO was also concerned about the lack of public and professional awareness of the nature, extent and importance of the designation of much of Liverpool as a World Heritage Site. This and other concerns about the alleged lack of planning policies and guidelines lead UNESCO to doubt the city’s commitment and suggest only a tokenistic adherence to its World Heritage Site status. It is doubtful whether the City Council would have submitted its 2017-2024 Site
Management Plan which focussed on the protection, conservation, presentation and transmission for future generations through promotion, interpretation and celebration without the threats from UNESCO to withdraw its WHS designation.

6. An Example: the Stanley (Northern) Docks

Although UNESCO concerns for the Liverpool World Heritage status ostensibly include all 6 sectors plus the buffer zone described above in section 3, in fact the main concerns focus on the Pier Head and the Stanley (Northern) Docks. It is difficult to overestimate the importance economically, culturally and emotionally of the docks to Liverpool’s self-image as a global maritime city.

The docks developed during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries and their importance was the result of the city’s links as Europe’s major west coast and Atlantic port with the Americas and Africa. During the Second World War the port was vital in ensuring a steady supply of goods (food and war equipment) to the war-torn United Kingdom and Europe through its direction of the Battle of the Atlantic.

By the mid and late 20th century two major influences changed all this. Firstly, the formation and development of the European Union resulted in an increase in trade with Europe via Britain’s east coast ports which lead to the decline of the west coast ports. Secondly, the worldwide development of marine containerisation had two impacts. There was a massive increase in the size of cargo ships which required deeper water docks and the increased size of ships combined with a rapid turnaround meant less ships were required to facilitate trade. The impact on Liverpool was that the smaller docks closer to the Pier Head were no longer required and so became derelict and/or dealt with low quality, low value goods and functions. Also the Port of Liverpool, like many others around the world, had to develop the Seaforth container terminal several miles downstream at the mouth of the River Mersey.

This released many hectares of land which for years had been derelict and now offered an opportunity for 21st century developments (e.g., the Liverpool Waters Project – Peel Holdings 2019, the new Everton Football Club stadium) many of which conflicted with some of the aims of the UNESCO World Heritage site. On the other hand, this vacant land offered large spaces and opportunities and was juxta positioned with some of the poorest parts of the city which had been in decline in tandem with that of the port for much of the 20th century.

To developers, politicians and many citizens this was a once in a lifetime opportunity to change the image and economy of Liverpool. To others, including English Heritage (Historic England) and UNESCO, it represented a threat to large areas of the World Heritage Site.

The developments associated with the Northern Docks are dominated by Peel Holdings. Peel claims to be the ‘one of the leading infrastructure, transport and real estate investors in the UK, with collective investments owned and under management of more than £5 billion.’ (www.peel.co.uk). It owns the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company, Liverpool John Lennon Airport, Liverpool Waters and
Wirral Waters. They claim its Northern Docks developments are worth £5.5bn and will be ‘bringing life back to Liverpool’s historic docklands.’

The developments planned in the Northern Docks include 2,000,000 sq.m. of development, 9,000 residential units, 315,000 sq.m. of business space, a 53,000 sq.m. hotel and conference facilities, a £55million cruise liner terminal and the new Everton Football Club stadium. In the adjacent buffer zone, the 10 Streets Project aims to emphasise creative digital initiatives and artistic, cultural and performance spaces in addition to offices, commercial and light industry.

A major project is the redevelopment of the derelict Tobacco Warehouse (Plate 1) adjacent to the Stanley Dock. This warehouse was built in 1902 and functioned until 1980 and is a Grade 2 Listed Building which has for years been a target for demolition. Over 500 apartments are planned to the highest standards. Construction costs are 10-15% higher than the average for Liverpool and specialist consultants’ fees comprise 10% of the total cost. The selling price is between 25% and 30% more than equivalent city centre waterfront apartments. The adjacent newly refurbished Titanic Hotel charges room rates equivalent to the city centre Hilton Hotel. Financially the combination of a World Heritage Site location brand, luxury image plus the highest quality refurbishment equals a potentially strong return on investment.

Plate 1. The Tobacco Warehouse

Since 1996 Everton Football Club, known as ‘The People’s Club’, has been planning a new stadium (Plate 2) to replace their antiquated Goodison Park which was built in 1892. Various sites have been considered but in 2017 it decided to build its new stadium at the Bramley-Moore Dock and Everton entered into a 200-year lease with Peel Holdings. The Bramley-Moore Dock is part of the larger Stanley Dock complex built in 1844 which comprises 5 interconnected docks and has a number of small Grade 2 Listed Buildings such as the hydraulic tower, dock retaining walls and gate towers. It is very close to the ‘fantastic heritage schemes
including the Titanic Hotel and the conversion of the Tobacco Warehouse’ (Historic England 2019) both of which form fundamentally important parts of the Stanley Dock (World Heritage) Conservation Area.

Plate 2. The new Everton Stadium

From the start, the project has been controversial more from the overall impact on the heritage of the surrounding conservation area than its impact on a largely abandoned and derelict dockland. Those in favour of the development argue for the need for a new state of the art and visionary stadium on the downstream waterfront which satisfies and excites 21st century Premiership football fans, as well as for the positive impact of the development on a very poor and deprived part of the city. Long term friend of the city, politician and former Deputy Prime Minister, Lord Heseltine, described it as a ‘golden opportunity’ for the city. (Houghton 2019). Currently the proposed development has an advanced design and planning approval but the detail of the finances is yet to be confirmed.

To overcome the objections of organisations such as Historic England (and some fans of local rivals Liverpool FC!) Everton FC has engaged the services of world leading architects (MEIS Architects of New York) and engaged in one of the most extensive public consultations ever in Liverpool. Consultation was in 2 stages. The 15th November 2018 consultation was participated in by more than 20,000 people and confirmed ‘overwhelming community support’ (Bascombe, 2019). The second stage consultation in October 2019 was responded to by 43,000 people of whom 96% supported the overall plan and 98% were in favour of the 52,000-capacity stadium.

At all stages the architects attempted to combine the needs of a large football stadium (the 6th largest by capacity in the English Premiership) with its presence in a World Heritage Site. ‘As part of the proposed development a water channel would be maintained to ensure the visual continuity of the dock system, a key feature of the site’s Outstanding Universal Value. The Hydraulic Tower and other features such as the dock wall, old railway lines, old gratings, paving and
cobble stones, bollards, mooring posts capstones and granite steps will be kept as features (Consultation Roadshow 2019). Despite these and other modifications to enhance, for example, the transport access to the proposed stadium, a number of significant objections continued to be raised by Historic England despite their acknowledgement of the ‘attraction of this exceptional location.’ Their most significant objection is to the infilling of the dock which would ‘fundamentally change its historic character as a water-filled basin.’ They also contend that Everton Football Club has planning permission for residential development which would allow development of the dock area without loss of the water-filled basin as at the nearby Titanic Hotel and Tobacco Warehouse described above.

7. Liverpool Socio-Economic Context

The writer has little doubt that the designation of Liverpool as a World Heritage Site is well deserved. What is in doubt is whether the constraints imposed by this designation should stand in the way of developments which will enhance the reputation, attractiveness, social well-being and economic growth of the city. This is the dilemma for the city.

Liverpool is a small city of half a million inhabitants with many contrasts. Within a short distance of many Areas of the World Heritage Sites are abandoned docks and extensive streets of sub-standard Victorian terraced housing. https://liverpool.gov.uk/media/10001/1-imd-2015-executive-summary.pdf

Liverpool City Region (i.e., Liverpool and the 5 surrounding local authorities) is the most deprived of England’s 39 urban areas. Overall life expectancy is approximately 4 years less than the UK average and infant mortality has increased by 16% since 2010. The ward of Kirkdale which is part of, and adjacent to, the North Docks has the greatest deprivation in the city. Fifty per cent of its population live in the 1% most deprived wards in the United Kingdom. Of the 30 wards in Liverpool, Kirkdale has the 3rd lowest income, 2nd lowest employment, 2nd lowest level of educational attainment and is the 2nd worst for the health and disability of its inhabitants.

Despite these long-established indicators of poverty and deprivation, since the start of the Millennium there are many positive indicators of a renaissance and recovery. Population increased in 2015 for the first time since 1937. The population of the City Centre grew by 181% (highest in UK) in 2018. The city was rated the 2nd most improved city in the country in the 2019 Good Growth for Cities Report (PWC 2019). There has been major private sector investment by Peel Holdings and the Grosvenor Estate. The retail sector in the city has recovered from 17th in the UK in 2002 to 5th in 2011. In addition, tourism has grown to be worth £2.72bn per year and Liverpool is now Britain’s 6th city for international visitors. Between the Capital of Culture year in 2008 and 2015 44 new hotels were built providing new 4205 rooms. (Chambers 2017). This is partly fuelled by the buoyant cultural sector comprising nationally renowned museums, art galleries, theatres and the Philharmonic Hall. This growth is further attributable to the continued world interest in the Beatles and the renaissance of Liverpool Football Club who won the
2019 European Champions League and plans for the new Everton FC stadium in the former Bramley-Moore Docks.

Further evidence of renaissance and recovery is provided by examining the Historic England’s At Risk Register (https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/heritage-at-risk/search-register/). There are over 2500 listed buildings in Liverpool of which 27 are Grade I and 85 Grade II* listed. It has been described by English Heritage as England’s finest Victorian city. However, due to neglect, some of Liverpool’s finest listed buildings are on English Heritage’s Heritage at Risk register. In 2016 2.6% of the Buildings on the (national) Register were located in Liverpool. This contrasted with 13% in 2000. In the last decade there has been a 75% reduction in Liverpool’s At Risk buildings and 37 listed buildings have been upgraded within the WHS 75% (Liverpool City Council 2017) https://www.liverpoolworldheritage.com/protecting-our-heritage/conservation/.

8. Awareness and opinions of the Liverpool Public

8.1. Awareness

Despite the undoubted importance and visibility of the 6 Areas of the Liverpool World Heritage Site awareness and appreciation of these jewels is limited. Garcia et al (2015) note this limited Liverpool public awareness. In their survey only 3.7% could accurately identify the 6 Areas of the World Heritage Site and the 3 criteria for its designation and only 7.0% could identify all of the six areas correctly. Further, there was a ‘low public and professional awareness of UNESCO and World Heritage’ and it had ‘failed to capture local people’s imagination.’ There was a ‘profound sense of alienation in the outer city’ (p3). Despite this, ‘75% agree that WHS status is good for Liverpool’ (p4) and thought that ‘WHS is good for tourism but unsure as to whether World Heritage status promotes jobs & growth’(p3).

In the opinion of the author, based upon extensive experience of visiting WHS in Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, one major reason for this is the lack of obvious WHS branding at the 6 Areas of Liverpool. It is very easy to visit Liverpool without becoming aware that it is a WHS. This is confirmed by Garcia et al who consider the ‘designation has not been fully capitalised upon in terms of its image and place-making opportunities’ and ‘insufficient investment in the branding and promotion of the site, has prevented existing benefits from being widely recognised’ (p3).

Garcia et al. conclude that the low levels of WHS literacy and awareness is not only an impediment to realising the potential of the designation but that it is also a factor which has gravely undermined and destabilised the world heritage status of the city leading to the current crisis and conflict with UNESCO.

8.2 Opinions

Opinions of individuals and interest groups of the World Heritage Site vary from complete acceptance to complete rejection.
John Belchem, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Liverpool and the author of Liverpool 800 (2006), the definitive history of Liverpool, is of the opinion that ‘Liverpool has sadly lapsed into polarized and counterproductive opposition between redevelopment and heritage to the understandable concern of UNESCO.’ (2017).

Mark Kitts, Chair of the Liverpool World Heritage site steering group, speaking at the REEN 2019 Conference (Liverpool Echo 8th November 2019 p28) noted the incompatibility between the UNESCO Rule Book and the protection and management of Liverpool World Heritage site and the need to deliver economic growth, regeneration, social inclusion and inclusive growth.’ He continued by saying that Liverpool will always be a continuously evolving city. That’s what cities are all about – moving the past forward.’

The City Council’s chief executive, Tony Reeves, said at the MILIM UK Property summit that ‘we absolutely love having World Heritage status, but that doesn’t define our heritage in its own right’ (Mullen p. 30).

As might be expected, the Chief Executive Officer of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, Paul Cherpeau, is of the opinion that: ‘WHS is symbolic of Liverpool’s history, (but) its future as a world city does not hinge on it any longer.’ This agrees with the view of Abrahams, G. and Alsalloum (2018 p 27) who believe that ‘Liverpool would remain a World Heritage city even if it lost its status as a World Heritage Site.’

Cherpeau continues: ‘Since global trade and the docks began to transform Liverpool in the 18th century, the city has constantly reinvented itself and it is vital that it continues to do so by putting in place the developments and infrastructure that will help businesses and communities thrive in the future’ and ‘The scale of investment opportunities now within the city’s grasp are too important to miss if we are to remain a great place to live, work, study and visit coming into the 21st century.’

Steve Parry, Managing Director of Ion Developments, claims that: ‘Liverpool is very different from many WHS both in its nature and its scale ….. that doesn’t mean preserving everything in aspic or using pastiche architecture but it does mean that waterfront buildings, need to add quality to the city.’ He claims that his company’s much maligned (Pier Head) Mann Island development, winner of the ‘Carbuncle Cup’ from the magazine Building Design as the “the ugliest building in the United Kingdom completed in the last 12 months” (2012): ‘whilst controversial, was based upon maintaining key views of the Three Graces and it used the highest quality materials and as a result did not pose a threat to WHS.’

Henrietta Billings, Director of Save Britain’s Heritage, is of the opinion that International heritage status doesn’t just put Liverpool on the world stage , it brings cultural tourism, urban regeneration and sustainable visitor attractions…..losing it because of crass planning decisions would be an international embarrassment as well as a huge costly mistake’ (Mullen 2017). Jean Grant of the Merseyside Civic Society sympathised with UNESCO’s position, but is of the opinion that ‘it should have confidence that the city would not willingly harm its own heritage.’ (Mullen 2017).
Perhaps the most balanced view is expressed by Michael Parkinson. In his 2019 review of the controversy, he attributed ‘blame all round’. In so doing he made 5 key points:

- The City Council had good case to make about the investment made in its historic and heritage assets, but it had not promoted its achievements enough.
- Compared with other British WHS such as Edinburgh and Bath, it had not sufficiently developed or promoted its World Heritage Status.
- Peel Holdings, perhaps the major developed in the WHS, had not done enough to develop or publicise a coherent vision for the North Docks which would reassure UNESCO about the quality of the proposed developments.
- Liverpool City Council had not responded positively or constructively to UNESCO concerns expressed over several years.
- UNESCO and its World Heritage Committees is a classic international organisation and not the easiest with which to deal. (Dalberg Advisers 2019).

9. Conclusions

So the dilemma continues, conservation or development; the past or the future; people or places; opportunity or threat? Or can all be satisfied by thoughtful and tasteful change?

Is the Liverpool World Heritage Site too ambitious? Is its extensive site and elongated shape unsustainable? Is the free access unrealistic? Given this and the over-riding importance of the 3 Graces of the Pier Head and the inability of many Liverpool inhabitants to recall all the other 5 WHS Areas, should the city try to safeguard less of its heritage or at least embark on an awareness branding campaign?

Given the uniqueness of each WHS why should the same conditions be applied to (say) Liverpool (UNESCO 2019a) and the Painted churches of Chiloe, Chile? (UNESCO 2019b))

Can tourism, a major driver of economic growth, survive without the WHS designation? In the Liverpool Destination Survey of 2014 only 9.1% of the visitors identified WHS status as an important reason for visiting Liverpool. The Price Waterhouse (2007) survey suggested that the WHS status would be unlikely to contribute more than 0-3% of tourism footfall to Liverpool. Having said that, 4/5 of the top visitor sites in city are WHS and whilst the success of events such as the 2008 Capital of Culture lasts one year, WHS status is forever. Are the contributions of the museums, art galleries, theatres, Premiership football teams, the Giants, the Beatles as important as WHS status? Are Abrahams and Alasolloum (2018 p27) correct in arguing that Liverpool would remain a World Heritage city even if it lost its status as a World Heritage Site?

Is the real question binary or can a successful WHS combine conservation and development? Cannot the neoclassical St George’s Hall (opened 1854) be
balanced against the contemporary architecture of the Museum of Liverpool (opened 2011).

But fundamentally, cities are conglomerations of people. The City of Liverpool and its City Region are predominantly the custodians of the glorious buildings and institutions of the Industrial Revolution, the Victorian era and the British Empire. Unfortunately many of the population, with their humour and resilience live in some of the most deprived social and economic conditions, with low levels of education (despite the three Universities), poor housing, high unemployment, low life expectancy. Is it no wonder that the politicians in this post-industrial city must prioritise what may be once-in-a-generation opportunities to change all this by encouraging the investment in, and development of, many resources and areas which have a good chance of sustaining the renaissance of Liverpool and the life chances of its population? As Mayor Joe Anderson frequently comments: ‘Liverpool is a great place to live, work study and visit’ (Thorp 2019).

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Socio-economic and Cultural Impact of the Entrepreneurial University

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Abstract

Our paper is an interim report of a research project on the role of universities in strengthening socio-economic and cultural impacts in local and regional communities. Our initial assumption is based on empirical findings: dynamically developing and economically stable universities in European contexts (in many cases universities in medium-sized towns) function as innovation-creating, entrepreneurial stakeholders in the social environments around their campuses and in the extended surrounding regions.

We see the role of an entrepreneurial university as an active agent in attracting funding for cultural and artistic activities beside Research-Development-Innovation activities (R+D+I). This role can be realized if the university environment works as an open innovation space which induces and fosters a local and regional innovation culture in the cultural industries as well. An open innovation space on campus includes makerspace and open laboratories for student projects to foster creative work in design, fashion, architecture, urban planning, theater and the creative industries which may result in cultural spin-offs and start-up incubation.

We hypothesize a causal relation between prevalent innovative and entrepreneurial activities and the sustainability of local art and culture production due to a correlation between genuine innovation and adaptation to local change. Therefore, we hypothesize further that a university is bound to play a key role in catalyzing innovation due to the cultural gravitation of the campus environment. We assume a measurable impact of the creative and innovative mindset and the cultural start-ups in the creative industries emanating from the campus environment on the wider local and regional cultural fabric.

A related strand of our research is to analyze the complexities of local and regional cultures, taking into consideration historical heritage, regional values, the given socio-economic fabric and the potential for innovation. We identify key factors in the organization of culture(s) in a wider sense, such as sense of belonging, community building, regional identity and positive life-world of the citizens, together with striving for innovation within tradition and engagement towards responsible social change based on participatory citizenship. Our attempt to provide a model for the interconnected permeability between different cultural agents is warranted by a complex, transdisciplinary approach to identifying local conditions which determine the social, economic and cultural fabric of a community.

Key words: innovation-creating campus environment, entrepreneurial university, open innovation space, cultural gravitation, open labs, cultural spin-offs, cultural industries, innovative mindset.
1. Local and regional cultural contexts for innovation

Our research focuses on certain types of opportunities modern universities can exploit by taking their “third mission” and social responsibility seriously and initiating innovative solutions for culture-creation on campus which are designed to evoke response from the socio-economic and cultural environment around the higher educational institutions. In other words, we have set out to study the impact of the creative mindset emanating from open innovation spaces within the confines of the universities on creative industries in the narrow sense and on arts and culture production in the wider sense.

Our paper is an interim report of a research project on the role of universities in strengthening socio-economic and cultural impact and disseminating open innovation in local and regional communities. Despite the fact that our project has been limited to our local university context so far, we can expect tangible results from the cooperation between open labs and cultural spin-offs based on significant student-driven projects on the one hand and cultural organizations based on significant citizen-initiated creative work in design, fashion, architecture, urban planning, theater and other types of social value creation on the other hand.

It is important to mention that our cultural project is an ongoing project which has involved and engaged both faculty members and doctoral students over the years. As a natural course of events, cultural awareness and cultural cooperation was visibly strengthened and boosted in the city of Győr after this West-Hungarian city ran with its bid for the title of a Hungarian ECoC in 2023. Both socio-cultural research and empirical field work creating active networking among stakeholders involved the university. Great hopes arose for cultural collaboration with novel approaches to culture policy within the community. Some of the research results have been formulated and disseminated in subsequent publications of the UNeECC Forum. It seems to be in place here to mention but a few themes that were articulated as the outcomes of our research efforts in previous years. We intend to indicate that research results are never static, let alone final, as the need for findings to be adapted and sometime even re-interpreted in dynamic socio-cultural contexts in which conditions keep changing and new opportunities arise.

The need for new approaches and perspectives in a dynamic city to manage collaboration among different types of organizational cultures was analyzed in Barabás, Filep, Komlósi and Kovács (2017). Parallel to that, the dynamic evolution of the community’s needs for urban-space development was investigated in Géczy and Komlósi (2017). It was a felicitous revelation to the culturally-oriented citizens


of Győr that the city did not lose heart after their bid for the title of a Hungarian ECoC in 2023 was unsuccessful. On the one hand, a new cooperation with the city of Veszprém, Hungary, the winning city for the 2023 Hungarian ECoC, began to develop and take shape (partly due to a friendly invitation of the city of Veszprém to the city of Győr for joint cultural activities), and the clear and unambiguously declared stand of the citizens of Győr to continue the positive cultural trends under the slogan “Let the circle be unbroken!”. The unbroken spirit was to be reflected and reported in Nagy, Filep, Kovács and Komlósi (2018).³

Even more than before, it became clear to the socio-economic and cultural stake holders in the community that a dynamically functioning university should take a decisive role in advancing positive trends and create new opportunities for innovative processes. Theoretical frameworks for an entrepreneurial university were available, however skills for the implementation of the basic elements of such a complex and unorthodox system for a higher educational institution were missing. It required step-by-step negotiations with the university governors to introduce basic units to support innovative and creative processes on campus, involving both students and faculty members. It was envisaged that a healthy and functional ecosystem should consist of open labs, maker spaces and student innovation projects to make open innovation possible on the long run. It was also understood that the dynamic development of an ecosystem was expected to support efforts in culture production and creative industries in general and start-ups and spin-offs in particular.

As a consequence of a planned development of open innovation on campus, the university was successful in winning a European Project for Ecosystem Development that made it possible to employ personnel to implement and carry out the necessary procedures on campus.

In our present study we base our generalizable assumptions on obtained empirical findings. We claim that dynamically developing and economically stable universities in European contexts - especially the ones that are located in medium-sized towns - function as innovation-creating, entrepreneurial stakeholders in the social environment around campus and in the extended surrounding region.

In order to be able to support that claim we have found it important to explore the interaction between the local environment and the university.

Therefore, one part of our research is to analyse the nature, complexity and maturity-level of local and regional cultures, taking into consideration historical heritage, regional values, the given socio-economic fabric and the potentials for innovation. We have identified key factors in the organization of culture(s) in a wider sense, such as sense of belonging, community building, regional identity and positive life-world of the citizens, together with striving for innovation within tradition and engagement towards responsible social change based on participatory citizenship.

Our aim is to provide a model for the interconnectedness among different cultural agents which we pursue by adopting a transdisciplinary approach to identifying local conditions which determine the social, economic and cultural fabric of a community.

**Examples for the Modern Cities strategies**

To identify active cultural agents that have a decisive role in the community, we have looked at “best practice” examples in the European context and important policy papers as well. One of them proved to be the example of Helsinki, Finland where the community put forward a city strategy for 2017-2021 with a strong emphasis on cultural aspects of the city’s development and the well-being of the citizens.

The document is a trend-setter that can be easily used – *mutatis mutandis* – for community planning and community building alike.


In October 2019, the European Commission launched the second edition of the **Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor 2019** which the city of Győr subscribed to by creating a strategy for culture and the creative industries for the after-ECoC-bid period of the city.


The European Commission’s **Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor** document was meant to serve as a tool designed to benchmark and boost the creative and cultural potential of European cities, which is vital to driving economic growth and social cohesion.

“The first edition of the **Cultural and Creative City Monitor** proved to be a success, enabling cities across Europe to boost development by better harnessing their cultural assets. I am confident that the second, expanded edition will be equally useful for city authorities, the cultural and creative sectors, and citizens themselves. The **Monitor** is an excellent example of how the Joint Research Centre can empower policy-makers and help improve citizens’ quality of life through concrete, evidence-based tools.”

(Press Release, Brussels, 8 October 2019 -Tibor Navracsics, Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport)[^6]

**Positive trends reflected in EU policy papers**

In this section we intend to indicate the trends that help communities orientate themselves in the creative sectors. Trend setting does not necessarily originate from policy makers. On the contrary, the phenomenon of creativity can be captured best

[^5]: http://2023gyor.hu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Kreat%C3%ADv-Gy%C5%91r.pdf
when looking at bottom-up processes which rely on the creativity of individuals or small groups who collaborate on solving empirical problems. Creativity and innovation require not only suitable attitudes on behalf of the creators but favourable conditions as well. In a deeper philosophical sense, one could argue that creativity is always of an “artistic and playful” nature. Therefore, it is natural to think of innovation and creativity as emergent phenomena in any kind of “design or engineering activity”, be it a creation of physical artefacts, decorative or performing arts, social constructs or even mental constructs such as theories or models, production systems or metaphorical formulations of complex relations between elements and properties of a system.

Cultural policy, however, may acknowledge and confirm progressive and meaning-creating processes and give support to the development of the “common good” on the highest, legally accepted community level. It applies to our research as well: we take guidance and confirmation from the policy papers that help harmonize efforts in the society. We will indicate briefly some European Union initiatives and policy papers which help identify directions for cooperation among the actors in the community.

An important initiative in the cultural and creative sectors can be traced in the document concerning Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) and related ecosystems.7 Similarly, the creation of a European Network of Cultural Centers (ENCC) has had an impact on local organizational efforts.8 The ENCC website is a useful source for idea-sharing as it contains activity reports, evaluating articles, conference papers, etc. (see, e.g. Culture for shared, smart, innovative territories).9

Another initiative is The urban lab of Europe which is a prime example of transdisciplinary cooperation for improving the living conditions of citizens in their urban environments (see Urban Innovative Action – The urban lab of Europe).10 Their Manifesto summarizes the ideas connecting all these positive trends and community efforts:

“Culture and cultural heritage, including Cultural and Creative Industries, are vital assets for regional competitiveness and social cohesion, while constituting key elements of the identity of cities and regions. Furthermore, cultural participation has a significant impact on residents’ quality of life, contributing to their well-being and their sense of belonging.”

**Long-term impact of ECoC and the cultural role of the university**

In our research we assign a central role to the university in sustaining the positive effects of an ECoC or any ECoC-related cultural development. Universities do not function in isolation; they are in the intellectual center of communities who play a key role in catalyzing innovation and exerting cultural gravitation in the campus

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7 https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/cultural-creative-industries_en
environment. As we have described above, universities are free to generate an innovative mindset and create an open innovation space in dynamic interaction with its economic, social and cultural environment. As a natural outcome, entrepreneurial universities ought to be in the position of attracting funding for cultural and artistic activities beside Research-Development-Innovation (R+D+I) activities. Culture policies are decisive by providing guidance to communities. However, the creation and implementation of meaningful cultural products rely fully on the members of the given communities.

This is why we find it important to strengthen another strand of our research interest as well. We closely monitor in our research the skills development concerning cultural and social adaptability of the stake holders and socio-cultural organizations, together with the objectives for selecting, strengthening and sustaining cultural values within the community. The topic of cultural and social adaptability was investigated in Kovács, Komlós, Rámháp and Tamandl (2019)\textsuperscript{11}, and the topic of sustainable cultural values was analyzed in Filep, Komlós and Fekete (2019).\textsuperscript{12}

**The university as an open innovation space**

We see the role of the university also as an active agent in attracting funding for cultural and artistic activities beside R+D+I. This role can be realized if the university environment works as an open innovation space which induces and fosters local and regional innovation culture in the cultural industries as well.

An open innovation space on campus includes makerspace and open labs for student projects to foster creative work in design, fashion, architecture, urban planning, theatre and the creative industries which may support university-linked spin-offs and start-ups.

2. **The research questions and the hypotheses**

We seek to find ways to measure the impact of the creative and innovative mindset and the cultural start-ups emanating from the campus environment on the wider local and regional cultural fabric. We believe that the incubation process includes the design of both the prototype and the narrative of the product or service (involving the collection of the related and suitable narratives). Business narratives are vital for the incubation process; popular stories could affect individual and collective economic behavior of consumers or even the decisions of stakeholders in a given local innovation ecosystem. The theory of narrative economics was created


We hypothesize a causal relation between existing innovative and entrepreneurial activities and the sustainability of local art and culture production based on a correlation between open innovation and adaptation to local change. Therefore, we hypothesize further that a university is bound to play a key role in catalysing innovation due to the cultural gravitation of the campus environment.

3. A new role for an entrepreneurial university

Based on our research objectives and hypotheses, we claim that open innovation has a wide range of consequences in the socio-economic environment. Restricted to our research domain, however, we have identified a new role for an entrepreneurial university: with an active open innovation space on campus and a committed interaction with the surrounding community the university can enhance and raise awareness for local cultural heritage and foster sustainable cultural heritage preservation by smart adaptation to cultural change.

4. Future research objectives

Having identified the research questions supported by a conceptual framework involving the impact of open innovation space at the university, we need to gather further empirical evidence for the nature of local and regional cultural practices and specificities, and work out a model for cultural innovation within tradition. Such a model should also give recommendations for a more fruitful and efficient collaboration between „gown and town”.

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Acknowledgement

Our research has been supported partly by the EFOP-3.6.1.-16-2016-00017 project to facilitate internationalization and initiatives to strengthen the succession of new researchers and graduates. The project also facilitates the development of interdisciplinary and intelligent specializations at the Széchenyi István University in Győr, Hungary. Our empirical work and research has also benefitted from support from the GINOP-2.3.4-15-2016-00003 project to strengthen cooperation between higher education and industry.
The Institutionalization of Cultural Capital in the Light of Artist Behaviour: Two Socio-economic Models for Measuring Cultural Values and Cultural Impact

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Abstract
Our research adopts a transdisciplinary approach to understanding the phenomenon of institutionalizing cultural capital with a view on the history of ECoC. One strand of our research focuses on socio-economic components of cultural industry which determine the value-chain and value-production of both tangible cultural artefacts and intangible cultural products. The other strand of our research focuses on the nature of artistic engagement and the decisive personality traits of artists including self-determination, autonomy, intrinsic-motivation, assertiveness and cooperative skills.

The felicitous confluence of the two research foci is expected to yield a transdisciplinary approach to the analysis of particular socio-economic contexts to be observed in ECoC environments which influence and validate cultural capital. We hypothesize that specificities in funding mechanisms, societal reception and acceptance, and roles of official and volunteer stakeholders lead to different levels and qualities of the institutionalization of value production. As a consequence, we propose two socio-economic models describing two existing options for cultural industries and value production.

Our method is to examine particular steps and stages involved in ECoC projects, specifically the conceptualization, the application, the implementation and the execution phases. We assume that the cultural sectors in different countries in the EU are dependent on local, municipal and state funding in different degrees and thus the size and quality of private funding contributes differently to the overall outcome and the sustainability of the cultural values. It is almost trivial to observe that the share of private stakeholders becomes more and more insignificant as we move from the West to the East among the EU member states. The relationship and dependence between the public and the private sectors should, therefore, be analyzed in local socio-economic contexts. Focusing on the Central and Eastern European Region, we wish to understand the differences and similarities between Eastern and Western counterparts, looking at success-stories of Antwerp (Belgium), Liverpool (UK) and Marseilles (France), compared to Patras (Greece), Sibiu (Romania), Pécs (Hungary) and Kosice (Slovakia).

In other words, our aim is to disclose a grey area of the research activities concerning the institutionalization phase in the ECoC processes where major differences between the implementation and execution of the ECoC objectives of different municipalities take places. Our claim is that fundamentally different outcomes can be observed when it comes to the final phases of these unique cultural opportunities. We define factors embedded
in social contexts which influence and validate cultural capital in the long run. Therefore, the present study draws attention to the difficulty in measuring results in socio-economically diverse countries. We also emphasize the complexity of the challenges of ECoC-related funding to achieve integration into the established socio-economical fabric as the initial decisions take place at the European level, while the use of the subsidized support is realized via local processes.

**Key words:** transdisciplinary approach, cultural capital, tangible and intangible cultural products, institutionalization of cultural value production, public and private stakeholders, artist behaviour.

1. **Motivation of the research topics**

We have found a gap in the overall ECoC research concerning the nature of cultural capital as an intrinsic outcome of cultural industry. We are proposing that research should also focus on the socio-economic components determining the value-chain and value-production of both
- tangible cultural artefacts and
- non-tangible cultural products
in order to find regularities in the institutionalization of cultural capital.

2. **The research questions and the hypothesis**

2.1. The research questions

By what means can cultural values and cultural impact be measured in various and diverse socio-economic and cultural contexts which provide the backgrounds for particular ECoC processes and outcomes?

What are the specific conditions for the institutionalization of cultural capital?

What is the role of the behavior of artists with respect to their artistic engagement, their decisive personality traits (including self-determination, autonomy, assertiveness, cooperative skills) and social embeddedness?

Artistic and cultural value creation is a multidimensional process where the artistic skills of the artist is but one factor. In this section we look at the process of value creation from the point of view of human behaviour and personality. Considering all other things equal, we try to answer the question what behaviour and what psychological traits are most predictive of the success at artistic value creation.

Considering the human psychology alone, we are faced with a complex system of factors that interplay in the artistic creation. Artistic creation is not tantamount to value creation because the success of the value creation process depends strongly on the behavioural and psychological profile of the artist to sell the products. Sometimes both the art piece itself and the personal aptness to sell are completely moderated by other factors in the value creation process, thus it can happen that the very good art of a very apt artist is considered valueless or the other way round that bad art of sales-wise not capable artists is valued on the market.
However, considering all these factors equal, we want to find out what difference does the artist’s personality and behaviour make to the process of value creation?

The “big five” personality theory has a dimension called “openness to experience” which is in direct relation to the artistic interest. This, however, does not necessarily mean creation. Once, the interest is given, creation itself must depend on creativity from an artistic perspective. The artistic output is likely moderated by the “big five dimension”: conscientiousness and more precisely the facet industriousness, which to a certain extent signifies the habit of the artists to create. While a healthy dose of industriousness yields for an artist a regular and even output, which is necessary for value creation, too much of industriousness is probably linked to lower levels of openness to experience. Hence, we would measure the big five personality traits and creativity of artists to test our hypothesis.

Although, art is strongly linked to the flow-state (Csíkszentmihályi 1991)\(^1\) and intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan 1985; Ryan and Deci 2000)\(^2\) related to the process of creation, from the point of view of measurable value creation, it is not evident whether the flow-intrinsic motivation model of creation leads to superior value creation more than the industriousness model independently of motivation. Once we can quantify the artistic value creation, we can compare the two models, and while both can certainly be successful, it would be interesting to assess their relative value and look at additional factors that can define the circumstances in which one or the other is preferable.

### 2.2 The hypothesis

On the basis of our analysis, we hypothesize that the social perception and realization of cultural capital varies depending on the character of the value-chain and value-production in given socio-economic contexts, and that cultural values and cultural impact can (and should) be measured by exploring the nature of resulting cultural capital in various and diverse socio-economic and cultural contexts.

### 3. The methodology

Our research adopts a transdisciplinary approach to understanding the phenomenon of institutionalizing cultural capital in the various historical, cultural and socio-economic contexts of the ECoC phenomenon.

The two strands of our research which focus on the institutionalization of cultural capital and the role of the behaviour of artists in the process of value-production are assumed to be in an intricate relation due to very different backgrounds of cultural history, cultural policy, value-chain and value creation in

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given social contexts. Therefore, we propose two different models to validate cultural capitals of very different nature.

4. The proposed theoretical framework with two socio-economic models

We have designed two socio-economic models describing two existing options for cultural industries and value production which are clearly distinct due to specificities in funding mechanisms, societal reception and acceptance, the role of artists in the process of value-production and the role of official and volunteer (voluntary) stakeholders.

The models facilitate the measuring of cultural values and cultural impact which show different levels and qualities of the institutionalization of value production and cultural capital in the societal contexts under scrutiny.

5. The value of art and its relationship to cultural capital

A sustainable, consensually accepted value in a community which is created, influenced and validated by particular socio-economic contexts determining ECoC environments. Cultural capital is seen as a spin-off of an ECOC design.

The value of art and artistic practices, and its role as contributor to cultural capital production is a broadly debated topic. The value of art is not a simple question of what an individual is willing to pay for it, as is often the case with other commodities. Findlay classifies the various values art holds into three categories: commercial, social and essential value. Commercial value represents the price at which an artwork was sold.\(^3\) Social value references the social capital art offers, for example the ability to build relationships from a conversation about art.\(^4\) The essential value signifies the emotional response one has when viewing the art, it refers to the personal interaction with the piece.\(^5\) He notes that commercial value and social value have a symbiotic relationship, as “after all, people like to talk about how much things cost”.\(^6\) Conversely, essential value is less related to the other two values due to its inherently personal/subjective nature. Indeed, when it comes to the types of value art holds, it has been generally accepted that art has a financial numerical value, but also something more conceptual and theoretical such as the feelings evoked by the piece.\(^7\) Findlay decided to separate this conceptual value into social and essential, for others these two categories are conflated into a general cultural value. Throsby, for example, considers cultural value to be communicated through aesthetic qualities, what the art is communicating, and its historical and

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\(^4\) Findlay, *The Value of Art*, 94.


\(^6\) Findlay, *The Value of Art*, 194.

social value. Art’s cultural value is multifaceted, but as is the financial valuation.

Their relationship is complexly intertwined.

It was argued that “valuing a work of art works on the most basic principles: supply and demand”. This is a very contested claim. It would be too simplistic to state that it is just about supply and demand, yet it would be ignorant not to acknowledge these forces. Robertson explains that it depends on the sector of the market you are investigating. In his approach, there appears to be a spectrum where on one end, antiques gain value through a list of aesthetic standards, and on the other end, contemporary art gains value through the judgements of the art world. These judgements are indeed very difficult to predict. Preece et al. state that this is a reflection of the subjectivity of both art and value, resulting in the determination of a value becoming reliant on constructs, behaviours, and negotiations between actors. Indeed, as Jyrämä adds, “art cannot exist without a human being stating, in a social context, this is art”.

Throsby takes a middle-ground approach, whilst recognising that supply and demand plays a role. He states that the consumer in this market holds a collective taste which changes frequently with the times, thus taste influences demand. On the supply side, the producer (being the artist) is not seeking to maximise profit. He states that artists are of course influenced by their economic situations, but they frequently act in a way that goes against “conventional economic models”. Therefore, they can be influenced to a certain degree by price when considering supply choices, but that is not their primary concern when producing.

There is a wealth of debate about the nature of the value of art, be it financial or cultural, and how these two systems work together. The driving force behind a functioning economic system comes from the value that the economic agents ascribe to the goods and services that are being exchanged. Art is the primary good being produced and consumed on the art market, therefore one needs to understand how and in what way agents create value for art. Art is a heterogeneous entity, whereby each piece is entirely unique and different to the next. This unique nature of art means that traditional economic theories are unsuitable for art market analysis, as they do not consider the specific nature of the art market; they are built to analyse markets where goods are easily interchangeable.

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10 Robertson, Understanding Art Markets, 24.
14 Throsby, “Economic and Cultural Value in the Work of Creative Artists”, 27.
Art value, in the form of financial and cultural value, was briefly touched on in the literature review. In this previous section the purpose of the analysis was to set out leading debates about this topic. Now the background is largely understood, it is possible to explore it in greater detail, and with a specific focus on fractional ownership’s relationship with this value system. To reiterate, financial value represents the price at which an artwork is sold/bought on the art market. Whereas cultural value is an umbrella term that encompasses the metaphysical values of art. The process, as explained by Throsby, goes as follows: when an artist creates a piece of art, it tends to represent the artist’s ideas. These ideas form a physical entity through the artwork, or also as legal property rights. The physical entity and/or the property rights can be exchanged for a price, thus determining an economic value for the initial idea. Additionally, the ideas represented by the physical artwork can be exchanged, but not in a literal sense. When individuals view the work of art, they are experiencing the ideas represented, they then exchange these ideas through discussion with other individuals who also share the experience. Through this process, the individuals weigh up their own opinion, and create a personal valuation in the form of cultural value. Indeed, this is not the only way that art gains cultural value, but that will be examined in greater detail in due course. The fact of the matter here is that the art market represents both a literal marketplace where art is exchanged in return for money, but also a marketplace for exchanging the ideas that are at the crux of the works themselves. The physical artwork transforms from being a cultural good, by acting as a channel through which to communicate ideas, into an economic good by being exchanged for a monetary price. Robertson supports this sentiment, explaining that the origin of every work of art is ingrained with emotions, but it becomes a commodity once it is exchanged on the art market.

The process of how art gains a financial and cultural value takes place within the wider art market ecosystem. Addressing how the art market functions will only enhance the understanding of value creation. The art market is highly reliant on social networks and relationships. Art businesses create value for artists through navigating a mixture of “personal relationships and professional networks”. Indeed, this necessity of such networks is because, put simply, “value creation derives from the cultural perception of the business, which is based on the recognition of art world professionals as connoisseurs of the works they deal in”. The art market is built up of various institutions – from public to private – but it requires unspoken agreement amongst all the players for there to be an establishment of value. Art world experts, for example dealers, act as the most important gatekeepers to changing taste. They hold the power to signal a shift in

19 Robertson, Understanding Art Markets, 16.
22 Robertson, Understanding Art Markets, 26.
cultural value, and the subsequent attachment of a financial value to this cultural and social value. The social construction of value is not only dependent on market appraisal, but also on the physical context of the artwork, for example being included in a well-known collection, prestigious museum exhibition, or leading gallery. These elements work to construct significant cultural value, which in turn contributes to growing financial value.

6. Interim report of the findings

A. The impact and consequences of state support versus private support for culture production We have seen that the cultural sectors in different countries in the EU are dependent on local, municipal and state funding in different degrees and thus the size and quality of private funding contributes differently to the overall outcome and the sustainability of the cultural values. It is almost trivial to observe that the share of private stakeholders becomes more and more insignificant as we move from the West to the East within the EU member states.

B. The need to analyse local socio-economic contexts, whereas the relationship and dependence between the public and the private sectors should, therefore, be analysed in local socio-economic contexts.

Focusing on the Central and Eastern European Region, we wish to understand the differences and similarities between Eastern and Western counterparts, analysing success-stories of Antwerp (Belgium), Liverpool (UK) and Marseilles (France), compared to Patras (Greece), Sibiu (Romania), Pécs (Hungary) and Kosice (Slovakia).

Our aim is to disclose a grey area of the research activities concerning the institutionalization phase in the ECoC processes in which major differences between the implementation and execution of the ECoC objectives by different municipalities take places.

We claim that fundamentally different outcomes can be observed when it comes to the final phases of these unique cultural opportunities. In that sense, the notion and very meaning of cultural capital is to be treated differently in different contexts.

7. Future research objectives

We need to identify and specify factors embedded in different social contexts which influence and validate cultural capital on the long run.

Our research is meant to draw attention to the difficulty in measuring cultural results in socio-economically diverse countries.

We also need to take into consideration the complexity of the challenges of ECoC-related funding to achieve the long-term integration of new cultural products into the established socio-economical fabric since the initial decisions take place at

23 Robertson, Understanding Art Markets, 26; Preece, et al., “Framing the work”, 1378.
the European level (the evaluation and acceptance of the bid) while the use of the subsidized support is realized through local processes.

References


**Acknowledgement**

Our research has been supported by the EFOP-3.6.1.-16-2016-00017 project to facilitate internationalization and initiatives to strengthen the succession of new researchers and graduates. The project also facilitates the development of interdisciplinary and intelligent specializations at the Széchenyi István University in Győr, Hungary. Our empirical work and research have also benefitted from support from the GINOP-2.3.4-15-2016-00003 project to strengthen cooperation between higher education and its economic and social environment.
Mega-events in Heritage-rich Cities: The HOMEE Research Project

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Abstract

Recently, some organisers of mega-events, including the Olympics, have come to prefer using already existing facilities, revitalising them or adapting them for new purposes rather than investing in new infrastructures or venues. For historic and heritage-rich cities this change (triggered both by cuts in city budgets as well as by a slower pace of urban expansion) represents an opportunity for development but also poses a threat to their cultural heritage that until now has received little attention. This presentation concentrates on the ongoing HOMEE Research Project, a three-year European research project funded by the JPICH 2017 Heritage in Changing Environments Joint Call. It studies the relationship between mega-events and cultural heritage protection policy, as well as the impact of mega-events on heritage-rich cities. The objectives of the project are being achieved through a broad literature review and analyses of the case studies of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programs of Genoa 2004, Wrocław 2016, Pafos 2017, Matera 2019 as well as the Milan Expo 2015 and Hull 2017 UK City of Culture. The article reviews the project’s implementation and the key themes guiding the development of policy guidelines and recommendations that promote a more sensitive approach to heritage in organising initiatives and cultural mega-events.

Key Words: Heritage, Mega-events, cultural policy.

1. Exploring the link between cultural heritage and mega-events

Over the last 25 years, many European cities have aimed at restructuring their economic base following the decline of industry and increasing global competition, resulting in many cities turning to culture and heritage (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Willems, 2014). Within these strategies, one longstanding approach has been the use of a mega-event to invest in and promote the city globally. Mega-events have been framed both in the literature and in practice as a means to boost

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1 This paper derives from part of the work we have been carrying out for the HOMEE Research Project, that deals specifically with the relationship between mega-events and cultural heritage in European cities. The HOMEE Research Project is a three-year European research project funded by the JPICH 2017 Heritage in Changing Environments Joint Call. Several ideas and sections have been previously published in Jones and Ponzini, 2019; Ponzini 2020; Ponzini and Jones 2020A; Ponzini and Jones 2020B and other works related to the research project. In particular, section 1 contains elements derived from the theoretical investigation jointly developed with the HOMEE research project members (Ponzini et al., 2019) and reformulated in Ponzini 2020; section 2 has drawn from the Jones and Ponzini 2019 paper while section 3 derives and includes substantial excerpts from Ponzini and Jones 2020A and a similar overview of the HOMEE Project has been presented in Ponzini and Jones 2020B.
infrastructural investments, ignite tourism and improve the image of the city. Successful iterations have been largely popularized and replicated elsewhere, to varying degrees of success. Mega-events, sporting mega-events in particular, have long been aimed towards growth and development and had limited interaction with the historic areas of cities.

Until recently, the emphasis has been placed by and large on the creation of new infrastructural components, new stadiums and other public facilities to host events. In many instances today, on the contrary, mega-event organizers have opted for the re-use of existing facilities, the conversion of inner-city areas and the regeneration of neighbourhoods. For heritage-rich European cities, this shift in paradigm represents both an opportunity and a threat. Recent research has been investigating these issues. The focus of this paper is to introduce the key issues being addressed in the research, the approach and methodologies implemented as well as a framework of the collective findings from the various cases studied.

The content of the article is inspired by previous publications of the project and in particular derive from three existing publications (Jones and Ponzini, 2019; Ponzini et al., 2019; Ponzini et al., 2020); they have been reformulated here to provide a more succinct presentation of the research and main issues and a similar overview of the HOMEE Project can also be found in Ponzini and Jones (2020B). The focus of this contribution is not on the specific details of the case studies, and which have been published elsewhere (see: Ponzini et al., 2020), but rather on the process of going about investigating and studying the heritage links with mega-events and the main findings which emerged.

1.1 Cultural mega-events and their impact on heritage-rich cities

Mega-events have been interpreted as accelerators and amplifiers of urban processes of development, redevelopment or, more generally, transformation. In particular, the enhancement of infrastructure and the availability of greater funds for historic areas may help conserve and valorise heritage, inject new functions for underused or neglected facilities and areas. Mega-events may use heritage symbols and icons to build a stronger image for the city as well as to enhance public interest in heritage. Also, new management and governance networks fostered by mega-events could come to impact local heritage policy-making as well. At the same time, there is a current trend of cities rejecting the ‘bigger is better’ approach to hosting mega-events, seeking rather to use existing or temporary venues or instead turning away from events entirely (International Olympic Committee, 2014). Mega-events like the European Capital of Culture have long tended towards such an approach (European Commission, 2014). In a recent publication, Jones (2020) systematized these two emerging perspectives and discussed “cultural mega-events” as paradigmatic. We derive substantial inspiration from these findings, and we will mainly focus on the relationships between cultural mega-events and cities and places that are rich in terms of tangible and intangible heritage.

While the general approach largely deals with built heritage and considers the urban scale (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012 and 2015; Bianchini & Borchi, 2018),
the particular focus in each case depended on how heritage was defined or perceived by local experts, decision makers, event documents and existing planning or preservation policies. In this sense, planning mega-events in heritage-rich cities and historic areas imply potential threats, frictions and risks, such as physical alterations to the built environment, reinterpretations of heritage that might be functional to the mega-event but that obliterates the meanings and roles of local communities in it, or that more generally affect negatively how heritage is considered. The necessities of one mega-event may rule out the measures that other policy sectors would prioritize, including heritage preservation. More simply, mega-event planning imposes a short-term agenda for urban decision making, this contrasts the long-term vision and planning that heritage preservation typically requires. Mass tourism is a usual goal for cities hosting a mega-event, yet it may cause damage in sensitive areas because of excessive pressure as well as changes that commodify heritage and ‘Disneyfy’ the urban realm. One extreme manifestation of this may be seen in the spectacularization, standardization or instrumentalization of local culture and heritage (Beriatos and Gospodini, 2004). On the opposite end, it is true that heritage can constitute an important opportunity as well as a threat to mega-event planning and implementation. For example, the image and appeal of a city while bidding as the host of a mega event or as a tourist destination for mega-event attendance-cum-local/regional-visit may lever its cultural heritage, and its historic places and iconic buildings in particular.

1.2 Studying the range of threats and opportunities for cultural heritage

In theory, a clear trade-off exists between involving heritage assets, sites and urban areas in the planning, management and promotion of a mega-event and the risk of negatively affecting the city’s heritage (e.g., physical change, overuse of sites, incompatible uses between mass tourism and heritage appreciation, marketing of the city, etc.) (Ponzini and Jones, 2015). Balancing the appreciation of cultural heritage and the promotion of urban development through cultural, sport or other mega-events is a great challenge for heritage-rich European cities. Exploring how ECoCs and other cultural mega-events can show how cities and communities first detected and then creatively anticipated or responded to the challenges.

Consistent with this perspective, recent research on cultural mega-events (Jones, 2017; 2020) has studied the wide-ranging impacts and relationship between mega-events and built heritage. Events can physically impede the construction of new infrastructures or rehabilitation of unused structures and public spaces. Beyond physical transformations, these events also intervene in the management of heritage through new governance structures or facilitate public participation in decision making processes that inform the understandings, definitions and valuing of heritage. The impacts also derive from indirect secondary effects, such as motivating private investments in heritage, increasing real estate prices or processes of gentrification.

On a different level, we searched for innovative approaches and planning tools that fostered heritage-sensitive actions and projects in the context mega-event
planning, implementation and legacy. Within this framework and set of cultural policy issues, the main research questions that the project seeks to answer are:

What are the main blind spots in our current understanding of the relationship between cultural heritage and mega-event policies?

How do preservation and conservation policies deal with the threats and opportunities generated by mega-events in heritage-rich European cities?

Do key stakeholders in charge of mega-events and preservation policies have relevant operational knowledge and planning tools at their disposal? How to improve such tools and who should be involved in these decision-making processes?

In seeking to answer these questions, the main objectives of the research are:

1. To provide better understanding of the relationships between mega-events and cultural heritage preservation policies through a study of past events in heritage-rich contexts;

2. To prepare cultural heritage and mega-event policymakers at local, national and supranational levels to make explicit the opportunities and threats derived from planning and implementing mega-events and to better deal with them in the context of historic cities;

3. To engage local stakeholders and ensure their inclusion in decision-making processes to connect local interests with global cultural values.

4. Generate innovative guidelines and planning tools for promoting more heritage-sensitive initiatives and projects in cooperation with mega-event policymakers working at different scales and at different levels.

To improve our understanding of the changing context described above, this research addresses the gap existing within and between academic research and policymaking. The HOMEE Consortium comprises four research groups based at the Politecnico di Milano, University of Hull, Neapolis University Pafos and the International Cultural Centre in Krakow. The four research partners are responsible for developing five case studies (Genoa 2004 ECoC, Milan Expo 2015; Wrocław 2016 ECoC; Hull 2017 UK City of Culture; Pafos 2017 ECoC) in order to better understand the potential opportunities and threats for heritage when cities host cultural mega-events. The findings of these case studies will contribute to improving the planning, management and implementation of mega-events in historic contexts in the future. The research builds upon the excellent applied research track-record of our consortium (see for example Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Ponzini and Jones, 2015; Bianchini and Borchi, 2017; Jones and Ponzini, 2018; Jones, 2017) and also studies Matera, Italy, with research occurring prior, during and following the city’s year as European Capital of Culture during 2019.

One of the key deliverables of the project will be the HOMEE Charter, a set of policy guidelines and recommendations written for local actors and decision-makers of future host cities, as well as mega-event organizers at the supranational level. Our network of Associate Partners encompasses key national and international cultural policy institutions and organizations, as well as local mega-event organizers in
charge of setting up and managing mega-events, including the Matera Basilicata 2019 Foundation. The network will ensure a wide dissemination of the project findings through the platforms of ENCATC and UNeECC. The Charter will directly inform event planners and other policy makers.

2. Methodological approach of the HOMEE Project

The HOMEE research mixed past cases and one ongoing case of events in a heritage-rich city. Our work is based on the five case studies of Genoa 2004 ECoC (Jones, 2020b), Milan Expo 2015 (Di Vita & Ponzini, 2020); Wroclaw 2016 ECoC (Sanetra–Szeliga et al., 2020); Hull 2017 UK City of Culture (Tommarchi & Bianchini, 2020); Pafos 2017 ECoC (Dova et al., 2020) alongside an investigation of the Matera Basilicata 2019 Capital of Culture event as it unfolded. The original selection of the cases was made following quite practical reasons. Each case was selected individually, in part because the teams knew the process and substance well enough to judge its expected relevance in understanding the mega-event/heritage link by deepening its evidence. In some cases, besides this initial mixed scanning, substantial research work was done before the research started. In general, we wanted to have the widest variety possible, reaching situations that were of substantially different magnitude in terms of city size and population, event size and budget, type and relevance of heritage present before the start of the event, kind of planning and managing processes, etc. We knew that this would have not allowed simple and linear comparisons across the cases nor a one-on-one comparison. As we expect high-level policy makers to be able learn from examples and cases that show similarities, in connection to our interpretations and reflections (that are presented in the conclusions). For this reason, the more varied the cases the ampler the potential learning impact at the policy level.

The intention has been to identify new issues that are theoretically stimulating but, most of all, that are practically relevant in a complex policy field, or, better, in complex policy fields in different cities and countries of Europe. Our selection includes events that have a substantial cultural content (rather than sport), such as the European Capital of Culture, the UK city of Culture and the Universal Exposition. This choice allowed us to see more clearly cultural policy in action and more intensively concentrated in existing city areas rather than in self-standing platforms in per-urban areas (as more typical for sporting mega-events). There are, nonetheless, good reasons for allowing cross-referencing between different types of mega-events, largely due to the observable shifts in mega-event planning as discussed above (as argued by Jones, 2020a). The differing background work of the researchers involved in the HOMEE project forced us to jointly define and adopt a common method of analysis and reporting that places the cases in their context and understanding the due proportions among the cases. Once again, the urge to explore a new policy question rather than to generalize through clear-cut comparative methods drove the work. The different sources available in each case also forced us to use slightly differing labels and to consider different ways of measuring similar things.
While a detailed set of quantitative data was collected in order to deepen the city’s and the event’s facts and figures, such as city population, local GDP over time, we primarily adopted a largely qualitative approach. This allowed us to identify from the documentation, interviews and review of final outputs of the events how heritage came to be understood and involved (or not) in the mega-event planning and implementation processes. Our research teams analysed a comprehensive series of city and event documents, plans and strategies to understand what correlations existed between the event and larger long-term city strategies as well as what role is intended for heritage within these proposals and their actual implementation. The documentation regarding the mega-event typically included the bid books at different stages of the competition to get the title, the official event documents (such as calendars, programs, publications, etc.), the final event evaluations and impact reports where available as well as others. The analysis of the city planning context touched on documentation including official city plans (land-use or otherwise), strategic visions and spatial development plans. More specific heritage conservation/restoration plans and programs (including regulation and restrictions regarding the built environment) we considered in connection with UNESCO World Heritage documents (such as the applications, Site Management Plans, reports, etc.), national heritage policies, plans and listing, other policies and initiatives (including funds by EU or public and private entities). A more in-depth understanding of the narrative behind each mega-event and in particular regarding the relationship with heritage and the historic city drew on systematic press reviews that included newspaper articles, official websites and other media where available.

On the quantitative side, in the snapshot and city/event initial descriptions as well as elsewhere, we have used different sources, preferring the ones that were more homogeneous and comparable (e.g., Eurostat, OECD, UNWTO etc.).

A final key component of the research was the involvement of stakeholders and decision makers in a set of specialized events aimed at garnering their feedback and input into the findings of the research. While the more than a hundred interviews conducted across the project gathered critical evidence, these additional collaborative meetings were critical for measuring and testing the findings. First, a Living Lab workshop was set up in Matera over two days to discuss that case with the experiences of the past case studies, focused on some of the key issues that stakeholders had identified as being of most interest. This meeting brought together the HOMEE researchers with a group of local academics and researchers and representatives from the 2019 Matera-Basilicata Foundation and local municipality. An expanded symposium was then held with invited stakeholders from the various case studies and other key organizations, such as DG Education, Youth, Sport and Culture at the European Commission along with Europa Nostra, as well as leaders and managers of past and future European Capitals of Culture, administrators in cities that hosted large events and others. These experts and actors gave vital feedback on the project and findings of the work up until that point. Their involvement helped to confirm our observations and findings and their input was crucial to reformulating this work and informing the final Charter for Mega-events in Heritage Rich Cities.
3. Themes emerging from the 5 past case studies and the observation of one ongoing mega-event

The details and explanations of each of the five past cases can be found in the most recent HOMEE publications (Ponzini et al., 2020). Additional future publications will also present these cases in more depth, examining the main themes found in each.

This article focuses on providing an overview of the issues the HOMEE project has been investigating and the main overall themes emerging from the cases collectively. Therefore, this section will not explain the details of the cases individually, but rather reference some of the main themes traced across multiple cases. Through the research conducted for the HOMEE project along with the inclusion of experts and actors, the researchers have defined four areas in which to organize the final recommendations to be published in the Charter for Mega-events in Heritage Rich Cities:

- Context matters for mega-events in heritage-rich cities
- Long-term vision and spatial planning
- Governance, local capacity building and participation
- Heritage, identity and local communities

The purpose of this charter is to discuss a set of principles and recommendations for future host cities to follow as they prepare to either bid or host a mega-event. The following sections broadly present these four key themes that have emerged, and which make up the base of the charter and therefore will see further development within our ongoing research project. While the cases have not been presented in detail in this contribution, they are referenced here to demonstrate the ways that these four themes were observed through the cases.

3.1 Context matters for mega-events in heritage-rich cities

The different planning systems and institutional settings that the HOMEE project studied conformed significant aspects, specifically in terms of what could be done or even envisioned and what could not, in other words the actual opportunities of intervention for mega-events. For the same reason, the interaction between mega-event planning activities and heritage policies also substantially differed across the cases. In some cases, the city used its heritage strengths for building its image and visibility, in others it downplayed some problematic aspects of it (Hull 2017, Wrocław 2016). In some cases, heritage was the core of projects explicitly promoted by the event (Genoa 2004, Pafos 2017). In others, it had to be searched at the margins, as collateral aspects that have emerged ex-post (ExpoinCittà for Milan 2015). Perhaps due to the size and economic relevance in their respective city, each process related to mega-event planning, delivering and legacy has clearly different features from the other cases. In addition to the definition presented in section 1 of this article, in all cases the event was “mega”, at least in terms of its effects in the evolution of the city as it constituted a clear turning point, sometimes for spatial planning beyond the mega-event interventions, in all cases in terms of the
transformation of the urban environment, its heritage and perception. The precise labelling and classification of such a varied set of cases is an issue that could be discussed further, yet this relative effect makes the celebration of the event important and worth studying even when in absolute terms we may be dealing with events of a smaller size (Jones and Ponzini, 2020). Pafos, though a quite small city compared to the others and a relatively contained event in terms of attendance, is a case in point: the city has changed its vision, the role of heritage, and significant elements in its planning and transformation in relationship to the ECoC event.

In all the cases, the mega-event worked as an indisputable accelerator and amplifier of various urban processes. In some cases, policy makers and stakeholders had pre-existing objectives and target areas for the city to develop, redevelop, reuse or transform, with the event allowing them to signify, promote and infuse areas with new meaning and image. In some cases, the chances to do so emerged only as the planning for the event unfolded or even the post-event management approached. Similar mega-events end up being quite adaptable in their target areas, spatial arrangements and distribution of benefits, as the early and grand plans inevitably have to adapt to the real political and planning arena. Mega-events are formidable umbrellas that embrace pre-existing policies, harness their consensus and speed their implementation. Stressing underused or neglected facilities and areas as well as pouring more pressure on the historic city centre or places inevitably intersected with heritage policy, which typically has a slower pace and, in all cases, brought more reflectiveness regarding the values of the built environment (on some occasions, about the intangible cultural assets and the city image as well) in the process.

3.2 Long-term vision and spatial planning

The presence of heritage and the typical ways in which European experts and policy makers deal with it suggest envisioning the planning of mega-events in heritage-rich cities within a long-term time frame. The case studies in this report made clear a less obvious consideration, that the intersection with spatial plans and development strategies of the hosting city are also crucial inasmuch as they involve heritage places and cultural policy. Despite the grand plans and statements, successful mega-events are rooted in the locale and inevitably leverage the trends and transformation already under way. Recently, there has been a call for more cautious approach to mega-event planning for the sake of event legacy and sustainability of the facilities and places over time. The lack of a clear vision can lead to planning disasters. Large facilities needed for only a few months of celebration can easily become a heavy burden for the city to manage in subsequent years, both from the financial and urban points of view. The difficulties that Milan has encountered with the reuse of the Expo site could have been easily anticipated, simply based on what past and even recent experiences with Expos and the Olympics showed (Lisbon 1998 Expo, Athens 2004 Olympics, and many others; Thessaloniki 1997 is worth mentioning among the European Capitals of Culture). The exceptions made to land-use regulation and planning procedures in order to build the facilities and infrastructures
on time for the event can be seen as problematic, because they bypass institutional veto points and restrictions that are conceived for plans and project to be enriched with multiple political stakes a longer-term rationality. This aspect is key to heritage matters, both in terms of presenting opportunities as well as threats.

A clear vision and steady political commitment can bring new energies and opportunities to previously unrecognized heritage spaces, beyond the historic city centre, and allow synergies and transformative effects that sustain the post-event programming. On the contrary, the plans for the Hull 2017 UKCoC favoured the central areas and their heritage at the expenses of the outskirts. This was originally due to the selection of most valuable assets as well as to the easiest choice for building a more appealing image for a stigmatized city (Tommarchi & Bianchini, 2020). More generally, without the due attention and connection to city and regional planning, even positive additions to the cultural and leisure offering of a city can induce congestion, trickle-down neighbourhood effects and can generate unwanted consequences at multiple scales.

One of the most publicly narrated but practically overlooked item in mega-events planning is the legacy. Legacy does not only mean the infrastructure and facilities that have been built for the occasion of the mega-event, or simply the programmes and initiatives that have been started for it. In the case of Milan, the organization that took control of the important real estate asset of the Expo site and the vast public investment that it required began with an uncertain trajectory that led to substantial delays in decision making. At the same time, the organization of the ExpoinCittà programme, embedded within the city municipality, readily continued and even expanded its efforts in the years following 2015, rebranding as YES Milano and continuing to host events regularly throughout the city while the main Expo site remains closed. On the opposite end in terms of size, the organization managing the legacy of the Pafos event became problematic because of the uncertain status of the administrative agency that was in charge of following up with ongoing cultural programming. Such uncertainties can present ongoing threats to heritage as spaces that were either renewed or given new uses for the event are not continued over the long term.

### 3.3 Governance, local capacity building and participation

In Western countries, where powers are shared and sometimes scattered among different public, non-profit and private actors, governance issues must be taken seriously. Mega-events are not implemented based on off-the-shelf plans, nor can they be simply enacted in heritage-rich cities where the relevant aspects of places are multiple and governed by several actors. In particular, heritage-related actors and agencies may have veto powers that can slow or even stop plans and projects. In recent years local population perception and positive inclination towards hosting a mega-event have become more and more important, in some cases even for the awarding of the event itself (with survey and assessments done by the central bodies). In actual policy terms, the involvement of a broad political consensus and
the mobilization from the bottom up seems important both for mega-event planning/implementation and for its connection with heritage preservation.

The dynamics of mobilization and participation often imply a surge at the earlier stages and sometimes a dramatic drop when operative decisions must be taken to keep the pace and deliver key elements for the mega-event. The 2019 Matera ECoC is a relevant example that demonstrates the strengths of inviting local actors into the processes of planning and developing the event through public participation. Yet it also highlights the challenges that can emerge when local actors come to feel excluded at certain phases during the process, ultimately reducing support for and reception of the event. Participation was not used evenly throughout the process but varied overtime, characterized by a strong start and systematic decline throughout. For example, there was a reduced direct involvement of cultural organizations during the implementation of the events during 2019 according to the experience of certain groups. The lower degree of involvement of local actors and the limited participation in the implementation phase, in part due to broader political frictions, meant that some local artists and cultural organizations lost their trust in the Foundation responsible for organising the ECoC and kept working almost as if the event was not taking place.

In Pafos, the small-scale and close-knit community of the city core made it easier to mobilize citizens since the earliest phases. This greatly contributed to building a consensus about the bid, the event and to sustain some of the positive effects on the city. The integration of public participation processes into the bidding and planning stage for ECoC 2017 managed to spread the ECoC ideas widely, provided a platform for discussion, mobilized various groups within the city and established co-operation. Subsequent stages had far lower involvement and this can be seen in the limits of the volunteering programme. The Wrocław case is an interesting instance in experimenting with the use of small and micro grants. The mobilization of small organizations and individuals towards the goals of the ECoC was very effective. Involving neighbourhood organizations and the grassroots allowed the city to enhance the meaning and uses of places with cultural, civic and social relevance, activate and even regenerate them in connection with the event and its expected legacy (Sanetra–Szeliga et al., 2020). While Genoa also had a public call for projects through its ‘open door’ policy, quite an innovative approach at that time, neither was it able to continue such practices following the event.

3.4 Heritage, identity and local communities

In most cases, mega-events are focal moments in the life of local communities and sometimes can mark a change in the image and identity of one city. Policy makers should be aware of this, well beyond the instrumentalization of these political and cultural processes for the purpose of competition and growth. In several of the cases studied, the mega-event and its implementation were starting points for enhancing cultural heritage and its visibility in the host city. For Genoa, the 2004 ECoC and the more general strategy surrounding it triumphed in the award of the UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2006.
Modifying the balance and the consolidated uses and meanings attached to heritage may generate frictions and even spark conflicts among different groups benefiting or losing ground with reference to certain heritage pieces, historic places or the cultural practices and intangible values attached to it. This conflict can be anticipated and dealt through cultural activities, events and the arts, that can creatively generate new platforms for dialogue. Hull is an important example for this practice. Intercultural initiatives were envisioned since the start, given the relevant presence of migrant workers and their weak recognition within official cultural policy making. In addition, the use of arts and playful events for mobilizing heritage building and activating historic places for building a new and more attractive narrative of the city and community proved to be successful. In Wrocław, the collective processing of a difficult cultural identity and social history was stimulated through recognizing specific heritage buildings and places pertaining to multiple communities of the past and of the present. This was a way not only done to valorise heritage for tourists, but also to input social learning and cultural innovation. All the cases showed that promoting social dialogue about and through heritage is much cheaper and less time consuming than managing conflicts that may derive from a different or more intense use of heritage and historic places. While a majority of events occurred in the UNESCO recognized city centre of Matera in 2019, the ECoC also served as an opportunity to recognize and promote other aspects of the city’s less recognized heritage. Several pathways were developed to highlight the modernist neighbourhoods of the city and the unused quarry, Cava del Sole, was converted into an event space with performances taking place throughout the year and utilizing past industrial and landscape heritage spaces in new ways.

Communication regarding mega-events typically requires one single strong narrative or image for the city and program. This may clash with the multiple interests and perspectives of actors and stakeholders on the transformation of the city in general and it may limit the rich interpretations of heritage and places in particular. In the case of Hull, despite the difficulties and painful memories attached to it, rediscovering the maritime heritage of the city became a great opportunity for planning long-term interventions, as well as for mobilizing different strata and groups of the local and regional population. In this sense, expanding the cultural ownership and the possible narratives for the mega-events and the involved heritage can become strategic also for inclusivity. Clearly, the case of Pafos had to face the heritage of the Turkish Cypriot population, to make sense of the places that historically hosted that community and that became deserted after the 1974 conflict which divided the island’s territory. This was part of the core narrative (despite the overarching motto of the event: “Linking Continents-Bridging Cultures”) but resurfaced in multiple concrete projects as the revitalization of the Mouttallos Turkish-Cypriots neighbourhood that was partially abandoned.

4. From the specificities of case studies to heritage-conscious mega-event policies
The propositions presented in this article are based on the in-depth study of the five cases and real-time observation of the Matera-Basilicata 2019 ECoC. Given the
availability of dozens of other experiences in places and under conditions that are different, we do not expect these to be exhaustive. The intention is to spark debates with experts and policy makers towards the definition of more accurate and useful principles and guidelines for mega-events in heritage rich cities in Europe and beyond. Likewise, we do not expect all the issues discussed here to be limited solely to ‘heritage-rich’ cities or historic spaces. The four key areas of focus presented above are important aspects for any city hosting a mega-event to take into consideration and plan for. This article intends to summarize the particular effects such mega-events have on heritage spaces, as well as how the presence of heritage comes to impact the planning and locating of events, the trajectories of the urban transformation processes that may derive.

The mission of the HOMEE project has been to first initiate this process of research and discussion; the following steps will be to formalize these initial findings in a charter that assists policy and decision makers to appropriately consider and include heritage from the early stages of bidding for a mega-event to its legacy. These issues at stake are important for European cities and communities and, without doubt, worth trying as the lessons learned, we are fully convinced, can benefit future cities hosting mega-events in Europe and beyond. In our view, the relevance of the HOMEE project goes beyond just cultural mega-events as upcoming Olympic host cities are organizing very different kind of games. The Paris 2024 Summer Olympics proposes to host 95% of events in existing or temporary venues, including several prominent historic sites. These include the Grand Palais, the Palace of Versailles and around the base of the Eiffel Tower. Meanwhile, the Milan Cortina 2026 Winter Olympics will use sites like the central Duomo square in Milan, the ancient Roman Theatre in Verona as well as impact the landscape heritage values of the Dolomiti area as settings. Though encompassing a wider range of heritage concerns beyond just the urban, it will be vital for organizers to take heritage issues into consideration. In this way we see a wide audience for this research work which has not been previously dealt with in the past and which seems poised to become increasingly important in the coming years.

Finally, the impending new approaches to implementing mega-events are not the only new force affecting the planning and delivery of mega events as the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic has already delayed the two largest mega events in 2020, the Olympic Games and the Universal Expo. While the future of large events remain uncertain, new public health restrictions will surely change the delivery and experience of events along with the ways they interact with and impact the heritage of host cities. Further research will need to study such issues to continue preparing cities for the potential range of impacts that mega events of all types can have.

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Evaluating the Impact of Co-creating Major Cultural Projects with Citizens in an ECOC Setting

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Abstract
There is an interesting debate around the role played by a European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in the development and growth of creative and cultural organisations working in the city designed as cultural capital, in the sub-region and beyond. Whilst it is understandable that the designation of ECOC of a city has an impact on the broader profile of the city and can give improved credibility of the city’s creative offer, there is a variety of experiences about the direct impact on cultural organisations engaged with the development of the mega event ECOC. This study focuses on an evaluation of the impacts of co-creating big cultural projects with citizens in ECOC setting, on creative and cultural organisations leading the project and participant citizens. The study adopts an exploratory approach based on multiple case studies. The cases regard five cultural organisations that have led major projects within the Matera ECOC 2019 programme.

The cases provide a consistent scenario for deepening understanding of changes experienced by cultural organisations engaged in the development of big projects involving citizens in ECOC context.

Key Words: ECOC, cultural project co-created with citizens, evaluation, case studies.

1. Introduction
The citizens’ involvement in the creation and implementation of cultural events is a fundamental trait of a European Capital of Culture (ECOC). The success of an ECOC and its legacy greatly depend on the broadest and most active participation of citizens in cultural events, as well as on creating opportunities for a wide range of people to proactively and actively participate in the development of cultural projects and events. Creative and cultural organisations play a key role in engaging citizens and favouring their large participation in the ECOC program. Through their activities and projects, these organisations enable and widen the access to the culture and act as a powerful engine of ECOC. On the other hand, for their part, creative and cultural organisations involved in the implementation of an ECOC program, experience the wave of this great event and its impact.

In recent years, an interesting debate has been developed on the role played by ECOCs in the development and growth of creative and cultural organizations
operating in designated capital cities, or their region and beyond. Whilst it is understandable that the designation of ECOC of a city has an impact on the broader profile of the city and can give an improved credibility of the city’s creative offer there is a variety of experiences about direct impact on cultural organisations engaged with the development of this mega event.

Leaving out the broader understanding of the changes occurring in cultural and creative industry in an ECOC, this study focuses on an evaluation of the impacts of co-creating big cultural projects with citizens on creative and cultural organisations leading the project and participant citizens. In particular, the research has two main aims closely interconnected: 1) to investigate if and how co-creating big cultural projects with citizens in ECOC context produces some effects on cultural organisations producing the projects, in terms of renewed management capabilities and a reinforced business model; 2) to understand the effects of the co-creation of cultural projects on citizens. The context of analysis is one of the two ECOC 2019, i.e., Matera 2019.

From a methodological viewpoint, the study is developed as an exploratory research and uses a qualitative approach. This is justified by the fact that there is scarce research on the investigated questions. In particular, a multiple case study method is applied since this is the most appropriate one for answering to the “how” question.

The study involved five creative and cultural organisations who had received funding from the Matera Basilicata 2019 Foundation to create and produce cultural projects requiring citizens’ involvement and collaboration, under the ECOC 2019 programme.

These organisations, named Project Leaders (PLs), embarked on a two-year journey that included capacity building activities, project co-creation paths, tests (in particular crash tests) and the accomplishment of cultural productions that involved local communities and interested large audiences. During this journey, the PLs got involved in an experimental process of artistic and cultural production and social innovation, working for and with citizens, collaborating with institutions, organizations and other actors of the local, national and international creative panorama. The research sought the PLs’ views on their experiences of active actors of Matera’s year as ECoC in 2019, a few months after the conclusion of the projects and Matera 2019.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides the research background and introduces the conceptual model. Section 3 briefly describes the research method. Section 4 presents the case studies analysis and findings. Finally, in Section 5, concluding remarks are presented.


2 Garcia, Melville, Cox, & Rodenhurst, Liverpool’s Arts Sector (...).

2. Evaluating the impacts of a cultural project: a conceptual model

Evaluating the impacts generated by a cultural project/initiative is still a challenge. Recently, several scholars have produced some conceptual frames and notions to describe the value and impacts generated by arts and cultural projects\(^4\). In this study, the analysis was developed according to a multilevel approach (see Figure 1), which starting from the cultural project developed by each PL, analyses its effects at different levels, strongly interrelated.

\[\text{Figure 1. The Multilevel conceptual model}\]

The first level of analysis concerns the project and its development evaluation according to the PL’s perspective.

The second level concerns the impacts produced by the project on the PL with particular reference to the strengthening of its management skills, development of business model and positioning on the creative and cultural scene.

The third level of analysis goes beyond the organizational boundaries, and concerns the effects produced by the project on the citizens who took part in the project\(^5\). The effects can concern education, social inclusion, preservation cultural improvement, community cohesion, well-being, civic pride, belonging, community involvement. They can be evaluated through several tools such as interview, questionnaire, focus group\(^6\).

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Finally, the fourth level involves society. It regards the effects produced by the project in terms of social innovation. Cultural projects can, in fact, generate positive waves that intersect with each other and can actually initiate processes that see citizens as actors of social and cultural changes. However, these are “positive waves” whose effects occur in the medium-long term and to date they can be only desired, expected. An evaluation of these effects is not part of the scope of this study.

3. Methodology

From a methodological point of view, the study was developed as an exploratory research using a qualitative approach. The exploratory nature is mainly justified by the fact that for the investigated topics, to date, the research is still in its initial stages. In particular, a multiple case study method is applied since this is the most appropriate one for achieving a deep understanding of the investigated phenomenon. The study addressed various issues framed in the different levels of the multilevel conceptual model, as follows:

<table>
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<th>1st level</th>
<th>2nd level</th>
<th>3rd level</th>
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<tr>
<td>i) what was the main focus of the PL’s project?</td>
<td>iii) what effects has the projects’ development generated on the PLs?</td>
<td>vii) what has co-creating with cultural organisation produced on citizens?</td>
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<td>ii) what criticalities have the PLs experienced?</td>
<td>iv) what has changed in their business model and positioning?</td>
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<td>v) how is the post-2019 perceived by the PLs?</td>
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<td>vi) what are their expectations for the future?</td>
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In order to develop the study, an extensive documentary research and in-depth interviews were carried out with each of the PLs. All the interviews were - with the consent of the PL - recorded and transcribed. This allowed to have a reliable information base that perfectly reflected the interviewees’ thoughts.

4. Case analysis and findings

As previously mentioned, the study involved five cultural organisations that designed and developed as many big cultural projects under Matera 2019 programme. They are $Tx$, $Sx$, $Ax$, $Lx$ and $Gx$. The organisations’ names have been changed for confidentiality reasons.

The projects were original production in which temporary and permanent citizens became actors and co-authors themselves. To the citizens were given an opportunity of playing an active part in the creative process and choose their level

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7 See e.g. Giulia Cancellieri et Al. “Social innovation in arts and culture: place regeneration initiatives driven by arts and culture to achieve social cohesion.” In Social Innovation. Comparative Perspectives (Routledge, November 2018), 79 - 102.
of engagement. This was with the aim of stimulating social innovation in the community.

The analysis of the 5 projects offers an articulated and rich picture of the experiences lived by the PL. Each project has, indeed, peculiar characteristics and the joint analysis of the cases allows to have an overall but not completely exhaustive view of the ECOC experience for each PL. In the following the main findings from the joint examination of the case studies for each level of analysis are described.

**The 1st level of analysis**
The first level of analysis addresses the first two research questions, i.e. i) what was the main focus of the projects? ii) what criticalities have the PLs experienced?

All the project leaders worked to stimulate social innovation as a source of growth and wellbeing and to translate the value dimensions proposed in the bid book of Matera 2019 into concrete purposes and activities by means of their projects. Table 1 provides a short description of the 5 projects under analysis.

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<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Project</th>
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<td><strong>Gx</strong></td>
<td>The project leader built a traveling theatre, similar to an abandoned ship in their town, that travelled through 5 peripheral communities by narrating stories extrapolated from the experiences of people living the peripheral areas. The aim of the project was to communicate the identity of peripheral areas of Basilicata all over Europe.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tx</strong></td>
<td>The project leader wanted to promote a totally different way to live the city. 300 Matera citizens co-created an emotional map with the project leader. This map was an exhibit that illustrates the important places of memories of Matera inhabitants.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sx</strong></td>
<td>The project leader’s intent was to stimulate inclusion and social integration through work and art. The project leader shared and gave voice to the immigrants’ talent, through a widespread academy, organizing workshops and events.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lx</strong></td>
<td>The project leader revised some stories narrated by local communities concerning some objects recovered in the Mediterranean areas. Through the project, the organization wanted to create a bridge in the Mediterranean area and spread the real essence of the place identity. The project was a sort of itinerant Museum.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ax</strong></td>
<td>The project leader produced a film to highlight some big issues of the peripheral European areas and involved the community in the production literacy and in the cinematographic work. The objective was to promote a cinematographic language, stimulate the audience development and education and give voice to the territories of Basilicata.</td>
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*Table 1. The analysed projects*
Whilst bearing in mind that each project has its own specificity, it is however possible to identify some critical issues in the development of projects, commonly detected by the PLs. They concern a) relations with the Public bodies during the project development, b) the availability of adequate spaces during / after the cultural project development; spaces that are necessary for the realization / continuation / further development of the project, c) timing, rules and reporting methods. However, these critical issues are offset by various opportunities / benefits that the projects’ implementation has produced for the PLs. These are opportunities / benefits that clearly emerge from the analysis of the impacts that Matera 2019 has generated on the different dimensions of the PLs’ business model, i.e. the ways they create, distribute and capture value. These impacts are described below and are referred to the second level of analysis.

The 2nd level of analysis
The second level of analysis is focused on the following research questions: iii) What effects has the projects’ development generated on the PLs? iv) What has changed in their business model and positioning? v) How is the post-2019 perceived by the PLs? vi) What are their expectations for the future?

The analysis of how ECOC experience and the project development have helped strengthen and innovate the PLs’ business model was developed referring to the Business Model Prism (BMP). BMP is a multidimensional framework derived from a wide review of the literature which can support the identification and the mapping of the peculiarities of the business models of arts and cultural organisations. It includes seven facets. The upper and lower facets indicate respectively: the value and the social and cultural impact and the financing and the financial resilience. The other five facets describe the remaining key dimensions of a business model of an arts and cultural organization, i.e.: stakeholder, strategies, processes, organizational resources and partnerships (see Figure 2). The seven facets of the Business Model Prism provide as many lenses through which to analyse changes occurred in business model of the cultural organization that has lead the project.

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The joint analysis of the cases allowed to identify the effects common to the interviewees, generated by the ECOC experience and the project development on the BMP dimensions. The effects are summarised in the following.

**Social and cultural value & impact**
From the interviews, it emerged that participation in the Matera 2019 program has, in all cases, further reinforced the social and cultural value proposition of each PL, corroborating its purpose to use art as a social activator, a tool for connecting people, a means of dialogue with reality, the city and its inhabitants, capable of promoting the cultural regeneration of communities, increasing and strengthening the place’s identity where people live and giving life to peripheral places.

**Strategy**
The overall analysis of the case studies highlights that there is a common tendency of the PLs to define new strategic objectives or to remodel the existing ones to capitalise their ECOC experience. The specificity of each project experience has obviously led (and it is leading) to the formulation of some specific objectives for each PL.

However, by analysing the objectives as emerged from the interviews, it is possible to identify some strategic macro-objectives common to the PLs, from which the remaining more specific objectives are partly declined. These macro-objectives are:
- to establish and strengthen collaboration at national / international level;
- to participate in international (European) calls;
- to scale up and capitalize on the methodological framework underlying the project carried out for Matera 2019;
• to assure continuity to the project carried out for Matera 2019 at regional but also at national and international level;
• to expand and further improve the project carried out for Matera 2019, by involving also new audiences;
• to achieve financial sustainability in the medium / long term; a sustainability that has to be increasingly independent of the public contribution.

**Processes**
The joint analysis of the effects on the PLs’ processes, highlights some improvements common to the interviewed PLs. They are:

• improvement of management of complex projects, with particular reference to cost and time management dimension;
• increase in the sense of responsibility towards achieving the project objectives, paying particular attention to efficiency and time management;
• improvement in the selection and planning of projects;
• improvement in the simultaneous management of parallel processes and activities;
• improvement of planning and management of advertising / promotion / marketing activities;
• improvement of communication activities, especially through social media.

**Organisational resources**
Matera 2019 has enriched the wealth of tangible and intangible organizational resources of each PL. These resources include physical project outputs (e.g. artistic works, film productions, books, games, etc.); improved communication sites and channels, specific technological equipment for the realization of projects (e.g. apps, technologies for augmented reality, advanced equipment for filming, etc.) but also reputation, image, managerial, organizational and accounting knowledge, databases, methodologies underlying the projects, etc.

**Partnerships**
Undoubtedly, for all PLs, the development of the project has allowed to expand their network, getting in touch with other subjects operating in the creative and cultural sector and with public and private subjects at local, national and international level. However, these contacts, only in a few cases, were considered or translated in a stable partnership. However, these embryonic partnerships have a great added value for the PL and represent the soil where to invest with new projects.

**Stakeholders’ relationships**
All the PLs has expanded their stakeholder network thanks to their participation in Matera 2019, but the impact was - to a certain extent - different depending on the PL.
In particular, the PLs improved their stakeholders’ relationships by means of the project development and the improvement of their reputation and image on the creative and cultural scene at local and national level. The changes occurred in stakeholders’ relationships can be summarized as follows:

At local level
- strengthening / expanding the PLs’ relations with public organizations (e.g. schools, universities) and private organizations (companies that contributed to the project implementation);
- strengthening of relations with local communities (citizens) affected by the project, but also with local PAs (this although often the relations with local PAs have been described by some PLs as a factor hindering the agile project development);
- lack of a significant improvement in the relationships among organizations operating in the creative and cultural sector at regional level;
- limited strengthening of networking among the PLs;

At national level
- establishment and / or consolidation of relationships with important associations and organizations operating in the creative and cultural sector, and with public entities such as schools.

At international level
- creation of relationships with artists or organizations with which to develop specific or European-wide projects.

**Funding & financial resilience**

The Matera 2019 experience had a significant impact on the financial dimension of the interviewed PLs.

The implementation of the project generated an exposure of the PLs to debt situations, albeit temporary (they had to advance one part of the capital required by the project). This produced a certain level of apprehension, amplified by the fact that the reporting mechanisms and rules have been changed several times during the course of the project.

The changes in reporting system, indeed, have generated some problems for the PLs who generally do not have personnel properly skilled in the management of economic / financial aspects, able of adapting and responding promptly to the changed reporting rules.

Despite the concerns, the interviewed PLs are working for:
- over time relying less and less on public funds in favour of private funds (e.g. sponsors) and income related to their business;
- participating in public calls, especially in European calls, and accessing new financial resources;
- creatively identifying further ways of exploiting project outputs, in terms of profit.
About “how is the post-2019 perceived by the PLs?” and “what are their expectations for the future?” the participation in Matera 2019 program has had an overall positive impact on the examined PLs. Matera 2019 represented a unique opportunity for growing and spreading PLs action networks at national and international level.

However, post-2019 remains, in the opinion of the PLs, a grey concept, which in its time would have required important reflection and programmatic commitment on a regional scale. In this regard, most of the PLs complained about a lack of planning at a systemic level from the early stages of Matera 2019.

Nevertheless, the participation in the Matera 2019 program has also opened different perspectives and visions to the interviewed PLs, by leading them to reflect on concrete future opportunities to develop. Thus, from the interviews it emerges that each PL is autonomously formulating and planning different solutions to capitalize and enhance the project carried out for ECOC, even in the absence of a common vision and agreed development plan at the regional level.

The 3rd level of analysis
The third level of analysis has regarded an understanding of what co-creating with cultural organisation has produced on citizens. The co-creation paths triggered dialogues between PLs and citizens, reflections on the key themes of each project, as well as unconventional emotions and situations among citizens. The public response was excellent for all the analysed PLs; these latter were enthusiastic about the active participation of citizens and public. Participating in the projects empowered citizens to reimagine their city’s future and given them the chances to reflect on problems, needs, expectations, immobility, regeneration of local communities.

5. Conclusions
This research is a first attempt to analyse the impacts of co-creating big cultural projects with citizens in ECOC setting, on creative and cultural organisations leading the project and participant citizens. It presents some insights of the research develop alongside the project of monitoring and evaluation of Matera 2019.

The study has adopted an exploratory approach based on multiple case studies. The cases regarded five cultural organisations that have led as many big projects as possible within the Matera ECOC 2019 programme. The analysed cases have provided a consistent scenario for deepening understanding of changes experienced by cultural organisations engaged in the development of big projects in ECOC context. The on-field analysis has returned an overall positive picture of the investigated impacts. All the interviewed PLs have grown in all dimensions of their business model. Each PL has strengthened its value proposition, defined new strategic objectives to be pursued in the near future, enriched its wealth of tangible and intangible assets, partially modified its processes, woven new partnerships (albeit in a very limited way) and strengthened its own networks with stakeholders. Each PL has also changed its financial situation. The implementation of the project
generated an exposure of the PLs to debt situations, albeit temporary. This produced a certain level of apprehension, amplified by the fact that the reporting mechanisms and rules changed several times during the course of the project. On the other hand, the ECOC experience reinforced PLs’ desire to acquire greater financial resilience, by making less and less use of public funding in the future and developing projects/activities that contribute to achieve greater financial sustainability.

About citizens’ participation in the analysed projects, the PLs were enthusiastic about the active participation of citizens and public. Co – creating and implementing the projects with citizens has triggered dialogues between PLs and citizens, generated reflections on the key themes of each project, and allowed to live unconventional emotions and life situations. More generally, the analysed projects have contributed to launch some seeds of change and reflections on problems, needs, expectations, overcoming immobility, problems of regeneration of local communities.

In conclusion, Matera 2019 has given PLs and local communities new strengths on which to leverage for growing in the near future, also from an entrepreneurial point of view. It pushed them to rethink, to improve themselves and in line with the Open Future logic - the slogan of Matera 2019 - to project themselves into the future.

References
Connection between Culture Consumption, Leisure Activities and Cultural Intelligence (CQ)

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University of Pannonia

Abstract
Veszprém city with the Lake Balaton region won the title of European Capital of Culture for 2023. The University of Pannonia plays an essential role in the ECoC programs’ cooperation and implementation. Thus, knowing the university’s community’s attitudes toward Veszprém, their culture consumption patterns, and cultural intelligence is crucial. In this study, the first and partly results of our complex, longitudinal research activity will be presented, such as CQ, preferred leisure activities and cultural consumption of the community.

Key words: ECoC, Veszprém, EKF 2023, Cultural intelligence, CQ, culture consumption, leisure activities

Introduction
The present research examines the relationship between cultural consumption and cultural intelligence as well as emotional intelligence among the community of the Pannonian University of Veszprém. One of the driving forces of the research is the Veszprém-Balaton 2023 European Capital of Culture project, which is expected to have a severe impact on the cultural community of the historic city of Veszprém, including the cultural consumption of university communities. Thus, in addition to a review of the literature on cultural activities, characteristics of cultural consumption, emotional and cultural intelligence required for the study, historical cities and the European Capital of Culture initiative will also be presented.

The connection between culture and tourism
Tourism has a significant impact on the destinations’ development processes all around the world. Accordingly, culture plays an essential role in it as it is a crucial asset for promoting tangible (e.g., museum, monuments, heritage centres) and intangible (gastronomy, atmosphere, etc.) elements. However, because of the complex relationship between tourism and culture, it is a challenging task to give an accurate description or definition of culture in tourism and cultural tourism. By considering culture as an essential part of human life, one can easily assume that everything has cultural roots. Unfortunately, this holistic view is not useful in the identification of cultural values and cultural tourism.¹

Giddens gives a complex definition of culture. According to him, culture refers to the ways of life of different societies or of subgroups within society. It

Culture consists of a wide range of activities and habits like dressing manners, marriage customs, language, family life, work patterns, ceremonies, religious and leisure activities.\(^2\)

Cultural tourism is often mentioned as the oldest type of tourism, mainly because people have been travelling for cultural reasons since the beginning of time. Total tourism experience often contains a museum, historical building, or festival visits that give extra value to the participants.\(^3\) However, it is not easy to define it because of its complexity. One of the oldest definitions of cultural tourism is coming from the ICOMOS (International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism): “Cultural tourism can be defined as that activity which enables people to experience the different ways of life of other people, thereby gaining at first hand an understanding of their customs, traditions, the physical environment, the intellectual ideas and those places of architectural, historical, archaeological or other cultural significance which remain from earlier times. Cultural tourism differs from recreational tourism in that it seeks to gain an understanding or appreciation of the nature of the place being visited.”\(^4\)

Since that time, the content of the definitions did not change too much. One of the latest definitions is created by the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Programme that identifies cultural tourism from two perspectives:

- Conceptual definition: “The movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs”.

- Technical definition: “All movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence”.\(^5\)

**Culture consumption and leisure actives in tourism**

The leisure activities and culture consumption of the Hungarian population is a field that was researched by many Hungarian scientists (e.g., Vitányi, Nagy, Törőcsik, Ságvári, Sági, Pavluska, Falussy, Fekete) in the last few decades.

According to the latest research, leisure time activities can be divided into two main categories: the time spend around screens and the time spend away from the screens.\(^6\) The former group consists of activities like watching television or film and using computers and the internet.\(^7\)

The second group was more relevant for our research, so we mainly focus on them. It consists of the following activities:

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\(^3\) Hilary McKercher, Bob du Cros, Cultural Tourism: The partnerships between tourism and cultural heritage management, (Haworth Press, Binghampton, 2002)  
\(^6\) Béla Falussy, Az időfelhasználás metszetei. (Budapest, Hungary: Új Mandátum Kiadó, 2004)  
\(^7\) Marianna Fekete, eIDŐ, avagy a szabadidő behálózása: generációs kultúrafogyasztás a digitális korban. (Szeged, Hungary: Belvedere Meridiale, 2018)
- visiting cultural intermediaries (e.g., cinema, theatre, opera, concerts, exhibition),
- social leisure activities (e.g., programs with friends, family),
- leisure time activities around the home (e.g., reading, listening to radio or music, hobbies)
- outdoor activities (e.g., sport, fishing, gardening)
- other activities (e.g., voluntary work, religious practice, going to a pub, café, caring for pets).

The Hungarian Central Statistical Office also dealt with this topic, and they also identified some relevant leisure time activities regarding the Hungarian population. According to their research, the following activities are popular among Hungarians: watching TV, social leisure activity, visiting sports institutions, religious practice, reading, sports, walking, exercises.

European Capital of Culture programme

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme dates back to 1983 when Melina Mercouri, the former Greek Minister of Culture wanted to call attention to the significance of culture because she believed that it had to get more attention in Europe. She initiated to highlight the richness and the diversity of European cultures and raise the awareness of the shared values. By doing this, she aimed to bring European people closer to each other.

Two years later, in 1985, the programme was launched, cultural days and cultural months were organised. The first European City of Culture in Europe was Athens, but since then, more than 50 cities had the possibility to be the winner of this impressive title.

The main aims of the European Capital of Culture programme are the followings:
- celebrate the unique culture of Europe,
- increase the sense of belonging regarding common European values,
- support the contribution of culture to city development (europe.eu)

Besides these goals, this impressive title provides excellent opportunities for renewing cities, creating an impressive international profile for the settlements, improving tourism and cultural life of the cities (europa.eu)

Winner cities have since carried numerous missions, visions and objectives such as developing material infrastructure, revitalising urban life, supporting the development of the cultural life, decreasing poverty and attracting local and foreign

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8 Fekete, eIDŐ, 2018
12 https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en
13 https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en
tourists. So, being an ECoC city is seen to obtain unique facilities in destination and tourism development.\textsuperscript{14} The ECoC title goes together with particular attention at least in the year when the city is becoming the cultural capital, but this title offers more longer lasting impacts, too. The positive effects of it partially depend on how the wide range of segments are planned to involve and how successfully the different forms of culture are highlighted for the target groups (both visitors and local inhabitants) of the program series.\textsuperscript{15}

The ECoC title also offers advantages at the local level because inhabitants of the winner cities get a chance for urban regeneration, image building, culture development projects that could make them be proud of their residence.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{The role of the university’s community in the consumption of culture}

If we think about cultural heritage as an essential resource of future generations, it is essential to introduce these resources to the youngest generation of our days. One of the most important target groups in connection with cultural heritage protection is the group of university students. So, it is vital to raise their attention to take responsibility for these values\textsuperscript{17,18}.

Besides these, university students can also be seen as essential consumers of cultural and leisure activities of destinations. Numerous research projects deal with the topic of university student’s cultural consumption and its economic impact\textsuperscript{19}, their retention as future residents\textsuperscript{20} and their participation in local recreational activities.\textsuperscript{21}

Other publication proved that attracting educated target groups affected positively the life of settlements and whole regions \textsuperscript{22} Beside these, cultural and recreational behaviour or lifestyle can also influence the residence choice of “knowledge workers”.\textsuperscript{23} On the one hand, cities are quite popular residences among

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
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\end{thebibliography}
these “talents”\textsuperscript{24} that results in a decrease in the population of smaller towns and villages. On the other hand, bigger settlements with significant universities often face the challenge of retaining those students who get a degree at the local higher education institution.\textsuperscript{25}

Veszprém will be the ECoC city in 2023 that promises excellent opportunities regarding cultural and recreational activity development projects that are expected further increase the cultural and tourism attractiveness and job-creating capacity of the city.

**Role of Cultural Intelligence (CQ)**

Nowadays, preparing the younger generation for the multicultural work environment, for working effectively in multicultural, and many times digitally connected (virtual) workgroups, the development of students ‘cultural skills have become essential. While emotional intelligence (EQ) helps us to recognise, understand, and influence our own and others ‘emotions, cultural intelligence (CQ) goes one step further by placing every situation in a cultural context and thus aiding interpretation.\textsuperscript{26} Our own culture, into which we are born, becomes a part of our lives almost “unnoticed” through the process of socialisation. This process is called enculturation.\textsuperscript{27} We do not question our habits, and our value system (for example, what is good-bad, moral-immoral, beautiful-ugly) automatically shapes our point of view according to Hofstede\textsuperscript{28}, who hypothesised that culture could be perceived as the primary “programming” of the mind. Our cultural patterns can be seen as a kind of scheme of action, as they assign a specific emotional charge and action to our responses to certain environmental stimuli. When we have to thrive effectively in a culture different from ours, our cultural differences become accentuated and cause innumerable difficulties in both communication and the process of integration.\textsuperscript{29} Learning, accepting, and integrating another culture is called acculturation. Several indicators have measured the success of this process, one of the best known is Cultural Intelligence (CQ), which first appeared in the literature on intercultural psychology, management and communication. The essence of becoming culturally intelligent is for the individual to be prepared and flexible to learn about cultures and to gain knowledge from ongoing interactions.\textsuperscript{30} In contrast, simple theoretical cultural knowledge can lead to generalisation and stereotyping. The transformation

of thinking is a holistic approach because it includes not only knowledge material but also abilities, intention, and behaviour itself. Accordingly, CQ is also an individual’s ability to recognise, understand, and interpret different cultural lineups effectively \(^{31}\). The measurement of cultural intelligence can be performed with the help of the Cultural Intelligence Scale (CQS) containing 20 questions\(^{32}\), which was adapted into Hungarian in 2011\(^{33}\).

**Dimensions of Cultural Intelligence (CQ)**

CQ is composed of four dimensions\(^ {34}\): (1) *Motivation dimension*, which shows an individual’s level of interest and confidence in how well they think they would be able to perform in intercultural situations. (2) The *Cognitive dimension* indicates the extent to which an individual has knowledge of cultural differences. (3) The *Metacognitive dimension* shows the level of awareness and planning ability. (4) The *Behavioral dimension* captures practical adaptability to intercultural situations. He who has a high behavioural CQ is able to adapt their verbal communication (speech tempo, intonation) to the situation and can apply nonverbal signals appropriately. Motivation dimension is the basis that leads to the acquisition of knowledge and then its organisation, and later manifested as inappropriate behaviour in intercultural situations. The cognitive dimension is knowledge itself, the metacognitive dimension is the strategic use (planning) of this knowledge, and then the behaviour dimension is the action itself.

The dimensions of CQ do not necessarily correlate with each other, but through their combination, we can get an excellent picture of the individual’s level of cultural intelligence, which is otherwise excellent as a unidimensional construct. Overall, the development of each dimension can contribute to an increase in an individual’s CQ level. Motivation, as one of the essential elements of cultural intelligence, has an impact on employment and integration in the workplace and on work performance abroad\(^ {35}\). It can also be said that CQ has an impact on the integration opportunities of foreign workers into the host society. And the cultural intelligence of people living in the host country shows the extent to which they are able to accept workers from foreign countries\(^ {36}\). CQ levels are higher in those who have been exposed to more foreign experience. It is most significantly developed by

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more ongoing foreign activities (such as studying or working), while holidays or shorter trips abroad do not have a significant impact on it.

**Relationship between Cultural Intelligence (CQ) and Emotional Intelligence (EQ)**

Both EQ and CQ can be related to how effectively a given employee can work in a multicultural environment. The interaction of the two types of intelligence influences the formation of global citizen identity (global citizen) and global value system (global mindset). “Cultural intelligence is related to emotional intelligence; it begins where it ends” (p.139). In the last decade, more intensive research has begun into the relationships between the two types of intelligence. In Mayer’s formulation, emotional intelligence is “the ability to recognise and express feelings, to be able to assimilate feelings into thoughts, to understand and argue feelings through their use, and to regulate one’s own and others’ feelings” (p.528). Because the regulation and decoding of our emotions are also significantly culture-specific, high EQ alone is not a success in intercultural situations. This is because a person may have a high level of EQ in a given culture, but this is no guarantee that they will be able to control and decode their emotions in a different culture properly. In contrast, CQ is not culture-specific and does not provide an answer to how to behave with a person with a different cultural background or in a different cultural medium.

The most important common denominator of the two types of intelligence is the ability to reevaluate our emotions and thereby motivate ourselves and others to perform, which is a crucial capability in a leader. Emotional intelligence plays a crucial role in success in the workplace, but it is accompanied by an adequate level of cultural intelligence for the most successful leaders. Discriminant analysis of the two types of intelligence was performed by Lin, Chen, and Song, proving that they are two very different constructs, one incompatible with the other. Research that examines the relationships between emotions and culture tends to highlight only two dimensions of emotional intelligence: these are, by name, the dimensions of emotional reception and emotional expression. However, the extent to which the

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development of emotional intelligence depends on the culture in which we live and in which the individual grows has been studied by very little research.  

Research methodology

Based on the literature, the questionnaire was compiled from several questionnaire blocks already validated in the Hungarian population, which were: sections examining cultural consumption clusters, sections measuring cultural intelligence (CQS) and emotional intelligence (TEIQue), and general demographic questions. The final survey included 38 questions (groups) and took about 20-25 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was tested with the help of eight volunteers from the university. After the necessary corrections, the final questionnaire was sent on paper to the staff and lecturers of the University of Pannonia, and the online version created by LimeSurvey was distributed to students. The data was collected between 01/04/2020 and 31/07/2020. Due to the digital education and closure of the university caused by COVID-19 epidemic, reaching a sufficient number of students and staff was challenging. The second data collection period started in 15/09/2020 and will continue until 30/11/2020, but in this study, we cannot present the results of both sample. Due to the limitation of the content, unfortunately, we cannot present the results belong to EQ in this study.

In our quantitative research, we formed the following research questions:

1. What are the most preferred cultural and leisure activities of the university’s community?
2. How much of the sights of Veszprém have been visited by the community?
3. Are there any differences in the level of Cultural Intelligence (CQ) of the different groups of the community?

Measurement

In our research, we used several questions to measure cultural consumption. On the one hand, we examined the frequency of attending cultural activities, based on the following scale: 1 = never, 2 = less often, 3 = every 2-3 months, 4 = every month, 5 = several times a month, 6 = once a week, 7 = several times a week, 8 = once a day. The values of the scale were determined based on focus group interviews before the questionnaire survey.

In addition to the frequency scale, we also asked respondents for specific examples of cultural activities in the year preceding the survey. We asked the respondents to indicate in a table the names, dates and locations of up to three cultural events the respondents have attended. The cultural activities for which we asked for an example were grouped into four categories: (1) concert, (2) museum,

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exhibition, (3) theatre, cinema, (4) festival. Groups were also defined based on focus group interviews before the questionnaire survey.

Our research also examined visiting the cultural attractions of Veszprém - sights, events - as one of the possible forms of cultural consumption. Respondents were able to choose from three options: (1) do not know the place and never been there, (2) know the place, but have never been there, (3) know the place, and have been there.

To assess the level of cultural intelligence (CQ), we used the Hungarian version of the Cultural Intelligence Scale (CQS). The questionnaire contains a total of 20 statements, with the option to answer on a seven-point Likert scale (where 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree), according to how valid the respondent felt about the statement. The elements of the questionnaire were grouped around the four dimensions of CQ (Behavior, Cognitive, Metacognitive, Motivation) (e.g., “You have changed my oral communication (e.g. articulation, tone of voice) when the intercultural situation requires it.”) The internal consistency of the CQS questionnaire is adequate, the Chronbach’s alpha value for the whole questionnaire is 0.940 (dimensions: α_behavior = 0.907, α_motivation = 0.895, α_cognitive = 0.889, α_metacognitive = 0.868). The total score of each of its dimensions was taken as a basis.

Presentation of the sample

The total sample contained 542 individuals, but in the present study, we only analyse data where respondents fully completed both EQ and CQ blocks. The sample size is 196 people, in which case the proportion of men is 28.6% and the proportion of women is 71.4%. The mean age was 32.76 years (min = 19, max = 66, SD = 12.51). Regarding its role in the community of the University of Pannonia, 55.6% are students (age = 24.98, min = 19, max = 53, SD = 7.34), 20.9% are lecturers or researchers (age = 44.10, min = 24, max = 66, SD = 10.27), and 23.5% are non-academic employees (age = 40.54, min = 22, max = 62, SD = 10.91). It is important to note that the sample is not representative. Data analysis was performed with SPSS 26 statistical software.

Research results

Consumption of culture by the community of the University of Pannonia

Respondents had the opportunity to choose, on an eight-point scale, how often they would perform a particular leisure activity (where 1 = never, 8 = daily). The results obtained are shown in Table 1. The most common leisure activities were watching TV, surfing the Internet (M = 7.88) and listening to music (M = 6.94), while respondents spent the least time practising religion (M = 2.54) and attending sports events (M = 2.74).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internet, Watching TV,</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>0.531</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to music</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>1.788</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies (gardenin, pets)</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>1.683</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>2.009</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social leasure activities</td>
<td>6.05</td>
<td>1.580</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor activities</td>
<td>5.93</td>
<td>1.593</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>1.962</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting cultural events</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>1.256</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting sport events</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>1.545</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious practice</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.965</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Frequency of leisure/cultural activities (n=196)

There are significant differences in the attendance of cultural events between the groups (F = 5.235, p = 0.006). Such programs are most often attended by academic staff (M = 4.27), followed by non-academic staff (M = 3.63), and then by students (M = 3.55). A similar pattern can be observed in the field of reading, the differences are significant here as well (F = 9.359, p = 0.000), non-academic staff spend the most time for reading (M = 7.51), almost daily, while employees (M = 6.13) and students take out a book or other reading material for leisure purposes on average once a week (M = 6.01). There was a significant, positive relationship between age and time spent with reading (r = 0.354, p = 0.000). Non-academic employees spend the least amount of time watching TV (M = 7.67), students (M = 7.94) and lecturers / researchers (M = 7.95) spend significantly more time (F = 4.489, p = 0.011). The amount of time spent on this activity is not related to age (p = -0.077). For all other leisure activities, there was no significant difference between the groups that make up the community of the University of Pannonia. In contrast, age is significantly related not only to the reading time described above, but also to other leisure activities: the older someone is, the more time they spend practising religion (p = 0.161, r < 0.05) and attending cultural events (r = 0.144, p < 0.05), but spends less time attending sports events (r = -0.222, r < 0.01). Figure 1 shows that the best known and most visited sights in Veszprém were the Veszprém Zoo (92.9% of the respondents had already been there) and the Castle (92.3%). These two places were known to all respondents, with around 7% of those not yet visiting. The two most unknown cultural programs in Veszprém were the Auer Festival, which more than half of the respondents had never heard of (52.6%), and the Dance Festival was unknown to almost half of the respondents (46.9%).

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The total CQ score can range from 20 to 140, with a mean of 90.57 (min = 20, max = 138, SD = 22.66). There was a significant difference only between the group of students and lecturers / researchers, the latter having an average CQ score 10.51 points lower (p = 0.03). In terms of dimensions, cognitive dimension is the weakest (M = 3.87, SD = 1.25), followed by the metacognitive dimension (M = 4.47, SD = 1.40), followed by motivation dimension (M = 4.80, SD = 1.46) and the strongest is the behaviour dimension (M = 5.07, SD = 1.49).

If we take a closer look at the value of the CQ dimensions of each group (Table 2), a significant difference can be found only in the metacognitive (F = 4.019, p = 0.019) and cognitive dimension (F = 7.659, p = 0.007). For both dimensions, the values of students and faculty / researchers differ significantly.
The significant difference in the cognitive dimensions can be explained by the lower age of the students and also by the fact that the academic staff have already encountered a wider range of cultural knowledge through their work, which is also reflected in the higher score. It is also confirmed by the positive, significant correlation between age and the cognitive and metacognitive dimensions of CQ ($r_{\text{cognitive}} = 0.215$, $p < 0.05$, $r_{\text{metacognitive}} = 0.183$, $p < 0.01$), which supports that our cultural knowledge grows with age. The values of the behaviour and motivation dimensions are entirely independent of the individual’s role in the Pannonian University community or their age ($p = 0.95$).

**CQ and culture consumption**

Attendance at sporting events, watching TV, surfing the Internet and hobbies, and playing sports are not correlated with CQ levels. The strongest significant relationship was with leisure social activities ($r = 0.302$, $p < 0.01$), attending cultural events ($r = 0.292$, $p < 0.01$), reading ($r = 0.254$, $p < 0.01$) and listening to music ($r = 0.179$, $p < 0.05$).

Examining the individual dimensions of CQ, it can be seen that the frequency of social leisure time is the one that moves most strongly together with all the dimensions of CQ and is most closely related to the total score itself (Table 3, first row). The metacognitive dimension has the most connections, the more often someone attends cultural events ($r = 0.339$, $p < 0.01$), and the more time they spend reading, the stronger the cognitive dimension of their cultural intelligence, i.e. the more information they have about other cultures and know them more effectively put up their thought patterns that make judgments about others in a different cultural situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CQ total</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
<th>Cognitive</th>
<th>Metacognitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social leisure time</td>
<td><strong>0.302</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.237</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.269</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.232</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.244</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious practices</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td><strong>0.172</strong></td>
<td>0.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting cultural events</td>
<td><strong>0.292</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.197</strong></td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td><strong>0.279</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.339</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting sport events</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>0.104</td>
<td>0.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td><strong>0.254</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.114</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.182</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.232</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.313</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to music</td>
<td><strong>0.179</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.118</strong></td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td><strong>0.166</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.162</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching TV</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td>0.122</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>0.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>-0.033</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor activities</td>
<td><strong>0.171</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.172</strong></td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td><strong>0.213</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.064</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3. Correlation matrix of CQ dimensions and cultural/leisure activities**

Social activities such as leisure programs ($r = 0.244$, $p < 0.01$), excursions ($r = 0.213$, $p < 0.01$); and listening to music ($r = 0.162$, $p < 0.01$) are weaker but significantly related to the metacognitive dimension of CQ. A similar pattern can be
observed for the cognitive dimension of CQ, the only difference compared to the metacognitive dimension being the practice of religion, which is also related to the level of the cognitive dimension \( r = 0.172, p < 0.05 \). The behavior dimension is stronger than those who spend more time on social leisure activities \( r = 0.302, p < 0.01 \) and reading \( r = 0.182 p < 0.05 \). The motivation dimension is related to the frequency of active programs. Thus who has a higher motivation CQ, that person also spends more time on social gatherings \( r = 0.237, p < 0.01 \), attending cultural events \( r = 0.197, p < 0.01 \) and excursions \( r = 0.172, p < 0.05 \).

Looking at the last 12 months, the total number of cultural activities of the respondents is positively and significantly related to CQ \( r = 0.308, p = 0.000 \) and is also significantly, positively related to all dimensions. The strongest correlation was with the metacognitive \( r = 0.332, p < 0.01 \) and behavioral dimensions \( r = 0.233, p < 0.01 \), followed by the cognitive \( r = 0.231, p < 0.01 \) and motivational dimensions \( r = 0.221, p < 0.01 \).

Those with higher CQ have already known and visited more places in Veszprém \( r = 0.181, p < 0.05 \). This type of cultural activity is significantly related to the cognitive \( r = 0.205, p < 0.01 \) and metacognitive dimensions \( r = 0.192, p < 0.01 \).

**Summary**

According to the study of leisure habits of university communities - teachers, non-teaching and research staff, students - the most common leisure activities are watching TV, surfing the internet and video, and listening to music, and the least time is spent on religion and attending sports events. Examining the habits of the three groups, it can be said that there are significant differences in the attendance of cultural events between the groups: most often the lecturers visit such programs, followed by the non-teaching and research staff of the university and then the students. For all other leisure activities, there was no significant difference between the groups that make up the community of the University of Pannonia. However, our studies have shown that age is significantly related to leisure activities, so the older someone is, the more time they spend practising religion and attending cultural events, and the less time they spend attending sports events.

Based on our research on the awareness of Veszprém’s cultural attractions, the best-known and most visited sights are the Veszprém Zoo and the Castle, these two places are known to all respondents and 7% of those who have not visited them yet. The two least known cultural programs in Veszprém are the Auer Festival and the Dance Festival, about which half of the respondents have not heard of it.

An examination of the relationships between cultural intelligence and leisure activities showed that those with high cultural intelligence spend more time on social leisure programs, attending cultural events, reading, listening to music, and hiking. The strongest significant relationship can be discovered in connection with leisure social activities, attending cultural events, reading and listening to music. Examining some dimensions of CQ, it can be seen that the more often someone attends cultural events and the more time they spend reading, the stronger the cognitive dimension of their cultural intelligence.
Acknowledgement

The research has been supported by the “Cultural attitudes and local attachment of university communities in the light of the ECoC – Veszprém 2023” research group at the University of Pannonia, Veszrém, Hungary.

References


The Staging of Memory. The Rhetoric of Representation. Matera European Capital of Culture 2019: A Case Study

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Abstract
The designation of the city of Matera as European Capital of Culture for 2019 represents the point of arrival of a long journey that has affected the city since the late 1940’s, when in the wider context of the southern question the problem of the Sassi of Matera takes on a national character attributable to new urban issues. The first special law of 1952 for the rehabilitation of the Sassi of Matera, with the consequent displacement of the same and the construction of new neighbourhoods in which to move the inhabitants, starts a path of revitalization that, from “national shame”, brings the city, with its Sassi districts to join UNESCO lists, as World Heritage of Humanity, and to be designated European Capital of Culture for 2019. The processes of urban regeneration and cultural revitalization that have affected the city in various ways have influenced the creation of a collective imagination that gradually has been modified depending on the functional usage that has seen in “memory” its main instrument of representation. The manipulation of memory, at the symbolic and technical level, and its staging certainly influenced the rhetoric of representation of Matera, producing new social and cultural spaces functional to the new needs, not least, those related to tourism.

Key words: memory, representation, shame, tourism, heritage

Introduction
The nomination of Matera as European Capital of Culture in 2019 is the end point of a long political and cultural journey that has affected the city since the end of the 1940s, when, in the wider framework of the southern question, the problem of the ancient districts, called Sassi, took on a national character after the Second World War, due to the new urban issues.

The question of Matera’s Sassi appears immediately connoted by two factors, both characterized by “modernity” and “originality”. First of all, for the first time, the southern question, linked to the farmers’ struggles for agrarian reform, moves from a land, which belongs exclusively to the countryside, to one, more specific, represented by the urban reality, but until then a poorly experienced one. Secondly, the perspective of reusing the historical houses in the Sassi districts for housing purposes represents the other factor of novelty that characterizes the issue in an original and modern sense, compared to other urban and social realities of Southern Italy.¹

The discovery of Matera as the capital city of the province (1927), and the stir caused by the pages of *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli*, written by Carlo Levi (1945), highlight a dramatic and unliveable situation in the Sassi districts, marking the starting point of a political battle which, with the visit of Palmiro Togliatti (1948), and that of the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi (1950) led to the promulgation of Special Law no. 619 of 1952 for reclamation of Sassi, with consequent displacement of the same and construction of new districts and villages where the inhabitants could move, starts a path to revitalization of the urban reality, marked by many difficulties and contradictions.

The most important Italian urban planners and architects were involved in the design of new neighbourhoods: from Luigi Piccinato, who was entrusted with the city’s master plan, to Ludovico Quaroni and Marcello Fabbri, and others. The influence of Adriano Olivetti’s ideas, on the other hand, was decisive in the design and constitution of the rural village called *La Martella*.

After World War II, Matera became, according to Riccardo Musatti’s definition, “a symbol of the peasant towns”, as a field of experimentation and, at the same time, a point of reference for the anthropological and sociological research of numerous Italian and foreign scholars and researchers: from George Peck, to Friedrich Friedmann, Ernesto De Martino, Tullio Tentori, Giovanni Battista Bronzini, Aurora Milillo, daughter of Vincenzo Milillo, lawyer and then member of the Socialist Party, and others².

Worth mentioning is the presence, during the same years, of numerous photographers and filmmakers, both Italian and foreign, who chose Matera and Basilicata for their photographic reportages; we mention only a few: from *Il Vangelo Secondo Matteo* (1964) by Pier Paolo Pasolini to Brunello Rondi, with *Il demone* (1963), from the photographic expeditions of Henri Cartier Bresson to Mario Carbone, Arturo Zavattini, Franco Pinna and Mario Cresci.

In this scenario, however, the question linked to the prospects and destiny of the historical Sassi districts remains open, until the 1980s and until the fifth special law n.771 (1986), as a different and separate reality from the rest of the city: the “shame to be erased”, for the middle and bourgeois classes, the “past to be removed”, for the inhabitants of those districts, a monument to be preserved and put to use in terms of tourism, for the remaining community.³ In all the cases, it was a matter of forgetting and erasing memory of what had become a symbolic condition of “national shame”. In all the cases, it was a matter of forgetting and erasing the memory of what had become a symbolic condition of the “national shame.”⁴

If, on the one hand, in the past, the label “national shame” caused the inhabitants who moved to the new districts to reject the idea of relocating in those places and even seeing them again, with the total abandonment that was achieved,

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⁴ The name derives from the Prime Minister, Alcide De Gasperi, who visiting the city called the houses in the Sassi “shameful dens”, as well as from the pages written by Carlo Levi in *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli*.
on the other hand, UNESCO recognition, first, and designation as European Capital of Culture in 2019, then, tried to overturn this vision.

**The staging of memory: Matera European Capital of Culture 2019**

The idea to apply for Matera as European Capital of Culture for 2019 was born in 2008 and it belonged to an association of citizens and, after alternating political and institutional events, took shape in 2014, when, on 17 October, the Minister for Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism Dario Franceschini, following the assessment of an international jury, proclaimed Matera European Capital of Culture for 2019. About a month before, the *Fondazione Matera-Basilicata 2019* was established, with the aim of managing, monitoring and evaluating the entire process.

The application file, drawn up by the Matera 2019 Committee, is based on five thematic strands, which find their *raison d’être* in the relationship with the past: Remote Future, Continuity and Ruptures, Utopias and Dystopias, Roots and Paths, Reflections and Connections. The five themes are the common thread along which the entire file is developed, as well as most of the initiatives financed and carried out by the Foundation during the year 2019. The “functional manipulation of memory”, and its staging, has played a decisive role and has certainly influenced the rhetoric of representation and communication linked to the city and its relationship with the past, especially with reference to the past-future dichotomy. The, then mayor of the city, Salvatore Adduce, wrote in the first pages of the file:

“The unique experience of a community which, in the immediate post-war period, was able to face the terrible question of the uninhabitable nature of its beautiful city, allows us to tell the whole world that from a great emergency, such as that of the emptying of the Sassi, it is possible to ensure, through intelligent planning, new hospitality to an entire population. [...] The new challenge consists in proposing to the citizens to “regenerate” the city together, overcoming the distrust and fatalism that often characterize our territories. Matera and Basilicata want to announce to Europe that another South is possible, putting behind them the stereotypes of a Southern Italy bent on itself and in perennial waiting for assistance."

The objective, therefore, clearly stated by the two files, is to contribute to creating, on the part of the Matera community, but also on the part of the institutional powers, a new collective conscience, which reappropriates its own memory and makes it a source of pride. The tourism factor favours, and in some cases accelerates, this process of re-appropriation.

Without going into the merits of what was, or could have been, such an opportunity, let us try to examine some examples of how the functional use of “memory” has contributed in many cases to overturning the hitherto stereotyped vision of a timeless reality, a symbol of archaism and backwardness as a reason for pride, contributing to defining, through the elaboration, construction, attribution and use of elements linked to the past and tradition, what Eugenio Imbriani, the Italian

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anthropologist, calls “culture of the immaterial and typical”, and which represents, in my opinion, for Matera the main cultural attractor.

The processes of urban regeneration and cultural revitalization of the city have influenced, in various ways, the creation of a collective imagination that has gradually changed according to the functional use that has seen in “memory” its main instrument of representation. Many existing spaces, and many abandoned for a long time, have been converted and refurbished with the explicit intention of creating a new image of the city. For example, the old railway station, run by Ferrovie Appulo Lucane, is perhaps the space which, together with the historic Cava del Sole, has undergone the most extensive refurbishment: designed by architect Stefano Boeri, it was created as a public space for citizens and travellers alike. A new reception space then, a place of departures and arrivals, symbolising entry into a city projected into the future and into modernity, as is immediately visible from its architecture. The renovations also involved the two outlying stations of Matera Sud and Villa Longo.

Figure 1. Work in progress for the new station FAL Matera Centrale, July 2019.
(Photo by Ciriaca Coretti)

Important renovations have also affected the old public garden, called Villa Comunale, a space that has always been a central place for the city community to meet and socialize for families and the elderly; in the collective imagination of the local community, one of the most characteristic places of the city. Today completely refurbished, the public garden has seen, to the surprise of the community, the relocation of the old central pool in stone, that over the years had represented one of the main hallmarks of the villa, and of which memory had been lost. To underline the importance of the return of the monument to the city, the symbol of the candidacy carved on the old stone fountain. The old Villa Comunale had already
been the object of renovations in the years, but it seems today to have reached its final configuration.

Another important work of requalification with making available to the community was the one that involved historical *Cava del Sole*, once used to extract the limestone useful for the construction and completion of numerous dwellings and buildings especially located in *Rioni Sassi* and abandoned after the 1950s following the displacement of the same and the construction of new neighbourhoods. *Cava del Sole* has been the object of an important redevelopment work, becoming today an important container of events and cultural manifestations. The redevelopment has involved the entire open-air space with addition of structures to host exhibitions, commercial activities, information services, etc., as well as the construction of an indoor auditorium that can be used during the winter months. Ultimately, an important achievement on the part of the city community that has seen one of the city’s most evocative historical sites brought to light, a testimony to the man-nature combination that has always characterised Matera and its natural resources. Redevelopment work and change of use also involved *Casino Padula*, in *Le Piane* district on the outskirts of Matera, which in the past was a symbol of a strong understanding between citizens and urban planners who found themselves redesigning the city after the war, and now houses the *Open Design School*, where masters and students from all over the world can meet and design the essential forms for the layout of Matera 2019. The *Open Design School’s* objectives include the active involvement of the local community through the return to the city of
another of its historic sites and the organisation of creative workshops, thanks to which citizens discover new ways of living and inhabiting these spaces.

*Figure 3. Casino Padula, seat of Open Design School.*

(Photo by Paolo D’Ercole)

Building redevelopment has certainly given the city a new face, but above all it has had the advantage of restoring to community memory some places that had long been taken away from it, at the same time producing new cultural and social spaces for multiple activities including those linked to tourism.

One of the most important initiatives of the Fondazione Matera-Basilicata 2019, and also perhaps among the most discussed, was the creation of a “passport”, meant to enable the citizens to participate free of charge, subject to reservation in some cases, in all events, funded by it, during the year 2019. The Foundation associates, with the purchase of passports, the concept of temporary citizenship, and, in this regard, it draws up a decalogue, which in its turn refers, among other things, to the stories and memories of its own land, to the future, to knowledge, and to the awareness of the past.

In some cases, the reference to “shame”, which we have extensively discussed earlier, is explicit.

It happens, for example, in the theatrical performances *Humana Vergogna*\(^6\), part of the project *La poetica della vergogna*, and *La bella vergogna*\(^7\), in which the

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\(^6\) Performance directed by Silvia Gribaudi and Matteo Maffesanti, within the project Matera 2019 European Capital of Culture La poetica della vergogna, co-produced by Fondazione Matera-Basilicata 2019 and #reteteatro-41 (Theatre company Petra, Shellac Theatre, L’Albero and IAC). The show was staged in the Matera prison and, after the international tour, at the Auditorium Gervasio in Matera.

\(^7\) Realized, at the end of an artistic residence, in San Paolo Albanese (PZ), in co-production with the Centro Mediterraneo delle Arti and the artists of the Fura dels Baus, the theatre company of Ulderico Pesce and the students of the workshops.
term appears expressly in the title. If the former addresses the subject of shame in a more intimate, personal and reflective way, the latter, on the other hand, makes explicit reference to the shame denounced by Carlo Levi in *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli*.

The show *La bella vergogna* is in fact all based on the coexistence of the two terms, beauty and shame, to underline the possibility to overcome the latter. The show aroused contrasting reactions and not always positive, although on stage the actors’ performance and the scenographic effects were absolutely remarkable. In my opinion, the main controversy stems from the fact that, although masterfully staged, the script focused too much on the concept of shame and very little on the possibility to overcome it, which is obvious in the title itself; this generated in the audience feelings that brought to mind just those aspects that had caused so much embarrassment over the years. Ultimately, in my opinion, it was a performance devoted to the private past of its possibility of redemption.

The shame, in its broadest sense, was also the theme of a great exhibition of a European scope, set up at the State Archive of Matera, entitled *Architettura della Vergogna*. A project that, although it was related to Matera, also involved Italian and European architectures, and that, since July 23, the same date of De Gasperi’s visit to Matera, has seen the alternation of activities including exhibitions, dialogues, workshops and interventions.

![Figure 4. Architecture of shame Exhibition. (Photo by Ciriaca Coretti)](image)

I-DEA, on the other hand, is one of the main projects of Matera 2019 and explores the archives and collections of Basilicata from an artistic point of view. The project,

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born initially to carry forward the idea of *Museo demoetnoantropologico dei Sassi*, as specified in the first application dossier, had been gradually modified until its final form. In collaboration with the Department of European Cultures and the Mediterranean, of the University of Basilicata, whose main task was to study and map the archives and collections, public and private, present in the region. The project consists of five exhibitions curated by artists and designers who use the archives as a starting point. In short, “an archive of archives”: a journey through the collections of Basilicata. It was an important project and certainly one of the most elaborate, which actively involved the community in its performances, conferences and workshops. A project founded on memory, through the use of archives, and that reinterprets it from a point of view of time and space, transfiguring it into the present.

![Figure 5. I-DEA Exhibition, wooden spoons exhibition. Museo Nazionale Archeologico Domenico Ridola Matera’s Collection.](Photo by Ciriaca Coretti)

Other exhibitions used memory as a tool of their narration, such as: *La secretissima camera de lo core*, a sort of atlas of memories and emotions related to the city, and *Vado Verso Dove Vengo. Storie di partenze e ritorni nell’Italia dei margini⁹*, a documentary film that, through a video-installation, set out to investigate the dialogue and connect the personal stories of Basilicata’s people who emigrated abroad with the testimonies of those who remain, aiming to build new meanings of their places of origin.

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⁹ The documentary film is part of “storylines | the lucanian ways”, a project of Matera - European Capital of Culture 2019, co-produced by the association Youth Europe Service, the Matera-Basilicata Foundation 2019 and the Lucana Film Commission. The project is realized in partnership with Mediterraneo Cinematografica, Bitmovies s.r.l., Allelammie, Simbdea, with collaboration of director Nicola Ragone and anthropologist Vito Teti, and the artistic direction of Luigi Vitelli.
The theatrical opera *Trenodia, un corte come forma d’arte* was born from the memory of the studies of Ernesto De Martino conducted in Basilicata in the 1950s; the performance reinterprets the traditional elements of ritual lament investigated by the anthropologist in *Morte e pianto rituale: dal lamento funebre antico al pianto di Maria*, giving life to a theatricalization of the mourning that took place in the streets of the city, starting from the tiny district to *Cava del Sole*, where the final concert of the Italian songwriter, Vinicio Capossela, ended, and that saw the public participation of artists and citizens involved in workshops of fabric dyeing, music complaints and civil prayers; it was a large procession and a public art project that, in ten days, crossed the inland areas of Calabria, Campania and Basilicata. Perhaps one of the most touching and attractive moments of the entire program of events.\(^{10}\)

Far removed from the feelings of nostalgia and regret, which usually distinguish contexts of this type, the performance was able to reinterpret the memory of a centuries-old tradition, transfiguring it into contemporaneity through a public lamentation that aims to work collectively on crying with the aim of exorcising the problems of the modern world.

\(^{10}\) *Trenodia* is a project conceived and directed by Mariangela and Vinicio Capossela, produced by Matera 2019 with Sponzfest Sottaterra 2019. It was held from 20 to 30 August 2019, from Calitri to Cairano, and to Lacedonia, Tricarico and Matera.
Conclusions

The long process of urban and cultural regeneration that accompanied the city of Matera in the process that brought it the title of European Capital of Culture for 2019 is a path in continuous evolution, whose results will certainly be visible and quantifiable in the years to come. All the examples given so far show how the re-functionalisation of memory has affected languages, metaphors, spaces and has remixed public and private, individual and community in a scenario marked by the relationship with the past which has the ultimate aim of redesigning the perception of places through a sentimental operation of narration.11

What we would like to underline is how this process of staging memory, or its social use, has been able to trigger a new consciousness in the community, able to reconstruct its collective memory, in some cases through the translation of the individual one.

External representation does not always correspond to a critical interpretation of memory. The risk remains that representation of memory, through its spectacular use, can be connected to the inability to make constructive memory, aimed at the future, in favour of a totalizing and centralizing representation in which the past-future tension is lost.

Memory undergoes profound mutations and is often marked by a distracted perception of the past which, together with a dextorized mass culture, risks making memory a celebration of itself.

On the other hand, in a relatively short time, opportunity to present itself to the world as something different from the stereotyped image of a backward, isolated and for years bent on itself, managed at a local level to instil in the community a new awareness that identifies its history and traditions with the greatest wealth. How this awareness will evolve into a formal awareness and how this will happen is not yet established.

The awareness, derived from the centrality of representation and memory, implies a critical analysis of its social construction.

Centrality of memory in processes of representation of culture certainly represents a risk at the moment in which it stands as an instrument of identity construction. A critical analysis of the processes of representation of memory and a narration of policies and relations that contribute to its construction is an indispensable task for anthropology, especially when, in a future meaning, the idea of the social construction of a public and participatory memory is mentioned, to the advantage of its mere spectacularisation. The risk, in this case, is that other memories, often ideological and interested, could prevail.

On the anthropological analysis of poetics and politics of the gaze, and on activities of production and use of images derived from the gaze, Francesco Faeta, Italian visual anthropologist, writes:

“[...] the activities of looking that preside over the construction of the anthropological discourse, and that are the basis of its reasons, have their own internal articulation: they are certainly based on the perception and cultural translation of the perceived, within the field of social interaction that we conventionally call observation, but they have the possibility of becoming a socially founded reality through memory and staging, representation. And this articulation of the gaze is not found unfolded in reality, with its well divided and distinct partitions (as if first one observed, then remembered, and finally represented), but in a complex interweaving of its own; so that, while one remembers one represents, while one observes one remembers, while one observes one observes.”

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Architecture and Territory. The Resilience of Fragile Italy

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Abstract

Italy is a fragile country with a high seismic and hydrogeological risk. The peninsula is experiencing a period of demographic and economic crisis and the central administration tends to concentrate more on large cities. This paper aims at mapping the Italian territory and identifying macro-trends, notably those relating to less safe areas that have suffered the phenomenon of abandonment. Such mapping may lead to important strategic and informed decisions on the interventions that may need to be taken in order to repopulate specific areas, increase security or revert to other actions. Starting from a storytelling of risk and abundance, minor areas meet two different trends: on the one hand, repopulation, where accessibility requirements in case of seismic and hydrogeological risk can be guaranteed; on the other hand, renaturalisation and securing of the territory. The possibility of reviving abandoned places involves strategic decisions and a series of good practices based on expert knowledge on the area. An example of such revival are those villages that are transformed into a forge of ideas, home to cultural and artistic centres that also become tourist destinations. Bringing cultural revival to forgotten and abandoned places can be an instrument of urban and territorial regeneration. Renaturalisation and culture as regenerative devices can become tools for the transformation of the territory, the city and its architecture and assume priority importance in the processes of planning and design of the territory, considering the positive impact they can have on the quality of life and on social processes.

Key words: Natural Risk, Regeneration, Resilience, Renaturalisation, Climate change.

Demographic and economic crisis

Italy is experiencing a period of severe crisis both from a demographic and economic point of view. In 2018, the country witnessed the worst demographic decline in the last hundred years.\(^1\) The population resident in Italy decreased by 124,427 units in 2018, marking a -0.2%; as of January 1, 2019, 60,359,546 people were resident in Italy, 8.7% of whom were foreigners. The decrease in births is more than 18 thousand units compared to 2017, 439,747 children have been entered in the registry office for birth, a new historical minimum since the Unification of Italy. The decrease in the number of foreigners registered, mainly due to the decrease in the number of foreign immigrants, is - 3.2 %; there were 332,324 foreigners registered, more than 11,000 fewer than the previous year. These figures carry with them a series of possible negative consequences that cannot be ignored. Demographic changes are characterised by a sharp fall in birth rates, an ageing population and a loss of residents. The population of the last twenty years has grown only because of the number of foreigners. Without the implementation of

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appropriate intervention measures to counter this negative trend, the impact on economic growth will be severe.

From the point of view of economic growth, the outlook for 2019 is not the best. Gross domestic product is expected to grow by 0.3% in real terms, which is a decisive slowdown compared to the previous year. A deceleration in production rates is expected, which would have a negative impact on the labour market, leading to an increase in the unemployment rate. The political situation at both national and international level is contributing negatively by creating uncertainty in the financial markets with negative consequences for the economy at global level. A negative economic situation makes its weight felt more in the disadvantaged areas, in the so-called smaller centres. Due to the lack of services, infrastructures and job offers, some parts of the territory are constantly being abandoned in favour of large metropolitan centres where we find greater opportunities for the new generations. In addition to the migration of the new generations to foreign countries, we should not underestimate the phenomenon of migration within the national territory, which is growing continuously as confirmed by the forecasts for future years. A shift in the weight of the population from the South to the Centre-North of the country is expected in the years to come. In 2065 the Centre-North would welcome 71% of residents against 66% of today; the South instead would welcome 29% against 34% at present.²

Exposure to risk and fragility of the territory

The World Economic Forum recently published the fourteenth edition of the Global Risk Report, based on a survey of experts and decision-makers from various sectors of the global economy on the perception of risks at the international level. The main global risks remain linked to environmental issues, representing 5 of the top 10 global risks in terms of both probability of occurrence and impact: in particular, climate disasters are still the main risk in terms of probability.

Starting from the analysis and study of risk is a choice dictated by the desire to take as a reference the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN Agenda 2030. Among the sustainability objectives of the Goal n.11 Sustainable Cities and Communities, the theme of environmental disasters emerges in Target 11.5 “Reducing the adverse effects of natural disasters. By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially reduce direct economic losses related to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with particular attention to the protection of the poor and people in vulnerable situations.

Going down to a national scale, the Italian territory is also at high environmental risk, at seismic and hydrogeological level. The risk is a danger that can be quantified through a probabilistic approach that relates the danger or the probability that a certain event produces damage, to the negative effects that such an event produces. It is of fundamental importance to consider the ability to respond to

² Regional forecasts of the resident population in 2065. www.istat.it/it/files//2018/05/previsioni_demografiche.pdf
the risk. If we think, for example, of an earthquake, we have two possibilities: on the one hand, the securing of the territory and the construction of earthquake-proof buildings to be less vulnerable; on the other hand, to generate a phenomenon of migration of populations from dangerous places, to reduce exposure to the danger itself. Both directions are viable but require a reasoning that leads to the evaluation of the many social and economic aspects that the two choices could change. These issues are treated today in Italy with two very different attitudes, the desire to want to make everything safe and at the same time the attitude of standing still waiting for a catastrophic event to occur and then treat the post-tragedy in an emotional way. The first position is difficult to follow because the current demographic shortage and the scenario that is expected in the coming years do not justify a similar choice, together with the problem of scarce economic resources. This stalemate can be tackled in a different way with a hypothesis that places itself in an intermediate position: the idea is to provide a critical and realistic vision, to arrive at choices. The theme is to decide on which portions of the territory to intervene with the safety and on which instead to apply new tools that recall issues such as housing, densification and renaturation, which in particular finds a positive response from the environmental, ecological and tourism.

**Climate change**

Climate change is already underway and will go on: temperatures are rising, precipitation patterns are changing, ice and snow are melting and average sea levels are rising globally. It is very likely that warming is, for the most part, due to increased concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. To mitigate climate change, we need to reduce or avoid these emissions. When analysing the situation of smaller centres, we need to take into account the role they can play in the future. The rise in temperatures will necessarily lead to a shift in arable areas, which will inevitably have to rise in altitude, moving from the plain to the hills or mountains. The rise in sea level will cause the disappearance of a large flat area and the consequent revaluation of those parts of the territory that today continue to suffer inexorably from the phenomenon of abandonment. The portions of land now considered at the margins will necessarily have to be re-evaluated with the support of institutions.

**Minor areas**

The analysis phase starts with a careful mapping of the Italian territory, carried out through the use of a GIS (Geographic Information System) software that allows to merge data from different sources in a single project of territorial analysis. Starting from a storytelling of risk and abundance, minor areas are defined. An interesting fact is represented by the connection between the risk level of the territory and the abandoned villages: it is evident how often the areas with the highest seismic and hydrogeological risk, following the occurrence of a catastrophic event, are abandoned by the population in favour of safer areas. A second phase of the
research has been focused on abandoned villages. The cultural and landscape riches abandoned in Italy are numerous and often are not adequately exploited. Until the Second World War, the villages were the backbone of the demographic distribution, until a slow depopulation, generated by many factors, caused its decline.  

All this set of minor centres constitutes a series of singularities that must be explored, known and protected as they constitute the current geography of the Italian territory. Because of its fragility, the Italian territory needs a policy of decentralization and enhancement of this small fabric overshadowed by large urban centres.

The regeneration of abandoned villages and smaller areas is a widespread project of small works, which together can increase the resilience of fragile Italy.

Re-naturalizing

Renaturalisation and securing of the territory, with the ultimate aim of guaranteeing a higher environmental quality of the landscape, represent a valid alternative for those parts of the territory where securing and restocking are not sustainable, in economic and demographic terms. Renaturalisation represents a method of safety and green transformation of the territory, the city and its architecture. It thus becomes an instrument of priority importance in the processes of planning and design of the territory, given the positive impact it can have on the quality of life and on social processes.

In a key of regeneration of urban and extra-urban environments, the use of the forest as an architectural and technological element is a tool of fundamental importance for the sustainable design of the environmental system at all its scales. In carrying out this operation, ecosystem services have been taken into account, as well as the multiple benefits that plants are able to provide to the environment and society: control of solar radiation, biological control, carbon capture, acoustic and air quality improvement, protection of soil and slope stability, protection from landslides and rockfalls, reduction of flood risk, a long series of factors that can ensure greater accessibility to the territory from an environmental, ecological and tourist point of view.

It is a question of applying forms of controlled abandonment of the territory, in order to restore a certain balance between the humanized environment and nature. It is not possible to think of letting nature run its course without any form of management. In the mountains, the forest is constantly growing and without adequate control, its continuous development would lead to an increase in the level of danger. In the lowlands, however, over the centuries we have seen an important phenomenon of deforestation and it would be important to plant new trees to try to compensate for this lack. We need to ensure that nature regains its space but in a controlled way to ensure the conservation of biodiversity. New lowland forests, new green areas in the mountains, parks and green areas managed and controlled so as to make them accessible and usable as tourist and leisure areas. From abandoned and

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unsafe areas to places that find a new destination of use, becoming safe and usable environments for everyone.

Repopular

Within the wider spectrum of smaller areas, in those identified as safe, the idea is to intervene by transforming the heterogeneous abandoned material into a complex commercial housing device that responds to the differentiated needs of all social subjects: new residences better equipped and new places for work. The most recent attitude is that of wanting to rediscover these realities, re-appropriating these places and reliving their traditions in a new, proactive perspective. From the collection of some experiences, it has been possible to highlight the causes of abandonment, the state of the art of the village and the strategies of requalification and revitalization for these assets. To cite a few examples, we find Badolato in Calabria, a small village that is re-inhabited; Riace that turns into a place of welcome for migrants; Portis in Friuli Venezia Giulia that becomes an educational village, home of the Serm Academy, a place of experimentation for seismic phenomena; Paraloup in Piedmont that turns into a tourist centre; Solomeo in Umbria that becomes the headquarters and production of an important textile company. These are just a few examples of the attempts that we find on the Italian territory. It is therefore important to make an assessment of the effectiveness of these interventions, to obtain models to be proposed in different places when possible. The aim is also to create a methodological approach for the safety of abandoned ancient villages in reference to the seismic risk. Repopulate: create places that allow to live in an inclusive way, ensuring an independent and autonomous life to all people, especially those with health problems or disabilities.

The process of repopulating rural areas can become an opportunity to apply the model of the green economy, based on a sustainable use of resources and the reduction of environmental and social impacts, to improve the quality of life. In a framework of sustainable development, abandoned villages can assume a role of priority importance at national level but it is necessary to create new organizational and functional models, create rules of collective heritage management to ensure the development of these smaller areas. The experiences of some villages are good practices that can be taken from the regulations, starting from the territory through concrete action projects that become models at national level to govern the territory through the environment. The numerous successful experiences can find their maximum value by becoming replicable examples, concrete responses to the economic, social and environmental crisis.

Culture as a regenerative tool

In the broader scenario of rehousing, the interventions that have as their ultimate goal the dissemination of culture find a position of particular importance. Compared to the large metropolitan cities, which tend to conform to each other, the smaller towns constitute a large collection of beautiful, authentic places that preserve a
diversity in economic, social, spatial organization and cultural. On the international scene, the launch of the New Urban Agenda, the “shared vision for a better and more sustainable future” adopted by the United Nations Habitat III Conference with which culture was integrated into the international urban development agenda, is important. “Culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humanity and make an important contribution to the sustainable development of the city, human settlements and citizens [...]. The New Agenda recognises that culture must underpin the promotion and implementation of new models of sustainable consumption and production that contribute to the responsible use of resources and address the negative effects of climate change”. 4 Culture becomes a real catalyst for smaller towns as an opportunity for future development. The ECoC experience in particular accelerates the phenomenon of urban regeneration of smaller centres through the culture tool. While a long and slow process is needed to revitalise a small centre under normal conditions, all these mechanisms and phenomena are becoming more effective with the same resources invested in the area, thanks to the theme of culture in a European key. These experiences can be models to be reproduced on a smaller scale also in other centres spread throughout the territory.

Conclusion

Starting from an analysis of the demographic and economic crisis combined with the study of risks to obtain a set of data as a basis for mapping the Italian territory. To obtain a series of maps that become guiding elements in the identification of marginal areas. To highlight some born cases of experience in the field of regeneration and reuse of abandoned villages. An example are the villages reused as a forge of ideas, home to cultural and artistic centres that also become tourist destinations. Bringing culture to forgotten and abandoned minor places can be an instrument of urban and territorial regeneration. Renaturalisation and culture as regenerative devices can become tools for the transformation of the territory, of the city and its architectures, assuming priority importance in the processes of planning and design of the territory, considering the positive impact they can have on the quality of life and on social processes.

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A Study on the Relationships between Cultural Policies and Urban Space Use

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Abstract
This paper draws from a work still in progress, notably my PhD research, which aims to understand how the public, urban and cultural policies have consequences in the urban space of Matera. The main objective here is to understand if and how urban space can be considered a mirror of the symbolic policies undertaken in the frame of a big event.

The context is the laboratory city of Matera, defined only seventy years ago as “National Shame”, in 1993 UNESCO World Heritage Site and now proclaimed European Capital of Culture 2019.

In this city, there are conditions in which the strength of urban policies is well-matched with an idea of innovation and creativity. For a small town in South Italy, it becomes an occasion to bet on its future and on the opportunity of what is post-legacy governance (Mininni, Bisciglia, Favia, 2016).

The success of a mega-event must be evaluated in a long-term perspective that includes both the time before the event and the time that follows. Identifying objectives over a long-term period and recognizing the vocations and limits of a venue is necessary so that the event and the transformations that accompany it are inherently linked to the city that hosts them, and therefore able to confirm a changing process that has already begun and settled. Every evaluation process must be case-specific and site-specific, even though the ex-post evaluation processes of previous ECoC cities are crucial to consolidate good practices and avoid failures.

In the light of a huge investment of resources and involving participation, the planning of material and immaterial heritage (Brighenti, 2012; Mareggi, 2015; Di Vita, Morandi 2018) becomes a key element to be monitored and evaluated in order to ensure the sustainability and success of the efforts made, to ensure continuity between the balances established during time and the image of the future city.

Thus, the questions are: what will happen after this great year? How can cultural policies lead to physical transformations? How can the event become a constructive factor in public space?

Key words: mega-events, legacy, cultural heritage, urban policies, space-time device

Cities & mega-events
The event is defined by transitory and temporary nature. An event is something that does not last and does not remain in time and space, but that, at the same time, links these two concepts closely. Mega-events are “real ‘tourist attractors’; as such, they are one of the most ‘dynamic’ products of the tourism and leisure industry, whose appeal derives from the temporariness and uniqueness of each event that, together with the festive and celebrative atmosphere, makes them very different from all
other attractions” (Getz, 1997) but above all, they are “events limited in time that need high investments to be made in a short time and that can become a strong driver of urban development” (Essex, Chalkley, 1998).

In recent years, the event, i.e., “what is explicitly and intentionally limited in time” (Bishop, Williams, 2012), has become a moment in which the aim is to promote the image of a space or an entire city, through territorial and local policies and funding. The final goal is to use the impulse that the venues of a mega event receive to accelerate the processes of economic and territorial development, allowing to redesign city parts or large infrastructure, going beyond the traditional methods of urban planning, which is not able to manage the ordinary (Bruzzese, 2015; Mareggi, 2015; Di Vita, Morandi, 2018).

It is useful to have a positive approach to temporary processes, in order to verify in which terms the construction processes of a common space through this device can really be a regeneration, physical and mental catalyst, for the context in which they are located, thus taking on the character of “permanence”. The dichotomy permanence/transitory becomes fundamental for the issue: not necessarily the temporary must be transformed into permanent, but it is a temporariness that leaves a trace of itself (something that is passing but creates “incrustations” in the physical and mental space).

But, if the resources for the ordinary management are limited, the financial resources dedicated to short-term events increase, which bring with them physical and permanent transformations of the city’s spaces. The event becomes the access key to a long-term project (Peretti, 2018).


Extraordinary vs. ordinary in Matera

Now ECoC 2019, the city of Matera offers a context of study of great interest to understand what urban and territorial effects, spatial and temporal, in the long term can have an event of international resonance that “acts as a catalyst for change, causing people to work together for a common goal and as a fast track to get additional funding and see unplanned projects implemented” (Law, 1993). The case study of Matera starts from the reflections that are accompanying the monitoring process required by the European Community in the ECoC routes.

The purpose is to elaborate the evaluation process the cultural heritage and the effects that a mega-event produces on a territory and its community, paying
particular attention to what are defined as material components (hard factors) and immaterial (soft factors), read through space/time device.

The focus is on the cities’ places that undergo processes of physical and symbolic transformation caused by the events they host and the new ways of living space by the communities because the “place is like an event, something that, rather than existing, happens” (Pink, 2009).

Underused places can become new centralities and opportunities for sustainable enhancement and reuse of abandoned heritage. But what happens after that? How can we plan the post-event already during the event and avoid that all the economic and cultural resources put in place disappear with the event conclusion? Working through the production of maps can help to create the emotional atlas of transformations and memories of spaces, places, territories: an atlas that reflects territory practices and experiences, rather than representing information (Marano, 2013).

On the one side, the extraordinary situation, on the other the ordinary, typical of the Matera context, reason of slowness and disillusionment. The time-limited ECoC process should not pretend to turn the city permanently, but rather to be an opportunity to discover and rediscover Matera’s urban spatiality and practices. The extraordinary nature of the event must give way to the ordinary nature of the public administration, which must then have the capacity to reuse processes and places, with a view to resilience and sustainability for the city (Mininni, Bisciglia, 2018).

Each evaluation process can only be case-specific and site-specific. After all the official ex-post processes on ECoC cities, with the case of Matera the intention is to introduce the design element of legacy and post-legacy planning, integrating it in the decisional phases of the application proposal.

In a broader temporal vision, it will be necessary to aim at actions of disused heritage revitalization and the theme of city accessibility, in a patrimonial vision of static infrastructure works and temporary structures related to the events (Bandini, 2018; Tamini 2018).

Through its slogan “Open Future”, the Matera 2019 programme sets itself the strategic objective of creativity and innovation, based on an idea of openness and sharing, with the principles of open culture, with the sharing of international practices and skills and with a new dynamism that is also diffused in the economic and business sectors, as well as in the artistic and cultural fields (Mininni, Bisciglia, Favia, 2016).

In this context, the fundamental added value is generated by the immaterial and creativity is its driving force (Florida, 2003).
The five main themes proposed by the bid book\(^1\) draw new narrative paths of discovery in the city: Ancient Future, Continuity and Disruptions, Utopias and Dystopias, Roots and Routes, Reflections and Connections. Each theme is divided into clusters that develop the survey on a specific aspect of the theme through a series of large, medium and small-scale events. The programme is based on two pillar projects: the Demo-Ethno-Antropological Institute (I-DEA) and the Open Design School (ODS).

These new themes are configured as individual physical paths, but they take on a strong meaning in the symbolic rewriting of the city if viewed through a holistic vision and always linked to time.\(^2\) This is how settings and disarrangements make space dynamic and flexible, transforming ordinary spaces into extraordinary spaces; “the performances of open spaces change the ways and practices of temporary use of city spaces, those spaces that do not “exist” if not linked to the urban social interaction of the inhabitants, those spaces whose meaning depends on the use made of them” (Crosta, 2010).

Since January 19, the city has been open to artistic performances, debates, workshops, shows and outdoor events, with works that are set up and disallesticate, outlining an ephemeral city in great ferment. More than fifty thousand people flooded into the street to celebrate the beginning of the extraordinary year of Matera, with an “opening ceremony that had the greatest media coverage among the cities that have earned the title of European Capital of Culture”\(^3\).

In all its forms, space and time become devices for investigating urban space, becoming keys to understanding how they transform space itself, in relation to the event that affects it, physically and symbolically. The evaluation of the Matera 2019 process will be an opportunity to observe the city in transformation.

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\(^1\) The idea to candidate Matera as European Capital of Culture was promoted in mid-2008, during the short legislature of Bucicco (June 11, 2007, October 5, 2009), by a group of young people from Matera formed in the Association Matera 2019 with the main objective of starting the path of candidacy through the involvement “from below” of all political, institutional, social and productive forces of the Matera community. Among the activities promoted, there was an important work of documentation on the application process and awareness of citizens. In 2009, the Association launched the project “CADMOS, in search of Europe”, which placed Matera at the centre of a dialectic path between Mediterranean and European civilizations, in an ideal journey from east to west. [https://www.matera-basilicata2019.it/images/2019/allegati/dossier_mt2019-candidatura_ita.pdf](https://www.matera-basilicata2019.it/images/2019/allegati/dossier_mt2019-candidatura_ita.pdf)

\(^2\) Look to the future, looking to the past so important for the city of Matera, comparing ancient practices of neighborhood with futuristic models of life, ancient practices of thrifty use of natural resources with the current objectives of environmental sustainability (Ancient Future). To continue to be a resilient city, as already demonstrated in the past, moving from national shame to a World Heritage Site, recognizing its fragile condition and aiming to have an attractive capacity towards a responsible and compatible tourism (Continuity and Disruptions). Deeply change the mentality to imagine possible alternatives to a renewal of the city, dispelling some myths related to the opportunities to “emerge” for the cities of southern Italy (Utopias and Dystopias). Emigrate and move around the territory, once a tradition of transhumance of shepherds and flocks, today as a “brain drain” of a generation of young people who then hope to return and find an appropriate job contest (Roots and Routes). Reconnect art and culture with the rest of life, manual skills with intellect and reflect on the social meaning of the city and spaces, rediscovering time and slowness as fundamental and essential values of life (Reflections and Connections).

\(^3\) Quote from a European Commission manager during his visit to Matera, reported at the press conference convened on 22 January 2019 to present the report of the Opening Ceremony of Matera 2019.
and understand how the practices of use, densities, flows, modify the space before, within and especially after the event.

With the observation and monitoring, it will be possible to define taxonomic categories with which to identify the spaces of the city that may be spaces of memory, physical or immaterial, able to bring back to people’s mind, through installations or activities, episodes related to the deep identity of the city; spaces of rewriting, as can be defined as that of Piazza della Visitazione that with the construction of the officially launched Central Station will change the face of the city; or rediscovering spaces, when a place that has always been used in a way, now becomes a space with a new use, assuming a new meaning in the city landscape.

Monitoring and evaluation: Matera beyond 2019

The observation and monitoring process aims at re-orienting mistakes and reinforcing good practices, applying it to evaluate good qualitative and not only quantitative outcomes, related to cultural, economic, social and innovation impacts. On the one hand, there are monitoring and management objectives that can be measured through output indicators, closely linked to the central objectives of the application and evaluation, with parameters relating to the economy, tourism, marketing and infrastructure; on the other hand, it is the so-called intangible components that strongly shape the long-term ECoC effects on the host city and region, making the event really sustainable.

The study shows a lack of targeted research on the effects that ECoCs have had on the host cities social and cultural life, on the intangible components: the enhancement of local pride, the improvement of cohesion and sense of belonging to the community, the mobilization of residents, the levels and instruments of connection between local cultural activities and the different types of target audience.

Furthermore, no comparative analyses between cities were carried out until the ATLAS Capital of Culture Research Group was founded in 2000, with the aim of carrying out research at a transnational level. The first report in a series of studies on European Capitals of Culture is the comparative research carried out by ATLAS.

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4 The works (completed in 2019) concern the New Matera Centrale Station designed by the architect Stefano Boeri; the regeneration of Piazza Matteotti and the reorganization of the pedestrian access road to Piazza Vittorio Veneto; the arrangement of the pertinent green areas, the surrounding road network and the resolution of existing problems relating to pedestrian and car crossings; the construction of the bus interchange area of suburban and urban lines: green roof and Visitation Park; parking and sailing station; the tourist reception and information point.

5 http://www.labforculture.org/it/content/view/full

6 The Association for Tourism and Leisure Education and Research (ATLAS) was founded in 1991 to develop transnational education and research initiatives in the tourism and leisure sector.
which forms the basis for qualitative research on the effects of European Capitals of Culture.

In this work perspective, it is essential to use an ethnographic process, with research techniques such as observation and investigation, in order to collect data, information, photographs and interpret them once the current year is over. The method of “participative observation” allows the observer to capture the point of view and the way of living the events planned by the citizens, to go through the practices as well as observe them (Brighenti, 2012), to try to understand how the transformations of the open and public space and the flows of tourism are welcomed by the business activities and the Matera community.

It is an inductive work: through a combined approach of study and analysis, it is intended to carefully reconstruct the changes that are taking place in the city, the projects that are born or that fit into this city scenario and that perhaps give the opportunity to understand, as part of an a posteriori plan, what is being implemented in the city. The first step is the study of the implicit and explicit policies of the Matera ECoC 2019 process, starting from an analysis of key projects that have invested the public space of the city, supported by a mapping-work.

By putting urban and cultural policies in place, it is important to start a monitoring process, linking it to the planning legacy phase, against the background of cultural heritage, considering the exceptional concept of urbanity that interacts with people and spaces.

A series of open questions that are structuring the unusual itineraries of the city are faced; itineraries that come to life in public space within which the density, frequency, use of space will be recorded; itineraries that will delineate new maps of flows and centrality, within which will be identified residential and commercial settlements and itineraries that will allow us to have a look at the city that can capture images and photographs of the city that changes. Methods to examine the environmental perception of time, that may even be more important than that of space, are not very developed; it becomes necessary to understand how to create maps to connect the flow of time and territory. “Maps of the density of the nature of the time signs in a given territory could also be drawn up. These maps should indicate those places that allow you to understand the time or season where there are preparatory activities, visible trend lines, communications of future intentions,

8 The comparison between open spaces and the effects on commercial activities concerns the degree thesis in urban planning entitled “Geographies of food and taxonomies of open space: places of food trade and new centralities. Policies, actions and projects in Matera and Valencia” by M. Camardelli with supervisor M. Mininni and co-supervisor A. Vigil de Insausti, University of Basilicata, A.A. 2017-2018. From the analysis of possible routes in the city, it can be seen that commercial activities are increased or modified on the basis of new influx flows and from here possible forms of governance have been studied that favour the integration and the creation of possible commercial districts.
etc. This type of representation can be chosen either for the purpose of increasing the use of a public space. The detection of activity cycles can reveal significant inefficiencies, disharmonies or conflicts in the temporal use of space” (Lynch, 1981).

It is inevitable to ask what interaction can exist between the planned transformations in the implementation phase and the existing planning, but above all what will be the shape of the city after 2019, that is, what will be the material and immaterial heritage that this event will leave in the city and how will move from the extraordinary to the ordinary.

Matera no longer shows itself as a single city, indissolubly linked to the historical heritage of the Sassi, but is beginning to turn its attention to new urban polarities that broaden the perception of the city’s centrality, in a mind rescaling process that today is not accompanied by an infrastructural system capable of supporting it.

Resilience and sustainability will be the categories in which to study how much local policies will want to collaborate by interacting with the new symbolic assets brought forward by the dossier to understand what will stratify in the future.

References
Peripheral Territories of Tourism

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Abstract
Tourism is often considered a panacea that can turn trends, especially in peripheral rural territories that are coping with lagging economies, human capital depletion, and demographic decline. Thus, those regions may try to foster tourism and put tourism at the center of their territorial development strategies, considering it their last resource in the lack of other choices.

The paper will address the topic of the role and the impact of tourism in a peripheral region, the province of Matera, in Southern Italy, through the experience of five inner villages that underwent touristization processes in very different ways.

In analysing the role of tourism in these peripheral places, the paper explores the extent to which tourism may contribute to the revitalization of peripheral territories and its impacts.

Key words: tourism, inner areas, peripheral areas, local development, Italy

1. Introduction

The paper will present a study on five inner villages in the province of Matera, Basilicata, Southern Italy, analysing the role of tourism in their revitalization and the other impacts tourism has on the territory.

After describing the methodology used and the goal aimed, an overview of tourism in peripheral areas, and more specifically in inner areas, considering as such Italian peripheral areas so defined by Italian policies as the SNAI (National Strategy for Inner Areas)\(^1\), will be given.

The following section presents the case study area, the province of Matera, explaining why this territory is significant for studying the phenomenon. After the general presentation, the cases will be singularly developed. The villages analyzed are Irsina, Grottole, Craco, Aliano, Castelmezzano, and Pietrapertosa; these last two are combined in a single case. The cases’ findings will be shortly summed up and compared with a synoptic table and then discussed.

2. Methodology and goals

The paper presents a part of the work developed as part of a PhD research. The general frame is an extremely concise resumé of an extensive literature review that

\(^1\) Barca, Fabrizio, Casavola Paola, Lucatelli Sabrina. Strategia nazionale per le aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance (Materiali UVAL, n 31, 2014); Inner areas are defined as those Italian peripheral municipalities which are at least 20 minutes far from a city, defined pole, that clusters all the services of general interest, which are all the high school specializations, a hospital with an emergency room with all the medical specializations, a national train station with at least 2,500 passengers per day. Inner areas are then split into three subcategories: intermediate, peripheral, and ultraperipheral. The last two are distant more than 40 minutes from the nearest pole.
encompassed the topics of territorial development and tourism.

The five micro case studies are the extract of a broader analysis that involved the whole province. These have been developed through field surveys, which took place in the summers of 2018 and 2019 and included observing the places and interviews with the main actors of the actions presented. The information acquired has been then integrated with an extensive press review to retrieve other past interviews and other opinions and thorough desk research with spatial and data analysis.

The paper aims to illustrate a socioeconomically distressed and depopulating peripheral rural territory that is deliberately undergoing a process of touristization in the hope of revitalizing its economy and overturn demographic trends within a general policy frame at a national and regional level that tends to encourage that. Through the presentation of five micro-case studies, different ways to deal with tourism and different spatial and socio-economic impacts are seen and evaluated to show how tourism can contribute to the revitalization of peripheral places and question the final goal of such a revitalization.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the issue hereby presented. With the related mobility restrictions and travel bans that involved the entire world, the pandemic has disrupted the tourists flows that reached their peak in the area during 2019 and were predicted to grow. Nevertheless, the reopening of the country in the summer months, and the travel difficulties and the worries to travel long distances, seemed to have caused a peak of tourist presence in the inner areas between July and August, as registered by the press. In any case, data to evaluate the development of tourism in 2020 are not yet available, and it seems way too early to imagine what will happen with tourism after the pandemic; if flows will restart from where they stopped or if any significant change will occur.

3. Tourism in peripheral areas

Since the beginning of the 20th century, tourism has been seen as a driver of the revitalization of declining and distressed places\(^2\), which often try to draw more visitors in many ways, for instance, building new attractions\(^3\).

Since the 1980s, in the attempt of fostering growth and employment, tourism is interpreted by EU policies as a tool for reducing regional divergences and promoting cohesion within members States\(^4\) and as a major tool for the promotion of rural areas\(^5\). Even if tourism was already part of most countries’ development agendas, it became an integral part of European policies and funding mechanisms

and started to be considered, by administrators and people in general, as a panacea for peripheral areas for overturning their situation of socio-economic distress.

Even in the development strategies of Italian inner areas, tourism has a considerable weight. SNAI is a policy launched in 2014 in Italy with the aim to work on issues of territorial cohesion among the different areas of the country. The policy discusses core areas and peripheral areas and a combination of municipalities and proposes implementation of place-based policies aimed at fostering overall development for the peripheral rural areas - such policies and procedure of implementation come from the respective administration and community of the areas themselves and designed in a bottom-up participated strategy. Most of the strategies set up by the selected areas gave overwhelming importance to the role played by tourism. They often consider it as an overall solution to their long-lasting problems, to the point that the central government had to intervene, warning not to consider tourism as the only strategy but to see it as a way to help and support the improvement of essential services for residents by the side of other economic activities.

An extensive analysis of the literature on the impact of tourism in peripheral places shows that according to most of the authors, tourism cannot act alone and should be part of a complex and articulated system. Indeed, tourism can be a factor of development for inner areas, taking advantage of the areas’ vocation toward emerging tourism forms. However, it should not be considered as the universal solution, limiting its role as a promising activator or accelerator of local development, along with agriculture and food production, renewable energy, and handicraft.

3. Presentation of the case study area

The province of Matera is located in the Region of Basilicata, in Southern Italy (Figure 1). It has been selected as a study area because of several issues:

- The SNAI classifies the whole province as an inner area, which is indeed one of the innermost peripheral areas in the country. Even its main city, Matera, a small-medium sized town of around 60,000 inhabitants, has been forcibly listed as a pole in the SNAI classification due to its administrative role, not being connected to the national railway system and hence not having a national train station. There is one SNAI pilot area in the province, the Montagna Materana, which includes eight municipalities, among which the villages of Craco and Aliano, which experience will be illustrated in the

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The eight municipalities are setting up a series of strategies aiming at the revitalization of the area. The municipalities agreed to merge part of their operative office activities and realize some activities together, for instance, the cadastre office;

- Matera has become in the last two decades a popular and rising touristic destination. In 2019 the city was the European Capital of Culture (ECoC), and tourists’ flows have increased. One of the goals of the event was to involve the whole territory, generating a spillover effect in the more inner parts of the region. Indeed, the official name of the ECoC was Matera-Basilicata 2019;
- The entire territory is aiming to develop a touristic economy. Tourism in the region traditionally involved only the Jonian coast, before Matera became a well-renowned destination in the early 2000s. Most touristic accommodations, the relevant hotels, and the touristic residential areas are located along the coast. The inner region has been until now little visited; nevertheless, in the last decades, the more inner municipalities, in the attempt to find a way out of the situation of disadvantage hitting the area, have been trying to become touristic destinations setting up a rich calendar of events or creating attractions, in the attempt of drawing people from the main touristic areas of Matera and the coast to the interior. These municipalities’ actions found a general frame within the regional policy of creating a system of tourist macro attractions in the interior of the region to stimulate circulation and movement from the poles of Matera and the coast to the rest of the territory.

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The five considered villages, Irsina, Grottole, Craco, Aliano, and Castelmezzano with Pietrapertosa, have been selected because they significantly represent the use of tourism, in very different ways, as a tool for seeking revitalization of economies and places in peripheral areas.

Castelmezzano and Pietrapertosa, though administratively in the nearby province of Potenza, are part of a homogeneous area defined by the Regional Park of Gallipoli-Cognato and Dolomiti Lucane, with other three municipalities in the province of Matera. Hence, they have been included in the analysis because of the relevance to the whole area of the macro attraction they built.

### 3.1 Irsina. Residential and silver tourism.

Irsina is a town of fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, at 40 minutes drive from Matera. Gravina in Puglia, in the region of Apulia, is the closest main urban center, at 20 minutes. Since the middle age, Irsina used to be a significant town in the region, and even the archbishop’s seat. Back in the 1960s, the town was a major agricultural center and counted more than 11,000 inhabitants. Since then, the population has started to decline steadily with emigration, mainly toward Northern Italy.

Contemporarily with external emigration, a translation of people within the same urban center happened in the second half of the 20th century. Residents tended to abandon the old city center in favor of the more modern part of the city, where there was the possibility to build bigger and more comfortable houses with
easier access to cars. As a result, the city center remained widely abandoned.

At the end of the 2000s, a real estate company from Rome happened by chance to pass by Irsina. The company’s management perceived the place’s potential: the stunning hilly landscape and the typical architectural and urban features of well preserved ancient uphill villages, with a very depopulated and ignored city center with meager estates’ acquisition price. Thus, they expressed its interest in mediating with foreign clients to purchase a few dozen properties, starting a similar operation to what they did in the village of Calitri, in the region of Irpinia, close to Naples. The company decided to terminate the business after having achieved its initial goal of selling 32 properties.

Hence, former collaborators, local architect Mrs. Natale, with Mrs. Riches, a young Irish professional who moved to Irsina following her irsinese husband after years of working in multinational companies in major European cities, decided to take over the business. They started to offer the whole package: finding and managing clients, selling and renovating the estates, making the newcomers feel welcome in the new community. This last element proved crucial; as a matter of fact, community building was considered by Mrs. Natale as the most challenging but most important part of drawing buyers to choose Irsina rather than another village. Since they took over the business, they sold another 30 houses and set the limit of the operation’s social sustainability at 80 houses; they call it the threshold of the bar, the quantity after which the balance between locals and foreigners may become a problem. A community of over 100 British, Irish, French, Belgian, and American progressively settled in Irsina. They are mostly retired or close-to-retiring people who spend in Irsina a few weeks or months per year.

Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that, besides the “bar threshold”, there was also a physical limit to the operation. As a matter of fact, all the houses sold occupy the very exterior part of the cliff the historical center of Irsina stands on (Fig. 2), from which the view on the landscape is open without any obstacle. There is no market for the properties along the narrow alleys of the city center’s interior, without terraces, plenty of light, nor a panoramic view of the landscape.

The entire operation allowed to renovate, only through private funds, an entire part of the city that was almost completely abandoned and considered the most expensive and difficult to renovate. As a matter of fact, in the last city master plan, the area was practically considered as a lost part of the town, with no intervention planned, because its renovation would have required too much public funding, impossible to find, and above all with no demand for housing or other activities in that area, that is also the most exposed to hydrogeological risk.

However, the presence of the new community also engendered some conflicts, especially at the beginning, between the new population and the locals, mainly aged people who are typically less inclined to accept changes. However, along the years, with the multiplication of the community initiatives integrating foreigners and locals, like English classes, or painting courses, held by the same

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residents, a good integration level has been achieved. The public administration was also initially relatively neutral or did not support the initiative, despite the attempts to involve it. Nowadays, despite not having played any role in the project, the administration usually brags about the achievement of having attracted a foreign community in the town during the occasional press and TV reports.

![Figure 2. The tourism-driven transformation of the historic center of Irsina. Source: the author.](image)

The impact on urban space has been then quite significant; also, little reactivation of the economy happened, mainly related to restaurants and the construction industry. Furthermore, the presence of a new community re-inhabiting the historic center worked as a forerunner in the coming back of few Irsinese, who are now starting to reconsider living in the historic centre.

The operation carried out in Irsina is potentially replicable in any so-called amenity-rich village, characterized by a beautiful historical architectural city center and surrounding landscape. However, it is worth noticing that the condition of a low initial price, no more than 1000 € per square meter for the renovated estate, is fundamental: that because despite the beauty of a place, there is plenty of villages with similar characteristics and beauty, and even a slightly higher price would eventually encourage a potential buyer to choose other places. Furthermore, there is the role played by community building and the importance of having a consistent first stock of houses to sell in a comprehensive project in order to be able to build
that initial community.

Nonetheless, the overall socio-economic impact is limited and is not able to influence demographic trends.

### 3.2 Grottole. Experiential tourism

Grottole is a village of 2000 inhabitants on a hill 500 meters high at 30 minutes from Matera. In the 1960s, the town arrived to count over 3.700 inhabitants and was among the main centers of the methane extraction basin, which embraced the underlying Basento river valley and that with the State-owned chemical industries placed nearby brought unprecedented wealth to the whole area. Nonetheless, emigration started to hit the village already in the 1970s.

After the almost complete abandonment of the historic center, in the last few years, the administration of Grottole explicitly started to seek revitalization through tourism, envisioning several initiatives and public works. However, the main actor in the touristic transformation of Grottole is the association now known under the name of Wonder Grottole. Established in 2014, the associations started with public participation projects and sensibilization toward the abandonment of the historic center through collaborative mapping and workshops. In 2018, Wonder Grottole tried to take a further step and, through an online crowdfunding campaign, tried to secure funds for purchasing and renovating two abandoned houses and turning them into a guesthouse, but the crowdfunding failed. One year later, the association managed to partner with the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation, in charge of the organization of the events and the cultural calendar of ECoC 2019 in Matera. Since one of the goals of the ECoC and hence of the Foundation was to involve in the event the entire regional territory outside the city of Matera as much as possible, they managed to intercept Airbnb’s interest in developing tourism and expanding its business in peripheral rural areas. As a matter of fact, the multinational company was already working on a project, supported by the Italian Ministry of Culture, which aimed to encourage tourists to explore off-paths countryside locations.

On the one hand, the project was seen as a measure to counteract the phenomenon of overtourism, which Airbnb has often been accused of as one of the main triggers. On the other hand, it was the possibility to test a new market niche for the company and expand its business to rural and more peripheral territories. The focus was put on offering experiences rather than rents. Touristic rents are usually very cheap in those peripheral rural areas and are not such an interesting business; on the contrary, offering unique experiences can provide considerable gains for both the hosts and the company.

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Furthermore, through the experiences, the local community is more involved in tourism, since the tourists take part in something created by a local, who engages the tourist in his work activity or a hobby. Experiences offered could include, for instance, agricultural activities as beekeeping or olive harvesting and could be combined with typical product tasting, whole meals, and renting a place for a night stay.

Hence, WonderGrottole won a 30.000 € grant awarded by Airbnb, which included the village in its promotional program called Italian Sabbatical and issued a call for five places as volunteers. The call got 280.000 applications from all over the world. The winners spent three months in Grottole during the summer of 2019, helping to create, enhance, and promote the experiences to be offered through the Airbnb page, making some renovation works in the village, as starting the renovation of a house and the reopening of a sender that from the village leads to an overlooking scenic area and promoting the village through social media.

Once finished the Italian Sabbatical, The initial fame brought mainly by Airbnb’s mediatic power has been cleverly cultivated by the association, which is very active through social media and able to intercept the press’s continuous interest. The association also renovated two abandoned houses, turning them into guesthouses, hosting tourists, and organizing events.

It is worth mentioning that the administration strongly supported the association’s actions and the village’s touristization through special funds for new commercial activities in the historic centre and for renovating the building’s facades for improving the village’s touristic image.

The touristic experience of Grottole is still at the beginning. Nevertheless, tourism proves to be an important side factor of development, promoting and fostering reactivation of commercial activities, revitalization, and also urban regeneration.

However, the most critical impact of tourism so far is its action as a fundamental tool for recreating confidence in the people and making them more aware of the potential of the place they live in and of the possibility of reusing and enhancing its heritage. That is crucial for changing the mindset and the attitude of people fighting the feelings of distrust and impotence, although it is a very slow process that takes time.

3.3 Craco. Abandonment tourism.

Craco, at 40 minutes’ drive from Matera, is a small municipality of fewer than 700 inhabitants in the inner region of the badlands and part of the Montagna Materana SNAI pilot area.

The medieval settlement of Craco, on a 400 meters high hill, was abandoned after a series of natural catastrophes in the second half of the 20th century. The first was a massive landslide in 1962 that forced the evacuation of most of the inhabitants, followed by floods in the 1970s, and finally, the Irpinia earthquake of 1980, which definitively ended any possibility of restoring the ancient town. After the landslide, most of the community, which counted over 1.800
inhabitants, was moved down to Peschiera, a newly built settlement at the bottom of the valley.

After the success of the 2004 film “The Passion” by Mel Gibson, shot in Matera with a scene in Craco, the village became quite famous, and many tourists started to combine a visit to Matera with a walk among the ruins of Craco. The place’s potential was first grasped by former mayor Mr. Lacicerchia, who decided to make of the ruins an archaeological park (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The ruins of the ancient village of Craco dominate the badlands landscape. Source: The author

Hence, after securing EU funds for an innovative operation for tourism, in 2009, the ruins of Craco were fenced, and access was allowed only by buying the ticket for the guided tour. The “Parco Museale Scenografico di Craco” (Scenic Museum Park of Craco)\textsuperscript{16} was established, and in the next years, the municipality managed to obtain further EU funds for creating safe routes among the ruins and restore some of the main monuments to make them visitable. The Park keeps drawing more tourists each year, spiking from 400 in 2009 to 24,000 in 2018\textsuperscript{17}, despite a ticket between 10 and 15 €, quite expensive for the attraction’s typology and the region.

Craco is now heavily relying on tourism as an additional source of income used in part to maintain and improve the attraction itself and, in part, to contribute to the public budget intake and offer public services and cut local taxes.

With this experience, the municipality developed a great capacity to obtain and manage public funds, becoming a benchmark and example among small public bodies.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the site’s management has been given to an ad-hoc created company, unbinding it from the local political uncertainty. As a matter of fact, the ruins’ transformation into a park raised several critics from inside the community: not everybody felt included in the operation, and some tried to undermine its realization from the very beginning. Hence, securing the operation so that it could become administratively and financially independent proved crucial for protecting it against the political overturns that happened in the following years, and that would have probably stopped it.

It is also worth mentioning that the entire initiative goes beyond tourism. Indeed, the society that manages the park (Cracoricerche s.r.l.) manages also the numerous film industry requests for shooting in Craco and promotes research and development in the fields of hydrogeological risk and agriculture in territories with similar characteristics to Craco, in partnership with Italian and foreign universities and research centers. In doing so, the Craco experience tries to go off the path of the total touristization and the touristic monoculture, introducing other activities rather than tourism, although tourism is still the overwhelmingly main business and source of income.

3.4 Aliano. Events tourism

Aliano is a municipality of around 900 inhabitants in the badlands’ inner region, at 80 minutes’ drive from Matera. The closest urban center is Policoro, a town of over 15,000 inhabitants in the Metaponto plain, at 45 minutes. In the 1960s, Aliano had over 2000 inhabitants. Together with Craco, Aliano is part of the Montagna Materana SNAI area.

The village started to pursue the path of tourism in the 1980s, building its strategy on the legacy of Carlo Levi, a writer who was confined in Aliano during Fascism, between 1935 and 1936, for his opposition to the regime. As a matter of fact, the whole region, because of its remoteness, was considered an ideal place for confinement, and within the region, Aliano was considered one of the most isolated places. After the confinement in Aliano, Levi wrote the famous book “Christ stopped at Eboli” (Levi 1945), which, also thanks to the subsequent film, made Aliano a popular niche destination.

In 1992 in Italy, the creation of Literary Parks started to be funded through the use of European funds. The Aliano’s Literary Park, dedicated to Carlo Levi, was established in 1998. It was the first turning point for the little town because the park started to organize events, increasing tourists’ numbers and, consequently, touristic-oriented activities. The substantial administrative continuity along twenty years and the solid collaboration among the main village’s institutions, the municipality, the local church, and the literary park were crucial to undertake a long term explicitly touristic oriented policy.

Aliano is also part of the Valdagri oil extraction basin and, as such, has the

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right to a percentage of the royalties. At the end of the 2000s, thanks to the consistent oil extraction revenues, the municipality started to purchase most of the village’s historic estates, turning them into museums, which are now six, plus a temporary exhibition space and to renovate most of the main public spaces (Figure 4).

Figure 4. The tourism-driven transformation of the village of Aliano. Source: The author.

The second turning point was the beginning of the festival “La luna e i calanchi” (the moon and the badlands)\(^{20}\) in 2011, held at the end of August. The festival got to be quite popular, doubling to over 20,000 the number of tourists visiting the village every year.

Aliano set up a calendar of events for the whole year and kept spending a considerable amount of money on urban renovation for touristic purposes to make the village’s image more appealing for tourists.

Furthermore, the interventions are not limited to the urban center. Indeed, several routes were created into the badlands’ vast arid landscape, encouraging the fruition of the landscape. The same name of the festival that put Aliano under the

\(^{20}\)La Luna e i Calanchi, accessed November 12, 2020, https://casadellapaesologia.org/2020/02/18/la-luna-e-i-calanchi/
spotlight, “The Moon and the Badlands”, aimed to highlight the peculiar landscape surrounding the village (Figure 5). Thanks to Aliano’s experience and other similar initiatives, as the nearby Badlands Reserve of Montalbano Jonico and the badlands theater of Pisticci, the perception of the landscape is being completely overturned. As a matter of fact, the badlands have always been considered a useless and unpleasant part of the territory because arid and unproductive. Tourism and the external point of view managed to completely change this perception and evaluate the landscape, now regarded as unique and stunning, transferring the change of perception to the local people. This power of tourism is not something new; it already happened to the beaches and the snow. This change from negative to positive is not only a mindset issue but has a direct impact on the territory since it makes even the aridity of the badlands something potentially usable and productive, in terms of sports and recreation activities as hiking and biking, culture, and economy.

Figure 5. The badlands. Source: The author.

The operation undertook by Aliano is impressive. The revenues coming indirectly through oil extractions were used mainly to acquire buildings and transform them into cultural venues. The touristic economy brought to some extent to a revitalization, temporarily during the festival, and permanently, thanks to the commercial activities and restaurants that were able to open or keep being active thanks to the additional income provided by tourism. Nevertheless, its recent fame and the tourist flows do not affect long-term depopulation and drainage of people and activities from the village.

3.5 Castelmezzano and Pietrapertosa. Environmental tourism

Castelmezzano and Pietrapertosa are two neighboring municipalities of the province of Potenza, which is also the closest urban center, at 45 minutes drive. They are part of the regional park of Gallipoli-Cognato and Dolomiti Lucane, together with the
municipalities of Accettura, Oliveto Lucano, and Calciano. The two mountain villages have a population of around 800 and 1000 inhabitants, respectively. In the 1960s, they had roughly 1000 inhabitants more each.

The two villages have quite a different history, and the valley between them acted as a strong partition between the two populations. Nevertheless, they have usually been a unique package in territorial trade-offs between administrative bodies. They even constituted a unique municipality during a territorial reorganization between 1928 and 1931, when they were definitively separated from the province of Matera and incorporated in the province of Potenza\textsuperscript{21}. After the earthquake of 1980, they both undertook a process of territorial promotion and urban renovation through tourism\textsuperscript{22}. Through the EU funds of the 2000-2006 planning period, the mayor of Castelmezzano, Mr. Valuzzi, pushed for the creation of a zip-line connecting his town with Pietrapertosa crossing the valley and creating a major tourist attraction within the regional plan of macro attractions in the inner territory. In 2007, the zip-line, named “Flight of the Angel”\textsuperscript{23}, which is actually the combination of two zip-lines that allow making a roundtrip, opened and immediately proved itself successful, becoming the turning point in the long-running local tourism-oriented policy.

Nowadays, around 20,000 people per year try the “Flight,” but the number of total visitors to the area sum up to around 100,000, mostly daily tourists. It has been indeed estimated that each person using the zip-line brings two other persons along.

The macro-attraction worked as a driver for the multiplication of other activities and events and other attractions, like the iron path of the Dolomiti Lucane, or the recovery of old mountain senders that had been abandoned for years. Furthermore, through its ticket, the zip-line generated revenues that paid back the investment quickly and are able to provide a consistent intake to the public budget of the two municipalities, mainly invested in other attractions and for urban renovations. Indeed, in both villages, a more appealing environment for tourists was created through the renovation of private properties and public spaces.

The initiative of mayor Valuzzi, the stability and continuity of the public administration for over twenty years, and the collaboration between the two municipalities have been crucial for successfully setting up and managing the “Flight of the Angel”.

Nowadays, the two villages are an island of high intensity of touristic activity in the entire inner Lucanian Appennine area, in terms of the number of tourists, number of commercial activities, and accommodations. A revitalization has indeed effectively happened. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of depopulation does not seem to stop, although Castelmezzano and Pietrapertosa perform better compared to the nearby towns.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item [21] Maria Luisa Santarsiero, \textit{La Basilicata nel mosaico regionale. La geografia politico-amministrativa del territorio lucano in una dinamica di lungo periodo} (Potenza: Consiglio Regionale della Basilicata, 2013).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
However, the major impact seems to be the change in the locals’ mindset, who started to overcome the feeling of resignation, distrust, and frustration and to become more proactive in envisioning potential activities and ways to take advantage of the newly available possibilities.

### 3.6 Discussion

The five micro-cases are summarized in the comparative table (Figure 6), exploring in-depth specific issues and providing further specific data.

Thus, it is possible to highlight similarities and differences among the cases and provide significant insights into how touristization can be triggered and its respective impacts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact on space</th>
<th>Grottole</th>
<th>Craco</th>
<th>Aliano</th>
<th>Castelmezzano Pietrapertosa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Renovation of en-diff private properties</td>
<td>Purchase and renovation of private properties</td>
<td>Muasalization of ruins</td>
<td>Purchase and renovation of historical buildings</td>
<td>Renovation of private properties</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recovery of old path</td>
<td>Creation of new public facilities</td>
<td>Creation of cultural facilities</td>
<td>Recovery of old forest paths</td>
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<tr>
<th>Change in perception of the historical center</th>
<th>Change in perception of the village and the local heritage due to external attention</th>
<th>Ruins as the most valuable resource of the territory</th>
<th>Change in perception of the banadas</th>
<th>Valley that separates Castelmezzano and Pietrapertosa become point of connection through paths</th>
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<tr>
<th>Conflicts</th>
<th>Initial-conflict between foreigners and locals</th>
<th>Lack of public participation</th>
<th>Commercialization of experiences which become tourist rented</th>
<th>Commercial use of memory of a catastrophe</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Toursists visiting the site do not stop in the modern towns</td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Real estate market</td>
<td></td>
<td>Temporary impacts of the events</td>
<td>Attraction of public funding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dispute on the use of public fundings</td>
<td>Attraction of public funding</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Construction industry</td>
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<td>Conflict between environmental value and willingness to attract tourism</td>
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<tr>
<th>Impact on economy</th>
<th>Grottole</th>
<th>Craco</th>
<th>Aliano</th>
<th>Castelmezzano Pietrapertosa</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real estate market</td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td>6 full employees</td>
<td>Festvalization (yearly calendar of festivities)</td>
<td>700,000 E revenues</td>
</tr>
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<td>Food and beverage activities</td>
<td>Changes in tourism business (experiences)</td>
<td>240,000 E revenues</td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td>1,500,000 E revenues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td>Attraction of public funding</td>
<td>Attractions of public funding</td>
<td>Tourism and accommodation</td>
<td>25 seasonal employees</td>
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</table>

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<tr>
<th>Impact on revitalization</th>
<th>Grottole</th>
<th>Craco</th>
<th>Aliano</th>
<th>Castelmezzano Pietrapertosa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Change in mindset</td>
<td>Change in mindset</td>
<td>Change in mindset</td>
<td>Tourism orientation of activities</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Revitalization of public spaces and historical center</td>
<td>Revitalization of public spaces and cultural centers</td>
<td>Creation of cultural venues and environment</td>
<td>Spike in accommodation and restaurants</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Increase of foreign residents</td>
<td>Increase of foreign residents</td>
<td>Increase of foreign residents</td>
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<tr>
<th>Improvement in community services</th>
<th>Change in mindset</th>
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![Figure 6. Comparative table of the case-studies. Source: The author.](image)

One of the more significant issues is the origin of the initiative. In Irsina, it is entirely private, and the relation with the municipality was even openly conflictual. However, it is worth noticing that such a real estate operation is not easy in a peripheral village as Irsina. The initial stock of houses was fundamental to creating a solid base for building an attractive community and achieving that the economic and networking capacity of an already established real estate company was crucial. It is indeed plenty of similar operations that failed because of scarce organization of poor networking, since these are not places able to sell themselves alone, as it could be a seaside resort, for instance.

On the contrary, in Castelmezzano-Pietrapertosa, Craco, and Aliano, the
The public administration role was predominant. In all three villages, the strong leadership of the mayor was crucial. However, while Castelmezzano-Pietrapertosa and Aliano counted on the long-lasting political stability allowing to develop and carry-on a long-term vision, in Craco, there was a highly conflictual and unstable political environment that tried to hinder from the beginning any possible development. Nevertheless, even in such a complicated situation, it was possible to find a strategy, establishing an ad-hoc external company that made it possible to carry-on operations despite any political issue until the attraction became too advanced in its realization and too important for the territory to be stopped. It is indeed quite difficult to stop an operation that proved successful with the number of visitors, the jobs created, the revenue produced, and its contribution to the public budget and the community services.

In Grottole, instead, the administration strongly supported the work of an association. However, after the first failed attempts, the role of a major multinational company and its power of promoting a place and an initiative to millions of people worldwide was crucial for upscaling the entire operation.

The five experiences also differ on the funding mechanism and the economic output. In Irsina, the operation relied entirely on private funds, and through private funds, it managed to renovate parts of the city that the administration previously considered impossible to renovate. However, the general economic output for the territory remains quite limited. The experience of Grottole relies on the voluntary work of the association WonderGrottole and the funds provided by Airbnb. It is too early to evaluate if the project will gain enough consistency to impact the village’s economy significantly or it will remain only an important community activator.

Craco and Castelmezzano-Pietrapertosa, instead, follow a very similar mechanism. The public administrations were capable of presenting consistent projects to be funded with EU funds for regional development. Both the projects consisted of a well-defined attraction with an entrance ticket. The attraction’s revenues provided not only to maintain and expand the attraction but also contributed significantly to the public budget and allowed the inauguration or implementation of public services and public works’ realization.

Finally, Aliano is a very peculiar case. Thanks to the oil extraction revenues, the municipality has an impressive economic capacity that allowed it to buy and renovate buildings and public spaces. An extended museum system was set up in such a little place. The relation between the sum spent on purchases and renovations and the socio-economic output seems quite disproportionate and questionable. Could have been those public funds directed, at least partly, into other projects? Is it worth that a small municipality dispose of such a large amount of money, or would it be more appropriate to manage them on a supralocal level to realize broader and more complex projects or operations with a more significant impact on the territory?

With its political strategy, Aliano tends to rely exclusively on tourism, with the risk of creating a tourism monoculture scarcely resilient to changes and, thus, eventually increasing socio-economic distress. Also, Castelmezzano and
Pietrapertosa base all of their strategies on tourism. However, they proved a discrete capacity to balance the use of public funds in relation to the operation’s socio-economic sustainability.

On the other hand, Craco tries to diversify its economy, including other businesses, as the movie industry and networking with research centers, even if tourism’s role remains highly predominant.

In any case, tourism acts as an exogenous factor, activated either by exogenous or endogenous subjects, that can initiate revitalization dynamics on the social and partially from the economic point of view. The external view in peripheral territories confirms crucial in the reactivation of latent resources (Bonfantini 2016). However, at the same time, the local community’s collaboration is fundamental for an initiative to succeed, and so is the continuity in the administration and its political view.

To some extent, all the villages underwent a physical transformation and economic revitalization. In all cases, the more significant impact of tourism was its capacity to fight the sense of distrust and apathy that is often a major obstacle hindering development in peripheral areas.

Finally, the impact of Matera-Basilicata ECoC 2019 has been significant but not crucial. The expected consistent spillover effect did not happen, and neither a considerable improvement in the connections between Matera and the province’s villages, both in transportation terms and the integration of events held in Matera with events held in the villages. However, the entire territory took advantage of the media’s extensive promotion and exposition. Especially the experience of Grottole would probably not have had such a development without the ECoC.

4. Conclusions

The paper discussed the impacts and the role of tourism in peripheral areas, which is a topic of interest in the development policies of lagging peripheral rural areas, that in Italy come under the name of inner areas and which development is addressed by SNAl.

Through the analysis of five ongoing experiences in villages of the inner area of the province of Matera, in Southern Italy, the paper showed how many peripheral places aim to become a tourist destination in the hope of turning a situation of socio-economic distress and the depopulation trends.

The case-study area was the European Capital of Culture in 2019 under the name Matera-Basilicata 2019, highlighting the regional dimension of the event. Tourism is a powerful phenomenon that can overturn the meaning and perception of places and entire territories. It occupies spaces that were abandoned and manages to give a new value to places that were perceived as empty, useless, and negative.

Tourism encourages the use of private and public funds to renovate urban spaces, monuments, private properties, and entire portions of the territory. Besides, tourism may generate a budget surplus that the public body could use to create or improve services to the inhabitants or cut local taxes.

However, the most important feature of tourism is its role as a valuable tool
for activating local communities and fighting the feeling of frustration and distrust that often pervades peripheral distressed areas. Furthermore, it can act as a forerunner of new societal trends regarding new lifestyles, as a new interest in inhabiting the historic centers or living in multiple places, for instance, spending part of the year in a city and the other part in a remote rural village.

Hence, even if tourism may represent a valuable activity with several socio-economic benefits, it cannot be considered a panacea for peripheral areas and as something able to overturn long-running socio-economic dynamics.

References

Ordinary and Extraordinary Governance of Matera ECoC 2019: Process Evaluation and the Events Impact on Space

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DiCEM – Dipartimento delle Culture Europee e del Mediterraneo: Architettura, Ambiente, Patrimoni Culturali - Università degli Studi della Basilicata

Abstract
Matera, the reformist laboratory of the Modern City, today is a testbed for reviewing its experience of urban planning. This is done in light of the new mission of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). Matera’s dynamic characteristics provide an important scenario for new experiences of the inhabited urban space (Mininni, Bisciglia, 2016).

Mega-events are regularly being hosted by numerous cities in Italy – such activities offer a showcase of best practices in terms of regeneration and produce a strong impact on urban systems. Monitoring and evaluating specific city-wide activities enable detailed analysis of the status quo of specific location from three perspectives, namely: (i) space - a strategic element that makes events practical; (ii) local development - which highlights the cyclical dimension of the process; and (iii) urban regeneration - as an interaction between urban policies and city projects.

“Osservatorio Matera Zero”1 is a practice-based research project aimed at monitoring and evaluating Matera 2019 by the University of Basilicata. The core objectives involve the analysis of the transformations of the city, as a scenario for symbolic policies and an implicit urban project.

The discussion presented in this paper will draw from recent narratives which saw Matera positioning itself as a laboratory for experimenting new seasons of the urban project and researching how cultural policies are able to produce transformations on spaces and how co-creation policies have influenced the city’s development strategies.

Key words: Matera, ECoC, monitoring process, urban policies, mega-events.

1. Mega events and urban policies

Mega Events have great impact on cities: they are tourism attractors and opportunities for transformation and planning, guided by local desires, to create investments in infrastructures and revitalize urban areas. Since the first edition in 1985, the ECoC initiative has been an important opportunity to present itself on the international cultural scene and strengthen the tourism market. In the early years, the choice fell on cities already cultural established and tourist destinations. The first exception was Glasgow 1991, whose manifestation concerned the increase in economic growth of a declining industrial site. The occasion made it possible to develop a long-term strategy to promote the development of the city and face up social

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1 The reflections come from the start of the Monitoring and Evaluation process of the UNIBAS group of referents in the framework of a Framework Agreement between the Fondazione Matera-Basilicata 2019 and the University of Basilicata. In particular, reference is made to the M&V Unibas proposal relating to the Urban Planning component (M. Mininni).
problems. Evaluating the long-term impacts, it is clear that the effects on the local image and identity were the strongest legacy that the ECoC event left.

Another example of learning and political commitment integrated with tools for sustainable urban development, is one that took place in Liverpool 2008. Within the public administrations, important research programs have been conducted on cultural policies and on the impacts of the event on the city. Together with the planning activity and the start of disbursements for the ECoC program, a fund was set up for the research program, “Impacts 08”, aimed to develop a model to evaluate the effects of cultural and regeneration programs. Research and evaluation, from this moment on, represent an innovation and will guide future planning and strategic thinking for cultural observatories and research agencies.

The aim of this work is to probe how much the transformation, affecting the city of Matera ECoC 2019, especially in consumption models and in the way in which the use of space is involved, can be a privileged observatory to interpret deeper change about how people who live in Matera experienced and perceived the city during the period of the ECoC title. The Matera reformist project has left interesting tools for the analysis of urbanized and public space. The villages to the neighbourhoods are key to reveal the transformation of the living space and the new symbolic and patrimonial values that are the voice of the change in Matera (Mininni, 2019).

In order to reach the objectives, set for the monitoring and evaluation exercise, it is crucial that a number of considerations are taken, particularly those which relate to the processes determined by the actions of the Matera community which, explicitly or implicitly, aimed at offering opportunities and transform risks into opportunities.

2. Matera ECoC 2019: policies and actions

The city of Matera has numerous historical resources that can be capitalised upon in a number of ways. Thanks to a revision and an update of the notion of heritage, over a forty-year period, Sassi, from national shame, have become a great example in the fields of historic centres regeneration process. The state laws, the arrival of considerable public funding in the 1970s, and the activation of an international competition contributed towards Sassi’s recognition of UNESCO site tracing in 1993. Such components where key in the re-evaluation of the city’s historical, artistic and anthropological significance (Mininni, 2017).

However, this was not enough and hence why a group of citizens back in 2008 joined forces in an effort to rethink about the possible territory development. The route that led Matera to be selected as the European Capital of Culture for 2019 was certainly intense and full of awareness-raising actions regarding an objective that seemed too many distant in time. At an institutional level, the Basilicata Region and the Comune di Matera have involved the other major regional institutions including the University of Basilicata.

Matera’s candidacy process consisted in the participation with the citizens of Matera and all of Basilicata, through actions promoted at grassroots level, placing the emphasis on the collective and social dimension of culture and on the role that citizens can play, participating in the change and care of cities. Among the fifty projects presented in the dossier, twenty-seven were co-created. The process activated with the selection of project leaders through a call for proposals and structured in various workshops and in a camp, in which the topics dealt (European and artistic dimension, management, production of output for an audience and productions sustainability) bring to the definition of executive projects. A number of projects were selected through a public call in which co-creation work continued throughout the year preceding the launch of the event.

In addition to the co-creation of project and the multidisciplinary therein, another fundamental element for Matera was the element of participation and direct involvement –
this was a tool used to facilitate the use and the comprehension of the proposed contents. In this regard, the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation has invited temporary and permanent citizens to become protagonists and themselves co-authors of every original production, both national and international. Co-creation also activated between artists and the public in a “close encounter”. “The goal is to break down the borders between those who usually produce culture and those who habitually use it. In this way, the public has the opportunity to be an active part of the creative process and to choose the level of their engagement”, says Ariane Beiou, cultural manager of the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation, in her editorial in the magazine Artribune. An exemplary result of this type of processes was represented by the project “Abitare the opera”, in which the citizens took part in the show becoming themselves actors of the introductory prologue to the execution of the opera, with a scenic backdrop represented by Sassi, transforming the performance into a co-opera.

In the Matera dossier, “culture” coincides, in fact, with the inhabitants of a place and not with the places themselves (Pepe, 2018).

3. Osservatorio Matera Zero: research, monitoring and expectations of Matera ECoC 2019 process

Monitoring and evaluation are indispensable tools for data collection and the return of strategic knowledge on the dynamics and effects of investment programs, as well as on the development policies of a European Capital of Culture (Percoco, 2018). The evaluation of the ECoC process, requested by the European Commission, arises from the need to study the changes in space and the evolution of the event and looks at the cultural dimension in urban space and its ability to guide transformations through the reading of processes and investigations to enhance and capitalize resources.

For Matera ECoC is important to evaluate the space processes determined by the new models of co-creation, participation and regulation that the community, explicitly or implicitly, is able to give itself, with the help of the PA and other organizations processors (Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation, Associations, Ministries), to enhance opportunities and contain the risks of trivializing the models introduced.

This process helps to build useful skills and a mentality that is capable of improving urban quality and coincides with the operational phase of the monitoring work of the Osservatorio Matera Zero (OMT Zero) – the latter has been established as part of a Framework Agreement between the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation and the University of Basilicata.

The aim is to build an atlas of transformations, about city and territory, involved in Matera-Basilicata 2019 process in order to prepare an evaluation method within the Unibas research area (Life Satisfaction Approach – URBANISTICS). The eclectic atlas integrates technical knowledge and participatory processes that help to make implicit policies visible and to train the administrations as well as current and future communities in Matera.

OMT Zero is trying to detect two types of cities produced by the ECoC process: a physical one, built by interventions (infrastructural, urban redevelopment and buildings, etc.) financed ad hoc and an intangible one, designed by cultural events, discerning between the ordinary dimension, which includes usual public practices, and the extraordinary dimension, linked to the event. What will emerge will be the vision of a new city as a result of the combined knowledge between the physical city (ordinary and extraordinary) and the city of events.

The development of specific policies allow for the identification of the strategies of the Municipal Administration, investigating the most emblematic interventions, foreseen in the financial planning for Matera ECoC 2019, which have invested or will invest the
physical space of the city. Different interpretations show the characteristics of these interventions, after the projects reconstruction in the ordinary public planning tools and in the ordinary procedural process of the PA.

Their dense list is dismembered and reinterpreted, starting from the thematic areas called “intervention axes”, already defined in the strategic document ITI - Urban Development of the City of Matera, namely: Accessibility and Hospitality, which includes works relating to the mobility, local public transport, urban logistics and welcoming visitors to the city; Culture and Environment, which includes interventions on cultural heritage, entertainment, urban environmental system and the management of natural resources; Welfare and Sport, which sets together interventions relating to school, social assistance and sports activities, qualifying the system of wellness services. To these three axes, with material repercussions on the city, is added a fourth one (Economy and Innovation) consisting of intangible actions for the strengthening of the productive economic system increasing culture and creativity. In particular, looking to these issues, OMT Zero attempts to expose a real urban geography of innovation where creative and cultural activities are concentrated, highlighting the distribution in the city of creative construction sites and their actions in space, which is the background of the reconstruction of the Open Fiber Basilicata technological network.

The recognition and interpretation phase described above is preparatory to the data representation with maps that display, through the reconstruction of the works completed or in progress, the ordinary and extraordinary strategies, giving to the time a constructive role that distinguishes contingencies from future vision. The maps produced show the intersection between specific themes, such as the protagonists, their role, the intervention areas and their categories, with the aim of delineating the different cities that are going to be born in Matera starting from the ongoing projects (to which add the activities of the Foundation) to bring out the main strategies implemented and the underlying policies.

Another aspect is the effort of the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation to highlight the integration between policies and spaces uses during the event, analysing the way in which the intangible dimension of the event transformed and is going to transforming the city. The analysis conducted starting from the study of the event locations, selecting more than 150 spaces that have hosted performances or other, viewed through different lenses, allow to reconstruct the pre-event, in-event and post-event identity and governance space event. The goal is to reconstruct their biography, correlating the ordinary and the unusual use of space, through the codification of categories of intended uses, relating to the pre-event period and use categories and extraordinary content relating to the event.

Another aspect is the space-time relationship, looking at how the event is set up, dismantles the spaces, and evaluate if it was able to leave a permanent impact on the place or it was only ephemeral event. The purpose of this work is to show how events in progress changed the city, highlighting the criteria for choosing these places, how the images stratified by the density of events that they hosted and repeated in the same space. It allows seeing the overexposure and under-exposure of some spaces and the possible openings of meaning towards new visions of the city on new uses and distribution maps of Matera events.

Maps will represent, indeed, the different categories of use of space that the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation is implementing in the city, highlighting the four fundamental actions of use, reuse, recycling and new connections, put in place by them. An agreement approved directly with the Foundation, as part of the OMT Zero research, analyses three specific guidelines concerning the use of spaces:

- New spaces use or regeneration for the city (such as Casino Padula, Ex-Scuola Volta, Palazzo del Casale, Gardentopia’s spaces, etc.);
- Unprecedented use of spaces (such as the spaces of Matera Alberga, the Unibas Campus, Casa Circondariale, etc.);
- New connectivity / polarity within the urban context (such as the case of the Cave, the use of the suburbs for the inauguration ceremony and the creation of new routes in the city and in the region).

3.1. “Use, Reuse, Recycle”: the events effects on spaces

Osservatorio Matera Zero aims to highlight the strategy of cultural enhancement, to develop the potential of what already exists in the city of Matera and its surroundings starting spaces regeneration processes. Matera’s candidacy, inspired by the ethics of “Recycle, Reduce, Reuse”, focuses on three objectives: the regeneration of new city spaces, unprecedented use and the creation of new connectivity.

To study the dynamics of use of spaces, the Open Design School (one of the main project of the Matera-Basilicata 2019 Foundation) has promoted a places knowledge project, not only of the city of Matera but also of the entire region: “The Venues of Matera 2019”. The project explores the places potentially capable of hosting events in the city during 2019. The outcome of the investigation is visible in the identification of over 400 mapped locations (as shown in the following fig. 1 and fig. 2), each ones together with technical and visual information\(^2\). Therefore, the output is a map containing a geolocation database of the place combined with a photographic apparatus that can test spaces value and inspire cultural actors to unexpected uses.

The places indicated are not only concentrated in the historic centre but also in its peripheral areas and in the entire region, highlighting their potential and transforming public spaces, paths, fields and architectural complexes into dynamic points to be discovered; places that can remain beyond the end of the event.

![Figure 1. The Venues of Matera 2019, regional scale. Source: http://venuesofmatera.matera-basilicata2019.it](http://venuesofmatera.matera-basilicata2019.it)

Closely linked to the theme of regeneration, but relating to “public space”, the Gardentopia project, curated by Palin Tan, concerns the creation of new gardens or the rise of existing ones. The project, divided into two phases, saw the construction of four gardens\(^1\), before 2019, and the extension of the community gardens project to the whole of Basilicata, starting from March 2019. Gardentopia concerns abandoned spaces and areas in the peripheries and those that are just outside the centre of tourism and trade: a green utopia that transforms these forgotten places into flowerbeds, gardens, orchards accessible to all citizens. The project aims at the redevelopment and regeneration of unused places, but also at bringing the Matera wider community together with the help of international artists and landscape architects that work side by side with those who daily inhabit those places.

The second priority axes aim to enhance the unusual uses of the space beyond the Sassi. Here an open-air theatre was used for the representation of Pietro Mascagni’s opera “Cavalleria Rusticana” as part of the project “Matera Alberga”\(^2\) (Alberghi Dei Sassi) - this made a scenic backdrop and stage of the representation. In this exhibitin, public spaces become places for artistic workshops and contemporary art installations. The hotels\(^3\) involved are six, which bring back to life

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\(^1\) Currently, the result of this project is: Giardino dei MOMenti (Rione Lanera, managed by MOM Association), Giardino Spighe Bianche (Spine Bianche, managed by the “Pascoli” School), Agoragri Garden (via dei Normanni, managed by the Agrinetural Association), L’erba del vicinato (Rione San Pardo), N’amm ‘astè Garden (Spine Bianche district), Giardino evolutivo, Casino Padula (Rione Agna).

\(^2\) Matera Alberga is a project where hotels and artists bring out the deepest identity values of the city through relational, participatory and environmental art installations.

\(^3\) In this regard: Corte San Pietro, Via Bruno Buozzi, (installation details: connection of a cistern with a visual, interactive and metaphorical connection device between the exterior and the interior that shows the link between ancient cisterns and the Vicinato, restored in the regeneration of the hotel, and between cisterns and Sassi), artist:
the shape of the “vicinato” (neighbourhood) in the Sassi. Only one of them is not in Sassi but acts as a link with the neighbourhoods. Matera Alberga project is also enriched by the participatory programs Art Thinking (indoor workshop) and Art Walking (methods of exploring the territory with the eyes of art).

Another episode, in the unprecedented or temporary use of space, is certainly the experience of the Casa Circondariale, that becomes a laboratory-theatre with “Shame Lab”, a theatrical laboratory with inmates, an integral part of the “La Poetica della Vergogna”. Casa Circondariale of Matera becomes a place of cultural production through the reuse of the old housing of the prison management used as artist residences. The laboratory also allows to work on the profile of social inclusion with an agreement between the Foundation and the Penitentiary Administration4, with which four inmates work at the Foundation. As part of “La poetica della vergogna” project, the Matera prison becomes a place to enjoy the Matera 2019 cultural program, with the possibility for permanent and temporary citizens to get in touch with this reality and be able to look at it in an unusual way.

The last line analysed concerns the creation of new connectivity or new polarities within the urban context. An example is the operation made for the connection from the city to Cava del Sole. The panoramic route of Via S. Vito allows to move in the place used for concerts on foot (in addition to the possibility of using a free shuttle which avoids traffic congestion in the city) identifying new routes, perfectly functional and appreciated, as happened during the inauguration ceremony.

3.2. Emblematic places

Another space open again is “A. Volta” school where the combined action between the Foundation, the Public Administration and MiBAC, has managed to reopen, with minimal interventions, an evocative place that creates a direct link with the National Archaeological Museum “Domenico Ridola”. All this created excitement around the structure and the citizens themselves returned to live in a place closed for some time in which they claim future uses.

With this in mind, following the three guidelines and among the totality of the analysed spaces, 7 emblematic places were chosen to build a biographical history for their peculiarities, highlighting the induced transformations by the ECoC process and the future imagined for these places by the protagonists and spectators of Matera ECoC 2019.

Alfredo Pirri; Locandina San Martino, via Fiorentini, (installation details: creation of a double device, to tell two fundamental moments suffered and lived by Sassi, an external one as an acoustic interaction with politics that did not understand the possibilities of resilience at the time of the exodus in 1952 and an internal one that presents to the public a fascinating theory according to which the Lesson of Pythagoras was the origin of the harmonic construction of houses in tufo), artist: Filippo Raniolo; Hotel del Campo, Via Lucrezio, (installation details: realization of a Bic pen drawing, then screen-printed on a lightbox of 3x2m, as the metaphor of a sign, a philosophical indication, a slogan; with a map of the districts with a golden ratio that combines the pre and post 1952), artist: Giuseppe Stampone; Sextantio - Le grotte, Via Civita, (installation details: in a rocky area of the hotel a female voice gently guides the visitor back in time), artist: Georgina Starr; Casa Diva, Vico Giumella, (installation details: physical and metaphysical exploration of the extraordinary landscape of Murgia and Sassi with the creation of a themed work), artist: Salvatore Arancio; Le Dimore dell’Idris, Via Madonna dell’Idris, (installation details: installation of a “vasca-fonte” in a common space that suggests a different perception of time), artist: Dario Carmentano.

4 Based on art.21 of the Penitentiary Law concerning the external work of inmates.
Firstly, Foundation headquarters, recovered and renovated to be also the Open Design School headquarters: it is the complex of Palazzo del Casale, a building completely in tufo, in the middle of Rione Sassi that after being illegally occupied returns to be functional and enhanced. While the spaces of the multipurpose center of Casino Padula are being used for the Open Design School, in the Rione Agna.

Among the public buildings, in which the Foundation make its events, there is the “A. Volta” school. The building used on loan for use for the exhibition “Blind Sensorium - II paradosso dell’Antropocene”, one of the four major exhibitions scheduled, presents an artistic research begun by the artist Armin Linke in 2013 and then developed in collaboration with international artistic and scientific institutions. The exhibition proposes to explore the spaces of continuity: from the Holocene settlements of primitive European life that developed in the shadow of the Sassi, to current scientific explorations concerning Earth observation.

A participatory process implemented by the foundation with the collaboration of the choreographer Virginio Sieni realized in Teatro Quaroni in Borgo La Martella, a theater-library closed and illegally occupied for years. Sieni, together with the citizens of the neighborhood, of Matera and the squatters developed the “Officina tattile” program with a participatory workshop that will lead to the presentation to the public with the actions “Danza cieca” and “Di fronte agli occhi degli altri” to end with the show “Ballo Comune”, a great collective dance to all open.

Another important event was held at the Cava del Sole – the location was an abandoned quarry that was already transformed during the 90s into a place for musical and theatrical events; however, this was further regenerated in light of the “Matera 2019” inauguration.
Cava Paradiso, on the other hand, is a container of contemporary art (Parco d’arte) for installations. The site has 1500 square meters of exhibition space. It is currently the location of five exhibitions-events of the I-DEA project (including workshops, performances, talks and other moments of study).

Even the new Campus of the University of Basilicata is the protagonist of a different use of its spaces, hosting events such as Trial of the Shadowcasters (live role-playing game), concerts and theatrical performances considering that the new campus auditorium is one of the best spaces for events that need an enclosed space.

4. Future expectations

From the analyses carried out, the core expectation from Matera 2019 is that city will be systematically engaged in a development path whereby both citizens and visitors will benefit from a culturally and infrastructural sustainable environment. Matera 2019 can only be an opportunity if it becomes the occasion for a “balanced” and “lasting” development process. (Percoco, 2018). Studying the spatiality that emerges from this process, an implicit project produced by a symbolic policy, could support post-legacy Matera planning, looking at how today Matera 2019 acts on the physical city to have effects on the social city in the future.

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Eight Cities, One goal: The Application Process of German Cities as ECoC 2025
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Abstract
Some cities have long had the desire to become a European Capital of Culture. The official application process for German cities took place between 2018 and 2020. With different approaches and priorities, eight cities prepared an application, and five of them were shortlisted. This article deals with the process against the background of the Covid-19 crisis which began in March 2020 in Germany, up to the designation of the city of Chemnitz as European Capital of Culture 2025.

Key words: European Capital of Culture, bidding process, candidate cities, Chemnitz 2025

Official Timetable
The German Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs laid down the main features of the selection procedure in Germany, taking EU rules into account (see Decision 2017):

24 September 2018: Publication of the “Call for submission of applications”
30 September 2019: The bid book I is to be submitted to the Cultural Foundation of the Federal States (Kulturstiftung der Länder), which has been commissioned by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder to carry out the practical organisation of the national selection procedure in Germany and to forward the documents to the European selection panel.
12 December 2019: Announcement of the short list by the chairperson of the selection panel
30 September 2020: Date of submission of the bid book II
14 October 2020: Announcement of the selection panel: Ten European experts are appointed by the institutions and bodies of the European Union. In addition, the Federal Government and the Länder each nominate one national expert from Germany.
19-23 October 2020: City visits by the selection panel, which had to be carried out digitally for the first time due to the Covid crisis
28 October 2020 Designation of the next German European Capital of Culture by the selection panel

The Application Stages
With the designation of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2025 on 28 October 2020, the application process in Germany came to an end. The city of Chemnitz emerged victorious from this competition, as the chairwoman of the EU selection panel, Sylvia Amann, announced – due to Covid-19 only via livestream. Chemnitz thus prevailed over the finalist cities of Hanover, Hildesheim, Magdeburg and Nuremberg. It is not easy to identify the start of the application phase in Germany. Even in the early 2010s some cities debated the pros and cons of an application. This early stage was due to the fact that the then valid

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1 This date had been postponed by several weeks due to the Covid-19 pandemic.
2 This date had been postponed by several weeks due to the Covid-19 pandemic.
3 This date had been postponed by several weeks due to the Covid-19 pandemic.
EU legal basis provided for the ECoC initiative to run until 2019. In Germany, it was assumed that if the series was extended, it would be Germany’s turn as the first participating country, i.e. in 2020. However, the 2014 decision finally established a different order, according to which a German city would not be allocated the title again until 2025. This misunderstanding led to preparations for an application for the ECoC title being broken off in some cities, for example in Mannheim. Of the early candidate cities, only Magdeburg maintained its application intentions and managed to gain the support of both the population and the responsible political bodies for the ECoC application in the astonishingly long period from 2011 to 2020.

In June 2017, the European Capital of Culture Laboratory (ECoC LAB) organised the first of a series of exchange conferences with and for interested candidate cities at the Kulturcampus Domäne Marienburg of the University of Hildesheim. Over 100 representatives from numerous German cities took part in the two-day meeting. The aim of the event was to provide information on the various aspects of the multi-annual preparation of an application to become an ECoC and at the same time to promote networking among the players. The latter began here, whereby it is particularly noteworthy that the independent sector networked with great commitment and later initiated its own conferences in the applicant cities (above all in Dresden and under the code name “Aufnahmestand” in Hanover). The self-empowerment of the independent sector can be seen as a new facet of the ECoC initiative, which previously focused initially on the official cultural institutions, which were then complemented more by independent creative artists and cultural workers.

Both at the “ECoC Forum” in Hildesheim and at the subsequent ECoC conferences in the candidate cities of Dresden, Chemnitz and Magdeburg, experts from recent ECoCs from different European countries helped to clarify the EU’s application criteria and to present best practice examples from their programmes. In this initial phase from 2017 onwards, it was a challenge for the project teams, which at that time were often still in the process of establishing their staff and working structure, to free themselves from the narrow constraints of the local cultural administrations. It soon became apparent that those teams that were given more leeway from the political and administrative side performed more competently (Fuchs 2020: 27).

First Book Applicants

Some cities such as Frankfurt/Main, Kassel, Kiel, Koblenz and Stralsund decided against applying even before the first bid book was submitted for a variety of reasons. At the end of the first stage, on 30 September 2019, the following eight cities finally submitted their application documents: Chemnitz, Dresden, Gera, Hanover, Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Nuremberg and Zittau. After the last ECoC in Germany, RUHR.2010, which was in fact the whole Ruhr area in the very west of the country, it was remarkable that it was a majority of East German cities (five out of eight candidate cities) that applied for the ECoC 2025. Here follows summary assessments of the respective applications of the eight candidate cities in the first round:

Chemnitz

The first bid book was entitled “Aufbrüche. Opening Minds. Creating spaces” and dealt with the many upheavals in the city’s history. Since the Second World War, the city has had different social systems, two city names and three different city centres. The search for identity in the conceptional, but also in the concrete cityscape characterised Chemnitz’s application. Reference was also made to the city’s great cultural capital and potential, such as the art and creative scene, which could be located in the numerous vacant buildings and
areas. In the first bid book, however, it was noticeable that what the whole of Germany associated with Chemnitz during the application phase, i.e. from August 2018 onward, hardly played a role in the application, namely the riots of right-wing extremist and populists in August 2018. Nevertheless, Chemnitz presented an extensive application overall and demonstrated a good network of cultural actors in the city and the region, so that the selection panel recommended the city for the next round.

Dresden (dropped out of competition in 2019)
Under the motto “New Home Dresden” (“Neue Heimat Dresden”), the Saxon capital presented concepts and projects in its bid book I that were intended to counteract the social division of the city. In numerous artistic actions, some of which were supported by the project office with microcredits, as well as in panel discussions and participative projects such as a postcard campaign, the concept of “home” (“Heimat”) was played with in order to find new narratives for the city. This was not only about an open attitude towards immigrants, but also about major present and future tasks that fundamentally change people’s lives, such as digitisation. Although Dresden’s approach was highly innovative, relevant and authentic, various influential opinion makers such as the German Cultural Council (Deutscher Kulturrat 2019: 14) and the Süddeutsche Zeitung (Heidtmann/Nimz 2019: online) contrasted the two Saxon competing cities in a questionably simplistic way: poor Chemnitz, which is preceded by a problematic reputation, versus dazzling, privileged Dresden. Whether Dresden really dropped out of the competition at an early stage against the background of this simplistic black-and-white portrayal in the media cannot be proven. In any case, many could not understand the selection panel’s assessment (see the Expert Panel’s Report of the Pre-Selection Stage / Selection of the European Capital of Culture 2025 in Germany, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en, and a comment at Jacobsen 2020: 22).

Gera (dropped out of competition in 2019)
The Thuringian city with only 95,000 inhabitants dared to go off the beaten track. An association of committed citizens initiated the application and pushed it forward years before the city made a - relatively modest - contribution to the application. Their bid book I presented the historical heritage, and perhaps this common understanding of the interpretation of the past was already a benefit to the city society. However, too few feasible visions of the future were presented, which could be achieved with the ECoC title. All in all, Gera had probably shown too little commitment in the application process to meet the demanding and far-reaching requirements, especially with regard to the other top-class competing cities.

Hanover
The capital of Lower Saxony entered the competition relatively late and then immediately faced special cultural policy challenges: a new mayor was elected during this period, and there was also a change in the cultural administration after a few squabbles, when the former head of the culture department was brought to court. Nevertheless, Hanover managed to submit an exceptionally artistic bid book I, which was awarded a prize not least for its design. Positive aspects of the content were its distinct European dimension and a professionally positioned management, which led to the expectation that the ECoC programme would be very feasible in the fair and Expo city.
Hildesheim
Like Gera and Zittau, Hildesheim, with its 100,000 inhabitants, also tried to profit from its small size. The city emphasised its “provinciality” as a unique selling point in bid book I, and it made clear its intention to cooperate especially with the rural areas in the surrounding area. In this way, Hildesheim fulfilled the criterion of being a “model for Europe” in a credible and authentic way. After all, Hildesheim shares the challenges of a rather average city and its surroundings – e.g. losing its inhabitants to the major conurbations and is looking for a new, positive image - with many other cities of its size in Europe.

Magdeburg
Magdeburg, as already mentioned, had the starting advantage of having the longest preparation time for bid book I. This enabled the city to develop an application that was visibly co-shaped and supported by the population. It drew a wide perspective from the past into the future and under the motto “Out of the void” it conjured up the resilience of the city, which had been destroyed several times in history and yet always found the strength for reconstruction. At the same time, the motto was intended to recall the physical experiments of Otto von Guericke and to point to the potential of the many empty spaces in the city. Thus Magdeburg presented itself as a suitable location for the settlement of creative industries.

Nuremberg
The Franconian city of Nuremberg in the north of Bavaria not only benefits from a rich historical heritage (Meistersinger tradition, Dürer, half-timbered architecture, etc.), but is also burdened at the same time by the events and buildings from the Nazi era (Nuremberg Trials, Nazi party rally grounds, etc.). Against this background, the city wanted to create a constructive vision into the future under the motto “past forward”. As a concrete project, Nuremberg therefore wanted to use parts of the huge Nazi party rally grounds for cultural purposes.

Zittau (dropped out of competition in 2019)
By far the smallest applicant city was Zittau in Saxony with only 29,000 inhabitants. It took on the potential of the nearby city of Görlitz, which was eliminated against Essen/Ruhrgebiet in the final for the previous ECoC title in Germany in 2006. As a border town in the border triangle (Germany, Poland, Czech Republic), it wanted to continue the trilateral cooperation, thus aiming at the “European dimension” of the ECoC initiative per se. Despite an exceptionally high level of commitment by the mayor and the project managers, Zittau did not make it onto the short list. Similar to Gera, the city could not convince the selection panel during the application process to host a major cultural event like the ECoC.

During the application process, there had already been some discussions with the Austrian candidate cities, not least because of the common language. Since Austria is one year ahead of Germany as an ECoC country (2024), the events in the neighbouring country were followed with particular interest from a German perspective. In Austria, three cities submitted a bid book I, and all three cities reached the final round.

The Final Round
The fact that an exceptionally high proportion (five out of eight) of the German candidate cities also reached the final round is due to the fact that the overall level has become considerably more professional. This means that cities such as Kiel, which did not consider entering the competition until early 2019, would not have had a realistic chance. The
standard of the competing cities was already too high in terms of their artistic programme, participation projects and regional expansion.

Shortly after the cities of Chemnitz, Hanover, Hildesheim, Magdeburg and Nuremberg were nominated for the short list, the Covid-19 pandemic broke out across the world. As everywhere else in the world, the art and culture sector in the cities associated with the ECoC initiative suffered particularly from the consequences of the lockdowns with their bans on performances, meetings and events. The European Commission (EC) therefore allowed an extension of the ECoC programmes of the two title-bearing cities of the “Covid-19 Year” 2020, Rijeka (Croatia) and Galway (Ireland), until 30 April 2021. The EC also decided in August 2020 to postpone the designated ECoCs Novi Sad (Serbia) from 2021 to 2022 and Timisoara (Romania) and Elefsina (Greece) from 2021 to 2023 (see https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_1474). Naturally, the effects of the pandemic also caused a delay in the application preparations of the five German cities on the short list. From March 2020, hardly any events could be held.

Given the high pressure of expectations on the part of the population after the final round was reached, it was hardly possible to initiate new ad hoc digital event in the short time available. At least this had the positive effect that behind closed doors it was possible to concentrate fully on the revised, more comprehensive and concrete bid book II. However, the Covid-19 pandemic increased the pressure on the cities to get the ECoC title in order to revive the ailing tourism sector or even the economy as a whole. At the same time, the consequences of the pandemic showed how important and also the fragility of the cultural sector in the cities. Against this background, the assessment of the selection panel of the bid books I was taken very seriously in the final round:

Chemnitz (designated ECoC 2025)
Compared to bid book I, the second bid book was much more elaborate and convinced the selection panel not only with its high artistic quality, but also with its highlighted problem awareness: the first page showed a report in the New York Times, which, together with a photo of far-right protests, addresses the riots of 2018. The target group brought to the fore in bid book II is the “silent middle”, i.e. the politically inactive part of society, which for decades has created a political vacuum in the city that could easily be conquered by radical ideas. Chemnitz now wanted to become a “model for Europe” by seeking dialogue with the right-wing political spectrum through artistic encounters and new, innovative formats. The need for this also became alarmingly clear during the digital ECoC title ceremony on 28 October 2020, when citizens of Chemnitz even chanted right-wing slogans in live chat during the announcement speech of the panel chairman.

Hanover (dropped out of competition in 2020)
Hanover’s bid book II looks like the counter-draft to the Chemnitz application. The city did not refer to widely known social problems (because these do not exist there in this form), but presented itself artistically self-confident, international and professional, adorned with numerous international stars in the program. But this distinction is a fine line. After the final of the ECoC selection for the year 2013 in France the selection panel’s decision for Marseille and against Bordeaux is said to have been: “because Marseille deserves it”, it was commonly proclaimed that pity was truly not a legitimate selection category and that the jurors should instead strictly adhere to the established decision parameters. But if all the candidate cities are of high quality in the final selection, it is probably not to be ruled out

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4 On their homepages, both Chemnitz and Hannover referred to the ECoC title as an “economic stimulus package”.

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that politico-strategic criteria will also be taken into account. In other words, if an application is exceptionally good, the perception may resonate: “Why does the city still need the ECoC title?” One might think that this fate also befell Dresden when it dropped out of the competition in December 2019, and the selection panel commented on its ambitious bid book I: “The need for the ECoC title and its legacy was not clearly articulated.” (The Expert Panel’s report Pre-Selection Stage, Selection of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2025 in Germany, p. 10, see also Reiche: 2020)

Hildesheim (dropped out of competition in 2020)
The provincial profile, which had already pleased the selection panel during the pre-selection process, was further expanded in bid book II. The semantic fields of (agri-)culture, (bio-)diversity and the change in agriculture and society were the main topics. A new Cultural Hub, founded in the city center, became the face of the ECoC application. After Hildesheim’s elimination from the competition, this site will show to what extent the city has made progress in its culture-based urban development resulting from its participation in the ECoC competition.

Magdeburg (dropped out of competition in 2020)
While the selection panel had noted that bid book I was too problem-oriented and focused too much on the city’s weaknesses, Magdeburg now changed the focus of its presentation. However, there was a large number of planned projects, some of which had very different focuses, so that the overall profile of the application lacked some cohesion. Compared to the competing cities, which had clearly picked up speed in the final phase between the first and second bid book, the Magdeburg application remained somewhat static.

Nuremberg (dropped out of competition in 2020)
Nuremberg’s bid book II did indeed deepen the city’s plans, which were already mentioned in the first bid book and were authentically convincing, such as the debate on right-wing populism at the “Site of the Perpetrators” (“Ort der Täter”) or the concept of the “Children’s Capital of Culture”. However, the approach as a whole seemed rather classical and less courageous and creative than in the other bidding cities. Moreover, the extension of the ECoC program to the huge Nuremberg metropolitan region, which covers almost 22,000 km², may have aroused skepticism in the selection panel regarding the feasibility of a coherent and long-term project.

The selection panel’s reasoning for its selection of the German ECoC 2025 is not yet available at the time of writing this article. But already without this official feedback, the projects from the bid books will be critically reviewed in the eliminated cities. The aim in all participating cities will be to find out which program line or projects should (not) be pursued. First of all, the entire program would of course not be feasible without the planned multi-level financing by the EU, the federal government, the federal state, local authorities and private sponsorship - especially during and after the Covid-19 crisis. And secondly, it also makes sense to critically reflect on which elements of the bid books were perhaps primarily developed “for the jury” and are less relevant for the further development of the municipalities and regions.

**Outlook**

For the seven German cities that unsuccessfully applied to be ECoC 2025, a critical analysis of their approach is now necessary in order to draw conclusions for future cultural policy action. Instead of considering themselves as losers, the achievements of the application
process should be put in the foreground. In this process, the new networks and also the know-how about European funding pools can be productively used. The cooperative and generally positive mood in the city communities during the application process should continue to be used fruitfully. It is now possible to build on the experiences of the self-discovery phase, which the applicant cities have gone through in hard work over many years. The eight candidate cities have tried with great effort to obtain the ECoC title, but also the “Plan B” can now be of great benefit to them. A few years after the last ECoC in Germany was announced (2006), representatives of a finalist city, which did not win the title, expressed to the author: “How good that we did not get the title. So we have benefitted from the energy of the competition and have come closer to our goals on the ground - and we have been spared a bombastic spectacle and tourists to be entertained. This way, the focus remains on what is important to us in our city”. In this sense, a promotional film of the city of Hildesheim - remarkably even before the title was awarded - said: “We have already won, even without the title”. In Italy, after the ECoC title was awarded in 2014, inferior candidate cities received 1 million euros from the national government for the implementation of their Plan B. It would be desirable for German candidate cities that did not achieve the 2025 title to also receive funding from the national government, possibly from the Covid-19 grants for creative artists and cultural workers.

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Notes on Contributors

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