The role of the private actor in cultural regeneration: Hybridizing cultural heritage with creativity in the city

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ABSTRACT

Building on the most relevant literature on cultural regeneration and creative cities, this paper provides an integrated framework to investigate the factors exploited by private actors to stimulate the hybridization of urban cultural heritage with creativity and the strategies adopted to engage stakeholders in bottom-up cultural regeneration processes. Two recent Italian cases of cultural regeneration driven by private actors, which exemplify two sharply contrasting urban extremes, have been chosen to validate this integrated theoretical framework of cultural regeneration in the city. Both have been recognized nationally and internationally as examples of best practice: IlCartastorie Museum in Naples and the Farm Cultural Park, Favara. Our results show that private actors mainly draw upon the innovative thinking of the creative class and innovative approaches to stimulate cultural regeneration. The evolutionary processes, and the resulting models of cultural regeneration, are shaped by the visions of these private actors, which are, in turn, influenced by specific urban conditions. In Naples' highly touristic inner city, the managerial innovation of the IlCartastorie Museum is fostered by the Foundation's pro-tourism growth strategy aimed at increasing both social inclusion and the organizational value of the actual museum. In Sicily, Favara's socio-economic marginalization means that its transformation into a creative city has to be supported by a strategy conducive to social inclusion and sustainability, which conjoins the explicit strategy of the private actor with an implicit emerging community strategy. Preliminary managerial recommendations and suggestions for effective private engagement and community involvement in cultural regeneration and creative city building are given.

1. Introduction

The shift of post-industrial societies towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995) has accelerated the repositioning of heritage, culture and creativity as engines of social innovation, economic development and regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2015; Go & Trunfio, 2014; Hall, 2004; Lazzeretti, 2004; Sacco, Ferilli, & Tavano Blessi, 2014; Scott, 2010) and catalysts of new forms of urban tourism (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2017; Long & Morpeth, 2016). According to most research in this field, creativity seems to selectively concentrate in cities and we find most clusters of cultural heritage in inner cities (Barnes & Hutton, 2009; Landry, 2000). *Creative cities* are dynamic contexts where creativity flourishes and traditional urban development models are reconfigured (Landry & Bianchini, 1995).

Although these issues have been extensively dealt with in the social sciences literature, the questions of how cities can capitalise on culture and creativity to stimulate effective, sustainable urban regeneration, and who should lead these processes, have still not been fully answered (Della Lucia, Trunfio, & Go, 2017; Lidegaard, Nuccio, & Bille, 2017). Cultural regeneration can become an empty buzzword, particularly if cities assume that cultural and creative industries are a panacea for urban socio-economic crises without giving due consideration to their own particular historical-geographical and socio-political conditions (Cox & O'Brien, 2012; Evans, 2001; Vanolo, 2013), or if cities lever mainly on traditional (mass) cultural tourism to exploit their cultural heritage (Della Lucia & Segre, 2017; Sacco, 2011) without giving due consideration to creative sources of value generation in the city. Scepticism about hybridizing cultural legacy with the creative economy is higher where cities are particularly richly culturally endowed, as are many in Italy (Sacco, 2012).

Public actors – inspired by best practices of urban transformation (Hazime, 2011; Plaza & Haarich, 2010) – have had a significant role in urban cultural regeneration, fulfilling social and physical needs and investing in cultural catalysts and consumption-led and experience-based strategies (DCMS, 2004; Tang, 2016). Private actors thus manage to largely avoid both the responsibility and the financial risk of major

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investments (Lidegaard et al., 2017). A shift from top-down to bottom-up approaches to urban transformation has long been advocated (Bianchini, 1993; Mommaas, 2004), but the potential for private actors to complement, or even replace, public actors in this debt-burdened period of recession, and to foster community engagement, has not yet been fully recognized.

This paper investigates the role of private actors in urban cultural regeneration processes, and particularly the factors levered on to stimulate the hybridization of cities' cultural heritage with creativity, and the strategies adopted to engage stakeholders in cultural regeneration processes. Following a review of the most relevant literature on both culture-led development and regeneration and the creative city, we offer a conceptual framework which integrates issues which are still unexplored in combination: the drivers shaping cultural regeneration models (Della Lucia et al., 2017), the factors facilitating creative city building (Borseková, Vaňová, & Vitálišová, 2017) and the strategies used to engage stakeholders in the governance of a creative city (Lidegaard et al., 2017).

Two Italian cultural regeneration cases which exemplify two sharply contrasting urban extremes have been chosen to validate this integrated theoretical framework of cultural regeneration in the city (Eisenhardt, 1989). The Banco di Napoli Foundation, in the large and developed city of Naples, has turned its historical archives into the – immersive and interactive – IlCartastorie Museum; two resident patrons of the arts have restored old buildings in the Sicilian marginal town of Favara and turned them into the 'Farm Cultural Park', a creative and modern cultural centre. Both these projects – whose aim is sustainable development – have adopted innovative approaches to enhance and extract value from cultural heritage through its cross-fertilization with intangible assets. In both cases, the projects have received national and international awards for best practice. We compared the two cases in order to identify their similarities and differences and to ascertain the interpretative capacity of the conceptual framework provided (Eisenhardt, 1989). Qualitative methods and tools were used to collect case evidence. The discussion and conclusion outline some preliminary managerial recommendations and suggestions for effective private engagement and community involvement in urban cultural regeneration and creative city building.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Cultural regeneration in the city

Regeneration has been defined as the transformation of a place that has shown symptoms of marginalization or whose previous development models are in crisis (Impact 08, 2007). Urban cultural regeneration occurs when culture drives the requalification of urban areas, the development of infrastructure and services and the attraction of investment, talents, new residents, and visitor flows. Culture (KEA, 2006) involves an array of sectors producing both cultural (cultural industries) and non-cultural goods (creative industries) which are constantly evolving and are country and place specific (DCMS, 2013; Santagata, 2009). *Cultural heritage* is the more valuable *Cultural Core* as it relies on irreproducible material (e.g. museum, archeological sites, archives, etc.) and immaterial cultural endowment (values, know how, knowledge, etc.) – both artistic-cultural and professional-productive (Hall, 2004). Reproducible and tradable cultural (industrial) goods are part of the *Cultural Industry* (film, publishing, music, etc.), while non-cultural goods with high symbolic and experiential value are produced by the *Creative Industry*. The latter levers on *intangible assets*, including knowledge rooted in local contexts, people's creative skills and thinking and information and communication technology (ICT) solutions (*Related Industry*), to generate value within the knowledge, experience and digital economy.

The models chosen to regenerate a city and the type of cultural asset incorporated into the process shape the nature and scale of culture-based transformation (Langen & García, 2009), which can range from close continuity with the past to profound change (Della Lucia, Trunfio, & Go, 2016). Capturing value through cultural heritage maintains a strong link with a city's identity and authenticity (Hall, 2004; Scott, 2006), but may not fully address emerging scenarios and evolving needs. As globalized inter-urban competition is forcing cities to be creative, flexible in targeting markets, and effective innovators of their own image (Trueman, Cook, & Cornelius, 2008), urban genetic codes may be transformed to complement cultural heritage – or compensate for its paucity – and thus successfully put a city on the global map (Noordmann, 2004). Iconic architecture and events are currently among the most important cultural catalysts used to revamp urban identity, increase vibrancy and attract creative people and tourists (Evans, 2003; Getz, 2008; Zenker, 2009). However, their development may also entail the risk of the loss of a city's authenticity, and serial reproduction of urban landscapes (Smith, 2007).

The more tradition/past is reconciled with innovation/future (Landry, 2000), the more pervasive and sustainable is urban cultural regeneration (Sacco, Ferilli, Tavano Blessi, & Nuccio, 2013), thus allowing cities to remain faithful to their sense of place while enhancing opportunities for generating and extracting value in post-industrial societies (Vanolo, 2013). Ensuring continuity in tandem with innovation requires complementarities, interactions and sharing between sectors and actors throughout the economy and society (Sacco, 2011). Hybridization characterizes the processes which innovate sectors and their outputs through their cross-fertilization with the creative economy (Smart Specialisation Platform, 2012); cultural heritage hybridization with creativity, knowledge and *intangibles* is a manifestation of these processes.

Fostering pervasive hybridization in order to achieve sustainable, innovative and competitive urban development implies the involvement of a wide variety of stakeholders who – to a greater or lesser extent – share authority and responsibility for envisioning and implementing culture-based development and regeneration paths (García, 2005; Scott, 2004; Tavano Blessi, Grossi, Sacco, Pieretti, & Ferilli, 2015). In the creation of a shared vision of urban development, the greatest challenge is to overcome the significant barriers that inevitably arise when a wide variety of stakeholders are involved, all with different backgrounds, power agendas, aims, roles and competences. This diversity shapes both the material (structures, systems, services) and intangible urban transformation (symbols, values, identity and image) that urban stakeholders will allow, or accept, over time (Noordmann, 2004); urban image-making, (re)positioning and (re)branding can all be problematic (Anholt, 2003). Overcoming these barriers and achieving a shared vision requires a shift from top-down to bottom-up approaches to urban transformation in order to enable broad community involvement (Bianchini, 1993).

By combining *cultural heritage hybridization with creativity* and *stakeholder engagement* – both low and high – Della Lucia et al. (2017) have identified a conceptual framework depicting four cultural regeneration models, lying along two perpendicular axes. In the *public patronage model* policy makers lever on heritage conservation through top-down approaches and value creation occurs through traditional cultural tourism. Public patronage is a model of both inner city cultural regeneration – heritage tends to cluster in the historical core (Mommaas, 2004; Pratt, 2008) – and of public cultural organization management, conserving urban cultural heritage. In the *socio-cultural innovation model*, on the other hand, urban stakeholders are involved in pervasive processes, which enhance and extract value from the innovation of the city's material and immaterial endowment through hybridizing these resources with intangible assets; creative tourism is a sector-specific manifestation of these processes (OECD, 2014; Richards, 2014). Bottom-up approaches, which balance a variety of interests and possible conflicts, best foster this model.

The conceptual framework of cultural regeneration models (Della Lucia et al., 2017) may be linked to the nature and range of stakeholder

participation in decision-making connected to urban transformation through the mechanisms of urban governance. Recognizing the need for both private and public investments and participative urban decision making (Van Boxmeer & Van Beckhoven, 2005), Lidegaard et al. (2017) have developed a conceptual matrix for examining creative city governance, entailing two main governance types and related strategies, which can be applied to describe the cultural regeneration model more broadly. Top-down governance promotes urban regeneration by funding and controlling publicly dominated agencies. Bottom-up governance includes private initiatives emerging from the willingness and capability of independent local actors to participate – to a greater or lesser extent – in the process of urban transformation. These governance models may use both explicit and implicit strategies – the former dominated by well-defined objectives, the latter more laissez-faire and experimental.

2.2. Creative cities

A creative urban atmosphere (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012) results from the pervasive extraction and enhancing of the city's value through cross-fertilization processes that lead to creative city building (Della Lucia & Segre, 2017). Creative cities are dynamic urban contexts which lever on intellectual turbulence, experimentation and innovation to make their communities better places to live, work, and play (Ballas, 2013; Bradford, 2004), due to their authenticity, uniqueness, 'coolness' and human and cultural diversity (Borseková et al., 2017).

The specific processes leading to creative city building lever on different sources of creativity (Della Lucia, 2015). A city's *socio-cultural context* (Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008) – shaped over time by its *history*, *cultural capital* and *creative institutions* (Scott, 2006) – is key. Urban *history* bequeaths both a tangible and an intangible cultural heritage; a city's *cultural capital* is a form of social capital (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005) created through interdependencies and the trade within and between urban communities of creative workers; *creative institutions* include scientific and cultural organizations which can be assimilated to formal and informal spaces for social interaction (Cohendet, Grandadama, & Simon, 2010; Hutton, 2009; Tavano Blessi, Tremblay, Sandri, & Pilati, 2012). Other sources of creativity include the *innovative thinking* of the *creative class* (Florida, 2002) – talents attracted to the city by urban amenities and tolerance – and the urban clustering of *cultural and creative industries* (Maskell & Lorenzen, 2004). The concentration and the interaction between the different talents and economic sectors that *cultural and creative industries* encompass (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2008) allow the creativity embedded in the urban context to be extracted and enhanced, and goods and services with high cultural and symbolic value to be produced (Currid, 2007; Tavano Blessi et al., 2012). This process, in turn, fosters the development of a creative atmosphere (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012), which allows innovation and cross-fertilization to flourish (Hall, 2000; KEA, 2009).

Knowledge and technology-intensive businesses, which develop synergies and interdependencies at local and global levels (Castells, 2004), and the advanced immaterial products and leisure opportunities which result from these sources of urban creativity (Hubbard, 2006), define the creative city as a *knowledge city* (Trullen & Boix, 2008) and a *leisure and entertainment machine* (Clark, Lloyd, Wong, & Jain, 2002). The public sector has played a leading role in creative city building by levering factors such as human resources attraction and training (artists, talents, knowledge workers, etc.) and the development of hard and soft infrastructures (public spaces, amenities, cultural events, leisure time infrastructure, ITC infrastructures, etc.) (Borseková et al., 2017). These social and physical factors should create a supportive environment which inspires private creative and economic initiatives (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010), rather than imposing rigid templates for urban development and regeneration.

Although it has been suggested that transforming urban centres all over the world into creative cities could offer real possibilities for innovative, sustainable development, the model is not without its contradictions. The complex diversity of social, economic and political urban stakeholders requires the development of relative and situational concepts (Pratt, 2011). The migration of the creative class into cities has led to the relocation of residents and the reordering of urban social and cultural priorities (Lees, 2000). Gentrification has become a much debated issue internationally, in cities such as New York (Zukin, 1982), London (Pratt, 2009), Bilbao (Plaza, 2000), and Sydney (Bounds & Morris, 2006), all generally considered to be creative cities. Other contradictions come into play in the cultural consumerism that can lead to the commodification of urban landscapes – criticized as McGuggenization (Go & Trunfio, 2014; McNeill, 2000), Dubaisation (Al Rabadya, 2012); and eventification (Jakob, 2012) – which occurs when the *leisure and entertainment* city comes to dominate the *knowledge* city, the actual-producer of the goods and services which define the city's high cultural and symbolic value. Finally, the firms operating in the cultural and creative economy are usually small and short-lived; they hire independent workers and offer precarious work which does not necessarily contribute to sustainable urban development (Pratt, 2011).

3. Case study

Italy has a rich artistic and cultural heritage (MIBACT, 2016), and is one of the top ten world tourism cultural destinations in terms of international tourist arrivals and receipts (UNWTO, 2017). Its cultural and creative industries are among the biggest in Europe and some sectors enjoy a strong international position (Santagata, 2009; Symbola, 2016).

Studies on the Italian cultural and creative economy and tourism carried out at the local/urban level (Della Lucia & Segre, 2017; Lazzeretti, Boix, & Capone, 2008) show that most small-and-medium-sized cities still specialize in manufacturing sectors, including made-in-Italy (fashion, design, etc.) (Sforzi & Lorenzini, 2002), or have a strong tourist monoculture (Capone, 2016). Cultural tourism is the biggest generator of value, exploiting Italy's rich cultural heritage (Sacco, 2012). The sustainability and competitiveness of Italian cities would undoubtedly benefit from complementarities of sectoral policies and projects/investments that cross-fertilize cultural heritage (OECD, 2014; Sacco, 2012).

Value creation in Italian cities through culture-based processes outside the cultural tourism mainstream can occur in a number of ways: original, effective combinations of cultural heritage and creative content, knowledge, or ICTs, for example, or the linking of intangible professional-productive Italian traditions – fashion and design in particular – and tourism (Della Lucia & Segre, 2017). Projects that, while fitting into the traditional tourism-oriented approach, also achieve results in terms of sustainable design, innovation, social inclusion, learning programs and new entrepreneurship are equally of great interest (Sacco, 2012).

In Italy today, there are some cases of best practice, which, while they may only partially achieve these different goals, nevertheless may actually contain the potential to shape innovative urban transformations in very different urban contexts (Eisenhardt, 1989): developed urban areas facing changing market conditions *and* marginal urban areas struggling with economic, social, geographical and infrastructural challenges. Our case studies were primarily selected because they: are cultural projects driven by private actors; involve contrasting urban contexts; exploit the cities' historical endowment; introduce social, organizational and technological innovation; are intended to foster sustainable development; have been recognized nationally and internationally as examples of best practice.

The two cases we chose are IlCartastorie Museum (Minguzzi & Riolo, 2016) in Naples (Campania Region) and the Farm Cultural Park in Favara (Sicily). The urban contexts are sharply contrasting (Eisenhardt, 1989): Naples is a large, developed city, Favara a small, marginal town; Naples already has urban development policies in place

(including an integrated strategic tourism plan), in Favara there have been very few public interventions; Naples possesses a significant cultural heritage (as testified by its historical archive), Favara is a non-descript, semi-abandoned town. The cases analysed are cultural regeneration projects driven by private actors who have found ways to enhance and extract the economic and social value latent in the cultural endowment of their cities; these paths provide an alternative to traditional cultural tourism and involve the use of intangible factors to cross-fertilize the cultural heritage.

3.1. The IlCartastorie in Naples

Located in the south of Italy, Naples – Italy's third-largest city (pop. c. 1 million) and fourth-largest urban economy – has the most extensive inner city in Europe (1700 ha), which has been a UNESCO cultural World Heritage Site since 1995. Founded in the 9th century BCE, it has been a cultural centre since Magna Grecia and the Western Roman Empire and a cultural destination since the years of the 'Grand Tour'. The city's cultural heritage, cultural and creative initiatives and contemporary urban fabric have made it an important urban destination (1 million tourists in 2016). Culture has been prioritized in the 2017 participative strategic tourism plan – Napoli 2020 – which aims to attract 2 million tourists in 2020 and to develop diverse forms of cultural and creative tourism. Naples – along with Florence, Milan, Rome and Venice – has adopted Italy's new national urban policies for sustainable and smart tourism.

IlCartastorie (http://www.ilcartastorie.it/en/) is an interactive, immersive museum housed in the former historical archives of the Banco di Napoli Foundation in inner-city Naples; it is funded by a non-profit, private foundation with social goals which include the sustainable development of southern Italy (Minguzzi & Riolo, 2016). In recognition of its capacity to draw audiences into a specific cultural heritage in unusual ways, the IlCartastorie Museum has received the highest European honour in the area of Cultural Heritage (2017) (at the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Awards), as well as the Financial Cultural Heritage (FCH) Prize and the Italian Culture + Enterprise Prize.

3.2. The Farm Cultural Park in Favara

Favara is a small municipality (pop. c. 33,000) which has now been subsumed into the nearby city of Agrigento, Sicily (southern Italy). Until 2010, the town was on the economic margins, and socially very conservative. Agriculture and mining – its primary industries – were in decline, tourism had not been developed, the population was dwindling, and the inner city was plagued by widespread structural instability. As was the case throughout the country, after the Second World War many people moved out of the old town into modern suburbs, and the historic centre became almost like a ghost town – its streets deserted and the buildings neglected (Faraci, 2017). Originally a Greek colony founded in the 2nd century BCE, Favara has lived under Roman, Byzantine, Saracen, Arab and Norman domination. The town's cultural heritage still retains clear traces of its Arab roots in its historic centre, manifested in the intricate network of streets and alleys, communal yards and extensive courtyard housing, old palaces and the ancient Arab fortress, which, rebuilt, became the Chiaromonte castle.

In 2010, a notary, Andrea Bartoli, and his wife, Florinda Saieva, who lived in Favara, decided to buy and restore old buildings – earmarked for demolition by the local authorities, for safety reasons - in the centre of the town, and to turn them into The Farm Cultural Park (http://www.farmculturalpark.com/EN/index.html), a dynamic contemporary art centre (Faraci, 2017). Federculture's Culture of Management Prize – the Italian association of public and private actors in the cultural field – recognized the role of the Farm Cultural Park in the innovative urban regeneration and tourism development of Favara. The English newspaper, The Guardian, celebrated Favara's contemporary art

and urban regeneration project, placing it 6th in Purple 10, the paper's international ranking of holidays for art lovers.

4. Methodology

These two Italian examples of best practice in cultural regeneration, both of which have been achieved in extremely challenging and contrasting urban contexts, provide our preliminary insights (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2014). They reveal the factors levered on by private actors to stimulate the hybridization of urban cultural heritage with creativity and the strategies adopted to engage stakeholders in a bottom-up cultural regeneration process. The study of these complex issues – which have never before been unexplored in combination (Creswell, 2007) –draws on a conceptual framework which integrates the theoretical constructs that we consider best suited to the analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989; Xiao & Smith, 2006; Yin, 2014), and which we use to collect empirical evidence from different sources. The contrasting urban contexts in which these projects take place allows for a cross-case comparison of similarities and differences aimed at validating the interpretative capacity of the conceptual framework provided.

4.1. The research design

Our research investigates the role of private actors in a city's cultural regeneration process by building an integrated framework which connects the conceptual framework of cultural regeneration models (Della Lucia et al., 2017) both with the factors facilitating creative city building (Borseková et al., 2017) and with the conceptual matrix of creative city governance (Lidegaard et al., 2017).

Our hypothesis is that both drivers shaping the matrix of cultural regeneration models (Della Lucia et al., 2017) – the hybridization of cultural heritage with creativity and the engagement of community stakeholders in the regeneration process itself – may more readily find their facilitators in the private – rather than the public – sector. The matrix identifies levels (low to high) of hybridization between culture and creativity and stakeholder engagement, but not how such processes occur. Its integration with theoretical constructs connected to the creation and governance of creative cities (Borseková et al., 2017; Lidegaard et al., 2017) allows us to trace the evolutionary course of the cultural regeneration model. The factors used to foster the pervasive cross-fertilization processes that produce a creative city (Borseková et al., 2017) may be assumed to be key stimuli for heritage-creativity hybridization from the bottom-up (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010). Both implicit or explicit governance strategies of bottom-up stakeholder engagement (Lidegaard et al., 2017) (from now on community engagement) may shape the nature and range of community engagement in cultural regeneration. The adaptation of the cultural regeneration matrix (Della Lucia et al., 2017) to the private sector activation of the drivers shaping the evolutionary process of cultural regeneration is at the centre of our integrated framework (Fig. 1):

- Patronage and Social Innovation models entail a low level of cultural heritage hybridization with creativity in private initiatives. In the Patronage model the collection/restoration/preservation of the cultural heritage (buildings, archives, etc.) is focussed upon to pursue private aims and to increase the status, power and reputation of the person or people involved (Sacco, 2011); urban community engagement is not encouraged. By contrast, in Social Innovation models a number of private initiatives renew historical/industrial urban areas/quarters and site basic functions and services (residential and green areas, education, entertainment, etc.) within the community, thus decreasing social marginalization, fostering relationships, and improving living standards.
- Managerial Innovation and Creative City models involve high levels of cultural heritage hybridization with creativity. In Managerial innovation models, organizational models, marketing and managerial

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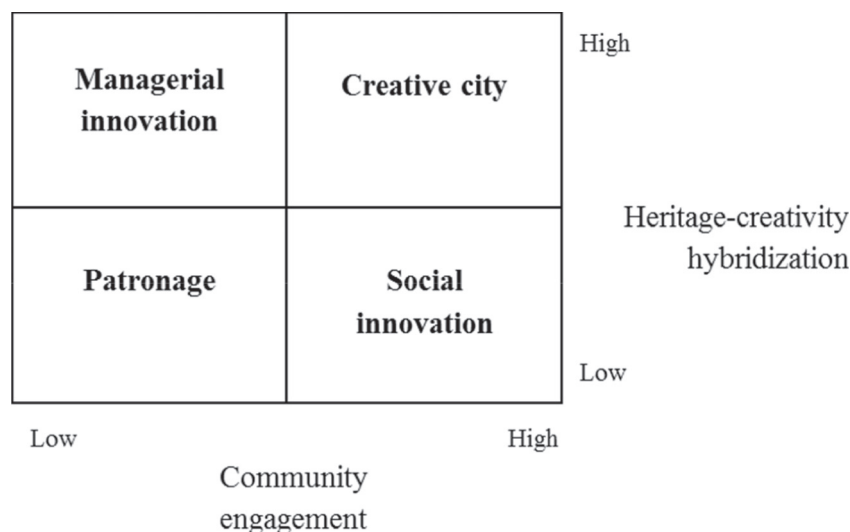
Source: Adapted by Della Lucia et al. (2017, p. 183)

Fig. 1. The models of cultural regeneration.

competencies, dynamic capabilities and ICTs are exploited to enhance and extract value from the innovation and the effective management of cultural heritage *but* other urban stakeholders do not participate. In the *Creative City* model, a number of private cultural initiatives entailing heritage-creativity hybridization flourish in the city and the engagement of the urban community becomes the engine of widespread social change and economic transformation, and reshapes the city's spaces, social capital and image.

4.2. The collection and analysis of case study evidence

Qualitative methods and tools were used to collect secondary and primary data from multiple sources of case evidence (Eisenhardt, 1989; Knafl & Breitmayer, 1989; Yin, 2014) in March–October 2017. Secondary data included archival and official documents, website information, newspapers and magazine articles; primary data were collected through in depth semi-structured interviews with project leaders and managers – Sergio Riolo for the IlCartastorie and Andrea Bartoli for the Farm Cultural Park – and direct observations. Interview protocol and questionnaires were defined to investigate the main constructs and multiple investigators conducted interviews. Multiple data sources were triangulated in order to integrate our lines of inquiry; an analytic method of the explanation building was applied in an iterative way to analyse case study evidence, studying how and why they describe the evolutionary process of cultural regeneration, and strengthening internal validity (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2014).

5. Results

Insights into the drivers of cultural regeneration, the factors facilitating heritage-creativity hybridization and the strategies used to (eventually) involve the community in the cultural regeneration were the principal results obtained in both of the cases. Using these insights, we identified the model of cultural regeneration currently being followed in each case (Della Lucia et al., 2017), and the evolutionary process out of which each developed.

5.1. The IlCartastorie Museum: a model of managerial innovation

In 2016 the Banco di Napoli Foundation invested in the renovation

of its historical archive, the world's most important historical bank archive (Minguzzi & Riolo, 2016). Documents dating back to 1539 record the activities of the city's ancient public banks: volumes and 'polizze' (orders of payment) – the precursors of modern cashier's checks (Demarco & Nappi, 1987); ledgers listing (ordinary) bank clients' names, deposit and withdrawal entries for each client account; credit certificates. As Sergio Riolo, the director of the museum, observed: "The archive preserves 80 km of paper in 330 rooms describing the economic, social, political anthropological and artistic history of the south of Italy".

Rather than mounting a traditional exhibition of a material cultural legacy, this tangible heritage has been turned into an immersive and experiential museum named "IlCartastorie", which in Italian means stories on paper: the museum uses storytelling to explore the history of Naples and Southern Italy. The driver of this transformation has been the hybridization of cultural legacy with intangible factors including managerial competences, ICT infrastructure and digital storytelling, and the expressive modalities and languages of the performing arts and cultural industries. Through the innovative use of ICT, this unusual place offers an immersive and interactive experience in which voices, sounds and augmented reality bring the historical documents to life. In the words of Sergio Riolo: "IlCartastorie introduces a new idea of innovation that facilitate social benefits allowing us to bring the organization close to the people. This choice is intended to increase the number and variety of people aware of, and interested and involved in, the archives and their content, thus facilitating audience development and engagement. The semiotic of innovation combined with a civic leadership move towards democracy, openness and inclusiveness contribute to sustainable development".

The resulting interactive experiences are manifold. They include digital storytelling about important Neapolitan historical moments and celebrities – the Caravaggio masterpieces in Naples, the plague of 1656, the intuitions and torments of the Prince of Sansevero – cultural productions based on historical themes, creative writing workshops, and innovative projects, such as a collection of stories – "Tales from the Archives" – written by journalists inspired by documents held in the Historical Archives, and originally published in the Italian daily newspaper "Il Mattino". Another innovative project created multimedia areas (The Music Rooms) where virtual historical figures tell stories and interact with visitors through touch-screens, videos and evocative multimedia systems. A social media game involving these tales from

history, published on the museum's website, hopes to involve diverse stakeholders in creating new narratives for the Museum.

Although the visionary perspective of the Banco di Napoli Foundation manifests civic leadership and the wish for sustainable development, the cultural regeneration of the historical archive has no spillover effect on either urban community participation or urban area regeneration. The cultural regeneration of the historical archive stops at the Museum gate and has not stimulated urban community participation, other than that of the creative people directly involved in the Museum's activities. The Foundation is currently trying to address this issue with the 'CO.RE Mercato' project, which complements the museum's offer by encouraging local entrepreneurs to restart traditional activities in the inner-city market place (e.g. textile and gold-working, other handicrafts, design, food), and to develop forms of creative tourism.

These drivers of cultural regeneration – a high level of heritage-creativity hybridization, but little urban community engagement – reveal IlCartastorie as a *managerial innovation model* of cultural regeneration (Della Lucia et al., 2017). The two-step evolutionary process leading to IlCartastorie's current position in the cultural regeneration matrix is summarized in Fig. 2.

5.2. The Farm Cultural Park in Favara: towards a creative city

In 2010, a couple of philanthropists from Favara, Andrea Bartoli and his wife Florinda Saieva, bought and restored old buildings, known as the *Sette Cortili* (seven Courtyards) located in the semi-abandoned city centre of Favara and then transformed them into the Farm Cultural Park, a modern cultural centre (http://www.farmculturalpark.com/EN/index.html). This investment was inspired by the couple's decision to take upon themselves the task of designing a new future for their town instead of waiting for the public sector to act. With the intention of creating the conditions for "a feasible and more desirable future for our family and the whole community", these patrons of the arts – widely-travelled, cosmopolitan architecture/design enthusiasts - started a process of "recovery and re-appropriation of the old town and values and their re-definition through new ways of thinking and living". Their references were international cultural and social spaces – in London, Paris or Marrakesh – where the synergy of diverse people and objects spark vital new impulses. The masterplan provides for the recovery of about 5000 m^2 devoted to exhibition spaces, artists' residencies, co-work enterprises, places where people can cook and shop together; to date, over 1500 m^2 have been given over to new functions. Talents – both emerging and well-known artists and designers – from around the world have been invited to Favara, where they are hosted in return for "expressing their creativity". They use the spaces as their studios for

artistic installations and performances and leave the resultant artworks behind at the end of their stay. The project includes public living spaces (e.g. the Riad Farm, an events and relaxation garden, social kitchens, and vintage and handmade shops); cultural exhibition spaces, one of which contains the world's largest permanent collection of work by US fashion photographer Terry Richardson; and edutainment spaces such as the Children's Museum, the largest Italian museum for children and adolescents. This last has experimental and teaching halls, a theatre and playgrounds and is home to the Children's School of Architecture, where young people can develop free creative thinking, a sense of place and a "do it yourself" culture. In just a few years, the Centre has become an important hub, hosting people interested in experiencing its creative atmosphere, finding inspiration, meeting locals and building social relations. Contemporary art tourism and creative tourism are developing in Favara – which has never before been on any Sicilian tourist itinerary – and thus creating a micro-chain between cultural industry and tourism. The social value of the Farm Cultural Park project has created spillover effects, inspiring other members of the community, individually or in new associations, to create their own businesses, start other urban regeneration projects, or get involved in the Farm Cultural Park, which is now funded by hundreds of people. Many young people have been encouraged to remain in Favara; entrepreneurs from the outside are investing confidently; locals are buying homes and starting businesses. Due to the community engagement of both host and hosted, the regeneration process catalysed by the Farm has spilled beyond the walls of the Sette Cortili and now involves the recovery of the whole historical centre and the surrounding areas: the town's built heritage is thus being conserved and restored, high quality design spaces are being created and the mixed use (cultural, hospitality, residential and commercial) of the restored buildings is revitalizing the town centre. Exemplary projects include the Community Cooperative Farmidable which supports the Farm in the recovery process by acquiring properties and transferring them free of charge to young people who want to set up businesses; the FUN-Favara Urban Network's revitalization of Chiaromonte Castle, which now hosts cultural tourism and experiential visits; the crowdfunded Children's Museum, described above. The community's imitation of the best practice exemplified by Bartoli's investment is inspired by expected economic gain, but fostered by the social capital rebuilt through the reactivation of community relationships.

These drivers of cultural generation – the high level of heritage-creativity hybridization stimulated by Andrea Bartoli's initial investment and continued in the community's urban regeneration activities – make Favara an example of a creative city model of cultural regeneration, which can strike a balance between preservation, recycling and renovation (Della Lucia et al., 2017). Fig. 3 summarizes Favara's
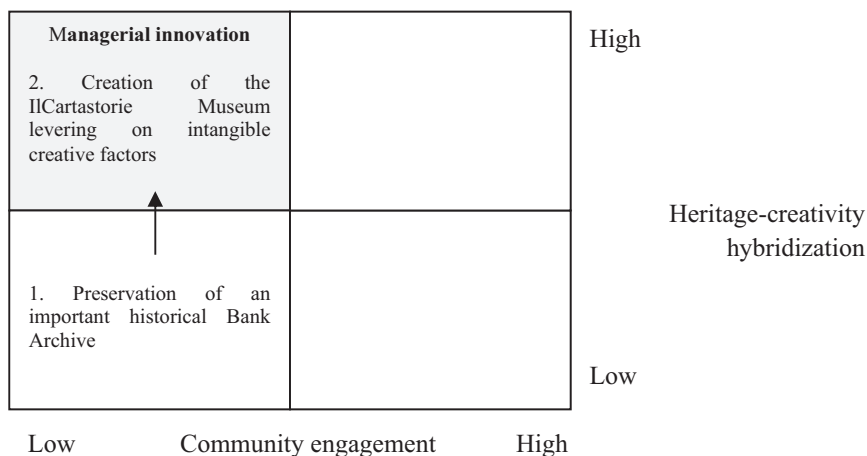

Fig. 2. The evolutionary cultural regeneration process of the Banco di Napoli Foundation's historical archive.
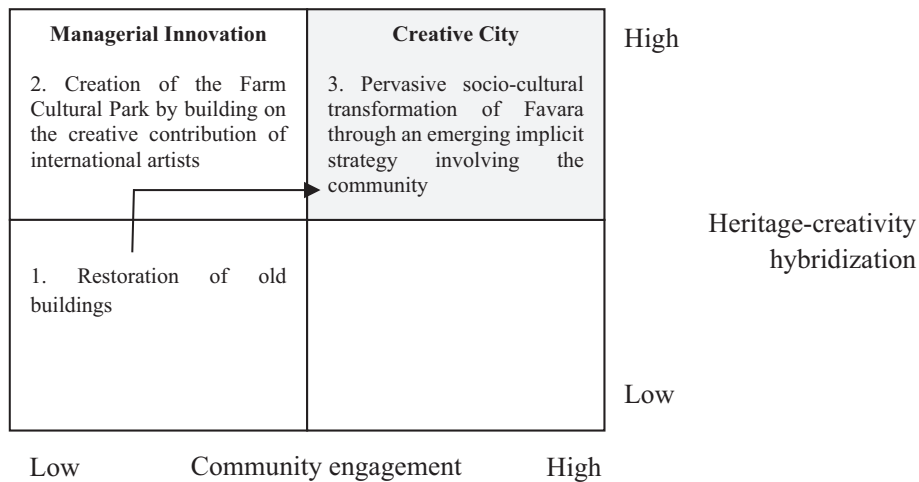
Fig. 3. The evolutionary process of Favara's cultural regeneration.

three-step evolutionary process.

6. Discussion

Both the IlCartastorie museum and the Farm Cultural park are best practices which have adopted an innovative approach to enhance and extract value from the local urban cultural endowment through the latter's cross-fertilization with intangible assets; in both case, moreover, the aim is sustainable social and economic development. Both similarities and differences have emerged between the evolutionary processes of cultural regeneration adopted by the two cases. We have interpreted these in the light of the aim of this paper, identifying the factors (Borseková et al., 2017) exploited by private actors to hybridize cultural heritage with creativity and the strategy adopted to (eventually) engage urban community (Lidegaard et al., 2017) in the cultural regeneration process (Della Lucia et al., 2017). Any discussion of the cross-case comparison must take into account the extreme urban contexts in which the projects are located, since in both cases these heavily influence any of the spillover effects that produce material or intangible urban transformation (Noordmann, 2004).

In both cases intangible factors (Borseková et al., 2017) – the innovative thinking (Landry, 2000) of the creative class (Florida, 2002) – have been used to cross-fertilize and extract *value* from cultural heritage, thus stimulating cultural regeneration. The different visions of the private actors involved clearly influenced the evolutionary processes and models of cultural regeneration adopted by the Foundation and the Bartolis (Della Lucia et al., 2017). The shift from heritage conservation (Banco di Napoli Foundation historical archives) and restoration (Favara's old buildings) to heritage enhancing through creativity-hybridization has been oriented towards *organizational value* at IlCartastorie, and *social value* in Favara. The (immersive, interactive) museum aims to increase visitor numbers, diversity and engagement in a private cultural resource that has been transformed into a tourist experiential offer; the museum's openness and inclusiveness contribute to value co-creation in order to enhance its own, organizational, sustainable development. The modern cultural centre aims to provide both the Bartoli family and their local community with informal spaces for social interaction and inclusion, the generation of creativity and the incubation of innovation (Cohendet et al., 2010; Hutton, 2009; Tavano Blessi et al., 2012). The inclusive, creative atmosphere of such spaces (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012) fosters individual well-being, capacity and social capital (re)building (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005) and attracts people interested in authentic experiences, including forms of creative tourism (Richards, 2014). The Farm's ability to build relationships and engage both host and hosted communities increases their active role in the care,

management and implementation of actions to regenerate urban space.

To date, these different visions have produced different results. IlCartastorie is a managerial innovation model of cultural regeneration, since the explicit strategy of the museum is to make *itself* more attractive, effective and valuable: it creates no spillover effects in terms of either urban community participation or urban regeneration. There is still little dialogue or shared entrepreneurship with the local urban community, although the intention is to develop these through a deliberate development strategy aimed at fostering urban recovery and revitalizing commercial activity in a marginalized historical area near the museum (Lidegaard et al., 2017). Favara's Farm Cultural Park, in contrast, has adopted the creative city model as an implicit bottom-up strategy (Lidegaard et al., 2017) with spillover effects in term of both urban community participation and urban area regeneration. It fosters community engagement in a synergetic virtuous circle of urban recovery and renovation, socio-cultural transformation and economic value generation through new entrepreneurialism (Miles & Paddison, 2005). The Bartolis' vision to envision "a better future and a more desirable place to live" has been demonstrated, and then re-interpreted, extended and shared by the local community and all the other people involved in the historical built environment, and in the dynamics of co-design and co-management; the shared aim is to look after, and increase the value of, both the material and immaterial resources of the city.

These different results in terms of both material and immaterial urban transformation reflect the sharply different urban contexts of these projects. The recovery, recycle and renovation schemes inspired by the Farm in Favara are giving places, and people's lives, new meaning, and creating the different perceptions needed to construct a new image and urban brand for Favara. The Neapolitan inner city still enjoys a strong brand, which benefits the positioning of IlCartastorie.

7. Conclusions and future research

Although the importance of cultural regeneration and creative city building for innovative, inclusive urban development is widely recognized by both academics and policy makers, private – as contrasted with public – actor engagement deserves further investigation.

This paper, in its consideration of the role of private actors in cultural regeneration, examines this relevant but under-investigated topic from an original perspective, and experiments with the integration of critical issues in cultural regeneration and creative city research which have – until now – never been explored together. We have designed an integrated interpretative framework which combines the drivers of cultural regeneration (Della Lucia et al., 2017) and the theoretical constructs connected to the creation and governance of creative cities;

these constructs include the factors fostering the hybridization of urban cultural heritage with creativity (Borseková et al., 2017) and the governance strategies adopted to engage urban communities (Lidegaard et al., 2017) in cultural regeneration. The cross-case comparison of similarities and differences between the two innovative Italian private regeneration projects located in sharply contrasting urban contexts – large and well-developed vs small and marginal – provide interesting insights which allow us to discuss and validate the interpretative capacity of the integrated conceptual framework we have designed.

Private actors have drawn upon the innovative thinking of the creative class to stimulate cultural regeneration. However, the ways in which the projects have evolved, and the resulting models of cultural regeneration, with their material and intangible legacies, have, to date, been shaped by the individual visions of private actors, who are themselves influenced by specific, and very different, urban conditions. In Naples' highly touristic inner city, IlCartastorie's managerial innovation is fostered by the investor's pro-tourism growth strategy aimed at increasing the organizational value and sustainable development of the museum. The marginalization of Favara has meant that the ongoing development of the creative city has had to be supported by a strategy conducive to social inclusion and sustainability, integrating both the explicit strategy of the pioneer and the implicit strategy emerging within the community through the imitation of the Farm's best practice.

Although exploratory, the case study allows for some preliminary theoretical and managerial implications and indications. From a theoretical perspective, firstly, the paper contributes to building theory (Eisenhardt, 1989) by providing a novel, integrated conceptual framework which combines a static perspective on cultural regeneration (Della Lucia et al., 2017) with the latter's dynamic evolution. This process is driven by the factors that facilitate the hybridization of urban cultural heritage with creativity (Borseková et al., 2017) and the governance strategies adopted to engage urban communities (Lidegaard et al., 2017). Secondly, the relative and situational concept of the creative city (Pratt, 2011) addressed through a cross-case comparison of sharply contrasting urban contexts – allows us to deal with both the issue of gentrification and the material and immaterial urban transformation that accompanies cultural regeneration. In large, developed cities the risk that residents will be forced to relocate and/or excluded seems to be higher than in small, marginal urban areas: the creation of organizational value overshadows broad-based social value when economic growth is prioritized over sustainable development. Sustainable, innovative urban regeneration requires the community engagement of both host and hosted in creative city building in order to best exploit the symbiosis between the specific urban identity with the transformative power of creative thinking. This combination generated by the blending of local knowledge and experience with the input of the creative class has spillover effects that can transform a city, both physically and at the symbolic level. The greater the influence of powerful stakeholder groups in decision-making processes whether conservative or creative –the more the regeneration process will either be too focussed on continuity with the past, in the first case, or risk overly disruptive change, in the second, thereby – if too conservative – missing potential opportunities, if too innovative, compromising the urban identity.

From a managerial perspective, some preliminary practical recommendations and implications emerge from our research with regard to the shaping of urban development strategies sensitive to the particular urban culture in question, in order to engage the community in urban regeneration and creative city building. First, the vision of the private actors involved matters, since it heavily influences how pervasive the regeneration process becomes (Della Lucia et al., 2016). Strategy-making should be oriented to engage the community in reimagining and reinventing a sustainable urban future, in particular in marginalized cities. Rebuilding social capital (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005) through social inclusion and improved quality of life fosters capacity, new entrepreneurship and networking (Miles & Paddison, 2005). A

public effort may help to scale-up this virtuous cycle, in particular in big urban areas, and ensure projects' financial viability. Second, city specific context matters in urban regeneration (Ballas, 2013; Tang, 2016; Vanolo, 2013) as it provides distinctive cultural resources and the mechanism, processes and factors that turn creativity into innovation. The fulfilling of social and physical requirements by policy makers stimulates creativity by mobilizing resources and fostering collaboration (Landry, 2000). Third, in a period marked by public sector cuts, but increasing creativity, established dichotomies – public vs private and commercial vs not-for-profit – should be dissolved into mixed governance models (Go, Trunfio, & Della Lucia, 2013) and semi-explicit strategies (Lidegaard et al., 2017), striking a balance between tradition and innovation, equity and efficiency (Della Lucia & Franch, 2015). Such models allow local authorities to guide existing interests and perceptions in more future-oriented and sustainable directions and give creative entrepreneurs a chance to experiment. International cases show that semi-explicit mixed governance models have successfully allowed creativity to flourish (Lidegaard et al., 2017), even in the absence of structural preconditions.

Further research is needed to overcome the limits of this exploratory study, since it deals with only two cases The processes governing heritage-creativity hybridization and stakeholder engagement in cultural regeneration should be analysed qualitatively, within case studies that involve more diverse pools of public-private stakeholders at different governance levels. We need to be able to draw extensive cross-case comparisons, both in Italy and abroad, in order to provide additional empirical evidence about how culture, creativity and place specific conditions (including urban governance) can catalyse urban regeneration. Emerging issues to investigate include: how can cities move towards forms of mixed governance? What strategies for cultural resource/creativity hybridization foster inclusiveness and sustainable development in medium and large cities? What problems do public-private partnerships face in making cultural investments, and how can these be addressed?

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