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edited by Tomasz Domański

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PREFACE

Tomasz Domański*

The idea of this special issue of “International Studies. Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Studies Journal” devoted to innovations in the sustainable development of cities and regions took shape during my meetings at Roma Tre University in Rome. It was also the effect of in-depth international discussions on development models for European cities and regions. An interdisciplinary perspective on the process from the viewpoint of experiences of various countries and a range of disciplines of science has always provided a source of inspiration. Challenges connected with urban development call for an innovative approach to possible solutions to city planning and social, economic, or cultural problems.

This issue presents the experiences of a team of Italian researchers from Roma Tre University, who specialise in spatial planning, urban development policy, architecture, city planning, regional economics, and urban governance. Side by side we offer the Polish perspective presented in papers by Polish researchers from the Department of International Marketing and Retailing at the University of Lodz, who pioneer studies in territorial marketing, the promotion of cities and regions, and building recognisable brands at the national and international level in Poland.

The encounter of the two teams has produced an original view on the role of innovation in the development of cities and regions. Seeking a model of sustainable development for cities opens up a huge space for interdisciplinary projects developed by

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teams originating from different universities and different fields of science, who collaborate with urban and regional authorities. The comparison of Polish and Italian experiences in this area seems to be very inspiring.

Italian experience

Looking at the Italian experience, it is worth highlighting after Anna Laura Palazzo that in many urban centres we are witnessing a shift from the “Factory City” to the “Knowledge City” model. In this new model the key role should be played by universities and the cultural heritage of cities. Systemic thinking of a city and its regeneration – in close symbiosis with culture and education – started already in the early 1990s. At that time, many cities had to cope with post-industrial areas in their centres or immediate suburbs. In Rome, the problem concerned, *inter alia*, old post-industrial areas that were allocated to a public university, Roma Tre. Besides taking care of post-industrial areas, this ambitious urban project was designed to improve the quality of space and environment (“Progetto urbano Ostiense-Marconi”). It is also an excellent example of private and public partnership, indispensable for such projects, and a paragon of complementary thinking about the city development model in relation to its historic tissue and cultural heritage concentrated in the centre of Rome.

The case of Rome – the key Italian metropolis – is particularly valid for researchers from Roma Tre University. It excellently reflects changes taking place in the outskirts of the largest metropolies. Biancamaria Rizzo analyses the development of green infrastructure between Rome and Tivoli with the example of the Aniene River. It is part of European policies focused on developing green infrastructure in cities and in their outskirts. Tivoli is a good example of a consistent protection of a historic legacy that includes mineral water springs, the beautiful gardens of Villa Adriana and Villa d’Este listed by UNESCO on the list of World Heritage Sites. It is a perfect symbiosis of nature, historic heritage, and multifunctional agriculture. Due to their historic and environmental merits, as well as traditional crops, many Italian regions can be European models of building a sustainable development model. They excellently combine the merits of individual places and the harmonious use of their original resources. For Rome, the region of the Aniene River

provides a natural counterbalance to the scarcity of open space in the city.

Keti Lelo explores the development of creative industries in the strip of land stretching between Rome and the coast. Over the last 30 years metropolitan areas of the largest cities in the world and Europe witnessed intensive development of the creative sector. The processes relate to the development of a knowledge-based economy and seeking a higher quality of life. The development of such a hybrid and multifunctional suburban space is also observed in Rome. This new, important component of growth should be considered when planning local economic, cultural and urban planning policies. The creative sector covers a wide range of small and medium-sized enterprises operating in new media, fashion and design industries, institutions of culture or independent professionals. It is also an increasingly more important source of jobs with a tendency to focus on selected suburban areas. The strip between Rome and the coast offers favourable conditions for the introduction of residential, service and leisure functions. These conditions are available to non-profit organisations and commercial firms from the creative sector (film, photography, publishing, recording studios, fashion, architecture, design, video games, marketing agencies, IT firms, etc.). All of these entities, which operate in the fields of knowledge, in a broad sense, intellectual property and creativity, already represent almost 10% of all businesses in the Rome metropolitan area. Small and medium-sized enterprises dealing with design, IT software and the production of video games have been brought together in a cluster of new media and IT technology.

Federica Benelli and Stefano Magaudda perceive the city from the perspective of local and city planning. They discuss a range of regeneration programmes that have been implemented in the Italian region of Lazio over the period 2011–2016 using funds available under the cohesion policy. Their background in architecture and city planning allows the authors to critically consider opportunities and limitations of these programmes. Pilot programmes of urban regeneration, which link the renovation of architecture with an attempt to solve concrete social problems (unemployment, poverty, neglect, lack of specific services – “Contratti di quartiere” – Neighbourhood Contracts), are crucial in this sense. The case of Aprilia, a town with 70 k inhabitants located 50 km South of Rome, is examined in detail. The proposed programme “Aprilia Innova” involves a complex

regeneration of a post-industrial town with efforts undertaken for the sake of “environmental regeneration: sustainable mobility and energy efficiency; social inclusion and employment; as well as improvement of governance.” These programmes are very much inspiring for Polish cities, in particular for Lodz, where regeneration should be approached in an integrated and comprehensive way. Such an approach delivers goals connected with public space, social innovation, stimulating local entrepreneurship, creating new services and jobs.

Italian perspective of a region

Policies connected with sustainable territorial development that support innovation feature increasingly more prominently in development scenarios of cities and regions. This subject has been taken up by Elena Battaglini with the example of the Italian region of Lazio. Her paper is another analysis of the policy of the Italian government and the EU policy focused on innovation in the so-called less developed regions (“inland areas”). This policy is supposed to offer equal opportunities and improve the quality of life of residents in these regions. The slower pace of development may sometimes be advantageous for them as it helps preserve certain values decisive for a better quality of life. Nevertheless, the precondition is always to guarantee the inhabitants access to specific services decisive for the quality of life. These regions often have unique natural and cultural resources, which gives them an advantage when it comes to the standard of living and environmental assets. Perceiving them as “peripheries” undermines their real assets connected with the quality of the environment, values of the eco-system, landscape or cultural heritage, which stimulate tourism. Similarly to the Europe 2020 programme, the idea of innovation in regard to the sustainable development model assumes: taking advantage of the knowledge-based economy; an integrated approach to managing regional development; the use of regional natural resources, specific landscape, multifunctional agriculture, and sustainable tourism. The example of Lazio demonstrates how innovative clusters connected with tourism, agriculture, production of healthy food or new technologies may become valid vectors in regional development.

Polish experience

Due to their marketing orientation, the Polish authors focus on marketing communication with residents and building a clear brand of a city and region. Tomasz Domański analyses the role of universities in city regeneration and in building its recognisable international brand. He analyses Lodz, a city, which at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was called the “Paris of the North.” Lodz has an impressive cultural heritage composed of unique industrial buildings, which in the past housed the largest and the most modern textile factories in Europe. Examples of red brick industrial architecture preserved until the present times with industrialists’ villas and mansions (more than 300 scattered across the city) in their immediate neighbourhood are the symbols of that period. Many of these historic premises in the city centre are administered by universities. The latter renovated these historic buildings and equipped them with new functions, open to both local and international environments. Such programmes became feasible as EU funds have been made available to central, regional, and local authorities for orchestrated projects. Universities co-financed these projects. Lodz is a candidate for the host city of the International Specialised Expo 2022. Its proposed theme is urban regeneration and sustainable development that takes care of cultural heritage. The case of Lodz confirms that a well-planned strategy of using EU funds for sustainable city development with the engagement of universities may bear interesting fruit. The strategy serves the continuity of city identity while opening up new development opportunities. The international and recognisable city brand of Lodz links its cultural heritage enriched with new, innovative functions open to interactions with the environment.

The essay by Marta Hereźniak discusses the role of residents in city branding. New technologies have largely facilitated social consultations and an interactive dialogue with the environment. By the same token, new media create new communication possibilities between authorities of the city and its inhabitants. The author provides an overview of various approaches to the analyses of place-based marketing. She accentuates the need of an interdisciplinary view that combines elements of marketing strategy with regional policies and the analysis of development of the service sector. The success of a variety of forms and strategies of communication with local communities always depends on building good relationships

between urban authorities and the citizens. The key challenge for self-governments remains how to stimulate residents' engagement in city branding. The overview of experiences of other cities in the world shows the potential of new media for the ever growing involvement of local communities in city branding.

Michał Sędkowski explores the presence of Polish cities in social media. Their actions in this communication channel are crucial for city branding, communication with residents, and encouraging them to actively participate in city life. Social media are widely used in Poland, which gives self-governments in cities and other entities opportunities to broadly communicate with citizens. This channel is mainly used to inform about what the city offers or as a vehicle for social consultations on new development proposals. However, when analysing the presence of the largest cities in Poland on Facebook, we notice that they focus on presenting their service offer, communication with users, and on promotional activities. City officials communicate with residents on Facebook in a rather static way, meaning they are very cautious. The scope of communication is limited to providing concrete information. At the same time, this channel is not used to study residents' opinions on city projects. The impression is that the authorities of Polish cities and regions have not grasped the opportunity to stimulate inhabitants to express their opinions more openly and to generate specific innovation projects.

Justyna Anders-Morawska, similarly to our Italian colleagues, deals with cultural ecosystems developed around creative places. They include new categories of creative entrepreneurs and partnership networks, which generate new forms of participation in culture. Contemporary cities must redefine their identities by referring to a range of values that they offer to their residents. They also need to consider such notions as: creativity, sustainable development, or creativity vital for urban development. Industrial cities make room for knowledge-based cities. As a result we observe the emergence of the global network of Creative Cities (UNESCO). It already brings together 116 cities and it continues to grow. Justyna Anders-Morawska analyses the new phenomenon of creative cities and creative businesses. She studies the participation of residents in selected Polish regions in different forms of cultural activities. Residents' participation in culture calls for efficient communication developed by institutions of culture as the providers of specific cultural services. From an inhabitants point-of-view the scale of involvement in cultural activities depends directly on income, the

environment in which they live, and the attractiveness of cultural infrastructure. The efficiency of the cultural effort depends on the budgets of institutions of culture, their partnership networks, and the quality of their own infrastructure. She observes various attitudes of regional authorities *vis-à-vis* the development of culture ranging from sceptical to enthusiastic. Apparently, nowadays, Polish regions and cities, thanks to European programmes, have acquired high quality cultural infrastructure but the participation of residents in culture is still unsatisfactory.

Aleksandra Olejnik provides insight into Polish cities through the lens of new projects and European programmes. The EU Urban Agenda and other European initiatives create an opportunity for Polish cities to prepare regeneration projects and promote sustainable development in social, economic and city planning aspects. Polish cities, including Lodz, need to renovate large districts that have been neglected for years and have become centres of poverty. These activities will be central for improving the quality of life in regenerated urban space. However, they must be undertaken with a long-term time frame in mind. The participation of Lodz in the EU pilot programme will help benefit from one of the 12 priorities included in the Urban Agenda for the European Union, such as: regeneration and major repairs of buildings; eliminating neglected districts in the city; the development of social innovations; and urban mobility or more sustainable use of urban areas also in environmental contexts.

Anna Laura Palazzo*

CULTURE-LED REGENERATION IN ROME: FROM THE FACTORY CITY TO THE KNOWLEDGE CITY

ABSTRACT: In the early 1990s, the notion of culture-led regeneration entered the urban agenda of several European cities confronted with drastic economic changes due to losses in their industrial base. This paper critically addresses a major case in the City of Rome, indeed less affected by these phenomena. In here, the densely populated working-class districts of Ostiense and Testaccio along the Tiber River just outside the City Centre have become part for some years now of a culture-led regeneration program conveying a brand new idea of “Knowledge City” deemed able to supplant the previous image of the “Factory City.”

KEYWORDS: Culture-led regeneration, urban planning, urban design, urban governance, Tiber River.

The “Progetto urbano” at a glance

The southwestern sector between Rome and the coastline along the Tiber River has recently turned out to be the most dynamic region in the Metropolitan City. Urban growth is linked to citywide facilities, such as Fiumicino international airport, two harbours, a major exhibition centre, several main roadways, a subway line and two regional railways. New suburbs (mainly low rise detached dwellings) merge into, or stand opposite to, few stretches of still unspoiled nature, imposing archaeological landmarks and enduring farming features dating from the first half of the twentieth century.

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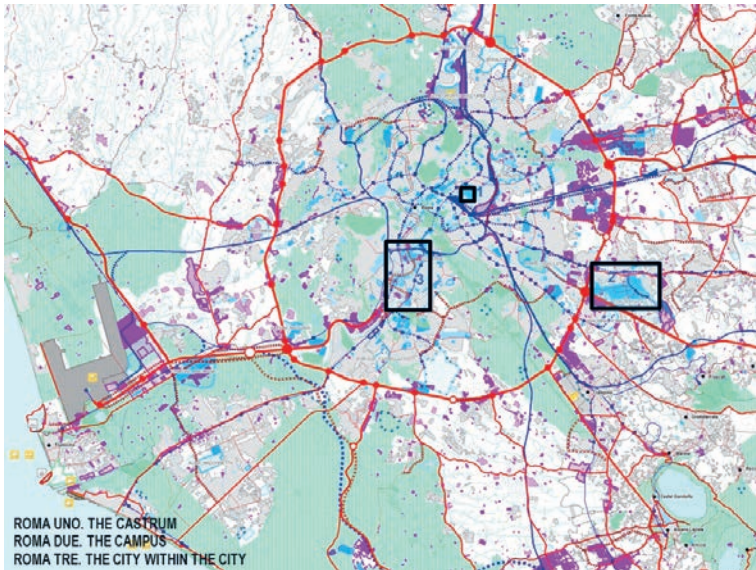
The core areas of this huge wedge (630 sq km, 760,000 inhabitants) are the Ostiense-Testaccio and the Marconi districts located next to the City Centre on both sides of the Tiber River that once housed the bulk of the industrial activities. Following the dilatory Roman industrialisation, urbanisation spread through this area from around the beginning of the twentieth century fairly steadily until the 70s. In recent decades, other urban peripheral areas have been preferred: further south – justified by the Metro B-line and the train connection to the seaside (Ostia), and on the right side of the river – partly justified by the train connection with Fiumicino airport.

In the early 90s, the neighbourhoods showed disaggregation and a lack of focal points. In order to address industrial decommissioning, a regeneration process was launched, focusing on two major drivers, culture and environment, regarded as powerful tools to enhance social cohesion and collective identification, impetus for economic growth and strategies for good governance. The triggering event was the national law allowing major public universities to gemmate in order to downsize within more physiological thresholds.

“La Sapienza” University, holding at that time some 200,000 students, was strongly committed to the establishment of a spin-off, “Roma Tre” University of Rome, provided with juridical power of its own. Unlike “La Sapienza” and “Tor Vergata” University, conceived as set apart from the urban life respectively as a “Castrum” and a “Campus,” “Roma Tre” facilities would be mainly accommodated in brownfields and formerly factory buildings displaying even monumental features of “unachieved modernity” intertwined with high-density residential development (up to 400 inh./hectare). Its location within the crowded Ostiense district, with over 140,000 residents, and along the Tiber bend of “Valco San Paolo” complied both to the wide availability of public areas and easy accessibility compared to Roman standards (Fig. 1).

Such a model of a “City within the City” was expected to contribute to citizens’ needs through cultural, sporting and leisure facilities, overcoming the specific purposes of an efficient Knowledge City, and definitely to forge a new identity for the whole area. Well beyond the reuse of the wholesale market and other brownfields, industrial plants and warehouses, the strategy aimed at rearranging the Tiber shores which still hold high environmental potentials with leisure areas and a Botanical Garden encompassing the archaeological remains of Roman piers and catacombs, and the Cathedral of Saint Paul outside the Walls (Figs 2, 3).

Fig. 1. The three Public Universities in Rome



Source: Province of Rome.

Fig. 2. Unachieved Modernity. Brownfields in the bend of the Tiber River called “Valco San Paolo”



Author: Anna L. Palazzo.

Fig. 3. Along the Tiber River. A repository of nature. Some hidden boathouses



Author: Anna L. Palazzo.

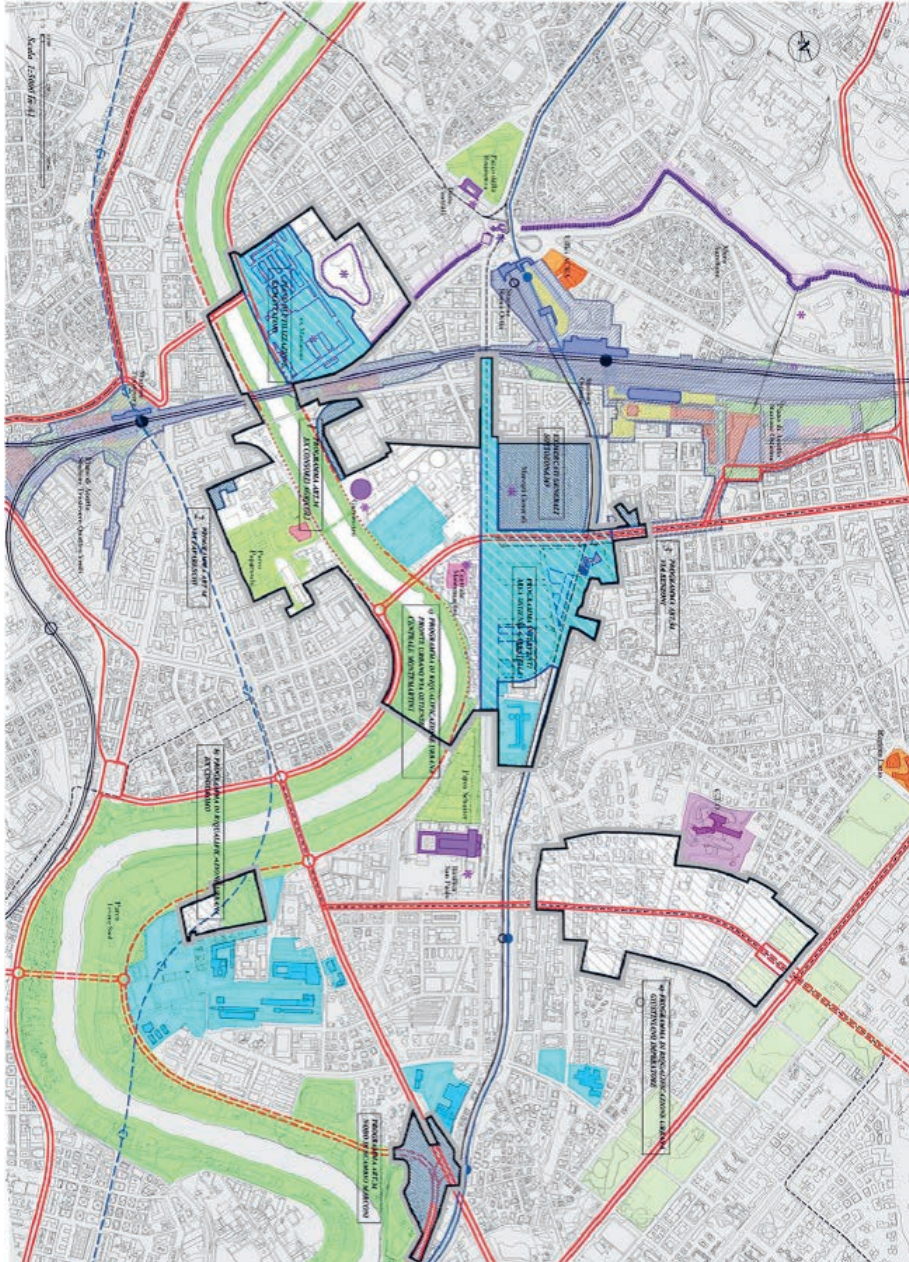
The earliest sketches and layouts provided by “Roma Tre” University conveyed the idea that such cultural attractions and amenities, scattered as they are, would necessarily bring gratifying formal signs, pleasant and filtering vegetation, adjoining various stimuli for implementing commercial and service activities, and eventually some university residences. The existing rail and bus connections would encourage students to enroll in order to relieve the overcrowded “La Sapienza.”

In that same period, the Municipality of Rome was about to launch a challenging planning process, the so-called “Progetto urbano Ostiense-Marconi,” conceived as a flexible tool in terms of locations and uses, expected to cope with unpredictable evolutions in needs and interests at stake. The “Progetto urbano” aimed both at restoring and enhancing the huge industrial heritage just outside the City walls, and at promoting formal, functional and ecological links between Rome and the seaside (Ostia). Among all stakeholders committed to the project, “Roma Tre” was envisioned as the lead partner, due to its public mission and steady presence in the area (Fig. 4).

The “Progetto urbano” addressed accessibility to the whole area, accommodating a new expressway along both banks of the Tiber River, and transforming the main street, the Via Ostiense, into an urban

promenade for pedestrians, preventing access to cars and arranging a lane for a streetcar service, as it had been in the old days.

Fig. 4. The “Progetto urbano Ostiense-Marconi,” 2005

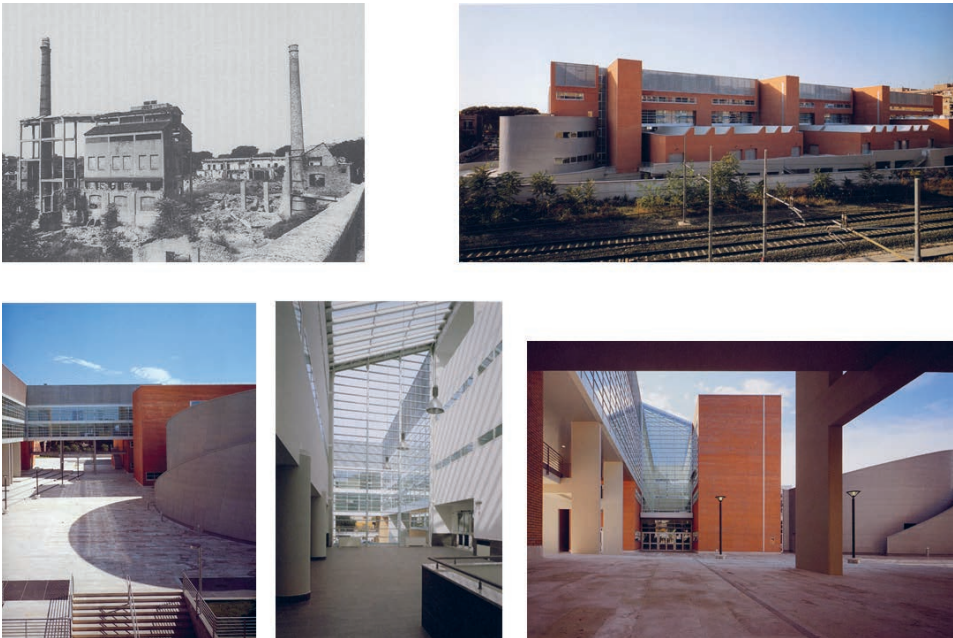


Source: Municipality of Rome.

Compared to the first stage proposal encompassing the wholesale market as a core location for “Roma Tre,” some major adjustments entailed a scattered layout. Several facilities were to be accommodated within the urban fabric along the Via Ostiense in the place of demolished buildings, such as the glass factory for the Rectorate and the Department of Law (Fig. 5), and in the site of Valco San Paolo, in brownfields (Department of Science) or inside the former model tank (Department of Engineering) (Fig. 6).

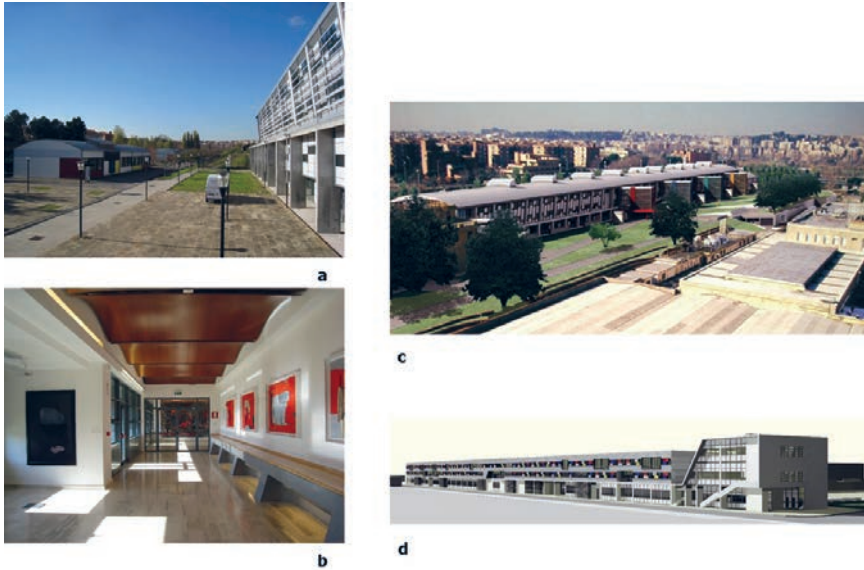
Within the walls, in the Testaccio district, the so-called “City of Arts” corresponding to former Slaughterhouse (Mattatoio), would accommodate the Department of Architecture, originally envisaged in Valco San Paolo, along with the Academy of Fine Arts and the Museum of Contemporary Arts (Macro). The pedestrian path crossing the City of Arts was expected to be open to citizens providing direct connection between two parts of the City that are currently split up by the large enclosure of the building complex (Fig. 7).

Fig. 5. Via Ostiense. The former glass factory, now Rectorate and Department of Law (arch. Alfredo Passeri and Giuseppe Pasquali)



Source: “Roma Tre” University of Rome.

Fig. 6. Department of Engineering, arch. Andrea Vidotto (a,b,c); Student House, arch. Lorenzo Dall’Olio (d)



Source: “Roma Tre” University of Rome.

Fig. 7. Mattatoio-Testaccio. The complex of the former slaughterhouse, as it was (a1,a2,a3), as it is (b1,b2), as it is likely to become (c1,c2)



Source: “Roma Tre” University of Rome.

Following negotiations with a major electricity network company, a brand new “City of Science” – a Museum and a Library – would be located on the premises and the skeleton of the former Gasometer, next to the power station “Montemartini” transformed into an exhibition space for the Capitoline Museums. The former wholesale market was allocated to the “City of Youth” including new facilities for young people (a large multiplex and a shopping centre) and neighbourhood facilities. On the opposite river bank, the “Teatro India,” stemming from the well renowned “Teatro Argentina,” was located in a former soap factory.

Last but not least, “Campidoglio 2,” the new headquarters of the Municipality of Rome with some 4,000 employees, was to be built up next to the Terminal Ostiense that eventually proved an attraction thanks to Eataly, the exhibition of our food industry’s best products.

As for open space, a number of areas were assigned for purposes concerning the community at large, such as green spaces for leisure and cultural facilities, in order to shape a new “welcoming frame” to residents and visitors, and structure strong relationships within the neighbourhood. Among others, the “Parco Tevere Sud” was expected to connect all sites in the area encompassing the new Botanical Gardens in Valco San Paolo.

Over time, despite continuity in urban leadership, several critical opinions have significantly affected the renewal strategy. According to its statute, the “Progetto urbano” was meant to face a decision-making process allowing for some minor amendments that should not affect its general philosophy: yet, some technical issues were not sufficiently clarified, resulting in inadequate or unfeasible arrangements that, everything considered, were never dismissed. This was the case with heavy infrastructure provisions running along both banks of the Tiber River that virtually hinder any new hypothesis for a soft mobility system. Feasibility studies and simulations on alternative scenarios were lacking, and the overall management was poorly adapted to the new setting prompted by an urban regeneration process. Even though the City and University were strongly tied up within a series of partnership agreements, the time schedule was not well-defined. At the turn of the new century, due to high decontamination costs of a few hectares of industrial land in the former premises of the Gasometer, the challenging program of the City of Science was abandoned. As for public space, poor attention was devoted to urban design apart from the setting of the “Parco Shuster” next to Saint Paul outside the Walls.

Lately, the implementation of the “Progetto urbano” has undoubtedly rested on “Roma Tre,” which implemented most

forecasts and is now well-established in the City context, ranking second to “La Sapienza” with some 34,000 students enrolled. This has caused the whole area to be more and more attractive for resident and non-resident students from all over the City even as a sort of “pleasure district” due to the large number of night clubs, pubs, etc, prompting further investment and transformations. The Ostiense district is home to a major concentration of creative sectors ranging from advertising to architecture, the performing arts, and software and computer games (see: Lelo in this issue).

Activities related to leisure time, culture, and entertainment have also settled down, changing the urban pattern. The whole area appeals to Roman underground cultures, hosting art works by leading Italian and foreign street artists, joint exhibitions or live performances, and illegal street art, too – posters, stencils and stickers. Following the ancient tradition of writing messages in public spaces, graffiti is using ever more elaborate and inventive images challenging the gloomy atmosphere of the neighbourhood’s “unachieved modernity” (Figs 8, 9).

Fig. 8. The pedestrian path along the Tiber River. The General Warehouses are currently home to the City Fire Department



Author: Anna L. Palazzo.

Fig. 9. “Waterfront,” large mural in progress along the two corner walls of the former air force barracks occupied by squatters (May 2013); “The Swimmer,” the headquarters building of the historic fish market Ostiense (October 2011); urban skyline from the subway station “Garbatella”



Author: Anna L. Palazzo.

Challenges to be met

The regeneration philosophy of the “Progetto urbano” enacts public commitment to certainty over strategy, and flexibility over implementation, linked to a set of transformation goals to be achieved by means of public-private partnerships (the so-called “Accordi di Programma”).

Updating forecasts and scheduling implementation, putting in place activities and arrangements with manifold stakeholders linked by proximity, conjuring up simultaneous yet different uses in the same areas, are indeed relevant issues. This last point, especially, is underpinned by a strategy including various demands and expectations in order to create the conditions for a common and complex identity of the whole area; hence the metaphor of the “City”

– of Science, of Art, of Youth. It is worth noting that such a challenging coexistence of mixed uses, public and private sectors, free and costly activities, basically inclusive and essentially exclusive initiatives, refers to management models not quite experienced in the Italian case.

As previously discussed, these regeneration practices lie in an approach able to harness decision-making to the inherent unexploited values of Nature and History. This topic entails the various ways in which our past vanishes and reappears always different, always the same. Along with continuity meant as connectivity in urban space, continuity over time goes far beyond traditional practice in handling historical remains, in acknowledging the material signs and addressing physical preservation, since it implies intangible heritage as well.

How to convey a sense of place within land use schemes and development guidelines while responding to new requirements? Taking history into account entails cultural and symbolic investment, after all re-use practices and “overwritings” are far from neutral: they may range from radical philological reconstructions to ways facilitating perceptions of past uses and learning experiences of the material culture, technologies and lifestyles of our ancestors, to options conferring the territorial project the status of “open work.”

For Mattatoio-Testaccio, the *idée force* to match within this huge space exclusivity requirements (University and Research activities, headquarters of the Academy of Fine Arts, new facilities for cultural life) and inclusivity needs (the Testaccio Centre for popular music and other social, leisure and retail activities) undergoes risk if side effects are not duly considered. As for the concept design, the recovery of the animals’ precinct of the slaughterhouse is under way by using shapes and materials that, lacking a communication strategy, are likely to cause commodification. In fact, visitors might be misled by the new setting encompassing street furniture, fences, pavements and even greenery that obviously were not part of the former building complex.

Valco San Paolo is an iconic “part-for-the-whole” since it gathers the main features of Ostiense and Marconi neighbourhoods, being central in the urban geography but marginal in common perception and completely overlooked in its territorial structure. It is both an unsettled place and a rich repository of overlapping memories of its industrial past. It holds a piece of almost untouched nature invisible to pedestrians and city users, and deeply deteriorated, awaiting a better destiny, such as a Botanical Garden. It is “global” for the student flows daily attending the University (Engineering, Sciences)

and the State Institute for Cinema and Television “Roberto Rossellini,” and “local” due to introverted residential space, worn by cohabitation problems with a large gypsy community, the most populated one in the Roman area until 2002. Will a Student House next to the enclosures of the University facilities be helpful in such a difficult cohabitation?

Coming to the present day, after a progressive clarification of the most relevant aspects concerning program priorities, procedures and implementation tools, the ideal momentum of the “Progetto urbano” wore down. Citizen associations formerly concerned about gentrification are now far less committed to urban development, while current debate focuses on the setting of the Parco del Tevere Sud, the river park running alongside the walls of several former factories where residual landmarks of industrial archaeology are being destroyed due to risk of collapse. As a consequence, the brand new Science footbridge supposed to facilitate accessibility for residents and students within the neighbourhoods turns out to be a dead end (Fig. 10). Why should one cross it?

Fig. 10. The footbridge over the Tiber River leading to the Gasometer; former Mira Lanza Factory buildings; skyline with hoppers before demolition works



Author: Anna L. Palazzo.

As for the “City of Youth,” after a break during a decade, a much more market-oriented proposal is currently under way.

Under these circumstances, the pressure of the real estate market in such an inner part of Rome is likely to bring about re-zoning and land uses changes. The “Progetto urbano,” more consistent with a strategic approach than with a land use plan, has no prescriptive tools to secure its strategy. It lacks, everything considered, a steady road map addressing structural, functional and temporal priorities in establishing specific rules for the negotiation process, even related to the additional costs that could be reinvested in the form of local benefits.

Conclusions

Twenty years after its launch, the “Progetto urbano Ostiense-Marconi” is bearing fruit. The image of a “Knowledge City” has somewhat supplanted the image of the dull neighbourhood bearing the signs of a “Factory City.” Yet, the challenge is far more ambitious and much remains to be done. Besides side effects in terms of space conflicts among residents and city users which need to be addressed (traffic, noise, etc.), difficulty in establishing an urban governance mediating between the different interests at stake has featured highly segmented dynamics along the multiple paths of ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic difference. Under the burden of such a multifaceted legacy, different scales and concerns are summoned.

First of all, the Tiber River, as a waterway determining from the earliest times the destiny of the whole region between Rome and the sea, conveys a long-standing history and an inexhaustible myth yet largely unexploited. Thinking about today, history turns into a chronicle split between general interests and vested interests far more tenacious that are likely to influence and re-direct urban debates. However, according to the procedure of the “Accordo di Programma,” public-private partnerships and engagements are only valid within the “enclosure” of any single intervention. As a matter of fact, such an approach allows for a sort of “Russian Doll” operational approach, turning in a drawback for the space in-between and open space that fail to stand as a key priority. This also holds true for all stakeholders involved and their relationships. Communication and inter-institutional coordination costs are

not currently incorporated as administrative charges and seldom supported on a voluntary basis. And the list could go on.

It goes without saying that in this stage of its life, the “Progetto urbano” should be supported by a new political will and a new vision prompting a need for a precise definition of policy design measures, actions and instruments, and possible negotiation trajectories in case of conflicts. The City administration of Rome in its entirety (the Mayor, the City Council and the “Municipio VIII,” the local authority District) is called upon to play the regeneration game as a “*primus inter pares*,” devoting its reputation and guaranteeing transparency in decision-making. In turn, communities, increasingly more aware of their prerogatives, are supposed to force the rigidity of the built environment and to embed new meanings and insights in their everyday life. Still, such a broader dimension of “futureness” is bound by an administrative tradition rooted in the legitimacy of the public action and a yet “imperfect” devolution process: the “Municipio” has limited financial resources.

It is to be hoped that the new urban governance provides a sound theoretical basis by considering public space as a “common place” for sharing opinions and visions between expert knowledge and local knowledge; a sort of visioning dealing with different cultures, uses, economies, and ecologies in space and over time, enhancing the extensive resources of landscape and landscaping, so little experienced and even less shared.

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Biancamaria Rizzo*

**POLICY-MAKING IN METROPOLITAN AREAS:
THE ANIENE RIVER AS A GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE
BETWEEN ROMA AND TIVOLI**

ABSTRACT: The European policies acknowledge greenways and “Green Infrastructure” as strategically planned and delivered networks comprising the broadest range of green spaces and other environmental features. The Aniene River, linking the eastern suburbs of Rome to the City of Tivoli, has been envisaged in a multi-level approach as a Green-Blue Infrastructure able to hinder land use fragmentation and provide new continuity to remainders of open space. In turn, landscape is taken into account as a biodiversity reservoir, the scenery of outstanding cultural heritage and the relevant backdrop of ordinary life.

KEYWORDS: Green Infrastructure, urban fringe, urban planning, urban design, urban governance, Aniene River.

The European framework

The European landscape, more than any other, has suffered a huge loss of natural habitats because of the fragmentation of land uses and landscapes due to human activities and infrastructure. Such processes, resulting in an alarming decrease in many wildlife populations, are likely to jeopardise biodiversity conservation. Lately, although the main natural areas are now largely protected by the Natura 2000 Network,¹ new concerns have been raised

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¹ Natura 2000 is a network of core breeding and resting sites for rare and threatened species, and some rare natural habitat types which are protected

related to climate challenges and to overall ecological performance within metropolitan areas. Green Infrastructures, encompassing further green (land) and blue (water) spaces, are strategically planned networks of natural and semi-natural areas with other environmental features designed and managed to deliver a wide range of ecosystem services such as water purification, air quality, space for recreation, and climate mitigation and adaptation.² Therefore, Green Infrastructures are expected to facilitate new connections between existing natural areas and to ensure the improvement of environmental conditions and, thus, citizens' health and quality of life.

As a part of its policy on biodiversity after 2010, the European Commission prepared a strategy for Green Infrastructure. In the Commission's proposals for the Cohesion Fund³ and for the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF),⁴ Green Infrastructure is especially identified as one of the investment priorities insofar as it supports green economies, creates job opportunities and enhances biodiversity, while contributing to smart regional policies and sustainable growth.⁵

Stories, geographies and economies of the Aniene River in the long run

Green Infrastructures encompass a very broad range of green spaces and other environmental features, often located in different parts of the metropolitan territories, such as suburbs, urban fringes, agricultural areas and natural landscapes. Quite often, they

in their own right. It stretches across all 28 EU countries, both on land and at sea. The aim of the network is to ensure the long-term survival of Europe's most valuable and threatened species and habitats, listed under both the *Birds Directive* and the *Habitats Directive*.

² EU Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Green Infrastructure. Enhancing Europe's natural Capital, May 2013.

³ COM(2011) 612 final/2.

⁴ COM(2011) 614 final.

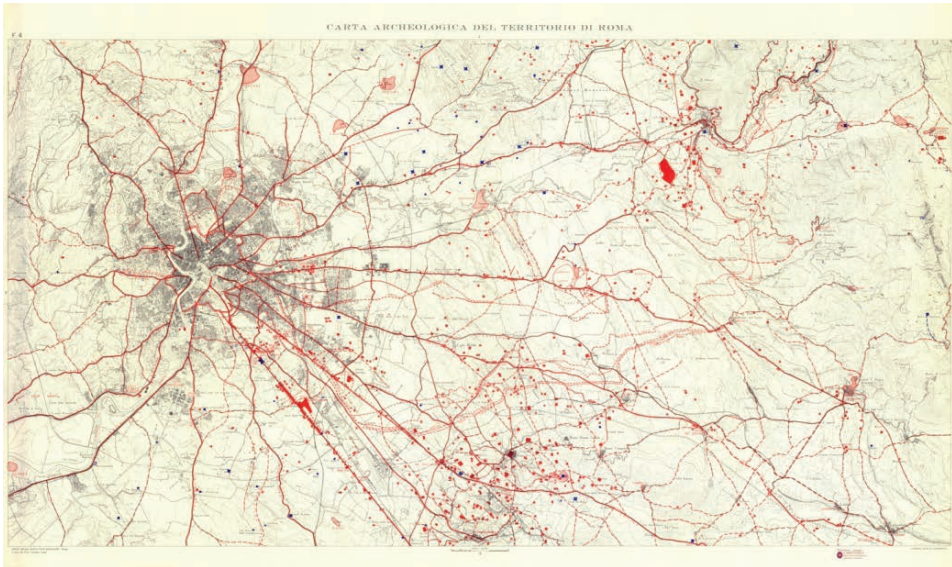
⁵ COM(2011) 17 final, Regional Policy contributing to sustainable growth in Europe 2020. Commission Staff Working Document, SEC(2011) 92 final; Connecting smart and sustainable growth through smart specialisation. European Commission, 2012.

coincide with rivers and their frequently neglected surroundings. This is the very case of the lower Aniene River Valley, between Tivoli and Rome, in the eastern hinterland of the Capital City, inhabited by 90% of the resident population of the entire basin (Municipalities of Tivoli, Guidonia and Rome).

Despite being located only 48 km away from Rome and hosting two UNESCO Sites – Villa Adriana (second century) and Villa d’Este (sixteenth century) – Tivoli is poorly perceived in the collective imaginary. A “must” in the Grand Tour, depicted and described countless times in tourist guides throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nowadays Tivoli ranks only 29th among the destinations in Italy.

The site of Tivoli is well-renowned for its sulphur mineral water springs and for the exploitation of water resources in the impressive sceneries for the gardens of Villa Adriana (second century) and Villa d’Este (fourteenth century), both in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. The long-lasting mutual interdependencies between Rome and Tivoli are physically marked both by the Aniene River and the Tiburtina Consular Road, and economically by a series of long-lasting trade exchanges. The Tivoli hills have always produced high-quality olive oil. Quarries lengthwise have provided a particular white calcium-carbonate rock – the “Travertino” – used in building most Roman monuments. The waterpower of the Aniene falls has been exploited since the early industrial period for paper mills and ironworks. From the twentieth century onwards, the river has partly provided for the capital’s electricity needs.

What remains of all this today? For some decades now, the whole territory has undergone anthropic changes that have hidden or completely changed the natural landscape. Uncontrolled anthropic pressure and illegal soil occupation have been transforming the typical rural landscape of the “Agro romano” into a city spread all along the Aniene River that lacks even basic community facilities and witnesses substantial carelessness towards the natural and cultural assets in the area, their history and destiny. Even though residents are not used to considering themselves part of the ecosystem larger than their own neighbourhood, the Aniene and its surroundings have been exploited and intensively used since the most remote antiquity: and the whole area still bears many formal and functional signs of such human presence, like the ruins of villas, necropolises, tombs, and other archaeological sites (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Archeological Map of the Roman territory

Source: Superintendence for Archaeological Heritage of Rome – author not specified.

The Aniene River (whose name comes from the legendary Tuscan king Anio) has been an important transport route and a valuable water resource, as well as a relevant ecological and productive element for its surroundings for centuries. In particular, its last section before flowing into the Tiber River, once called Teverone, corresponds to the ancient “Route of Travertine,” an important communication waterway for production and trade from the Imperial period to the Baroque one.

This area, early inhabited, underwent a complex evolution closely linked to the birth of Rome: in fact the first settlements that never attained a real urban status, should be reported to the proto-historic and archaic periods and identified as “rustic aggregates” distinguishable in “settlements” and “villas” (small aggregates of rustic buildings inhabited by colonists). As soon as the Imperial City, in the Christian era, began to expand outside the Aurelian city walls, most radical transformations of its rural hinterland occurred with the destruction of the headboard villages along the Aniene River, replaced by lavish patrician villas.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, an imposing system of watch towers along the consular roads would be a valuable

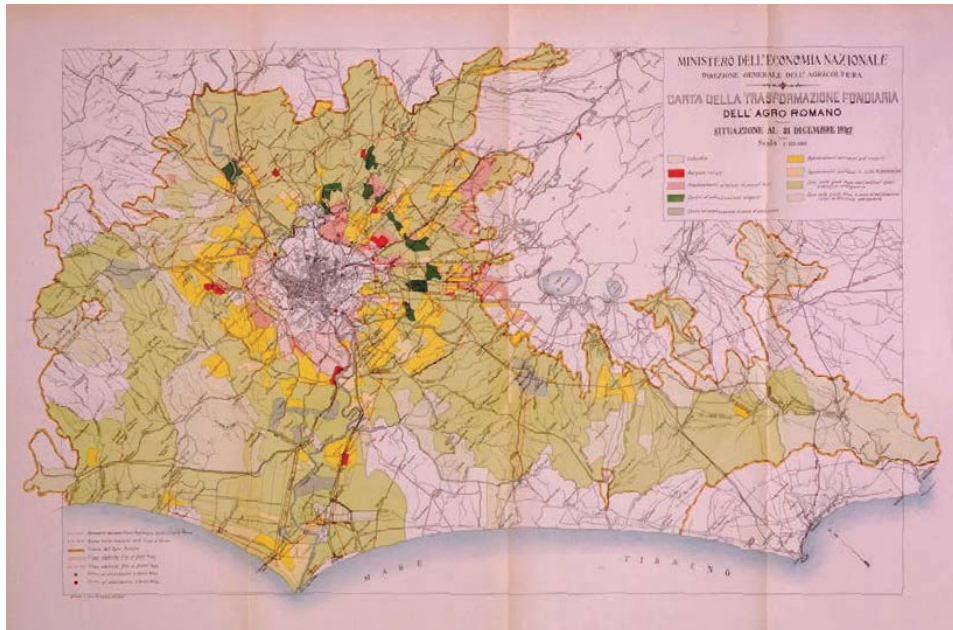
defense for new settlements (castles and farmhouses). This significant phase of territorialisation makes use of the river terrace reliefs, through the construction of towers and castles (Tower of the Cervelletta farmhouse, “Torraccia” of S. Eusebio, Tower of Rebibbia, Tower of Via Ripa Mammea, Tower of Casal de’ Pazzi), up to the farmhouses of the estates recorded in the Gregorian Cadastre (nineteenth century) that retained a clear defensive function.

After the feudal fights, many castles were abandoned or destroyed, and a new depopulation of the “Agro Romano” would follow. Agriculture resumed only in the eighteenth century, making it necessary to adapt existing rural buildings with the addition of granaries, stables and barns. However, malaria would compel more and more people to leave the area. It is only since 1870, with the end of the papal power, that the first legal measures for the rehabilitation and remediation were taken. The structures of the nineteenth-century defense system, the so-called military town, belong to modern times. The system consisted of a defensive ring that had been divided, in correspondence of the consular roads, in a number of structures, such as military forts and batteries, and then completed by annular road connections. In the area of the Aniene River or near its borders there are the Forts of Monte Antenne, Pietralata and Tiburtino, and Battery Nomentana witnessing the permanence of military traffic routes.

In the twentieth century, with the reclamation work, major transformations of the whole area took place with the splitting of the huge estates typical to the power-based relationships in the Agro romano (latifundia). It would mean better crop yields, new landowners and new tenants, new settlements patterns and hamlets (borgate rurali, centri di colonizzazione agricola), provided with facilities intended to assign new settlers to land (church, school, healthcare center, barrack), thus allowing for urban development in the following decades (Fig. 2).

From the 1920s onward, a minor network connecting the consular roads and a number of modern farmhouses were built. The dynamics intensified after World War II, with the economic boom and huge demand for housing estates in the hinterland of Rome. Many urban and industrial settlements occupied the stretch between Roma and Tivoli, among which there were illegal settlements in the suburbs, warehouses or junkyards, next to the water table and to the river itself.

Fig. 2. Land transformations of the Agro Romano in the 1920s



Source: Ministry of National Economy. General Directorate of Agriculture – author not specified.

The Greenway between Roma and Tivoli

The use of the Aniene River as a greenway could allow to address the manifold dimensions of open space, on the backdrop of the new “Metropolitan City,” whose extra powers could steer the inter-municipal planning process in a more strategic way.

The overall idea of the Municipality of Tivoli is to improve the rail connection to Rome and to enhance the living environment within and around the city in order to supply tourist flows with a powerful set of opportunities, such as the impressive sceneries of Villa Adriana and Villa d’Este, and the hot sulphur mineral water springs in Bagni di Tivoli. In addition to historic assets, the Aniene offers a huge amount of natural and environmental resources that could be very useful to hinder fragmentation of urban and peri-urban areas. We refer to a sort of resilience, that is the capability of the river and surrounding areas to regenerate and adapt themselves, after the transformations caused by external factors, such as climate change or human interventions. For example, in

some of the low-lying river bends, small parts of surface planted with vegetable gardens still survive. These areas are generally wedged in the urban context and represent a substantial value for the preservation of traditional agricultural and preindustrial landscape, dating back even to the classical period of Rome, when the fluvial terraces of the lower course of the Tiber and the Aniene were allocated to crops and fruit groves.

In general, the Aniene River displays absolute continuity, even with respect to riparian vegetation (Fig. 3); and several pockets of high naturality, even in urban areas, have survived thanks to difficult accessibility.

Fig. 3. Riparian vegetation along the Aniene River



Photo: Biancamaria Rizzo.

Wet environments between the river and the barrier of the Rome-Aquila highway are open into a valley space with two different configurations, the former defined by the reclamation canals and the latter by the artificial lakes formed by interception of the aquifer (Tor Cervara area) in former tufaceous quarries holding high cut escarpments. The accessibility of the river banks in this area offers the potential for a more intense use for sports activities related to navigation, even integrated to the existing ones, horseback riding and sport fishing among others.

The open areas with no tree cover are currently subjected to agricultural uses, among which the arable crops (cereal) prevail. The shrinking of wooded pastures, once functional to sheep

breeding, has recently offered the premise for the development of intensive cultivation. The characteristic of the agricultural landscape of the Aniene valley lies in its complexity. In fact, lacking a precise connotation to refer to, many features allow for a mix of urban, river and agricultural landscapes with valleys, creeks, small vegetable gardens, cultivated fields, fallow fields, buildings interpenetrating with infrastructures.

From the environmental standpoint, the low Aniene course is the emblem of the urban degradation perpetrated in the recent past. Strong pollution rates were reported in Tivoli valley, with a gradual increase until Ponte Salaro in Rome (confluence with the Tiber River). As a matter of fact, for many years now the river has poured in severe conditions, mainly caused by the depletion of the flow and by widespread environmental and urban decay along the banks, besides a reckless use of the riverbed as quarries and landfills. The tributaries have become sewage collectors, often buried under the streets; the river waters are polluted by residential and industrial waste.

Both sides of the river hold fluvial terraces witnessing the width of the Aniene during maximum flood events. Notwithstanding, the valley has been invaded by industrial and mining activities, partly abandoned (mainly paper mills, food processing industries and travertine quarries), by cementification and rectifying of the waterways; by roadway construction; by earth-moving for civil and industrial settlements (i.e. treatment plant "Roma est"). Many activities lie even within the river bed: this is the very case for several illegal settlements, so that the river space is confined by surrounding buildings and high-density neighbourhoods.

Towards a covenant for the Aniene River

A most promising way to deliver Green Infrastructure is to adopt an integrated approach to land management, careful in developing strategic spatial planning. From the very beginning, it would be appropriate to involve all the stakeholders, such as land users, citizens associations and political actors, called upon to take their share of responsibility in the management actions. We need to highlight that the levels of planning and governance operating on the Aniene River and its territory are more than one.

First of all, the Basin Plan includes, among its main objectives, the hydraulic protection of the metropolitan area and the recovery of the environmental features of all rivers and tributaries. In turn, the Metropolitan Plan of Rome makes use of the Ecological Network, charging the Aniene River and other linear signs with interconnection between core areas and buffer zones. The Plan of the Natural Reserve of the Aniene River defines a series of reasonable guidelines related to compatible agriculture and outdoor recreational activities. This tool is not in force and does not include the river stretch in the Municipalities of Guidonia and Tivoli, whereas continuity, regarding both the functional and the ecological governance, stays the main condition for a Green-Blue Infrastructure as the river should be.

Policy-making requires both a “Strategic Plan” and a “Control Room” for such governance. According to the EU Water Framework Directive (Directive 2000/60/EC), the tool envisaged to tackle issues related to sectoral and comprehensive policies is the River Contract, a voluntary instrument expected to promote environmental and landscape restoration through prevention, mitigation and monitoring of hydro-geological emergencies related to pollution and landscape. Unfortunately, the River Contract of the Aniene has only just begun: a website has been created, many subjects (Basin Authority, Region, Mountain Community, Park Authorities, Municipalities, employers’ and citizens’ associations) have signed the agreement and have entrusted the control room to the Mountain Community of the Aniene Valley, but there is no Strategic Plan at the moment. The Aniene River should be planned to all effects as a Green Infrastructure, to hinder land use fragmentation and address the manifold dimensions of open space, on the backdrop of the new “Metropolitan City,” whose powers will soon steer the inter-municipal planning process in a more strategic way.

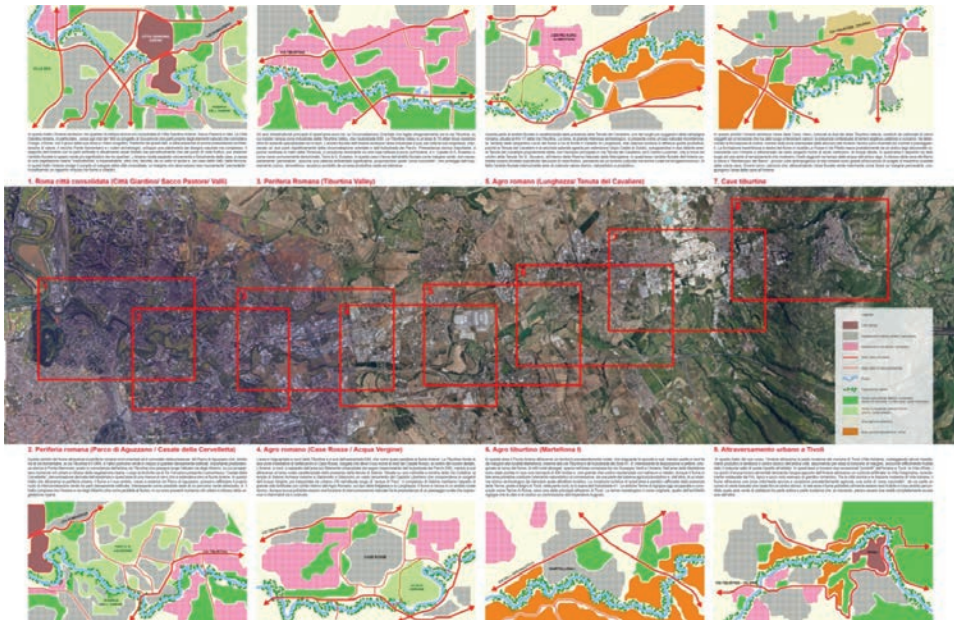
Several issues and scales are involved: urban agriculture and urban greening, but also re-use, re-cycle and the transformation of former factories into a sort of “quality incubators,” with both small-scale and large-scale solutions, able to regenerate urban and environmental resources. First of all, it needs a correct methodology to analyse the different landscapes crossed by the river infrastructure, in order to comprehend limits and potentialities of each of them, and to build an integrated and complex intervention strategy linking points, lines and surfaces within the river areas.

In order to meet this challenge, the research programme “Sustainable policies and resilient landscapes in the metropolitan territory of Rome: Enhancing the lower course of the Aniene River” was carried out in 2015, focusing on the linear “City of the Aniene River.” Currently, the river holds an ever different function, mainly as an element of decay, not quite often as an element of environmental and historical quality, whose regeneration can convey the improvement of the surroundings. Different features, such as peri-urban and suburban settlements, rural and natural areas allow for eight cross sections on the different types of landscape – Urban crossing in Tivoli; Quarries of Tivoli; Countryside of Tivoli; Countryside of Rome; Tiburtina Valley; Roman Suburbs; Urban crossing in Rome – scanning the Aniene Valley from the City of Tivoli to the confluence into the Tiber River (Fig. 4). For each of these “transects,” after formal and functional analysis, we highlighted the potential and strategic role that the river can perform for a sustainable and resilient development within the metropolitan area. As regards the historic city (Città Giardino Aniene in Rome and the City of Tivoli), it can be re-designed as an urban edge creating a more correct relationship, both formal and functional, between the built-up environment and the natural areas. As regards suburbs and peri-urban areas, the river can offer an occasion for social and environmental regeneration linked to urban agriculture, sport and leisure activities, and to landscape protection.

In addition to a general Master Plan, the implementation of the Green Infrastructure should also involve the drafting of guidelines useful to define rules, regulations, instructions, methodologies to be set forth by local authorities. In order to define the guidelines better, we referred to a certain number of best practices, collected and catalogued in a thematic dossier, related to the latest and most innovative interpretations of the “river project,” selected from cases of Park Plans, Basin Plans, and River Contracts.⁶

⁶ Each guideline is structured along different specific objectives. If we aim at protecting valuable natural heritage, we need to achieve objectives such as: protecting, preserving, restoring and developing the functioning of natural systems and habitats in order to halt the loss of biodiversity; promoting green space in urban and peri-urban areas; appropriately restoring areas with significant landscape values related to the river; using adequate protection technologies.

Fig. 4. Interpretative schemes of the eight “transects” along the Aniene River between Rome and Tivoli



Author: Biancamaria Rizzo.

The identified operational paradigms for the river areas are mainly three: the “margin,” the “environmental connection” and the “route of enjoyment.” For margin, we intend a buffer zone interposed between two different areas that have no connection: not so paradoxically, the landscape ecology approach has demonstrated that such transition areas between different biomes, called ecotones, allow for high biodiversity, since different plant and animal communities meet and integrate. In other cases, the margin has to be planned in order to capture pollution and separate different environments: for example, the vegetation along the river near the industrial settlements of the Tiburtina Valley could work to isolate from pollution, traffic and noises the agricultural areas on the other side of the Aniene River while facilitating the movement of several species (Fig. 5).

The river as a major environmental connection could work as a green corridor, whose role is to rebuild both a correct formal and functional relationship between different kinds of land uses in the open space and between urbanised areas needing a greater ecological balance. It is the case, for example, of the peri-urban

residential settlement of Case Rosse, near the Agribusiness Center of Rome. This area is set apart from the historic rural areas by the river, called upon to act as a major link between the patches of rural and urban areas (Fig. 6).

The route of enjoyment is especially devoted to the human needs towards relevant natural and historic areas (such as parks, urban gardens, historic gardens, archeological sites, religious buildings), to be linked through pedestrian streets, thematic routes or cycle paths. It is the case of the Aniene stretch between the historic centre of Tivoli and the residential settlement of Villa Adriana, a linear space characterised by vegetable gardens and wooded landscapes. In this area, the river could be usefully made accessible and its surrounding area could be arranged as a viable greenway between the historic city and the modern neighbourhoods that are currently separated from each other (Fig. 7).

Conclusions

Environmentally and ecologically speaking, the Aniene River represents a major challenge in the Roman area, a Metropolitan City collecting some 100 municipalities and 4 million inhabitants. The point is to come to grips with an idea of resilience, embedding spatial coherence and landscape connectivity both at the local and territorial scale. The whole area lies under different planning tools (Municipal Master Plans, Landscape Plan, Basin Plan, Plan of the Natural Reserve of the Aniene River, Metropolitan Plan of Rome, World Heritage Management Plans), to which the idea of the Green Infrastructure should be linked. The improvement of the habitat and the quality of the river can enhance opportunities for a range of economic and social benefits, such as the promotion of advanced recreational resources, the increase in quality of life and, last but not least, the increase in land values.

The pursuit of the different roles of the Aniene River towards the metropolitan area is supported, of course, by the achievement of several strategic guidelines: a) the protection of valuable natural heritage, b) the development of agricultural areas adjacent to the river, c) the development of areas of historic/cultural interest, and d) the rebalancing of areas at risk of degradation.

The essential condition for achieving each goal is undoubtedly the reduction of decay and neglect of the river areas, aiming at

integration with local communities in a perspective of protection, compatible development, better fruition and development of related activities. Environmental quality system is closely linked to the quality of agriculture. Agriculture, when interpreted in sustainable terms, certainly holds a central role in land protection, because it constitutes both a productive and an environmentally friendly activity, based on biological and natural rules. Agriculture, therefore, should be used to return identity to a place, to protect the beauty of rural landscapes, to conserve natural resources, to provide numerous benefits to the urban system.

In the still rural areas, the river and its environment are to be connected to the surrounding settlement patterns by re-generating ecological networks, creating thematic paths and encouraging new forms of sustainable tourism based on the discovery of pre-industrial activities located along the river (paper mills, ironworks factories, hydropower stations). Such landscape approach offers the ideal ground to comprehend and guide future transformations, focusing on different aspects: landscape as a biodiversity reservoir, the scenery of outstanding cultural heritage, the relevant backdrop of ordinary life. The set of guidelines stemming from these landscape quality objectives aims to complement rules and regulations issued by the planning system, notably the Municipal Plans and the ongoing Strategic Plan of the Metropolitan City of Rome.

Fig. 5. The Aniene River along the “Tiburtina Valley”



Source: Google Maps.

Fig. 6. The Aniene River near the peri-urban settlement of Case Rosse



Source: Google Maps.

Fig. 7. The Aniene River between Tivoli and the settlement of Villa Adriana



Source: Google Maps.

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Keti Lelo*

DYNAMICS IN THE CREATIVE SECTOR BETWEEN ROME AND THE SEA

ABSTRACT: Over the last fifty years the tendency towards a dispersion of productive activities that emerged with globalisation and the advent of telematics have fuelled processes that are changing the structure of metropolitan areas across the world. Against the background of the general process of metropolisation, it is interesting nowadays to study the characteristics, structure and development trends of a vast “hybrid” area that has grown up around the established city of Rome. The subject of this work is an analysis of the creative sector between Rome and the sea, and the potential for future development in this area.

KEYWORDS: Metropolisation, creative sector, urban planning, economic development, Rome.

Creativity and metropolisation

The new geographies of centrality and marginality can be read in a metropolitan setting using several approaches. There is a rich body of literature which, since the 1990s, has considered the city a preferred place for the production of services and studies, its typologies, territorial distribution and relationship with the urban context (Roberts, 1999; Hanssens et al., 2011).

The organisation of urban spaces in the era of globalisation is clearly problematic; the process of functional specialisation for a territory goes hand in hand with the gradual segmentation of social behaviours that are being reorganised in increasingly isolated settings. The conditions of marginality and urban “dysfunctions”

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do not necessarily concern the peripheral areas of metropolitan systems. Academic debate seems to favour a line of thought that has discarded marginality as a dependent variable for the centre-periphery ratio in favour of accessibility (Amin, Thrift, 1994). Moreover, the centrality of an urban area is no longer measured by the characteristics of its concentrated functions, but rather by its capacity to integrate the multiple habits of a vast and ever changing community (Pavia, 2002). (Post)metropolitan urbanisation is increasingly understood as a product of opposing processes; the process of urban sprawl is to be read both in terms of decentralisation and concentration (Webber, 1964; Leinberger, 1995; Koolhaas, 1997; Soja, 2000). Sprawl is not only an area with low and mainly residential density, a dilution of built-up areas and a horizontal landscape; it also has clumps or reference points that satisfy the need to give an area an identity and provide an emotional tie for those who have to live and work there.

Large metropolitan areas increasingly include western trends – spontaneous but also explicitly guided by planning institutions – of polycentric organisation, based on recovering the functional and symbolic specificities of individual sub-poles, in direct contrast to the standardising tendencies of the traditional centre-periphery model, which expresses the downgraded growth of the city that spreads like an oil spill (Camagni, 1998; Sohn et al., 2004).

The competitive advantage of metropolitan economies boosted by knowledge-intensive emerging industries and services (Porter, 1998) involves creative industries on a wide scale (Pratt, 2007; 2011). Creativity is now recognised as a driving factor in the economic growth of many countries, in contrast to the decline of manufacturing. Several reports have underlined the fact that the economic weight of the creative sector is growing in the GDP of developed countries. As a result, the concept of “creativity” has become a must for those who deal with economic, cultural and urban policies at the territorial level. Creativity is also, and above all, a social phenomenon and it is important because it has the power to influence people and sustain the processes of changes in the economic, social and cultural sphere (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Creative people are important because “their presence encourages openness and tolerance” (Florida, 2002).

Despite the broad academic and political convergence on the importance achieved by the creative sector, Pratt (2007) maintains that “a deep understanding of creative industries has not yet been reached.” There are problematic relationships such as public and

private, formal and informal, production and consumption that deserve further analysis so that they can be placed in the broader context of the metropolisation process. The creative industry includes: means of communication (for example, films, television, music, publishing recording); consumer goods linked to fashion and design (for example, clothes, furniture and jewellery); services (for example, advertising, tourism and entertainment); a huge range of creative professions (for example, architecture, graphic arts and web page design); and collective cultural facilities (for example, museums, art galleries and concert halls). All these subsectors are characterised by the coexistence and overlapping of the products' symbolic and utilitarian features (Scott, 2010).

A fundamental characteristic of the creative economy is its being an urban phenomenon, given that creativity and its specific forms of expression are part of complex sociospatial relations and are rooted in the production, employment and labour market dynamics of cities (Storper, Scott, 2009).

Creative industries employ between 4 and 8% of the total number of employed people in the more advanced economies, and their relative importance is growing rapidly. In some large metropolitan areas such as New York, Los Angeles, London, Paris, Milan and Tokyo, the incidence of employment in the creative sector may reach 25–40% of the total. The other key characteristic of the creative economy is its tendency towards spatial concentration. The recent and rapid growth of activities that come under this category mainly occurs in large and dense urban areas, while Marshallian clusters have developed in many established metropolitan areas (Scott, 2010).

The land between Rome and the sea

The metropolitan city of “Roma Capitale” is a local government unit that replaced the Province of Rome on 1st January 2015, following an administrative process that began in the 1990s. It is the second largest concentration of residential settlement after Milan and is home to about 7% of the Italian population and 74% of the population of the Lazio region. It is a highly complex and heterogeneous urban region owing to its morphological, functional and settlement characteristics.

The territory that extends between Rome and the sea is one of the most dynamic in the Roman metropolitan system. It comprises many territorial realities that are distinct from one another, but at the same time interconnected and dependent on the marked centrality of Rome. The processes of physical and functional transformation consistently involve the whole territory, making it extremely difficult for such an environmentally fragile system of priceless historical value to survive.

The impetus for the profound transformation of this territory came during the twenty-year reign of Fascism, with the construction of the Roma-Lido railway (1924), the via del Mare (1927–28), the underground line connecting Termini station and the EUR area (opened in 1955), and the building of the Ostiense railway station. The expansion of housing between Rome and the sea in the postwar years occurred mainly along via Cristoforo Colombo, built in the 1940s to connect the EUR to the centre of Rome and to the sea (Fig. 1). This important infrastructure system was bolstered in the early 1960s by the construction of the Fiumicino Airport and a motorway to reach it, both of which have played an ever growing role over the years in supporting business activities across the area.

The area between Rome and the sea is a real patchwork of settlement typologies. Apart from the “historical” neighbourhoods such as Garbatella and EUR, which are now part of the consolidated city, there are important examples of public housing intervention, such as the INCIS di Decima neighbourhood, built and designed in the 1960s by Luigi Moretti, or the PEEP (Piani per l’edilizia economica e popolare: Plans for economic and popular housing) of Corviale and Laurentino 38 districts, constructed between the 1970s and 1980s, which included experimental, even utopian architectural elements that profoundly shaped their destiny.

Additional large-scale PEEP interventions, such as Spinaceto, Acilia, Dragoncello and Portuense, built up according to a variation of the Master Plan dating 1981, are in marked contrast to private housing neighbourhoods, such as the Magliana Nuova district, built in agreement with the Rome City Council on a bend in the Tiber river, or the “overspill neighbourhood” of Casalpalocco, an ambitious project carried out between the beginning of the 1960s and the mid-1970s by the General Real Estate Company (Società Generale Immobiliare), which offered the middle and upper classes a residential model inspired by the “American way of life.”

Fig. 1. The route of via Cristoforo Colombo from the city towards the sea, 1941. The last offshoot of the established city southwards consists of the garden city of Garbatella (to the right of via Cristoforo Colombo). Please note how this road connects the city with the district of EUR, under construction



Source: ICCD Aerofototeca, volo Fotocielo.

Over the last three decades there has been no public intervention, while new neighbourhoods have been built through private initiatives beyond Rome's main ring road (Grande Raccordo Anulare or GRA), envisaged as functional mixes. An example of this is the area of Parco Leonardo near Fiumicino Airport, which combines residential functions with commercial and recreational ones.

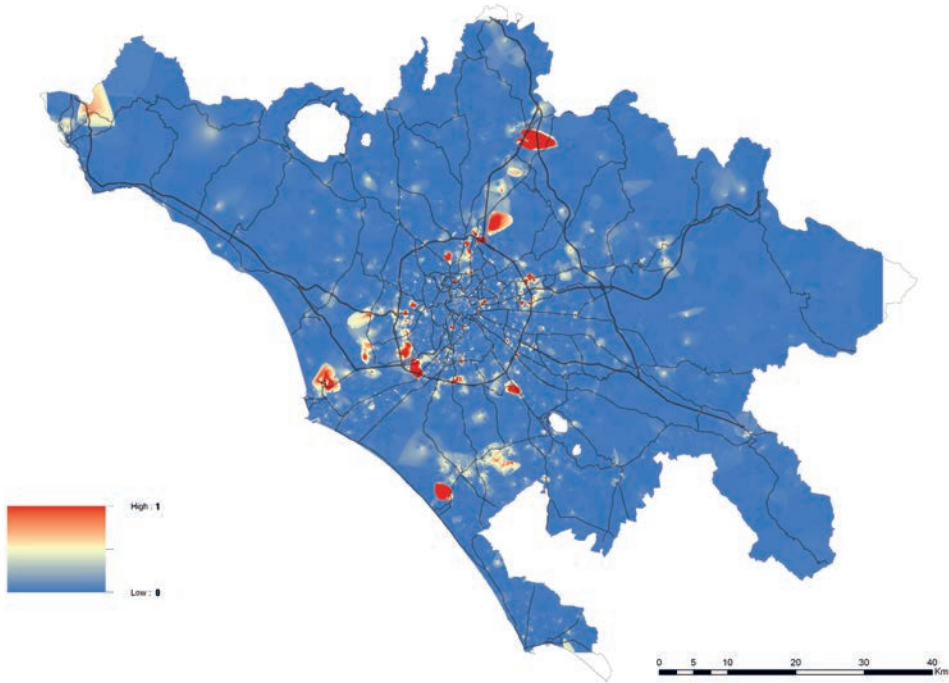
Urban sprawl has profoundly changed the nature of the morphological-environmental system and this is particularly evident between the Isola Sacra and the GRA, and along via Ostiense and via Colombo: Isola Sacra, Ostia Antica, Casal Palocco, Infernetto, Dragoncello, Acilia, Centro Gianò, Casal Bernocchi and Vitinia that now form a continuum of settlements which have agglomerated along the main connecting routes to Rome, and then dispersed over the area, following the perpendicular routes based on the drainage network.

Land consumption is constantly increasing, but its utilisation is limited: in over one-third of residential areas, the built-up ratio (the ratio of built-up area to total land) is lower than 10%. The recent urbanisations of Piana del Sole and Valleranello are significant examples of this, precisely because of their extension.

The area's exceptional infrastructure and its strategic position make it particularly attractive for service functions. Over the last few decades, a number of activities have found a place between EUR and the GRA, and towards the sea. In particular, the sector along the main Rome-Fiumicino route has been overwhelmed by large complexes mainly dedicated to business, leisure and wholesale trade. Without going into too much detail, just in the area between Via Portuense and Via Ostiense we find the following: the Alitalia-Centro Toyota Business Centre (2002)-Hotel Ramada (2004); The Village-Parco de' Medici (2001); Commercium (2003); Cineland (1999); and the Nuova Fiera di Roma (2006).

The importance of this area for metropolitan production system is illustrated in Fig. 2, which shows the spatial distribution of the turnover of companies operating in 2009 in the Province of Rome. It is clear how, among the areas with the highest intensity of production firms, those in the sector between Rome and the sea stand out the most.

Fig. 2. Share of the production system in Rome's metropolitan area



Source: K. Lelo, based on Istat data.

The creative sector as a driver of local economic development

It is widely recognised that the patterns of geographical concentration for creative firms are highly dependent on urbanisation economies, labour force distribution, urban quality and the accessibility of typically urban functions and services. Recent developments at the European and world levels have shown a willingness to produce reliable and comparable statistics, which can evaluate the real contribution of this sector to economic and social development (ESSnet-Culture 2012).

The challenge of measuring the economic weight of cultural and creative industries is linked to the complexity of this sector, and to the fact that its boundaries are vague and vary according to the definitions and approaches used. Three constituent elements of the creative sector are recognised internationally: creative firms that are classified in the field of the arts – the “subsidised muses”

– mainly not profit-driven, which include visual arts, performing arts and historical and artistic heritage, the “cultural industries,” which refer to the industries of mass reproduction, distribution and the new media, and can be grouped into the following subcategories: publishing, music, radio and television, video, films and photography, software and video games, and the “creative industries,” which include fashion, architecture and advertising, in which the creative element is balanced by the utilitarian features linked to extra-cultural use.

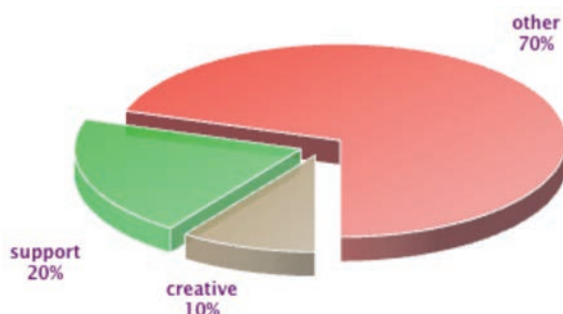
The data used to analyse creative firms in Rome’s metropolitan area come from the Archivio Statistico delle Unità Locali delle Imprese Attive (ASIA-UL), which is the statistical archive on active local firms and is provided by the National Statistical Institute (ISTAT). This is a registry of companies that is updated annually by integrating administrative and statistical sources. It provides identification data (name and address), information on the type of business activity (the ATECO code), and on the company’s structure (employees and self-employed, legal form, and turnover) for the local units of industry.¹ The reporting year is 2009.

The definition of creative categories is taken from the NESTA report “The geography of creativity,” adapted to the Italian ATECO categories. This definition considers creative firms as “those activities which have their origins in creativity and individual talent, and which have the potential to create work and wealth by generating and exploiting intellectual property.” The activities of the creative sector are classified into “layers,” which may be interpreted as links in a chain of creative value; the activities linked to the creation of content are at the “heart” of the chain, while those linked to production, distribution and trade are found on the “outskirts.”

In the observation year 2009, the metropolitan region of Rome had a creative sector that accounted for nearly 10% of total firms, while the share of the services sector reached 20% (see Fig. 3).

¹ The data describes the exact position in space of each firm (X and Y coordinates), its business activity (5 numbers from the ATECO code) and the number of employees in the local units dependent on the principal firm, active for at least six months during the reporting year.

Fig. 3. Share of the creative sector and the support sector connected to it, compared with the total of the metropolitan economy in 2009



Source: ISTAT ASIA-UL.

Table 1 summarises the number of creative firms and their workers using the abovementioned NESTA classification. The operational definition uses ATECO codes disaggregated at the fifth level, with the aim of obtaining a fine-grained representation for each creative sector and its activities.

Table 1. Metropolitan city of Rome. Distribution of the creative categories in 2009

Creative category	N. firms	N. employees
Architecture	11,512	18,263.45
Antiquities	2,086	4,339.37
Communication and branding	1,494	3,529.87
Design	1,906	2,525.51
Publishing	3,705	8,970.50
Music and performing arts	3,739	5,305.72
Radio and Television	292	11,294.05
Video, film and photography	2,306	15,599.74
Videogames and software	5,918	42,208.92
Total	32,958	112,037.13

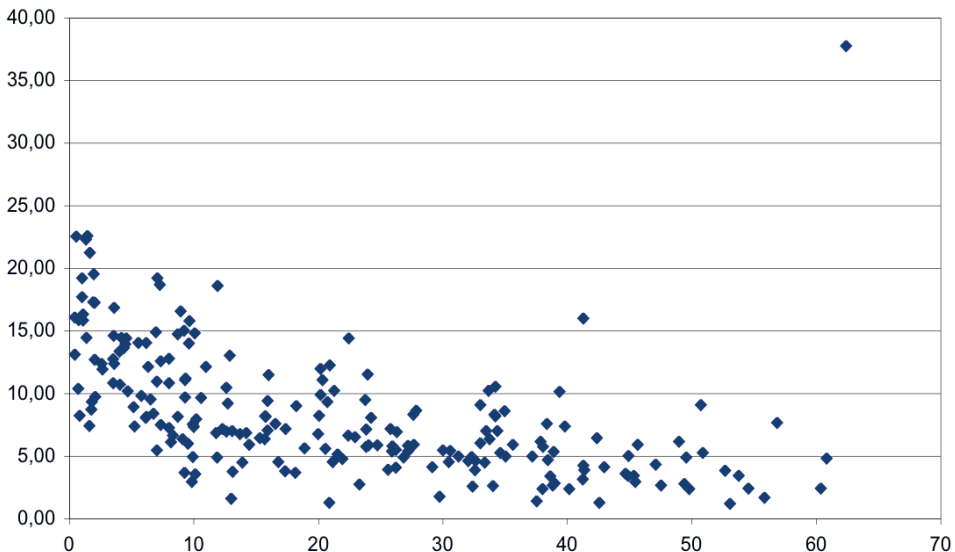
Source: ISTAT ASIA-UL 2009.

The data from ASIA-UL has highlighted the fact that 81.14% of businesses in the creative sectors are one-man firms, 17.26% of firms employ between 2 and 20 workers, 0.86% between 21 and 50 workers, and 0.74% more than 50 workers.

These figures should not come as a surprise; the city is a natural place for small firms to develop, because they can find necessary externalities in terms of infrastructure and services (Leone and Stryuk, 1976). In the creative sector the phenomenon of micro-enterprises is even more pronounced compared with other economic contexts, owing to the presence of a greater number of creators of content, who work independently (Hegsmondhalgh, 2002; Pratt, 2011). In the case of Rome, this characteristic is extremely striking, however, given that the share of self-employed people is considerably higher than 60–70%, which is a reference point at the European level (KEA 2006).

If we look at the proportion of creative firms in the total population of firms in territorial units depending on their distance from the city centre, we notice a clear inverse relationship: the number of units with a higher share of creative firms decreases as the distance from the centre increases (Fig. 4). We can therefore assume that the distribution of creative industries in the metropolitan region of Rome reflects the monocentricity of its urban structure. Instead, large firms (with more than 50 workers) are almost entirely located within the municipality of Rome, particularly in the city centre, in the EUR district and along the main routes leading to the sea.

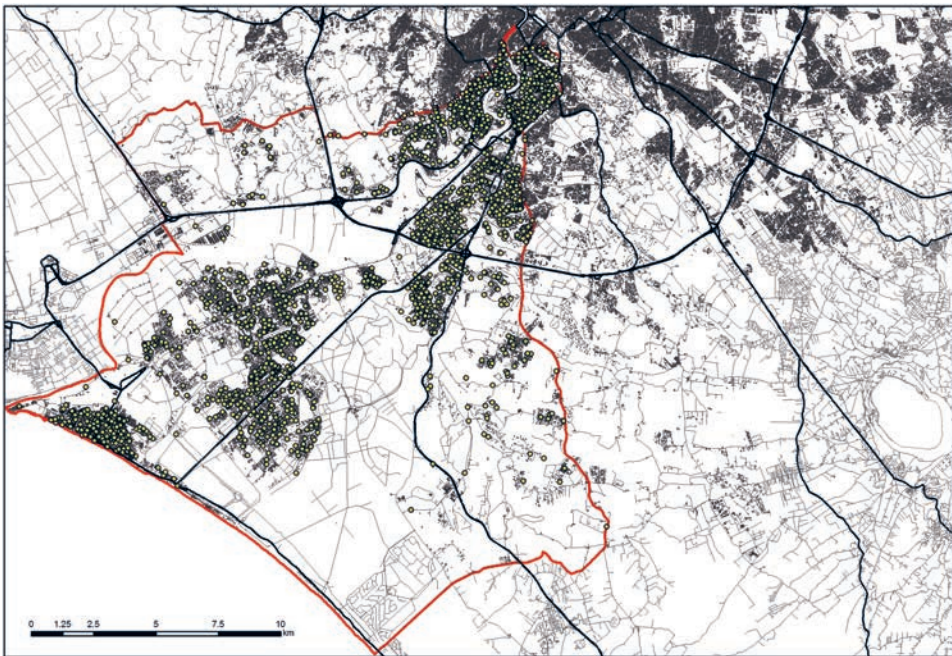
Fig. 4. Number of businesses in creative industries in the total business population in territorial units, in terms of their distance from the centre of Rome (km), 2009



Source: Author's analysis on Census data and Asia-unità locali, ISTAT.

The study area to be analysed in more detail extends to the southern part of the metropolitan territory and includes parts of municipalities VIII and IX, and municipalities X and XI. The irregular urban network that “hosts” business activities covered by the study extends along the main routes to the sea: via del Mare, via Cristoforo Colombo and part of via Pontina. Territorial units that are part of this network are defined by ISTAT as homogeneous aggregations of census units (Fig. 5). This territory accounts for about 6% of the area of the metropolitan city of Roma Capitale and, in 2009, was home to nearly 13% of the population, 12% of creative firms, and 16% of the creative sector’s workers.

Fig. 5. Localisation of creative firms in the area studied in 2009



Source: K. Lelo, based on Istat data.

The most marked characteristic of the creative sector is the high number of firms in the sector producing software and videogames. They account for about 60% of the total number of creative firms surveyed between Rome and the sea in 2009. There are also high numbers of firms active in architecture (26%) and publishing (9%).

The importance of the area in terms of the share of creative firms operating in various subsectors compared with the entire

metropolitan area is shown in Table 2, in which the strong localisation trend for software and videogame firms between Rome and the sea is immediately clear, with 46% of firms and 70% of workers operating in the sector located in this area.

Table 2. Share of each creative category in the territory between Rome and the sea compared with the metropolitan area in 2009

Creative category	% firms	% employees
Architecture	11.41	17.79
Antiquities	8.10	9.60
Communication and branding	11.71	13.13
Design	10.18	12.12
Publishing	6.13	10.58
Music and performing arts	11.87	11.74
Radio and Television	7.19	0.79
Video, film and photography	46.10	70.26
Videogames and software	3.58	1.67
Total	11.58	15.85

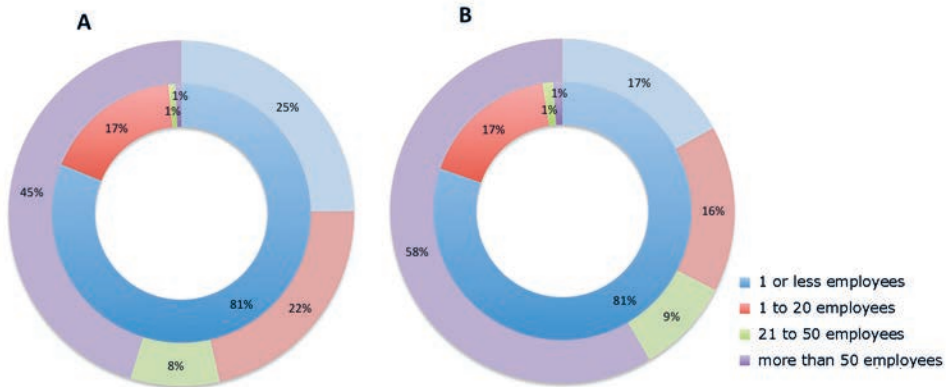
Source: ISTAT ASIA-UL 2009.

In analogy to what is observed at the metropolitan level, in the study area: 80.33% of businesses in creative sectors are one-man firms, 17.21% of firms have between 2 and 20 workers, 1.31% between 21 and 50 workers, and 1.15% have more than 50 workers. The similarity in values is shown in Fig. 6: the inner circles of the graphs show the percentages of the number of creative firms by size class; the outer circles show the respective percentages of the number of workers. The percentage differences between the outer circles in Fig. 2 highlight the fact that, unlike the number of firms which remains similar as far as business size is concerned, there is a higher number of workers in the highest size range. This testifies to the presence of a higher number of workers in the study area compared with the metropolitan average.

The legal form of the firms reflects the previously illustrated size structure (Fig. 7). In contrast to the small proportion of limited companies, there is a large proportion of 70% of individual entrepreneurs and/or self-employed professionals. In this case too, the proportions between the metropolitan territory and the area studied are entirely similar, while with regard to workers there is

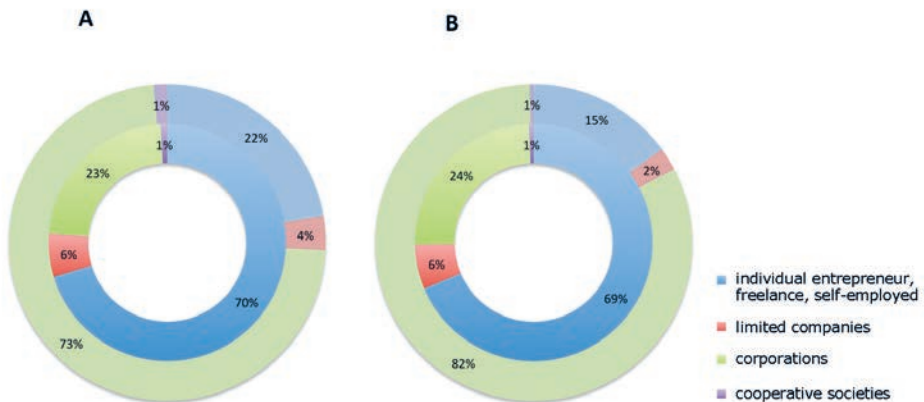
a higher number of people employed by limited companies in the studied area.

Fig. 6. Distribution of creative firms by class of workers in 2009. A) in the metropolitan area; B) between Rome and the sea. The inner circle shows the number of creative firms, while the outer one shows the number of workers



Source: Author's analysis on data Asia-unità locali, ISTAT.

Fig. 7. Legal form of creative firms by size class in 2009. A) in the metropolitan area; B) between Rome and the sea. The inner circle shows the number of creative firms, while the outer one shows the number of workers



Source: Author's analysis on data Asia-unità locali, ISTAT.

Even though there are contrasting reports on sectorial data, it has become apparent that industrial production in high-tech

sectors is a significant part of the economic weight of creative industries (Frontier Economics 2012).

The case study illustrated here provides evidence of the presence of an economically relevant cluster of creative firms operating in the software and videogame sector in the territory between Rome and the sea. This evidence could be a stimulating starting point for further investigations to identify the characteristics and vocations of the territory which, if correctly integrated into territorial policies, could contribute to improving its socioeconomic performance. The challenge for modern urban planning is to treat the outskirts as an integral part of a wider process of spatial organisation of housing, production and work. The different territorialities of work, production and housing call for new and more complex forms of interaction between the various approaches to territorial problems.

Over the last decade, creative industries have been recognised as having some “winning” characteristics which promise their successful integration into economic and territorial policies. The main tendency emerging at national level is the growth of creative clusters that encourage innovation through strong links between art, the new media and technology, education and firms.

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**WITHIN THE CITY:
ONGOING EXPERIENCES IN LOCAL
URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS**

ABSTRACT: The article presents a series of urban regeneration programmes carried out in the Lazio Region from 2011 to 2016, and financed by the resources of the cohesion policy 2007–2013. It covers: programme background, experience of the Municipality of Aprilia analysed in its most relevant details, some reflections concerning opportunities and limits of the programme, and some key elements to be developed in future research.

KEYWORDS: ERDF Operational Programme 2007–20013, local development, urban regeneration, smart city, capacity building.

Preface

The acronym PLUS stands for an Italian expression meaning a local plan for urban development. It refers to a large initiative launched by the Lazio Region in 2011 aimed at the regeneration of socioeconomic functions and tackling environmental problems at the urban level. The PLUS initiative was financed mainly under the 5th strategic priority of the ERDF Operational Programme (OP), which is the one dedicated to urban and local development.

Differently from most Italian regions, which, according to the National Strategic reference Framework 2007–2013, have included

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such a priority in their OPs since the beginning, the Lazio Region in 2006 had chosen not to include the so-called “urban axis” in the first version of its OP. Such an axis was introduced only in 2011, when a mid-term review modified significantly the original resource allocation. The revised OP was definitively approved by the European Commission in March 2012.

Officially, the review was mainly originated by the evolution of the EU and national priorities as a consequence of the international crisis; indeed, the reformulation of the programme was largely due to inadequate progress in the implementation of some measures that were putting at risk meeting of expenditure commitments.¹ As we will explain below in greater detail, it strongly influenced the content and the outcome of the plans.

One of the main reasons why the PLUS initiative has been so interesting can be explained by the fact that it is the first urban regeneration programme launched after more than 10 years. The last initiative of this kind dates back to the national financing programme called “Contratti di quartiere” (Neighbourhood Contracts) that the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport launched in 1998. It consisted in a pilot programme focused on neighbourhoods representing low urban quality, which lack proper services and suffer from social problems, and its purpose was to trigger regeneration by mixing building renovation with measures to tackle unemployment and social distress. The first edition of the programme, whose initial budget amounted to 350 million euro, involved 57 municipalities and, thanks to its large success, was followed by a 2002 reissue funded with an almost 4 times bigger budget.

Characteristics of the PLUS programme

The PLUS initiative can be considered an integrated investment programme, since the overall budget drew resources from different priority axes of the Regional OP: besides the 5th axis dedicated to urban development, resources were collected from the 1st and 2nd axes, respectively dedicated to the development of ICT in the public administration and to energy efficiency. Further resources derived from the regional budget.

¹ http://porfesr.lazio.it/PORFESR/galleria_allegati/porfesr/Motivi_Effetti_Revisione_POR.pdf

The PLUS initiative was launched in July 2011 and, as already experimented in other regions, it took the form of a call for proposal, open to municipalities of over 25,000 inhabitants. The proposals, defined as “local urban development plans,” had to be structured as a set of integrated actions aimed at “increasing competitiveness, attractiveness and sustainability of cities” and were required to cover a well-delimited area, and to focus on 4 topics: recovery of public spaces and buildings; social inclusion and territorial cohesion, including the development of social, cultural and tourism facilities; improvement of environmental conditions, mobility and urban transport; promotion of entrepreneurship and economic revitalisation. The budget for a single plan could range from 5 to 16 million euro, and the deadline for completion was December 2015.

Proposals have been selected following a two stage process: admissibility assessment carried out based on a dossier, in which municipalities described the context and listed interventions targeting the candidate for financing; beneficiaries who passed the first stage successfully were identified in the second stage based on more detailed plans. Evaluation criteria were based on the overall quality of the strategy and its coherence with the general objective of the initiative, technical/administrative feasibility of the projects, and other factors supporting full implementation of the plan such as its management structure and the involvement of private resources. Indeed, Regional Authority, being aware of the need to finalise the whole programme by 2015 in order not to run into ERDF reporting problems with the EU, since the issue of the call for proposal, had imposed specific requirements on potential beneficiaries related to the financing procedures and the implementation process.²

Firstly, all the public works tender documents had to be certified by an EU level accredited external body (Standard UNICEI EN ISO/IEC 17020) even though according to the Italian Procurement Code this requirement normally applies only to works over 20 million euro. Moreover, the whole process of performing public works had to respect a strict time frame: within 18 months, all contracts had to be subscribed with the contractors. A relevant incentive

² “Regional disciplinary for the implementation of urban development interventions” approved on 9th January 2012 by the Director of the Department “Economic programmes, research and innovation” – Lazio Region (executive decision no. B00027).

to comply with this requirement was offered by the possibility to re-use tender savings (often even up to 20–25% of the entry cost) to finance further actions within the same redevelopment project.

Other innovative aspects of the programme included a customised cash flow strictly related to the monitoring system, according to which, after a pre-financing payment, municipalities received subsequent transfers as rapidly as they accomplished their reporting duties. Such a system, on the one hand, allowed Municipalities and their suppliers to be timely paid, and, on the other hand, it helped the Regional Authority to track the progress and to detect promptly any problems in implementation. Indeed, in order to prevent these problems as much as possible and to support the beneficiaries during the whole process, the Region had set up a Technical Assistance working group composed of experts in the field of EU funds implementation and reporting and entrusted to document review and on-site visits.

Finally, all the communications between municipalities and the Region occurred through certified mail in order to be fully traceable.

Table 1. PLUS Programme timeline

PLUS programme timeline	
July 2011	Call for proposal
September 2011	Deadline for 1st stage proposals
November 2011	Publication of ranking of proposals admitted to second stage
March 2012	Deadline for 2nd stage proposals
May 2012	Publication of final ranking
July 2012	Subscription of the agreement and start-up
February 2014	Deadline for entering into public works contracts
December 2015	Deadline for finalising the plans

Source: Tender documents and provisions by Lazio Region.

As better clarified in the paragraph dedicated to the case of Aprilia, a rigid framework of the programme and strict implementation rules deeply influenced the content of proposals, especially with respect of characteristics of the interventions included in the candidate programme, and management solutions implemented by municipalities.

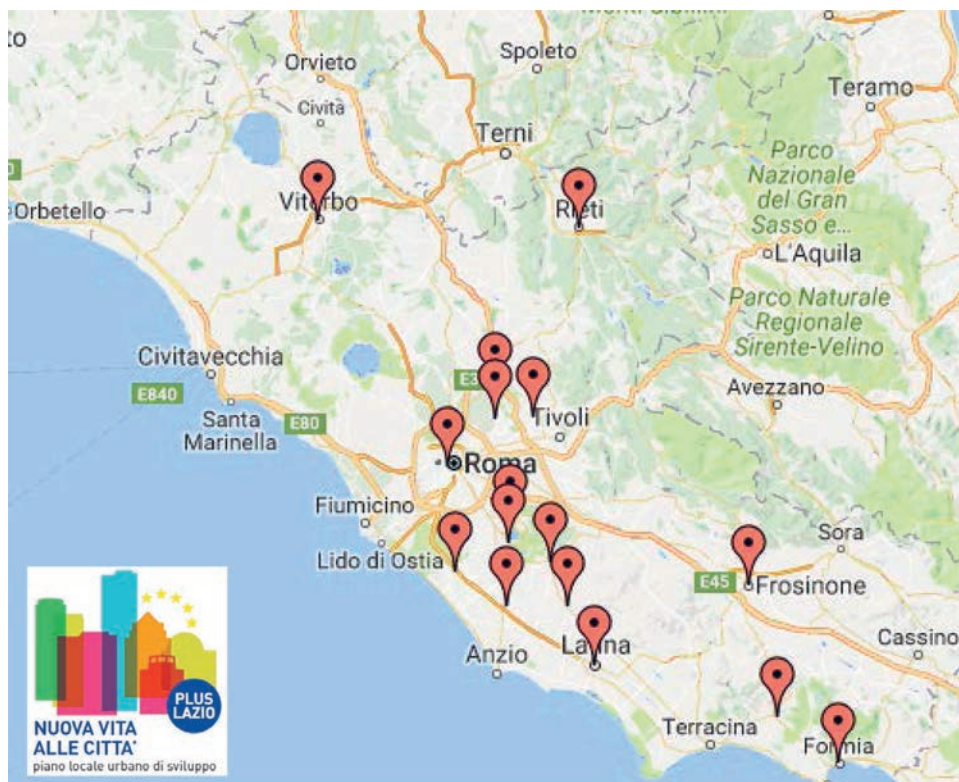
Main results of the PLUS programme

The Region received 29 proposals, which means 100% of the eligible municipalities applied for funding. The definitive funding ranking was published in May 2012, and contained the following 16 funded plans:

- 5 submitted by provincial capitals of the region (Rome, Latina, Frosinone, Rieti and Viterbo);
- 7 submitted by other municipalities belonging to the Province of Rome (Albano, Fonte Nuova, Guidonia, Marino, Monterotondo, Pomezia, Velletri);
- 4 submitted by municipalities belonging to the Province of Latina (Aprilia, Cisterna, Fondi, Formia).

The total amount was over 147 million euro: about 122 were allocated to beneficiary municipalities, 25 million were set aside as a “performance reserve,” a sort of reward allocated to the best programmes in terms of financial effectiveness, management, and implementation.

Out of the 122 million euro of the budget, about 113 million were allocated immediately (88 million from the ERDF – 80 from the 5th axis and 8 from the 2nd axis – and 25 million from the regional budget), while almost 9 million euro – derived from the 1st ERDF axis – were added at the end of 2013 and dedicated specifically to the so-called “Smart Cities applications” according to their original destination.

Fig. 1. Logo of the PLUS programme and map of beneficiaries

Source: Lazio Region, official PLUS programme website – <http://www.pluslazio.eu/>.

Table 2. List of PLUS programme beneficiaries and amounts assigned

Prov	Municipality	Programme title	Tot. financing 2012	Tot. financing 2014
RM	Albano Laziale	<i>Innovalba</i>	€ 5,100,000	€ 5,207,690
LT	Aprilia	<i>Aprilia Innova</i>	€ 7,471,164	€ 8,302,458
LT	Cisterna	<i>Il centro del centro pontino</i>	€ 6,123,715	€ 7,137,999
LT	Fondi	<i>La città dei servizi e delle nuove centralità</i>	€ 7,962,460	€ 8,362,549
RM	Fonte Nuova	<i>Un cuore per la città</i>	€ 5,051,550	€ 5,051,550

LT	Formia	<i>Appia Via di Mare</i>	€ 6,120,000	€ 7,500,000
FR	Frosinone	<i>La porta della città</i>	€ 5,019,934	€ 5,019,935
RM	Guidonia	<i>Da città del '900 a città del terzo millennio</i>	€ 7,301,760	€ 9,560,274
LT	Latina	<i>Marina di Latina</i>	€ 9,022,502	€ 9,691,502
RM	Marino	<i>Ecco Marino!</i>	€ 5,040,884	€ 5,040,884
RM	Monterotondo	<i>Dalla memoria al futuro</i>	€ 5,059,200	€ 5,059,200
LT	Pomezia	<i>Pomezia Cambia</i>	€ 9,062,626	€ 9,484,641
RI	Rieti	<i>Fare Centro-Fare Città</i>	€ 7,102,293	€ 8,592,526
RM	Rome	<i>Porta Portese una risorsa per Roma</i>	€ 8,865,389	€ 8,865,389
RM	Velletri	<i>Le vie della cultura</i>	€ 8,155,414	€ 8,755,414
VT	Viterbo	<i>Futuro al Centro</i>	€ 10,444,260	€ 10,975,473
			€ 112,903,151	€ 122,607,484

Source: Lazio Region, http://www.regione.lazio.it/binary/rl_a3/tbl_news/elenco_opere_finanziate.pdf.

According to the expenditure reported up to March 2016,³ the 16 financed programmes included 134 interventions, 73 public works for about 101 million euro and 61 actions of other kind:

- 33 initiatives for social inclusion and employment corresponding approximately to 7 million euro;
- 4 SMEs support programmes structured as call for incentives equal to 3 million euro;
- 14 measures concerning ICT and smart technologies, amounting to 9 million euro.

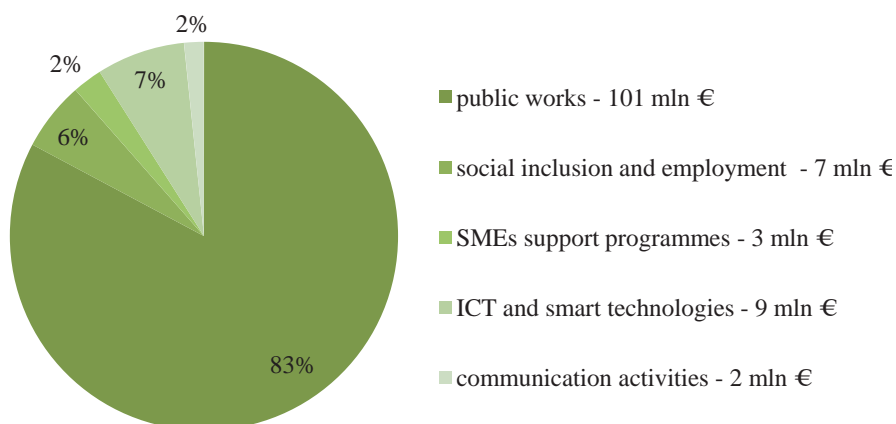
Each programme also scheduled about 2 million euro for communication and dissemination activities at local level. The Region provided guidelines to perform these activities including a common logo and a slogan “New life to cities,” both adaptable to each context.

³ PlusLazio.eu, http://www.pluslazio.eu/procedure_plus-854/.

Within the financed projects, the following interventions can be mentioned:

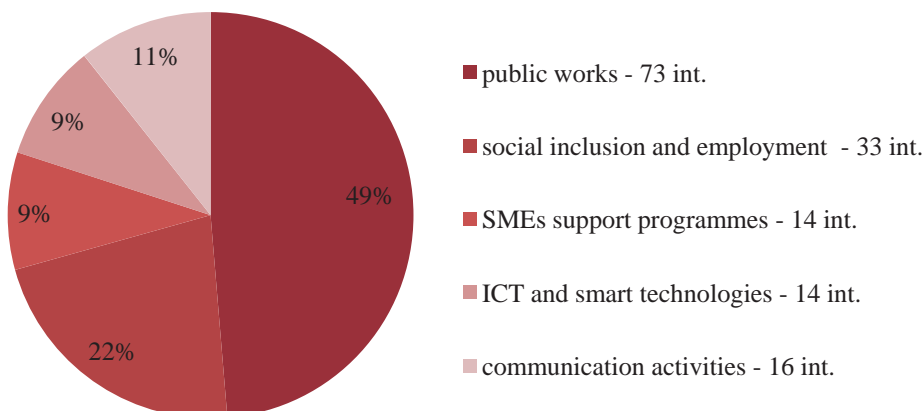
- 13 km of cycling routes;
- 8 public buildings that were subject to energy upgrading;
- 7 new schools (4 kindergartens and 3 nurseries);
- 15 public spaces renewed;
- 8 historical buildings/archaeological areas restored;
- 1024 vouchers for child and elderly care assigned;
- 466 beneficiaries of training courses;
- 175 SMEs awarded with incentives.

Fig. 2. PLUS Programme, Resource allocation by topic



Source: self-elaboration on data from Lazio Region.

Fig. 3. PLUS Programme, Number of interventions financed by topic



Source: self-elaboration on data from Lazio Region.

Table 3. List of PLUS programme beneficiaries, with details on the number of public works financed

Prov	Municipality	Programme title	Amount for public works	% over 2014 budget	Num. public works
RM	Albano Laziale	<i>Innovalba</i>	€ 5,000,000	98%	4
LT	Aprilia	<i>Aprilia Innova</i>	€ 6,150,798	74%	6
LT	Cisterna	<i>Il centro del centro pontino</i>	€ 4,566,699	64%	5
LT	Fondi	<i>La città dei servizi e delle nuove centralità</i>	€ 7,506,373	90%	6
RM	Fonte Nuova	<i>Un cuore per la città</i>	€ 4,050,000	80%	3
LT	Formia	<i>Appia Via di Mare</i>	€ 5,650,000	75%	6
FR	Frosinone	<i>La porta della città</i>	€ 4,721,504	94%	3
RM	Guidonia	<i>Da città del '900 a città del terzo millennio</i>	€ 8,661,373	91%	5
LT	Latina	<i>Marina di Latina</i>	€ 7,995,590	83%	6
RM	Marino	<i>Ecco Marino!</i>	€ 4,083,500	81%	6
RM	Monterotondo	<i>Dalla memoria al futuro</i>	€ 3,640,000	72%	3
LT	Pomezia	<i>Pomezia Cambia</i>	€ 7,603,085	80%	6
RI	Rieti	<i>Fare Centro-Fare Città</i>	€ 6,629,361	77%	4
RM	Rome	<i>Porta Portese una risorsa per Roma</i>	€ 7,257,221	82%	3
RM	Velletri	<i>Le vie della cultura</i>	€ 7,995,504	91%	2
VT	Viterbo	<i>Futuro al Centro</i>	€ 9,109,228	83%	5
			€ 100,620,236	82%	73

Source: self-elaboration on data from Lazio Region.

Since in September 2016 the reporting process definitively ended, the programme can be considered fully closed. Despite the efforts of municipalities to respect the schedule of spending commitments, some works have been delayed and in a few cases they had to be cancelled leading to the reallocation of resources to a reserve list of interventions. In most cases, problems occurred during authorization processes for new public buildings.

The experience of the Municipality of Aprilia

Aprilia is a city located 50 km south of Rome, with about 70,000 permanent residents. It was established in 1936 as a rural town, part of the *Bonifica Integrale* of Agro Pontino [the Fascist “total land reclamation” project], retaining its rural character until the 1950s, when, as one of the most disadvantaged areas in Italy, it was included in the group of areas eligible for the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno* [“Fund for the South”]. This triggered an industrialisation process, leading to a booming urban development that completely changed its structure and appearance.

Starting from 1951 – in particular between 1961 and 1970, and then until the 1980s – many industrial plants, especially in chemical-pharmaceutical and engineering sectors, have settled in the municipal area. Such employment opportunities have created a very strong demographic growth, which caused rapid and disorderly construction effort, in stark contrast to the original plan. Industrial areas themselves have developed in the absence of adequate planning and are today scattered in the municipal area, giving rise to problems of pollution, congestion of infrastructures, and long transport times.

Starting from the 1990s, after the closure of the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno*, the transition to a post-industrial economy led to some development of the tertiary sector. More recently, the territory of Aprilia has been severely hurt by the global economic downturn, leading to the unemployment rate of 30% at the beginning of 2014 (source: Employment Office of the Province of Latina).

The population keeps growing considerably, especially due to the inflow of newcomers pushed out from the capital city by high housing costs. Whereas from 1951 to 1991 the population has increased almost seven times (from almost 7,000 to 47,400 inhabitants), between 1991 and 2011 it kept growing by more than 40%, reaching 56,028 inhabitants in 2001, and 67,180 in 2011. The main criticalities can be summarised as follows:

- a considerable growth in the number of permanent residents coming from the capital city and immigration from non-European countries, without a parallel increase in the availability of public services, in particular those targeted to the most disabled categories;
- long phase of industrial decline, exacerbated by international crisis, with a consequent increase in layoffs and redundancies;

- lack of high quality public space: development of gathering places such as squares, parks, markets, and sports facilities has not matched the growth of population and industry development;
- inadequacy of the primary and secondary infrastructure: traffic congestion, pollution of water resources, and dependency on the private means of transport, caused by inadequate road infrastructure, lack of water treatment, and poor spatial distribution of urban functions;
- poor environmental quality, exacerbated by a strong predominance of private transport, with negative effects on air quality, liveability, and accessibility.

The PLUS “Aprilia Innova”

Aprilia’s Local Urban Development Plan (PLUS) aims at creating a more sustainable, competitive and inclusive city, through the implementation of innovative projects addressing environmental, economic, and social dimensions of urban life. According to the integrated approach, projects of physical urban renewal combine with measures promoting social inclusion, energy efficiency, and sustainable urban mobility.

The PLUS has followed a selection procedure defined by the Region of Lazio, as described in Table 4, which illustrates main steps leading to the approval of the proposal.

The preliminary proposal

Aprilia’s PLUS has been managed and coordinated by the Spatial Planning Section of the Municipality, together with the municipal Office for European Funds. All relevant offices of the Municipality have been involved in the preparation of the proposal and in the implementation of the projects: Spatial Planning, Public Works, Environment, Social Affairs, Employment, and Education. A central role has been played by the Director of the Spatial Planning and Environment Section, and by the Mayor who, from the beginning, has clearly outlined the strategy to be followed.

In September 2011, a preliminary programme was introduced, including mainly actions of urban rehabilitation that addressed, in particular, public spaces and buildings within a rather wide

area of the town centre. The first proposal was prepared in little more than two months, taking the cue from previous experiences of urban regeneration, such as the “Neighbourhood Contracts,” and the Covenant of Mayors’ SEAP, at the time under elaboration. Only after the approval of the preliminary proposal, the Municipality has set up a working group, involving external professionals, which reformulated the intervention strategy and identified a number of priority actions.

The final proposal – the strategy and its synergies with other initiatives

Compared to the proposal submitted in the first application stage, the strategy of the PLUS “Aprilia Innova” has been reformulated through a targeted selection of the operations, more functional to achievement of the priorities identified in the target area, i.e.:

- 1) environmental regeneration: sustainable mobility and energy efficiency;
- 2) social inclusion and employment;
- 3) improvement of governance.

Starting from 2011, the City of Aprilia has directed its action towards the improvement of environmental conditions through projects, tools and development of skills, in particular in the mobility and energy sectors. The PLUS project aims to integrate the initiatives already launched by the Municipality within the framework of the Covenant of Mayors with new actions concerning the energy retrofit of existing buildings (city hall and industrial buildings) and the creation of sustainable mobility infrastructures and services (bicycle paths, and the so-called Pedibus initiative, i.e. a “walking school bus” for children and accompanying adults). Moreover, in order to guide the medium and long-term policies, the project entails the implementation of innovative environmental monitoring systems, applied to traffic flows, greenhouse gas emissions, and urban heat island.

At the second application stage, the PLUS strategy has been more clearly oriented towards contrasting some of the social and economic criticalities that the target area is facing: an insufficient provision of care services, and the employment crisis. Therefore, some actions have been enhanced in comparison to the first

application stage, in particular those targeting the most vulnerable social groups and citizens at greater risk of social exclusion, such as the unemployed, the disabled, and single women with children. To this aim, the second proposal has been enriched with direct instruments for the immediate access to new, very much needed services, such as:

- vouchers for the purchase of home care services for vulnerable people, for the access of the disabled to day care services;
- guidance, training and vocational integration for disadvantaged people;
- resources and subsidies for young professionals and entrepreneurs;
- training workshops for the disabled;
- municipal nursery.

One of the main initiatives has been the establishment of an “Urban Centre,” intended as a structure dedicated to managing communication actions related to all PLUS activities. The Urban Centre is both a physical and a virtual space: in particular, the Aprilia Innova web portal will function as a “citizens’ virtual helpdesk,” integrating and enhancing the municipal IT systems, with a view to data and process sharing aimed at fostering active participation of citizens and stakeholders, including professionals and entrepreneurs.

Objectives

The second stage has led to a partial reformulation of general and specific objectives, in order to tackle the identified criticalities more effectively.

Objective 1 – Urban regeneration. Starting from the target area, the aim is to produce a decisive change in the liveability of the city, through the regeneration of squares, parks, public buildings, and other gathering places, and actions concerning mobility with a view to environmental and social sustainability. Specific objectives:

- increase in the offer of public spaces and their liveability;
- creation of new gathering places;
- refurbishment of buildings.

Objective 2 – Sustainability and innovation. The PLUS is clearly oriented towards ensuring a sustainable development for the city, with actions and services concerning sustainable mobility

(Mobility Manager), energy retrofit of buildings, environmental monitoring, and education to live healthier lifestyles, also through the participation in the Covenant of Mayors, supporting the creation of jobs in the growing sectors of renewable energies and the energy retrofit. Specific objectives:

- promotion of renewable energies and energy efficiency in buildings;
- monitoring and sustainable management of the urban environment;
- promotion of sustainable mobility and citizens' awareness raising on the issue of sustainability.

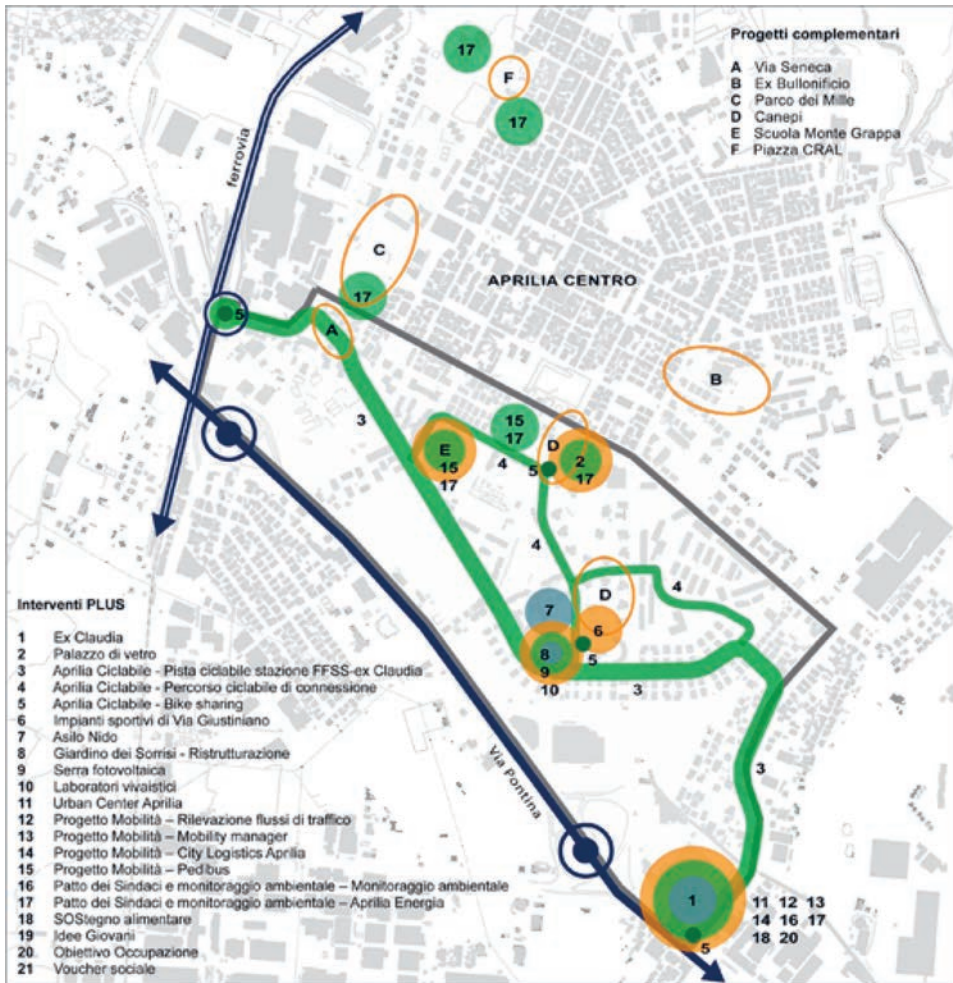
Objective 3 – Social inclusion and revitalisation of the production infrastructure. The aim is to strengthen social inclusion and revitalise production facilities – with particular attention to the disadvantaged categories, the unemployed workers and those under redundancy – by activating new services for families or by easing access to the existing ones (nurseries, social vouchers, vouchers for private nurseries), and promoting professional training and retraining, with particular attention to women. Specific objectives:

- strengthening social services, and services for the labour inclusion of the disadvantaged categories;
- support to entrepreneurship, especially targeted to young entrepreneurs;
- strengthening training activities in connection with the business world;
- enhancement of social cohesion, information and participation of citizens.

Aprilia's list of interventions

The Aprilia's PLUS was approved for financing in June 2012 and ranked fifth in the final ranking. The original request for financing was almost 10.5 million euro, the Region financed about 8.6 million euro and the Municipality contributed the remaining share. The budget was divided into the following categories: approximately 6 million euro for public works, about 1.8 million euro for social inclusion and employment, and about 700,000 euro for ICT and smart technologies.

Fig. 4. Aprilia's PLUS map of interventions



Source: Municipality of Aprilia.

Table 4. Aprilia's map and list of the interventions

Num	Interventions	Regional financing	Municipal financing
1	Energy Refurbishment of the "Ex-Claudia" plant	€ 2,000,000	€ 766,832
2	Energy refurbishment of the Town Hall	€ 1,551,142	€ 200,000
3	Bicycle path (Train station/"Ex-Claudia")	€ 760,136	
4	Cycling route	€ 362,378	
5	Bike sharing	€ 260,953	
6	Sport Facility via Giustiniano	€ 106,452	€ 178,177
7	Nursery school	€ 1,383,723	
8	Renewal of "Giardino dei Sorrisi"	€ 317,104	€ 300,000
9	Photovoltaic Greenhouse for social activities	€ 138,693	
10	Plant nursery/laboratories	€ 110,636	
11	Urban centre	€ 350,000	€ 40,000
12	Analysis of traffic flows	€ 100,000	
13	Mobility manager	€ 100,000	€ 50,000
14	City logistics	€ 281,384	
15	Walk-to-school campaign "Pedibus"	€ 80,000	
16	Environmental monitoring about Emissions Scenarios and Urban Heat Island	€ 400,000	
17	Renewable energy plants "Aprilia energia"	€ 80,000	
18	Food Bank initiative "SOSstegno alimentare"	€ 90,000	
19	"Young Ideas" Initiative	€ 127,000	
20	"Objective Employment" Initiative	€ 1,451,840	€ 200,000
21	Voucher system	€ 405,000	
	TOTAL	€ 10,456,441	€ 1,735,009
LEGEND			
Public works	ICT and Smart technologies	Social inclusion and employment	

Source: Municipality of Aprilia.

Among the public works, the most important and innovative interventions concern some new public buildings, energy retrofit and functional transformations of other existing ones, in particular:

- 1) energy and functional retrofit of the former industrial plant “Claudia”;
- 2) energy retrofit of the Town Hall, formerly known as the “Glass Palace”;
- 3) new nursery school.

The “Ex-Claudia” plant was renewed in order to become a community centre for citizens to host new urban services – such as urban information centre, EU help desk, a Food Bank – and to foster social and cultural initiatives. About 1,500 m² of interior space has been recovered applying innovative energy saving techniques, while the exteriors were re-organised as a new city square. Energy performance of the building was improved by 82%, moving from G to B class (9.34 kWh/m³ per year).

Fig. 5. The “Ex-Claudia” plant, before and after the works



Photos: Maurizio Sibilla.

The retrofit of the Town Hall allowed renewing about 3,000 square metres of public offices; it included the redesign of the building envelope to improve energy efficiency and the installation of renewable energy systems including an innovative heating/cooling system powered by a 4-pipe-loopground-source heat pump. The energy performance of the building was improved from G to A class, energy consumptions reduced by 90%, with estimated savings of about 15,000 euro/year.

Fig. 6. The Town Hall, before and after the works

Photos: Stefano Magaudda.

The PLUS initiative allowed for the renovation of the building of the first municipal nursery in the city for children up to three years. In particular, the nursery is composed of three sections hosting 52 children in total. The building is made entirely of wood, built with the “Xlam” technology, with a wood fibre thermal insulation coating, and other insulation solutions for the reduction of its heating requirements, for which it has been labelled according to KlimaHaus certification scheme as “Gold” and “Nature.”⁴ The building has a single heating/cooling system consisting of a water/air heat pump with ground-source pipe loops, underfloor heating, controlled mechanical ventilation, and a PV system producing the energy needed for feeding the heat pump and for other energy needs.

In conclusion, the PLUS allowed the Municipality of Aprilia to apply substantial energy retrofit actions on different types of buildings: public offices, industrial buildings re-used as office buildings and public spaces, and new buildings. It allowed testing technologies that so far have been little used in the Region of Lazio, such as ground-source heat pumps, or ceiling and underfloor heating and cooling solutions. Moreover, the nursery is the first example of a wood structure of this kind in Central and Southern Italy to have received the KlimaHaus Gold and Nature certifications. The buildings have been operational since October 2016, and only a thorough monitoring plan will allow analysing in detail the effectiveness of the chosen solutions.

⁴ Klima Haus certification scheme provides for 3 classes depending on the heating energy requirement: Gold-A-B. Gold one ensures a heating energy consumption lower than 10 KWh/m² per year, requiring practically no active heating system. Nature is an additional label referred to the overall sustainability of the building including also requirements on CO₂ emissions, water consumption, and other comfort related criteria.

Aprilia Smart City

The Smart City programme entails the implementation of three projects concerning the monitoring and environmental analysis of the city, plus a fourth project for the establishment of a web platform in line with governmental directives on transparent administration (Legislative Decree 33/2013). The objective is to increase information to citizens and their participation in public life, giving them the chance to directly intervene through surveys, and to use advanced services. The projects that have been funded and implemented are the following:

- Urban Centre;
- Mobility Manager;
- Monitoring of traffic flows and emission scenarios;
- Environmental monitoring of urban heat island and the flows of polluting substances.

Urban Centre

The Urban Centre is intended as a new set of governance tools, and is composed of a unified database shared by different municipal sectors, and a number of applications of different types aimed at fostering active citizens' participation in choices concerning the future structure of the city, intended both as a set of physical elements and urban community.

The information system meets the need to establish a knowledge base appropriate to the challenges of the urban and environmental rehabilitation of degraded areas, and meeting the latest standards on data quality and significance. On the other hand, the set of communication and participation tools is able to ensure the traceability of data flow and access to information and decision-making processes (Open Data and Open Government).

Mobility management

This project led to the appointment of a municipal Mobility Management (MM), with the task of drafting a commuter plan for the civil servants, and coordinating the activities of local private companies' mobility managers. Mobility manager's activities

have been conceived as part of an Area Plan coherent with the European Guidelines on Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMP). Mobility management software has been developed and supplied, able to analyse the dynamics and problems related to school and job commuting, and to make plans through simulation models. This software is also equipped with a Decision Support System allowing to plan measures and to quantify their impact on both the choice of transport modes and the set of chosen indicators. It provides information on how the mobility scenario will change if certain measures fostering sustainable displacements are put in place.

Analysis of traffic flows

This project has produced a dynamic database, useful for managing a Municipality's decision-making concerning mobility (Mobility Manager and City Police) in connection with the environmental issues, starting the process of the SUMP's implementation.

The method used in the survey entailed a first stage of data acquisition from temporary control units, and a second stage with fixed control units placed on heavy traffic roads; traffic data have been measured by Doppler-effect microwave sensors (number of transits, date and hour, lane, speed, and distance between vehicles).

Environmental monitoring of urban heat island

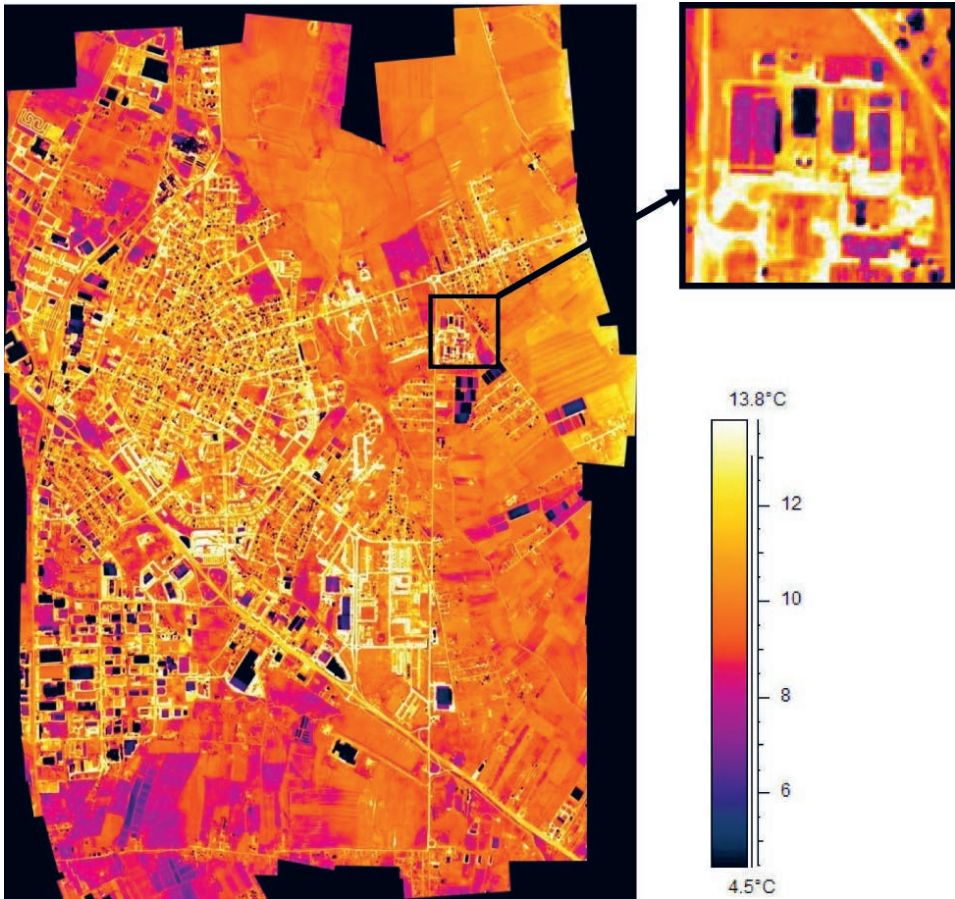
This project aims at providing the Municipality with an innovative, quantitative tool for monitoring urban heat island and, more general, urban environment quality. In particular, these activities have allowed establishing an innovative and permanent monitoring infrastructure composed of:

- a fixed network of 4 meteorological and air quality stations;
- a mobile network of 3 air quality stations to be installed on urban public transport vehicles;
- an eddy covariance station;

- set of satellite and aerial data with high spatial and temporal resolution, useful for the elaboration of thermal-multispectral maps and for updating the land cover map.

Database analysis and modelling resulted in a series of outputs useful for mapping the dynamics of the heat island, defining energy balance, and the flow of pollutants in an urban environment. In particular, these data allowed to develop a vulnerability map that integrates the impacts of urban heat island effects with those deriving from the concentration of pollutants. These new knowledge bases have in turn fed the Urban Centre's database.

Fig. 7. Urban Heat Island Map of Aprilia



Source: Municipality of Aprilia.

Aprilia Smart City, future developments

The databases and tools have been designed and developed to be also functional to projects not yet implemented by the Municipality, but being in line with a participative and environmentally friendly approach to spatial planning. These governance and environmental monitoring tools will be essential for future programming and planning activities, such as the drafting of the SUMP and SECAP within the framework of the Mayors' Adapt initiative. This theme is connected, in particular, with macro-activity concerning the monitoring of the heat island and polluting substances, which will be essential, together with the local vulnerability map, for the elaboration of a local adaptation strategy.

Conclusions

On the whole, the PLUS programme can be considered a good practice, even though so far not frequently debated in the existing literature. First of all, the programme claims credit for having healed the initial lack of interest of the Region in urban issues, although these were clearly addressed both by the Community Strategic Guidelines and the National Strategic Reference Framework. The initiative finally succeeded in drawing attention to cities as engines of regional development after many years since the last systematic urban regeneration programme, and, most significantly, in a regional context where urban structure is strongly influenced by the proximity of Rome, which too often attracts all urban efforts.

Despite past performances and problems encountered by measures under other axes, the PLUS programme proved that the Region is able to spend efficiently, and has succeeded in removing many obstacles to correct and timely use EU funds. Such a result has been made possible as a result of great effort invested in defining the management framework: strict requirements for implementation procedures, opportunities for the reserve list of interventions in the event of savings or delays, permanent monitoring, and technical assistance. All these provisions allowed the Region to be timely in spending and reporting the ERDF to the EU without financial/administrative artifices, the municipalities to finalise the plans without substantial and expensive project variants, and the involved enterprises to be paid in a reasonable timeframe.

Apart from tangible effects of spatial renovation and the availability of new facilities and services, one of the most important benefits of the PLUS initiative consisted in capacity building: management and implementation rules established by the Region had in fact forced local authorities to build up ad-hoc internal structure including representatives from almost all the administrative departments.

Furthermore, municipal staff members have often ended up acquiring significant expertise on relatively new and increasingly relevant topics, such as energy and mobility management and climate adaptation; these tools also enable getting familiar with ICT/smart applications and with new forms of public participation. In some cases, the PLUS experience led to the activation of permanent structures and monitoring systems conceived to manage future urban transformations such as the Urban Centre in Aprilia, as well as to trigger profitable collaborations with research institutions.

Despite the fact that the PLUS programme originated from a 2011 review of the 2007–2013 OP, it has entailed some significant constraints mainly caused by time restrictions imposed on the planning process. In many cases, plans were not founded on a strong, well-structured development vision, but defined *ex-post*, in order to hold together projects that in many cases were already in the pipeline. All the interventions had to be coherent with the city plan and the zoning code in force, but this compliance cannot be considered completely reassuring, since most of the town planning schemes in the Lazio Region are largely outdated, often characterised by several zoning variants, and do not reflect any development strategy or prioritisation that could address urban regeneration process.

The high predominance of public works in intervention lists has, on the one hand, contributed to compensating – at least partially – for missing offer of public space and services, thanks to the building of new, undoubtedly necessary facilities, such as the nurseries. On the other hand, however, it has highlighted the difficulty encountered by municipalities in involving the private sector beyond the subsidy schemes, apart from a few minor, supplementary interventions. Obviously, the lack of available time and the economic crisis also played a role in these circumstances; nevertheless, it raised concerns about the effectiveness of the programme in terms of its capacity to activate long-term urban regeneration processes.

A similar concern regards the risk of dissipating the expertise acquired by the municipal staff members and missing the opportunities arisen in the absence of a specific medium-long term programme and dedicated resources. Even if the 2014–2020 EU cohesion policy put the urban dimension at its very heart, the Lazio Region, differently from other Italian regions, has again omitted to include an explicit urban axis in its ERDF Operational Programme, even if many, clearly urban-related, issues such as mobility, energy efficiency, and social inclusion are addressed in a crosscutting way.

The challenge now is to figure out if the current regional development strategy, which is based on the principle of integration of the European, national and regional funding sources and programmes, will be able to capitalise on the PLUS experience and continue working actively for urban regeneration, even in the absence of a specific urban focus.

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Elena Battaglini*

**THE SUSTAINABLE TERRITORIAL INNOVATION
OF “INNER PERIPHERIES.”
THE LAZIO REGION (ITALY) CASE**

ABSTRACT: This methodological, policy-focused paper firstly defines the concept of “sustainable territorial innovation” and its operationalisation according to the strategic objectives of Europe 2020. Statistical processing was based on 26 indicators, which helped to perform a multivariate analysis and allowed to identify ten groups of municipalities characterised in terms of the territorial sustainable innovation idea. Their GIS spatial distribution has led authors to combine them with the set of indicators proposed by the Italian Government in the UE Cohesion Policy 2014–2020 perspective. The paper also addresses the constraints and opportunities for urban and peri-urban policies within new scenarios.

KEYWORDS: Territorial innovation processes, sustainability, endogenous regional development, urban and peri-urban agriculture, regional governance, Lazio Region.

Introduction

The Italian “inner peripheries” are subject to a specific national strategy, acknowledged by the EU in the Partnership 2014–2020 (MISE, 2013), which will be granted by the following: European Regional Development Fund (ERDF); European Regional Development Fund (ERDF); European Social Fund (ESF); Cohesion Fund (CF); European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development

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(EAFRD); European Maritime & Fisheries Fund (EMFF), and from the Italian “Stability Law” for annual adjustment of basic services in healthcare, education and mobility.

The classification of these areas came about by constructing “inner peripheries” and “centres” macro-classes, such as those proposed by the DPS (Department for Development and Economic Cohesion of the Ministry of Economic Development). These macro-classes are defined by the presence of: 1) secondary education, 2) health services, and finally, 3) rail transport ensured by the presence of at least “Silver type” stations corresponding to small and medium-sized plants. Therefore, the classification of inner peripheries relies on descriptive indicators that relate to the level of spatial remoteness of different Italian municipalities relative to their access to essential services in the event that this “distance” might affect citizens’ quality of life, their level of social inclusion, but also their economic potential.

In the National Strategy document, inner peripheries are also defined as local contexts that “have important environmental resources (water resources, agricultural systems, forests, natural and human landscapes), cultural resources (archaeological, historical settlements, abbeys, small museums, craft centres).” They also “present a highly diverse territory, outcome of the dynamics of the various and diverse natural systems, peculiar and centuries-old processes of human activity” (MISE, 2013b: 8).

The identification of inner peripheries with “peripheral” and “very remote” contexts and their indicators, referring substantively only to the negative aspects of their development, does not allow scholars and practitioners to fully analyse their advantages in terms of lower human pressure and their potential relative to “the offer of services (ecosystem, environmental, landscape and cultural) and developmental factors (energy, water, tourism)” (Dematteis, 2012; 2013). From this perspective, the “inner peripheries” refer to a “dispositional” concept (Lazarsfeld, 1966) which, by definition, emerges in relation to other variables, in this case related to the presence of potential valuable landscape, tourist attractions, economic diversification, the latent cognitive factors for its development and, of course, the demographic profile of these areas.

This methodological contribution is intended to analyse what factors might favour the regional socioeconomic innovation of these areas in order to outline the possible policy scenarios to support their development. The analysis presented here refers to the Lazio Region and results from a study commissioned by the Unindustria Lazio and the Compagnia di San Paolo. It was conducted in

cooperation with the Centro Einaudi of Turin and the University of Roma Tre (Centro Einaudi, 2014). The concluding remarks of this contribution will address the constraints and opportunities urban and peri-urban policies are facing within 2014–2020 scenarios.

**The concept of territorial innovation and sustainability
and its operation with reference to the inner peripheries:
the case of Lazio**

The neo-institutional economy, priority given to regional competitiveness rather than that of the nations, the theory of comparative advantage, attention paid to industrial districts all have highlighted the “territory” as a crucial variable to describe and, for some authors, interpret, constraints and opportunities of regional development by questioning the neoclassical theory of growth in favour of the so-called endogenous development (Stimson et al., 2011).

From this perspective, over time, places have taken on the role of a favourable (or unfavourable) environment for business, making possible the creation of external economies (or diseconomies), and giving rise to specific forms of cooperation between companies and developmental players. For some authors at least, what produces development and innovation in certain successful regions is, in this sense, not the assertion of a single company, but the competitiveness of the entire territory, expressed through the synergies between institutions and socioeconomic players. These synergies form the basis of the processes of accumulation of knowledge and the dissemination of information and opportunities useful for supporting development in the context of effective planning (Battaglini, 2014).

The extensive analysis of the experience of Italian districts allows us to observe how firms tend to focus on local contexts in which a long-standing culture fosters local production development. The territory is in fact an essential element “that links the performance of firms in the presence of a rich fabric of productive activities and local collective goods” (Trigilia, Ramella, 2008: 5). Innovation develops mainly in territories open to creativity and it can attract other innovative companies and develop a “culture of innovation,” a glue for established enterprises and a stimulus for new services, products and processes.

The literature on districts (see, in particular: Becattini, 1987; Bagnasco, 1988; Brusco, 1989; Becattini and Sengeberger, 1991; Pyke et al., 1996) points out that competitiveness and innovation are nested in local contexts where relational resources are most present. Proximity, in fact, fosters the availability of information through informal, random, and interpersonal contacts (such as financial or commercial rumours). It generates other positive effects, such as cooperation in the strict sense, arising from the coordination and mutual control of firms, from the habit of repeated contacts through trust, or from the common feeling of belonging to a community – also of businesses – that shares similar values and attitudes.

Proximity also determines benefits that are related to the production of skilled labour, favours imitation and the diffusion of organisational models or routine management, encourages the identification of common business strategies for promoting and marketing, and stimulates technological and organisational change. These factors also contribute to the reduction of production and transaction costs, in addition to the synergies between the players and the construction of a local unitary image and brand.

Local territory is therefore the core for innovative activities of enterprises, since it provides the setting for economic, as well as organisational and social innovation dynamics. The exchange and the creation of knowledge are also linked to an appropriate socio-institutional and relational system, which could be considered a potential driver and attractor of innovation. Therefore, a territory must be understood as a place where relationships intertwine and build innovation in reference to its social and cultural context. Accordingly, the semantic concept of territorial innovation refers to the different dimensions of development – cultural, socioeconomic, and institutional. Therefore, it is difficult to operationalise, especially in research that is designed to build policy scenarios on a quantitative basis, in the light of the specific characteristics of indicators in terms of communication effectiveness.

Our work thus refers to the operational definition of the concept of “sustainable territorial innovation” by which we mean “those processes that support the efficiency, attractiveness and competitiveness of a local system through the promotion of sustainable activities, opposing the consumption of resources, urban sprawl and promoting soil conservation, landscape, territorial identity, the quality of life for the present and future local communities” (Battaglini et al., 2014).

In order to analyse the processes of sustainable territorial innovation and measure the organisational characteristics of socio-economic structures, five analytical dimensions (demographic profile, production innovation, tourism, infrastructure, land use) have been selected. A quantitative matrix with the information available at the municipal level was then constructed.

Based on the available data, the concept of “territorial sustainable innovation” was then operationalised with reference to the strategic objectives of Europe 2020:

- knowledge economy;
- integrated territorial approach;
- exploitation of natural resources, landscape, and biodiversity;
- multifunctional agriculture;
- sustainable tourism.

Thanks to an encoding operation, 26 indicators (Table 1) were constructed in order to satisfy as much as possible the following criteria: coverage of the entire territory of Lazio, semantic consistency between empirical indicators and the concept dimensions under investigation, and consistent and significant statistical relationships among indicators. The 26 indicators were then divided into two macro areas. The first, composed of 19 indicators, provides an account of the proxies most closely related to the socio-demographic and economic dimension (SL). The second, made up of seven indicators, describes the landscape, environmental and land use issues (AM). At a later stage, we conducted a principal component analysis (PCA), using the “blocks” approach, with the PCA performed separately on the two sections SL and AM in order to identify significant dimensions that describe and summarise relationships among indicators and to mark out relationships among the underlying cases (municipalities) and indicators (Table 2).

Table 1. Indicators

Indicators	Source	Year
Demographic profile		
Old age index	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Index of elderly dependence	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Index of youth dependence	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Percentage of foreigners of total pop.	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Housing density	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2012

Table 1. (cont.)

Indicators	Source	Year
Productive Innovation processes and employment (Pavitt categories)		
% Production Traditional and standard sectors' employees of total employees	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
% Traditional and standard sectors' local units of total local units	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
% Specialised and hi-tech sector's employees of total employees	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
% Specialised and hi-tech sector's local units of total employees	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
% Agriculture, energy, raw material sectors' employees of total employees	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
% Agriculture, energy, raw material sectors' local units of total local units	FDV elaborations on Istat Asia data	2010
Tourist supply and demand		
Average daily tourist presence	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2009/ 2011
Tourist levels	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2009
Visitor density	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Hotel availability	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2011
Material and immaterial infrastructure		
Number of infrastructures per municipality	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2008
% pop. without broadband from landline	Ministry for Economic Development	2012
% pop. without broadband	Ministry for Economic Development	2012
% tourist employers in local units	FDV elaborations on Istat data	2010
Soil use		
Index of agricultural landscape	FDV elaborations Agricultural census data	2012
Green per inhabitant	FDV elaborations on su Cen. agricoltura	2011
Forest area of total	Sian Inea elaborations on Agrit Populos data	2010

Protected surface area in relation to total surface area	FDV elaborations on Environment Ministry data	2010
Photovoltaic energy per capita	FDV elaborations on Gse data	2011
% of organic farms of total	Agricultural census	2010
% of PDO/IGP firms out of total firms	Agricultural census	2010

Source: FDV – Di Vittorio Foundation, Italy.

Table 2. Principal component analysis (PCA) dimensions

Indicators	Interpretations	Polarisation
Relationship between Pavitt classification local units, traditional and standard products and total of local units	Innovation in production and employment processes (SL1)	Positive semiaxis: innovative Negative semiaxis: non innovative
Relationship between Pavitt classification local classification local units, traditional and standard products and total employees		
Relationship between Pavitt classification local units, specialised and hi-tech products and total local units		
Relationship between Pavitt classification local units employees specialised and hi-tech products and total employment		
Relationship between Pavitt classification local units agriculture, energy, raw materials and total local units		
Relationship between Pavitt classification local units employees agriculture, energy, raw materials and total employment		
Average daily tourist presences	Tourist supply and demand (SL2)	Positive semiaxis: high supply and demand Negative semiaxis: low supply and demand
Relationship between average daily tourist presences and resident population		
Number of beds per accommodation per sq. km		
Relationship hotels and tourist with total accommodation		

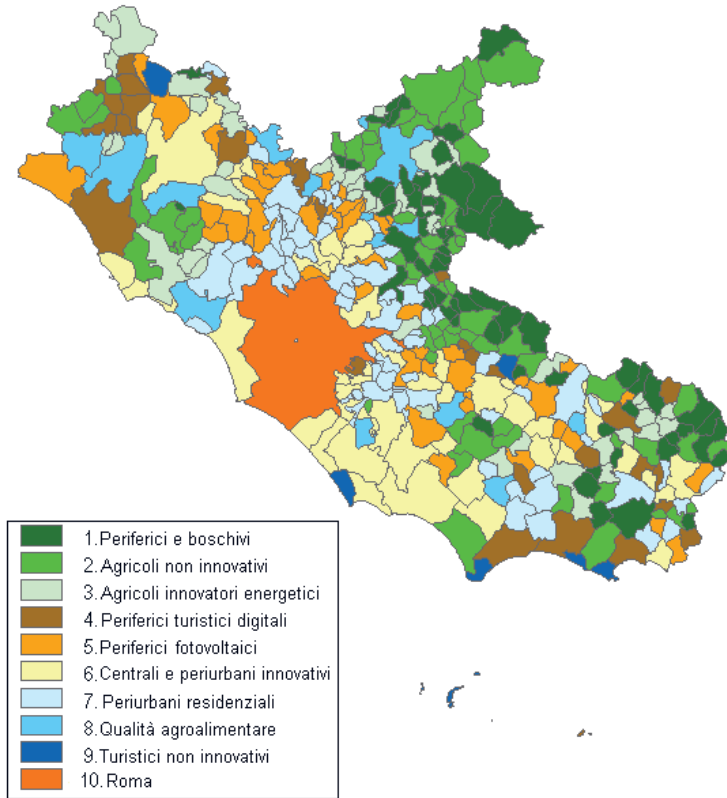
Table 2. (cont.)

Indicators	Interpretations	Polarisation
Index of aging: percentage >64 and over <15	Demographic characteristics (SL3)	Positive semiaxis: youth dependence, foreigners, high density Negative semiaxis: elderly dependence, aging
Index of elderly dependence: percentage >64 in population 15–64		
Index of youth dependence: percentage <15 in population 15–64		
No. of foreigners in total resident population		
Population density: inhabitants per sq. km		
Infrastructure index: number of infrastructures per municipality	Material and immaterial infrastructures (SL4)	Positive semiaxis: lacking Negative semiaxis: high levels of infrastructures and work in the tourist sector
Digital divide 1: percentage of population without landline broadband		
Digital divide 2: percentage of population without landline and/or mobile broadband		
Relationship between tourism employees in the municipality and Italy on local tourism units Italy		

Source: FDV – Di Vittorio Foundation, Italy.

Afterwards, we conducted a cluster analysis (Fig. 1) which allowed us to identify ten groups of municipalities that were characterised uniformly with respect to the main components of the analysed concept of territorial innovation.

We finally combined spatial distribution of the groups with macro-classes and indicators proposed by the DPS, the Department for Development and Economic Cohesion of the Ministry of Economic Development, from the perspective of 2014–2020 European programming (Tables 3 and 4).

Fig. 1. Territorial sustainable innovation clusters in the Lazio region

Source: FDV – Di Vittorio Foundation, Italy.

Based on this correlation, cluster 1 (WOODED & PERIPHERAL) is composed of 61 municipalities mainly located towards the eastern and the south-eastern borders of Lazio Region. This is the group that best represents the type of inland regions made up of villages with a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants. This cluster is characterised by poor infrastructural facilities. High presence of woodlands and parks is the reason why this area will focus on development policies that actively protect the territory, natural resources and bio-diversity, which are beneficial to urban centres as they generate positive externalities.

Cluster 2 (AGRICULTURAL & CONSERVATIVE) is composed of 65 municipalities, distributed throughout the Lazio region, with a population, mostly elderly, of less than 5,000. This group consists of two-thirds of municipalities located at inner peripheries, the majority of the “intermediate” type and only a few in peri-urban

areas. They are characterised by high presence of wooded and agricultural lands, often located in natural beauty and landscape-valuable areas, such as Sabaudia, in the Circeo National Park, Antrodoco, Amatrice, Leonessa and other towns in the Rieti area that base their attractiveness on four regional natural protected reserves and the proximity of the National Park of Gran Sasso and Monti della Laga, as well as Orvinio and Roccagiovine in the Lucretili Mountains Regional Park.

Cluster 3 (AGRICULTURAL & INNOVATIVE) includes 46 municipalities, mostly small, widely distributed throughout the region and nearly all related to inner peripheries. It organises its activities around the supply of certain agricultural products and woodlands, as well as photovoltaic energy production. This cluster, because of natural resources and a tendency to stimulate innovation – represented by an interest in alternative energy sources – offers a glimpse of possible gains from the production and supply of renewable energy resources also in reference to wind power, biomass, and water.

Cluster 4 (PERIPHERAL, TOURIST & DIGITAL) contains 28 municipalities, two-thirds of which are related to inner peripheries. This is the group that encompasses the biggest number of “remote” municipalities. Despite that, it has got a good access to digital infrastructure, which, in a way, shortens the distance from the transportation network. There are many tourist destinations (particularly in Terracina, Fondi, Formia and Ventotene, in the province of Latina), centres and historic towns such as Tarquinia, Soriano nel Cimino, Capodimonte, Civitella d’Agliano in Viterbo, Arpino, Acute (Fr) or Prossedi (Lt). It is a perfect location for green areas and parks, which is indicative of possible development of tourist routes through the use of integrated and multi-thematic routes that could connect Rome with natural, cultural, and culinary resources of the hinterland of the Lazio Region.

Cluster 5 (PERIPHERAL & PHOTOVOLTAIC) is represented by 43 municipalities, two-thirds related to inner peripheries. Despite the presence of artistic and cultural towns (Alatri, Palestrina, Montefiascone, Cori), the cluster is characterised by a lack of tourists, a low level of industrial activities, and a significant youth dependence ratio. However, signs of innovation come from the production of photovoltaic energy, for which agricultural land is mainly used. Therefore, we would claim that activities of this kind are important tools of “deepening” (Van der Ploeg, Roep, 2003) the

functions of farms to appropriate added value that is traditionally achieved outside of them.

Cluster 6 (CENTRAL & PERI-URBAN INNOVATIVE) is formed by the major provincial capitals (Latina, Viterbo, Frosinone) and other peri-urban towns, many of which are located in the Valley of Sacco and the Pontine lowland, administratively bounded by the 1999 master plan. This cluster shows significant levels of innovation and tourism economy but reduced infrastructure resources, including digital ones. This group presents higher than the average levels of the dependence ratio; it also has a high presence of immigrants and an increased population density. Despite difficulties inherent in these realities, the cluster represents socioeconomic dynamics that should be supported by industrial policies that might foster a greater territorial rooting of firms and the development of relations between different territorial polarities in order to reproduce material goods and intangible assets more effectively.

Cluster 7 municipalities (PERI-URBAN & RESIDENTIAL) belong to two-thirds of inner peripheries, especially mid-range. The remaining part is made up of densely populated urban centres like Tivoli, Monterotondo, Ladispoli (Rm) and belt municipalities often located in areas of valuable landscapes as in the case of Bracciano and Anguillara, and many municipalities located in the Castelli Romani. High population density, the youth dependency ratio and a large presence of foreigners suggest that these areas are attractive in terms of low residential costs rather than employment.

The 14 municipalities (Boville Ernica, Priverno, Rieti and Vetralla – “central” areas – and Canino, Castelnuovo di Farfa, Cerveteri, Collecchio, Lanuvio, Neroli, Orte, Poggio Moiano, Segni and Tuscania relating to “inland” areas) that are parts of Cluster 8 (FOOD QUALITY POLES) are all located in valuable landscapes. This cluster is strongly characterised by agricultural economy devoted to organic and certified agriculture (PDO, PGI) with interesting quality products like olive oil of Canino, Tuscia (Vt) and Sabina (Ri, Rm) and Cerveteri wine, in the Alban hills (in the Province of Rome). The group shares a moderate accessibility to infrastructure, including digital, and shows an aging index that is lower than the average. To fully seize these important opportunities for innovation and diversification of the offer in terms of multifunctional agriculture, what is required is an “active” management of interinstitutional relationships to be directed

towards market innovation, creation of business networks and an offer of differentiated quality services.

Cluster 9 (TOURIST BUT NOT INNOVATIVE) includes 7 municipalities: some central, located along the coastline, Anzio, Gaeta, San Felice Circeo, Sperlonga, and others relating to the inner peripheries, Bolsena, Fiuggi and Ponza. It has experienced a substantial demand and supply of labour in the tourism sector, but their geographical location refers to a traditional form of tourism development, with a strong seasonal component. Although this cluster presents significant infrastructural facilities, data allows us to observe a lack of innovation in terms of production and employment. The presence of wooded, agricultural and natural protected areas is a potentially significant factor for developing alternative tourism patterns that enhance the nature and culture of the places.

Table 3. Clusters and DPS macro-classes matrix
Number of municipalities and related column distribution percentages

Macro Classes		CLUSTER									Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Inner peripheries	N	56	54	38	18	27	22	46	10	3	274
	%	91.8	83.1	82.6	64.3	62.8	45.8	70.8	71.4	42.9	72.7
Centres	N	5	11	8	10	16	26	19	4	4	103
	%	8.2	16.9	17.4	35.7	37.2	54.2	29.2	28.6	57.1	27.3
Total	N	61	65	46	28	43	48	65	14	7	377
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: FDV – Di Vittorio Foundation, Italy.

Table 4. Clusters and DPS indicators matrix
Number of municipalities and related column distribution percentages

Classes of municipality		CLUSTER									Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
A – Poles	N	0	0	0	1	0	6	1	1	1	10
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	12.5	1.5	7.1	14.3	2.7
B – Inter-municipality poles	N	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	1	0	8
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	2.3	6.3	1.5	7.1	0.0	2.1

C – Belt	N	5	11	8	7	15	17	17	2	3	85
	%	8.2	16.9	17.4	25.0	34.9	35.4	26.2	14.3	42.9	22.5
D – Intermediate	N	36	36	18	13	21	21	33	7	3	188
	%	59.0	55.4	39.1	46.4	48.8	43.8	50.8	50.0	42.9	49.9
E – Peripheral	N	19	18	20	4	6	1	13	3	0	84
	%	31.1	27.7	43.5	14.3	14.0	2.1	20.0	21.4	0.0	22.3
F – Ultra peripheral	N	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	%	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Total	N	61	65	46	28	43	48	65	14	7	377
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: FDV – Di Vittorio Foundation, Italy.

Conclusions

Our analysis reflects not only on the threats, but also on settlement opportunities of the municipalities of Lazio regarding the innovation of production and employment processes, their demographic profile, demand for tourist services and their offer, tangible and intangible infrastructures of the territory and, finally, land use.

The municipalities of the first five clusters, while mainly belonging to inner peripheries, show clear signals of potential development trajectories towards the development, management and environmental protection and renewable resources, transition to a low-carbon economy, promotion of mitigation and adaptation to climate change, exploitation of natural and cultural assets through development paths and supply diversification also in relation to tourism. In particular, the third cluster (AGRICULTURAL & INNOVATIVE), the fourth (PERIPHERAL, TOURIST & DIGITAL), and the fifth (PERIPHERAL & PHOTOVOLTAIC) are showing signs of potential positive externalities with regard to the Roman metropolis. To promote employment and control the centripetal attraction towards the Roman metropolis and areas in the region with a more precise industrial vocation, we need to focus on the innovative latent tendency in these municipalities and on “priority themes/focal points” (Mantino, 2012) that they can grasp within local communities.

Compared to 2007–2013, the new European programming provides opportunities for inner peripheries on highlighted trajectories, providing a clearer concentration of resources on the objectives more directly related to innovative and sustainable development: access to information and communications technology, competitiveness of the agricultural sector, and that of fisheries and aquaculture, support for a low-carbon economy, inclusive growth, investment in education, and lifelong learning.

The “place-based” development policy, inaugurated by the new programming could also promote the most “central” areas: in particular the sixth (CENTRAL & PERI-URBAN INNOVATIVE) and the eighth cluster (FOOD QUALITY POLES) that show stronger innovation effort in quality of production and employment. The 2014–2020 financing period could also stimulate socioeconomic players in the ninth cluster (TOURIST BUT NOT INNOVATIVE) to develop cultural, food and wine and overall well-being (wellness) tourist routes through public-private synergies.

In order to counteract the processes of “top-down territorialisation” (Palazzo, 2014), local communities must therefore regain their role of “active protection” of the territory, distancing themselves from a conceptualisation of protection in terms of purely executive regulations.

In our opinion, the active and efficient protection of a territory could be achieved through the local management of resources and autonomy in controlling the economy. Innovative processes of protection imply, in fact, that local communities, by virtue of specific values they assign to their own resources, could choose the destination of use or non-use of individual territorial assets (e.g., we produce photovoltaic energy or food? Should we sell the timber from forests or use the area as parks?). In other words, innovative policies entail promoting and developing local visions on development and, ultimately, enhancing the local social capital and material culture rooted in the territory.

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**ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN CITY RENOVATION AND IN
SHAPING ITS INTERNATIONAL BRAND:
A CASE STUDY OF THE POLISH CITY OF LODZ**

ABSTRACT: This paper aims at highlighting the role of higher education institutions in Lodz in the regeneration of urban space and in building the international brand of a university town. Higher education institutions in Lodz are managers and administrators of many historic buildings that testify to the identity of the city and its rich historic legacy. Besides renovating these buildings, universities provide them with new functions by opening them up to local and international communities. Innovation in regenerating cultural heritage may become a distinguishing feature of both Lodz universities and international city's brand strategy. The key challenge to Lodz is to complete the global regeneration of a post-industrial city in social, cultural, economic, and spatial dimensions using EU funds.

KEYWORDS: City renovation, university branding, city of Lodz, sustainable city development, University of Lodz, cultural heritage, post-industrial city.

Preface

As administrators of historical buildings – which define the identity and cultural legacy of a city – universities may easily create positive image of a city. The regeneration of architectural resources and new functions, which they acquire as a result of opening them up to local and international communities come as value-added to the process. An innovative approach to how cultural

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heritage is regenerated can surely be a feature that distinguishes higher education institutions in Lodz and the strategy of the city brand. The international brand of Lodz may, and should strongly, accentuate these values of urban space regeneration that connect with city identity.

Role of universities in building a brand of university town

Cities that host universities may, and should, make the academic potential part of their brand strategies. Lodz is an example of such a strategy as it is building its international brand around values typical of academic cities. The brand may become international when the strategic goals of the city of Lodz – its higher education institutions (HEIs) and foreign investors – get harmonised. This requires a lot of openness to cooperation and the ability to approach the planning of the sustainable development of the city from an interdisciplinary perspective.

Synergy between city brand and university brands

The key challenge that the authorities of an academic city are faced with consists in building a cooperation platform with higher education institutions that is coherent with values underpinning the city brand. Lodz, a city currently inhabited by ca. 750 k residents (2016), at the turn of the century could be proud of its almost 100 k population of students. That was a valid argument for foreign investors considering the city a potential location for their investments. The academic potential of the city is shaped predominantly by its public universities: the University of Lodz, Lodz University of Technology, Medical University, Leon Schiller National Film, Theatre and Television School, Academy of Music, and Strzeminski Academy of Fine Arts. Their further development will have a huge impact upon the image of Lodz on national and international stage (Domański, 2014).

Today, European cities face serious challenges. The key challenge for Lodz is to complete the global regeneration of a post-industrial city. Besides the architectural part, regeneration should have its social, cultural, economic and spatial component. It is also

implied by a shift in the EU approach to funding regeneration in cities (Domański, 2014: 10, after: <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/lodz/rewitalizacja-miast-to-wyzwanie-dla-samorzadow/f9pq7>, access on: 02.12.2016).

Directions in which cities develop should be consulted with academic circles, whose representatives could be brought together in interdisciplinary expert teams combining all types of expertise (university, technical, medical and artistic). Consultations should be conducted mainly with reference to social innovations that are decisive for the quality of life in the city. The process needs experts who are impartial, professional and ethical. Thus far, experts from universities have usually been treated as agents, whose role is to legitimise decisions already made by politicians or representatives of local authorities. In future, they should act as independent authorities and professionals able to reliably assess planned goals from the viewpoint of social interest.

The modern marketing strategy for city development must be able to attract new residents. That can be achieved through a variety of unique projects implemented in cooperation with higher education institutions and business. Projects must be built on a lasting competitive advantage of a city and its universities to arouse interest among people from outside the city, in particular from abroad, and attract them to the city. We mean here students, but also representatives of professions relevant for the sustainable development of the city.

Modern cities and regions are increasingly often perceived through the lens of “their” universities or integrated consortia of higher education institutions as natural attributes of urban or regional brands. They help cities come up with a comprehensive offer addressed to students, business people, foreign investors and residents. The role of HEIs is also relevant for business, conference, fair, festival or sports, and leisure tourism. This is because universities often administer the best infrastructure resources, so it is surely important to engage them harmoniously into effective city management and building its attractive image. On the other hand, the city should make more and more urban infrastructure (land and buildings) available to universities so that they could meet residents’ needs even better.

HEIs cooperation with the city should be strategic and independent of political colours of subsequent local authorities (Engstrand A.K., Satre Ahlander A.M., 2008). Universities are expected to act as integrators of interdisciplinary projects,

which enable cooperation among several HEIs and approaching individual projects from multiple perspectives. Lodz still lacks meaningful interdisciplinary projects implemented as a cooperative effort of the city and representatives of different universities. The reason is the deficit in design thinking, on the side of universities and urban authorities. Universities should come up with the idea of such cooperation, which requires a comprehensive overview of social, economic and cultural issues, and seeks a model for sustainable development of cities. All of that must proceed with simultaneous continuous improvement of the quality of life in the city in mind to make it an attractive place for students and graduates of HEIs.

The need to harmonise cooperation among universities

In parallel to mastering the cooperation of the city with its HEIs, increasingly better cooperation among the HEIs is also necessary in building the brand of a university town, its further internationalisation and social innovation. Paradoxically, finding joint projects that could be implemented collectively is the biggest problem as universities want to pursue their own goals and cherish their independence very much. On the other hand, using already renovated resources in the hands of individual universities to better meet the needs of international projects and local communities seems the most obvious area of joint efforts.

Universities should be ready to participate in the shaping of the urban and regional environment at various levels (social and cultural environment, environmental protection). They are also expected to play a significant role in drafting development strategies for the city and region. That is why the involvement of academics in interdisciplinary studies in the field of public transport, environmental protection, boosting entrepreneurial spirit, social and cultural environment, and developing a model of sustainable development for the city and region would be particularly valuable.

Nowadays, the key marketing challenge to cities and universities is to identify their common and coherent positioning. In order to achieve it, we need to align the major distinguishing characteristics underpinning the brand of the city with the brands of its universities. We mean here values such as innovation,

creativity, entrepreneurial spirit, openness or an international approach. They should be fundamental to the city brand, as well as to the brands of its universities. The higher the coherence between these sets of values, the greater the clarity and credibility of their positioning. Success can be guaranteed by building the city brand together with universities. They should share the ownership of brand strategy for their city and strongly identify with it, while authorities of the city and region are expected to delineate development axes for self-government units in cooperation with HEIs.

Other key challenges of the future are connected with seeking increasingly greater synergy between universities based in a given area. The point is not just to attract a student to a university but to win her/him for the city. In future, potential students should be confronted with more complementary and interdisciplinary educational offers of faculties within the same university or different HEIs in the same city. The complementary positioning of universities would be an unprecedented solution under Polish circumstances (joint curricula, diplomas, sharing the same infrastructure). It is also a crucial area where new educational offers can be generated, based on the sum of competences and resources of various HEIs. The synergy of local higher education resources still remains underused in building the competitive advantage of cities and regions, especially at the international level.

The effective marketing of a city and its HEIs also necessitates joint promotion activities. Joint marketing communication should be *de facto* an extension of a joint positioning strategy and building brands for the city and its universities. To achieve it, we need to harmonise the marketing communication of the city, region and academic institutions, in particular when presenting promotional content at fairs, international marketing events, in promotional publications and on the Internet.

For academic marketing, as well as for city marketing, the key measure of efficiency is the proportion of people who stay in the city having completed their studies. These can be people originating from a given city or region or, more importantly, those who have come to study here. The joint impact of city and regional authorities exerted on the group of "incoming" graduates is a very good measure of the attractiveness of a given location, the quality of life and future development perspectives. Authorities in university towns, which can hardly retain their best graduates or attract graduates from

other influential academic centres, should ask themselves about the attractiveness of their cities and efficiency of their efforts.

Higher education institutions have become vital components of clear-cut city positioning. Each city is assessed through the lens of its attractiveness, innovation and international relations of its universities. This calls upon the HEIs to have a more comprehensive view of their offers in the symbiosis with city and regional marketing. When choosing between two comparable educational offers of two different universities, a student will opt for the university based in a more student-friendly city.

Thus the challenge for the future is, on the one hand, to create a global academic product and, on the other hand, to build strong, clear relationships between the image of a university and that of a city and region. Educational services, together with cultural, sports and leisure ones, will be of key importance for the positioning of cities and regions. Promoting a city as a thriving university centre should be based on a comprehensive strategy that highlights values especially relevant for students. These values should include elements dependent on the universities, as well as factors shaped directly by the city.

Creating an image of a university town necessitates the development of a student-friendly city product. Factors which positively impact the image of a university town include in particular: the appearance and aesthetics of the city, quality of municipal transportation and terms on which students may use it, safety and its subjective assessment, cultural and entertainment services addressed to students, sports and leisure services, overall atmosphere, the cost of living and availability of housing, city openness to young people, openness to foreigners and innovation. Most of these elements are independent of universities. They depend on the city and its strategy. Hence the role of the self-government is crucial as its policy shapes a specific image of the city.

It seems that for some cities their “academicness” comes as an effect of presence of several universities in the same location. In effective academic marketing a coherent strategy which clearly highlights academic values delivered by the city is much more important than the number of universities and students.

Table 1. Students at public higher education institutions in Lodz in the academic year 2013/2014

University of Lodz	Lodz University of Technology	Medical University	Strzeminski Academy of Fine Arts	Academy of Music	Leon Schiller Film School	Total
40,105	20,021	8,156	1,035	700	791	71,152

Source: data from universities.

In the academic year 2013/2014 the population of students at public HEIs in Lodz accounted for over 70,000 plus ca. 10,000 students at non-public HEIs. It is a significant drop compared to the peak year of 2000 when the student population in Lodz reached ca. 100 k. Such a substantial drop in the number of students calls for a new approach to attracting students from outside of the region, in particular from other countries. Building a coherent strategy of a university town should start with the identification of values relevant for both the students and graduates who – having completed their studies in a given city – should be willing to stay there to live and work. Building the image of a university town only for the time of studies offers no guarantee that the most talented graduates will stay there when they have completed their education.

Universities as leaders of city regeneration project

most of HEIs in Lodz own buildings deeply rooted in the multicultural identity of the city and its cultural heritage. Universities have got consistently engaged in renovating their historical buildings and introducing new functions that perfectly match the profile of the international brand of the city. In this case, the promotion of individual HEIs is linked with the promotion of renovated cultural heritage of the city, which can either be given new educational functions or can be used as a venue for conferences or entertainment events. HEIs have demonstrated that they are excellent administrators of buildings they have renovated, which – as a result of opening them up to the local environment – have become part of the university branding and a part of the brand of the university town.

European funds have played a huge role in regeneration of historical premises. The city and its HEIs absorbed them perfectly well. Besides restoring historical elements of cultural heritage, the projects were aimed at introducing new innovative functions so much appreciated for the sustainable development of the city and for building its brand.

Role of HEIs in urban space of Lodz

Building a city brand highlights the context of mutual relations between academic and urban space (Amirkhanian, Habiby, 2003; Benneworth, Charles, Madanipour, 2008; Madanipour, 2010). Universities in city centres may take advantage of the opportunities to impact their immediate neighbourhood. Unfortunately, Polish HEIs usually have very limited links with their immediate neighbourhood. Their offer is mainly addressed to potential students and to the rest of the academic community. Faculties at universities focus their efforts on internal academic relations rather than on interactions with the neighbouring urban space. For the HEIs, relationships with the city boil down to official contacts at the level of top authorities instead of decentralised relations.

The latest trend in university governance is to locate academic space in new campuses outside of the very city centre. That is supposed to help manage a condensed university infrastructure better. However, taking HEIs out to the city suburbs poses questions concerning the new quality of links between academic and urban space. These questions also make references to the consequences of an increasing distance between both spaces and new forms of building mutual relations. By asking them we want to know whether new academic space, more distant from the city centre, will become an isolated space focused on itself and its internal interests. There is a risk of HEIs becoming closed or becoming less open to relationships with their urban environment. However, a university located in one campus, in a modern infrastructure may also produce new, positive relations with the environment.

The case of Lodz is in many aspects unique as we are dealing here with highly differentiated strategies of individual HEIs with respect to how they develop and how they build their relations with the city and its inhabitants. In Lodz, many academic units are housed in historic buildings. By managing and administering these

premises the HEIs contribute to the regeneration of the material heritage of a multicultural Lodz. In this context we can also speak of an important impact of HEIs on their urban environment through the adaptation of historic apartment houses, detached houses, palaces, and mansions of industrial tycoons. In Lodz, the process resulted from both vast and diverse material heritage managed by the HEIs and from the nature of these premises, their architectural merits and an attractive location in the city centre.

Although the size of buildings and their original functions were not always up to the present and future needs of HEIs, academic patrons often managed to restore their original beauty. The HEIs use them not only for their own needs but have also created a new, distinct quality of academic space in the centre of Lodz. The development model of Lodz HEIs housed in historic buildings may become an important distinctive feature in city promotion. Under this model the historic bodies of buildings are supplemented with modern teaching functions. In this original model old historic structures are complemented with new functions. It is important to harmoniously match old and new functions. The new harmony may become an interesting distinctive feature of the city and a synonym of its sustainable development. Innovation in this case consists in seeking creative harmony in combining old and new functions of historic buildings anchored in a city identity (urban palaces and mansions).

Such a synergy of academic space with its urban surroundings may, and should, become a distinguishing promotional characteristic of Lodz as a university town (Academic Lodz). It should also be interpreted as a unique value for the HEI, students, city authorities and various stakeholder groups. Looking for synergies of distinct academic space with the neighbouring urban space should be a major challenge for the city and its HEIs. We mean here the dissemination of knowledge about premises occupied by the HEIs, but also better availability of universities for its neighbours and stakeholder groups. Apparently, the biggest challenge for Lodz HEIs located in the most attractive regenerated buildings will be making them increasingly more available to the local community and different partners for joint activities and to deliver interdisciplinary projects.

No doubt, all of Lodz HEIs should be praised for taking care of the cultural heritage of the city. For many years all of them have consistently regenerated historic buildings which they administer. The tangible effects of their activities are the conservation of the

cultural heritage of the city and bringing it closer to students, as well as domestic and foreign visitors. Public universities are careful guardians and managers of assets entrusted to them and city ambassadors in external relations.

Photo 1. Academy of Music in Lodz housed in Karol Poznanski's Palace



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The model described above was successfully applied by the Academy of Music in Lodz housed in the historic Karol Poznanski's Palace erected in the years 1904–1908 for the son of Lodz industrial tycoon Izrael Kalmanowicz Poznanski. The eclectic building style combines elements of Italian Renaissance and Baroque with Art Nouveau motifs typical of Lodz. It is one of the best examples of how a HEI can become a good administrator of a valuable historic building in the city. The building is used not only by students and staff members, but it also performs cultural functions for the city and its inhabitants. Its total regeneration budget was ca. EUR 5.5 million, out of which almost EUR 3.75 million came from the regional self-government budget (EU funds) and ca. EUR 1 million from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The rest was paid for by the Academy.

Many HEIs in Lodz have gotten perfectly accommodated in their unique post-industrial premises closely linked with the 19th century industrial history of the city. Lodz universities played a major role in adapting these historic buildings to educational functions. For the strategy to be fully successful we always need a coherent policy of cooperation between the city and its HEIs. Such premises should be acquired by universities for a proverbial penny so that they could plan renovation already as lawful owners. Post-industrial premises house many faculties of the Lodz University of Technology and its library. In Lodz, the immediate neighbourhood of former industrial premises offered excellent opportunities for comprehensive regeneration.

Photo 2. Central Library of the Lodz University of Technology in post-industrial premises



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

For example, the campus of the Lodz University of Technology extends across 32 hectares in the city centre. Many premises typical for the 19th and 20th century industrial identity of Lodz have been regenerated for educational purposes. They excellently perform their new functions and are surrounded by an attractive park. The former factory warehouse owned by a well-known Schweikert family

of Lodz industrialists (1912) houses the Central Library of the Lodz University of Technology. The building's floor area of ca.10 km² and ca. 100 m long was one among the first in Europe which used reinforced concrete in its structure. It has been perfectly adapted for the needs of the library.

Photo 3. International Faculty of Engineering in a regenerated post-industrial building



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

Another case of regeneration is the International Faculty of Engineering (IFE). The building smoothly combines modern architectural design with industrial identity of Lodz. IFE teaches engineering courses in English and French. There are almost 1,300 students at IFE and 25% of them are foreigners (<http://www.ife.p.lodz.pl/>).

A different solution is based on the model where HEIs are housed in historic buildings originally designed as educational premises. Then the continuity of original function is preserved while premises are adapted to new challenges. The examples of such arrangements include educational premises from the interwar period (1918–1939), which should become the symbol of Lodz. They naturally extend the historic function of the building, enriching it with new elements. They also harmoniously link the past with the future and swiftly engage with a sustainable development

model of the city. Their location in the city centre provides excellent opportunities for generating synergies between academic and urban space which neighbour each other.

At the University of Lodz the model was applied, inter alia, at the Faculty of International and Political Studies and in the new Rector's office of the University of Lodz.

Photo 4. Historic Art Deco style building of the Faculty of International and Political Studies



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The seat of the Faculty was built at the beginning of the 20th century and in the period between the wars it housed junior secondary and secondary school for girls. It is a comfortable educational building in Art Deco style. The advantages of interwar architecture still work nowadays, especially when the teaching model provides for working in small groups using interactive teaching methods and an individual approach towards students. The building is located in the very city centre, in the immediate vicinity of a new railway station and the New Centre of Lodz. The Faculty is an example of an innovative academic unit which teaches students interested in working in an international environment in Poland and abroad. The Faculty has got ca. 1,000 students and

an increasing number of those who take up specialisation courses taught exclusively in English, such as International Marketing (bachelor and master degree), Asian Studies (bachelor degree), International Encounters in Culture (bachelor degree), or Political Management (master degree). The number of foreign students in the academic year reached 210 people from almost 50 countries. The Faculty enjoys the highest internationalisation index at the University of Lodz – 15%.

Photo 5. Regeneration of the Rector's office of the University of Lodz in a historic building from the early 20th century



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The New Rector's office (Rectorate) of the University of Lodz in Narutowicza St 68 is housed in a regenerated building of the former School of Merchants Guild, which in the early 20th century (1909/1911) – as assessed by engineers and architects – was among the top modern buildings in the city. After World War II, in 1945, the building was one of the first to be owned by the University of Lodz established the same year. Its present renovation cost EUR 3.5 million.

Universities as leading investors in new architectural projects

In parallel to regeneration and renovation projects in historic buildings, higher education institutions in Lodz also create modern urban space. They are the biggest investors in regeneration but also in modern architecture. The two architectural models smoothly combine in the process of the sustainable development of the city. Substantial financial support from the central government budget and from the EU funds gave the HEIs in Lodz in the years

2004–2014 a unique opportunity to develop a modern university infrastructure. Universities were the main beneficiaries of EU funds and, by the same token, major investors were capable of influencing the image of Lodz.

Table 2. Investment outlays of Lodz public HEIs on infrastructure [in millions of euro]

University	Total investment outlays in millions of euro (1 euro = 4 PLN)	Period
University of Lodz	128.75	1994–2014
Lodz University of Technology	94.87	2004–2014
Academy of Fine Arts	22.5	2004–2014
Medical University	143.75	2004–2014
Film School	8.75	2004–2014
Academy of Music	30.0	2004–2014
	428.62	

Source: internal statistics from Lodz HEIs.

The data above provides evidence that HEIs investments in educational and research infrastructure have become the priority for the city and region. It is a future – and development-oriented approach, which well serves the sustainable development of the city.

Together with regeneration, all this effort has led to the emergence of many new architectural structures, which have become the symbols of Academic Lodz. New university buildings have recently been the most powerful architectural and city planning projects in the city. They have also become meaningful components of urban space and this is how academic space has gotten intertwined with the urban space. A university town has received an unprecedented opportunity to build up its image through modern, original architectural structures. The image of the city at the turn of 20th and 21st centuries was largely shaped by architectural projects developed to meet the needs of the HEIs. New university premises have become attributes of the brand of Lodz as a University Town (Academic Lodz).

Photo 6. Modern building of the Faculty of Philology of the University of Lodz



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

This strategy is reflected in the construction of a modern building for the Faculty of Philology over the years 2011–2014, which resulted in a very interesting architectural structure. The total cost of investment, including the equipment, reached almost EUR 27 million, out of which 4.4 million was the subsidy from the central budget of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. This investment project gave Lodz a new interesting building in terms of architecture.

Photo 7. Modern building of the Academy of Fine Arts



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The building of the Academy of Fine Arts is another example of a project delivered in co-financing arrangement with the European Union Regional Development Fund “Textile and Clothing industry cluster” under the Operational Programme for the Lodz Region for the years 2007–2013. Its idea combines cultural, educational, entrepreneurship and research aspects.

Photo 8. Symbiosis of regeneration and modernity – Building of the “Factory of 21st Century Engineers”



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The building of the “Factory of 21st Century Engineers” at the Lodz University of Technology is a contemporary synthesis of post-industrial and modern architecture. The building constructed over the period 2011–2013 links regenerated old factory premises owned formerly by Szaja Rosenblatt with a modern multi-storey structure. The new building is a good example of a symbiosis of old factory premises with a new teaching and research infrastructure. Lodz University of Technology received ca. EUR 13.5 million from the EU funds (Operational Programme Infrastructure and Environment). The “Factory of 21st Century Engineers” houses classrooms, computer rooms, laboratories and technological facilities with the total area of 8,500 m². The

project will surely contribute to higher internationalisation rates and better competitiveness of the University of Technology. It will also improve the impact of the University in domestic and international markets.

The overview presented above was intended to present consistent efforts made by Lodz HEIs in ensuring sustainable development of the city, its architecture and space.

Universities and their green environmentally-friendly surroundings

Taking care of environmental issues is another element of HEIs strategy connected with sustainable development. The environmentally-friendly image of universities clearly impacts the positive image of the city as an attractive place to study. Most universities in Lodz are located in environmentally-friendly neighbourhoods of parks and bigger green areas. All of Lodz HEIs operate in similar locations, which helps create the image of Lodz as Academic Lodz in parks. All the HEIs may strengthen the image by initiating new green and environmentally-friendly projects.

Academic space filled with green areas and parks may also become the flagship for the city. The space should be increasingly more open to the inhabitants and to visitors coming to the city. HEIs located in former industrialists mansions are surrounded by beautiful urban gardens and parks planted by their original owners. In new facilities parks are systematically planned. HEIs face a huge task of not only consistently taking care of inherited tree population but also of continuously expanding it.

Biedermann's Palace owned by the University of Lodz is an example of historic park space. The palace and the park around it are a symbol of the largest higher education institution in Lodz. The property is used mainly for representative functions to host prestigious meetings and conferences. Nowadays, the Biedermann's Palace houses the Museum and Archives of the University of Lodz and assembly halls used for meetings and conferences.

Photo 9. Biedermann's Palace in a historic park



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

Photo 10. Rector's office of the Lodz University of Technology located in an old park



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

Rector's office of the Lodz University of Technology is housed in a historic villa in the centre of a park open to city residents. It is one of the best examples demonstrating how historic premises can be used for the needs of Lodz HEIs. The villa owned by Reinhold Richter is an example of eclectic architecture, which smoothly combines Gothic, mannerism, and Art Nouveau styles (1903–1904).

Photo 11. Rector's office of the Lodz Film School in a former industrialists mansion surrounded with park



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

The third example is the park, which surrounds the Rector's office of the Lodz Film School, the most recognisable higher education institution in Lodz and one of the best film schools in the world. The Film School is the most recognisable university in Lodz. It is worth considering how to use its reputation and brand potential in building the brand for the city and to link it to broadly understood group of creative industries.

The green campus of the Lodz University of Technology located in the city centre also merits our attention. Parks densely fill up the campus in between new and revitalised factory buildings and villas adapted for the needs of the University.

Potential employers in the vicinity of HEIs

When thinking about a new role for higher education institutions in developing urban space we also need to stress their power of attraction of office buildings owned by potential employers. Such a trend is positive for the sustainable development strategy of the city and building its attractive international brand. New office space owned by foreign and Polish investors is located in the immediate vicinity of universities. These are places where students and graduates can find jobs. Most of them are outsourcing, IT and business services companies. In the future we should expect the vibrant development of incubators of entrepreneurship, including incubators of creative industries.

Photo 12. Foreign employers in the immediate vicinity of universities – seeking new proximity for university and business
(Green Horizon – Infosys, Southwestern, PWC)



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

An example of such a complementary strategy of mutual attraction is a modern Green Horizon building owned by Swedish company SKANSKA. It houses Infosys and other foreign outsourcing (Southwestern) and consulting (PWC) companies which employ students and graduates of Lodz HEIs. The latest trend connected with the globalisation of the market of business services consists

in encouraging students of Lodz HEIs to start working in such companies already during the studies. These are the sources of their first experiences connected with working in an international team and with foreign clients. The physical vicinity of the HEIs helps conveniently and flexibly combine studies with work to accumulate professional experience.

Another example of such a complementary approach of universities and potential employers is an office centre – the University Business Park with the total area of 18,400 m², located vis-à-vis the main campus of the Lodz University of Technology. The centre houses consulting and outsourcing companies which employ students and graduates of the University of Technology and other HEIs in Lodz.

The aforementioned examples of investment projects also demonstrate the increasing role of social innovations in sustainable development of cities through locating employers in the proximity of higher education institutions (very convenient from the point of view of potential employees). The projects of adaptation of historic buildings to new functions described earlier are excellent examples of how HEIs open up to the city space.

Conclusions

New joint undertakings of the city and its universities should be aimed at developing new hybrid space in regenerated urban premises for interdisciplinary projects in the area of culture, science and entrepreneurship. As an example we can take the new project EC1-City of Culture in the post-industrial space of the former power station. New generation institutions of culture and science may become a valid source of new interdisciplinary projects and contribute to the building of a clear, international brand of the city.

The described regeneration projects conducted in historic buildings owned by universities have strengthened the wider process of renovation of cultural heritage of Lodz and highlighted its multicultural identity. Such projects are very much in line with the sustainable development of the city and link its identity with the building of its unique international brand. This strategy leads Lodz to the model of an “ideal city” – a city friendly to students and investors, open to innovation taking care of the environment, available to Polish and foreign students, to whom

it offers employment opportunities during and after their studies (international employers in the neighbourhood).

Photo 13. EC1-City of Culture–post-industrial hybrid space for interdisciplinary interventions



Photo: Tomasz Domański.

Apparently, the key to success of such strategies will lie in a well-planned and consistently delivered concept of partnership marketing. Within its framework, the city and its HEIs – in cooperation with business – should be able to work out solutions favourable for harmonious development of all partners to this triad. Internationalisation of the strategy connected with the inflow of foreign investment will remain a serious challenge to the city and its HEIs. The success of internationalisation will depend on the harmonisation of strategic objectives of the city, HEIs, domestic and foreign investors.

Lodz is bidding for an International Specialised Expo to be held in 2022 on city regeneration. The described examples confirm that Lodz makes an excellent example of a comprehensive approach to city regeneration in cooperation with higher education institutions. The key challenge for the city is to seek even more synergy between its brand building strategy and strategies of its HEIs. The strategy will also call for a broader opening up of

monumental buildings administered by the universities to local and international communities.

Lodz has a significant potential for creating a powerful brand of a university town. However, it needs to further master its coherent marketing strategy and strategies of its public HEIs. Their cooperation should continuously improve the standard of living in the city to make it an attractive location for students and graduates. The vision of Lodz as a university town must be coherent with the vision of the strategic development of the city.

Under the present circumstances we are constantly facing a dissonance between the attractiveness of the educational offer in selected universities and the perception of the city as an attractive place to study, live and work. City regeneration projects, improvements of transport infrastructure and environmentally-friendly efforts have substantially changed its image. In changing the image of a city, a major role is played by the HEIs in Lodz, which through investing in infrastructure have developed the image of the 21st century city investing in development and education. To make the best use of the new infrastructure as a platform to improve inhabitants' knowledge, and enhance their innovation and creativity in all spheres of everyday life remains a serious challenge. In future, universities and artistic schools will be faced with the challenge posed by creative industries. They will contribute to the city dynamics, its sustainable development and further regeneration. Creative industries may also become sources of innovation that could be used in other sectors.

Relationships between cities and universities based in them have produced various models of cooperation or interaction, such as: "networking model," "entrepreneurial model," "heritage model" or "campus model" (Conz, Denicolai, Ricardii, Zucchella, 2015). This variety reflects the multitude of opportunities to exert an impact upon one's immediate neighbourhood. Universities improve the quality of life in a given academic centre, they attract the most talented individuals, stimulate cultural tourism as managers of historic buildings in cities, and generate knowledge transfer to the local community. It seems that the HEIs in Lodz are increasingly using these models more often to create the brand of an academic city, regenerate its architectural resources and co-develop a sustainable development strategy.

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**PLACE BRANDING AND CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT:
PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO BUILDING
AND MANAGING CITY BRANDS**

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of citizens in the process of building and managing city brands. A multidisciplinary approach is applied to explain the multifaceted nature of territorial brands and citizen involvement. To this end, theoretical concepts from marketing and corporate branding, public management, and human geography are applied. By conceptualising place branding as a public policy and a governance process, and drawing from the concept of participatory place branding, the author discusses a variety of methods and instruments used to involve citizens. Special attention is given to the importance of modern technologies for effective citizen involvement.

KEYWORDS: City branding, city brand, participatory place branding, citizen involvement.

Preface

Recent theoretical developments and empirical observations in branding and managing territorial entities have made it possible to conclude that the importance of citizens in these processes is growing. Place branding is increasingly viewed as a public management activity and governance process, and, as such, it requires support from the public. Moreover, technological developments (web 2.0, user-generated content, mobile technologies) and their democratic potential enabled a more open and bottom-up

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creation and management of place brands. Nonetheless, in reality citizens are an undervalued and underrepresented group in place branding strategies and practices, often viewed as a “necessary evil” (Kavaratzis, 2012). Furthermore, the major focus in place branding activities seems to be outward, with attempts to attract foreign tourists and investors and to present a coherent place image in the media.

The objective of this paper is thus to examine the role of citizens in creating and managing place brands with special reference to cities. The paper discusses the concept of participatory place branding, interdisciplinary nature of citizen involvement, it also examines methods and instruments of citizen activation, and the role of modern technologies in citizens empowerment.

Place brands – towards participatory approach

The notion of place brands and place branding has been present in the academic literature for over two decades and more recently it became one of the central issues on place management agenda. Still, however, there seems to be no universally acknowledged definition of the term as such which can be attributed to its multidimensionality and interdisciplinary background. Among many attempts to define this concept, one that embraces the multifaceted nature of place brands is provided by Zenker and Braun (2010, 5), who define place brand as “a network of associations in the consumers’ mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place’s stakeholders and the overall place design.”

Over the years, the notion of place branding was subject to substantial theoretical and empirical evolution. The initial attempts to articulate its essence were predominantly related to tourism industry and made place branding seem equivalent to place promotion with the main focus on the development of visual identity and on the advertising of a place in the media (Govers, 2013). Such an approach caused important misinterpretations of the role that place branding had to perform within the place management system. Consequently, there appeared a number of problematic issues for the discipline, three of them being especially relevant for this paper.

Firstly, the outlined approach deprives the process of building place brands its depth, presenting it as advertising of the idealised and somewhat manipulated place image, often detached from the reality of the place in question. Secondly, such an interpretation of place branding presents it as an outward-oriented process, thus making it irrelevant for citizens of the place. This, in turn, results in their negative attitudes and their reluctance to see the public resources being allocated to this activity (Hereźniak and Florek, 2016). Thirdly, communication-oriented view of place brands assumes that there is a single and static identity of the place (Kalandides, 2011) that has to be coherently communicated to various audiences to raise brand awareness and create positive associations with a place. Yet, place brands differ significantly from commercial brands (Hereźniak 2011). Namely, they lack specified ownership; the place product is utterly complex (Papadopulos, 2004; Hanna and Rowley, 2008) and more experiential than commercial products and services. Consequently, there usually exist multiple place identities and images (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013), which makes the process of place brand management far less controllable than that of commercial brands.

The aforementioned issues present a range of challenges for the theory and practice of place branding and management. Hence, recent theoretical developments in place branding evolve towards the concepts of stakeholder participation, co-creation and co-production (Kavaratzis, 2012; Aitken, 2011), moving this notion further away from a promotional perspective. This new paradigm requires addressing the interdisciplinary character of place branding by applying theoretical concepts from diverse areas, specifically from corporate branding, public management and cultural geography (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Hereźniak and Florek, 2016). It is beyond the scope of this paper to assess and analyse all the theoretical influences critical for the evolution of place branding. Nonetheless, several concepts from the abovementioned disciplines need to be quoted to understand the nature of place brands and the role of citizen involvement in the place branding process.

Within corporate branding and marketing from which place branding originates, the concept of participatory marketing and branding (Ind and Bjerke, 2007), brand communities (Schau et al., 2009) and service-dominant logic (Warnaby, 2009) influence to a great extent how places are branded and managed. As Eshuis et al. observes (2014, 156) in participatory branding “marketers neither

own nor control the brand. This opens up the possibility for different stakeholders to try to influence the meaning of a brand, and thus participate in the process of developing a meaningful brand.” In corporate branding consumers form brand communities through which they influence and co-create brands of their interest. O’Guinn and Muniz (2001, 412) define brand community as “a specialised, non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relationships among admirers of a brand.” This concept appears to be of value for understanding the dynamics of place brands in the context of citizen involvement in this process.

Another important finding in the discipline of marketing is the concept of service-dominant logic, proposed by Warnaby (2009), who observes that with technological advancements and widespread access to interactive media, corporate brands should resemble brands from the service industry that puts the concept of co-creation at the heart of branding. Thus, it is through participation, experience and the exchange of information that brand stakeholders dynamise brand identity and influence the brand strategy (Hereźniak, 2016). This observation applies to place brands, which, according to the participatory approach, are seen as networks of multiple stakeholders (e.g., Hankinson, 2004). Therefore, the process of place branding happens through the series of interactions among them. In participatory branding, internal stakeholders (employees of a company or citizens of a place) are given a primary role in brand co-creation.

With regards to the public management perspective, there is a growing body of literature that calls for seeing place branding as one of the public policies (Eshuis et al., 2014; Eshuis and Edwards, 2013; Hereźniak and Anders-Morawska, 2015). Within this realm, place branding is seen as a governance strategy in which the public administration engages in relationships with residents to foster citizenship, community participation, and social capital (Anders-Morawska and Rudolf, 2015: 36). This is in agreement with Smith’s and Huntsman’s (1997) value model of relationships between citizens and public administration characterised by high involvement, decentralised, democratic, participative and communal form of wealth creation that involves co-partnership, co-investment, common interest, cooperation and sharing among citizens (Smith and Huntsman, 1997: 132). In analogy with participatory branding, internal stakeholders (citizens) are the main focus for public administration activity.

Cultural geography is yet another discipline that offers theoretical contributions to place branding. It can be of value in understanding how communities are formed and what strengthens place attachment (Florek and Insch, 2008) – one of the critical factors in creating strong, citizen-inclusive place brands. Brands (of places and products alike) are widely considered in literature as carriers of meaning (Wooliscroft, 2014), which makes them larger and more sustainable than products with ever shortening lifecycles. It is thus critical to study how place meaning is created and exchanged within the community, which can be explained through the notion of the sense of place. Campello observes that a “community-centred approach for branding a place requires an understanding of the constructs that people attach to their place. These constructs are perceived and expressed through a communal sense of place [...] which should be seen as ‘a set of shared experiences based on social relationships that exist in a place which are influenced by history, culture, spatial location, landscape, economic factors and which are constructed through the use of our senses [...]’” (Campello in Kavaratzis et al., 2015: 52).

To fully understand the nature of citizen involvement in place branding strategies and practices, the aforementioned and other theoretical concepts need to be taken into consideration, which should result in both conceptual and managerial developments that will lead to a more satisfactory relationship between the city, its residents and authorities.

Citizen involvement – place branding perspective

For the past years citizens started being considered as a stakeholder group of growing importance. Braun et al. (2013) distinguishes three types of roles that can be attributed to this group of local stakeholders in the development and management of a place brand: (i) residents as an integrated part of place brand, (ii) residents as ambassadors for their place brand, and (iii) residents as citizens. Citizenship-driven behaviours include residents’ participation in activities and contribution to the decision-making process. Thus, the challenge of place brand managers is how and to what extent place citizens could and should be engaged in place branding activities (Hereźniak and Florek, 2016).

Zenker and Efrgen (2014, 228–29) propose a model that encourages a strategic approach to citizen involvement. The three-stage process begins with the definition of the key components of the place and the articulation of its shared vision. This is the basis for creating a consensus among the key stakeholder groups and a common denominator for place brand-related activities. Throughout the second stage, the framework for citizen involvement should be developed, including the scope and the depth of participation, principal guidelines and key non-governmental organisations that facilitate involvement and dynamise the process. The third stage focuses predominantly on the implementation of citizen-generated projects through providing professional assistance in diverse areas (e.g., finance, marketing, logistics, networking). Also, within this last stage the monitoring system for the implemented projects should be developed. The aforementioned model should be treated as a general outline of steps that need to be undertaken to treat citizen involvement as an integral part of the place branding process. Particular elements of such a framework need to be further developed with special focus on the selection criteria for the projects to be implemented and the appropriate success measures.

Within this realm, it must be noted that not all citizens can be involved in place branding to the same extent and in the same manner. Bass et al. (1995) identifies several sub-segments of participants based on their predicted level of engagement in diverse public policies:

- I. Participants listening only: they receive information from governmental PR campaigns or a publicly available database;
- II. Participants listening and giving information: to this end they use public inquiries, media activities, “hotlines”;
- III. Participants being consulted: usually through working groups and meetings held to discuss policy;
- IV. Participation in analysis and agenda-setting: through multi-stakeholder groups, round tables and commissions;
- V. Participants in reaching consensus on the main strategy elements: through round tables, committees and conflict mediation;
- VI. Participants directly involved in final decision-making on the policy, strategy or its components.

Although this categorisation does not directly refer to place branding strategy, it is certainly adaptable and useful for those city authorities who are ready to treat place branding as public policy and not as a communication exercise.

Another issue that needs to be addressed are the preconditions for effective involvement of stakeholders (also citizens) in public policies. Dalal-Clayton and Bass (2002, 193) articulate the necessary requirements that need to be met to ensure effective stakeholder involvement:

- Shared principles for participation must be developed with a special focus on diversity, representation, transparency, time to consult and inclusiveness. In order to produce such principles, early discussion on the previous and current strategies should take place;

- Stakeholders must be properly identified: the problem with different public policies is that too often a substantial group of stakeholders is left out, because of the traditional criteria used to assume the level of importance of a stakeholder group – their influence and their interest in a specific project (Kavaratzis, 2012: 13). Such an approach puts numerous groups in an underprivileged position and limits involvement and participation to the power struggle of the strongest;

- Presence of the catalysts for participation: an organisation that stimulates a participatory approach is needed to initiate the process and to coordinate and integrate different stakeholder groups, and to “translate” more central decisions into the local context;

- A set of specific activities and events must be outlined around which participation will be focused;

- Evolutionary approach must be taken: the snowball effect should be generated, whereby the participation system is built on the existing patterns and then gradually gains depth and breadth;

- Appropriate participatory methods: a variety of ways to involve the community in public policies should be developed including dialogue, consultations, partnerships and networks, conflict management etc.;

- Slow start, early investments: financial resources and long-term approach are necessary to foster the appropriate involvement system that will bring results in the long run;

- Stimulation of learning environments, namely the “policies, laws and institutions that encourage, support, manage and reward participation in the planning/development process – including specially formulated groups where appropriate institutions do not exist – and which allow participants and professionals to test approaches” (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002: 193);

- **Demonstrable results and benefits:** the impact of community involvement needs to be seen by the community itself from early stages on to reassure the involved that their efforts are well-made.

The set of prerequisites proposed by Dala-Clayton and Bass treats community involvement as a systemic policy and an indispensable component of public management, which is consistent with a broader and more profound understanding of place branding. Adopting this kind of logic requires mentioning the concept of place making, rooted in geography, urban planning and urban design. According to Al-Kodmany, “place making is the art of creating urban landscape that fosters pride and ownership of the physical and social environment” (2013, 153), it leverages the assets and potential of the local community to create public spaces that promote citizens’ well-being. Place making is therefore about the transformation of a place in such a direction that it becomes more liveable and grounded in the needs and aspirations of its citizens. One of the important features of place branding both as a process and as a philosophy is its transformational potential for places. The transformational potential in this context means that diverse groups of stakeholders (citizens) implement numerous initiatives, whose common denominator is place brand identity. Stimulated and supported by the local government, these initiatives lead in the long run to the transformation of the place’s reality and social relationships within it. Thus, place branding and place making are strongly interlinked with the former, adding a more tangible, not only symbolic, dimension to the latter.

Citizen involvement and new technologies: a perfect match?

An issue that needs to be discussed when examining the phenomenon of citizen involvement in place branding practices is the role of technological development in this process. As noted by Castels (2011), new media are the tools with a substantial democratic potential due to their accessibility, global circulation of content and interactivity. If used to the fullest, they can foster citizen participation in different public policies in an unprecedented manner. This in turn should make place branding much more inclusive and creative than it is today (Paganoni, 2015: 7), thus making it more legitimate in stakeholders’ eyes (residents included).

Over the past decade or so, technological developments such as the rise of web 2.0, user-generated content (UGC) and mobile

technologies allowed the voices of citizens to be heard louder than ever. The democratic potential of the Internet gradually enabled a more open and bottom-up creation and management of place brands. The participatory and inclusive character of places is thus fuelled with a widespread access to interactive and mobile tools which raise the profile of citizens and make them true co-producers of the city's reality.

Digital technologies enabled citizens to participate in place branding policies on multiple levels.

Brand analysis and conceptualisation: participation in surveys and other forms of research concerning the brand concept, social consultations, voting etc. through websites, discussion forums and mobile applications (crowdsourcing). An interesting example here is the B-Berlin project whose aim is to identify values, impressions and associations that Berlin citizens have with/about the city. The questions the community members were asked are the following: (i) What are the three fundamental traits of Berlin?; (ii) How do you recognise that you are in Berlin?; (iii) When do you feel like a Berliner? The campaign is supported by social media and online surveys which guarantee a widespread participation. What is more, it also takes place in public spaces, where citizens can write their ideas down on B-shaped boards placed around the city.

Brand expression/experience: promoting a place brand online through social media, the blogosphere, content sharing, creating and moderating place brand communities and online place brand experience, social activation of other community members etc. One of the most praised projects of this kind is "Curators of Sweden," in which the official Swedish Twitter account was handed over by the government to be managed by citizens (curators) of Sweden. Each week a Swedish citizen gets nominated to represent the country on Twitter, sharing content about their life, work, passions. The project – run since 2011 – helped Sweden gain numbers of followers on Twitter, generated substantial media coverage without advertising spending, and inspired other places to follow the same pattern.

"Play Melbourne" is another citizen involving initiative that uses modern technologies to raise the international profile of the city brand. The campaign uses a "Play Melbourne Live" ball-shaped device containing a phone that enables the usage of Periscope. This ball is carried around the city of Melbourne by its citizens who perform an interactive live tour around the city acting as guides.

The audience can ask questions and choose directions the guide will follow.

Brand delivery and evaluation: online participation in an evaluation process, writing reviews online, submitting suggestions and amendments to the existing strategy. An interesting example is provided by the small Spanish city – Jun – where every citizen has their own Twitter account through which they communicate with the mayor of the city and other public officers. The themes of communication vary from daily matters such as street lighting that does not work properly or personal messages posted online to more strategic issues regarding the city. This mode of operation (although not without criticism) fosters community integration and the non-standard place management techniques raised the international profile of this small city of just 200 000 citizens which currently has 400 000 followers on Twitter. It also suggests that activities undertaken inwardly can have an outward effect with no real spending on traditional promotion of a place.

With reference to the transformational potential of place branding there are examples of projects based on citizen involvement. One such project that needs to be mentioned is “Neighborland” – an interactive platform developed in the United States that facilitates communication between city organisations and local people. So far it has fostered relations between around 200 such entities and over 750 000 citizens. The initiative is built around a website where citizens can submit their own projects that will help reshape the neighbourhoods: infrastructurally, scientifically, socially. The projects are subsequently evaluated by the citizens who decide whether the project is worth pursuing.

Another example of brand delivery through citizen involvement is that of participatory budgets. In the Polish city of Łódź, a special website allows citizens to learn about bottom-up projects from diverse neighbourhoods to be funded from the city budget and vote for them.

Conclusions

The issue of citizen involvement in place branding is a fairly new but a very dynamic development. A growing number of academic papers and conference announcements are devoted to stakeholder participation in building and managing brands of territorial

entities. This tendency marks an important turn in the domain in both theoretical and practical sense. There was, and still is, the danger for place branding to be perceived as logo and marketing communication. Such an approach does not make the process legitimate in the eyes of its stakeholders, especially citizens, whose primary aspiration is to stay in sustainable and liveable cities, and who oppose spending substantial public resources on further promotional campaigns. Marketing communication, regardless of its quality, will not create sustainability and liveability of a place. It is only through understanding place branding as a dynamic process in which multiple stakeholders interact to create value that place brands will be inextricably linked to place identity and a sense of place.

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**THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES
OF ENTERING THE SOCIAL MEDIA SPHERE:
A CASE STUDY OF POLISH CITIES**

ABSTRACT: The social media sphere is growing in Poland as more and more people embrace the new ways of communication. Cities in Poland are also slowly catching up with the social media revolution as all 16 provincial cities are present on Facebook. Profiles are static in nature and have problems with engaging the audience in any kind of meaningful conversation. The purpose of this article is to indicate the key challenges that cities are facing while entering the social sphere. Official profiles of all provincial cities in Poland will be analysed to highlight possible ways of improving their digital image.

KEYWORDS: Marketing, social, media, city, engagement, promotion, content.

Preface

The Internet allows each user to contact anyone around the world and communicate with them using various multimedia tools like text, voice, or video. The World Wide Web is also an endless source of information on any given subject. Web page was the central point of the early stages of its development, known as Web 1.0 (West, Turner, 2008). To create content one needed to acquire complicated programming skills and pay fees in order to reserve a space on the web. Despite those barriers, many created a footprint in the new digital world, beginning an era of limitless web services including commercial sites and non-profit projects.

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Many traditional news outlets like newspapers, television, and radio broadcasters mirrored their content on their respective web pages. Additionally, many services emerged allowing users to instantly communicate with each other, provided both were using the same service (Dunkels, 2010). This introduced the issue of fragmentation, where finding people and information was no longer a problem, but finding information and people relevant to one's needs has become a challenge. Social media seem to address this need by allowing people to gather in groups connected by similar interests, professions and hobbies (Mangold, Faulds, 2009). This allows them to exchange information and ideas with each other and form a deeper bond than would otherwise be possible. Commercial bodies understood it relatively early and utilised social media to develop a deeper connection with their consumer base by providing an opportunity to get closer with their brand, product or service. Non-profit institutions also followed their footsteps. Yet cities in Poland seem to have an issue with finding their place in the social sphere. Many have tried to establish a presence, but with little results. The purpose of this article is to analyse social media profiles of all Polish voivodeship cities and scrutinise how new media are utilised to communicate with their citizens.

The social media phenomenon

Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define social media as web-based applications allowing users to create, view and share content among each other. In essence, these are tools that allow any person capable of using any web browser to become a content creator and to publish her/his work on the Internet. Others can view the work, discuss it and share it. This allows an individual to create a personalised stream of content relevant and unique to the person in question (Patrut and Patrut, 2013). As the content is being viewed by many users with different backgrounds and previous experiences, it is being validated by them at the same time. Therefore everything valuable is being promoted, while low quality content is being dismissed. Furthermore, as users publish more high quality content, they gain prestige among others and their recommendations become valuable and trustworthy (Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow, Adamic, 2012). It has

been well-established that people tend to follow recommendations from people they know and respect, therefore a word of mouth is considered one of the strongest marketing techniques (Kotler, 2010). This explains why commercial bodies decided to endorse social media and treat them as one of primary communication channels with their customers. On the one hand, this allows the user to contact the company directly and discuss any issues one might have. It also allows them to become a part of a community of people using a given product and share their experiences. For a company, social media present an unprecedented opportunity to gain insight into consumer's mind and habits (Chu, Kim, 2009). Both sides gain something by engaging in conversation and they can provide valuable information. However, for the exchange to occur, the company must first present interesting and entertaining content to attract the users. Simple advertising materials are not enough, there has to be something more personable that will not only be informative, but also influence one's mood and experience (Evans, 2010). According to Sotrender (2016), the two most popular fan pages on Facebook are the main page of the wireless telecom Play and the Heart and Mind owned by Orange telecom. These two brands understood that in order to attract people they needed to provide entertaining and engaging content that people can relate to. Therefore both have created fictional characters that live their lives in the social sphere. New episodes are being published regularly, depicting different situations and problems known from daily life. Solutions to those problems are marketing materials of services offered by those companies, but they are hidden inside the narrative. Therefore each user can relate to it and is more likely to accept the marketing message. The power of social media is allowing the users to get immersed in the content and treat marketing materials as an integral part of the story (Jefferson, Tenton, 2015). Otherwise people will instinctively feel they are being subjected to advertising and reject the message.

New media allow the users to take an interactive role in ongoing discussions. Plowman and Wenchel (2015) point out that Facebook, Twitter, and other platforms allow users to contact each other, as well as corporate and public bodies. This allows them to discuss their issues on equal terms – both parties have the same tools available and comfort of a known environment. Other means of communication like traditional mail or meeting in person, inherently require both parties to go out of their

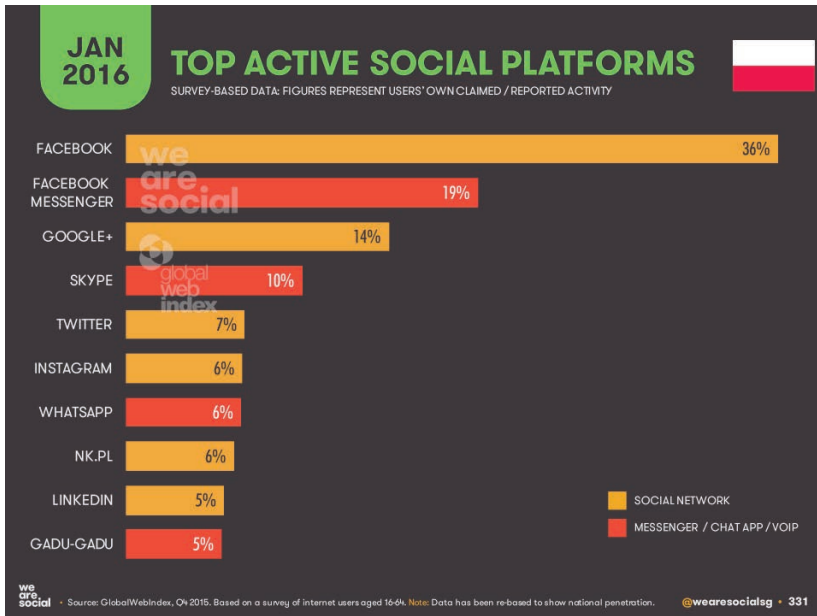
normal routine. Social media allows users to publish content virtually anywhere so everyone can find the perfect environment to work. Axel Bruns (2008) argues that the convenience of the communication process is equally important as rewards it brings. By publishing valuable content or raising important points in a discussion, users can earn positive reputation and create a strong personal brand. Reynolds (2013) comments that many young people who explore potential job opportunities utilise social media for building their professional image. Therefore, it is important for any entity that wishes to exist in the social media space, to allow users to create their own content and endorse it. This can be valuable for any brand as content created by fans can strengthen its message and allow for a closer relationship between them.

Social sphere in Poland

Social media usage follows worldwide trends visible in many European countries and the USA. According to the latest research published in a 2016 Digital report (*We are social media, 2016*), there is around 26.7 million Internet users and 14.7 million of those use social media regularly. This means that new media are very well-established in the Polish market and Poles are eager to explore new communication tools. The same report reveals that Facebook is the dominant platform with 100% market penetration. In other words, every one of the 14.7 million social media users has a profile on the platform.

This situation can be explained by Facebook's versatility and ubiquity. It is considered a general tool where every kind of message has a place: from private pictures and diary-like posts to professional content. The medium allows users to connect with almost anyone in the world and form groups that focus on a particular issue or interest. Young Jin (2015) argues that users will instinctively search for solutions that provide maximum benefit at a lowest cost. Cost here can be defined as an effort required to set up a profile. By signing up with Facebook an individual is granted access to the largest contact database on the Internet. Therefore it is very easy to stay in touch both on the personal and professional level.

Chart 1. Top Active Social Platforms in Poland



Source: Digital in 2016 Report.

The second social platform of choice in Poland is Twitter with around 3.67 million active users (Twitter Trends 03/2016). The platform is not as universal as Facebook and is often regarded as a niche medium. Many believe it is a tool reserved for politicians and journalists. Although that is not technically true, Mistewicz (2014) argues that because of its 140 character limit Twitter has a high barrier of entry and is difficult to understand for new users. Messages are mostly text-based and are displayed in a chronological order rather than threaded, therefore a conversation is difficult to follow. This makes the platform a space for experienced people that have very specific needs and interests.

Other platforms such as Instagram and Google+ (Digital in 2016, 2016) have approximately two million active users, which presents no competition to the market leader. In this article, research will focus on Facebook as the dominant platform, allowing access to the largest user base. For a new entity entering the social sphere, such as a city, this consideration is important, as it allows to reach maximum number of users with one profile and to establish a permanent presence.

City as a network of products

A city is essentially a collection of products and services offered to its users to satisfy their needs (Czornik, 2013). These products are often connected with each other forming a network of interdependencies that might be difficult to understand for an average user. Offered services can range from health care to tourist and culture attractions and study and job opportunities (Zawada, 2013). Therefore a city can compete with others to attract new users and companies by offering a more comprehensive range of products and services. However, traditional marketing has limited potential. As mentioned before, users have the knowledge required to detect marketing materials and tend to view it with scepticism. In that context, social media seem to be a solid way to build a genuine community around a given city. This would allow the users to inform and discuss matters important to them, while providing live feedback to the officials. A city profile on Facebook could serve the following (Guzowski, 2015):

- Informing users about products and services offered by the city;
- Informing users about current events occurring in the city;
- Serve as a meeting hub for users interested in the city affairs;
- Collect feedback from users regarding quality of life and services offered;
- Build a positive relationship between users and the city.

These goals can be reached by providing users with clear guidelines what they can expect from the profile and how to provide tangible benefits. Luttrell (2016) argues those benefits can range from strictly informational (the user is well-informed about issues regarding the city) to more direct recognition by the authorities for their contribution or even discounts for products and services. There are no strict guidelines here as the presence of cities in the social media sphere is a fairly new phenomenon. The general rule is that the profile administrator, whoever it might be, should provide interesting content and allow the users to freely engage in discussions and share it among themselves (Lieb, 2011). From this perspective, the city officials should take the initiative as they have the advantage of having the knowledge and means to start a conversation. Users can start their own discussions through unofficial profiles, but this raises the risk of inaccurate information being spread. Furthermore, as people build their own communities focused on issues of a given city, it might become more difficult to utilise their potential for official initiatives like citizen participation.

City in social media

Facebook is the most popular social platform among Polish Internet users, so it is understandable that Polish cities decided to establish their presence there. Preliminary screening revealed that all of Polish provincial cities are present on Facebook and publish content regularly. However, there are no previous attempts by the Polish academic community to analyse what kind of information is being delivered. To answer the question a content analysis survey was conducted among all 18 provincial cities between the 1st of April and 30th of June 2016. Poland is divided into 16 voivodeships, however, two of those – Kujawsko-Pomorskie and Lubuskie – share administration offices among two cities, therefore the number of cities analysed is greater than the voivodeship themselves. Each city provides a link to the official Facebook profile on their main website:

Table 1. Official Facebook profiles of Polish voivodeship cities

City name	Name of the profile	Profile Address
Białystok	Rising Białystok	https://www.facebook.com/Wschodzacy.Bialystok/
Bydgoszcz	bydgoszcz.pl	https://www.facebook.com/bydgoszczpl/
Gdańsk	Gdańsk City	https://www.facebook.com/gdansk/
Gorzów	Gorzów Harbor	https://www.facebook.com/przystan
Katowice	Katowice Official City Profile	https://www.facebook.com/Katowice.eu/
Kielce	Kielce City	https://www.facebook.com/kielce.official/
Kraków	Kraków Official Profile	https://www.facebook.com/wwwKrakowPL/
Lublin	Lublin City	https://www.facebook.com/MiastoLublin/
Łódź	Łódź	https://www.facebook.com/lodzpl/
Olsztyn	Olsztyn City	https://www.facebook.com/olsztyn.eu/
Opole	Opole City	https://www.facebook.com/MiastoOpole/
Poznań	Poznań City	https://www.facebook.com/Poznan/
Rzeszów	Rzeszów Capital of Innovation	https://www.facebook.com/Rzeszow.stolica.innowacji/

Table 1. (cont.)

City name	Name of the profile	Profile Address
Szczecin	Szczecin Floating Garden	https://www.facebook.com/szczecin.eu/
Toruń	My Toruń	https://www.facebook.com/MiastoTorun/
Wrocław	Wrocław [Wroclove]	https://www.facebook.com/wroclaw.wroclove/
Warszawa	Warszawa Capital City	https://www.facebook.com/warszawa/
Zielona Góra	Zielona Góra Official Account	https://www.facebook.com/MiastoZG/

Source: Own research.

Most cities decided to use simple names that can be easily identified with a given city, for example, Łódź or Miasto Olsztyn (Olsztyn City). However, in some cases the name does not indicate that the profile is the official one – Szczecin Floating Garden or Wschodzący Białystok (Rising Białystok). As official profiles must compete with unofficial or commercial profiles for the user’s attention, it is vital to make it as easy as possible to find them. Many newspapers and websites provide specialised profiles for a given city to publish local information like news, events etc. In this scenario, the city should take care of adequate positioning of the profile in order to be the first to provide the content; otherwise, commercial entities will take its place.

In order to operationalise the research process, a list of categories has been developed to categorise the content published on the official profiles:

- City offer – services and products offered by the city, aimed at enabling access and use of available local goods to the general public (Kavaratzis, 2014);
- Ongoing communication with the users – information regarding current situation in the city;
- Promotion – information about interesting events and products offered;
- User survey – questionnaires and surveys aimed at establishing the users’ views on a given subject;
- User provided content – content provided by the users;

- Participation support – content aimed at promoting and enhancing citizen participation (Effing, 2011).

The study was conducted in all cities simultaneously to ensure that posts were categorised according to the same criteria and to minimise interpretation errors.

Table 2. Total number of posts published on all profiles

Category	Number of posts	Percentage number of posts
City offer	1763	39%
Ongoing communication with the users	1203	27%
Promotion	1072	24%
User survey	0	0%
User provided content	242	5%
Participation support	238	5%
Total	4518	100%

Source: Own research.

Table 2 presents a summary of the study for all cities. The results clearly indicate that most of the content published is driven by the city itself and its administration. More than 50% of the posts focus on the city offer and promotion. On the other hand, there were no attempts made to utilise the survey capabilities of Facebook. The platform allows for the creation of different types of pools and surveys free of any charge. Users can participate in them at their convenience, while results are gathered and displayed instantly. It is obvious that such surveys would be far from representative as only a portion of citizens would take part in them, but as Ramo and Prochaska (2012) pointed out, it can be utilised for preliminary studies and formulation of hypothesis. In total, only 5% of posts were created by the users, which is contrary to the nature of social media. Most user-generated posts are photos and videos depicting the city or its landscapes. 90% of total number of posts are materials prepared by the city administration.

Table 3. Results of content analysis conducted on 18 official profiles of Polish voivodeship cities

City	City offer		Ongoing communication with the users		Promotion		User survey		Content provided by the users		Participation support		Total	
Białystok	96	34%	111	39%	51	18%	0	0%	0	0%	26	9%	284	100%
Bydgoszcz	66	23%	94	32%	44	15%	0	0%	69	24%	20	7%	293	100%
Gdańsk	87	31%	47	17%	133	47%	0	0%	2	1%	14	5%	283	100%
Gorzów W.	122	42%	125	43%	12	4%	0	0%	0	0%	34	12%	293	100%
Katowice	243	79%	39	13%	9	3%	0	0%	0	0%	16	5%	307	100%
Kielce	56	26%	82	38%	63	29%	0	0%	1	0%	14	6%	216	100%
Kraków	79	32%	65	27%	79	32%	0	0%	9	4%	13	5%	245	100%
Lublin	86	27%	88	28%	121	38%	0	0%	17	5%	7	2%	319	100%
Łódź	44	17%	51	20%	139	55%	0	0%	2	1%	16	6%	252	100%
Olsztyn	123	49%	70	28%	44	18%	0	0%	0	0%	14	6%	251	100%
Opole	73	40%	70	39%	21	12%	0	0%	14	8%	3	2%	181	100%
Poznań	111	50%	33	15%	52	23%	0	0%	24	11%	3	1%	223	100%
Rzeszów	150	54%	59	21%	49	18%	0	0%	12	4%	6	2%	276	100%
Szczecin	133	47%	31	11%	104	37%	0	0%	0	0%	15	5%	283	100%
Toruń	91	37%	61	25%	43	18%	0	0%	36	15%	12	5%	243	100%
Wrocław	69	27%	119	46%	53	21%	0	0%	15	6%	0	0%	256	100%
Warszawa	129	43%	52	18%	50	17%	0	0%	41	14%	25	8%	297	100%
Zielona Góra	5	31%	6	38%	5	31%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	16	100%

Source: Own research.

As a result, the profiles appear very static. Since most of the content is generated by professional staff, its quality is very good and appealing. Posts are always accompanied by photos or videos that illustrate the topic. Texts are well-written and rather formal in nature. In general, the profiles can be described as interactive billboards or message boards. They do convey the messages in an attractive manner, but no more than that. The obvious question is: what is the point of such communication? As all of the studied cities have webpages that replicate the content provided on Facebook, one must wonder, what is the place of social media on the communication map of the city? An argument can be made that information spreads faster through social media and it is easier to reach a wider audience. Secondly, the message is being delivered directly to the user, so there is a greater chance that he/she will actually read it. However, there is the problem of fragmentation of the published content. A city is a large entity offering and providing a wide variety of services. In all cases the Facebook profile of a given city provided information that was relevant at that time. The result was that the audience was given information about new scholarships for students and free spots in kindergartens during the same day. This approach may cause information fatigue among the audience, as many of the messages are simply of no interest to them.

The second problem is the scarcity of user-generated content. As already stated, social media give both the users and the brands an opportunity to get closer and to initiate a dialogue. Braun et al. (2008) argues that a city can also be a brand that people can be very passionate about. From that perspective, it is understandable that users search for new ways to interact with it. Seemingly, local governments are not interested in such interactions and focus on presenting their offer. While in principle utilising Facebook for promotional purposes is not a bad thing, it has to be balanced with other types of content. McLaughlin and Davenport (2010) have concluded that building an effective brand requires a strong community of supporters. As many people treat the Internet as their primary source of information, it is very important to allow and help those communities to flourish in the virtual world. The easiest way to do that is to allow the users to get creative by encouraging and publishing their works like photos, videos, or any other content. My research shows that cities tend to do the opposite. Most content is generated in-house. For example, Bydgoszcz has the largest portion of its content generated by users – 24%, while seven among the

surveyed cities had no user-generated content. This clearly shows that although cities in Poland have embraced social media as a communication medium, there are barriers that prevent them from utilising their full potential.

Potential barriers can be characterised as follows:

- Inability to understand the nature of social media – city administration may not fully understand the nature of communication using the new media, therefore they attempt to utilise traditional methods by providing the content to the user, without the need for any kind of feedback (Couldry, 2012);

- Fear of potential crisis – social media encourage fast communication and rapid spread of information, both positive and negative in nature. If a user posts a negative comment about the city or its services, others might follow. The result is a crisis situation where negative feedback is generated constantly, which, if handled incorrectly, might damage the city reputation and image (Czaplicka, 2013);

- Inability to utilise the full potential of modern social media platforms – this aspect was partially confirmed by my research. Cities do not use Facebook surveys functionally, although, in theory, it would be an ideal tool for gathering feedback and ideas from the users. This might be because the administration does not know about the tool itself or simply does not believe this kind of feedback might provide tangible value;

- Others reasons – they might include budget or staff constraints which allow only for limited presence in the social media sphere. Instant communication requires constant monitoring of the profile, which in turn demands resources. As those are limited, cities decide to establish a static presence and focus on delivering information to the users, which can be planned in advance and automated.

It is outside of the scope of this article to investigate which of the barriers mentioned above play crucial role, although it is quite probable that all of them can have a tangible impact. The result is that cities in Poland are present in the social sphere in a static, confined way. Published content is technically proficient and attractive, but it does not encourage user engagement. The information is delivered to the user on a daily basis with no expectation of feedback. This situation can be problematic for future relationships between the cities and their citizens. The euphoria surrounding social media is slowly starting to wear off and people do not subscribe to new sources so willingly.

Bright et al. (2015) and Kayaa et al. (2016) indicate that more people each year start to exhibit signs of “social media fatigue.” The phenomenon is described as being overwhelmed by new content available constantly, which results in user’s inability to process it. Therefore some users start to limit the number of sources and people they follow, choosing only the most valuable ones. As such, official city profiles need to present an appealing and engaging alternative to commercial profiles, otherwise users may simply unsubscribe from the profile. Bright et al. (2015) and Kayaa et al. (2016) also speculate that social media fatigue will continue to affect more users in the coming years. Users will become even more particular about people and sources they connect with. Local governments must realise that they should attract users, as many of them are still searching for new opportunities to share their passion for the city they live in.

Further research opportunities

Cities and social media are a new and unexplored territory in the Polish academic community. In this article a key problem is indicated – social media are being treated as a static medium – a way to transmit information to users. There is very little interaction between the parties involved in the communication process. City officials may lack the necessary knowledge to fully utilise the potential of Facebook, therefore they have chosen a safer and simpler approach. This statement should be explored as it might reveal the true nature of barriers that prevent cities and its citizens to communicate in a truly interactive way. To fully understand the issue, both the city hall staff and the users should be interviewed in order to discover their true perceptions of social media. One could argue that users do not expect any kind of deeper interaction with their town and providing information is sufficient.

Conclusions

The main scope of this article was to explore how voivodeship cities in Poland utilise Facebook to communicate with citizens. Social media allow its users to create and share any information in an attractive and interactive form. By choosing the right people

and sources to follow, a personalised information stream can be created, one that delivers valuable and relevant information only. Commercial bodies have already discovered that the same mechanism can be used to develop a bond with potential and current customers through engaging and entertaining content. In return, users are more willing to share their personal views and opinions, for the benefit of both sides. From that perspective, a city can be viewed as a network of products and services tied together and offered to the citizens. Therefore both the products and services can be communicated by using similar marketing techniques. Building an active community around social media is essential as it allows the users to identify with the brand and spread information among one's peers. Yet, voivodship capital cities in Poland focus mainly on providing information about their offers and promoting a positive image among its citizens. User-generated content is treated as unimportant; some cities ignore that aspect entirely. It is unclear why local governments are reluctant to invite users to cooperate and openly discuss city matters. As it stands, the official city profiles are treated like interactive message boards that provide information in a modern, attractive way. This may not be enough to convince their users to remain subscribed to the profile.

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**CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM OF CREATIVE PLACE:
CREATIVE CLASS, CREATIVE NETWORKS
AND PARTICIPATION IN CULTURE**

ABSTRACT: The scope of this paper is to conceptualise a data-based research framework for the role of creative networks in cultural exchange. Participation in culture measured as audience per 1000 residents and expenditures on culture-related activities were analysed in relation to such territorial assets as accessibility to creative infrastructure, the economic status of residents, the governance networks of civil society, and cultural capital. The results indicate how accessibility, governance networks, and cultural capital contribute to participation measured via audience indicators while a low poverty rate has explanatory value with respect to expenditures on culture.

KEYWORDS: Creative places, participation in culture, cultural ecosystems.

Theoretical background

In recent decades many cities faced the challenge of redefining their identities towards a new set of values that could be delivered to their residents. Creativity, sustainability, innovation, and networked governance emerged as key themes in thinking about the city of the future. The concept of a creative city (Yencken, 1988) evoked the value of urban policies fostering creativity as a factor underpinning the positive reception of a place among residents. Florida's creative class concept (2002) seemed to offer a rewarding framework for urban politicians in their attempts

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to gain a new perspective on city development. Manufacturers were to be replaced by communities of artists. Coal and steel were to be replaced by ideas. Currently, 116 cities participate in the UNESCO network of Creative Cities that was created in 2004 (UNESCO, 2016). Creativity became one of the most popular threads in branding strategies of many places to such an extent that anything could fall into the category “creative.” It might well be a *signum temporis* of a world-spread narcissist culture that flourishes not only at the individual, but also at the institutional level. Academic investigation should offer an insight into phenomena that exist behind concepts of a creative city and creative class and their mutual relations to pay more attention to participation in the creative realm by place residents.

The scope of this paper is to conceptualise data-based research framework for the role of creative networks in cultural exchange. By considering the concept of creative cities through focusing on the creative class and creative industries we tend to omit the role of users in creative place making. While Florida’s creative class concept includes professions well beyond bohemia, Throsby proposes a concentric circle model of cultural industries that is much more concise. Representatives of literature, music, performative arts and visual arts constitute core creative arts, while core cultural industries comprise the film and theatre industry, museums, art galleries, libraries and related institutions (Throsby, 2008). The core creative arts circle represents the cultural capital of the city, while the core cultural industries circle in fact refers to cultural infrastructure. Both can be considered as crucial assets for the development of a creative place. Mackiewicz, Michorowska, and Śliwka describe connections between three types of actors in a triple sector model of creative activity, i.e. (1) public sector cultural services such as theatres, opera houses, museums, libraries etc., (2) non-profit creative actors such as NGOs active in the field of culture, and (3) business related to arts (Mackiewicz, Michorowska, and Śliwka, 2009). Taking into account the spatial perspective – creative activities occupy and recreate specific habitats – Alcamo et al. proposes a concept of cultural ecosystem services, which are “non-material benefits people obtain from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection, recreation, and aesthetic experiences” (Alcamo et al., 2003). In this context, studying audiences and factors that positively

influence participation in culture is equivalent to studying the livability and vitality of a creative place.

Several factors attract scholarly attention as potential predictors of consumer behaviours in the cultural market. The socio-cultural background at the individual level as a fundament for cultural capital retains a dominant position since Bourdieu and Passerson observed patterns of cultural and social reproduction (Bourdieu, Passerson, 1977; Tzanakis, 2011). Bourdieu points out that the stratification of patterns of cultural consumption refers not only to artefacts and intangible outputs of human artistic engagement, but also to the use of language, and patterns of behaviour in social situations depending on the socio-cultural background of a person involved.

The consumption of culture can be considered as satisfying higher levels in Maslow's pyramid of human needs (i.e. social and self-actualisation needs) after physiological and safety needs have been met. A marketing perspective offers an insight into criteria that should be met for a person to participate in market exchange. Cost and convenience are among the basics that should be considered within a strategic perspective of a cultural institution (Kay, Wong, Polonsky, 2009). Recently, there have been growing considerations for spatial dimension in public policy – territorial differences in access opportunities to public services including culture are evident in spite of regional development strategies aimed at the reduction of socioeconomic disparities across subnational territorial units. How to improve public access to places where creative activities occur and eradicate barriers of entry for individuals, notwithstanding their economic, social, ethnic, or religious status are frequently asked questions by public policy practitioners in the area of culture (Laaksonen, 2010). From an organisational perspective, Bonet and Donato analyse modes of management in the cultural sector and place emphasis on the role of cross-sectoral networks in the delivery of culture for an audience in times of economic austerity (Bonet and Donato, 2011). Mixed strategic management model in the arts stresses the importance of civil society and third sector organisations as opposed to models of governmental support and market delivery (Varbanova, 2013). From the perspective of new public governance, institutional networks in public policy create opportunities for politicians, public managers, and institutional stakeholders representing civil society thanks to synergistic use

of resources in cross-sectoral collaboration (delivering more with less, taking advantage of relational rent, sharing and merging capacities), and at the same time increase access to public and socially desirable goods for citizens, irrespective of their socio-cultural background (Vigoda, 2002).

To sum up, the cultural ecosystem of a creative place should be considered as a network wherein core creative class representatives use and transform assets within core creative industry infrastructure to provide place residents with non-material benefits (Alcamo et al, 2003). Civil society organisations and audience members with strong ties towards creative class representatives act as institutional and individual intermediaries in those networks by providing a general audience with more opportunities for participation in culture.

Study design

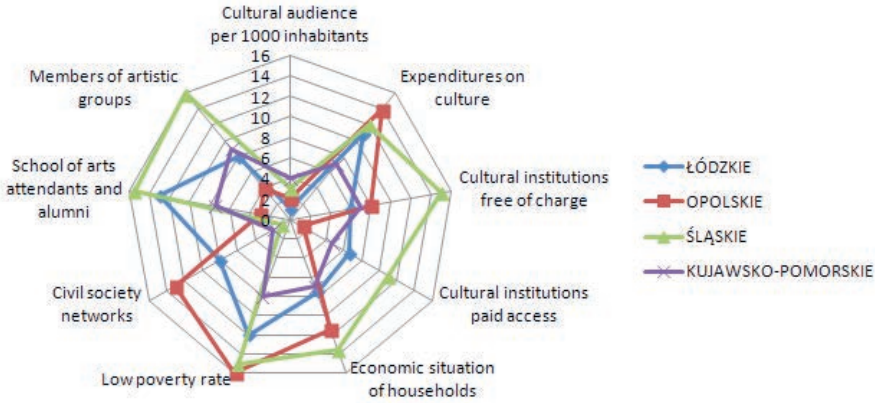
The objective of the study was to analyse relationships between participation in culture and selected constituents of a cultural ecosystem. Variables related to the accessibility of culture (convenience dimension in marketing) were defined by the number of cultural institutions located in a specific area. Institutions taken into consideration comprised institutions of culture: the so-called Houses of Culture and their branches, theatres and institutions of music, cinemas, and museums. Variables related to the affordability of culture (cost dimension in marketing) were composed of regional disposable income per capita, households perceived economic well-being – subjective assessment on a 5-degree scale, and relative poverty rate. Number of active non-governmental organisations per 1000 inhabitants constituted a variable related to institutional creative network intermediaries, while the cultural capital variable related to individual creative network intermediaries were: number of attendants at schools of the arts (primary and secondary level), number of members of artistic groups, number of students and graduates at schools of the arts; third level education. Participation in culture was measured by two variables: – (1) audience in events organised by institutions of culture, theatres, institutions of music, permanent cinemas and visitors in museums per 1000 citizens and (2) expenditures on culture – in PLN per capita. All data was gathered at the regional level, but

in fact they reflect the situation in the regional capital city when it comes to the inclusion of high profile cultural institutions in the accessibility variable, as well as third level education in the cultural capital variable. It can be considered as a clustering effect in the cultural/creative industry that Van Der Borg and Russo discussed (Van Der Borg, Russo, 2005). Data was recorded by ranks to smooth differences in scales and tackle normality problem. Data related to relative poverty rate was inverted so that the higher rank reflected the lower poverty rate in the group of analysed regions. The analysis reflects the situation in all Polish regions and presents a preliminary study of factors that contribute to the participation in culture at the sub-national level. The research design consisted of (1) profiling regions based on statistical data, (2) carrying out analysis of variance and (3) performing interpretation with the support of quantitative data retrieved in a series of focus group interviews with residents.

Regional profiles

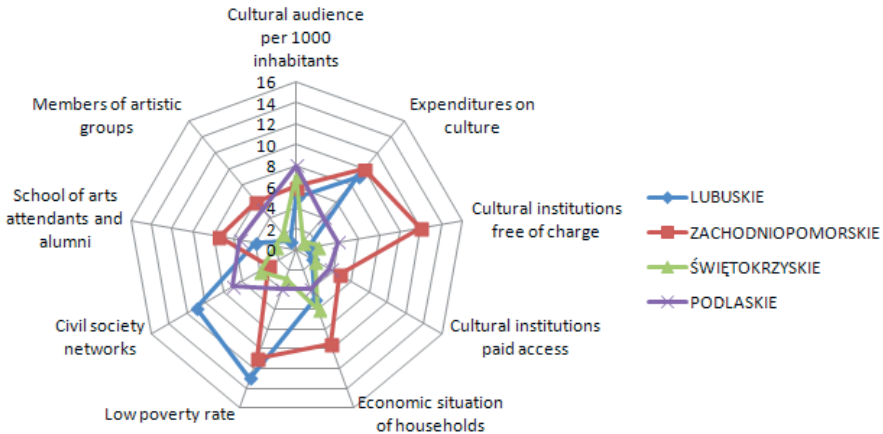
In order to profile the regions according to the level of participation in culture, the data was discretised by equal frequencies into four intervals. This procedure retrieved four groups of regions differentiated by the number of participants in culture. Figures 1–4 depict regional profiles depending on the size of cultural audience per 1000 inhabitants. Low participation in culture was observed in Łódzkie, Opolskie, Śląskie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie. Despite small cultural audience, Łódzkie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie had the most balanced profiles while taking into account the rest of variables. Śląskie with high membership in artistic groups and many schools of the arts attendees and alumni, good accessibility and good economic conditions should present good opportunities for participation in culture, nonetheless data place this region in infrequent users group. Opolskie shows consistency in good economic standing of households and high expenditures on culture, while there are few museums, theatres, cinemas, and institutions of music relative to other regions (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Low participation in culture – regional profiles¹



Low average participation in culture was observed in regions such as: Lubuskie, Zachodniopomorskie, Świętokrzyskie, and Podlaskie. In this group profiles of Świętokrzyskie and Podlaskie are more consistent than those of Lubuskie and Zachodniopomorskie. In Lubuskie, the low poverty rate and medium high expenditures on culture coexist with intensive civil society activity, but the number of cultural institutions offering paid and unpaid access to culture is very low. Paid cultural infrastructure in Zachodniopomorskie also remains at a low level, as do civil society networks (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Low average participation in culture – regional profiles



¹ Source for figures 1–4: own research based on data from the Central Statistical Office of Poland.

Lubelskie, Wielkopolskie, Podkarpackie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie are regions with high average participation in culture. Podkarpackie, Warmińsko-Mazurskie, and Lubelskie profiles indicate some kind of mediating effect of cultural capital and civil society networks on economic factors contributing to consumption of culture. This effect is the most evident for Warmińsko-Mazurskie (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. High average participation in culture – regional profiles

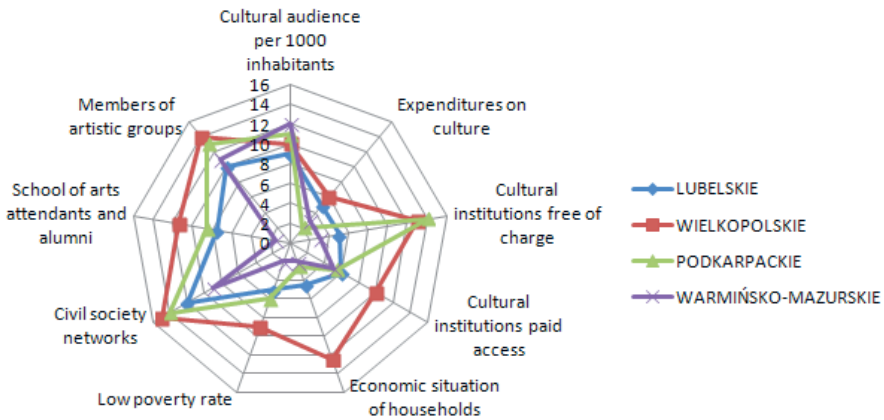
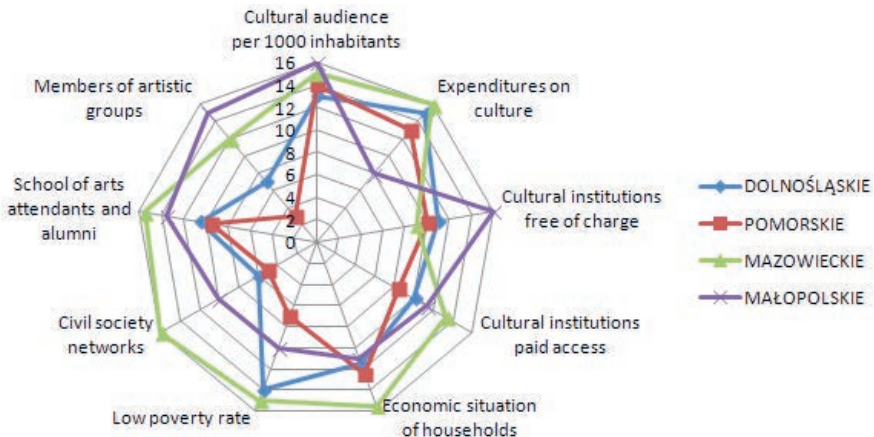


Fig. 4. High participation in culture – regional profiles



The residents of the last group of regions – Dolnośląskie, Pomorskie, Mazowieckie, and Małopolskie – are among frequent users of culture. Mazowieckie – a capital region – scores high on all dimensions with the exception of free of charge cultural institutions

and membership in an artistic group. Dolnośląskie and Pomorskie are interesting cases of high participation in culture despite average economic standing of households, average accessibility of cultural infrastructure and loose civil society networks (Fig. 4).

Irregularities observed in profiles of the regions call for qualitative multiple case studies research to explore additional factors contributing to actors' participation in creative networks: both residents as audience members and creative class representatives as carriers of cultural capital. High values on economic status, cultural infrastructure, and cultural capital linked to low participation in culture seem to contribute to a "culture resistant" environment as in the case of Śląskie, which was dominated by the coal mining industry in the past. On the other hand, the poor economic condition and limited access to cultural infrastructure does not prevent residents of Lubelskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie from participation in culture, which would indicate an "idealist" approach. Lubuskie and Opolskie seem to suffer from inadequate cultural infrastructure despite the fair economic status of households and willingness to spend on culture. This could suggest that their creative ecology at infrastructural level is lower than expected. In both cases the regions have strong economic ties to Germany and Wielkopolska and Dolny Śląsk. The pattern to study further here would be of "empty shelves and full pockets."

Size of audience and expenditures on culture and their determinants

In order to assess the contribution of creative ecology to the participation in culture, cultural infrastructure, economic situation of households, activity level of civil society, and cultural capital were analysed as explanatory variables for the size of audiences in cultural institutions and expenditures on culture. Dependant variables comprised: PARTn – ranked participation in culture measured as number of visitors to cultural institutions per 1000 inhabitants, and PARTe – ranked expenditures on culture per capita. Constituents of creative ecology of the region as an independent variable were: INFRAf – ranked number of cultural institutions offering free access for audience, INFRAp – ranked number of cultural institutions charging for access for audience, ECONp – economic situation of households being an average rank of regional GDP per capita and

subjective assessment of economic wellbeing, ECONn – relative poverty rate reversed measure, GOVcs – civil society network measured as a number of active NGOS per 1000 inhabitants, CULTCAPnasc – ranked cultural capital carriers in the nascent stage being an average rank of primary and secondary schools of the arts attendees, students, and graduates from tertiary level schools of the arts, and CULTCAPactive – ranked cultural capital carriers in active stage measured by membership in artistic groups.

The analysis of variance was carried out independently for PARTn and PARTe in XLSTAT. The obtained results are presented in tables 1–6.

Table 1. Dependant variable: PARTn computed against model Y=Mean (Y)

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F	Pr > F
Model	7	316,695	45.242	15.531	0.000
Error	8	23,305	2.913		
Corrected Total	15	340,000			

Source: own calculations.

Table 2. Dependant variable: PARTe computed against model Y=Mean (Y)

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F	Pr > F
Model	7	306,599	43.800	10.491	0.002
Error	8	33,401	4.175		
Corrected Total	15	340,000			

Source: own calculations.

Table 3. Type III Sum of Squares analysis (PARTn)

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F	Pr > F
INFRAf	1	35.793	35.793	12.287	0.008
INFRAp	1	139.386	139.386	47.848	0.000
ECONp	1	16.703	16.703	5.734	0.044
ECONn	1	4.765	4.765	1.636	0.237
GOVcs	1	28.680	28.680	9.845	0.014
CULTCAPnasc	1	48.914	48.914	16.791	0.003
CULTCAPactive	1	53.985	53.985	18.532	0.003

Source: own calculations.

Table 4. Type III Sum of Squares analysis (PARTe)

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F	Pr > F
INFRAf	1	0.042	0.042	0.010	0.922
INFRAp	1	14.535	14.535	3.481	0.099
ECONp	1	0.193	0.193	0.046	0.835
ECONn	1	59.125	59.125	14.161	0.006
GOVcs	1	1.021	1.021	0.245	0.634
CULCCAPnasc	1	1.836	1.836	0.440	0.526
CULTCAPactive	1	16.175	16.175	3.874	0.085

Source: own calculations.

Table 5. Model parameters PARTn

Source	Value	Standard error	t	Pr > t	Lower bound (95%)	Upper bound (95%)
Intercept	6.861	1.402	4.895	0.001	3.629	10.093
INFRAf	0.561	0.160	3.505	0.008	0.192	0.931
INFRAp	2.648	0.383	6.917	0.000	1.765	3.531
ECONp	-0.594	0.248	-2.395	0.044	-1.166	-0.022
ECONn	-0.221	0.173	-1.279	0.237	-0.619	0.177
GOVcs	0.317	0.101	3.138	0.014	0.084	0.550
CULCCAPnasc	-1.101	0.269	-4.098	0.003	-1.720	-0.481
CULTCAPactive	-0.791	0.184	-4.305	0.003	-1.215	-0.367

Source: own calculations.

Table 6. Model parameters PARTe

Source	Value	Standard error	t	Pr > t	Lower bound (95%)	Upper bound (95%)
Intercept	1.225	1.678	0.730	0.486	-2.645	5.094
INFRAf	-0.019	0.192	-0.101	0.922	-0.461	0.423
INFRAp	0.855	0.458	1.866	0.099	-0.202	1.912
ECONp	0.064	0.297	0.215	0.835	-0.621	0.749
ECONn	0.777	0.207	3.763	0.006	0.301	1.254
GOVcs	-0.060	0.121	-0.495	0.634	-0.338	0.219
CULCCAPnasc	-0.213	0.322	-0.663	0.526	-0.955	0.528
CULTCAPactive	-0.433	0.220	-1.968	0.085	-0.941	0.074

Source: own calculations.

The results indicate that 93% of the variability of the dependent variable PARTn is explained by the 7 explanatory variables. Given the p-value of the F statistic the information brought by the explanatory variables is significantly better than what a basic mean would bring. Based on the Type III sum of squares, the following variables bring significant information to explain the variability of the dependent variable: INFRAf, INFRAp, ECONp, GOVcs, CULTCAPnasc, CULTCAPactive, while ECONn does not. Among explanatory variables, based on the Type III sum of squares, variable INFRAp is the most influential.

In the case of dependent variable PARTe, 90% of the variability of the dependent variable is explained by the 7 explanatory variables. Given the p-value of the F statistic the information brought by explanatory variables is significantly better than what a basic mean would bring. Based on the Type III sum of squares only one variable brings significant information to explain the variability of the dependent variable that is: ECONn.

According to the results, the size of the audience is mostly determined by the accessibility of infrastructure such as theatres, museums, cinemas, and institutions of music. There is also a significant contribution of cultural capital related variables. The poverty rate does not contribute to changes in the size of audience, while it significantly impacts expenditures on culture.

The adoption of mixed methods of study design called for the interpretation of the model by quantitative data. Quantitative data was retrieved during three group interviews on patterns of participation in fine arts culture, since variables of infrastructure related to this type of cultural consumption. Three main problem areas were covered in the group process:

- patterns of consumption inc. modes of participation (in person, on-line), frequency, reasons (entertainment, education, catharsis);
- projection tests inc. filling in empty dialogues, finishing unfinished sentences, collage: stereotyping of fine art consumption;
- sorting modes of participation based on predetermined dimensions.

According to the respondents, participation in fine arts culture requires special preparation – “to go to a theatre you have to keep a date, get extra clothes, afterwards it’s normal that you go to some restaurant to have a nice evening – altogether it takes time and money” [male, average user, medium-sized city]. Participation in fine arts culture depends on what peers and relatives do in their

free time – “especially in small and medium-sized cities it is quite a venture to go to opera, people do not consider it an everyday situation” [female, accidental user, small city]. Participation in fine arts culture intensifies with practice, incentive to become a consumer in a specific area of fine arts culture unfolds a “whole new world” of experience that in order to be fully embraced, it should be supported with process of learning – “as I decided to listen more to jazz and ambient music I observed I should learn more about this particular genre, artists, and theory of music as well” [male, frequent user, large city]. One can approach fine arts culture at a low price but communication about low cost opportunities is inadequate – “for those who really want to be ‘cultural people’ it is not at all that difficult to do it at a low cost” [male, average user, large city]; Statement 2: “but neither I, nor my colleagues even knew about this project ‘theatre tickets for a penny,’ and I bet most folks also didn’t” [female, accidental user, small city]. Participation in fine arts culture is expensive but social media and the Internet make it more accessible. Also, according to the participants boundaries between popular and fine arts culture have become blurred. Projection tests revealed general positive attitude towards fine arts, although rarely supported by real participation. Modes of participation were much richer among those who were networked into creative class through personal or professional experience. Other patterns of participation developed through such channels as hobbies and interests loosely related to culture that somehow are channelled into a specific cultural event such as a special exhibition or festival. The sorting model of types of participation revolved around two dimensions: the sophistication of arts vs. personal effort. Respondents shared a common opinion on the necessity to be “socialized,” “educated,” and “trained into” fine arts. It would indicate that creative networks of cultural institutions, non-governmental organisations, and creative class representatives have a role to play as educators among a general audience in the process of creative place making.

Conclusions

Creative ecology has been recently evoked as a concept that should replace creative economy, for it has the potential to describe intangible benefits that go beyond the economic impact of creative

class on society. The cultural dimension of creative ecology and the participation of residents in fine arts culture were at the heart of the study. The data was analysed at the regional level and their relevance for creative cities is as good as it reflects the dominant impact of capital cities on the values of variables. It is consistent with studies on agglomeration effects and on the role of the metropolis in creating a concentrated demand for specific goods and services including the cultural market.

The results confirm that making creative place requires a clear communication from cultural institutions towards the audience on opportunities to participate in culture. Also, ensuring access to cultural infrastructure remains a core responsibility of creative place managers. New modes of interorganisational governance and collaboration with the third sector are required to build a density of creative networks. From a resident's perspective what matters mostly to participation in culture are: (1) individual economic resources – disposable income, subjective assessment of economic situation (can I afford it?); (2) group of reference resources (are my friends and relatives heavy users of culture?); and (3) tangible resources related to culture – infrastructure of cultural institutions (is there a place to go and grasp some cultural atmosphere and content in my place of living?). From a policymaker's perspective key resources are: (1) the size of the budget devoted to culture – how much can be spent on culture related projects; (2) institutional networks resources – did private and non-profit partners identify who we could collaborate with in the implementation of arts and culture policy; (3) tangible resources related to culture – infrastructure of cultural institutions – what cultural institutions could be kept in our cultural policy portfolio.

Profiling the regions revealed some inconsistencies in the predicted model that could serve as a starting point for further study related to “culture resistant” and “culture enthusiastic” regions. Statistical modelling confirmed the impact of the availability of cultural infrastructure, economic well-being, civil society networks, and cultural capital on the size of the audience in institutions of culture. Household expenditures on culture are influenced only by low levels of the poverty rate. In this context, regional data confirms the impact of economic well-being on participation in culture. In order to increase participation in culture, subnational governments should focus on local development policies, and at the same time support activities undertaken by civil society organisations active

in the area of culture. They should also consider the development of culture-related infrastructure as a key component of creative place making. The question, through which channels individuals with educational and professional background in the arts can stimulate participation in culture beyond their social network requires a separate study. Also, the replication of the model at district and municipal level could provide additional insight into the role of the creative class and creative networks in building an audience among residents.

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Aleksandra Olejnik*

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EU URBAN AGENDA

ABSTRACT: This article is an overview of opinions and recommendations adopted in the European Union *vis-à-vis* urban policy. The author analyses the Pact of Amsterdam and future perspectives of the implementation of EU Urban Agenda.

KEYWORDS: Urban Agenda for the EU, Pact of Amsterdam.

Preface

Urban policy has become an increasingly important issue in European policy. It is the effect of a long-term work of urban experts, as well as the activity of urban networks and urban areas. The issue of urban policy is important not only for the European level, but also important for most city centres, urban and metropolitan areas in the EU Member States. The cities aspire to become centres of innovation, research and development, as well as cultural centres. Generally speaking, cities tend to become the engines of regional development in the twenty-first century.

The review of milestones in the context of EU urban policy

The first document related to urban and territorial development was the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities, adopted in 2007. The document was created by the Member States with active

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involvement of the European stakeholders who agreed on common principles and strategies for urban development policy. Importantly, recommendation II focuses especially on deprived neighbourhoods within the context of a city as a whole and highlights strategies for action, embedded in an integrated urban development policy (*Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities. Final DRAFT, 2 May 2007*).

During the Informal Ministerial Meeting on Urban Development Declaration, which took place in Toledo in 2010, the need to promote a smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban development in European urban areas, cities, and towns was emphasised. In order to fulfill those goals, the Ministers reaffirmed the validity of the agreed upon commitments and principles established during previous ministerial meetings. They also highlighted an integrated approach in urban policies as one of the main tools to advance the direction set out in the Europe 2020 Strategy. What is more, the Ministers acknowledged the role that cities can play in achieving these objectives and called for a real partnership with cities in the implementation of the Europe 2020 Strategy. The most important features of the integrated approach in urban development are described in the “Toledo Reference Document on integrated urban regeneration and its strategic potential for a smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban development in Europe” (*Toledo Informal Ministerial Meeting on Urban Development Declaration. Toledo, 22 June 2010*).

The year 2011 witnessed an important event: the launching of a cooperation platform by European institutions. The platform provides inspiration for policymakers and practitioners involved in urban development at the local, regional, national and European levels. A shared vision of the European City of tomorrow is one in which all dimensions of sustainable urban development are taken into account in an integrated way. Among the list of criteria, we can find the following: “strong social justice, protection, welfare and social services; no poverty, social exclusion or discrimination, and a decent existence for all; good access to general services, preventive health care and medical treatment” (*European Union. Regional Policy, Cities of tomorrow. Challenges, visions, ways forward, 10*). In 2011, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on strengthening the urban dimension of European policies and intergovernmental cooperation in shaping the policies of urban development, calling for the development of a common program or the Urban Agenda for the EU. In November 2013, a preliminary draft

of the Framework for Municipal Agenda (Proposal for a framework of the Urban Agenda) was created. The project was presented at the meeting of Directors General and CITIES conference. In the first half of 2015, the work on the Riga Declaration started. It was a step towards the development of the EU Urban Agenda within the framework of informal intergovernmental cooperation (UDG). The Declaration expressed support for the development of the Urban Agenda and highlighted the role of small and medium-sized cities in development processes.¹

In June 2015, the Second Cities Forum on the Agenda of the City took place in Brussels. During the Forum, representatives of the European Commission presented a report with the results of consultations with the Communication Commission and next steps for the development of Urban Agenda; parallel work on the Agenda is conducted within the framework of the intergovernmental process – informal cooperation between the Member States (*2nd European CITIES Forum*). Between July and November 2015, the Dutch Presidency launched a survey among the Member States, the European Commission and organisations representing cities at the EU level on Agenda priorities for the EU City (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*).

The Pact of Amsterdam

Consultations on the draft Pact of Amsterdam started in the early 2016. The process involved the following: Member States, European Commission, EESC, CEMR, CoR, EIB, EUKN, EUROCITIES URBACT and ESPON. On the 30th of May 2016, the Pact of Amsterdam was adopted during the informal meeting of EU ministers responsible for urban development (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*). The Dutch Presidency launched the Pact of Amsterdam, a political document, agreed during an informal meeting of the Ministers responsible for urban issues. The document is a map delineating directions of the urban policy. It provides objectives, thematic priorities, actions, and operational frameworks. The Pact of Amsterdam creates a new model of multilevel and multidimensional cooperation for urban policy

¹ Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit (Riga, 21–22 May 2015), http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/docs/riga-declaration-220515-final_en.pdf (access on: 21.12.2016).

stakeholders, whose aim is to strengthen the urban dimension in European Union policies (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*). The document was created in direct cooperation with the European Commission, EESC, CEMR, the Committee of the Regions, the European Investment Bank, EUKN, EUROCITIES, URBACT and ESPON. It was based on previous declarations connected with urban development, such as the Leipzig Charter and Toledo Declaration. The Pact emphasises the need for complementary policies, which have an impact on urban matters and the need to strengthen the urban dimension (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*). Actions undertaken within the Urban Agenda will be coordinated by the DG meeting on Urban Matters. The goal of it is to ensure transparency and effectiveness of actions, monitoring progress, ensuring the provision of feedback regarding Action Plans for Partnerships, preparations of informal guidelines for the future development of Urban Agenda, and the evaluation of thematic priorities.

The Pact highlights 12 thematic priorities (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*). In the document, we can find actions dedicated to the implementation of Urban Agenda; for example, cooperation among Partnerships connected with initiatives and cooperation programmes: Urban Innovative Actions, Urban Development Network, URBACT and ESPON 2020 (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*).

The key implementation mechanism of the Agenda will consist of cooperation between representatives of the Member States, DGs of the European Commission, cities, organisations and experts specialising in urban development in the European Union working within Partnerships (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*). The goal of partnerships, created on a voluntary basis, will be a multilevel and multidimensional approach and analysis of the priorities of Urban Agenda in the context of strengthening the urban dimensions of the EU policies in three areas: better regulation, better funding, and better exchange of knowledge. Each priority area will be delivered within a Partnership, whose task will be to prepare and implement an Action Plan in two to three years. While implementing the Action Plan, concrete new proposals will be submitted in the field of legislation, funding and knowledge, related to subjects specific for individual partnerships, which will make a non-mandatory contribution to the process of shaping future and the revision of existing EU laws, instruments and initiatives.

During the Dutch presidency, four pilot partnerships were launched focused on the following issues: air pollution, urban poverty, housing and migrants, and refugees. Partnerships have also elaborated guidelines for the Member States, urban authorities, European Commission, European Parliament, European Investment Bank and other social organisations, which were mobilised to interact with actions designed to strengthen and implement the Urban Agenda.

The twelve priorities of the Urban Agenda for the European Union are:

1. Inclusion of migrants and refugees;
2. Air quality;
3. Urban poverty;
4. Housing;
5. Circular economy;
6. Jobs and skills in the local economy;
7. Climate adaptation (including green infrastructure solutions);
8. Energy transition;
9. Sustainable use of land and Nature-Based solutions;
10. Urban mobility;
11. Digital transition;
12. Innovative and responsible public procurement (*Urban Agenda for the EU. Pact of Amsterdam*).

The areas of interventions among Partnerships are one of the most important issues in the European Union. Each partnership may bring together between 15 and 20 members: five representatives of cities, five representatives from Member States, representatives of the Direction General of the European Commission, representatives of the EBI, the European Social and Economic Committee, the Committee of the Regions, ESPON, URNACT, EUKN, organisations representing the cities at the the European Union level: CEMR, Eurocities, and experts (*Presentation by the Secretary of State (Poland) Mr Jerzy Kwieciński*). The management of Partnerships depends on the Urban Development Group (UDG) – Member States, the European Commission, the Committee of the Regions, CEMR and Eurocities, Directors General from the Member States responsible for urban development – Member States, EC, CEMR and Eurocities, and through the Ministries of the Member States taking care of urban development. A Member States recommendation is required to constitute a new Partnership in the Urban Agenda.

One of four pilot partnerships is focused on air quality and coordinated by the Netherlands, the other are:

Member States:

- Croatia;
- Poland;
- The Czech Republic.

Urban areas:

- Helsinki;
- London;
- Utrecht;
- Milan;
- Constanta.

Other partners:

- DG REGIO, DG ENER, DG RESEARCH, DG AGRI, DG GROWTH, DG MOVE, DG ENVIRONMENT, DG CONNECT, JRC;
- Consortium Healthy Air Ruhr Area (Arnhem & Nijmegen (NL));
- Duisburg;
- Dusseldorf;
- Moers (DE), represented by the city of Duisburg;
- Eurocities;
- Urbact;
- Health and Environment Alliance (HEAL).

“The main objective of this partnership is to improve air quality in cities and to bring the ‘healthy city’ higher on the EU agenda as part of the Urban Agenda. The identification of gaps, overlaps, and contradictions regarding regulations and funding possibilities (indirectly) related to air quality, specifically in urban areas and exchange of knowledge and best practices will be needed to reach the objectives of this partnership” (Urban Agenda for the EU. *Air Quality*, 6 October 2010).

Actions planned to be implemented between mid-2016 and mid-2017 are to prepare the modeling of city-specific situations based on firm data regarding the improvement of air quality and public health. The second planned action is: MAPPING REGULATORY INSTRUMENTS AND FUNDING (Urban Agenda for the EU. *Air Quality*, 6 October 2010).

These actions are aimed to improve air quality in connection with planning and environmental analysis if there is a need for innovative regulatory concepts; e.g., in finance and funding of such revised concepts and possible difficulties for cities and member states to gain access to the right funding schemes (Urban Agenda for the EU. *Air Quality*, 6 October 2010). The third planned action is to prepare RECOMMENDATIONS ON AIR QUALITY BEST PRACTICES. Best practices have already been

identified in the previous two actions, possibly complemented as a result of a desk study of international examples and they will recommend potential pilot or demonstration projects in the participating cities. The fourth action is: GUIDELINE FOR CITIES AIR QUALITY ACTION PLANS, based on the results of actions 1, 2 and 3. Currently, many cities develop their own air quality action plans not knowing what has already been developed in other cities (Urban Agenda for the EU. *Air Quality*, 6 October 2010). The objectives are to have affordable housing of good quality. The focus will be on public affordable housing, state aid rules, and general housing policy.

The Partnership on Housing has been established among the following partners Member States:

- Slovakia as a Coordinator;
- Latvia;
- Luxembourg;
- the Netherlands.

Urban areas:

- Vienna as a Coordinator;
- Riga;
- Scottish Cities Alliance;
- Poznań;
- Lisbon.

Other participants:

- European Commission (DG REGIO, DG ENER, DG EMPL, AEDES);
- Eurocities;
- European Investment Bank;
- Housing Europe;
- International Union of Tenants (IUT), URBACT (Urban Agenda for the EU. *Partnerships*, 10 November 2010).

The third pilot partnership is the Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees with Amsterdam as a coordinator and the following urban areas as partners:

- Barcelona Metropolitan Area;
- Berlin, Athens, Helsinki.

Partners from Member States:

- Denmark;
- Italy;
- Greece;
- Portugal.

Other participants:

- European Commission: DG HOME as Coordinator, DG REGIO, DG EMPL;
- CEMR;
- EIB;
- Eurocities;
- European Council for Refugees and Exiles, Migration Policy Group and URBACT.

The objectives are to manage the integration of incoming migrants and refugees (extra-EU) and to provide a framework for their inclusion, considering actions related to the provision of public services, housing, integration, education, and labour market measures, social inclusion (Urban Agenda for the UE. *Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees*, 24 August 2016).

The Urban Poverty Partnership has 18 permanent members: Member States: France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Greece; Urban areas: Łódź, Lille, Kortrijk, Birmingham, Timisoara, Daugavpils, Keratsini; Representatives of regions: Brussels-Capital Region a Île-de-France. Other members are: URBACT, EUKN, EAPN, UN Habitat, FEANTSA, Eurochild; European Commission: the Directorate General of Regional and Urban Policy and DG Employment.

The partnership operates under two approaches:

- People-oriented: the socioeconomic integration, with a particular emphasis on poverty, women, children and the elderly;
- Place-oriented: Revitalisation of the poorest neighbourhoods;
- Focus on territories: urban areas of all sizes (Metropolitan and suburban areas) (Presentation by Aleksandra Olejnik on behalf of the coordinators of the partnership, 27.10.2016).

The partnership, as we can see on the map, is well-balanced in the context of geographic and multilevel dimension.

The first steps of the partnership were focused on the mapping of policies, funds, networks and other useful EU instruments; their identification was based on the combination of URBAN and POVERTY related criteria (Presentation by Aleksandra Olejnik on behalf of the coordinators of the partnership, 27.10.2016).

The theoretical background of the partnership is explained in the scoping paper in which experts concentrate on the problem statement, bottlenecks, and opportunities. The main objective was to put down on paper the understanding and perception of urban poverty common for all members of the partnership and to identify the key building blocks for the action plan, whose draft should

be ready by the end of 2016 (Presentation by Aleksandra Olejnik on behalf of the coordinators of the partnership, 27.10.2016).

The main challenge for the urban poverty partnership is to act on causes and effects of poverty. The partnership adopted a multi-factor approach due to the fact that people in poverty situation usually experience several needs at the same time, e.g., in the area of education, housing, culture, and public services. People in poverty situation have to face and overcome multiple difficulties, such as e.g., low income, unemployment, family fragilities, and difficulties in access to health care. The partnership will work on the basis of integrated strategies for the benefit of deprived neighbourhoods and vulnerable groups, such as children, lone parent families, young people, the unemployed and migrants (Presentation by Aleksandra Olejnik on behalf of the coordinators of the partnership, 27.10.2016).

The actions of the partnership are planned to be based upon 3 pillars: social, economic and urban regeneration. The process in the partnership is about the participation of people and wide-range cooperation (Presentation by Aleksandra Olejnik on behalf of the coordinators of the partnership, 27.10.2016).

The issue of urban regeneration is one of the two priorities of the urban poverty partnership due to the fact that urban regeneration is a process that in the last years was implemented by many cities as a solution to many urban problems. Through urban regeneration, it is possible to bring life back to degenerated urban districts.

Through regeneration, the public and private sector should not only renovate buildings, but also plan and implement actions aimed at bringing new functions to degenerated parts of cities, especially in the context of social interventions. Social actions are necessary in the context of improving the quality of a multi-faceted urban tissue. The action has to be focused on long-term improvement, not only on short-term actions, as in many places in the city the deprivation of urban areas which are now subject to regeneration have faced the problem of poverty for decades.

Łódź involvement in Urban Poverty partnership

As a leader in urban regeneration programs, Łódź was selected by the Polish government to take part in the Urban Poverty Partnership. Łódź is the third largest city in Poland

with a post-industrial history. It was a famous textile centre but, unfortunately for the city, the textile industry collapsed.

In recent years, the city has developed and implemented solutions that have boosted the development of the city centre, which significantly differs from other city centres in Poland. Historical and legal problems in previous years produced housing problems there. The effect of multiple and complex issues is visible in the city centre, where there are islands of poverty with poverty-related homelessness and pathologies that pass on from generation to generation. Łódź applies for the EU funds in the financial perspective 2014–2020.

Regeneration plans are described and outlined in the Municipal Program of Revitalisation, which was created by experts and consulted with citizens. The priorities of the program are:

– renovation of the *Strefa Wielkowiejska* [strict city centre], in which the main spatial, social and economic problems are located;

- protection of historical structure of the city and its monuments;
- education and promotion of cultural heritage through improving citizens' awareness and creating local identity;
- active integrated approach toward the governance of the cultural heritage of the city.²

The program is linked with that of the New City Centre, as well as with the plans of the Metropolitan Area.

Another very important fact highlighted in the Municipal Regeneration Program is that Łódź is a Polish candidate to bid for hosting the International Expo Exhibition in 2022. The theme of Łódź application is urban regeneration. The subject matter of the application was selected because Łódź is one among Polish cities which specialises in urban regeneration and therefore it had the opportunity to implement pilot solutions in regeneration projects with financial support from the central budget.

Łódź has not only received support from the national level but also an impressive support from European funds – through the Regional Operational Program of Łódzkie Voivodeship and from Integrated Territorial Investments. This level of support was and still is offered to Łódź to help the city solve several difficult problems, such as demographic challenges, poverty islands in the city centre and the collapse of the textile industry. Łódź is a city in close geographic proximity to Warsaw (130 km), which was also

² Municipal Regeneration Program, the City of Łódź, 13–15.

a challenge for local authorities – to be a dormitory town for the capital city. Another challenge for Łódź is to be competitive *vis-à-vis* the capital city. One of the options for the city was to develop as a centre of creative industries, conferences, outsourcing with well-developed academic centres. The crucial condition to achieve all of these goals was and still is to be an attractive city for students, investors and citizens.

Regarding the National Urban Policy, the problem of urban degradation is an issue in most urban centres in Poland. Cities with islands of poverty and social exclusion, with substandard living conditions have no chance to be attractive and dynamic. Their potential of development could be wasted. The negative impact of degradation is mostly social and economic phenomenon, which results in social segregation and the issue of inheriting, along with poverty, also negative spatial infrastructure changes (decapitalisation of poor spatial infrastructure) (Municipal Regeneration Program, 3).

Łódź is no exception to the rule; the city centre is in crisis. But the scale of problems is exceptional. The city has the most significant regeneration challenges among all Polish cities. A degenerated city centre which impacts the quality of life and decreases the attractiveness of the city to citizens, and is also a source of the poor image of the city (Municipal Regeneration Program, 3). The solution is not only to renovate buildings but also to mobilise residents and reduce social exclusion by creating specialised training and rehabilitation centres, including actions related to active labour market measures or helping disabled citizens. Local authorities declare that actions will be aimed at helping elderly people, education, and facilitating access to health care. The plans also include actions in the field of prevention and fighting against social exclusion by supporting innovative solutions, training and education.

The development of local communities should take place with the support of educational programs and promoting pro-citizens, pro-social and pro-ecological attitudes; the involvement of NGOs and supporting them by training volunteers, elaborating long-term programs in cooperation with representatives of NGOs; and with local support, and creating the basis for the development of self-financing (Municipal Regeneration Program, 20). The program strongly highlights issues connected with the development and improvement of the education sector (Municipal Regeneration Program, 21). It also stresses access to culture, sport, tourism and

leisure, also through the development of basic institutions and through the building and modernisation of these sectors (Municipal Regeneration Program, 21–22).

Regeneration should not only correct mistakes and problems from the past, but it should also focus around solutions for the future to prevent analogical problems in the future (Municipal Regeneration Program, 22). Social regeneration should influence future trends in preventing economic poverty. By taking part in the Urban Poverty Partnership, Łódź has an opportunity to exert an impact on what European policies would look like after 2020, and hopefully Łódź, thanks to its experience in regeneration, will be able to act more effectively.

Conclusions

Europe in 2016 faced two major crises: the refugee crisis and an economic crisis. Both have made the work of two partnerships – the Partnership on Migrants and Refugees, and the Urban Poverty Partnership extremely difficult. In the world where everything is about money, as well as smart and sustainable development, all efforts are focused on becoming more and more effective in business and research. Nowadays, when modern cities and regions develop smart strategies in cooperation with academic centres, it seems that the problem of poverty, it being not an “interesting” or “sellable” issue, is actually one of the most important, and should be a crucial area of intervention for Member States. This is why recommendations elaborated within this partnership might be very significant.

Partnerships were one of the main themes in the agenda of the European Week of Regions and Cities in 2016 organised in Brussels by EU institutions. The fact that the European Commission has set up a special secretariat within its structure to help the partnerships shows that the EU truly wants to help cities become partners in the post-2020 perspective.

It seems a logical option, especially taking into consideration the situation, in which the EU faces cohesion and a regional policy crisis. In the opinions presented by Jean Claude Juncker – President of the European Commission, we can trace a sceptical attitude towards these policies, which are simply expensive and bureaucratic. The most important problem is that the evaluation

of results in the context of improving the EU policy is also not performed in a direct manner. In EU institutions, especially in the EC, we can find the idea that the period post-2020 should be more focused on implementing fast solutions for the rapidly changing EU reality and should not consider long-term funding with rules that are so strict and bureaucratic that it is impossible to use them. It was, and remains, visible in migrant-related humanitarian crises.

The creation of Partnerships can be an extremely smart solution: the EU is not imposing new rules, but supports multilevel groups, working under voluntary arrangement, which can actually impact the post-2020 perspective. Experts working in the partnership will make recommendations with regard to better funding, better regulation and better knowledge in 12 thematic areas. If these recommendations are good, it is quite likely that the EU will work on them. The only question left unanswered at this moment is whether the partnership can handle very complex and broad issues and find optimal solutions of satisfactory quality to implement them at the EU level. The answer to this question depends on the role of urban areas in the post-2020 perspective.

The second call for proposals was very popular among Polish cities. Many Polish cities submitted their applications to partnerships within the framework of the second call for proposals. Probably urban areas in Poland understood that they would like to take part in the process.

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REVIEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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Introducing Antonio Gramsci and the *Prison Notebooks*: A Review Article of George Hoare and Nathan Sperber, *An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci. His Life, Thought and Legacy*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, and John Schwarzmantel, *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's "Prison Notebooks."* London and New York: Routledge, 2015

Introduction

Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) was a prominent Italian Marxist philosopher and politician, co-founder of the Italian Communist Party, an influential thinker and critic of contemporary politics, society and culture. The 21st century has seen a strong revival of interest in his work, especially in the use of Gramscian concepts in a wide variety of disciplines (from literary and cultural studies, translation theory, social studies, and international relations theory to political philosophy, history of Marxism);¹ at the same time important introductory companions and guides to his work and achievement have been published. This review is concerned with two such introductory publications: George Hoare and Nathan Sperber's *An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci. His Life, Thought*

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¹ See, for instance, the studies in Francese (ed.) (2009), McNally and Schwarzmantel, eds. (2009), Ives and Lacorte, eds. (2010), Carlucci (2013), and the most recent publication, Filippini (2017).

and Legacy and John Schwarzmantel's *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's "Prison Notebooks."*²

Gramsci's encyclopedic breadth and depth of thought has been often commented upon, recently by, among others, Joseph Francese who also stresses that his impact:

on social and political thought, critical theory and literary methodology is profound. Gramsci was an Italian journalist, activist, and social and political theorist whose writings are heavily concerned with the analysis of popular and elite culture and political theory. He is notable as a highly original thinker within the Marxist tradition, especially for his ideas concerning the role of civil society as lynchpin between the economic base and the ideological superstructure of societies. He is also renowned for his theorization of the importance of cultural hegemony as a non-coercive means of maintaining bourgeois dominance in capitalist societies. (Francese, 2009: 1)

John Schwarzmantel underlines that the main themes of Gramsci's thought were developed in close connection with his life and activity (as a socialist journalist, political leader and political prisoner), and that:

They can be summarised as a deep concern with the importance of culture and of intellectuals in civil society; the creative role of the working-class movement and its potential emergence from a subaltern or dominated position to one of the leadership of all society; and reflection on the distinctive characteristics of Western Europe compared with the society in which the Bolshevik revolution had taken place. (Schwarzmantel, 2009: 1–2)

***An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci.
His Life, Thought and Legacy***

Advanced Gramscian studies are developing intensively, nevertheless there is still constant demand for introductory texts and guidebooks. George Hoare and Nathan Sperber offer such a most recent introduction to Gramscian studies, putting the life, thought, activity and achievement of the Italian Marxist philosopher into a wide context. *An Introduction to Antonio Gramsci. His Life, Thought and Legacy* (hereafter *Introduction*, followed by appropriate

² This review incorporates material published earlier in *Marx & Philosophy Review of Books*: <http://marxandphilosophy.org.uk/reviewofbooks/reviews/2016/2154>, and <http://marxandphilosophy.org.uk/reviewofbooks/reviews/2016/2317>. Permission for publication of this material in *International Studies* is gratefully acknowledged.

page reference) comprises a short introduction, four parts dealing with, respectively, life, thought, applications and legacy, followed by a guide to further reading, bibliography and index.

Hoare and Sperber commence the introduction with a brief section on “Thinking through Gramsci,” observing that there exists a whole “Gramsci industry” with “a great many different Gramscis. Thus we see a Gramsci in International Relations, in Cultural Studies, in Political Theory, in Literary Theory and in Postcolonial Studies. There is a Gramsci used by the Right and one claimed by the Left” (*Introduction 1*).³ Against these diverse and proliferated approaches to Gramsci, the authors argue for “a unified and consistent Gramsci, a Gramsci essential for critical thought today” (*Introduction 1*). Though the task of producing a “unified Gramsci” might turn out impossible, it is very important that a recent attempt has been made for a consistent interdisciplinary (or multidisciplinary) presentation of Gramsci, his achievement and legacy.

Part One is devoted to Gramsci’s biography, his intellectual development, and some of the early writings. Gramsci’s life, at every stage, from Sardinian origins, shaped his thought and, conversely, and tragically, his thought shaped his life. His early involvement in politics (first the Italian Socialist Part, next the Italian Communist Party) radicalised his thought, whereas experience in political journalism “instilled in him a talent and a taste for polemics” (*Introduction 11*). Part One also provides relevant information on Gramsci’s trial and imprisonment, and concludes with a powerful fragment from the activist’s 1928 letter to his mother “I’ve always refused to compromise my ideas and am ready to die for them, not just to be put in prison” (*Introduction 23*).

Part Two discusses Gramsci’s “Thought,” and is divided into chapters on culture, politics, philosophy, and hegemony, respectively. This part of the book might be used as a self-contained concise guide to the most important aspects of Gramscian thought relevant in the different disciplines. In the chapter on culture, the authors note that though Gramsci never provided a systematic explication of his theory of culture, his conception was both social

³ Additionally to the “many Gramscis” issue and superficial interpretations, “much too often, Gramsci is cited because he is important, and he is important because he is cited” (Buttigieg, 2009: 22). Buttigieg’s suggestion that “this is the time to start re-reading Gramsci” (2009: 31) has lead him to initiate the *Reading Gramsci* series (with Pluto Press).

and political (an observation which can be carried over to his other fields of interest), and he considered culture as the antithesis of a system, a “succession of quotidian practices” (*Introduction* 28), accessed through the “combined ways of acting, perceiving and feeling of all people” (*Introduction* 29).

Chapter 2 also discusses intellectuals, education, journalism, and popular literature. According to Gramsci, intellectuals and education are tightly linked, since education trains and forms intellectuals, and the intellectuals are constituted by their social role, which consists in the production and diffusion of knowledge in society. This is a very modern approach to the social characteristics of intellectuals (and one which differs from the traditional Marxist inclusion of intellectuals into the bourgeoisie). However, as observed by Hoare and Sperber, despite “his consistent rejection of vulgar economic determinism, Gramsci stays faithful to Marx’s original insight that intellectual life is always situated in a socio-historical field of forces in which class struggle is the primordial reality” (*Introduction* 34), at the same time this new intellectual “should never go as far as to doctor the truth in the name of the revolution” (*Introduction* 38).

María Zambrano, a Spanish philosopher and essayist, with a decidedly different ideological background and orientation, but also writing in turbulent times, described politics as a strictly human activity whose analysis reveals the greatest dramas, conflicts and glories of man.⁴ This description tunes in very well with the approach advocated by Gramsci. In Chapter 3 Hoare and Sperber focus on politics, stressing that it was understood by Gramsci as an “essential moment of social life” (*Introduction* 53). They discuss the triangle of concepts: civil society–political society–the State, the “cornerstone of Gramsci’s theory of politics” (*Introduction* 55), devote separate sections to the interpretation of modern politics, and the modern Prince. The authors note that Gramsci’s historical-political research reveals “an epistemological caution that is complementary to his theoretical audacity” (*Introduction* 60), and that his approach to analysis of politics is inductive, with theory emerging from concrete findings. Throughout this chapter it is clearly visible that for Gramsci a careful analysis of the present as it is (socially,

⁴ “La actividad más estrictamente humana y su análisis nos descubre los mayores dramas, conflictos y glorias del hombre,” María Zambrano, *Horizonte del Liberalismo* (1930), quoted in Sánchez-Gey Venegas (2016: 40).

politically) is an essential prerequisite of any transformation (including, crucially, the revolutionary one).

The strict ties linking theory and practice are also obvious in Gramsci's approach to philosophy, the subject of Chapter 4. As well known, Gramsci redefined philosophy, viewing it in the context of everyday life, and asserting that "every man is a philosopher" (*Introduction* 83); furthermore, philosophy is a certain conception of life to which an ethical attitude is attached. Other parts of this chapter introduce the topics strongly related to philosophy in Gramscian thought, namely ideology, economy, Americanism, Fordism, and the concept of praxis. Additionally, Hoare and Sperber devote some pages to the influence (and final rejection) of Giovanni Gentile and Benedetto Croce on Gramsci's thought, and in conclusion of the chapter they note that ultimately "for Gramsci politics and philosophy are most intimately joined together through the revolution of common sense" (*Introduction* 116). Common sense (*senso comune*) is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The last chapter in Part Two is devoted to the reconstruction of Gramsci's most famous concept, that of hegemony. Hoare and Sperber aim to show how this concept relies on other stipulations, especially the ones concerned with intellectuals, culture, society and politics. Very basically, hegemony serves for Gramsci to stress the cultural, moral and cognitive aspects of leadership, the dimensions of "the exercise of political power" (*Introduction* 118). Hegemony constitutes a form of knowledge and signifies an ethical renewal, it is constructed through various mechanisms of political negotiation and intellectual persuasion, and at the same time it is a fundamentally cognitive and moral process. Similarly to other concepts in Gramsci's thought, hegemony has a dialectical and dynamic aspect. The authors also discuss the historical stages of hegemony (from the pre-hegemonic state to the regulated society), and also hegemonic consciousness as catharsis, i.e. a moment of intensity resulting "in the intellectual liberation of the subject" (*Introduction* 131). The discussion of culture, philosophy, politics and hegemony demonstrates that these concepts represent "complementary aspects of a unified project of the renewal of historical materialism" (*Introduction* 142).

Whereas the first two parts of the book provide necessary background information and analyses of relevant concepts, Part Three, "Applications," brings two very interesting chapters on "thinking through Gramsci" in political theory and in political economy, and Part Four is concerned with Gramsci's legacy in

Western Marxism, Italian communism, post-Marxism, and also in postcolonial studies and cultural studies. Chapter 6 offers a critical analysis of the notion of Left/Right as part of the “common sense” of modern politics and modern life. The applied methodology contextualises common sense, traces the historical development of the notion of Left/Right, analyses the sources and implications of the metaphor, and finally interprets Left/Right as a story about society and politics (i.e. as a political narrative). It would be most interesting to see (and interpret) how the metaphor and discourse developed and changed on both sides of the Iron Curtain, also historically, before, during and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Chapter 7 shifts attention to political economy, and investigates neo-liberalism and hegemony in Britain and France in the 1980s. Hoare and Sperber stress that “Gramsci’s concepts are at their most potent when they are refined in order to adhere as closely as possible to concrete historical situations” (*Introduction* 202), and they show how Gramscian categories may sharpen the understanding of the diffusion of neoliberalism across the globe; they refer to Stuart Hall’s interpretation of Thatcherism as a hegemonic project, they briefly discuss the socialist politics in France before 1981, and the consequent developments. The Franco-British comparison shows that whereas economic transformation was utilised as a mobilising cause by Thatcher in Britain, in France it became an argument for popular demobilisation.

In Part Four, Hoare and Sperber attempt to map “Gramsci’s influence on contemporary critical thought”; they caution, however, that such a map is by necessity limited and schematic “not least because Gramsci has had an influence on virtually all subjects within the humanities (...) and with the availability, strengths and weaknesses of collections of his prison writing” (*Introduction* 205). The chapter places Gramsci within the perspective of the first generation of Western Marxism (alongside such figures as Georg Lukács, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse), Italian post-war communism, and also post-Marxism, on the one hand, and postcolonial studies and cultural studies, on the other. The authors conclude this part with a brief overview of the influence of Gramsci’s thought in international relations, and especially the sub-discipline of international political economy, with attention to Robert Cox’s innovative work on a neo-Gramscian approach and internationalising the concept of hegemony. In an attempt to assess Gramsci’s future they suggest that his concepts and method “and in particular his extension and renewal of Marxism are useful tools for

thinking through capitalism today”; they also observe that Gramsci is “one of the foremost theorists of defeat in the history of critical thought” (*Introduction* 234), which, not that paradoxically, also makes his writings attractive, and they finally suggest retaining a healthier “*Gramscian pessimism* rather than a useless *defeatism*” (*Introduction* 234).

The book concludes with a concise guide to further reading, with separate sections on Gramsci in English, publications devoted to Gramsci’s life (including reference to the documentary “Everything That Concerns People” available on YouTube), secondary sources and other electronic resources. This guide chapter includes also a short section with a suggestion on reading Gramsci, especially useful for a potential reading group.

George Hoare and Nathan Sperber have produced a modern, methodologically consistent, introduction to Antonio Gramsci, his thought and legacy; an excellent guide to interdisciplinary Gramscian studies.

The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci’s “Prison Notebooks”

Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks*, recently republished by Columbia University Press as a three volume set (Gramsci, 2011), are a classic text of twentieth century political and social thought, exerting considerable influence on contemporary debates in political philosophy, as well as theory and history of ideology, international relations, cultural studies and also translation studies. At the same they are complex and often difficult to read, especially without background knowledge of the appropriate historical, philosophical, ideological, and intellectual context and influences. Peter Ives and Adam David Morton have recently observed that reading Gramsci

[i]s no easy task. He plunges into the complexities of debates of his time that are now obscure to many readers and engages in an enormous range of topics that at first seem unrelated. Moreover, the prison conditions and his own method yield a set of open-ended, fragmented and intricately layered *Prison Notebooks* whose connections and argumentation do not lead linearly from one note to the next, but seem to ripple and weave in many directions. (Ives and Morton, 2017: xi)

A detailed guide to this work is therefore more than welcome, and John Schwarzmantel (already quoted above in this review),

who has published widely on citizenship and identity, ideology and politics, and, crucially for the topic discussed here, he co-edited (with Mark McNally) a volume on Gramsci and global politics (McNally and Schwarzmantel, eds., 2009), has all necessary expertise to author such a publication.

In the introductory chapter of *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's "Prison Notebooks"* (hereafter *Guidebook*, followed by appropriate page number) "Gramsci before the *Prison Notebooks*," Schwarzmantel explains Gramsci's political career and his writings before the imprisonment in November 1926, he also reminds that Gramsci started writing his notebooks in February 1929, and "filled twenty-nine notebooks (school exercise books) with his reflections on history, politics, philosophy and culture, as well as four notebooks filled with translations from German, English and Russian texts, which Gramsci used as language exercises" (*Guidebook* 2). Schwarzmantel briefly explains Gramsci's use (often polemical) of Marx and Marx's writings in his early journalism, and stresses that the Sardinian's early focus on Marxism understood "not as a form of economism in which politics was determined by economics, but of Marxism as precisely the expression of human will and creative action" (*Guidebook* 6). This approach was developed in *PN* as the famous *philosophy of praxis*. The introduction shows Gramsci as a political actor "situated in the milieu of the Italian and international communist movement, and grappling with problems of how to organize the working class movement in a period of capitalist reaction" (*Guidebook* 28).

In chapter two, "The Nature and Genesis of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*," Schwarzmantel discusses the key themes and originality of the text, he stresses that the *Notebooks* "have to be understood (...) as a fundamentally *political* text, if politics is understood in the broadest terms as the understanding of a historical epoch and an analysis of the forces acting to preserve and to change the nature of a political and social order" (*Guidebook* 30–31). The discussion in this chapter shows, among other things, how Gramsci's work defined and redefined politics (again, in connection with his concept of philosophy of praxis), also through his interpretation and reinterpretation of such terms as hegemony, civil society, the state, passive revolution, and Americanism and Fordism. Additionally, Schwarzmantel comments in this chapter on the limitations of the English-language selection of *PN* (in comparison with the full original Italian version).

The following four chapters concentrate on the issues crucial to *PN* and Gramsci's thought in general: intellectuals and education (Chapter 3), history and modernity (Chapter 4), politics, state and civil society (Chapter 5), and philosophy and Marxism (Chapter 6). The question of intellectuals was one with which Gramsci was deeply engaged; however "his concern with intellectuals and with education was a broader one, going beyond the specifically Italian role of intellectuals," it was a contribution to "a debate central to socialist and Marxist movements of his time (...) but Gramsci's theorization of intellectuals and his analysis of their role are both much wider and more penetrating than anything on the topic carried out previously by socialist theorists" (*Guidebook* 70–71). Gramsci defines intellectuals as the agents of legitimation of the existing order, as the functionaries of the superstructure (at two levels: civil society and state), the dominant group's deputies. Important parts of this chapter are devoted to Gramsci's analyses of Benedetto Croce's thought (further discussed in chapter six), on organic intellectuals and the political party, and on education. Schwarzmantel stresses that Gramsci is concerned with education understood as "a democratic force, and as a means of breaking down rather than reinforcing class divisions" (*Guidebook* 90–91), hence his critique of vocational schools, and advocacy of more general type of formative schools.

Chapter four focuses on "History and modernity." Many of Gramsci's most significant concepts, such as hegemony and passive revolution, are developed through careful analyses of historical events, especially the Italian Risorgimento, the complex process of Italian unification and independence from foreign rule, which ended in 1861 with the declaration of Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy. Gramsci's historical analysis "pointed out lessons for the politics of his own time. He saw the process of the Risorgimento as a passive revolution (...) [which] had left Italy with a defective legacy. It had been an incomplete revolution which it was the task of the working class movement to bring to fruition and in that way complete the process of making Italy a truly modern nation" (*Guidebook* 98). Sections of *PN* show Gramsci as a political visionary (especially his notes on Americanism and Fordism), some of his visions and solutions, however, never materialised; on the other hand it is also possible to see in Gramsci a precursor theorist of modernity, and contemporary "analyses of the present state of the global economy do in a sense follow in Gramsci's footsteps by exploring the political

and economic and social implications of the transformed structure of the economy” (*Guidebook* 148).

In Chapter five Schwarzmantel considers “Politics, state and civil society,” and discusses in considerable detail the sections dealing with topics crucial to Gramsci’s thought: the nature of politics, theory of the state and its relation to civil society, revolutionary politics, and the strategy dubbed war of position. Schwarzmantel stresses that these sections “were written in an attempt to analyze the victory of fascism in Italy and the reasons for the defeat of the revolutionary surge in Italy and beyond” (*Guidebook* 150–151), and the whole chapter demonstrates the practical dimension and commitment of Gramsci’s historical, political, and ideological considerations. Important sections of the *PN* are devoted to interpreting Machiavelli, and to constructing the concept of the political party as the modern Prince. Other issues discussed in this chapter include leadership and the masses, and concepts of the state. In his prison writings Gramsci “is formulating a new language of politics, even if he is using the same words (party, state, civil society) that have been used by earlier theorists of the political” (*Guidebook* 212).

Chapter six deals with Gramsci’s ideas on “Philosophy and Marxism,” concentrating especially on the notion of philosophy of praxis, since, as observed by Schwarzmantel, “the philosophy of praxis conveys and summarizes Gramsci’s distinctive interpretation of Marxism” (*Guidebook* 214). Philosophy is not seen by Gramsci as a specialised activity carried on by professional philosophers, but rather as “a process of imparting intellectual order, reinforcement and coherence to the mass of beliefs held in a particular society” (*Guidebook* 220), furthermore it “educates and transforms common sense and is the means through which a new culture and *Weltanschauung* (view of the world) is transmitted to the mass of the people, and this is an essential part of the revolutionary transformation of society” (*Guidebook* 219). For Gramsci, this philosophy of praxis can achieve the task of linking intellectuals with the non-professionals, in ways neither religion nor liberal idealism could manage. An important final section of this chapter is devoted to Gramsci’s critique of (and occasionally dialogue with) Benedetto Croce. Gramsci recognised the importance of Croce, both for his concept of hegemony, and for highlighting the significance of ideas and culture in a particular society; however, his “engagement with Croce’s idea should be understood not just as an intellectual exercise but as a profoundly political task” (*Guidebook* 246), he also argued that “Marxist historiography could apply the insights

of Croce's historicism, but purge that philosophy of its speculative and transcendent aspects" (*Guidebook* 255).

The last chapter is concerned with "The afterlife and influence of Gramsci's *Prison Notes*." Schwarzmantel discusses Gramsci's influences and presence in post-war Italy, and in the debates outside Italy. He focuses on neo-Gramscianism, understood as the use of categories and concepts derived from the *PN* in particular fields of academic enquiry, such as international relations, international political economy, and cultural studies (*Guidebook* 266–67), and stresses that the interpretation of Gramsci as the theorist of the superstructure "whose key concept was civil society certainly opened up a new perspective on Gramsci, and fitted in with (...) the rediscovery of civil society, seen both as the arena for struggle against one-party rule in communist systems and as the sphere of diversity and difference characteristic of liberal-democratic society" (*Guidebook* 274). Recent political developments in Europe (though not limited to Europe) show that the tools worked out by Gramsci can be still precisely applied for the purpose of ideological and political analyses. Schwarzmantel very aptly stresses (quoting the Italian scholar Guido Liguori) that the *PN* are the work of a classic author, "of someone whose interpretation of his own time remains relevant at all times" (*Guidebook* 285). This chapter also includes a short section on the use of ideas derived from the *PN* to analyze British politics and the phenomenon of Thatcherism (especially in the work of Stuart Hall),⁵ and a conclusion on the status of *PN* today, where Schwarzmantel declares the new season of Gramsci studies, which "opens up for the first time a more adequate understanding of those complex reflections on history, philosophy, politics, language and culture, with their single theme underlying the many paragraphs and notes: how could subordinate groups end their subaltern position? How can a process of moral and intellectual reform be initiated and carried to a successful conclusion?" (*Guidebook* 292).

The discussion of individual topics is accompanied throughout the book with detailed referencing and cross-referencing (often comparing the English and Italian versions of *PN*), and every chapter concludes with detailed suggestions for further reading. The final bibliography is divided into studies directly concerned with Gramsci

⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of Gramsci and contemporary British politics, see the chapters in Part III of McNally and Schwarzmantel, eds. (2009).

in English, studies in Italian, and other works referred to in the book (furthermore, a list of Gramsci's own works precedes the chapters).

The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's "Prison Notebooks" will definitely become a most useful resource for Gramscian studies. John Schwarzmantel has achieved his aims, formulated in the Preface, and the *Guidebook* "introduces readers to Gramsci's highly original and exciting reflections on politics, history, philosophy and culture, which can help us make sense of our present epoch, different though it is in crucial aspects from the era in which Gramsci wrote his notes in the cell of a fascist prison" (*Guidebook* xii).

Conclusions

The *oeuvre* of Antonio Gramsci remains open to further interpretations and reinterpretations. As observed by Mark McNally (2009: 199), "his writings continue to illuminate, provoke and inspire political thought and analysis, and are likely to do so well into the new millennium," whereas Filippini (2017: 122) claims that Gramsci "constantly reformulated and reutilized the vocabulary of other theoretical traditions different from Marxism – such as sociology, anthropology and linguistics – which today, 80 years after his death, has been revived in contemporary debates." It would be fascinating to see profound comparisons with the achievements of philosophers as diverse as, for example, José Ortega y Gasset (and his analyses of leadership and the masses in *The Revolt of the Masses*), on the one hand, and Hannah Arendt (with her concept of *vita activa* developed in *The Human Condition*, but also the insights offered in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*), on the other.

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***ISSEI 2016 Conference:
New International Europe***

In 2016 the Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Lodz, held a special event, i.e. *ISSEI 2016 International Conference: What's New in the New Europe? Redefining Culture, Politics, Identity*. The conference, organised by the Department of British and Commonwealth Studies together with the Israeli partner, International Society for the Study of European Ideas (ISSEI), took place between 11 and 15 July 2016. For five days nearly 150 researchers from Poland and abroad participated in 24 panel discussions conducted by some of the world's most prominent scholars. It was the fifteenth edition of the conference, the previous ones being hosted in other European countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Austria, Israel, Norway, Great Britain, Spain, Finland, Turkey, Portugal, Malta and Cyprus.

The panel discussions covered topics as diverse as identity politics, the future of Europe and European Union, globalisation, new nationalisms and postcolonial discourse. The aim of the series of debates was to respond to a significant question: what makes the new Europe. The conference proved to be a great polyphonic commentary on the difficult situation in today's Europe, caused by the immigration crisis, Brexit and a growing threat of terrorism. Yet, the purpose of the conference, apart from the scholarly one, was also to promote Lodz as an academic, artistic and creative city (guests visited EC-1 and the Planetarium; they also had an opportunity to take part in several sightseeing tours through Lodz). Therefore, *ISSEI 2016* could encourage cooperation among foreign scholars and increase student exchange between universities.

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During the official opening, the organisers, Prof. Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney and Dr Edna Rosenthal, discussed the key topics of the conference. Both of them also referred to events destabilising Europe. Dr Rosenthal put emphasis on the futility of fighting and wars as a means of solving problems. Then several distinguished speakers followed: Prof. Antoni Różalski, the then Vice-Rector for Scientific Research (now His Magnificence Rector of the University of Lodz); Prof. Tomasz Domański – the then Dean of the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the University of Lodz; Prof. Stefan Höjelid of Linnaeus University. A congratulatory letter was read on behalf of Hanna Zdanowska, the Mayor of the City of Lodz. The opening of the conference culminated with a show of traditional Polish folk dances and songs performed by the “KUJON” Academic Student Folk Group.

The next three days of the conference were devoted to workshops, panel discussions and plenary lectures. Tuesday’s session closed with a lecture delivered by Prof. Peter Swirski (Sun Yat-Sen University/University of Silesia), in which the eminent scholar talked about the unprecedented blooming of culture in today’s world. On the one hand, the growing number of cultural initiatives may be considered beneficial for the sake of global society, yet, on the other, it may cause anxiety as people are unable to keep up with the mass production of information and cultural goods. The lecture caused a heated debate which continued during the dinner organised on the premises of the Training and Conference Centre of the University of Lodz (Rogowska St). A mini-concert given by a trio of Lodz-based musicians concluded the second day of the conference.

On Wednesday Prof. Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney, head of the Department of British and Commonwealth Studies, delivered a lecture on the universality and timelessness of works of the Bard of Avon, William Shakespeare. Also on Wednesday conference participants were encouraged to partake in film screenings: they could watch Sławomir Grünberg’s 2015 *Karski & The Lords of Humanity*, a documentary about Jan Karski (the film session was preceded by a meeting with Joanna Podolska-Płocka, the director of the Marek Edelman Dialogue Center in Lodz), or *The Promised Land* by Andrzej Wajda (1974). On Thursday Prof. Jürgen Oelkers (University of Zurich) gave a speech on “The European Crisis and Education (Bildung) towards Democracy.” A gala dinner at the Biedermann Palace followed.

ISSEI 2016 concluded on Friday with a poignant mini-lecture by Dr Ruvik Rosenthal (Open University of Israel). Dr Rosenthal

talked about the future of Europe and the place of ISSEI within it, first and foremost as a platform for the exchange of ideas. Moreover, participants suggested some changes that could improve the organisational process of subsequent editions of the conference.

ISSEI 2016 International Conference: What's New in the New Europe? Redefining Culture, Politics, Identity was a highly successful enterprise, not only intellectually, but also socially. Guests praised the variety of subject matters and research perspectives, efficient organisation, as well as the ability to confront their own scholarly views with international perspectives. Furthermore, participants expressed their appreciation for the rich programme and additional attractions (artistic performances, garden party and barbecue, organised tour to see world-famous Lodz murals, film screenings, banquet in Biedermann Palace). They also acknowledged friendly atmosphere of the event.

An apt summary of the conference was offered by Dr Gesine Palmer (Zentrum Jüdische Studien Berlin-Brandenburg): “Good reading and virtual communication can help a lot to bridge the gaps between the different cultures. But nothing can make up for personal encounter. It sobers illusions, corrects prejudices, opens new perspectives, and inspires everyone who has the privilege to take part in such an event as *ISSEI*.”

The honorary patronage over the conference was assumed by Hanna Zdanowska, the Mayor of the City of Lodz, and Witold Stępień, the Marshal of Lodz. The partners included VOLEO Marketing Szkolenia Eventy, “Liberté!” journal, Lodz University Press, Adam Marszałek Publishing House, British Council and American Corner Łódź.

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