Culture and the City: Public Action and Social Participation

in Rome's Experience

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to analyse the role and impact of cultural resources in urban change and growth. In particular the recent experience of Rome, where the municipal administration has often based the urban transformation of various areas upon cultural action, including contemporary architecture buildings, creative artists' work, cultural neighbourhoods and the like, is examined from a range of perspectives, focusing upon the many dilemmas faced by the public decision-maker in a complex eco-system such as a town where residents, external users, and mass tourists share the same areas for different, and often conflicting, purposes. The main outcomes of the analysis show a substantial connection between the kind of action carried out and the possible degree of social engagement, along with the shared perception of common profiles in cultural resources. The need to activate cultural investments within a strategic framework, and the symmetrical weakness of occasional action is emphasized.

Key words: urban change; urban regeneration; social engagement; cultural common goods; Rome
JEL codes: H890, Z180, Z190

1. Introduction

In the last thirty years, to coincide with the first globalization, we have been spectators of a radical change affecting society and cities. The passage from an industrial society to a knowledge society (Ranga M. & Etzkowitz H., 2013) has led to the conversion of urban factories due to the relocation of the production system in countries with lower costs of labour. As a result, tertiary services have been focused in Western cities: in particular professional services, financial and administrative support to the political structure and cultural attractions. This phenomenon has produced a series of divestments of industrial and impoverishment of certain classes of the population resulting in abandonment and degradation of areas located around urban centre.

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The arts contribute significantly to the regeneration of a neighborhood, as the former Council for Culture of the city of Rome states during the opening of a new street art "district" in a troubled outskirt. In the last years many cases of urban regeneration through culture have been recorded in Rome: some of them were bottom-up processes; some have been the controversial outcome of top-down public policies; most of them have been carried out thought intermediators between citizens and urban policy makers such as private galleries, social centers, actors of the third sector active on a specific area. The attempt of this paper is to analyze the urban change that we are observing in the city of Rome. Our attempt is to find out where a real urban regeneration has taken place through social engagement of the neighbourhood's community — creating actually an identity though the practice of art — and where these numerous painted walls scattered across the outskirts are the result of merely rhetoric tactics on the part of institutional policy makers.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the role and impact of cultural resources in urban change and growth. In particular the recent experience of Rome, where the municipal administration has often based urban transformation in various areas upon cultural action, including contemporary architecture buildings, creative artists' work, cultural neighbourhoods and the like, is examined from a range of perspectives, focusing upon the many dilemmas faced by the public decision-maker in a complex eco-system such as a town where residents, external users, and mass tourists share the same areas for different and often conflicting, purposes. The main outcomes of the analysis show a substantial connection between the kind of action carried out and the possible degree of social engagement, along with the shared perception of common profiles in cultural resources. The need to activate cultural investments within a strategic framework, and the symmetrical weakness of occasional action is emphasized.

2. Methodology

To achieve our purpose the research has been developed along two methodological stages:

(1) Sketch out the state-of-art of literature on urban changing processes. In particular, four main processes have been identified: gentrification, requalification, regeneration, and self-made urbanism (Paragraph 1). The findings on literature have been re-organized by the authors as the theoretical framework of this research. For each process we pinpointed: object, pioneers, stakeholders, role of the public administration and results on the area interested.

(2) After a brief research background aimed at framing the importance of culture, we investigated upon the main public art projects carried out in the city of Rome. After taking into consideration the main interventions and processes of urban change through culture and art (Paragraph 2), we decided to focus this first study upon the phenomenon of street art. We carried out a qualitative research based on the territory of Rome, selecting five case studies of urban initiatives that aimed at transforming the city environment through street art (Paragraph 3). The second stage has been structured as follows:

- Analysis of a Municipal map of street art districts (Municipal tourist map).
- Selection of five case studies that showed, at the same time, comparable characteristics and interesting differences, especially in the process of development.
- Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders of the case studies analysed.
- Insertion of case studies into the theoretical framework elaborated in the first stage of the research, based upon the four urban processes.

The second part of the research has been carried out with an ethnographic approach through the

implementation of different tools: the participant observation method during surveys and site inspections; semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews. This phase has been carried out during one year by the authors. The research process has been held in a participatory context: most of the participants were interested and motivated in the analysis of the urban changing processes that they have contributed to generate, and therefore very inclined to give their contribution.

Finally, international case studies have been analysed in order for this study to benefit from a comparative view (Paragraph 4).

3. Theoretical Framework: The Arts as Driver of Urban Renewal in the Economic Theory

Bauman's (2005) belief is that public places that "recognize the creative and life-enhancing value of diversity, while encouraging the differences to engage in a meaningful dialogue" are the sites for the future of urban life. This paper is based on the idea that Bauman's wished future urban life might be approached through cultural regeneration processes based on the engagement of the urban community. The assumption of this paper lies on Warner's definition of urban space as a range of cultural fields and texts affecting the community (Warner, 2002). A cultural field is where it is possible to produce, spread and share art. Shelley Sacks (2005) defines art as the instrument able to involve "trans-actions" between people, issues, and places. Thus, this participation draws spectators in as participants. The action component is devoted to achieving some social result through the community engagement. On the contrary, as we will see below, not all the projects that have crossed the city of Rome in the last years shared these values.

The case studies do not show a replicable model of rebirth through culture but it is possible to identify contradictory processes that are changing, in positive or negative, the urban areas. Four are the main urban changing processes analysed in the study (Table 1).

Table 1   Urban Changing Processes

Process	Object	Pioneer	Stakeholder	PA role	Result
Requalification	Public space, services and public building	PA	Resident, PA	Urban decoration	increase property value; improve green area and public transport
Gentrification	Private building	Private	Middle-upper class, professionals, speculators	Branding	new middle-upper class of resident; new business; international brand; increase property value;
Self made urbanism	Public space and , abandoned property	Civil Society	Public spaces, abandoned buildings Population area, community centers, collectives and neighborhood committees	Community Aggregator	Rebirth of unused spaces; cultural activities
Regeneration	Private building, Public space	Private e PA	Residents, PA, private, neighborhood committees	Urban décoration, community Aggregator	increase property value; new business; new cultural activities; citizens participation; a sense of belonging

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Gentrification (Ruth Glass, 1964) is a process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into previously deteriorated areas that often displaces poorer residents. Gentrification occurs when "urban renewal" of lower class neighbourhoods attracts middle class tenants, driving up

rents and driving out long time, lower income residents. In this process culture plays a favourable role for business, since it reflects the globalization of cultural brand identity, similar to the "Non-lieux" (Marc Augé, 1992); an example is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. Therefore, culture is used as the brand identity of the area gentrified stripping it of its territorial identity. Currently the subject of gentrification increasingly binds to questions of greater scope such as economic and cultural globalization (Atkinson, Bridge, 2005), the abandonment of Keynesian policies and the advent of the neoliberal (Smith, 2002; Peck, 2005) guided by the concept of urban competitiveness and its achievement through the attraction of talent (Florida, 2002; 2005).

Urban regeneration is the rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods by large-scale renovation or reconstruction of housing and public works. When regeneration is considered in the context of "urban," it involves the rebirth or renewal of urban areas and settlements. Urban regeneration is primarily concerned with regenerating cities and early/inner ring suburbs facing periods of decline due to compounding and intersecting pressures.

"Re-qualification" (Borri, 1985) is a "transformation of a place (residential, industrial or open space) showing symptoms of environmental decline (physical), social and/or economic."Or, better, as "the infusion of new vitality to declining communities, industries and places bringing sustainable and long-term improvements to the quality of local life, including economic, social and environmental" (Evans & Shaw, 2004).

The original meaning of "self-made urbanism" is self-built and self-organized city in terms of illegal construction development. The positive meaning of the term concerns the idea of a self-made city based on collective and self-initiated living projects of the urban community with the aim of enhancing the quality of public space. The self-made urbanism is mainly due to the post-2008 crisis movements of occupation of abandoned spaces. It can be expanded to a form of collaborative economy implemented by local communities in order to make up for the lack of services and opportunities that the public administration does not offer. In this process culture is difficult to categorize, it plays a hybrid role and becomes a powerful social driver.

4. Brief Background: Art Landing in Suburbs

4.1 From Meyer to Fuksas, Across the Town

The recent decades have recorded a boiling Roman administration, whose efforts have often been aimed at re-shaping the urban and metropolitan complex identity, and combining the (too) many labels which already affect Rome as both beneficial and wasteful (ancient Romans used to say: *cujuscommodaejusincommoda*); at the same time a relevant influence has been played by the obsession of appearing in the international press and in the fashionable debate about creative industries, trying to build sources of international attraction: also in such a respect the leading contradiction has been connected with two conflicting layers: the intellectual milieu one hand, and the mass tourism on the other. None of them could win.

In 2006 the new AraPacis container was unveiled. It had been directly commissioned to Richard Meier who had to re-think the area and offset the simple stone cover that had hosted the AraPacis Augusteae since 1938. No open call was issued, while some comparative analysis among the proposed ideas could have proved beneficial for the project as a whole: the original intention was to re-draw the riverfront close to the monument, in order for both residents and tourists to extract a multidimensional value from an experience able to combine archaeology, architecture, urban design, sociality and everyday life.

The challenge was dramatically missed, and only a white and clay-ecru building was crafted including a wall whose shape hides a baroque church and just draws the limit between the monument and the ordinary traffic flows

along the Tiber River. After a few years, the political intuitions about the close future of Rome tried to convince the decision-makers and the community that the EUR district, a unique wide and rich district of Rationalist architecture hosting 16 public museums, could be the venue for a yearly Formula 1 race within the world championship. No need to argue about the disasters that such a project would have generated. It remained into the dream notebook of the Mayor and his team, and nothing was made.

Three years before the inauguration of the new AraPacis the archistar Richard Meier had projected and realized the Jubilee Church in the Tor TreTeste suburb, a troubled area in which such an intervention of public art was believed able to generate social inclusion. Its shape, aesthetically alien and above all materially and symbolically locked in a candid wall, has always been interpreted by residents as a stranger object, also in view of the intensive interest shown by weekend connoisseurs' visits whose impact was similar to what animals in a zoo may feel of visitors.

Two years after the AraPacis was unveiled a further archistar action was started, asking Massimiliano Fuksas to craft a new Conference Palace. Its "cloud", whose undefined shape will contain halls for conferences, has been recently inaugurated after (too?) many years of stop-and-go, financial revisions, intellectual, legal, financial, bureaucratic and atmospheric trouble between the municipal administration and Fuksas himself. The "cloud" has not yet been used. At a few metres' distance, slow but emphasized work is occurring for a big, semi-digital aquarius which should attract hordes of internal and international tourists. It is a sort of urbanistic schizophrenic view, aimed at creating mass poles rather than smooth trails.

4.2 The Cultural Infrastructure of Rome

Unavoidably chaotic, the interventions and actions based upon culture and the arts actually suffer from multiple diseases. Even considering the Piranesi-Croce atmosphere where ruins still prevail upon sound and usable buildings, and a meta-ethical un-touchable of heritage prevails upon active participation of internal and external visitors, we should acknowledge that slowly but firmly some relevant changes are in view. Many emerging proposals and projects are in the municipal agenda, from the pedestrian Forum, already realized by the brave former city secretary for urban spaces Giovanni Caudo, to the gigantic frieze that tells Rome's history through ninety nine-metres high drawings by William Kentridge, physically crafted pumping high-speed water on the biological skin stratified through the years on the white walls built after the unification of Italy and involuntarily responsible of the isolation of the river Tiber within the urban texture[1].

These single, isolated and often feared initiatives may show the horizon of a metropolitan archaeological park and art city still locked in a bureaucratic grid whose map is complex and often contradictory, if not even conflictual. Each squared metre of Rome falls under the competence and power of state ministries, special authorities, regional government, municipal offices (and sometimes ecclesiastical property); quite often different layers of administration share the same territorial and disciplinary areas of competence, but they do not necessarily talk to each other; the occurrence of atmospheric competition is not at all rare, and the generous grape of rules and regulations does not manage to eliminate such an occurrence. Costs normally offset benefits: decisions and actions are unbearably slow.

Within such a complex institutional framework, further difficulties arise due to the diffused and evenly

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[1] Interview to Michele Trimarchi (April 2016) in the Executive Board of Tevereterno'sAssociation: "Kentridge's frieze is an eloquent public art experience, and clearly shows that a simple, although powerful, work of art is a necessary but not sufficient condition to make art public; intensive and regular participation is required, in order for the site to be given back to the urban community and to external visitors, consistently reshaping the urban map".

distributed reluctance to accept a synergic and syncretic strategy where the various souls of Rome's art history, aesthetics and cultural markets can cross-fertilize. The material and financial relevance of mass tourism (despite the uneven distribution of its proceedings) ended up to generate conventional trails where the Coliseum, the Vatican Museums and a few other venues are the only places being actually visited by the majority of Rome's visitors. Also the chaotic sequence of temporary exhibitions ends up to bias the trails, and not necessarily such exhibitions are able to craft a consistent storytelling that could in some way attract a more stable and sustainable audience, also considering that temporary exhibitions are the object of interest also on the part of many Italian occasional users of Rome as the town of many services, from conferences to health, from university to public administration.

Furthermore, there is an extremely dry relationship between the various layers of public administration and in any case of the decision-making milieu on one hand, and grass-root organizations, creative artists' guilds (although informal ones prevail), professionals and experts, both as single individuals and organized groups on the other. This implies that the needed degree of strategic osmosis in a complex eco-system is totally absent, and for many reasons it mummifies the views and intuitions that could lead Rome towards a suitable metropolitan growth where the resident community and the external visitors share the same experience and therefore evenly contribute to its sustainability.

5. Case Studies

5.1 A Critical Map of the Arts in Rome

Should we map cultural initiatives led by the public administration of the city of Rome in the last decade — or even before — we would design a curios map where it is difficult to read any strategy credibly laying behind it. In the city of Rome the municipal administration has often based urban transformation in various areas upon cultural action, including contemporary architecture buildings, creative artists' work, cultural neighborhod, and the like. Here we intend to examine this transformation from a range of perspectives, focusing upon the many dilemmas faced by the public decision-maker in a complex eco-system such as a town where residents, external users, and mass tourists share the same areas for different, and often conflicting, purposes.

In order for us to present the "re-generated Rome" we will use the "eyes" of the municipal administration following the alternative/new tourist map created lately for Rome Street Art with the slogan "the street is your new museum". During this research we will not focus only upon street art but — as we will analyse in the second part, adopting street art is a fixed indicator of urban regeneration — we will explore the whole city and its multiple evolution, considering its various and not necessarily consistent maps. Once we have defined the district of our interest we will start digging it to find out if the artistic process activated though the street art intervention left just a painted wall or if it has actually generated any other cultural activities enhancing social engagement and participation in the district.

Below, Figure 1, the municipal tourist map of the street art districts can provide us with the clear image of an urban patchwork often dominated by occasional and not reciprocally fuelling interventions. Furthermore, as we will be able to observe later, there are no connections between such interventions based upon street art on one hand, and the rest of the territorial identity of Roman districts on the other hand, since both their material and symbolic shapes are totally ignored, and the location of any other art and creative actions is neglected.

To understand whether urban regeneration policies have been effective or not we have identified some of the

districts in the map below and questioned about the relationship between public administration-experts-makers on one hand and residents on the other. The relationship between these two classes of actors and the perception that they have of each other is at the basis of either success or failure of cultural policies. Indeed, the intervention through public art into troubled suburbs, as the ones of the street art projects, might generate a conflict or at least a misunderstanding between organizers and residents. What emerged from most of our interviews across the city is the lack of communication between residents and the arts projects. When a project is not designed or co-designed by at least a sufficient proportion of the resident community its failure is almost certain. Since public art projects intervene in changing shape, meaning and perception of common urban areas they cannot be designed by the experts' milieu alone.

Figure 1   Municipal Tourist Map

5.2 A magmatic Cultural Supply in Urban Areas

In a city of two million and half of residents but estimated almost five million of inhabitant, where 50% of public buildings are uninhabited and where the citizens are subject to illegal praxes such as "Mafia Capitale", in 2009a small community, thanks to an idea of an anthropologist and a documentary filmmaker, decided to build a rocket to go to the moon to claim the right to housing. "Space Metropoliz" is the documentary and it tells the story of the construction of the rocket, involving not only the "Metropoliziani" (they are the inhabitants of Metropoliz, a multi-ethnic community that has more or less 100 residents from Romania, South America and Italy), but also physicists, academics, ufologists, artists, anthropologists, to send out the message that "as there is no space on earth so we are going to live on the moon. Globalization has betrayed the feeling that the world is one and you can move freely in reality there are more barriers than before this data gap by economic inequality between rich and poor and only goods and rich can move freely"[2]. Metropoliz created in the ex-factory of salami "Fiorucci" to 913 of Prenestina has been occupied in the second half of the 2000s by "Metropoliziani", for them Metropoliz is not Italy, it is a Country. The MAAM is a "village museum", a self-management model without costs. It is a kind of museum's model that can be replicated, but there is not willingness to take up these models. "It is a structure that

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[2] Interviews to Giorgio De Finis, Anthropologist and Art Director of MAAM, October 2015.

has its strength that is based on the desire of the occupiers and the artists, where each artist has to finance her/himself". The cultural project led to residents' added value in terms of protection, international image, processed and hardened environments, the relationship between art and society. The Metropoliz represents the example of how a community can use art to express real needs and desires. Unfortunately, the cultural supply of the city of Rome is usually far from a bottom-up approach. As mentioned in section 2.1 the experiences of archi-star projects are many. Besides from the "great super archi-star projects" the city of Rome has tried to reshape its image as a contemporary city at the edge of street art and other trend initiatives. As mentioned before, we have been interviewing and mapping stakeholders of some projects involved in the street art map presented by the municipality of Rome. What has been interesting is to find out that some of them where design with and through the PA guide, others have been of no-interest for the PA until that have decided to embrace this "new image of Rome". The emblematic example of the attitude is the MAAM case. Indeed, even if in MAAM there are the most interesting contemporary artworks — much more if compared to the mainstream institutional museums such as MAXXI — the PA is not collaborating in the needed process of legalization of the place.

A different story is the one of the ferment district of the capital: Ostiense. This district — is it a district or not it is an interesting question without an unequivocal answer — is marked by industrial archaeology. This characteristic made the area attracted artists of various kinds, from directors to street writers that have changed the urban landscape during the years. Ostiense district was first to start a process of regeneration, in particular through street art hosting the works of important artists, including some of international fame. From Blue Guy Denning, from Behr to Roa, many have ventured beautifying rail and subways walls of entire buildings. It is necessary to highlight the fact that the very first street art interventions that made Ostiense famous came from illegal artists' artworks that are far from the "institutionalized public street art"; here it all started in 2009/2010, during the years of German Government's austerity policies. They looked at us with distrust, while thanks to 999 Contemporary important works were realized, and also reviewed by the Times which called the district the Sistine Chapel of Street Art "Now that the city has realized the potential in terms of expression, artistic, cohesion of the territory and urban regeneration you have to make another step. We must instil it in the young generations, who may have the opportunity to express themselves beautifying the city, no more ruining it"[3].

Though the words of Ostiense main stakeholders — the municipality representatives and activist of the neighbourhood — the awareness emerges on the importance of creating active cultural realities able to collaborate. Ostiense was the first district transformed through cultural activities and it has become the reference point for other districts. Hereafter we will analyse other cases where it will be interesting to notice that they replicate the Ostiense formula in terms of stakeholders and activities carried out:

- PA funding street art project with the objective of creating new touristic routes (usually Fondazione Roma).
- A private intermediary, usually a gallery, executes the project and tries to involve the residents.
- The facades interested in the street art restyling are usually property of ATER, therefore the buildings are social housings.
- The success of the regeneration processes varies from case to case since the repetition of a formula does not guarantee the success — on the contrary in a shifting reality unlikely works.

Actually all the interviewed persons involved in the street art map do not recognize themselves as part of a formula embraced by the PA. They strongly underline the specificity of each experience even if it is not difficult

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[3] Andrea Catarci President of the Municipality VIII.

to read them *a posteriori* in this perspective.

From instance, the San Basilio suburb is included in the Municipality map but has its own story. San Basilio district since two years is involved in the "Sanba project" carried out by the creative team of Walls and it relies on the financial support of the Foundation Rome-Art-Museums, with the support of Zétema, ATER and Rome City Hall IV. Restyling, community, openness, development, regeneration are the keywords of "Sanba project" according to its organizers. Besides impressive art works on the grey building of the district, on its second year the project has moved towards other activities promoting the realization of works of urban design, entrusted to the local schools, to regenerate areas through residents' creative involvement[4].

After the "Sanbaproject" Walls[5] considered it necessary to involve a group of psychologists (NOEO) to deepen the regeneration process of the area. This project, named "TRAME", lasted six months and involved the residents to participate and produce work of arts. Through this project the desire emerged to revive the historical memory of the neighborhood and to pass it forward to young generations in order to enable collaborative processes aimed at reviving the neighborhood. The project TRAME was a real attempt of urban regeneration that was born after scoring the non-comprehension of the street art paintings within the previous "Sanbaproject". Moreover, it is necessary to keep in mind that, even if the PA is trying to regenerate suburbs through art, primary problems of the residents of that area remain unresolved. Indeed, from the interviews of the residents emerged that they feel the distance between the "city" and the district and the absence of public action to rehabilitate an area that sees a total presence of ATER properties, roads and public services not sufficiently restructured[6].

The issue of non-resolved primary needs vs. art projects is a "mantra" in these kinds of experiences. Indeed, in the neighborhood of Tor Marancia the residents have the same feeling. In Tor Marancia in the year 2015 the project "Big City Life" took place, promoted by Gallery 999Contemporary, already promoter of public art initiatives in Ostiense, financed by Fondazione Roma-Art-Museums and ATER, which is the owner of the buildings (social housing buildings). Over 500 people involved and 20 international artists, some 2,500 square metres of works and 20 facades (14 metres high), painted in 70 days, are the figures of "Big City Life", a public art project that aimed to regenerate the complex district of Tor Marancia. The Big City Life goal is to transform the historic district of Tor Marancia in an open-air museum accessible to all[7]. As stated by Giovanna Marinelli, former cultural counsellor of Rome, "We have set in motion several paths of street art, from Ostiense to San Basilio, in an effort that even Rome, as many other European cities has a tourist route in the outskirts".

As highlighted above, the restyling of an outskirt like Tor Marancia does not convince some of its residents that complain about the decay of the area starting from unstable ledges of the buildings to the absence of basic welfare services. The transformation into open-air museum does not solve complex problems of outskirts, and to some residents the Big City Life project looks like a marketing project rather than a regeneration process.

The idea of transforming suburbs into "open air museum" is spreading around without taking into consideration if and how the residents are involved in the process, like in SANBA case, and who are the beneficiaries/consumers of the art projects.

Another neighborhood that is experimenting this process is Tor Pignattara. Torpignattara is a crossroads of different cultures where the construction of dialogue is a challenge.

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[4] Interview to Simone Pallotta, Art Direcot of Sanba Project in San Basilio, September 2015.
[5] Walls is a cultural organization works on blending contemporary art and the social sphere, http://onthewalls.it/about/.
[6] Interview to Maria GisaMasia, Psychologist and NOEO team, September 2015.
[7] Interview to Francesca Mezzano, Project manager di Galleria 999 contemporary, September 2015.

For some time in this neighborhood, street art has played as the pioneer of urban regeneration, consciously sought, promoted and wanted by the local population, by neighborhood committees and agents of cultural territory as the art gallery Wunderkammer[8]. The neighborhood committee has activated "Light Up Torpigna project!" where the *WunderkammernGallery* was responsible for bringing international urban artists and involve them in creating high-value cultural and artistic works on the suburban walls in January and February 2015. According to "Light Up Torpigna" organizers leading contemporary artists become the principal agents in an urban renewal process, which has also social and cultural connotations, benefiting first and foremost the local community.

The project goal is to transform Torpignattara into an "open air museum", as Ostiense district already did. This project is just the last in time, but may other projects were carried out previously.Among them #TuttoATorpigna that aims to offer a wide cultural program in the district, often left alone, eager to meeting opportunities, recreation and entertainment, but also for reflection and sharing. The proposal was to "occupy" the nerve centers of the territory (removing them from degradation) and develop them through four major themes (Movies, Music, Theatre and Street art). The key stakeholders promoting those projects are Wunderkammer gallery, Varsi gallery, and I Love Torpigna neighborhood committee with the support of the municipality of Rome thought the program Creative Rome.

The challenge of those experiences lies in a dichotomy between urban regeneration processes led by a truly participatory approach, and the merecolourful ornament of forgotten suburbs. The problem is that for the PA those experiences are all the same, collected in a map, and there are no policies, through funding, to actually complete in medium-long run activities of urban regeneration boasted[9].

5.3 The Arts and Quality of Urban Life

The case studies have a common denominator: street art. The first areas that have been the object of urban art are Torpignattara and Ostiense. The latter is the first case of Rome and it is taken as an example of the development of similar projects. In fact, it is the hub for Roman contemporary art and creative industries, and the projects are located in the urban area, but not only in single building (see St. Basilio Tor Marancia, Table 2). Interestingly, the role of public administration (PA) may prove important: in Ostiense and Torpignattarait has been a financial supporter and facilitator of processes already under way; in the areas of San Basilio and Tor Maranciait has played a leading role as an activator, just in the attempt to replicate the successful case of Ostiense.

The role of PA is often marginal and linked to cultural calls for street art project, but the final message for the Roman administration is the regeneration. All "Pioneers" agree on the decorative and social role of street art, since it could activate a process of redevelopment thanks to the increased perception of both citizens and vistors. This effect should be the trigger that should attract PA to deliver a series of general services recognized for the quality of citizens' lives so that the perception of improvement can become real (see Turin, 4.2).

In general, in these processes the role of public administration has declined. In fact, the progressively drained public budget, amplified by the absence of effective policies for culture and the weakness of a fragmented cultural sector, asks professionals active in the cultural system to pursue new forms of economic and financial sustainability (such as crowd funding). These forms of financing are sometimes not sufficient for the realization of cultural projects, remaining dependent on public and corporate funding.

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[8] Interview to Giuseppe Pizzuto, Art Director of Wunderkammern Gallery, October 2015.
[9] Interview to Claudio Nieffi, Social media manager of Tor Pignattara' Neighborhood committee, October 2015.

Table 2   Urban Changing Processes in Roman Neighborhoods

Case study	Year	Project name	Object	Cultural action	Pioneers	PA role	Results	Process
Ostiense	2009/2010		District	Street art; festival; performing art	Independent street artist; art gallery; social center	Project support	Establishment of creative and cultural activities	Regeneration
San Basilio	2013	Sanba project	Buildings	Street art	PA; art gallery; art collective	Activator	New type of tourism	Requalification
Tor Marancia	2015	Big City Life project	Buildings	Street art	PA; art gallery; art collective	Activator	New type of tourism	Requalification
Tor Pignattara	2014	Light Up Torpigna project!	Neighborhood	Street art; small culturalinitiatives, festival	Neighborhood committee; art gallery	Project support	Citizens participation, new cultural organization	Regeneration
Metropoliz	2009/2010	Space Metropoliz/ MAAM	Building	Street art; small cultural initiatives, festival	Comunity, artist, association		Citizens participation, new cultural organization, new type of "village museum"	Self Made Urbanism

Source: Authors' elaboration.

The implications of such processes of urban change are associated in particular with the skills and methods of stakeholder engagement. The city, as a place of all = common, becomes a "good" where it manages to establish strong connections between the local community and its neighborhood. The citizens can perceive the city as a "common good". Stakeholder engagement (Jeffery, 2009) is important because not only it creates a sense of belonging but also because it is an opportunity to respond to the needs of users' lives if the identification of the problems of a territory is appropriate.

The PA has a will of planning to leave the streets malfunctioning, with little connection between the neighbourhoods, to a mismanagement of public transport, non-existent artistic activities, to close organizations seeking to produce art like "Teatro Valle" in Rome. At the same time where there is no money to improve the architecture, the administration is doing nothing and the street art is financed because it has a lower cost if it is compared with a substantial urban and architectural regeneration.

6. Public art and Urban Texture in International Experiences

6.1 Foreword

There are cities around the world that have accomplished to change their core business and their reputation through a brilliant strategic planning based on cultural and creative industries. Hereafter we will describe some example, not because they might be reproduced by the logic of best practices that we do not believe in, but because they appear representative of the role that culture can play in the transformation of a city.

6.2 From Steel to Green Trails and Creative Hubs: New York

New York cultural offer and creative industry are a complex and patchy system that we will not describe in this section. Of this emblematic city, we want to highlight symbolic experiences that show how a cultural intervention can change the urban perception of a neighborhood and its future development. It is the High Line (also known as the High Line Park) a 1.45-mile-long linear park built in Manhattan on an elevated section of a disused New York Central Railroad. The High Line has been redesigned and planted as an aerial greenway and rails-to-trails park. The recycling of the railway into an urban park has brought on the revitalization of Chelsea, which had been "gritty" and has suffered from poor conditions in the late twentieth century (Koblin, 2007). According to the former Mayor Bloomberg, the High Line project has helped to further something of a renaissance in the neighborhood: by 2009, more than 30 projects were planned or under construction nearby

(Pogrebin, 2009). A series of articles and data show that the High line has brought a positive social impact in terms of decrease of crime rate, change of perception of the neighborhood and new investments. Actually, the high line project has been even too successful and it has brought upon Chelsea a process of gentrification, something quite violent for the former residents. What it is interesting for our research about this case study is the capability to transforms the perceived unconscious of a certain area through culture changing progressively the image of a city.

6.3 Smooth Art Dynamics: Turin

The city of Turin is the example of an industrial city that converted its development model through a political strategy, in an age of post-Fordism restructuring and economic globalization. Turin has been invested by a Pro-growth agenda — that consists of different sets of policies and may be supported by different coalitions (Lee, 2006) — as pointed out in a study of Belligni and Ravizzi in 2013. Among pro-growth agenda there are some cities focus on advanced technologies and research, sometimes called "knowledge machines" or "triple helix model" (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000; Koch & Stahlecker 2006), others try to foster culture, creativity and entertainment (often labeled as "knowledge machines" or "entertainment machines"). These kinds of pro-growth regimes differ from the so-called "growth machines", aiming at enhancing real property gains and led by local economic élites (Molotch & Logan, 1987; Vicari & Molotch, 1990; Harding, 1994; Stone, 1989). Turin has adopted the cultural and creative industry as the driver of its renewal. The cultural strategy has been clearly divided into two sections: the big events — that are also comprehensive of entertainment and sports such as the winter Olympic games that have been used to launch the city as a tourist city — and the institutional cultural supply has been the object of an accurate integration system among different actors (museum card-cinema network, etc.).

Even if the cultural strategy of Turin has also been criticized because too dispersive and not sustainable, it is common conviction that through almost 30 years of oriented public policies towards cultural change the city has been transformed.

7. Concluding Remarks

From our analysis of urban troubles in using the arts as a driver for growth and development we can get a few and simple orientations for credible strategies to provide art projects with a sound and sustainable backbone:

- Residents as embedded stakeholders of the process. It emerges explicitly from our case studies that the success of an intervention should be based upon the participation, also in terms of ownership of the cultural goods, of the residents of the area.

- Co-design of cultural goods and services with the residents. The cultural production has to be integrated in the eco-system where it is installed, and design with which it is living in. The successful process is the co-design approach to avoid the production of detached initiatives. Whatever cultural production or initiative has to become an incentive for creating a sense of community and belonging among all the stakeholders involved.

- The PA has to support medium-long term projects and strategies that show an integrated perspective (Turin has changed because of a long-term strategy). Indeed, the most evident problem in Rome's experience is the lack of a coordinated long-term strategy in terms of policies and funds.

To conclude, Rome should ask itself what is the future of the city. Might culture be at the centre of its policies? If the answer is yes, it is necessary to build a planned strategy (that might be not a strategy but a new approach to

cultural supply — meaning that bottom-up experiences carried out by residents should be supported in the long term). Our proposal of strategy does not imply planned interventions, but it mainly needs to embrace a method or approach aimed at managing bottom-up process to enhance their potential. To re-shape the city according to its real needs and calling requires smart and flexible policies and strategies able toadapt and design within a long-term perspective.

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