

Introduction to the knowledge based economy



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POLITICS OF THE HERITAGE

From the building of the state nations to the local
economic development

Introduction to the knowledge-based economy

Lessons of the university course

on 'Geography of Cultural and Intercultural Heritage'

Master on **International Cooperation on Human Rights and Intercultural
Heritage**

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Cover: A traditional Afghan carpet with motives inspired to the 1989/99 Urss/Afghan War
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Introduction

I collect in this manual my lessons of the University Course on *Cultural and Intercultural Geography of the Heritage* for the Master on “International Cooperation on Human Rights and Intercultural Heritage” (Ravenna Campus).

The following chapters are made of my arranged and up-to-dated lessons, particularly those dedicated to the creative city and the new culture-led development, a topic in continuous changing and deepening.

I wrote these lessons with my basic English, making also profit of the statements and questions of my students, among them also those who attended my previous 2016-18 courses on the local development taught in the Iulm University, Milan.

I thank here the students for their collaboration by signaling topics to enlarge and others to clarify.

The manual is divided in three parts. The first one has a historical approach; it is addressed to show the role played by the Cultural Heritage (CH) at the birth of the modern state nations. The Second Part is more theoretical, and deals with the employment of the Cultural Heritage, intended as Social and/or Cultural Capital, in the local development during the first Western economic crisis of the Fordist model, in the Seventies/Eighties of the last century.

The Third Part is dedicated to the contemporary Management of the CH and its renovated exploitations as a tool of the new local economic development linked to Culture and Creativity, toward the new productive post-materialist approach like that called “knowledge-based” economy.

In this recent declination, the Cultural Heritage went back, as explained in the I and II Parts of the book, to function, through story-telling, as a political tool subject to recoding and stretching undertextual statements we had already seen in action at the beginning of the modern age (and also before). Nothing new under the sun. The cultural and political discourses adapt themselves, every time, to the ongoing needs.

Rather than declaiming the (useless) crystalline purity of the Cultural Heritage, it is may be more useful to be able to identify the mechanisms acting to exploit it.

Rather than acritically conserving our old traditions, it is more useful, maybe, to hybridate them and transform them paying attention to make alive the deepest levels of the ‘cognitive density’ they (sometimes) favour.

I am a historian of the geographical thinking; I have the habit to analyze Sixteenth-Seventeenth centuries socio-political contexts. I rather used, however, in this

lessons my long standing professional experience in the Culture Management. During my forty years experience I better discovered the problems, the gaps, the rips-off hidden behind many economic and political solutions flanted in authoritative and fashioned books about the smart local development, or quoted in important official documents, than the possible solutions of the problems at stake. In any rate I have been astonished that my students mainly appreciated this cunning and pragmatic gaze of the course; and it has been for this very reason I thought to use it as a manual for the following years.

Many authors treated the topics I shall introduce to; I obviously made only a critical synthesis of the works written by others. My role has been rather to choose the most affordable essays, that is not always easy to do in this very mobile discipline. Many problems are, in fact, a bit complicated and still not found reliable solutions so far. This advices us to go on with a suspicious sight, trusting in our capability to find our original path rather than imitating ridiculous ready-for-all keys.

PART I

How to make the State Nation through the Cultural
Heritage

1. A Geography of Knowledge

This first Part of the book deals with the historical, economic and political links between the CH and the geographical space, considered as a State, a place of living, a knot of economic and developmental activities.

For a long time both liberal and marxist ways of social thinking considered Culture, Art and the (material or immaterial) CH an output or a possible, actually not authomatic, product of the economic welfare.

This is not a mistaken statement per se, but, generally speaking, we have been able to understand that, starting from the first economic crisis of the Fordist model, in the Seventies of the last century, and also considering the contemporary one caused by the globalized economy, in the Twenties, things are more complicated. We observed, in fact, that some cultural values and skills, what sociologists call “Social Capital”, have been an important help to find resilient strategies, usually linked to the local CH, to find a path to make competitive again, in an original way, some places instead of others.

In the recent years, moreover, the strategic need to introduce innovation in the industrial production, placed culture and creativity among the first indexes of development.

In this book I shall show how culture has been used as instrument for building the social local/regional communities and then as a brick of the modern state nation. Many topics we shall take into consideration in the first historical part are finally understandable as examples of *story-telling*, i.e. to create a new meaning of a place (a building, a monument, a garden, an historical event) through discourses connected to it (which is called a *constructivist* approach to the cultural identity). They are new meanings or undertextual messages imprinted on the things usually by the ruling classes as a *top-down* style of acting. There are actually *bottom-up* reactions as well to these discourses, resistance and antagonistic discourses bringing with them different meanings and values.

The history of the CH is, in fact, in the end, a negotiated process of recoding texts, among different forces and social pressures, in a continous shift.

This dynamic CH is the fuel a community needs to modify itself enough to make alive some old values and thinkings, skills and capabilities. This is why we talk of the importance of conserving the CH, and of its continous regeneration as well. It is not enough, in fact, to conserve the CH. At every generation passage, or economic model's shift, we need to make a more or less faithfull translation of it and putting it into a new shape.

In the following chapters of the II Part about the theory, and in those about the management of the CH, some of these transformations will be analyzed in detail. Because of our decisive changing epoch, we can find that some even scientific discourses have become quickly old-fashioned and questioned. This is why I shall try to offer a critical picture of the theories and recipes about the culture-led development, aware that today (2021) we are still far from having understood the ways to stop the Western ongoing economic decadence.

The deep connection between the geographical space and the knowledge is, by the way, a new argument, and an approach to epistemology, i.e. the science devoted to study the scientific method.

We understood, in fact, only in the last twenty years that knowledge (not only Culture or CH) is intimately linked to the places; they are the environment where it is produced. Bruno Latour (1989, 1991), one of the most authoritative sociologists of the science, explained how the cognitive processes and behaviours of the researchers cannot be separated from their cultural models, or the technological apparatuses they use. Their technological tools and machines do create a local cognitive environment, able to influence the produced knowledge.

In the same way the quantum science explained we can study only those physical properties of the matter which show themselves in the experiments.

A reality outside our experience doesn't exist. The experiment, in the end, is something conditioned by the researcher, almost how much it influences the researcher's thinking.

Thinkers and philosophers as Michel Serres (1969-74) and Michel Foucault (1963) insisted underlining the network-like mechanisms of the cognitive processes. Foucault told more of *knowledges* than science, more of *devices* (*dispositifs*) acting in social contexts, but also in technical procedures or taken-for-granted ideas of our individual habits.

In the same way the cultural social paradigms of the researchers are effective in influencing their studies. Culture acts before Science, and Science is also something participating to the local cultural environment.

David Livingstone (2003) and Charles Withers (2007), two epistemologists of the geographical sciences, underlined the science is not a *nowhere knowledge*, it is actually a *situated* discipline (like every one) as well. Even the Enlightenment, which claimed a universal style of *raisonnement*, has been thought and employed in different ways, according to the different places, it was cultivated.

Both Foucault and Livingstone (2003), on their side, clarified the knowledge acts in a situated feature, it needs places, camps, bodies to operate: it never is an immaterial device. It acts in spaces, landscapes which allow and in the same time condition the cognitive processes.

For a long time the Positivist style of thinking celebrated, actually, a *placeless*

science. Knowledge had to be a universal thinking or it wasn't, following Aristotle's old idea there is not science of the particular. The more reliable it was the more free from local differences (where local meant both the geographical places as the disciplinary environments).

As the quantum science revealed, this connection is now not truth: knowledge is locally produced and it does in its interaction with the experiment's observation.

From the historical point of view, things went the same way. To produce a universal knowledge, particular places have had to be built, like laboratories, museums, botanic gardens, maps, hospitals, where many, often strange documents, even monsters, had to be collected before finding their normal characters.

Many raisonnements coming from different historical and geographical contexts mattered a lot in the building of the processes to validate science.

The first scientific labs, for example, were places imitating the Sixteenth-Seventeenth century theatres, settings of tricks and rhetorical, persuasive arguments employed as models to show the collected informations and processed discoveries. The hospitals, in turn, till the Eighteenth century, were only recovery and health care containers; they became places to observe and study the clinic cases only in the following century.



Ferrante Imperato's Museum, in Naples, Seventeenth century.

The very idea of *experience* deeply changed along time. The voyages of exploration and the field researches were seen in origin not reliable procedures. They were questioned for their conjunctural and ephemeral character, far from the critical confrontation made possible in the labs and museums.

The styles of thinking have been influenced by the national cultures as well, because of the need to create a nationalistic paradigm of scientific research and academic training. In Italy, for instance, the courts became, in the Seventeenth century, the places where making the experiments, to catch princes's favours. In England and Spain the same operations have been considered actually tools for the improvement of their imperial powers. The national cultural contexts influenced of course the experiments; generally speaking, they were more theoretical in Italy, without considering important their possible application, more practical in England.

The very birth of the scientific validation of an experiment or a scientific statement was, moreover, linked to the English moral reformed culture mixed to the high consideration of the English aristocratic gentleman. The gentleman couldn't ever say anything than the truth (a principle also applied in the judicial trials), so the Royal Society, the most authoritative English scientific institution, organized a validation system rooted on the quality of the witnesses to the experiments and their taken-for-granted reliability.

Some particular places, in the end, produced the universal knowledge rooted in the scientific and systematic treatment of particular cases (monsters, trips, novels used as research tools). To make a generalization, a local knowing was required, which, then, tended to be hidden to build a pretended placeless knowledge.

A similar procedure happened in other scientific genres like the atlases (both geographical as anatomic or botanical ones), which became portable museums.

They collected and offered documents showing their different characters to identify in the end a morphology and a grammar of the collected objects. This ended building some *impossible figures* (like the plants pictured with different flowers and features, without considering the time, or the nations pictured with their borders before being politically unified as national bodies).

To understand and use these figures you had to suspend for a while the principle of reality and use a new kind of scientific imagination, before unknown, which had nothing to do with the natural experience, actually a lot with theatrical imagination.

In the end, the scientific sites influenced, at its birth, the science, in the same way the new permitted cognitive processes did.

My friend Christian Jacob (Cnrs and Ehess, Paris, Jacob, 2007, 2011), with whom I shared my first scientific training on the history of geography, passed in the last twenty years from the history of the map-making to the "geography of knowledge", by working on a research project called the "Lieux de savoir" (*the*

places of knowing), i.e. the physical and mental spaces, the maps, the libraries, the laboratories, the archives, the research networks, the museums, the academies and universities, where not only the knowledge was born, but that are also able to influence its cognitive path.

The physical and mental space of the “theatres of the memory” has historically been, moreover, the main tool of the ancient mnemonic technic, which greatly influenced the way the geographical places have been codified as particular instruments for training, for the religious instruction of the consciences, to create a sentiment of belonging to the modern state nations.

The beginning of the cultural journey in Sixteenth-century Europe, on the tracks of the *Bild Reise* (educational journey) of the Western aristocratic young people shows how the first European desk of school was the Italian landscape, considered an ethnologic/archaeological device full of ancient relics, exploited as a mnemonic help for calling to the mind their intimately linked novels.

When, as we shall see, we shall meet, in recent days, the goal to create a new European Identity, or to regenerate urban contexts, injured by the contemporary social and economic decadence, the same bricks will be used to build the European state nations.



Christopher Columbus' discovery of the American natives, from Theodor De Vrie, *America* (Frankfurt, 1590), engraving.

1.2. The experience journey

An example of the discontinuity and deep link between Science and Geography is the history of the experience's concept, the reliable report of an empirical fact. According with the ancient tradition, in the Sixteenth century, "to make experience" meant memorizing an information through the emotion produced by an image.

When Abraham Ortelius, the first author of a Western printed geographical atlas, the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), wrote on the title page of its historical appendix, called the *Parergon* (literally the bottom), "Geography is the eye of the history", he meant it permitted to imagine the historical events in those places they really happened and, that way, to store them in the memory.

The first Sixteenth-century map-maker, stated, infact, the journeys were useless because atlases and maps offered the way to see the world staying at home.

The training journey through the ancient Roman relics of the Italian landscape, took its origin, then, in a trip described in a book (*Hercules prodicius*, 1587) published by a Dutch humanist, Venandius Pighius, who stated it was a meditative, mental path, where the pictures close seen helped to take their meanings at heart. To have experience of the external reality, the experience of the things as we think them nowadays, has been a long and complicated process, made not in the open, but developed within the museums where strange things and monsters were usually stored.

To find a logic and a language of the nature able to put in sequence these natural documents, by also employing microscopes and telescopes, needed building a scientific "rhetorics", developing a new kind of gaze, elaborated and artificial images. I.e. an equipment different from that the Positivistic science told us, claiming the empirical truths had showed themselves as self-evident arguments.

We can say, actually, the Seventeenth-century new and empirical science exploited many rhetorical arguments and stratagems, theatrical ruses, to reach its reliability. For instance, the anatomical and botanical atlases offered some impossible views to take with the naked eye, i.e. by separating organs and apparatuses to make more understandable the body functions. The botanical ones proposed the plants in different times of their life, with the flowers, the fruits in the same picture, and so on. These pictures shaped the gaze of the readers to become a guided sight, rooted in the imagination, made possible, in turn, by the suspension of the principle or reality, the same feeling hosted in the theatres.

The experimental scientific essay was also an evolution of the travel novel, considered, in the age of the geographical discoveries, the champion of the lies and the fantastic.

The travel novels were letters in essence, considered close to the maps and the globes, because they offered the way to see things from a distance. The mariner's reports become, this way, the model of the experimental essay because they were filtered by applying a systematic verifying mechanism based on the authority of the witnesses, the convergence of different witnessing tests, and by underlining the role played by the interest. The witness who had not personal interests in saying lies was considered reliable (he was a derivation of the idea of the English Reformed gentleman, who cannot say anything but the truth).

This shows how the social culture filtered the scientific knowing, because the new global economic market had begun to shape every behaviour, so do not have any interest meant to be reliable, almost in a society of merchants.

The way to reach a reliable experiment meant, in the end, reducing as possible the influence of the researcher, take away his/her authorship and interest, to provide apparently authentic reports. The result was actually only to hid the selection of the proofs and experiments to reach a truth, to represent the scientific discovery as an accident, as Francis Bacon had stated in his authoritative works.

Bacon's scientific thinking was finally very close to his ideas about the English parks and gardens, to which he dedicated one of his *Essays*. He thought the role played by the gardener had to be hid under an apparent not cultivated garden, managed as it was a natural product instead of a planned gardening.

The experimental essay and the *Wilderness*, became, that way, the fundament of the English identity, celebrating its authenticity and scientific reliability.



Botanical atlas (Gessner, *Opera botanica*, 1771).

1.3. The Knowledge Economy and the Local

Enzo Rullani (Rullani 2004), the most authoritative Italian scholar of the Knowledge Economy, synthesized the mechanisms and deep transformations it introduces in the productive process.

A long time was needed to legitimize the Knowledge Economy in the economic theory, and to discover its capability to take the place of the physic-muscular nature of the Fordist model.

The knowledge has been usually considered, in fact, a public matter, far from the economic style of thinking devoted to exploiting. It was not considered a good and was financed with the surplus of the economic income, like culture and art, and mainly reserved to the public budget.

The main problem was it was difficult to make profit with knowledge because it was incorporated into the industrial machines for all the classic Fordist age.

Knowledge was in fact, for a long time, an exception, something not included in the standard rule.

The economist Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950) suggested the role played by innovation in the economic history: it was actually a “creative destruction” which produced deep and revolutionary transformations of the productive environment, modifying its setting.

This caused finally a better regulation of the intellectual property through agreements and patents.

The contemporary Knowledge Economy is no more devoted only to the technological innovation; it is actually interested in a cultural, cognitive improvement of the market, rooted in the individual ambitions of producers and customers.

The Fordist model, based on standard processes and goods, was substituted by a new one, permitted by the technological innovations, which is following the individual feelings and needs, now much more segmented.

We passed from an economy of needs, sometimes artificially created, to an economy of desires and even of emotions, which requires a deep and larger amount of knowledge (we no more buy goods but narrations).

The technic innovations and the scientific knowing can be easily ruled and communicated, this kind of knowledge, actually, rooted in the cognitive density of the minds and behaviours, doesn't. It has in fact a “dissipative” performance.

This means that, once it has been introduced in a context, the knowledge spreads

out very quickly modifying it in a irreversible way, with structural change. The deterministic rules of the technic knowing act very differently. Knowledge interacts with the local players and contexts in a not easily predictable form. This is why knowledge is often misunderstood even in some culture-creative projects of development, that continue to consider it easily transferable as that of the Fordist age (see ch. 20).

Information and technology can in fact be communicated through models; the knowledge is actually produced through its impact with other pre-existing cultures and worlds, previous experiences and feelings, both at the individual and the social level.

The complexity of this kind of knowledge lights again, to-day, the interest in the “tacit knowledge” theorized by Michael Polanyi (1891-1976), an economic historian and anthropologist. This is a kind of knowing achieved by working in laboratories and workshops without a clarified and ruled learning process (a *learning by doing* knowing).

The sociologist of science Bruno Latour studied this way of thinking in the scientific labs. He underlined the continuous exchange happening among the explicit knowledge and the tacit insights in the scientific labs, where there is a constant interaction and shift from the tacit knowledge, modeling infos and their translation in the final academic essays. In this process the reality is translated every time with some few modifications to adapt it to the machine readable languages, and then to come back to the ordinary, scientific speech.

In any rate the cognitive insight happens in a local and determined place.

The goal of the Knowledge Economy is finally to identify these kind of local, often tacit knowing, appearing in local contexts and trying to find the way to make it explicit, translatable and possibly profitable.

This is why we see a new interest in the local geographical contexts. An interest different from that of the Seventies of the last century, during the first Fordist crisis, which was linked mainly to improve the capability of some districts to be more flexible and competitive in the first worldly economic competition.

This economic and developmental interest is now devoted to the local specific cultural environments, which can become innovative labs, “communities of learning and practices”, linked each others through digital networks.

2. Territory/Territorium

The Latin word *territorium* was originally not interpreted as a space but as a system of rules under the statal laws.

A similar codification followed the notion of *landscape* (*landship/landting* in the Northern languages) in the Northern European countries normally connected to the “sight”.

Following the Danish geographer Kenneth Olwig’s thinking (2002), it originally meant the set of rules of a social community living in a certain place. It coincided with the *common laws* (opposite to the written ones), adapted from time to time to the different cases and situations, discussed in the meetings organized in specific open places. The *Landsting* was then, in the Northern traditional thinking, the *place* and at the same time the *set* of rules to discuss, adapt and observe (the word *ting/thing* was the matter at stake, the argument to discuss; a concept that, in the Roman world, was translated with the word *res*, from which *res publica*).

The idea the territory was a physical extension is then linked to the very birth of the territorial State, which showed a deep cultural change in the concept of the State, that, in the Medieval age, was mainly a collection of people, more or less well settled in a place, with a very undefined idea of their boundaries, without stable capetowns and a different set of rules in relation to the quality and importance of their inhabitants.

When the concept of territory became a stable character of the modern state, it was considered finally a fetish notion we are nomore able to modify without difficulty, now, because we are obliged to re-think statal sovereignty linked to the new interstatal networks of the global cities.

Somone talked of *methodological territorialism*, or *spatial fetishism* (Brenner 2004) about the political-economic analyses still considering the importance of the territory in the contemporary, global world. Someone talked also of *territorial trap* (Agnew 1994) as a kind of ideological filter which prevents us to understand different placeless and aspatial political organizations that are putting themselves besides the old ones.

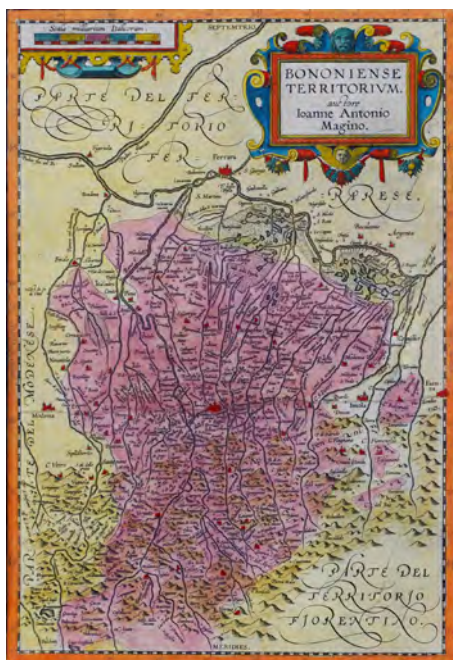
3. The ‘Container’ State

As Anthony Giddens wrote, the State operated so far as a *container* of the national market, the modern State had been created to build an ambient favouring the productive investments and to rule them.

This model has been interested, actually, in the time, by deep changes, sometimes operating even without a definite territory.

We could say the dialectical process of *territorialization* and *deterritorialization* has been continuous and, in the economic history of the modern world, we find protagonists of different cyclic phases who founded their strategies in a territorial and statal anchorage to developing their interests, and others which actually preferred a more liquid dimension.

In both of the cases the prevailing pole caused a fragility of the system which produced changes and the passage to the following step.

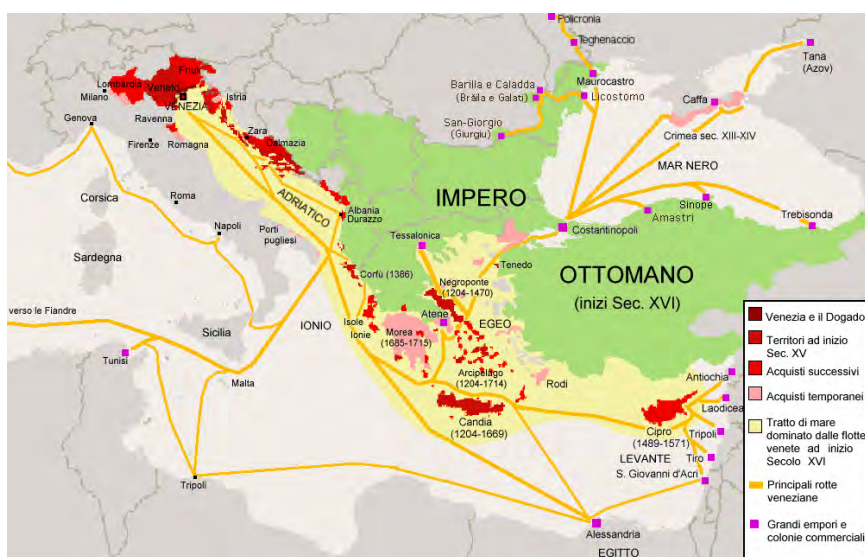


Bononiense territorium, from Antonio Magini's atlas, *Italia*, Bologna, 1620.

4. Arrighi's cycles of accumulation

This cyclic process has been studied by the economist Giovanni Arrighi (following the French historian Fernand Braudel' and David Harvey's methodological patterns, see Arrighi 2009) who identified four steps in the world economic history, by building a sort of theory of the cyclic processes of capitalistic accumulation, i.e. the ways the economic growth appears, then reaching a sovraccumulation step, which causes the crisis of the system.

Arrighi's (and Braudel's) thesis is, in fact, that each cycle enters its crisis for an excess of accumulation, for an excess of liquid money (i.e. not for scarcity), that produces the fall of the income and tends to show more attractive financial activities than manufacturing productivity or trade (as happens to-day). Each financial season in fact coincides with the autumn of its productive cycle.



The territorial dimension of Venice empire.

The first of the four cycles identified by Arrighi sees as protagonist the Fifteenth-century Italian State towns (Genoa, Venice, Florence, and Milan) which created an important trade network and became, in the lowering step, the bankers of the big territorial States such as Spain and France. This first cycle clearly shows the two

different and general patterns of behaviour of the market agents: Genua tends to underestimate the territorial dimension and to keep liquid its capitals, Venice points up actually to build up a statal and trading empire despite it is limited to the Adriatic and Aegean seas.

This example reveals the secret of the territorial capitalistic mechanism: the importance to catch a territorial container, bringing with it the sovereignty power and the military strength. Genua, after being defeated by Venice (that had actually military and territorial power) in the Mediterranean basin, without a territorial State, is obliged to be supported by Spain for consolidating its economic hegemony (behind Spanish military strength) and its trade monopoly. Venice, in turn, pays for its too little, only regional market, more and more decentered from the main trading capetowns, and it will finish to pass its leadership, in the Seventeenth Century, to the Dutch republic, that took the place of Genua and took profit in transferring the market to the Northern seas and the new-discovered American countries.

Then Dutch people built their power on the military force and upon their colonial empire. They managed, following Arrighi's concern, the second cycle of accumulation. They actually ended in the time to find more profitable to host a great deal of money (the most from the English trade) in the financial centers of Antwerp and Amsterdam.

So, when London created, already in the Sixteenth century, its Royal Exchange a crisis started biting and it will be soon London to manage, in the third accumulation cycle, the international traffics, by creating a new empire which mixed, in a even wider dimension, trade and colonial territories. They will be administered for the next two centuries through a private firm, even if statal in essence, such as the East India Company, a Dutch invention.

England builds its empire finally in this way, enlarging the Dutch model, creating a new one made both of territories and trade. This situation stands till the second world war, when the United States will take their place as the leaders of the fourth and last cycle as rulers of the new world order. They actually produced a new deterritorialization of the economic system, modifying the previous one in an apparently global self related system of multinational companies.

They represent actually only superficially the new Western model, which wants to show itself as a liberal champion, similar to the previous English one, substituting actually it with a monopolistic market managed by the United States through the military force and the cultural hegemony.

In this way the United States took profit of the global order till when it started again to change under the influence of the new protagonists such as China and/or the new global cities networks, when a new cycle maybe will start again.

4.1. The case of Florence Renaissance

Heritage and financial accumulation (Heritage and Territoriality)

As Arrighi observed (2009), we may find deep connections with culture, in the different cycles, mainly in the financial times, coinciding with the lowering steps. In the case of Florence, for instance, in the Fifteenth century, there were “territorial” reasons for investing in culture. Medici family had to fortify her power and cultural egemony in Florence, this brought them finally to buy the Florentine State, following cultural patterns in the future imitated by the modern State Nations: i.e. building a national prestige through art magnificences.

There were also anthropological reasons which explain why some merchants could find interesting investing in culture at that time. They had infact, in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries, a high consideration of the persuasive power of the signs, because they had been trained in rhetorics as notarians and jurists; so they finally did not find that difficult to think art and literature might help them in their egemonic project.

Following Arrighi’s concern, there were structural and economic reasons as well to convince Renaissance Italian merchants to spend in art and culture.

They had the conviction in fact, in a more or less aware way, that an excess of accumulation would generate necessarily the conditions of a crisis and may be a change of their economic model.

An excess of financial supply tended to modify the status quo versus an unknown and may be dangerous season. Investing in culture and art – in Arrighi’s thinking – allowed to slow down a possible crisis of the ongoing cycle of accumulation.



A view of Florence, Sixteenth century, engraving.

5. The Heritage and the Nation

There are many theories about the beginning of the State Nations. Nobody thinks anymore, as the Nazis, nations and ethnos might be the same; there is actually a wide range of theories about the role that traditions, art, heritage possibly exerted in this process and about the time State Nations started to appear.



The dream of Ossian, by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.

A first distinction is between those who think nations always existed, the so-called *Primordialists*, notwithstanding they may not coincide necessarily with races, and those, the most, who state the nations would actually be “invented” in the modern age (*Modernists*).

One of the most important theories of the *Primordialists* is the idea the people composing the state nations are also ethnic groups. The state nations would be based on ‘blood and earth’: on parental links and their deep connections with the earth, the national ground.

The basis of this concern is that nations would have been always existing even before they became a state.

Some of these arguments have been used by *Sociobiologists* who proposed in a new and more sophisticated way than before the DNA characters of the people are able to survive over the time, really creating the “ethnic nations”, actually mixing the biological legacy with the cultural behaviour.

The structuralist anthropologist Clifford Geertz considered how, in traditional social contexts such as the Asiatic and African ones, some cultural traditions clash with the behavioural needs requested by the political and social modern institutions.

Another style of thinking called *Neoperennialism* maintains that some nations would have existed in the premodern ages. For instance the Hebrew, notwithstanding the diaspora, have conserved their traditions; and we can talk of an English nation still from the Fourteenth century.



King Edward VIII's crowning, 1936, January, the 20th.

All these topics put in crisis the idea that the modern state nations began only after the Nineteenth century. These arguments are actually underlining that some social typically modern behaviours are deeply coherent with the evolved societies. The *Postmodernist* approach underlined again the role acted by the culture and the narrations in the building of the nationalisms, such as in Hobsbawm's *Invention of the traditions* and Anderson's *Imagined communities*, highlighting actually the very state nation must be considered a *narration*, which all we have been obliged to misplace as a fact.

The Primordialist idea about the perennial life of the nations brought actually, in the Twentieth century, to the ambition to build a state nation based on the purity of the race, as happened with the Nazi party that conquered the power in Germany. It was a part of a complex set of theories based on the biological interpretation of the link claimed existing between the human race and the space, an idea taken from the biological concept maintaining that the animals needed a vital space for living. It was imported in the anthropo-geographical thinking by one of the founders of the modern geography, the German Friedrich Ratzel.

It has been actually Karl Haushofer, the founder of "geopolitics" that created, in this tradition of thinking, the notion of *Lebensraum*, the *vital space* needed by the nations for their living and growing, in a general "natural", biological competition among themselves.

This idea passed to the Nazi politicians thanks to the role played by Haushofer as Hitler's adviser, as the founder of the German Academy and of the first scientific journal of geopolitics: the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, that became the cultural and pseudo-scientific place where many nazi ambitions of territorial conquest were debated and deepened.

Geopolitics had to be, following Haushofer, the geographical conscience of the German State, and the states had to be considered as *living bodies*, organisms competing one another perpetuating the biological-like pattern of Ratzel's anthropogeography.

These ideas translated in semi-scientific terms German territorial ambitions castrated by the Versailles Treaty signed after the first World War.

The territorial idea of the *Lebensraum* was infact a fetish German concept corresponding in the end to Halford John Mackinder's theory of the *Heartland*, the theorist of the British Empire, who theorized the British supremacy on the seas as the most important requirements for guaranteing the leadership to a nation.

Within the category of the *Modernists* we can distinguish those underline the importance to build up a *cultural homogeneity*, a higher and more standardized culture as a consequence of the shift from a rural civilization to an industrial society. This is Ernest Gellner's theory (1983), proposed in the Eighties, influenced by the sociological functionalist theories, which tended overconsidering the needs of a

society as a enough way for explaining its genesis, a sort of closed circle where the function becomes the reason and at the same time the cause of a behaviour, without being able to explain from which part you have to start.

In any rate Gellner's analyses were very sophisticated and permitted to understand the deep differences among the modern societies and those of the old "regime", offering to the modernist theory some topics we might synthesize in two statements: (1) nations have been recently produced and are not coming from ancestral times, as Primordialists say, as they would be an atavistic feeling; (2) they are symptoms of a hope of improvement of the life conditions produced in the modern industrialized societies.

Gellner's theory lacks maybe to catch the factors operating at the birth of the State Nations, but it has been an important step in the history of the studies about the matter.

A more unrestrained and malicious theory is that of Eric J. Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm, Ranger 1992), an English marxist historian and his school, which consider "invented" all the nations, and this invention used for legitimating the beginning of nationalisms.

There would have been a time, in the Western political history, when the dynastic States were no more able to guarantee their political legitimation through old topics such as kingdoms were in god's will and very ancient. The development of the national identity movements using racial ideologies, within the dynastic polyethnic empires as the Austro-Ungarian one, to legitimate their requests, brought the monarchist ruling classes to ride the idea of the common national tradition, of the shared old values that might allow to slow down the ongoing process of disgregations of those states.

It was in that very period, in about the second half of the Nineteenth century, that, for instance, India, till then managed by a private company, the East India Company, became an imperial *dominion*, with its viceroy, and that, following the new-discovered ancestral traditions promoted by Romanticism and by the *Volkskunde* theories, the interest for the Northern mythologies, the identity myths, started spreading out. We find some of these creeds in the history of the invention of the *Phillibeg*, the Scottish *kilt*, a shape of male dressing actually invented by a Seventeenth-century Englishman, that, in the following years, was taken as the remain of a very old tradition of the Scottish Highlands recently discovered (see box 5.3).

This process was managed, in a difficult time, by the very dynastic states, which were afraid to lose their powers. It is called *Official-Nationalism*, i.e. it was originally promoted as a process of identity "nationalization" of the States, which started to celebrate, for instance, the (claimed) national alphabets over those simply practiced for habit, and often to impose them with the force. In the Russian empire they adopted, in fact, the Cyrillic alphabet substituting the Roman

one, without actually changing the language; it was only for homogeneizing the nation in its external, superficial writing shape.

The *Official-Nationalism* concept comes from Benedict Anderson who talked of “Imagined communities” (2016). A political sociologist, Anderson enriched this interpretation with some arguments immediately become classic in the scientific thinking. Anderson talked about “imagined communities” and he introduced in the matter the role exerted, as a laboratory, by the post-colonial states.

In other words the ideology of the national ethnic traditions was initially experimented in the colonial countries (India, Americas and the like). They had been the anticolonialist movements to appeal to the (claimed) local cultural traditions, that have been actually invented by Western colonial people.

In their policies for liberating the colonial territories, the patriots adopted finally the topics of the old colonial cultures, they followed closely the boundaries of the states drawn by the colonial powers. In other words, the “invented tradition” of the anticolonial movements became a model for the Bohemian revolutionaries, the Italian resorgimentalists, the Slave panslavists.

In India, Anderson states, even the people censuses, originally thought for tax reasons, started to take a taxonomic meaning classifying local people as races, inventing a classifying system which, as he states, tried actually to demonstrate their imaginary ideas. Censuses contributed in this way to arrange and radicate the idea of an Indian world structured in casts and races, each with its traditions and cultures, in a full arbitrary and fantastic way of thinking, which became the foundation of the new postcolonial State Nations. As Anderson wrote, in those “qualitative” censuses there wasn’t room for the “fractions”: everyone had to have his precise identity.

Other two factors were at the beginning of the State Nations, both cultural as well: maps and museums.

In both of the cases they tried to represent in a finalistic way the birth of these states. Maps (a phenomenon already experienced in the Medieval world) represented the ancient colonial countries, as in the Western medieval *mappae mundi*, as cosmological narratives where the origin of the world and the country were explained through cosmological cosmogonies, such as that Indian tradition of the world placed upon a tortoise.

All these novels became “horizontal”, i.e. de-historicized ones, and realistic representations (with the boundaries of the States coloured in different ways) in the contemporary world. In this way they certified the apparent *naturality* of their political governments through an operation of “naturalizing” what actually had taken place for historical, political and military reasons.

The museums made something similar: they documented in fact the archaeological histories of the different countries through historical steps that seemed to prepare,

in the same naturalized way, the modern national identity. The so-called “Print Capitalism”, soon imported to the West, was connected to these factors. Starting from its invention, soon promoted by the propagandistic needs of the Protestant Reformation, printing documents allowed in fact to homogenize national cultures through the written and talked languages and media.

Reading the same books and newspapers (that in the Seventeenth century began to spread out), by following the same scholastic training courses (that started to become a standard training cursus in the Sixteenth century), the national communities, notwithstanding they were invented, finished to selfrepresent themselves linked to common values and characters. The following step will be thinking themselves to have always been consanguineous.

There is actually another way to interpret the origin of the modern State Nations without expecting they take their origin in the night of the times. It is the *Ethnosymbolist* style. It is represented by Anthony D. Smith’s school (Smith 2009). It considers the following theory: they would be born in the modern age, but the State Nations employed in any rate topics and mythologies already existing in the past. So both of the theories would be truly: their birth would be recent, but the cultural matter employed the heritage to build the nations. These ideas have been re-coded according to the need of the different times, in the various national contexts, using a repertory of myths, novels, and histories carried on by Art, Literature, Music, Folkloric traditions and representations, available in a sort of virtual container represented by the memory.

Ethnosymbolists call these items “mithmotors” (carried on through education, architecture, art, music, rites about origins, national myths, home sacrality, national sacrifices such as fundative acts, holy battles and the like).

The cultural topics were pre-existent, but the action of the ruling classes put these values in motion, reflecting them in the popular mass cultures, starting to have an important role in the new protoindustrial Western countries.

The new hinges of the Nations finally were: *Autonomy*, *Unity*, *Identity*, *Authenticity*, *Homeland*, *Dignity*, *Continuity* (from the past), the *Common Fate* of the country.

5.1. The Western invention of the classical tradition

An interesting and rare case of ancient “invention of tradition” is that represented by Cyriac of Ancona, about the classic Greek one, which created the Fifteenth-century Italian humanism (Mangani 2017).

As a follower of the Greek cardinal Basilius Bessarion, Cyriac, a merchant from Ancona, built up, in about thirty years, in the first half of the Fifteenth century, a new interest in classical antiquity through a social network created among the Western ruling classes.

Offering archeological documents from ancient Greece as gifts, life drawings of ancient sites, architectures and the like, Cyriac created an interest not existing before for collecting antiquities, that produced even a market which Cyriac was able to manage in a profitable way.

Behind this mission, anyway, there was Bessarion’s strategy. Byzantine court infact had in some way charged him to convince the Western ruling classes to defend what remained of the old Eastern Roman Empire under the attack of the Turks, through a possible Western help. Bessarion delineated then a wide cultural strategy of political persuasion, of which Cyriac’s work was a very important tool, for convincing the Western culture that the Greek cultural heritage was coinciding with that of the entire West; a completely new idea in those times.



The Muses in a Cyriac’s drawing (Fifteenth century).



A drawing coming from the Fifteenth-century Cyriac's of Ancona collection.

This meant to save, through military and economic help, Western memory settled in Greece against the Turkish and barbarian conquest.

This strategy of cultural suasion didn't only involve Western world, but even Byzantine ruling classes and clergy, who traditionally considered themselves a Roman, not a Greek empire, cultivating Christian orthodox religion and considering Greek and pagan tradition with a suspicious feeling.

Cyriac was the very agent of this mediatic mission, which was finally able to re-code the cult of the holy Christian relics by collecting Greek and pagan antiquities. This was a powerful strategy we can paragonate to the diffusion in Europe of the "American way of life" after the second after world war age, creating the political conditions of the revival of the Antiquity which brought to the Renaissance age.



A portrait of Cyriac of Ancona as bas-relief, Fifteenth century, Ancona Museum of the city.

5.2. The Rome of the popes

The urban renovation of Rome the popes started in the Fifteenth/Sixteenth centuries, when they got back from Avignon, and culminated in Bramante's and Raphael's artistic, architectural and urban projects, may be considered another meaningful case of "invention of tradition" which happened in not modern times (as the Modernists actually state, considering this behaviour only a modern one). This process, that lasted for a few time, mainly during Julius the Second and Leo Tenth pontificates, was founded on replying the Roman transformation made by August in the 1st century b.C., aiming at building the new Rome as a continuation of his own private *domus* on the Palatinian hill, moving there the centre of the political imperial power from the Capitolium, its traditional site (Mangani 2018). The intimate mechanism of this project was acting even in the religious and genealogical fields, because the cult of August's *Lares* (the ancient Roman relatives) was made coinciding with those of the Roman people.

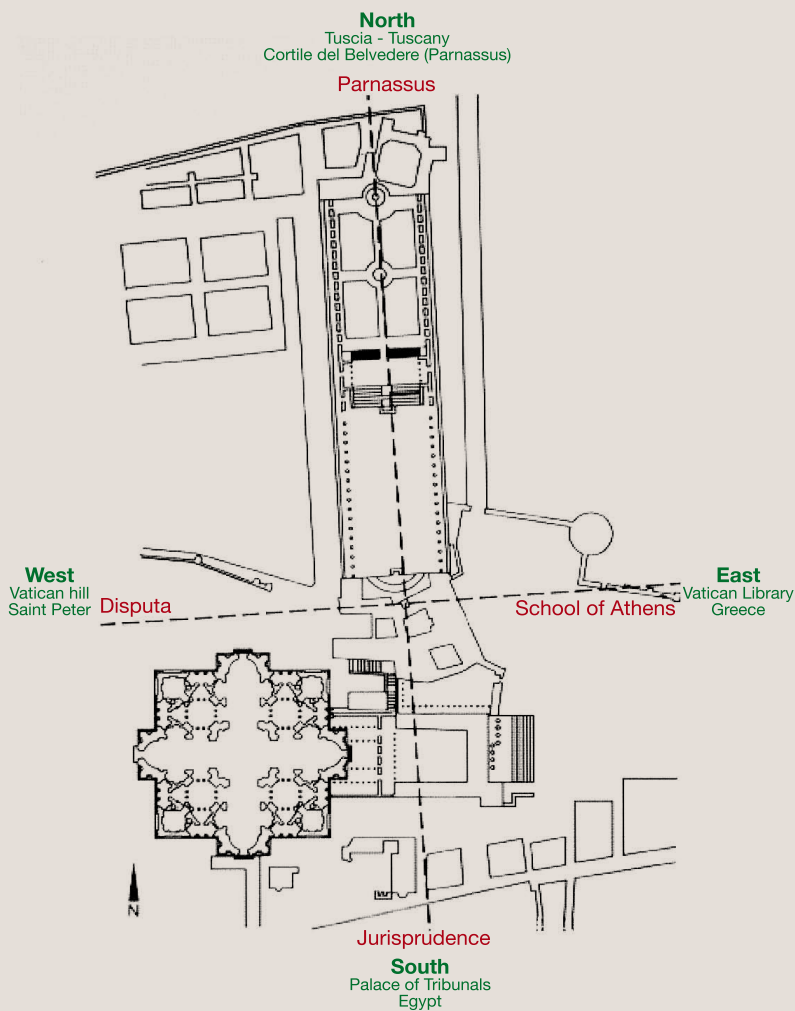
The papal architects tried in turn to re-mould the urban Roman setting around the new centre, identified for religious and judicial reasons with the Vatican hill, chosen as the site of the Pontifical Palaces and the new Saint Peter's basilica.

By using the Augustan model, the papal *cubiculum* (his politically symbolic bedroom, analogous, in the medieval age, to the throne's room) became the centre of Bramante's urban planning, and the road to the Vatican as it were an initiatic path, a purification process, obliging the pilgrims to pass through the Tiber river's bridge like they received baptism or passing the holy Red Sea of the Ancient Testament, like the holy Hebrew people.



Raphael's *School of Athens*, fresco in the *Signature Room* of the Vatican Palaces, Rome, about 1512-18.

The *Signature Room* (the pope's *cubiculum*) in the Vatican Palace painted by Raphael wasn't only decorated with the cycle of the Four Liberal Arts (*Justice, Theology, Philosophy, Poetry*): its squared feature actually imitated the Romulean ancient squared Rome (*Roma quadrata*) idealized by August as its foundation holy place. The four paintings of Raphael's cycle had also the function to represent the four urban goals and directions of Bramante's project, i.e. the four strategic, symbolic architectures of the new Rome: the Belvedere garden at North, the Palace of the Tribunals at South, Saint Peter basilica at West, the new Vatican Library at East.



The four topographic and geographic directions of the paintings sited in the squared *Signature room* in the Vatican Palaces, Rome, painted by Raphael, Sixteenth century.

The same procedure was followed in the curial court to re-use in a political new key the ancient sculptures and remains then emerging from the earth, often shapeless objects. The court poets and rhetoricians adapted to the need, in fact, an ancient, sophisticated rhetorical style (coming from the Alexandrian tradition), the *ekphrastic poetry* (i.e. a poetry thought to make talking the silent ancient, shapeless ruins). It was employed to re-code their original meanings and functions and make them a new, formidable instrument of propaganda.

In a few time these artifacts (talking architectures and sculptures) were mixed together: the sculptures were placed on the Renaissance facades of the Roman buildings transforming them in *talking palaces*, following the rhetorical prescriptions of the Art of Memory (namely, using anthropomorphic figures placed within architectures to root their meaning in the memory of the spectators/inhabitants).

This idea of making the Roman ancient buildings speaking achieved some decisive goals.



Roman Sixteenth-century painted palace in via del Parione.

The first one was the new function the architectonic facade took in the urban view. It became, in fact, a kind of portrait of their owners, devoted to show, through sculptures and decorations, a precise celebrating message.

This new feature caused the change of the urban setting of the quarters that had to be redrawn to make room and better show these facades. This brought to leave behind the traditional medieval style of the narrow and dark alleys, which were deleted to build open spaces and large squares to make seen in perspective the Renaissance architectures.

The other consequence was the birth of the quoted rhetorical poetic style which followed the tracks of the Alexandrine *ecphrastic* poetic canon (i.e. written lines linked to a sculpture, a ruin, an object, called epigrams (namely scripts *on something*), i.e. thought upon something physically present).

There were many shapeless or defaced ancient sculptures in the Roman humanistic gardens and collections; they became the fictitious protagonists of these lines imagined talking by them.

This literary genre then transformed the poets into ventriloquists who made talking the ancient ruins by putting contemporary speeches on their mouths, often with political purposes. They actually seemed legitimate statements as reliably ancient handed down documents.

The sculpture of the *Sleeping nymph* placed on the Belvedere garden in the first decades of the Sixteenth century, for instance, became a representation of Cleopatra (the ancient Aegyptian queen felt in love to Caesar) in Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro and Baldasar Castiglione's lines, two courtisan poets, because of a bracelet taken as a little snake killing her as in the novel. This re-coding interpretation was in fact caused by the need to celebrate pope's Julius the Second ambition to emulate the military victories of his ancient homonymous. During less than a generation, the architecture and urban planning of Rome had been able to set up, in a convincing manner, the totally new idea the popes, for a century opposed by the baronial capitoline clans, were the legitimate heirs of the ancient Roman power.



Romulus' squared Rome from Andrea Fulvio's
Antiquitates urbis, Rome, 1527.

5.3. The invention of the Scottish kilt

One of the most known examples of the “invention of the tradition” is that studied by Trevor Roper: the story of the Scottish *kilt* (Trevor Roper 2009).

Originally the inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands were Irishmen and were considered primitive people. They wore a long line shirt, a tunic and a plaid, often some triped trousers/socks called *Trews*, maybe made of wool, similar to the *Tartan*, which will become the typical cloth of the *kilt*.

In 1726-46 an English entrepreneur who managed a Lancashire foundery adopted for his workers a more practical dress: he divided the tunic from the lower part which became the *Phillibeg*: it was employed for fifty years and then dismissed. It would have been definitively abandoned if it wasn't chosen as the dress of the Scottish rebels in the revolts against the Englishmen, in the Seventies of the Eighteenth century, to be even prohibited.

In the meantime the Scottish Antiquarian Society was founded, promoting the study of the ancient Scottish traditions. It identified the *kilt* and the *tartan* as an old tradition, soon used by the Scottish military regiments which celebrated its practicality and haelthiness (the kilt had infact to be worn without pants and this “airing” the genitals was considered very healthy).

When finally king George IV officially visited Edimburgh, the *kilt* was worn in a successfully way in the celebrations by every noble Scottishmen. It took an identitary function and favoured the spread of the novel that the various tartan drawings represented, from the night of the times, the colours of the crests of the most ancient Scottish clans and families.

This thesys was confirmed again in a book, the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, published in 1842 in Latin, followed by another book in English, *The costume of the clans* (1844), which had even more diffusion. Both of the books were based on fake informations mixing truly and forged documents, adopting a communication style, which shows internet news didn't invent anything new.



Two Scottish noblemen wearing the kilt in two Eighteenth century portraits.



A comic 1822 print about a theatrical open stage with characters representing Scottish noblemen dressing the kilt.

6. The Nation and the Novel

To demonstrate the deep link between the birth of the State Nation and the narratives (a field that the postmodern studies about nationalism, such as those by Homi Bhabha, boosted talking about the nation finally as a narration and offering another foundation to the “culturalist” thesis of the “imagined communities” by Anderson), Franco Moretti wrote in 1997 (Moretti 1997) an important book, decisive for the literary studies and the political science.



Sir Walter Scott pictured in the Scottish landscape, portrait by William Allan, Nineteenth century.

We are talking about the *Atlas of the modern novel* which since the title shows its connection with the geographical matter, Moretti many times dealt with. The main argument is the novel has been at the same time a representation of the new national space under construction (mainly in the most advanced countries interested by the first building of the nation, as England and France), and also a tool for the settlement of this new kind of geopolitical, psychological and daily space.



The blind poet Ossian and Malvina (the young lady assisting him in walking), painting by Johann Peter Krafft, 1810.

This observation explains the reasons of the wide diffusion, in the contemporary culture, of the *territorial fetishism* and the *territorial trap* Brenner (2004) and Agnew (1994) talked about. They both don't permit infact us to well understand the new shapes of the sovereignty and statehood, not necessarily passing through their traditional territorial form.

Moretti shows with enormous documentation how the new Romantic feeling (linked to the novel and demonstrating the narrative dimension of the modern State) introduces and at the same time permits to take root in the Nineteenth century English and French cultures the need of a qualitative "homogeneity" of the space.



Conjectural portrait of Jane Austen, Nineteenth century.

We understand in the novels of Jane Austen's heroines, for instance, how it was becoming normal for the young girls of the English aristocracy and high bourgeoisie, to marry and change their place of living, to move to other new places because of the so-called "wedding market". This new market, similarly to that of the goods and slaves, bricks of English prosperity, had to be "mobile".

The young madams move then to the new residences of their husbands, in the cities or the castles of the English countryside, motivating new feelings, problems, nostalgic sentiments, returns, abandonements and the like, that are going to organize the narrative plot.

This *displacement* from the proper place of the origin (which in the male cases is represented by their colonial time for making money) has become the most usual feeling.

At the same time we discover in the narrative structure of the novel, the places where facts and narrations take room are co-constitutive of the character of the narration itself, in the same way the novel is co-constitutive of the national ideology and behaviour.

The borders become, in fact, the place of the strong feelings, the key points of the *figural* sentiment, as Moretti calls them. At the borders the betrayals happen, the bad events are showed, then solved in the city, or even the comic events take place. The comic genre is that happening in the road, far from the elegant residence in the city: it is a meaningful, displaced event.

Even in Conan Doyle's novels, which see the famous detective Sherlock Holmes as a protagonist, the criminals come from the colonies; the crimes are generally an echo from those far places.

There is often a process which tends to build up the idea of a *normal space*, opposed to another one, which reveals itself the more strange the more it is far from the official and central, normal one.

There is finally a need of *homogeneity*, because the common culture is the representation of the new State Nation.

6.1. The Cultural Capital and the birth of the State

According to the marxist thinking, the State is a need generated by the Capital to favour and rule a national market. The State is a “container” (Giddens) of the market, a capitalism’s effect.

The role played by the cultural traditions and heritage is then placed among those narrations helpful to convince the people that a national tradition does exist besides a national identity.

Accordingly, the “invented traditions” are considered a variation of the “ideologies” produced by the ruling classes to hide their particular interests.

The Twentieth-century historical-economic studies tried to modify this too monocausal interpretation of the origin of the State and the Market.

The Nobel prize economist Douglas North (1920-2015) suggested considering the role played by the elites and institutions in influencing the economic behaviour, so far thought in a too deterministic way by both the classic and marxist economic theories. The markets are, finally, social, cultural and anthropological worlds where cultures influence the economic behaviour besides the individual interests, because these interests might change according to the contexts.

Recently the economist Daron Acemoglu (Acemoglu, Robinson 2013) developed this humanistic approach, rooting it in the strategic function of the elites, by analyzing the development and/or failure of the nations.

He divides the ruling classes in the “extractive” ones, those compelling to follow strategies of robbery of the public resources and obstructing liberty and competition, and those “inclusive”, that actually favour the requirements of the economic development. The classic example, able to modify some traditional biases, is usually that about the two Koreas. These two countries are characterized by two political opposite models, notwithstanding they are very close with a common long history, that show very different economic and welfare performances.

The strategic function of the “Cultural Capital” in the birth of the State suggested by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), professor at the College de France, represents an analogous pattern.

Bourdieu overturned, without renegating his left-wind ideas, the traditional marxist idea of the structure/overstructure agency and about the so-called “primary accumulation”.

He maintained the birth mechanism of the State has been the very primary accumulation of the “Cultural and Symbolic Capital”.

The first form of the State, the dynastic one, he states, registers the consolidation of the king's power thanks to many symbolic rituals devoted to oblige the noblemen to recognize it. Once the king has been recognized as the sovereign, the State becomes a part of the Royal Home, with the king's relatives employed in the management of the kingdom.

Bourdieu discovers now, at this step, the beginning of a complex process of universalization of the State, sustained by the king's officers, that begin to be chosen among experts and no more among the relatives of the sovereign. These officers act on the behalf of the king, so the State needs to be represented as a "third character", an abstract entity, which lives besides the physical body of the sovereign. The king begins so to be thought with two bodies, the mortal one and the symbolic one, that doesn't ever die.

The ministers manage the State by using a power they haven't, this is the new State mystery (Bourdieu talks of the couple *Mysterium/Ministerium* as two very close concepts, connected by a sort of alchemic transformation), very close to the religious feeling.

The state officers become then the "noblemen of the State", allowed to act their functions thanks to patents and certifications managed by the state apparatuses (School, Universities, Army, Church etc.).

So *the State finally generates the Nation*, based on the common institutions which allow and spread out the shared knowledges and behaviours: schools, calendars, tribunals and so on.

The State wasn't born, as the contractualists stated, through an agreement; its birth and development is placed actually on what is mute, written out of the contract, what has become finally obvious.

Without the semiotic function of the Cultural Capital, the very economic performances of the Capital do not function, because they need a preliminary common linguistic floor to act.

Even the strenghtheness alone is not enough because, to function, coercion must put in place a preliminary representation of the playing forces to those have to suffer that strenghtheness.

The power, to be exerted, must be represented. Otherwise all would change in a continous and useless crash.

This perspective permits us to better understand and through a materialistic approach (notwithstanding its refuse of many old-fashioned marxist short-sightednesses) the complex system of performances put in action by the Cultural Capital, among which the Heritage works.

7. Landscape and Homeland

At a certain time, when the State was identified with its territory and the boundaries used to celebrate the national holy and inviolable space, the territory took a foundative meaning.

As the Ethnosymbolists underlined, among the mythmotors of the origins of the State Nation the *Homeland* was a protagonist, besides Literature and Art.

This process took place in different times and ways in the various European Countries, following a pattern devoted to find in the *landscape* the identity characters of the Nation, sometimes recovering old ideologies such as the theory of the climates, or those deterministic ones of the astrological geography (which interpreted the characters of the people according to their location and considering the influence of the stars codified by the ancient geographer Ptolemy).

In some cases the need to represent the landscape as the image of the nation and the celebration of its values and principles caused some traditions were forcibly overturned for political and social reasons, as happened with the Swiss Alps, for centuries considered a bad place, the site of primitive people. They became in about a century, infact, a beautiful location, the natural container of the national purity, taking inspiration from Rousseaux's theories.



John Robert Cozens' painting representing London seen from Greenwich Hill, 1791-93, London, Courtauld Institute.



The European people with their dresses, painting by Fr. Leopold, Eighteenth century.



Claes Janszoon Visscher, *Leo Belgicus*, 1609. The Dutch republic represents itself as a lion, which was the heraldic symbol of the country, to show its strenghtness and military force. The picture of the lion corresponds, by forcing their feature, to the national borders.

The change of this idea was one of the most eclatant transformation, which shows clearly enough the links between the political and the aesthetic dimensions. Then, the Alps, before considered bad, became a “sublime landscape”, the view from the high modified a previous mainly scientific sentiment (i.e. that based upon the ability to take measures), versus an aesthetic intimate sensation and the touristic interest.

7.1. An example: the invention of the Alps

In the Seventeenth century, in Switzerland, a nationalist mouvement called *Helvetism* took place. It tried to promote the specific characters of the Swiss culture and identity in respect to the French and German ones.

One of the most meaningful typical tracts was identified in the Alps which started in those very years to be explored and painted. In 1773 M.T. Burrit published his book *Description des Glaciers*, that represented the starting point of the celebration of the beautifulness of the Alpine landscape till the English Leslie Stephen's interest for alpinism made known by his book *The playground of Europe* (1862).

In this cultural change, originally devoted to the “sublime” character of the mountain chain, thanks to Rousseaux's anthropological theories, a new idea about the Alpine people started spreading out. They began to be considered the champions of a simple way of living, love for nature and homeland.

The Austro-Hungarian emperor's brother, the archduke John Sebastian of Habsburg-Lorene, lover of the Alpine landscape, had even the ambition to create an Alpine Nation around the Tyrol, founding a new exemplary moral and civil State, able to represent all the main identitary characters of the Alpine people.

The development of the Alpinism emprouved the aesthetization of these landscapes, where the “sublime” of the mountain backstage started dialoguing with the *picturesque* of the mountain cities, becoming their figural frame and contributing to create a lucky pictorial sentiment and an iconography of the “typical” mountain landscape as an utopian world.



An Eighteenth-century painting representing the Switzerland as the country of the liberty and independence, defended by the chain of the Alps as it was a military fortress.



Twentieth-century Liebig advertising card of the new Alpine sports.

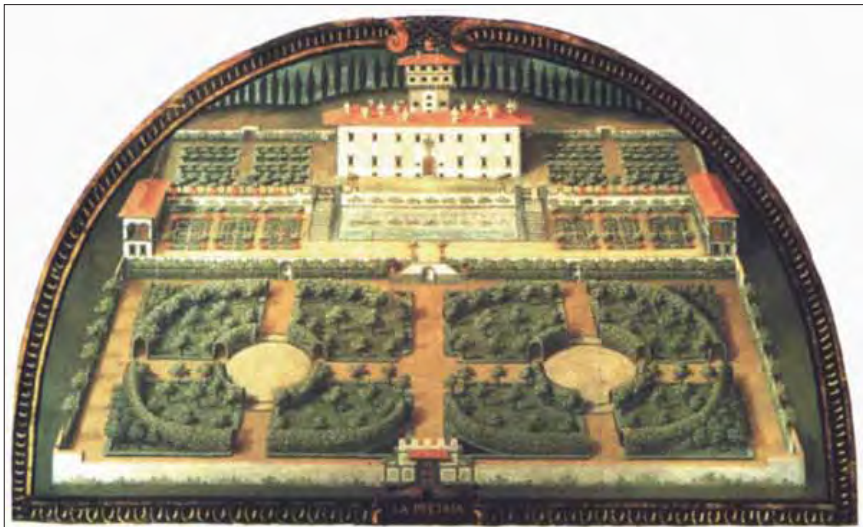
8. The “all’italiana” garden and that of Epicurus

As the author of the first manual of rhetorics wrote, the *Rhetorics to Herennium*, to memorize a text, a judicial oration for instance, you could use a sequence of mentally imagined rooms, where some mental images were placed, called *imagines agentes*. They represented concepts (*memory ad res*) or words (*memory ad verba*) to store in the memory.

The sequence of the rooms (the matter might function along an itinerary or by using the flowerbeds of a garden as well) helped to call to the memory some forgotten passages with the help of the others.

This method was the basis of the ancient didactics and, not for accident, it was traditionally practiced in the gardens (as the Platonic academy) or along the walks of the Athenian *Peripath*, or again along the buildings with loggias (as the stoic *Stoa*), offering the opportunity to use the discrete sequences of the itinerary (i.e. the possibility to cut in different steps the phisical journey which became finally that mentally stored) through a set of pictures helping the student’s memory.

Each tree, plant, loggia or room was the container of a concept represented by a mental image.



Justus Utens' *Villa Petraia*, part of a series of *lunette* painted in the Medici's Artimino Villa (1599-1602).

In the medieval age this practice followed to be employed, so much that the encyclopaedias were called *Silvae*, or *Bestiaries* because of the use of the plants or animals of the natural and zoological imaginaries to help the interpretation and the memorization.

When finally, at Versailles Palace, André Le Notre, the royal architect, set up a labyrinth-garden made for the French Dolphin (the king's son), its itinerary to decipher how to go out the labyrinth was full of moral images placed at the crossroads. Only by knowing the right choice of the correct behaviour it was possible to find the exit. The walk became a didactic itinerary thought for the moral education of the young prince.

The Royal labyrinth was only a moralized example of the “all’italiana” gardens against which, in the Reformed circles, the rural representation of the Dutch farmers



Up: a typical Northern Wilderness landscape, below: Peter Breugel the Elder's, *The harvesters*, particular, 1565, Wien, Kunsthistorischesmuseum.

was celebrated, as you can find in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's paintings which took the role of symbols of the simple and original religiosity of that (Protestant) people, opposed to the "degenerated" one of the Roman-Catholic world.

Dutch Bruegel's landscape influenced then the celebration of a new kind of garden taking inspiration from those of Epicurus which, following the tradition, would grow without the gardener's agency, without imposing nature to adopt the rigid shapes of the culture or geometry.

William Temple, an English admirer of the Dutch gardens, writing in 1685 his work *Upon the gardens of Epicurus*, influenced the idea of the English ones, codified in the Eighteenth century by the architect Alexander Cozens. He inaugurated the interest for the parks, i.e. the gardens that, notwithstanding carefully projected, had to show themselves in an apparent naturality. An idea Francis Bacon had already theorized in the Seventeenth century in the Eighteenth chapter of his *Essays* (1625, see box 1.2.).

English sensism celebrated by David Hume and John Locke (theorist of the sensistic materialism) found, this way, in Epicurus's garden, its ideal representation. Here the mnemonic mechanisms of the ancient tradition were not abandoned, they actually transformed themselves in the exemplification of the English empirism/sensism. The images (sculptures, trees, homes, temples) placed in the gardens, with their symbols, caught the minds of the observers and were able to activate, thanks to the emotion they felt, the memory of other items, in turn already recorded through the pictures stored in their memory.

As Andrew Marvell, third Earl of Fairfax, wrote in his poem *The Garden* (1681), the art of the English gardens allowed him to move "to a green thought in a green shade", i.e. to use the natural (green) images seen as they would be Bacon's *umbræ idearum*, that is what those pictures called to his memory, which in turn permitted again to develop some reasonnements based on the association of the ideas activated in the intimate imagination. To walk in a garden might be a sophisticated matter.

The mechanism put in action in the English parks was the same of the ancient one. It was actually now underlining the material character of the pictures in the light of Locke's cognitive theory: it was a really English one.

The *Wilderness*, was it the Baden Wuttenberg's black forest or that of Teutoburg, where the Roman general Varus had been defeated and his legions decimated by the Germans in the 9 AD, or even the sophisticated Anglo-Saxon park, became the symbol of the Northern identity, the place of its liberty. Namely the representation and celebration of its diversity from the Southern Roman-Catholic tradition.

9. The ‘Bild Reise’

The mechanism of the mnemonic itinerary in the garden was influent in creating the theory of the educative character of the “Instruction journey” through Italy and then Europe (in German *Bild Reise*) which involved, for some centuries and from the end of the Sixteenth century, the training of the Northern young ruling classes.

The ‘instruction journey’ operated in the same way the moral garden did. As the odeporic manuals prescribed (*odeporics* was the science of traveling) you had to use the touristic trip, normally along the Italian “Grand Tour”, to make easier the memorization of the ancient history and art, but also of the moral principles considered linked to those traditions, with the help of the images (sculptures, works of art, ruins, the training opportunities in the itinerary) found along the itinerary.

Not by accident the author of the first touristic guide to Italy (*Itinerarium Italicum*, 1600), the Dutch Frans Schott employed as a source the narration of an “instruction



Johann H.W. Tischbein, *Goethe in the Roman countryside*, 1848, Frankfurt on Maine, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

journey” of a friend of his, Etienne Pigge (Venandus Pighius in the humanistic latin), a book titled *Hercules prodicius*, which told about the Italian trip of the young Duke of Clèves, untimely dead in Rome in 1575. The title reveals the itinerary was through a sequence of moral pictures of the tradition, identified with the myth of “Hercules at the crossroad”, i.e. the choice the ancient heroe had to propose to himself at the cross of the street to the Good and that to the Bad, not always easily identifiable, as it was in the labirinth of Versailles, where the sculptures were dedicated to the same matter.

The hemotive energy the itinerary and the perceptive experiences produced in the young aristocratic (in the same way they operated in the moral garden), was used as the glue to record in the memory the infos connected to those images, favouring the training of the young prince.

The pedagogical aristocratic model which influenced the Italian *Grand Tour*; from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth century, was applied to the cultural foundation of the Nations as well, in the Nineteenth century, through the mass diffusion of tourism, planned to train the new citizens of the State Nations.

In Italy, which arrived late to the political unity, once made the state, you had to ‘make the Italians’.

The territory continued to offer, then, in the shape of the cultural landscape, considered the symbol and the physionomy of the homeland, its strategic political function.

9.1. The first Italian Touring Club guides

These first guides of the Touring Club, in Italy, made on the model of the German ones printed by the publisher Karl Baedeker, didn't find actually their target among the touristic customers. They were thought actually to build a national identity. The first managers of the Italian Touring Club (founded in 1894), for instance Arrigo Bertarelli, were involved in fact in a project of cultural conquest of the country by its very citizens. The challenge was "to make the Italians" through itineraries by imitating the pedagogical structure of the pilgrimages and the trips of instruction. Confronting the red Italian guides to the Baedeker's ones, which described the Alps from the North, the Italian enlarged in fact their matter to the Centre-South and the little Italian centers, the characteristic "borghi", favouring a national culture. Touristic topic was actually the pretext to build a patriotic sentiment. For instance, the first itineraries and journeys the Italian Touring Club organized were about Italian Resorgimental holy places, such as that of 1910 leaving from Genua and Marsala, and following the footprints of the Garibaldi's 'Thousand' expedition, with the participation of some veterans as "testimonials".



Italian landscape wasn't considered, in 1939 (when the first laws about the conservation of the national landscapes had been adopted) a natural or beautiful place, but a collection of rhetorical *loci*/places (i.e. geographical places which called to the memory other literary passages) celebrating and quoting Italian literature, such as Ravenna pinewood where Dante had located once some poetic lines in his *Comoedia*.

According to A. Falcone (a theorist of the new landscape conservation laws promulgated at that time) the Italian landscape was “everything quivers of the soul of the homeland, every noble vision of beautifulness, memory and glory”.

A positivist geologist and priest, Alfredo Stoppani, mixed together in his book *Il bel paese* (*The beautiful country*), printed in 1876, aesthetics, religion and science, describing the places of his journey through Italy as an instruction and a moral trip.

The purpose of his book had to offer, in fact, according to his aim, “the truth at its basis, the natural as its content, the instruction and the moral emprovement as its purpose”.



Sandro Botticelli, *The Ravenna pinewood with Alighieri's Nastagio degli Onesti novel represented*, 1483, Madrid, Prado Museum.

PART II

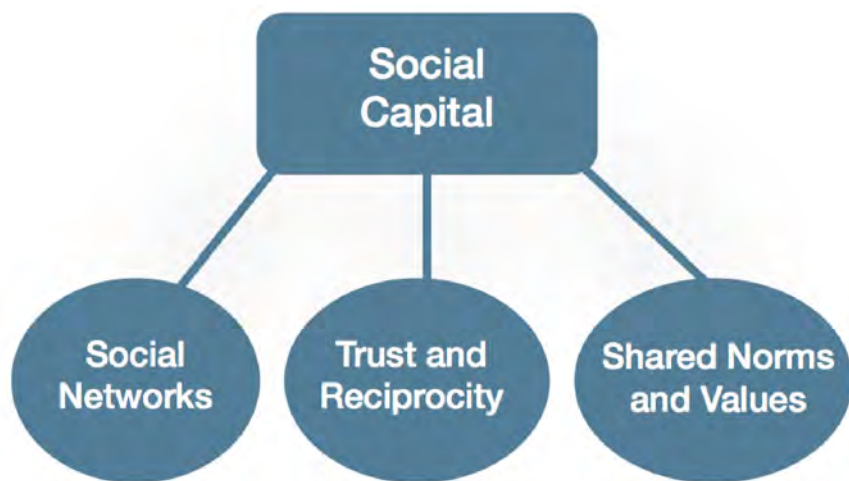
Cultural Heritage as Social Capital

10. Cultural Heritage and Social Capital

The role the local cultural heritage exerted in the local economic development has been recently recognized in a huge way in the scientific literature. Cultural heritage is no more considered only from the artistic point of view, but as a tool able to spread up moral/behavioural models.

A new attention has been more and more payed for the cognitive feed back the local cultural heritage offer meliorating the life of the local communities that host it.

The way this mechanism operates is not still the clearest; it has been noted, any way, that to live in a artistically and wealthy ambient, able to influence even in a indirect way the social values and skills, has an important influence on the quality of the social life.



There are, of course, more direct actions which happen at the local scale. The first one is the most banal: i.e. the cultural and ambiental quality of a territory improves its appeal not only from the touristic point of view. Cities try nowadays to attract capitals and investments and promote carefully the quality of their cultural heritages, if they do exist, and this is a matter more and more considered among the other ones, in the global competition fought among the local places.

There are, then, the so-called “common goods” studied by the Nobel Prize for economy Elinor Ostrom (Ostrom 1990), who underlined in a research that surveyed many cases all over the world the conflictual character revealed by managing this kind of goods. The history of the regulation of these goods (for example accessing to the pasture, the property of water and of other primary goods) explains finally how the history of the local communities is a history of continuous conflicts and adjustments.

The local dimension is not, as it is often thought, that of an idyllic place where, far from the noise of the metropolies, people live in an arcadic way; it is actually the product of a continuous reinvention and replacement of the communities. In such a way, managing the common goods is a laboratory to build a local society able to improve its identity and intimate social links. Cultural heritage has many times this kind of function.



Up: the 2009 Nobel Prize for the Economy Elinor Ostrom (1933-2012). Below: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Allegory of the Good Government*, particular, 1338-1339, Siena, Public Palace.



The US economist Robert Putnam.

Another component of the local culture where the availability of the heritage plays a role is that generally called the *Social Capital*, made of a network of immaterial habits, skills, fiduciary relations produced in the long anthropological history of that territory, which are hardly produced, but can actually easily get corrupted.

It has been this very kind of capital, discovered in the first Eighties of the last century, in the postfordist economic season, that of the *flexible capitalism*, which became protagonist when a new interest was committed to the role the local and regional level might have in the restructuration of the Western productive patterns. In the Eighties of the last century, in fact, a first crisis of the Fordist economy was registered, the model based in the standardized production of mass goods which characterized the Second Post War development. The big factories were closing, at the same time actually they discovered other firms were going to develop new shapes of production in different geographical contexts such as Japan, Italy, Germany, California.

The vertical Fordist chain of production (that based on the assembly line) had problems to survive; at the same time actually other small, more flexible and more specialized firms, able to produce technological and productive processes of innovation, started to grow up.

They began discovering that the regional dimension, the local skills and habits “mattered”. In this first period, actually, scholars were not able to understand how that competitive advantage worked.

Analyses about the quantitative dimension of the economy had been proposed, someone thought the scale was a way to explain the matter; that was, for instance, the economist Krugman's thinking. Other scholars proposed to consider the role of the local attitude to competition and so on. Any explanation actually didn't offer a reliable and shareable reason why some places did function and others didn't.

They discovered finally that the classical and quantitative economic analyses were no more able to explain the phenomenon. There were in fact qualitative reasons to take into consideration, possibly considering some particular, not necessarily economic, social features that already existed in the places. We began finally to find quoted in the economic essays the so-called "untraded transactions".

This was the very new analysis proposed against the old theory of the industrial districts cultivated in the Twenties of the past century by the English economist Alfred Marshall. This theory explained the competitive advantage occurred in determined productive conglomerations through the role of a leader firm which generated a net of other supplier factories which, in turn, specialized their activities in different components of the general production. This created some competitive advantages to the firms that were working in that place (i.e. availability of qualified workers, research and development, industrial atmosphere, reduction of costs).



A Mexican cactus landscape.

In these *flexible economies* scholars noted that these kinds of features many times preexisted and coincided with the Social Capital of the territory, made of the social and historical relations of the place (Storper 1997).

In many cases what it was important was the availability of *fiduciary local relations*, the links of friendness, the free relationship favouring the exchange, sharing informations not necessarily based on the immediate profit; all features determining the right cultural atmosphere able to facilitate the development of new factories.

The easy transferring of informations, the availability of cooperation and flexibility in the work relations, the tolerance about possible mistakes or failures, offered a competitive advantage such as, paradoxically, the absence of high competitive sentiments (previously considered actually the main agent of the success). In the end, the *Social Capital* was that made the difference.

This analysis permitted to understand this new kind of development was moving to the direction of a new shape of “industrial atmosphere” coinciding with the so-called “economic reflexivity” and the processes of the “region-specific cognitive skills”, allowing to think to a new kind of districts which were different from one another.

The Region became, from the productive point of view, a “Learning Region” because it stimulated a new form of competition based on the capability to improve, in a site-specific way, the Social Capital and to learn from it.

The development wasn’t moreover only in the firms, scholars maintained, it was also, and maybe mainly, in the relations created between the factory and its regional and social context.

One of these topics used to sustain this kind of analysis was, again, deeply linked to the *immaterial cultural heritage*. In Italy, for example, the economist and sociologist Robert Putnam connected it to the local “civic traditions” (Putnam et al. 1994).

Putnam had had a long standing experience of research in Italy. He grewed in a small town, Port Clinton (NY) in a family of Methodist parents. He was trained in humanities before studying political science, dedicating his interests to the connections between the Social Capital and the local economic development.

In this perspective, Putnam studied, in the Seventies (i.e. when in Italy the Regions as new administrative and political institutions started to function), the political and administrative behaviour of these new regional institutions, analyzing their very different performances and results.

The inquiry discovered a deep link between a better efficiency in the geographical areas with a longer civic tradition. This meant that, in the Seventies of the past century, the Center-Northern Italian Regions were still influenced by the tradition of the Thirteenth-Fifteenth-century Communes which had fought against the feudal State, less radicated in Southern Italy.

The social context and its cultural tradition, then, according to Putnam, still conditioned the efficiency of the public Italian institutions. Heritage again “mattered”, we could say.

Putnam’s next idea was then to improve the Us Social Capital, strongly reduced over time because of the wide competitive sentiment spread over the country, represented with ideas such as “Help by yourself” or “Bowling alone”, weakening the traditional old social relations. The program was called the “Saguare project” because the Social Capital was represented by the metaphor of the *saguare*, a kind of cactus tree able to survive to the drought thanks to its underground network of roots; an idea scarcely studied by the economists so far.

Putnam’s theses have been a bit questioned and re-thought in the following years, sometimes they have been considered too optimistic about the strategic role played by the social relations. His analyses in any rate, mainly in Italy, permitted to better understand the important role these immaterial traditions played in the different ways to think and manage the local communities, considering their connections with the cultural heritage and the so-called “commons”, which are now the most advanced way to re-think the local development in the new context of the “economy of knowledge” development.

11. The new scales of the Local/Global

In the last ten years the regionalization of the local development, mainly in the EU area, sustained by the EU and National policies, has been studied in a different perspective by Neil Brenner (2004) who introduced the notion of *Rescaling* in the scientific discussion about the social economic and political features of the Globalization.

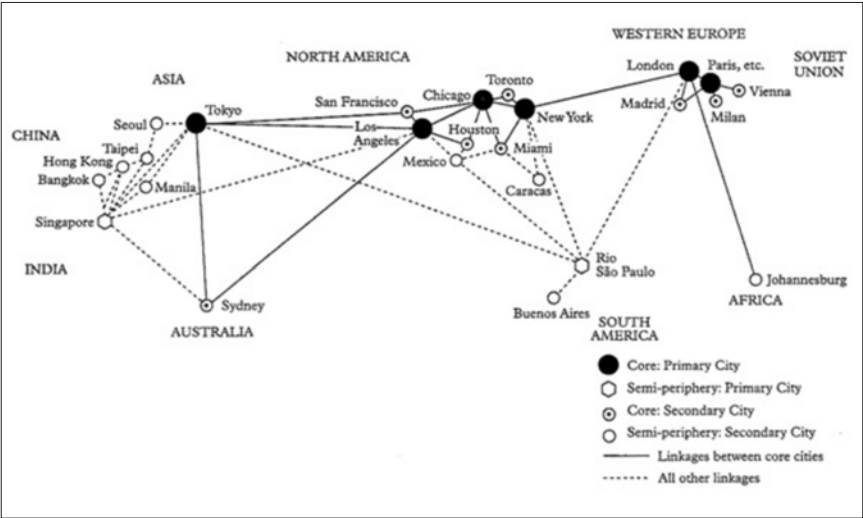
His thinking is that the strong EU thrust to decentering the productive districts, normally explained as a consequence of the global phenomena, has been managed actually by the very national states, chasing, more or less consciously, the shapes of the new organization of the capital and giving a new kind of sovereignty to new institutional levels which continue to live besides the old ones only because we still are in an age of transition.



Advertising picture of the European Committee of the Regions, founded in 1994.

This fact would not be (as the most think) a symptom, then, of the crisis of the sovereignty of the national states, it would show actually the birth of a new category of powers, no more totally identifiable with territories, till now prevailing. These new institutions would act at a different scale (from which the concept of *Rescaling*), at the same time over and under national, in the shape of networks of

global cities, become the hubs of a global economic system of direct exchanges, bypassing the national borders, by creating new forms of sovereignty and power, tending to conflict with the old ones.



A map of the main Global Cities in the World and their economic links.

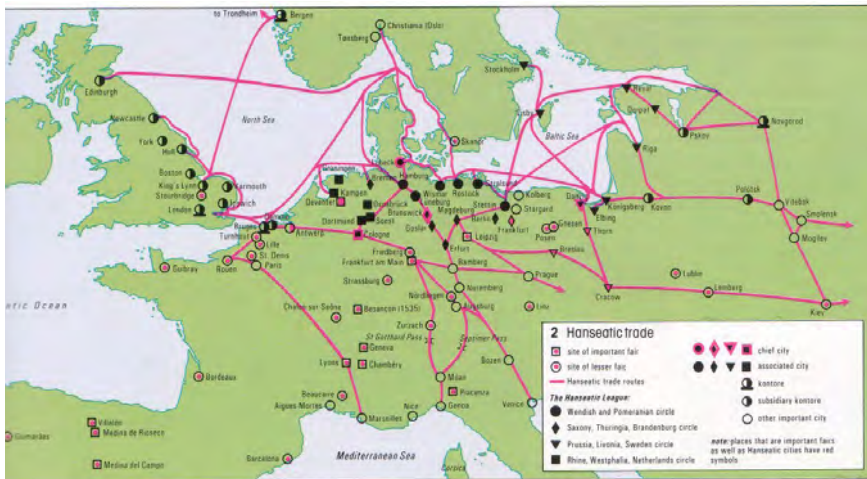
The Eighties of the last century, Brenner (2004) underlines, registered the legitimation of the new model of the *botton-up* growth and development. A tendence actually took place to concentrate public investments in the most competitive cities-regions, re-thinking the traditional public policies. These, after the War, had been influenced by Keynes’ theories, devoted to reduce, as possible, the territorial disbalances and the inequal development of the territories through public resources.

This strategy has been actually overturned starting from the Eighties, mainly toward riding rather reducing the territorial disbalances. In other words, by putting in competition the territories like they were private factories (a novelty already noted by the economic geographer David Harvey who called it “territorial entrepreneurship”, Harvey 1991) and by modifying the traditional regulatory role of the state.

As Brenner states, in this new political season, *it is nomore the capital to adapt itself to the political geography, it is actually the political space to be hosted in the new geography of the capital.*

This innovation, in Brenner’s concern, represents the proof of a new step of the restructuration of the Capital and the State, betting to new shapes and scales of sovereignty, where the local and the urban dimension tend to take new political

competences, similar to those of the Fifteenth-century state-towns, registering the birth of a new sovranational political and economic formations which produce together strong and dangerous social and territorial conflicts, nomore managed by the political institutions.



The Hanseatic towns network (from Fifteenth till Sixteenth century).

These new economic districts improve, in fact, direct relations with their co-actors, without producing any positive externality in their neighbourhoods; they don't share infact or support the statal and interstatal policies, contributing to the general instability and the further marginalization of some regions from the other ones.

12. The globalization of the Cultural Heritage

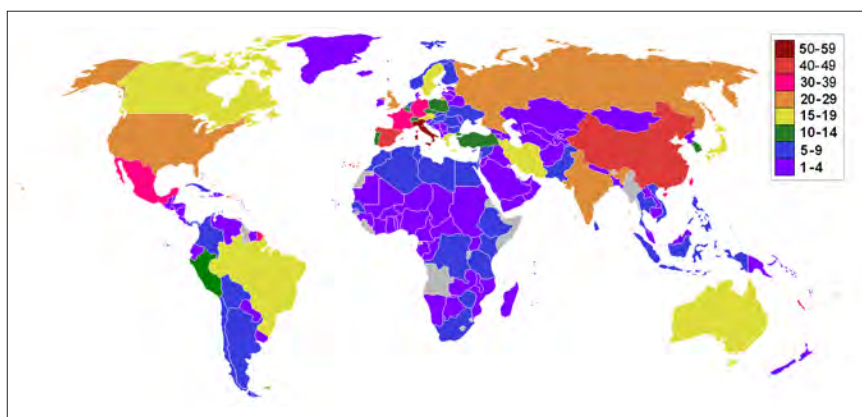
Which function do Heritages and Cultural patrimonies have in this new scenery? They tend to throw away their function of symbols of the national/local identities that they often still play in the territories, preferring to represent those of the new global cities.

This is why the Unesco classification of the World Cultural Sites takes new importance, a register of global cultural sites which are actually cut out from their contexts, becoming fetishes of an international culture based on a “totally translatable” heritage.

What is meaningful in this radical re-thinking the Heritage is the capability of this kind of sites and monuments to be understandable and meaningful for a global public, nomore a tool for comprehending the cultures which produced them.

It is for this very reason that a “canon” has been created, where all the documents able to represent a new collective memory must be stored. They are nomore tools for entering a specific cultural world, but windows to see and to be seen from outside, destined to an onyric and digital museum of the “best of the world”, cimitalial destination of any artistic and humanistic feeling, sacrificed on the altar of the “territorial entrepreneurship”.

Scholars interested in this new topic, i.e. the globalization of the Cultural Heritage, underlined how the Unesco sites list procedures have introduced new legal and political topics (Casini 2010).



Map of the distribution of the Unesco World Heritage Sites.

One of them is the concept of the “World Heritage”, expression of a world culture which is a preliminary requirement to be listed in the Unesco sites.

The conservative policies of the World Heritage are now rooted, infact, on the “Name and Share” (abandoning the old legal procedures), i.e. by influencing the national policies through the worldly prestige and complain.

To be registered in the Unesco list is now becoming a “ranking”, a certificated assessment of a place in the “global touristic market”.

Notwithstanding a general consideration for the Unesco sites, actually, new problems rise in the international relations among the National States. They are infact now divided between the so-called *source nations* (where the public interest is linked to the location and public property of the cultural goods), and the *market nations*, where the interest is placed in re-using and re-thinking the Cultural Heritage, sometimes without considering its original historical meaning. In these new changing situations we find the mirror, in the cultural field, of many Brenner’s intuitions (Brenner 2004) about the global rescaling theory. The new cultural conflict is infact between the national/regional cultures and the interculturalism which raises from a totally new kind of cultural policy. A conflict of the territorial policies (those of the *source nations*) which fight against the liberal market-oriented ones, more interested in the free circulation of the cultural goods than in their material conservation and their particular history.

This is why the strenghtness of some old traditions, embedded in the Cultural Heritage and their shared cultural power, tend to play, in a hidden and opportunistic way (see chapter 15), against the new internationalized policies of the management of the Cultural Heritage, opposing resistance to its fully translatability.

These are the difficulties the new management of art meets in its effort to handle in a new and not usual way objects born for different uses and purposes.



A world heritage example: the Chinese Wall.

It has been the global competition of the territories, in the end, to favour a new interpretation of the Cultural Heritage, able to operate as a tool to improve the local skills and supremacies to raid marketing and mediatic visibility.

We passed, in fact, from the interest in discovering local original characters, anthropological diversities and cultures, to search and emphasize the local well known peculiarities which might be translated and easily understood in the international world, till identifying a wordly CH made of the best examples of the global stock.

It is a mechanism similar to what happened in Mary Shelley's famous novel on doctor Frankenstein: the dream of an artificial body composed by the best components (but translatable outside and in the other cultures/languages).

The same idea had been used by Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolph Hitler when they tried to set up a central universal museum of the then considered best works of arts (sited in Paris of course in Bonaparte's aims and in Linz, Austria, his birthplace, in the German dictator's plans).



Frank O. Gehry's Bilbao Museum of Art (1997), one of the most important touristic destinations in the world.

Not only the attention for the free circulation of the works of art took root in the liberal countries – an idea obviously rooted in the shared automatic evaluation of their importance and understandability – but a conspicuous interest in recoding

the old Cultural Heritage developed a lot, often disconnecting it from its original meanings and functions.

This is the interpretation the post-modern aesthetic, which is deeply linked to the neoliberal economic theories (questioned by David Harvey), favoured by putting importance on the new interpretations of the works of arts, possibly cutting away the wire of the tradition that produced its monuments and cathedrals: the mega and luxury buildings and shining museums projected by the archistars, as huge urban signs, very often socially and aesthetically discontinuous with the local urban quarters they have been placed in.

Many of these architectures have an important artistic value per se, of course, it is not, actually, always gold what glitters, and this full translatability of the *nouvelle vague* Heritage often impoverishes the hosting cultures, by moving the general attention of the visitors toward fashionable universal arguments and shapes, by creating an interpretative international *koiné* and sometimes transforming culture in what is critically called *endutainment* or *citytainment*, i.e. entertainment.



The fetish symbol of the Global Heritage: the Paris Eiffel Tower (1887-89).



Up: *The Tree of the Life*, central installation built for the Milan *Universal Expo 2015*, projected by Marco Balich and Giò Forma Study of Architecture. Below: a frame from *Monuments Men* movie (2014), directed by George Clooney.

13. The European Capitals of Culture experience

Such a behaviour has been adopted by the European Union (EU) to create an European cultural identity.

Being only a network of national states, each with its national traditions, EU had to use a soft way to build its identity, making continous attempts and arrangements. The first efforts have been devoted to emphasize the common civil traditions of the Western democracies. This was a too weak tool, actually, to build a strong cultural identity. It had anyway to make sure the principles of the free market (EU was born infact as a common market network) and avoiding to leverage on the historical traditions, running this way the risk to wake up ancient frictions among the state members.



A map of the European Capitals of Culture.

A solution, identified along different steps in the time (an artichoke strategy) was to point more to the local than to the national traditions. In this strategic policy EU renovated the old mechanism employed by the state nations to build their own identities, arranging it to its need.

EU re-used, in fact, in turn, the CH, which became the pivot of the sustained cultural EU projects aiming at favouring the circulation of the knowledge and culture among the EU territories.

A lot of attention has been addressed, for instance, to the mobility of the artists. This policy was rooted on the ambition to de-parochialize the local cultures through the mediation of a new kind of transnational “creative” intellectual (arguably trained in modern art to delete the risks to work with dangerous historical and possible nationalistic roots), able to manipulate the local social environments and bring them to an international level.

The need to choose the towns as the main protagonists of this policy was introduced in the now forty-years experience of the *European Capital of Culture* (ECoC) program (Lahdesmaki 2014). This meant arguably to prefer working on social and administrative bodies less connected to the national cumbersome traditions and, for this reason, more available to be organized in an EU network of cities originally selected for their ready-made international, crossborder and “in-between” cultures and traditions.

The choice of the annual ECoC nomination, in fact, privileged, after the first years devoted to celebrate some recognizable high-rated capitals (Athens, 1985; Florence, 1986; Berlin, 1988; Paris, 1989), smaller towns with an international reputation or characterized by their efforts to renovate their belonging to the European civilization, namely the Western values, like those coming from the long standing exil in the Sovietic block.

Both the axes of this strategy show, however, EU wanted a policy deeply rooted in the local contexts, following an apparent *bottom-up* logic, when, on the contrary, it was structured on a strong *top-down* methodology.

The celebrated proposal to favour the circulation of the artists planned, in fact, a colonizing action brought on by operators with an international training aiming at fertilizing the local cultures, as they were subaltern ones.

The ECoC policy, on its side, aimed at working on those places that had multicultural stories. Behind the apparent screen devoted to enhance the local cultures, in fact, the condition to already owning and of course putting on value an international culture was a needed pre-requirement to be admitted to the club and the selection, to allow the application.

This attention for the international culture was actually interpreted many times in a superficial way, as entertainment. This often caused conflicts and opportunistic behaviours in the local contexts when these ingredients were required to plan *blockbusting* events, shining festivals, sometimes producing counter programs,

counter-official artistic calendars, planned against the authorized and officially sustained ones.

The ECoC experience has been widely studied and offered the opportunity to reconstruct almost three historical phases, beginning from 1985-90 years dedicated to the great events in the already well known cities. A second step, about 1990-2004, when the attention has been put to the urban regeneration, and the last one, from 2005 on, which privileged the so-called “cultural-creative development” and the investments in infrastructures.

The three steps are coincident with the very evaluation of the idea of culture the EU cultivated in this period. We see in the path it passes from an idea of the role played by the high culture used as a marketing tool toward a stronger interest in the urban regeneration and creative development to make them instruments of knowledge-based economic enhancement. This shift allowed, in the end, to successfully mix together the identity-building strategies and what was at the original heart of EU first original purpose: the common market. The cycle was perfect.

EU first policy favoured, in fact, the competition among the territories and the towns, enlarging to the culture and CH the fundamental rules of the economic firms: the goal was to shape the territories like the industries and the profit organizations, the so-called “territorial entrepreneurship” (Harvey).

The second strategy exploited this competition as a “soft power” to bring back to the “modernity” most of the post-sovietic towns, the most awarded this qualification. These cities infact interpreted their ECoC applications as re-branding tools toward modernity, trying to narcotize their communist time, to recuperate a Western (liberal) purity.

As regards the other Western European cities, the ECoC application was actually more the way to experiment with the culture driven development against the ongoing economic decadence of the Fordist industrial model.

If we analyze, actually, in detail some particular cases (as in the following boxes), we notice that many towns only apparently and superficially, often with opportunistic style, shared the requested EU directives to sustain processes of internationalization of their own cultural identities.

Notwithstanding such ambitions were declared on their ECoC application forms, and notwithstanding the involvement of famous artists attending the festivals, the most of the attention of the inhabitants (as results from some sociological studies based on interviews) was addressed to the local cultures, sometimes subcultures, even to nationalistic feelings, opportunistically putting the crossborder characters to the margins.

So, the local became a hidden or misunderstood topic, and its hybridazion with the foreign cultures was interpreted often as a passive adoption of Western-like fashionable sentiments.

Sassatelli (2009) underlined the EU decision to build its cultural identity on

weak roots, namely a “unity made of differences”, not allowed to develop a stronger, shared set of values, nowadays stressed by many deconstructive newly nationalistic forces.

This happened because the last twenty years culture has been considered more a development engine (reactivating, as already written, the rationale of the Common Market) than a social capacitation driver.

Someone wrote that if we started today the unification process, we needed to begin from Culture, not Economy. But now it is too late.

It is possible to argue that because Culture has become a development and innovation index, it began to be more considered and this has a reason. The tragic modern European history obliged to not work on the past values, actually to look at the future.

To invest in Culture and Economic development seemed may be the best solution. But it might be a too heavy responsibility for culture to be the main (only?) tool to exit the economic problems of the twenty-first century.

13.1. The Good Practices

One of the examples of the EU contradictory and probably opportunistic idea of the local cultures is that we find in the procedures required for the so-called Interreg projects which oblige the partners to collaborate each others to make plans of development.

The idea every partner offers here to the others is usually a local experience (called “Good Practice”) considered a master key tool of this policy to enhance the translocal relations and shared plans.

The programs specify obviously every Good Practice must be declined in the socio-economic specific situations. Because these contextual different situations are often the real knots to solve, the exchange of the Good Practices of the Interreg projects ends often to be an opportunistic minuet of cultural and administrative contacts, of *officers’ tourism* required by the EU procedures that seldom produce out-puts.

It is probable that, in the end, the opportunistic behaviour of the partners is only an answer to another opportunistic action implicit in the Interreg plans. They have, in fact, 1) the main goal to favour a dialogue among different Regions, employing the projects as pretexts to develop crossborder exchanges; 2) to radicate EU in sites like towns and Regions where it is easier working than on the national settings.

The opportunistic encounter shows, however, the weakness of the Eu main principles on the cooperation of the local places.

In any rate the anthropological studies underlined the opportunism is always the first step of an encounter between two different cultures and it is a starting point to go on.

EU problem is actually it has not enough time to wait long for the possible (not sure) next step. Without a European Culture, EU runs the risk to collapse down, or to remain too much in an opportunistic lock.

13.2. The post-Sovietic Capitals of Culture

Two cases are exemplary of Northern ECoC experience. They have been registered both in 2011: Turku (Finland) and Tallin (Estonia).

Turku, a 1800.000 inhabitants Finnish town, experimented a counter cultural program managed by some spontaneous antagonistic local groups against the official one, which was influenced by the fashionable blockbusting events planned in many ECoC festivals.

It was called “Eu Capital of SubCulture” to underline it was against the globalist character of the official festival, and it caused many social conflicts. For example the artistic proposal coming from the international masters invited to the event have been questioned by the local artists.

The other case shows a different effort to point to the urban regeneration of a Tallin waterfront quarter, on the Baltic seashore, that had been previously a military restricted area.

Among the Tallin 2011 ECoC plan, a new path through this quarter, open to the waterfront view, was set up, by creating many, spontaneous cultural and artistic, alternative wing labs, which made the district more attractive to the people and attended by the inhabitants.

In a few time the social and cultural regeneration brought the district under the light of the town administration and of the private investors, which caused the separation of the spontaneous labs and the free use of the spaces, generating their gentrification. In both of these cases we register: 1) some post sovietic towns experienced with the ECoC nominations considering them mainly processes of modernization (where the connections to the European culture were not decisive that much). 2) Many of these ECoC programs often imitated the most common Western blockbusting events, as in Tarku, not really enough considering the local cultural ambitions, causing conflicts between the local and the foreign cultures. 3) Generally speaking, the conflicts are not, as in the Seventies/Eighties of the last century, political in essence; they are more *lifestyles contrasts*, because contemporary young people employ lifestyle, artistic and cultural expressions as alternative ways to represent their hidden political interests. This shows the cultural dimension, today, brings with it also other, sometimes conflictual issues and values. This is why culture cannot only be an economic engine, notwithstanding its decisive function in the European community making.



An event of 2011 Tallin (Estonia) European Capital of Culture festival.



Turku Landscape (Finland).

14. From the ‘Kunstgeographie’ to the Geography of Art

If a discipline exists which we can consider the ancestor of the Geography of the Cultural Heritage, this is the Geography of Art (Da Costa Kaufmann 2004).

This kind of geographers are devoted to study the artistic movements and feelings in their regional and geographic diffusion, through the powers of influence they exert, considering for instance the taste, the style, the market and so on.

The most recent trend of the Geography of Art employed the areas of diffusion of the artistic models and tastes to identify the range of their effective circulation, the features through which some regions follow the new styles or react to them.

The Geography of Art studies the way the centers with more vitality operate, the way they obtain their leadership and how peripheral districts filter their impact.

Some Geographers of Art like Boris Cresillon (Cresillon 2014, see chapter 17) devoted their attention to the role played by art in developing the creative skills of some urban centers or quarters, acting as tools of “creative development” or as languages more able to make evident hidden thoughts, conflicts, ambitions and hopes of the inhabitants of the degraded quarters or in need of regeneration.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries origin of this discipline is actually linked to a nationalistic view of the culture characterizing a territory.

The German *Kunstgeography* was born, in fact, in Hugo Hassinger’s (1916) studies inspired by the cartographic approach as well. He tried to identify the “original characters” of the national arts, considering them organic components, natural elements, ethnic characters of the different statual “bodies”.

To say the truth, this feeling had already emerged in the Sixteenth century Italy when Giorgio Vasari celebrated in his first history of art manual the Italian Renaissance masters. His Dutch colleague, the essayist Karel van Mander, writing on the artists of his time, reacted to Vasari’s theories with patriot pride by placing Bruegel the Elder as the champion of the purest Dutch and Northern art, in turn considering him the real heir of the ancient naturalism.

In both the cases the aesthetic canon wasn’t anything but the beginning building of the two national states: the Medicean Dukedom in Florence and the Seventeenth Dutch Provinces in the Low Countries.

The link between the national/regional character and the artistic production was cultivated again in the Nineteenth-century Germany, long before the Nazi changed it in an ambition of “ethnic purity”.

Wilhelm Lübke (1870) identified, for instance, the Northern artistic style with that

of Albrecht Dürer, inventing the expression “Dürerzeit” (the age of Dürer). Many analyses of this kind were influenced by Friedrich Ratzel’s theories, a German anthropologist and geographer. Ratzel was in fact the theorist of the *Raum* (space), i.e. the deep connection between the cultural and anthropological characters of the people and their proper territories, sometimes with a deterministic style of interpretation, using as a model the ethnologic idea all the animals naturally needed a *Lebensraum*, a needed space for their life.

The cultural, dynamic processes were based, according to this theory, on the relation among the places and the correlated ways to influence habits and ideas, or physical characters, following the model of the concentric spheres for spreading out them, a concept known as “diffusionism”, invented by Ratzel himself. The cultures, in other words, modified themselves through reciprocal spacial contacts, if not even through strong clashes.

A French follower of this school of thinking, Jean August Brutails, maintained that the artistic styles spread out by “irradiation” such as the heat.

An important German historian of art and theorist, Alois Riegl (Twentieth century), tried to precisize this topics using the idea of the “artistic will” (*Kunstwollen*), explaining that some national characters (for instance the tradition of the Dutch portrait) were voluntary expressions of recurring intimate characters which you could identify as deep structures, close to a real language (he told of a “historical grammar of the visual arts”) influencing the gaze.

In France, Henry Focillon spoke about the long-lasting “Life of the forms of art” connected to the different local traditions.

After the Second World War the interest in the characters of the national traditions of art (sometimes synthetized in Germany as “earth, blood and places”) decreased a lot besides the “substancialist” theories about the origin of the cultures (i.e. the idea that people had really some innate cultural characters, shared even by Claude Levi-Strauss who hegemonized the anthropological researches during the Seventies).

Cultures were studied and explained, in this new trend, by considering different interpretative paradigms, such as the role played by the center/periphery mechanisms, the attractive strenght of the metropolitan and leadership cultures, or following more complex and sophisticated explanations such as those considering the “resistence” played by the different cultures in their reciprocal exchanges, the importance represented by the filtering actions operating in the cultural, intercultural and (most of all) transcultural mediations.

These studies have raised again the geography of art as a discipline able to study and identify how the “cultural diversities” are active drivers, filtering the ongoing temptatives to set up a claimed homogeneous global culture.

This behaviour is clear in some problematic examples of the creative cities, where, in the contemporary age, the geography or art exerted the role that the modern

art may play in the renovation of the old Fordist industrial cities toward the new models of the creative industrial production.

The apparent international character of the contemporary culture and art, and the examples of artistic reaction and counteraction, like for instance the *Street Art*, reveals how, behind the illusory idea the cultures may be totally translatable, the diversity is still a strong factor of mediation and it is often linked to its original places.



A traditional Afghan carpet representing the 1989/1999 Sovietic/Afghan War events.

In Italy, the European country with the most cultural and artistic *diversity*, according to some historical, political and geographical reasons, the Geography of art deeply influenced the efforts activated during the Eighties by the Italian new-born Regions to study local cultural heritage and their main characters.

This effort was particularly carried on by Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna, Marche and Umbria Regions. These new political and administrative institutions tried, in fact, to identify the link existing among the socio-cultural local contexts and their cultural heritages through some interdisciplinary historical cultural researches. These cultures spread out along their territories and were studied applying to them anthropological analyses addressed to find and precisize a new function of the local museums, deeply linked to the local social histories (defining them as “territorial museums”).

This experience brought with it a new interest in the *center/periphery* artistic performances. In the first half of the Eighties of the past century, in fact, Carlo Ginzburg, an historian interested in local microhistory, and Enrico Castelnuevo, an historian of art, underlined the importance of the Geography of art, substituting actually the ethnic and “identitary” theories of the German *Kunstgeography* with the role played by the socio-economic factors and by the polarizing forces of the metropolitan centers influencing the peripheral ones.

Ginzburg’ and Castelnuevo’s analyses published in 1979 in the *History of the Italian Art* (now in Castelnuevo, Ginzburg 2019) marked a meaningful step of methodological change in the study of the reciprocal relations of the Italian artistic centres.

Built up on the history of the modern Italian centres of artistic production, with their characteristic polycentrism, this study emphasized in a more complex way the *Centre/Periphery* cultural exchange and conflicts.

They questioned in fact the traditional idea (influenced by Vasari’s theory that registered two main productive centres in Rome and Florence, linked to other secondary ones) the peripheral artistic production was necessarily the place of the delay, with a new interpretative model centered on the conflicts for the hegemony fought by the places, linked to the Sixteenth-century re-organization of the Italian local powers, its re-feudalization processes and the birth of some more influent and economically gifted towns.

In some cases, the antagonistic taste of determinated artistic districts (destinated in the time to become “peripheral” because of the development of the others) revealed they actually had really chosen different styles as a resistance action against the emerging artistic tastes rooting elsewhere.

Such phaenomenons (usually considered delayed styles) happened, for example, in Tuscany, at the beginning of the Fourteenth century, as a resistance against Giotto’s style, or in Piedmont, in the Sixteenth century, against the emerging interest in Raphael’s *Maniera*, continuing to follow Provencal, Lombard and Flemish models, more suitable to answer the devotional local needs.

Something like we register in some individual examples, such as that of the

Sixteenth-century artist Lorenzo Lotto, who escaped to Loreto after some work experiences in Venice, Treviso and Bergamo, where he lived till his death, in the Sixteenth century, in a deep isolation which allowed him to translate in a strong creative and visionary way, a pseudo-archaic style taking innovative, but solitary directions.

The anthropological and “cultural” studies, applied meanwhile to the history of taste and art enlarged this topic and led to discover how, even in contexts of cultural and economic egemony, the cultures tend to modify, in different ways, their contents and meanings (following processes of hybridation that have been underlined by the Cultural Studies approach), usually transmitted in the cultural mediations, mainly when the risk of colonization is strong.

Many times, finally, the mechanism is based on the power of the colonizing cultures, but sometimes things are more complicated and the colonized cultures may adopt conformistic ways to pretend following the imported thinkings and styles, actually re-coding them with different meanings. Other contexts, in turn, show again different patterns where the colonizing cultures are employing and exploiting the local style to introduce there their own ideas.

This mechanism, namely the ability of the cultures to filter and interpret their meanings (called *diffusionism* or *transculturality*) has been sometimes actually used in too ideological ways, that risk to replicate the old ethnic paradigm of the *Kunstgeographie*. The *acculturation* processes have to be considered, then, by taking into consideration the most specific factors operating in the local contexts and without too mechanical schemes.

The use of wood in the Northern architecture, for instance, can be explained with the availability of the forests in those places, but, sometimes, it can be a free and voluntary choice showing not mandatory intentions, but a will of underlining local identitary characters.

The way to adapt the religious Jesuit architecture to the local vernacular styles, activated from the Seventeenth till Eighteenth centuries in the Northern European countries, is often explained, for instance, rather as a way to manage political strategies of dialogue with the local powers and traditions than a mediation produced by the local architects and masons (Da Costa Kaufmann 2004). Things, actually, do not match always in this way.

Two cases exemplify, in the following 14.1 and 14.2 boxes, according with Da Costa Kaufmann’s (2004) thinking, the excessive use of the *transculturality/mestizaje* paradigm, namely the hybridation approach.

14.1. *The church of Saint Lawrence in Potosi, Bolivia*, was re-built, in the Eighteenth century, after its fall in the Sixteenth century, and it was considered for a long time an example of vernacular architecture, where a Western iconography (Saint Lawrence, Saint Vincent, the archangel Gabriel and the other angels) was considered imitating the local traditional style by using shapes and meanings linked to the local traditions. Da Costa Kaufmann (2004) showed actually that Gabriel's iconography had been placed by the Spanish imperial power in the most popular quarter of Potosi, that had become the cape-town of the silver exploitment in South America, to represent actually its sovereignty.

This symbolic architecture vehiculated finally traditional meanings using the local understandable language, not the vernacular one, previously considered a way to show intolerance for the Spanish authority, such as the theorists of the transculturality had before proposed to think. The hybridation was actually consciously used by the Spanish ruling classes to represent their power. It was an aggressive style that had to be easily understood, not a local reactive interpretation of that weapon-art.



Drawing of the Saint Lawrence church's facade in Potosi, Bolivia.

14.2. Another example, that of the so-called ‘e-fumi’ tradition in Japan, is meaningful. It deals with a collection of devotional pictures, on paper or metal, representing Christ, the holy cross or the Virgin Mary, produced and conserved in Japan starting from the Seventeenth century.

Schoolars tried to explain their meaning and use, and their real origin (i.e. whether they had been manufactured in Japan or imported from abroad). Instead of being Christian devotional devices, only recently they have shown their real function. They were produced in Japan, infact, imitating original Western pictures, to unmask the Christian worship, obliging local Christians to trample them. This means that their goal was the opposite of that was expected to be in the previous interpretation. As Da Costa Kaufmann (2004) writes, the inter/transcultural relation isn’t always a mediation or a filtering act, it can actually simply be a refusal (as Ginzburg-Castelnuovo’s work had underlined). This introduces limitations to always apply the diffusionistic paradim of explication and may generate misunderstandings about the function of such pictures.

Something even more complicated explications have to be considered when studying these pictures in the Christian/Protestant conflict. The Dutch traders in Japan, for instance, who were against the devotional use of the religious images, might have had a role in the introduction among the Japanese authorities of this investigative ruse, probably to fight against their Christian/Catholic competitors (so the topic is, may be, even more sophisticated, representing the possible economic and religious interference of other actors in the cultural change and mediation).



Print of the religious persecution through the “e-fumi” Christian pictures in Japan, Seventeenth century.



An "e-fumi" bas-relief image, Seventeenth century.

PART III

Culture for money

15. The Management of cultural heritage and its problems

The boom of the touristic market of art exhibitions, in the last thirty years, and a new vision of the public administration oriented to more efficiency, following the Anglo-Saxon model, recently produced the so-called *New Public Management of the Cultural Heritage*, which has among its purposes to improve the efficiency of the cultural offer.

Italy recently discovered, not without problems, this new style of administration, trying to metabolize it in a traditional set of rules very distant from the English ones. The difficulties of the recent reform of the public administration of the Cultural Heritage experienced in Italy, introduced by the minister Franceschini, show an exemplary case.

To make more modern the cultural policies, the management and the promotion of the cultural heritage is an important challenge which can produce an enlargement of the consumers of culture and art, that are, in Italy, very few, notwithstanding they are growing.

Some not only Italian experiences, in contexts not linked to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, show actually some problems already underlined which recommend caution when applying this kind of style to the not Anglo-Saxon administrative cultures.

A research of the G.I.O.C.A. Center at the University of Bologna (Zan and al. 2015), devoted to the experiences of the Management of Culture in some countries, underlines some criticalities.

We are talking about a way of administrating thought for the private firms, which doesn't function in the same way in the Public Administration.

The distance from the Anglo-Saxon juridical tradition based on the Common Laws, pushes often other Latin-born Public Management to get different results from those wanted, sometimes annihilating the possible advantages because of adopting exterior rituals, opportunistic behaviour only imitating the managerial style.

The distance of some Public Administrations from the managing style of the private firms, in some countries, translates finally the public management in a prevailing rhetorical and only apparent modernization.

In all of the following cases we find, besides the management rhetorics, a tendency of the Statal apparatuses to keep intact their traditional influence on the Heritage, still considered an important symbol of the national identity, notwithstanding they want to show a pretended interest to make it profitable, and to make its performance more efficient.

In other words, when a not Anglo-Saxon public power wants to make dynamic, autonomous and efficient the management of the cultural heritage, acting through the management approach, it often acts in a fictitious way, ending to annihilate what it has been previously promised to do.

Some cases are synthetized in the following 15.1/15.8 boxes.

15.1. The Malta National Agency

Founded in 2002 to develop the management policies of Malta cultural patrimony, it has an annual budget negotiated with the Ministry of Culture. To spend actually possible profits from its activities is a Minister's responsibility, the employees of the agency are public officers, the main part of the recent augmented income is linked to the increase of the price of the museums tickets, decided after its birth. The agency takes as its model the London British Museum, but it hasn't actually any management autonomy like it, and finally it didn't show meaningful consequences.



Pictures of the Malta Naval Museum.

15.2. The Machu Pichu site (Peru)

It is the huge and spectacular site of an ancient Inca city; in its neighborhood a touristic and thermal town grew up, called *Aguas Calientes*, with many hotels, which points to the maximization of the exploitation of the site (about 800.000 visitors per year). It became a Unesco site in 1993.

Unesco imposed the adoption of a planning procedure which actually made sensation when it predicted an eliport to get the site in 2005. When the Peruvian dictator Fujimori fell, a new plan eliminated that idea, but it hasn't reduced the influence of the touristic town in the neighborhoods, and the exploitation of the site.

A new plan predicts conservation programs and the development of (never made) researches about the ancient city, but it is not efficient in managing and reducing the visitors, still permitting the access of about 2500 visitors per day.



Machu-Pichu (Peru) archaeological remains.

15.3. The conservation of Istanbul historical town

In 2011 Turkey started to adopt Unesco plans to conserve parts of the ancient areas of the Istanbul Bosphorus, it had put them under a conservative constraint since 2009.

The plan was done following the SWOT analysis (a kind of methodology able to appreciate and confront issues, also called *Strength/Weakness Method*, because it considers the opportunities and threats of a situation) and predicted a calendar of meetings with operators and stakeholders, usually officers of the public administrations involved in the program.

It planned new museums without specifying their costs. The staff of the agency was about ten parttime employees, all the planned actions made reference to other never adopted plans.

The policies of conservation distinguished moreover among Christian, Jew and Muslim ancient churches, activating different procedures without any meaning from the management point of view and actually showing a very ideological and pretextous sight.

Paradoxically, the project of creating an agency devoted to the autonomous management of the local cultural heritage favoured, actually, a strong empowerment of the central national power in the matter.



Saint Sophia church and mosque, Istanbul.

15.4. The museum of the Leoyang horses (China)

In 2002, during the excavation for a new parking, 400 tombs were discovered at Leoyang, with 36 skeletons of horses, dogs, wagons of the Zhou imperial dynasty (about Twelfth-Third century b.C.).

Following the Chinese procedures, the archaeological excavation was made and the location of the parking moved elsewhere, soon creating a museum, opened in 2003.

The study of the case reveals the excavation, financed by the Chinese Ministry, was very fast and efficient, but, after it, the agency passed to other excavations, because only that part of the work is normally authorized and sustained.

The museum, moreover, notwithstanding is nice, seems only a repository of the remains, it doesn't make researches about them, advertising, and educational services. It seems rather a monument of the Chinese nationalist propaganda about its old imperial traditions, than a touristic cultural attraction and destination.



Leoyang Archaeological Museum (China).

15.5. The Faenza Museum of ceramics (Italy)

The Faenza Museum of ceramics was founded in 1908 as a private institution; then in 1976 it became a Municipal office. In 1996 it was changed in *Institution* of the Commune of Faenza (i.e. a cultural centre with a separated budget, within the municipal administrative and budget frame); from 2001 on, it is again a private foundation, which was created to improve its performance.

Without considering the first period, when it developed connections with the local ceramics factories, which have been reduced when it became a municipal museum, any real change, actually, interested the activities of the museum in the time.

The recent change to foundation, i.e. returning to an autonomous institution, reveals that, in about a century, things turned to the starting point and the most innovative and managerial choice to do was, probably, to do nothing.



A Faenza Ceramic example.

15.6. The grants for the performing arts in Italy

The grant for the performing arts (*Fus*, literally funds for sustaining the performing arts) was created in 1985 in the Italian Ministry of Culture, to sustain with annual grants music, movies, theatre and dance. It has been more and more reduced in the time.

It is managed by a special committee made of experts which evaluates the proposals following some parameters such as creativity, novelty, and experience. The score of the committee can consistently increase the amount of the grant by considering the new projects presented each year.

It isn't actually possible to really evaluate the projects, about hundreds per each commissioner, and they have to make choices only considering documents on paper. All this obviously limits committee's agency in arranging and possibly correcting a general proposal presented by the General Director of the Ministry, each year.

The committee is then composed by the representatives of the organizations and unions operating on this field, who tend to contract the amount of the grants mainly in a corporative style, without a transparent and adequate way.

The rule regulating by law the management of these grants is finally hardly disregarded and there isn't any reliable artistic or cultural report, and in any rate only an economic one, of the sustained spectacles, which makes impossible to provide an ex-post evaluation of their creativity, innovation and artistic content.



S. Cecilia Italian National Orchestra.

15.7. Pompei (Italy)

In 1997 the *Soprintendenza archeologica* of Pompei became an autonomous office in the Italian Ministry of the Culture with a specific budget, authorized to use the museum tickets income.

During the period 1997-2008 it has been managed in turn by many different directors, not always competent, even by an army officer, registering many problems of efficiency and legality.

The financial autonomy was actually only partial, in 2006, in fact, the 30% of the revenue started to be spent for sustaining the other local museums in the neighborhood because of many political rumors about the scarcity of the available funds for the other local not comparable archeological sites.

The employees were, moreover, all public workers and it wasn't possible to fire them even if they didn't go to work; many of them finally, and most of those making maintenance were linked in some way to local Mafia.

In 2008 this autonomy was revoked by Minister Rutelli for inefficiency. In the following time it has again authorized, creating a new autonomous agency under Minister Franceschini's larger reform of the Ministry.



Pompei archaeological area map.

15.8. The Sardinian (Italy) Mining Geoparck's Unesco recognition

This Park is made of many Sardinian mining sites placed in different provinces of this region, without territorial continuity, that was the reason formally caused, in 2019, the retirement of its registration in the Unesco Geoparks network, which had been temporally authorized in 2000.

These parks originated usually in the European regions to regenerate large mining sites which lost their profitability in the Eighties/Nineties of the last century, causing a great loss of jobs and deep social injuries in the cultural local identities. Many times the regeneration plans brought to re-employ these often wide areas as natural or touristic infrastructures devoted to leisure.

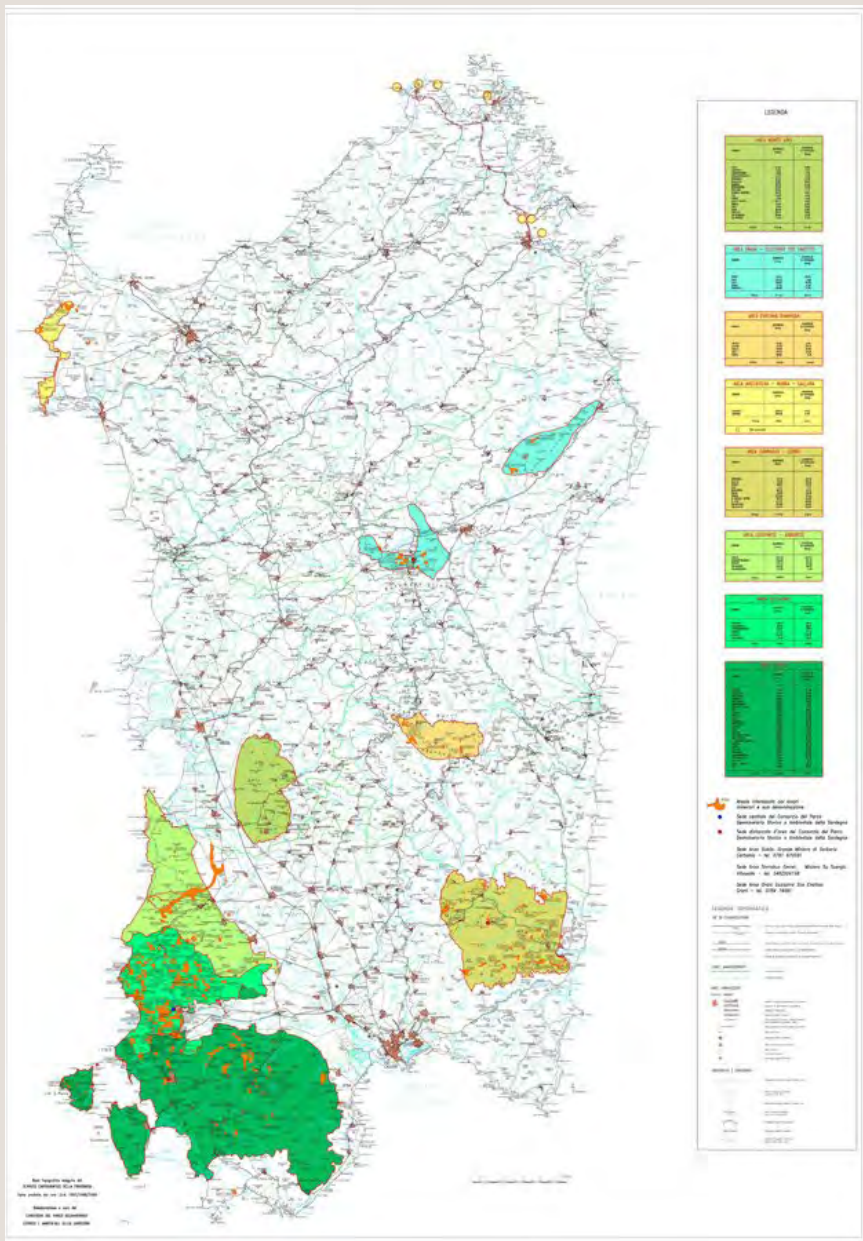
An important example was the Zollverein site project, in German Ruhr, that worked to avoid the risk, frequent in this kind of plans, to “kill through preservation” the local opportunities. Namely the risk to pay too much importance to conserve the old Cultural Heritage instead of re-thinking it in a new way, according to the new social needs.

The **Zollverein Geopark** was organized, in fact, through the involvement of the local people, becoming the opportunity to be a proactive collective lab to re-think the spaces, answering some effective shared sentiments.

The Sardinian case showed actually tracks of an opportunistic planning. The mining sites officers preferred to work to the touristic exploitation of the sites. They were placed often in internal areas, not easily to reach (which of course caused the consequence tourists stayed there only a few time), rather than building an integrated plan where the conservation of the local memory might make room also to other innovative opportunities.

The Geopark managers (usually volunteers) did not build a new and full immersion touristic product; they chose to exploit the Unesco recognition label as a marketing tool, a branding medium, to make interesting their sites. This was obviously not enough to make the park a developmental path, till the Unesco's retirement of the label.

This opportunistic way of thinking and working in the cultural planning, unfortunately, is a dangerous, frequent habit of many Italian public administrations.



Map of the Sardinian mining Geoparks.

16. The re-territorialization of the local development (*The culture-driven development*)

The new trend of the local development has again recently taken into consideration the idea of the district. This is the same concept Marshall used in the Twenties to identify the industrial districts, but it has been newly coded in the light of the contemporary historical age.

These are some of the principal characters of this style of thinking the local economic development.



Up: a Co-Working Lab. Below: the old Fiat factory in Turin called *Lingotto (Ingot)*, now restored as site for exhibitions, meetings, art and culture.

Marshall's traditional economic district

Marshall's industrial district offered this very kind of services to the factories: availability of workers (at lower cost), competence, economy of scale, and *Research and Development* opportunities (R&D).

The districtal vision of the economic, touristic and cultural development is based in the same systemic management of the competitive assets of a place, able to make it more attractive for the productive settlement and more efficient the territorial agglomeration.

The Cultural and Touristic district

The cultural district has been theorized in turn as a tentative to experiment with a more systemic style in the management of the cultural heritage, trying to build a *productive chain* around the local cultural goods.

The analysis of the cultural district was founded in the improvement of technical competences, services, interaction among scientific researches, restauration of monuments, publishing services, touristic appeal through synergies able to make more competitive a place.

All the mechanism was based in catching customers and in the cooperation of the public and private local institutions, and the universities to obtain, on one side, lower costs and, on the other one, to increase the contractual power of the customers, so much to exercise an influence in the statal strategies of the management of the heritage.

The characters of the Cultural and the Evolved Cultural District

The local touristic districts had the mission to diversify the local offer, to catch a larger public and to deseasonalize the market, by creating a fidelized customer trend. In these experiences, actually, the productive structure was still analogous to the industrial one (namely the *productive chain*), i.e. an attempt, often rough, to integrate production and touristic products in a "vertical" way, trying to obtain prevailing quantitative results and more income thanks to the economies of scale or other ways to optimize the costs. No particular attention was dedicated to the qualitative and cultural components of the sites, to the linked scientific researches, to the production of new knowledge, and to the risks, often underlined, to transform the districts in *thematic parks* which, exploiting culture, environment and monuments, and by following the ambitions of the district investors and the prevailing needs of the customers, risk to cause the exhaustion of the very cultural and environmental patrimonies.

The Cultural economy

While the economists of the culture, in the Eighties of the last century, tried to imitate the models of the economic way of reasoning, creating the so called "economy of culture" (namely to study the Cultural Heritage as a productive

topic), the “real” economy was transforming actually the mass production into a *cultural factory*.

We passed infact from the economy of culture to the “cultural economy”, which was going to substitute the traditional and Fordist one.

The new profitable economy, in the Nineties, in the so called postindustrial age (i.e. when the traditional products became obsolete and, with them, the way to think and produce them) became more and more *similar to the cultural enterprise*. Overcoming the need of the so called primary goods, in the second after war age, infact, we find a new interest in totally new kinds of products: those dialoguing with and producing in some way our personal identities. To buy goods, even those basic or food ones, means now representing and cultivating ourselves, our personal (more and more liquid) identity and ambition, to set up an imaginary world reproduced every time in a new shape.

The Culture driven development

This new form of territorial agglomeration nomore pointed out, then, to the vertical integration of the productive process of the cultural services; it was oriented to create actually a *horizontal integration* among local productive activities, culture and creativity, favouring the reciprocal hybridation, able to generate a local “creative atmosphere”, facilitating innovation and catching new and more advanced ways of development, called with a new expression “Culture Driven Development”.

The ‘costs of activation’ and the ‘capacitation’ issue

To synthetize, the “costs of activation” are the tools for reaching what the Indian economist Amartya Sen, Nobel prize for the economy, called the *capacitation*.

The level of the capacitation influences infact the ability of an individual or a community to emprove its condition. There are places and societies where the access to the capacitation is near zero, i.e. there aren’t, or are very poor, the opportunities to facilitate it. So, people are never able to emprove their lifestyle qualities and to be aware of their condition. and see a way to change.

The ‘lock-in’ factor

When a place or a nation is nomore able to develop the capacitation of its inhabitants, we find they are in a so-called *lock-in situation*, analogous to the traditional and well known lock-in situation of the economic local development (i.e. when the factory is nomore competitive and it isn’t able to find possible resilient strategies). This means the local ruling classes aren’t able, from a cognitive point of view, to change the situation, to modify it.

From GDP to HDI Index

So far we calculated the welth in relation to the GDP (*Gross Domestic Product*), then substituted by the HDI (*Index of the human development*); i.e. we calculate

now the expectation of life, education, the availability of the material resources and the shared standards of the human life.

To-day we are more considering, actually, in turn, the “quality of the life” and the level of capacitation of the societies.

Recently somebody introduced a very new Index, linked to the capability of a place to make happy the inhabitants, called the *Wellness* Index.

The role of mediation of a new culture

Analyses and studies show the cultivation of cultural interests meliorates the quality of the life; scholars noted actually the quality of the available cultural heritage doesn't mean automatically that the processes of capacitation take place. They need actually processes of production of culture, mediation, and understanding the already existing cultural heritages.

What is requested to make possible a culture-driven development is not the stock of the available Heritage, but the quality of its reinterpretation and the production of a new one.

The Indicators for evaluating a Developed Cultural District

Pier Luigi Sacco's school (at the Iulm University, Milan) arranged some indicators which allow us to interpret in the details the potentialities of a possible Evolved Cultural District:

- the quality of the cultural offer;
- the level of the local capacitation and training;
- the entrepreneurial level of the investors;
- the attraction appeal of the internal and external firms;
- the ability to manage social local conflicts;
- the level of the local talents;
- the participation of the local community to the district;
- the quality of the local governance;
- the quality of the production of knowledge;
- the ability in the internal and external networking;

The Creative atmosphere

Many European towns moved towards this direction in the last twenty years, trying to produce these “creative atmospheres” through the productive reconversion of urban quarters which have improved their appeal toward the creative factories. They are interested in modifying some of their models of production, moving toward new kinds of goods better able to catch the needs of the markets. These products are very similar to the cultural ones, called infact “auratic” goods, i.e. with the capability to represent and dialogue with the intimate “self” of the consumers.

As it has been authoritatively observed, in this new context the culture is nomore

at the end of the productive chain (when it is sustained thanks to the economic surplus of the productive traditional income), but at its beginning. I.e. the culture creates the conditions of a creative atmosphere tending to favour envisioning new shapes of products with higher *cognitive density* and more market appeal (Santagata 2011).

'Free riding' and co-production

The model of the culture-driven development isn't only a new type of development where culture and heritage are now central. It offers also the opportunity to a territory to avoid the so called "free riding" of the factories. In the free riding mood, very common in the Fordist age, the factories exploit the territory, modify its urbanistic characters, its environmental facilities and the local social capital, sometimes delocalizing their investments after the exploitation of the local common goods.

The Cultural economy and the Knowledge-based development need actually the local people remain alive and smart because they are producing smart goods, not standardized industrial products and behaviour.

New territorialization

All these observations are devoted to consider we are now changing our economic patterns and trying to catch a new productive style, characterized by a more dense cognitive appeal, which means a more localized and site-specific way to make profit and produce work. The new 'common good' is now considered the *creative atmosphere* and the *innovation sentiment* characterizing a place.

They represent the new economic *scarcity*, namely the new way to appreciate the (economic) value.

16.1. The creative cities. Linz, European city of culture

Linz, the third Austrian industrial town, with 180.000 inhabitants, placed along the Danube river, has been in the past an important industrial site, mainly in the field of metallurgy. In the Sixties/Seventies this field, as it is known, fell in crisis obliging the city to search new and more innovative productive activities.

From 1974 on a festival of electronic music was hosted in the city (*Ars electronica*). It began to experiment with new kinds of musical expressions. The success of the first edition (100.000 visitors) is the beginning of a research program which developed the idea of a stable site of the festival, the *Museum of the future*, able to host a research lab and the festival.

The museum was set up as a laboratory (*Futurlab*) and developed enquiries about new technologies, creating synergies with the most important international electronic corporations such as Microsoft and IBM.

In the following editions the festival created a common field of interest between artists and technicians, becoming biennial in 1987.

In 2009 Linz was selected as European Cultural Capital and dedicated the focus of this one year celebration to the creative industries. A hotspot (*Tobacco Factory*) was located in a dismissed factory of tobacco, then rebuilt, where the Austrian creative factories and their network (founded in 2014) were hosted. This site offered the opportunity to enlarge the interests and the applied arts cultivated in the festival. The adopted program, through a strategic plan, modified the old city of the iron into a city of the culture and innovation, also creating a new Gallery, a Musical Theatre and the like.

By restructuring and reconvertng the local buildings, the project, in any rate, conserved, mainly in the degraded areas of the town, an organic link with the traditional local activities producing a new plan called the “Creative Region”.

It is today managed as a private firm owned by the town municipality, with, in 2014, a balance of 644.000 euros.



Linz Future Lab.

16.2. The creative cities. Nantes and its “Quartier de la création”

With the consumption of the economic profitability of the Nantes Naval Shipyard, in 1987, a traumatic event for the city (the sixth French town, 290.000 inhabitants, a metropolitan area of about 600.000) a program of reconversion of the old productive area started in 2000, after a wide popular consultation.

It dealt with an isle at the heart of the river town, along the Loire river, investing about 120 mlns euros to modify the strategic functions of the town, transforming it in a metropolitan area by offering evolved services able to develop a new economic model with strong social connotations, creative challenges and environmental sustainability.

All the isle is today managed by SAMOA, a public institution founded to develop the West Atlantic Metropolitan Area, sited in Nantes, with a little staff, offices on the isle, spaces to rent for events and meetings, an administrative board of 35 members with strategic powers and a committee of the investor partners.

The institution manages the local real estate properties as well, the full project has as its objective to improve the strategic cooperation among culture, science and technology, ideally represented by the well-known Nineteenth-century futurologist writer Jules Verne (1828-1905), who was born in Nantes.



Nantes (France) “Quartier de la création” in the “Ile de la cité”.

The “Quartier de la création” is now 90.000 square meters, it is devoted to urban services; here the new Nantes *Palace of Justice*, drawn by Jean Nouvel, the *Maison des syndicats*, the *Ecole National d’Architecture*, the *Maison regionale d’Architecture*, l’*Ecole superieure des beaux arts*, the *Ecole du cinema* and the new site of the *University of Nantes* have been placed.

Here about 4.000 students, more than 1.000 employees and more than 100 researchers come every day to work.

The challenge is the urban development, to economically re-develop the area, improving scientific research, high schools teachings, the mediation among cultures, researches, by internationalization.

SAMOA proposes an annual agenda called “Les Ateliers” plenty of activities, workshops, meetings, start-up pitches, continually operating to favour the encounter of the managers of the factories with possible investors.

The most important fields of interest have been, in the 2012, the Visual Arts (18%), the works of art (15%), the Performing arts (12%), Architecture (12%) and Media Communications (9%).



Nantes imaginary machines inspired to Julius Verne’s novels operating in the Creative quarter in the leisure time.

16.3. Montreal (Canada) “Circ du Soleil”

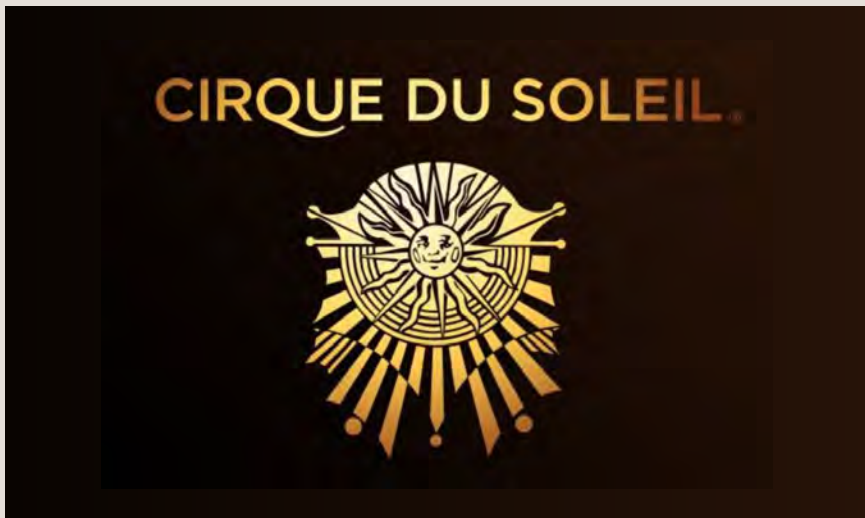
This case is one of the most interesting examples of “Good Practices” in the start-up of a creative global cultural factory, a case in which the big dimension did not disturb the artistic quality of the production.

Founded in 1984, the “Circ du Soleil” has become the most important multinational Canadian firm, not only considering the cultural economic world. 3.000 employees, 450 different kind of works, people coming from 40 different nations, over 7 mlns tickets sold per year (2005) and a budget of 500 mlns dollars in 2005, 45 mlns dollars of wages.

In the Nineties, the project considered, at its starting point, a deep collaboration with the urban quarter where the Circ was placed. It was a problematical quarter in Montreal, with 65% of immigrated residents and low wages.

The collaboration with the municipal offices produced a plan addressed to improve the quality of the life of the area, to create a school of “Circ arts” which also offered a residence availability (113 homes).

The investment was 75 mlns dollars (67 from the Public national and local Institutions). In 2004 300.000 spectators bought a ticket to see the Circ shows, and many international tours started.



The “Cirque du Soleil” logo.

The most important characters of this case are:

- the strong engagement with the local social policies of urban renovation and regeneration;
- the availability of work offered to not high scholarized workers, making profit of their different multinational traditions;
- the role played in this cultural district by a main player which has been able to invest on the “immaterial” heritage and skills of the local Human Capital.

All these *capacitation factors* are infact considered the most important drivers of a post-industrial development.

Unfortunately, the 2020-21 Covid 19 global emergence dramatically hit the firm, which is now in a very dangerous economic decline.



An original Cirque du soleil choreography.

16.4. Cork EU Capital of a ‘Conflictual’ Culture

In 2005 the city of Cork (Ireland) became European Capital of Culture.

The Municipality thought to renovate the local *Docks*, in the old, then dismissed economic center of the city. The project was funded by private companies and dealt with new modern museums, big malls, new residential luxury buildings.

To project “Cork Eu Capital of Culture Festival” many foreign international artists had been called, but these events were far from the local artistic traditions and many local artists and people claimed their content and character, like in Tallin experience (see box 13.2).

Local people contested the renovation of the Docks as well, because it tried to *gentrify* their quarters and it was addressed to make profitable the investments of the involved factories.

This example shows a very common trend in the Eu towns, searching new ways to develop their obsolete economies, but this case underlines how the Cork Eu Capital of Culture case provided the opportunity to energize the “right to the city” of their inhabitants and their will to be protagonist of its future and change.



An institutional Cork palace enlightened during the 2005 European Capital of Culture celebrations.

16.5. Creative suburbia: Brisbane and Melbourne (Australia)

A 2009-10 sociological research about the creative workers living in Brisbane and Melbourne (Australia) allows us to re-think Richard Florida's theories about the Creative Classes and their main interest for the concentrated *buzzy* urban quarters. The studies about the strategic role played by the urban agglomerations in the hoped processes of innovation and development of the economy of knowledge, those based on the neoliberal approach and those left-wing as David Harvey's thinking claiming the "right to the city" of the inhabitants, share, infact, this underevaluation of the neighborhoods of the towns as interesting places to live for the creatives.

An Australian research (Flew 2012) surveyed 133 workers in the performing arts, film, television and radio, advertising and marketing, software, writing and publishing, design and visual arts, to verify the reasons they preferred to live in the suburbs of Brisbane and Melbourne.

The elaboration of the interviews showed they had considered prevailing qualitative arguments to decide living there. The most were associated with environmental amenity, lower costs of living, less stress, more "headspace" to engage creative activities, and fewer pressures to conform to peer norms and expectations.

These suburban cultural trends suggest more investments on bike paths, outdoor libraries, community theatre and dance groups, than on luxury buildings, big museums and malls experienced in the recent city renovations to make them creative.

The survey contradicts moreover the current general opinion the creative work needs to live in the urban *buzz*, in high levels of agglomeration and accommodation. It is possible that this feeling is linked to the traditional Australian love to live in wide spaces, as in 1964 Donald Horne wrote in his book which referred to Australia as the "first suburban region" (Horne 1964). It is in any rate interesting to notice that the suburban pattern that Australia experienced in the last thirty years anticipated many *sprawl* performances of the Western contemporary environment, so it might be helpful to preview Western possible trends.

17. A critical geography of the Creative City

In the chapter 14 we treated the Geography of Art. There is actually another branch of this geography, mainly committed to the use of the art as a driver for improving the processes needed to facilitate the evolution of a place toward the economy of the knowledge, in the contemporary age.

It deals with the different local experiences addressed to renovate old-fashioned Fordist quarters and/or cities, making them “creative places”, by increasing the presence of artists and of the *creative classes* able to accelerate the hybridation factors considered tools for moving toward new and more evolved forms of economy.

This topic has been the new trend in the creativity-led development, but it has been sometimes questioned because of some misunderstandings it often caused. The problem at stake, in this matter, has been the role played by the artists in the “creative cities”. The towns has been chosen, in fact, as the ideal place for using the artistic production for enhancing the creativity of the local people and of the local industrial factories, producing in this way a so-called “creative atmosphere”. The big towns have been considered, in fact, the ideal places for this goal because these processes are possible only where a lot of people and the artists can meet each others. The creative evolution of the local economies has in fact to be a collective experience.

The role played by the “creative classes” has been underlined starting from the 2000s by the sociologist Richard Florida (Florida 2004), who theorized that this kind of characters were able to help the places to move toward the *economy of the knowledge*. This theory immediatly influenced many local projects of urban renovation with the superficial trust they would be enough for reaching those goals.

Florida’s theory was confident on the capability of the creative cities to deeply and quickly modify the social urban contexts, by creating, through the urban renovation, “creative clusters” and labs, places able to attract these very mobile characters, interested in friendly relations, nightlife attractions, museums, attending the creative centers, based on the “three T” factors theory (*Tolerance, Talent and Technology*).

This idea was soon questioned by many scholars. Michael Storper (2004) demonstrated that the “creative classes” were not interested that much in the *three T* factors, but, as all the other professional workers, they were more attracted by work and wages opportunities. Other sociologists underlined how they could not

be considered a “class”. Other studies clarified again how we can take profit of the “creative processes” only following some more sophisticated patterns.

Attracting new creative classes through urban renovation meant, many times, only to make building speculation, obliging the original inhabitants of the quarters to move away causing the so-called *gentrification* of the same quarters (namely reserving them only to those would be able to pay the high rents of the apartments).

All these gaps frequently make difficult, if not impossible, to create a real encounter between the people and the artistic production.

Many scientific works underlined how the *creatives* drove away the real *creators*, where the *creators* would arguably be the protagonists of the creative process, the most able to produce “site-specific” creative projects that had to put in relation the local traditions (the Social Capital) with new, creative kind of products or industrial processes.

The *creative* mechanism is, in fact, different from the *creator* one. The first may be provocative and emotional, the second must be linked to the factors of production, reproduction and trade.

Boris Cresillon (2014), a French geographer, tried to summarize some of these different factors operating in the *creative city* and in that of the *creation*.

The *creative cities* are often, in fact, places artificially produced by the political powers, with high life costs. On the contrary, those engaged in the creation are often places where the cost of the life is lower and often there are conflicts with the political power. The *creative cities* are usually fashionable places, when the *towns of creation* may not be as such (mind to Berlin before it became a *cool* city). The gap of the new geography of art is that it is influenced by the neoliberal school, the most shared way of thinking during the first great urban creative renovations, that considers the creative production like the traditional industrial one, finally evaluating the works of art as they were industrial products, notwithstanding their claimed particular character, when the creative process are based on emotional, shared mechanisms you cannot produce without the social cooperation.

An important case to remember here is that of the Irish town of Cork, when it became Eu Capital of Culture in 2005. The projected cultural and artistic events have been the way for making the Cork Docks the site of a big urban renovation, funded by private companies, aiming at re-starting the economic drivers of the town through great museums, malls, and new buildings, that would have been the strategic tool for moving to the economy of knowledge; a questioned project as we have already seen (see box 16.4.).

It has been the analysis of the problematic results of some of these experiences that fostered the interest in taking into consideration also the *small places as*

cases to study (see about this issue the Krafy Methodology box 19.2.). In these cases the *sociability building* has become the most important tool to generate new ways of development (in the end, underlining the importance of another form of Social Capital, this time actually artificially enhanced through planned policies). This approach is now considered preliminary to the creative, possible processes, because it tries to sustain the shift from passive cultural audience to active cultural practices of the local people.

The new trend is finally based on the *policies of capacitation* of the local places, moving from the mega-projects to micro experiments addressed to trigger mutual feelings and responsible local communities, considering these factors a premise to any kind of sustainable and effective growth.

One of these cases is the poetry festival **The importance of being small**, a part of a general project called **Sassiscritti** (*written stones*) organized in the Italian Tuscan-Emilian Appenines, managed by an association committed to geographically rediscover and culturally marginalized spaces. The festival is a poetic mapping of the Appenines area, made of dramas, writing and creative workshops, presentations of books, small exhibitions and performances, enhancing the possible cultural and artistic production of these mountain lands.

18. ‘Places that don’t matter’

The new interest in the small internal places is not caused by an arcadic feeling. It represents a central knot of the political and economic disbalances the economic-political neoliberal politics produced by claiming the “need to be big” to conserve the economic competitiveness.

This idea is rooted in an impossible narration, because if we allow the ongoing emigration trends toward the megalopolises, the system, already in crisis, will fall down. We stay, actually, in front of a deep change of the features and social composition of the conflicts. They no more happen among different classes and/or censuses, but among territories and towns more or less injured by the economic crisis and loss of jobs.



2017 Paris rebellion of the “Gilet jaunes” (yellow waistcoats, referring to the professional drivers involved in that political antagonist movement).

The conflict is now centered between the new global cities and those places called – to use the Hispanic-English geographer Andrés Rodríguez-Pose’s words – “places that don’t matter” (Rodríguez-Pose 2017).

We see in fact these two poles share interests and political tendencies (as last US Presidential elections showed). The urban “classes” (both the working classes and the will-offs) act and vote against those obliged to live out of center places.

To emigrate from these towns would be any way impossible as well because the urban available wages would not be enough to survive there.

We see, in the end, besides radical and aggressive protests like those of the French *gilets jaunes*, contemporary counter-efforts to build new projects of life in the peripheral and cheap areas, addressed to create new social communities, to work and live in “another way”, a post-arcadic lifestyle with some utopic characters, that, in the same time, cultivate pragmatism and post-political sentiments.

These forms of rural recolonization look actually more to the future than the past, notwithstanding they are really similar to the medieval features of the community building behaviours, that made origin to the first Western medieval Italian and French cities.

Many of these projects are of course fragile, they are actually a solid sign of spreading out “counterstories” devoted to rediscover traditional disappearing jobs, to cultivate alternative agricultural products. Their problem is they lack a more sophisticated story-telling. They did not generate a sufficient level of theoretical elaboration to represent their aims and innovative features, as actually happened in the Seventies of the last century Italy as regards the “new economic districts” like those of the NEC (North-Eastern and Center Italy) Model, described by the works of the economists Giorgio Fuà and Giacomo Becattini (Becattini 2015) become well known in the European economic studies. They theorized in fact the importance of a deep integration between the cultural local traditions and work-skills with the local development efficiency and competitive capability.

These skills had been called “consciences of the places” by Becattini, stressing their humanistic meaning to underline the strenghtness of an original, site-specific mix of Social Capital and economic competitiveness which also meant, then, cultural identity and wish to climb the social staircase.

They did not talk, that time, of *creative economy*. They insisted actually in the need to find a synthesis between the local culture and a competitive *diversity*.

This comes back, today, to be a strategic pivot in the plans of the creative development that actually tend to be all the same, and for this very reason not effective.

Many projects of development of the Italian internal areas, for instance (Italy is one of the most polycentric European countries), have been mainly rooted in the idea of the Cultural Heritage intended as a *Territorial Capital* and as an instrument to enhance the touristic appeal of the places.

Rather than employing it, however, as a tool to regenerate the local communities, addressed to the selfdevelopment, they put the most importance on the “things” (not even considering the new tourism is a postmaterialistic feeling). They ended to confuse the tools with the purposes, losing the view of the strategic social dimension, the *Relational Capital*, which might have been the real competitive fuel of this kind of development.

In the end, we can find (may be) in some way funds to restore old buildings or monuments, but the places and the people of the peripheral areas are still out of the political thinking, they are declining because people go away and/or they don't have public services.

To continue to have the Primary schools or the Postal office, they need to project a possible, temporary, not sure EU-sustained program to renovate in the time. We find sometimes also plans to improve the digital connectivity of these places, to reduce the *digital divide*; it is actually fully absent a vision able to understand, or better, to interpret and re-code the places beginning from their *Diversity*.

We need probably new social workers, "locality operators" able to make the communities newly alive (we find some of them more among the poets and the writers than among the social thinkers and politicians).

Where do are those Nineteenth-century masters, librarians, pharmacists, 'country doctors', museum keepers who made possible the Italian postunitary local civic life?



The Italian economist Giacomo Becattini (1927-2017), professor in the University of Florence.

19. The creative city's gaps

The need to organize the best conditions of a new kind of development based on the innovation and able to regenerate the economic districts probably pushed to play the card of the “creative” places to meet goals in a faster way.

Florida's theories certainly contributed a lot to activate such procedures that, however, continued to be imagined in a short-sighted way, often confusing Culture and Technology, envisioning the “creative atmosphere” as a condition you might always artificially build through adequate infrastructures, making sure the attraction of the ready-made *creatives* from outside.

This is why many of these experiments, often made with huge investments, have been flops.

Let's get it quite claire: to be able to attract *creatives* is a good indicator for the local development; it is not always considered a positive factor, however, in some local contexts, where we find sometimes negative consequences we have already seen in detail.



Bilbao Museum of Art and installation.

Many towns, moreover, pointed out to these recipes to re-take a lost competitiveness, but you cannot get goals without a wide, holistic approach to the culture and the specific situations.

Without that attention and feeling, these policies end only to be territorial branding and marketing strategies by creating everywhere the same infrastructural equipments, the creative labs, the *buzz* atmosphere, the vibrant nightlife.

This way we can only create “Wannabee” cities, mimicing the successful cases as happened in some ECoC experiences.

The amount of critical analyses developed in the recent years on the creative city has been synthetized in Vanolo’s works (Vanolo 2017), who tried to identify the contradictions and gaps of the creative development along last twenty years. Sometimes the problem has been, as seen, the real *collaboration of the inhabitants*, who are not always available to change the urban landscape of their town, or about the *gentrification* processes may happen when big investments are made in the blocks of a town, or even the possible *serendipity* effects may be produced when you try to change a social and urban landscape to catch new “creative” inhabitants. It may happen do not reach the main goal, but other, different ones. Many times, the hope to mix old with new inhabitants means only the loss of the previous residents without increasing new ones who show themselves more interested in different, close and maybe cheaper quarters or the amenities of the suburbs (see the Australian case in the box 16.5).

Sometimes the investments in the real estate to build creative quarters are only an opportunistic way to make more profitable some residential areas (as in the Cork case, box 16.4).

To speak about this topic, there are actually other theoretical and scientific points of view to underline.

The first one is about the *creative character*. To build creative towns or quarters means to follow the new models of the life of the so-called “creative classes” and this has become the main challenge of many Western and Eastern towns, and the base of the so-called *Urban Branding*.

This style of thinking is an answer to the deep transformation of the functions that the contemporary city experienced during the last thirty years, in the postfordist age of the global economy.

The Fordist town was based on some elementary characters: the strong city/countryside divide, the urban welfare services, the productive and residential quarters thought for a society made of stable families and jobs.

With the crisis of the productive model based on the standardized products and processes (namely the *assembly chain*), in the Seventies, new interest was given to the role of the technological innovation and to the flexibility of the urban communities.

With the recent enhancement of the *economy of the knowledge* and the *creative*

production/consumption, linked to a deep change of the market and its products became evident, that the social relations (those survived to the Innovation Technology time) solved in a liquid anthropological pattern of monadic individuals very well represented by the “creative class” described by the sociologist Richard Florida.

The new creative worker is now characterized, infact, by some needs and ambitions (in turn becoming the target of the new urban projects). He is a very mobile character, always searching a *creative atmosphere*.

This is why the creative city considers the following issues as the main points of its appeal (the so called *Vib* atmosphere):

- the *buzz*, i.e. spaces where people can meet and chat;
- variety and difference, i.e. cosmopolitanism, multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism, tolerance and love for difference;
- local artistic production (usually modern art);
- lively nightlife, with many fancy and trendy restaurants, cafès, clubs able to attract young people;
- public spaces, cultural landscapes and quality environments;
- landmark high-profile buildings, often designed by archistars;
- high-quality schools, universities, campuses and research institutes;
- sophisticated landscapes of consumption, such as luxury boutiques, malls etc.;
- mega events, such as music or movie festivals, exhibitions of art and so on (the so-called *blackbusting* events).

For this very reason many towns are rethinking their old landscapes making (or trying to make) strong investments in these creative but still not well-known new economic agglomerations.

Investors, smart tourists and the creative (sometimes temporary) inhabitants have become the target of the new urban *branding*.

Branding is something very different than the “territorial marketing” which was practiced in the Nineties for advertising the quality of the towns or the places. This kind of marketing started to become influent thanks to books as *Selling places* (1998), or *Marketing places* (1993), which showed the new entrepreneurial trend of the new neoliberal urbanism.

Branding the city is considered, infact, to be able to create a general, new idea about a town (sometimes a town with a recent decreasing Fordist history), not only through a general advertising campaign but changing the very everyday life of the inhabitants and their intimate feelings.

This means, for instance, building a new general sentiment of the citizens, maybe producing the sense of belonging and proudness, usually interpreted as a glue for the new urban processes and changes.

This topic explains the importance of the collaboration of the local people when a medium-size city begins a process of deep transformation of its economic sustainability and the development toward the creative economy. This means the branding processes have to be shared by the inhabitants and must not to be *top-down* decisions, because a great deal of the process stays in the popular behaviour and in the quality of their response to the physical and behavioural changes of the urban landscape, their lifestyle.

The scientific literature about this topic usually employs two examples for explaining this change.

The first one is a theoretical and sociological consideration about the change of the traditional production of goods.

By now the consumers are interconnected among themselves through the social media and, at the same time, with the producers. This changes, as already seen, the way to produce goods, because they are no more thought by the producers who, then, try to catch their customers. The continuous flow of information among the consumers and the producers created a new character of the play called *presumer*, who is at the same time a *customer* and a *producer*, as he offers to the producers, through his/her mediatic behaviour, all the useful infos for putting in production and selling the different kinds of the goods he is interested in.

The second example is pragmatic and is about our everyday life. For instance, in the case we usually enjoy our free time in places such as *Starbucks Caf  *, we expect to find there other customers like us who sit down there to read a book or to see their emails. Also in this case the customer is a part of the sold product. All these topics show why the great processes of the urban *rebranding* have to be based not only on the real estate, the great architectural landmarks and modern monuments, but are deeply linked to the behaviour and the sentiment of the people. And this is why the movies, the best-seller novels, the big cultural events of art and music have become the most important tools of the *new urban branding*.

These heavy investments of the new global cities, great architectures projected by the global archistars, the international events, the cultural centres, the creative quarters and the fashionable buildings are then a way to grant appeal and improve the visibility of a town in the global area, to make possible to enter into the club of the "Global Cities". But this is often a novel.

Notwithstanding the billionaire investments that these projects need, a general cultural and political (finally even economical) critical analysis of these projects is lacking and many times these plans are taken more for imitative reasons than for critical awareness (the Cultural Studies speak of *mimicry*, the typical way the post-colonial cultures follow to imitate the dominant ones in a hybrid style).

The first problem we find is the ideological and political foundation of these superficially shared trends.

The ideology of the contemporary Capitalism, the Neoliberalism, following

David Harvey's critical thinking, is based, infact, on the very idea, usually taken for granted, of the efficacy of the "entrepreneurial city". This means that the urban policies aiming at aequilibrating the development of the different territories and places in the world, or almost in the most advanced countries, experienced in the last fourty years, must be substituted by the idea the global cities have to compete one another in the economic struggle. So they don't take anymore into consideration their satelleyte regions or their national economic landscapes, and their main function as places for living and dwelling (what about the cities that would not be able to compete? The problem goes back to the political power and budget, which, in turn, is more and more weakened by the global and overnational concentration of the financial power).

This is why the global and creative cities (like the not creative ones finally) are thought to compete for emproving their appeal to catch investors and tourists because of the need to have the tallest skyscrapers, the great museums/malls, the global architectural landmarks. This mechanism makes all the towns equal, finally annihilating the very competition, in a opportunistic struggle.

Rather than inventing their ways to develop (as in the 'Hertogenbosch experience, box 22.1.) in a site-specific style, actually acting as *mimicry* agents, the new medium-size towns, then, begin to re-think their appeal, many times in a acritical way, to try to be registered and considered in the club of the "Global Cities" while the biggest ones are, in turn, changing again the prerequisites to stay there, for conserving their leadership and following to manage the main economic fluxes.

The global cities, infact, created, as we know, a new global economic and financial network which by-passes the national boundaries activating direct economic fluxes, that Saskia Sassen (2001), a theorist of the global town, compared to the Twelfth-Sixteenth-century *Hanseatic network* (a network of indipendent state-cities, belonging to different nationalities, linked by a commercial treaty called *Hansa*, that managed their relations as they were a single body).

It is also interesting to show that these new utopic places that spectacularize the urban experience are surveyed through numerical indexes confusing the quality, the subjective evaluation and the quantitative dimension, finally blurring the culture into the technology (Vanolo 2017).

To begin with, they are classified as *creative*, or *smart* or *sustainable* cities following indicators that take finally into consideration mainly numerable issues.

In the end, all these requirements the new global towns are obliged to own for being considered trendy, are based on mainly technological equipments. This happens without considering the role of the *genius loci*, the sentiment of the people, the local traditions, the level of existing social linkages, the economic, technological, social and relational capitals, all of which must be embedded one another: in the end, culture.

This is the point. The quantitative substitutes the qualitative as technological

equipment, like the town would work as a machine, changing the town only in a productive settlement. Exactly what the neoliberal economic strategies try to produce, notwithstanding they speak about creativity and economy of knowledge (where knowledge is the equivalent of technology). Here culture is considered a set of totally translatable concepts instead of some, many times, opaque and not easily translatable ideas and lifestyles (when the goal would be to improve the difference).

This fragile identity, founded only on the neoliberal narrations, is often well identifiable in the towns of the old Sovietic block, which show in a clearer way their strategies. They had become more and more interested in a deep restyling and rebranding their urban quarters, re-using the old Soviet landmarks, frequently linked to power, fear, surveillance and punishment, changing them to devices of the new liberal age.

These buildings are to the post-communist countries what the museums/malls have become for the Western people. Both of them are tools of the neoliberal age and, at the same time, ghosts of the previous way of life and culture. They work finally re-coding the Memory, the Heritage, and translating them into a new language.

The global cities are classified in different ways with different ranking indicators: we can mention the *Quality of the life* indicator, the *City brand's index*, the *Global cities index*, the *Guardian Cities barometer* for mentioning only a few.

The evaluation and ranking of the different global cities confirm that *we are experiencing with a process of "naturalization" and "technicization" of the ways to analyze our future, even when we speak about culture and creativity.*

19.1. The cool lifestyle of the creative class in the Simpsons cartoon

(24th season, episode 7).

A didactic representation of the behaviour of the creative people, the new target inhabitants of the creative cities as Florida described them, is this episode of *The Simpsons series*, *The day the earth stood cool* (2012).

Homer Simpson meets Terrance, a donut chef from Portland (already well known as a cool and creative town), who is looking for a new location for him and his family, because Portland is now “played out”, i.e. it has been “the coolest town of the Us” and, because of that, now a place to leave for a search of a more *authentic* town to live. They follow Homer’s advice to buy the house next to Homer’s one, a cheap and decaying building, in Springfield, that Terence’s family soon renovates in a trendy, creative and original way.

Terence’s family shows all the stereotypical Florida’s characters of the creative classes. The kids are polite, all the family is progressive and friendly, anti-conventional, interested in healthy food, nostalgic memorabilia, pop-culture of



A frame from the Seventh episode, 24th Season of the *Simpsons* (2012), dedicated to the “Creative Classes” habits.

other countries, they watch sophisticated movies and read high-culture books. They have an armadillo as a family pet and unconventional names.

During Terence's stay many other creatives move to Springfield causing a deep change of the city landscape. Many decaying shops are transformed in *cool* ones selling organic food, record vinyl stores; art galleries and sophisticated bookstores now appear in downtown. All the new inhabitants go around by bicycles and play a lifestyle the Simpsons don't share and understand.

The changing landscape makes the old residents strangers in their town. In the meanwhile Terence's family realizes again that Springfield has become in turn, in a few time, among the *coolest* cities in the Us, as Portland did before, so they decide to move again looking for a more *authentic* place to live.

19.2. The ranking methods to classify the creative town

- **City Brands Index** (realised in 2005 for the first time by Simon Anholt, the guru of the *place branding*) measures perceptions of the cities among the stakeholders in the field of business, culture and tourism; usually the polling is more than 5.000 people, every two years.

The questions are about:

Presence, i.e. City's international status (science, governance and culture);

Place, i.e. the pleasantness of climate, environment, attractiveness of buildings and parks;

Pre-requisites, i.e. standard of public amenities, schools, hospitals, transportation, sports, etc.;

People, i.e. character of the inhabitants: their tolerance, warm and welcoming, friendly behaviour;

Pulse, interesting things to find during free time;

Potential, economic and educational opportunities, such as how easy it might be to find a job.

- **Global cities index** (started from 2008 by *Foreign Policy* magazine which evaluates about 125 cities through 5/27 metric indexes).

In 2015 the five highest scored were New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Hong Kong. It considers:

Business activity;

Human capital;

Information exchange, i.e. accessibility to internet media;

Cultural experiences;

Political engagement.

- **The Guardian Cities Brand Barometer**, made for the first time by *The Guardian* journal in 2015, ranks 72 European towns with more than 450.000 inhabitants, considering:

Attractions;

Climate;

Infrastructures;

Safety and economic prosperity;

The buzz;

Mentionability in the media.

As you can see, the indexes are the tools to be considered among the global, creative towns, but, at the same time, they are the indexes of the already existing creative and global towns. Finally, the way to follow for becoming a creative and global city is you must already be one of them (Vanolo 2017).

- **The Kraft Methodology.** A methodology particularly devoted to develop the local small regional and urban areas has been created in the Kőszeg (Hungary) **Institut for the Advanced Studies**. It is called *Kraft Methodology - The Creative city - Sustainable Region Methodology*.

It is addressed to identify and consider some quali- and quantitative indicators to know to modify the possible critical situations by finding solutions and strategies. It works to discovery some local cultural values, trying to emprove the sense of belonging of the local citizens and the involvement of all the possible stakeholders. The topics taken into consideration are: Working, Housing, Learning and Training capabilites, Communication, Consumption, Leisure and recreational opportunities, the community belonging, which are calculated as hard and soft wheigts. The general strategy has been called “The onion model”, because it aims at working on the different social layers as they would be the onion’s layers, trying to identify and put in value the uniqueness of the places, the local cooperation and networking of the inhabitants, all considered as strenghtness factors.

20. Three uncorrect cultural approaches to the Culture-Creative led development

The scientific literature about the *culture-driven development* crosses the topics of the Creative city. Recently (Sacco, Ferilli, Tavano Blessi 2014) the economist Pier Luigi Sacco (Iulm University, Milan) tried to synthetize the main criticalities of the three different main approaches to this issue: those by the sociologist Richard Florida, by the economists Michael Porter and Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Prize).

Florida: the instrumentalism

The most common features which are supposed to be attractive for these people are usually identified as the “three T”: *Tolerance*, *Talent* and *Technology* that have to be enhanced, if they aren’t already available in those places, to make them interesting to move in.

The creative classes are usually very mobile, but they perform quickly their abilities (following the pattern called *plug and play*) when the conditions are favourable.

The idea they may be classified as a class has been actually questioned because of the great differences you can find in this kind of supposed sociological group. Moreover, if you project the urban development only from the creative point of view, you risk to build a classist city, with a heavy sociological divide, that is a bad idea. The main argument against Florida’s theory is by the way, according to Sacco, the *instrumental character* of his idea of the culture.



The Sociologist Richard Florida.

Florida's thinking is that investments in culture are able to attract creative people who, in turn, favour processes of innovation.

Florida's idea is actually only about the capability of the culture to be a tool for making attractive a place, not as a way to produce itself cultural interaction in the urban *milieu* between old and new ways of production.

This is finally an instrumental interpretation of the culture which is not able to consider its very deep function.

Porter: the ingeneerization of the culture

The second theory is by Michael Porter, professor at the Harvard University, who thinks that the concentration of the creative people in a place/district/region/city makes more competitive that agglomeration and offers to it competitive advantages. This reasoning is actually a re-edition of the old idea of the Marshall's Industrial district, considering now the role played by the culture and the knowledge in the so-called *knowledge economy*.

How culture and knowledge match the interaction and the development of new kinds of seeing and thinking is not considered that much. It is mainly interpreted following the example of the *technological or scientific parks*, without considering the danger that an excessive top-down style of management may cause a divide between the local inhabitants and the new creative residents.

This approach favours finally an ingeneerization of the effects played by the culture. A case to take into consideration is, for instance, that of Abu Dabi big cultural district, born without any involvement of the inhabitants. In this kind of experiences the interest in the interaction between the local and traditional culture and the innovation processes is lacking.



The economist Michael Porter.

Amartya Sen: the risk of parochialism

The third approach to consider in this synthesis is finally that by Amartya Sen, Indian/American economist who is the author of the theory of *capacitation*.

This model is based on the idea that it is necessary, most of all, to create the *capabilities* of the local people. This may be possible not only through financial investments, but by making them able to understand their problems and weaknesses, and to try then to solve them.

This style of thinking is more *botton-up* than the other two and less concentrated on the market. It actually does not pay enough attention to the economic sustainability of the cultural production and to the quality of its content.

In a way, it makes the same mistake of Florida's approach, but on the opposite side. In this theory, infact, there is more interest in the social cohesion, but also the risk to be too self-indulgent about the level of the local cultural production, which has to be competitive in the global scale to compel the local people to enhance their ability, reaching a high-profile cognitive intensity of their productions, sustaining and managing the way to pay the "costs of activation".

If we do not consider this challenge we run the risk of parochialism and find the opposite problems of the other two approaches of the culture-driven development: namely to not catch the hoped purposes. The local problems cannot be an *alibi*, notwithstanding they haven't to go unnoticed. In the end, the solution the critical literature is addressing to is trying a pluri-causality approach, and a multilevel cultural fertilization of the local contexts, by acting on both sides (the creative people and the inhabitants, the traditional cultures and the global one) crisscrossing the different approaches according to the local geographical and social situations, which Sacco calls *wide cultural system approach*.



The Nobel Prize for the Economy Amartya Sen.

21. Some possible new paths

It is possible we considered too much the role played by Creativity in the efforts of urban regeneration, or better by considering it something easily somewhere transferable.

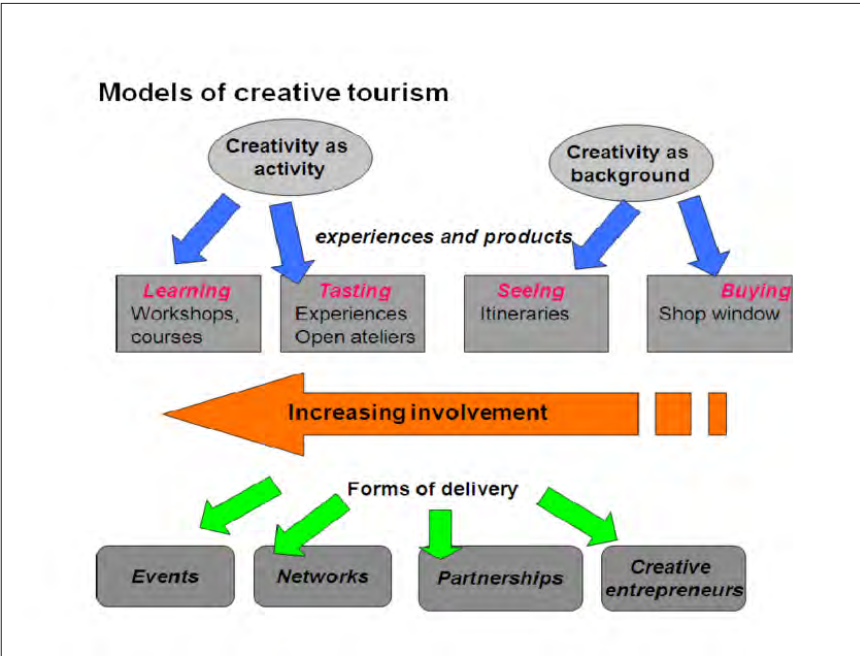
Taking into consideration Richards and Wilson's thinking, in the conclusions of their book on the creative culture and tourism (Richards, Wilson 2007), we can synthesize three different models to organize this important driver: the *hardware-based approach*, the *infrastructural* and the *software-based* one. Namely considering most of all: 1) the role played by the mediators (Florida's creatives as triggering mechanisms); 2) the infrastructures (creative labs and so on); 3) the systemic re-organization of the stock of available Cultural and Social Capital, which seems to them the most useful one.

Following this style of thinking they emphasize the importance to pay attention to the way the creative-culture-based plans may be activated, instead of pointing too much to the infrastructures or the appeal of the places for the creative classes, which might be a useless short-cut road.

They consider actually an innovative strategy that aims at shaping the appeal of the places through their stylelife. This approach begins from the awareness the creatives are important, but they may become, as seen, disturb factors in a *lock-in* context. They may be better trigger drivers as *temporary inhabitants*. They might even exert resistance, in fact, if you stress them to take definitively root in the towns, as the local management wants, to legitimate their investments in the long term.

The ambition of the local management to firmly radicate in the towns the creativity cannot find room, moreover, only in the traditional and historical heritage, taking for granted ancient classifications and rankings, as often happens in Italy because of its important historical heritage.

As Walter Santagata, one of the most important scholars of the "creative atmosphere" underlines, in Richards-Wilson's book (2007), considering too much the "zoning" mainly considering the historical towns or those with a high stock of Cultural Heritage, to identify possible creative development clusters, runs the risk to see only the past skills and not other ones which might come from new inhabitants, new ideas or new not clearly ranked opportunities, creating again a *lock-in* dependance.



Sacco underlines, on his side, the communities which experienced or are living local social conflicts are more able than other to face to them. Their possible plans are usually more successful to move toward the innovative creative drivers.

The road Richards suggests is, in turn, a sort of synthesis between the creative development and the cultural tourism, called “creative tourism”. It is an effort to favour a local and social autoanalysis, that obliges the inhabitants to make questions about the deep quality of their heritage and culture, to identify its real *diversity* and character, the available way to make it understandable in other languages and to other cultures.

The issue at stake is to find, finally, to-day, our own diversity and to translate it into the contemporary world without losing its complexity, its *cognitive density*.

22. The creative tourism

During the Nineties of the last century, as an answer to the crisis of the Fordist economy, many traditional productive districts began to change, many Western towns with obsolete economies experienced with large plans of urban re-generation by building some “creative quarters” (we saw some of them) usually adapting old manufacturing buildings to *creative labs*, trying to improve innovation.

Fashion, tourism, design, music and art began agents of innovation, interpreted as fertilizing tools to move toward the so-called *economy of knowledge*.

The goal was to attract the “creative classes” (Florida 2004), improving the appeal of the towns competing through mega-buildings projected by the archistars, creating “vib” atmospheres, plenty of leisure, nightlife, urban festivals, big exhibitions, a phenomenon called “blockbusting culture”.

This interest in the *Relational Capital* lighted up a new idea of travelling putting at the core the new concept of the “temporary inhabitant”, namely a creative temporary citizen, a very mobile character, moving from a city to another, searching that *vib atmosphere*, able to favour his performances and interests.

For this very reason the new creative towns competed each others in making room for the “Three T” innovations drivers (Florida again).

The economy of the knowledge showed, moreover, that the new economic goods were linked to “narrations”. *Story-telling* began to be the main way to sell products and all the big companies shared the same marketing style: they transformed themselves into contents of stories, emotional devices.

The sold products now provided only a part of their economic value, the remaining value had to be put by the customers. So the new customers of the economy of the knowledge became *presumers*, namely *half-producers* and *half-customers*, *presumers*. A part of the work had to be done by the buyer himself, who intimately involed himself in the matter following his myths and identity.

We can say we have already by-passed the “Information society” (based on technology), entering a new one: the “dream-society” (Jensen 2001), where people follow mainly their multilevel, liquid (Bauman 2000) individual identities, searching every time to take a different one in their wardrobe-selves. Every life, better, every time of a life, might dress a different mask triggered by the ongoing bought product.

This feeling also deeply modified the contemporary idea of the cultural tourism, making it a “creative tourism”, now still in course of evolution and understanding (Richards, Wilson 2007).



An example of a temporary “full immersion” experience in the kraft creative tourism.

Cultural tourism grew up a lot in the last twenty years reaching the 40% of the full touristic global expenditure.

It is in fact a more sustainable tourism, and it is appreciated by the local administrations and citizens because of its contribution to the costs of the local museums, theatres, monuments and cultural heritage.

The cultural tourism has many different features, all rooted in the different individual interests of the travellers:

- Religious tourism
- Cooking tourism
- Linguistic tourism
- Wellness tourism
- Spiritual tourism
- Volunteering tourism
- Educational tourism.

Besides these features (that, as you see, are segmented and linked to the personal interests as well) we find now a new one, the *creative tourism*, a feature also able to influence the way to differently perform the others.

By crowding the blackbusting events, creative travellers began in fact to put their main attention to the social encounter.

Places had become emotional devices linked to novels: the place where something terrifically interesting happened, the *must seen* exhibition, the place that hosted a crime, a disaster, a fire making is well known and symbolic, like the New York

Twin Towers collapse, or the fire of Notre Dame in Paris; even a dangerous earthquake, paradoxically, can fit as an opportunity to feel involved in.

People begin to be interested in full-immersive experiences, made of spiritual meditation in a monastery, living there like a monk for a time, volunteering in an African community, to be for a week another character. Sometimes this means to choose actually to live a quiet life in a French countryside cottage, like one of the local inhabitants; not all the creative tourists want to experience with the extreme. Some big touristic towns like Paris, Rome and Barcelona have already created a network to share and improve the quality of this kind of offer (see *creativetourismnetwork.org*), providing different opportunities to spend there a time. This kind of tourism is also modifying the general traditional performance of the cultural tourism, and of its consumption, causing changes in their offer and management. Museums are infact more and more offering full immersion visits, digital settings, emotional paths, educational trainings to conserve their appeal for the creative visitors.

Sometimes the new way to make a place a nice and fashioned touristic destination has become the so-called “place-making” (like in ‘Hertogenbosch case described in the 22.1 box). *Place-making* means to create an event, transforming it in a social full-immersion, in a opportunity to meet people and experience with the *habitus* of the place, its *genius loci*.

This new tourism also shows a deep change in the mechanisms of the cultural *production/consumption*. In the previous cultural season, sited in the Fordist and first post-Fordist economy, there were ready made cultural products to buy and consume: to visit a museum, an exhibition, to have a funny sightseeing of a town. Now the visitor usually produces a new culture, an interpretation of the traditional cultural heritage; he/she is creating a new cultural heritage, filtered through his/her anthropological feeling: he/she is nomore a consumer, he/she is a *presumer*. By building upon the Social Capital, the new attention is for the Relational Capital, the new engine of the Social Network global community.

The cultural-creative tourism tries to bring the positive function of the “creatives” (in Florida’s thinking) toward a more stable local developmental action.

It deals with the research of a diversity conceived in a more social and shared way, which is able to favour a wide process of *capacitation* (Sen) with not only touristic consequences.

Besides the *local experience* that the creative tourism organizes for the visitors, a complex elaboration of the local culture operates, which obliges to make deepenings, to make choices to transform the local stay into a dialogue with the intimate ambitions, the cognitive wishes of the creative tourist. This competence is, in fact, deeply linked to the *experience economy* now managing every kind of handcraft or industrial production.

To experiment with the creative tourism, then, whether the protagonist is the consumer or the producer, favours the understanding of these central mechanisms of the cultural experience.

Richards (Richards, Wilson 2007) is aware this kind of innovation makes a deep shift in the current idea of *Authenticity*, by transforming it in what it is in depth our cognitive psychology, namely a kind of *story-telling* and theatricalization of ourselves.

This un-masking is however useful to put away the myth of “purity” of the cultures and the *substancialist* idea of culture and authenticity. They are, in fact, the most dangerous misunderstandings we make when we identify regions and cultural districts mainly considering them according to their historical traditions. In this way we lock up the always mobile processes of modification of the identity. It is time to adopt a *constructivist* approach to authenticity, where it is more the *interpretative path*, than the *cultural content*, to be important; namely the capability to look at the *diversity* with our eyes, forcing ourselves to understand different worlds.

22.1. The ‘Hertogenbosch experience

A very interesting case performed by a small Dutch town is that of ‘Hertogenbosch, with a high level of serendipity: the project infact was successful in a not expected dimension.

This example is good to show that the key factors for a successful cultural-creative development, mainly in a small town, are: 1) the involvement of the local people; 2) the capability to adapt in a creative way the planned innovations to the specific situations and the evolving time, avoiding to plan expensive investments mainly in the real estate, like the renovation of the Cultural Districts.

This means, as Greg Richards wrote treating the ‘Hertogebosch case (Richards, Duif



A wall projection of Hieronymus Bosch's characteristic images during the 2016 "Bosch Experience" in 'Hertogenbosch (Low Countries).

2019) *borrowing size*, i.e. to find a multilevel network of cooperation among the inhabitants and with the local powers (from the national to the Regional/Provincial ones).

‘Hertogenbosch case shows infact: flexibility, trust, sense of belonging of the local community, networking capacity, vision, perseverance (the project needed about ten years to reach its goals, passing through many problems), leadership.

‘Hertogenbosch is a Brabant town, known because it was the birth town of the Fifteenth-Sixteenth-century visionary painter Jeronimus Bosch, the place where he lived in for all his life, that actually doesn’t own any of his paintings.

In 2007 the Municipality started to work to “Bosch500”, a celebration project of the fifth centenary of Bosch’s death (2016), trying to organize an international exhibition. They began creating a foundation that funded many studies and restoration of paintings (so acting in the long time), sited in the most important museums.

The Municipality was the main agent of the project, which actually was funded by many other public administrations, planning it from the time the political party who won the votations in the Low Countries (to which ‘Hertogenbosch maire belonged). The starting fund was about 8 mlns euros (becoming in the time - 2010-2016 about 27 mlns euros), but the general income of the exhibition was finally twenty times more the investments (about 150 mlns euros and 1 mln and 400,000 visitors).

The main interest of this event was actually its capacity to run through many problems and incidents.

Firstly some scientific studies and restorations of Bosch’s works revealed some uncorrect attributions that involved a well-known Prado painting, which soon decided, as a revenge, to go out the group of the loaning institutions. Then the crush of an ancient house near Bosch’s home, in ‘Hertogenbosch downtown, was a disaster because it made impossible to use it as an attraction, being it the only remaining thing belonged to the painter still existing in the town.

During the project the financial Eurozone crisis produced qa lot of political rumor about the correctness to spend a lot of money for sustaining this exhibition, compelling the local authorities to deeply modify the character of the event, making it a more popular cultural program, attractive also for the inhabitants and possible visitors with not high education.

The exhibition provided then, finally, the opportunity to become a popular program of events like the *Bosch Parade* (a promenade along the local river with many monstres and visionary characters coming from Bosch’s paintings) that had a lot of success. The painter’s visionary world offered the way to be the source for the decoration of the local parks, to make a movie, the choreography of a ballet, and other contemporary art exhibitions. This way allowed the event to become a full immersive project, able to involve many volunteers, kids, schools, and elderly people, finally to trigger the *place-making*.

About 1.400 volunteers have been employed finally in the touristic and cultural

services during the opening of the exhibition, so that the only critical statement we can make about this event is it has been possibly underestimated, and it could may be considered another starting point to other important events able to make 'Hertogenbosch a symbolic site of the "tourism of experience" trend, consolidating the city as a cultural destination.

What in the end is important to underline in this city experiment is showing a small town can "borrow its size" in a networked program, working in a creative and original way to make use of its own assets, producing an enhancement of its shared and perceived "Social Capital", that is now a brick to build up new possible creative and developmental experiences.



Jeronimus Bosch, *The garden of the delices*, Madrid, Prado

22.2. Eurotex. A kraft touristic creative experience

This experience originated many years ago, in 1997, in an EU Interreg project (*Eurotex. Joining Forces: collaborative processes for sustainable and competitive tourism*) managed by four partners (City and University of Tilburg, Netherlands; City of Rethymnon, Greece; Alto Minho Region, Portugal; Lappish Crafts and Arts Association, Finland), with the University of Tilburg as the leader partner. The key idea was to build a model of *experience tourism* in the textile traditional handcrafted traditions of the partners, which had been historically important. The project permitted to create a network which incremented the ‘off season’ tourism and developed the interest in places sited far from the traditional well known routes.

As the regards the project management, the case reveals it is very important to let working the partners their way, on the tracks of their different styles of thinking and working. From the anthropological point of view, it made the partners aware, besides the improvement of the touristic market, every culture and traditional handcraft was a complex issue, it was a specific declination of *diversity*. To organize creative tourism and cultural back-stage requires, in the end, the same opportunities the creative labs try to put in action, with the advantage to introduce new sights and skills among already known local materials and processes.

Conclusions

The heritage studies. Culture: from function to fiction

In this manual I tried to reduce as possible to show my personal opinions about the topic at stake by making actually a synthesis of the arguments shared by the most authoritative schoolars.

My own theoretical ideas has been limited to the box about the history of the modern idea of the scientific “experience” (see box 1.1.), very close to the birth of the geographical writing. That history confirms how the cultural paradigms are not only at the origin of the modern state nations, but they influenced the very structure of the social thinking to which the science belongs.

I preferred finally to hide my thinking behind, say, the choise of the treated arguments to offer a more shared picture of the topics. I preferred, moreover, to make a mix of the theoretical and practical themes about the political, economic and social use and abuse (an use that is always an abuse) of the Cultural Heritage. What finally has not been considered is, maybe, the complexity of producing culture, a topic too difficult to synthetize here, which, of course, deserved a specific treatment. It is worth, actually, almost to mention this topic which stays on the bottom of all the chapters: the role historically played by the Culture and the Cultural Heritage in influencing our lives.

These topics are usually implicit in the plans made by the economists or politicians involved in the so called “culture-driven development”. It is actually difficult to find economists who are really aware of the complex mechanisms of the culture and, in turn, many humanist shoolars are not so easily interested in exploiting them as leverages for the local economic development.

This is why we register sometimes some misunderstandings like those underlined by P.L. Sacco (see here chapter 20) when considering Florida’ and Porter’s thinking, which often confuse culture with Information or technological innovation.

I shall try to sum up here the modern relations and conflicts among Culture, Politics and Economy, to have almost an idea of the ghosts operating in the backstage.

In the Eighties of the last century the French historian Pierre Nora (Nora 1984) proposed a new distinction between History and Memory. The history was the product of the scientific historical writing made on the documents filtered through critical tools. The Memory was actually the use of the history and tradition along time, many times producing new meanings, recoding them for political or cultural purposes.

This idea risked actually to put the critical history on one side and the Memory on that of the fake news, the novels influenced by the popular folklore and the political power.

This risk to make a too trivial divide was avoided thanks to the French historian Michel de Certeau who stated actually every historical reconstruction is a contemporary interpretation. The historical writing is in fact an “operation” (i.e. a manipulation) which happens in a place, the academic world, and in a time, the present, which compels to elaborate the past in the same way Freud had described the “elaboration of the mourning” (Certeau was an authoritative member of the Paris Ecole Freudienne led by Jacques Lacan). In the end, every historical writing was a recoding of the Memory.

The great interest in the contemporary manipulation of the Memory had provided in the meantime the birth of the *Heritage studies*, devoted for about thirty years to study the various interpretations of the past, their narration, and their exploitation in the museums and exhibitions.

This interest restricted too much, actually, the range of the Heritage studies to the contemporary recoding of the Heritage and the Memory, putting a part its value for the older ages.

David C. Harvey (an homonymous of the Economic Geographer we often quoted) claimed this manipulation has actually been always made, even in the ancient past, quoting the Sixteenth-century invention of some English traditional celebrations or the new meaning linked to some national monuments, like the Irish *Newgrange* stone which was considered in the Sixteenth century a product of a primitive people before becoming, in the modern nationalist time, a document of the very Irish identity.

The new interest in the Memory as a tool for history and tradition favoured the researches addressed to clarify the technical ways of transmission of the knowledge, the role of the printing press age, the ancient technics of memorization and the oral culture.

We discovered, this way, the role played by the emotion, pictures, imagined architectural places, *stanzas* and gardens (the so called “memory palaces” or gardens) in the mnemotechnic art.

The mechanisms revealed all the Western ancient civilization had rooted their knowing in the *story-telling*, like the myth novels, which vehiculated and shaped habits, behaviours, good manners and the very personal characters.

When an ancient had to make a decision, he choosed a literary-mithological *exemplum* from the stock stored in the memory. He did not search to be original, he had only but choosing the right example to imitate.

As seen, when the Western civilization decided to exploit the classical culture as a *paideia*, i.e. a stock of educational training infos, the cultural journey through the Italian relics was invented to exploit the emotions felt along the path. When

the national traditions were invented by the state nations, they newly applied to the story telling. A similar itinerary is now again followed by the European Union in its effort to create an European Cultural Identity now centered on the towns instead of the national states.

Along this path Culture as story-telling was deeply rooted in the life of the people, in the training itineraries and in the political thinking. Culture provided a sense of belonging, favoured the birth of local or national communities, notwithstanding the story telling was an invention. Culture had a function, and the emotion was only a tool to energize the mechanism. On the other side, culture was still not an economic device.

This is why during the first crisis of the Fordist industrial paradigm, in the Seventies of the last century, the local Social Capitals, the local skills, sometimes coming from a long standing cultural tradition, had been able to help some regions to improve their competitive appeal, acting as developmental and resilient tools, favouring the needed flexibility asked by the new Western Capitalism which was going to modify its behaviour, then only at its beginning.

In about thirty years, actually, the Culture deeply changed and modified its social role. The economic production, now rooted in the communication world, become more and more close to the cultural production by adopting the story-telling as its main paradigm.

The economic geographer David Harvey in his *The condition of Post-modernity. An enquiry into the origins of Cultural Change* (1989), underlined the postmodernism, may be the most known contemporary literary and artistic mouvement, was the mirror of the new financial and global capitalistic feature. Postmodernism favoured in fact the separation of the significant from the meaning, i.e. it cut the links between the Culture and the places or communities it was coming from. In the end, Harvey stated, the postmodern cultural products were moving to become commodities. That way they might be sold everywhere, to move globally, without any roots and contexts, like the first economic commodities which began to be traded in the Sixteenth-century post colonial world.

Art and literature moved toward the significant, sometimes deleting any meaning, loosing on the place only the emotions, which become the purpose, nomore the medium, to produce culture.

The literature offered root to the role played by the reader who took the place of the author as the enterpreter of the novels, the big postmodernist archistar buildings were built in the middle of alien quarters without taking any consideration of their contexts.

Some signs of this change had been caught sinse the Eighties. The French sociologist Jean Baudrillard claimed this process toward the “society of the simulacra”, shaped by the media, built on images without meaning, made only of the emotions they brought with them: a path to nowhere.

The emotion, which for centuries had been the glou of the cultural communication and tradition, had become only the purpose of the culture, which was loosing its function to represent something (personal or social identity, human values or conflicts, hopes and conflicts).

Christian Salmon (Salmon 2008, Salmon 2014), a sociologist who addressed a couple of books to the contemporary story-telling invading our politics, marketing and culture, questioned it as the main reason of the general emptiness of contents in the contemporary culture and life. The great narrations of the past. Salmon states, told myths and offered lessons of wisdom. The contemporary story telling attaches, actually, artificial novels on the reality, draws behaviours, influences the emotions according to the political or market needs.

The story telling actually had always been the way to share and pass feelings and informations. The problem is actually the new cultural messages are no more speaking reference-like language, they dialogue with the precognitive devices of our bodies, as we would only be animals. Culture (and also the market and the politics) is passing infact to the new condition of the *bio-power* which controls no more our behaviours, nomore our needs, but our emotions, fears, hopes.

This is why the art has to mean anything but emotions, and the industrial production has nomore to provide artificial needs, as it did in the consumist age, it limits itself to offer products deeply dialoguing with our intimate selves.

In this new season characterized by searching cultural and creative innovation as a development leverage, it is actually difficult to find someone reasonating about the real question to make: what culture and creativity can we put in action when they both are going to be emptied inside?

The new internationalized and global culture, which David Harvey identifies with the postmodernist and neocapitalistic sustainers, is the product of a global aristocracy, more and more lowering its cultural diversity, more and more bringing everywhere the same contents. Will they be able to produce the searched innovation?

We have problems to find again surviving “local cultures” able to represent human meanings, as when a worker used to wear a certain hat representing his social status and values (to wear a hat meant then *to be* a worker and to show her/his values and cultural paradigms, which doesn’t mean, of course, that it was an obliged behaviour). Even when we are speaking about the hybridation of the cultures, of the crossborders openness, as in the celebrated and funded blockbusting events for the European Capitals of Culture festivals, we need to work with local cultures with their meanings, not only to manage emptied entertainment.

After about twenty years devoted to study the culture/creative development, Pier Luigi Sacco, the Italian economist who dedicated the most authoritative essays about this topic, finally suggested to adopt a *wide-system cultural approach*, the only one, he states, able to work.

To catch the culture-driven development and the knowledge-based economy you have to favour a general cultural capacitation process involving the most of the local inhabitants, which means, eventually, to go back to the old questioned and criticized old humanistic model, where the cultural training has not to envision since its beginning a professionalizing profile, as we have been told with a hitting refrain in the last Thirty years.

The main problem is, as David Harvey underlined, the cultural production moves toward the commodities. This move is not, actually, for accident, it is a steady mood of the neoliberal idea of culture, which aims at producing culture with no conflicts and no places.

I am old enough to remember, in the Seventies of the last century, the public reaction to the idea the culture precisely mirrored a social status, proposed by the French marxist sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who reconstructed the cultural consumptions as representations of the social statuses or as efforts to reach better ones (the “love of the art” – *L’amour de l’art* (1966), the title of a well known book by him – of the lower classes showed how much it was planned to conserve them in their social condition). On the other side, the traditional school manuals represented the Western philosophers as a gallery of geniuses and strange characters, considering a sort of eversive attack any effort to enterpret their thinking as a product of a social and cultural milieus.

The first modern cultural industry, that of the movies, the first modern cultural factory created to make money, had already tried to celebrate this “no-meaning feature” developed in the following years, by paradoxically representing itself as an “Ars Gratia Artis” production, as it was printed in the filacteres around the roaring lyon of the Metro-Goldwin-Maier firm.

In the end, to make the culture a tool for the local development, we arguably need culture, not commodities or entertainment.

We can, may be, change, as Harvey says, culture in commodities. When we made that, actually, we cannot go back.

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Index

Introduction	3
PART I - HOW TO MAKE THE STATE NATION THROUGH THE CULTURAL HERITAGE	5
1. A Geography of Knowledge	6
1.2. The experience journey 11. 1.3. The Knowledge Economy and the Local 13	
2. Territory/Territorium	15
3. The ‘Container’ State	16
4. Arrighi’s cycles of accumulation	17
4.1. The case of Florence Renaissance. <i>Heritage and financial accumulation (Heritage and Territoriality)</i> 19	
5. The Heritage and the Nation	20
5.1. The Western invention of the classical tradition 26. 5.2. The Rome of the popes 29. 5.3. The invention of the Scottish kilt 33	
6. The Nation and the Novel	35
6.1. The Cultural Capital and the birth of the State 39	
7. Landscape and Homeland	41
7.1. An example: the invention of the Alps 43	
8. The “all’italiana” garden and that of Epicurus	45
9. The ‘Bild Reise’	48
9.1. The first Italian Touring Club guides 50	
PART II - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS SOCIAL CAPITAL	52
10. Cultural Heritage and Social Capital	53
11. The new scales of the Local/Global	59
12. The globalization of the Cultural Heritage	62
13. The European Capitals of Culture experience	67
13.1. The Good Practices 71. 13.2. The post-Sovietic Capitals of Culture 72	
14. From the ‘Kunstgeographie’ to the Geography of Art	74
PART III - CULTURE FOR MONEY	82
15. The Management of cultural heritage and its problems	83
15.1. The Malta National Agency 85. 15.2. The Machu Pichu site (Peru) 86.	
15.3. The conservation of Istanbul historical town 87. 15.4. The museum of the Leoyang horses (China) 88. 15.5. The Faenza Museum of ceramics (Italy) 89.	
15.6. The grants for the performing arts in Italy 90. 15.7. Pompei (Italy) 91.	
15.8. The Sardinian (Italy) Mining Geoparc’s Unesco recognition 92	

16. The re-territorialization of the local development. (<i>The culture-driven development</i>)	94
16.1. The creative cities. Linz, European city of culture 99. 16.2. The creative cities. Nantes and its “Quartier de la création” 100. 16.3. Montreal (Canada) “Circ du Soleil” 102. 16.4. Cork EU Capital of a ‘Conflictual’ Culture 104. 16.5. Creative suburbia: Brisbane and Melbourne (Australia) 105	
17. A critical geography of the Creative City	106
18. ‘Places that don’t matter’	109
19. The creative city’s gaps	112
19.1. The cool lifestyle of the creative class in the Simpsons cartoon (<i>24th season, episode 7</i>). 118. 19.2. The ranking methods to classify the creative town 120	
20. Three uncorrect cultural approaches to the Culture-Creative led development	122
21. Some possible new paths	125
22. The creative tourism	127
22.1. The ‘Hertogenbosch experience 131. 22.2. Eurotex. A kraft touristic creative experience 134	
Conclusions. The heritage studies. Culture: from function to fiction	135
Bibliographic references	140

When I was young both the liberal and the marxist politicians and economists said that, to invest in culture, you had to make money before. Culture was at the end of the value chain; if you had got a welfare condition, then you could think to Art and Culture.

Things changed actually a lot in the while. Culture-driven development, Creative classes and cities, Knowledge-based economies have become to-day new slogans and fashionable recepies, master keys for the local economic development. They seem a kind of revenge of the Culture on the Industrial production, now obliged to fully overturn the old style of thinking because of the need to make innovation and manufacturing cool products in the place of mass goods.

This manual shows how long Culture and Cultural Heritage have been exploited in the economic and political world, in the building of the modern state nations, then to face to the first Western crisis of the Fordist paradigm in the Seventies of the last century, till to try inventing the new European Union cultural identity.

The twenty-two chapters of this book also offer a shrewd path through many banal and simplifing, sometimes too bright pictured approaches to the culture-led development and its satellite notions, clarifying the bad and good sides of this theory, to make able the reader, and possibly the planner, to find his/her original and site-specific way in the always mobile and different on going territorial contexts.

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