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Patrimonialization

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EDITORIAL

Cities have always been subject to transformations processes based on the valorization of their heritage and on the promotion of the local resources.

These transformations are often the result of an economic conversion of the culture, conceived as an asset to exploit, which in contemporary city has become a driving force of several processes this issue of *lo Squaderno* proposed to explore, proposing also a framework to consider these processes as 'patrimonialization', so to invite to deepen and question this same framework.

Patrimonialization could be conceived as a complex "heritage-making practices", based on policies, narratives, rhetorics, projects by means of which the cultural features, traditions, places or objects are turned into a place's heritage and then in its resource.

These practices can be either politically or individually driven and they represent the conflicting interests of various actors implicated in the life and production of the city. We can observe a kind of "heritage logic", that works on a global scale and fabricates several "heritage devices" which create tensions among cultural heritage, touristic and/or event economies, and everyday life.

Moving from this focus, the issue has collected both case-study and reflections by scholars who have studied and experienced the paradigm of patrimonialization, putting it into the question.

Andrea Mubi Brighenti opens the issue, offering a deep reflection about the heritage as principle of valorization, inviting us to re-read some essays written by Italo Calvino as corresponding author from Paris for the culture pages of Italian newspapers, during the 1970s and 1980s. Giving us a transversal cultural overview of the heritage as it emerged in these essays, Mubi adds the question of the strong opposition between patrimony and consumerism as Calvino shows, in the light of contemporary consciousness of the manifold alliances of heritage and consumerism and so in the light of the changes of contemporary societies.

This paper could be read as a paper which deepens the framework the issue invites to explore, giving to the next case-study papers an other reference.

In this path, Katerina Polychroniadi presents the downtown of Athens, focussing on how the patrimonialization could be a result of several processes, sometimes parallel to each other, that increase the performativity of the heritage, change urban environments and their uses. Among them, the author points out all the discursive practices building narratives about the history of the city by constructing imaginaries and promoting selective branded images, both for temporary city users (e.g. tourists, creative commuters, consumers etc.), and for art and leisure businesses.

These processes may have deep consequences in local economies and societies, also in terms of conflicts and contrasts, since they may amplify the idiosyncrasy among the heritage policies conceived for a big generic public and the individual – and sometimes "hidden" – initiatives to valorize the ordinary places, or they may regulate the inclusion as well the exclusion of parts of population in specific areas.

As it happens in the case presented by Marta Rossi and Francesco Aliberti, who put into the light on the process of Making heritage in Hackney Wick, East London and on the consequent tensions between gentrification and regeneration and how the many subjects involved, institutional or not, face themselves with planning policies, economic interests and daily experiences by performing different tactics and strategies.

The two next papers introduce a specific reflection, linked to the processes by which some places enter into the global candidacies for heritage labels or cultural competitions, both focussing on UNESCO sites and putting the light on the strong relationship between the material consequences in the places and the power of the immaterial aspects of these processes.

Véronique Zamant works on the processes of UNESCO labelization of Rio de Janeiro cultural landscape, shaped by geopolitical wishes to assert a metropolitan territorial identity in a globalized world, where the labelization contributes to the packaged image of the carioca territories, which is also at the same time a fundamental element for the international competitiveness and so for the same labelization.

Cristina Mattiucci, then, presents some process occurring the UNESCO Historical Centre of Naples, where – before and beyond any requalifications and regeneration the recognition could drive – we can observe a rising commercialization as well as a commodification and aestheticization of the local traditions and resources, leading to the branding of aspects of the everyday life.

The different scales introduced by the papers broaden the discussion on the processes of patrimonialization and the possibility to inquire it in planning processes as well.

Beyond the cases, the debate this issue aimed to open is then closed (or already opened, indeed!) by Andrea Canziani, who provokes a turned perspective about the possibility to virtuously interpret and act while some patrimonialization processes occur, since he invites to root the processes as an occasion not to homogenize and package the contexts where they are carried on, but to propose local and alternative model to take care of a culture, a place, an architecture or a landscape.

Finally, this issue gives also space to the “mobilità sociale” by the collective Wunderkammer_Trento.

The project is basically a long term and recurrent performance, in a brownfield in the centre of Trento, where a lot of imaginary and vision about dismission and transformation have been already proposed (and failed). Meanwhile, the artistic actions are conceived, conversely, as a way to live and performing an urban patrimony neglected and suspended for the ordinary life of the city, giving sense and value by doing in the empty space, in a contingent moment, in ever shifting shape, tactically and without to show (other) way to patrimonialize, which could be useful to official narratives.





On Heritage as a Principle of Valorisation

A note on Italo Calvino

**Andrea Mubi
Brighenti**

That heritage – or, ‘the common good of humanity’, as it has also been called – embodies a form of – cultural, social and economic – value, seems self-evident. Yet, *why* is it so? In other words, which is the specific *rationale of valorisation* contained in heritage? If heritage contains an intrinsic principle of valorisation, why do we need heritage-making practices, practices that institute and *valorise* heritage? If heritage needs to be valorised, does this mean that its principle of valorisation is not as intrinsic as commonly believed? Needless to say, in this short text it is not possible to tackle such a complex and challenging question as it deserves. Provisionally, my only aim here is to recall an interesting reflection advanced almost 40 years ago by the writer Italo Calvino which, I think, might help us to untangle the puzzle of the entwinement of heritage and value.

During the 1970s and 1980s, until his sudden death in September 1985, Calvino was a corresponding author from Paris for the culture pages of two major Italian newspapers, *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica*¹. While embedded in the spirit of the time, these short features reporting on ‘things seen’ – exhibitions, museums, book reviews etc. – read extremely fresh and insightful still nowadays, especially in the light of a sustained reflection by the author on cultural practices through a cross-cultural comparison between France and Italy as well as, more generally, different European and Western countries. In the summer of 1980, Calvino reviewed an exhibition then held at the Grand Palais, titled *Hier pour demain : arts, traditions et patrimoine* [‘Yesterday for tomorrow: arts, traditions and heritage’]². The exhibition, curated by the ethnologist Jean Cuisenier, gathered together a team of sociologists, historians, folklore scholars and iconographers with the aim of documenting the French ‘ethnographic heritage’. Some notable moments in this history included, for instance, the late-18th-century ‘discovery’ of ethnography by French Enlightenment philosophers as a research practice to document the life and skills of the popular classes, the role of the early-19th-century ‘Celtic academy’ in imagining Druidic Gallia as foundational national moment, and the subsequent ‘rediscovery’ of popular and folk traditions. In particular, it is clear that during the 19th century the depiction of peasants’ customs and mores served as a kind of inverted mirror in which the formation of an urban bourgeois national cultural identity could be developed extensively.

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www.capacitedaffect.net

¹ Essays now collected in Italo Calvino (1984) *Collezione di sabbia*. Milano: Garzanti.

² There is, of course, an exhibition catalogue: Ministère de la culture et de la communication et Musée national des arts et traditions populaires (1980) *Hier pour demain. Arts, traditions et patrimoine*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

What is particularly intriguing is how Calvino interprets the exhibition as unwittingly revealing the many ambiguities and ambivalences entailed by the twin notions of patrimony/ common heritage. To begin with, Calvino points out how France is a country that tends to present itself as culturally and linguistically homogeneous; in this context, to accommodate the existence of local languages and dialects (*patois*) is something that is only admissible precisely through the lens of an ethnological discourse: what deserves preservation is what is doomed to disappear soon (after all attempts at conquering and marginalising it have already been accomplished). Whereas, for a very long time (and maybe even nowadays, to some extent), Italy entertained a special liaison with 'atavism', that is, the impossibility to change, and the difficulty to become civilised and modern, France, through its powerful state apparatus, was much more effective in marginalising its inner 'backwardness'. However, observes Calvino, the paradoxical outcome of this trend has been that Italy completely lost most of its own local traditions in a hasty thrust towards modernisation (the implicit reference is to post-World-War-2 reconstruction) while, on the contrary, in France traditional cultures – albeit marginalised, or precisely because of their being marginalised – enjoyed a long-standing survival. In this country the deployment of a wide array of scholars and intellectuals, including anthropologists, sociologists, linguists, technologists, antiquarians, and physicians, enabled the transformation of local peripheral customs (that is, the mores

Thus, heritage is not something that we simply inherit. It is not something that we just find. On the contrary, heritage is the outcome of a purposive and selective process

of the subjugated) into a national 'common heritage' to be accurately preserved, and eventually showcased.

In short, what we have at play here is a particular

relation between a political centre and a territorial population – even better, a population *to be territorialised*. From this perspective, heritage seems to be part of a general nationalising equation scripted in the constitution of the modern state, whereby territoriality functions as a capturing device for the stabilisation of precise power relations now encapsulated into a whole 'pictorial' social imagination. By advancing this interpretation, Calvino follows quite neatly a body of historiographical scholarship emerged in the late 1970s, such as in particular the work by the British social and cultural historian Peter Burke³.

The Italian writer also amusingly remarks how the representation and *mise-en-scène* of the French common heritage looks particularly *boring*. If the Paris exhibition is perceived as rather heavy-handed by Calvino, it is because what is showcased there as 'common heritage' is, in fact, heavily over-determined by an ideological (one could even say, 'demagogic') project – namely, the moralistic refrain according to which – I quote – 'the countryside was the healthy world of lost virtues, in opposition to city life'. Noteworthy is the fact that the French 'rediscovery' of its own folklore and popular traditions unfolds at a rather late stage if compared with Britain and Germany, as if the French establishment wanted to be sure that the valorisation of heritage could start as a form of museification meant to re-code *la vie paysanne* as an element of national nostalgia (if one can name a distinct continuator of this operation in more recent times, it is certainly Raymond Depardon).

Within this general analysis of the value and structure of the officially sanctioned national heritage, an important terminological issue should be kept in mind, namely the duality heritage/patrimony. Calvino advances an original terminological reflection in a final passage

³ In particular, Peter Burke (2009[1978]) *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Ashgate.

which is worth an extensive quotation:

This [1980] is the [UNESCO] heritage year [*anno del patrimonio*], and the exhibition is organised in this context with a special focus on the role played by early private collectors and the antiquarian market in the valorisation of folk clays and sculpted woodcrafts. Such role has been subsequently taken up by regional museums and, of late, by 'regional ethnographic parks', whose aim is the protection of whole local environments. The word 'patrimony', so dear to the heart of Balzac's parsimonious France, creates the impression of something solid and substantial, something that can be capitalised (on the contrary, in Italy we use the expression 'cultural goods', which is devoid of any sense of possession and concreteness). Perhaps, today only the spur of material interest can act to counterbalance the thrust to the most instinctive of contemporary man's gestures – that of throwing away. (Calvino 1984: 41; my translation)⁴

Thus, heritage is not something that we simply inherit. It is not something that we just find. On the contrary, heritage is the outcome of a purposive and selective process. More specifically, in Calvino's view, the fact of understanding heritage as 'patrimony' represents a precise cultural strategy that spans the economic, the political and the moral domains. The discourse of heritage was the way in which urban bourgeois culture and its values could be written into the French nation-building project. Indeed, interpreting heritage as patrimony immediately spurs that preoccupation with economic self-interest which is the basic reflex of the middle class mind set. By concocting the idea of a type of interest that is simultaneously private yet more general than that of individual households, this discourse projects collective heritage into a dimension of 'ought' – patrimony must be protected – and directly ties it to the idea of collectivity as nation (disqualifying all other potentially competing collectivities). In the final line, Calvino highlights the peculiarity of the patrimonial ethos in the context of consumer society. The implication of Calvino's argument is that we consume merrily especially if what we consume is not ours; and that, on the contrary, whenever asked to consume our own assets, we become meticulous and less prodigal. 'Heritage as patrimony' embodies the idea of an already-privatised good.

Let me try an ad-interim conclusive remark. From our historical vintage point, the parenthetical remark by the author about the fact that the verbatim translation of 'patrimony' into Italian as 'cultural good' drains the expression of 'any sense of possession and concreteness', reads a bit naive. In fact, imbued with almost 40 years of unbridled neoliberalism and the so-called 'new public management', we have grown accustomed to the idea that a cultural good is a good ultimately not much unlike any other. Thanks to marketing, the economic dimension of heritage seems to have overpowered the moral and political (specifically, nationalistic) dimensions. Calvino already saw quite clearly that protectionism – heritage as *ought* – was ultimately grounded in – or, at least, strongly corroborated by – an economic narrative (patrimony as private interest). But he still believed that the moralisation of heritage placed it in a dimension antithetical to consumerism – hence, the elliptical opposition

⁴ Here follows, in Calvino's proverbially crystal-clear prose, the original text: "*Questo è 'l'anno del patrimonio' e l'esposizione è organizzata in tale ambito con una speciale attenzione al ruolo che hanno avuto prima le collezioni private e il mercato antiquario nel valorizzare ceramiche rustiche e legni scolpiti, poi i musei regionali, e ora i 'parchi regionali' che si propongono un programma di salvaguardia ambientale più vasto. La parola 'patrimonio', cara al vecchio cuore della Francia balzacchiana e risparmiatrice, crea l'impressione di qualcosa di solido e di sostanzioso e di capitalizzabile (mentre noi italiani diciamo 'beni culturali', espressione priva di ogni connotazione di possesso e di concretezza); forse solo il riflesso dell'interesse materiale può controbilanciare la spinta a compiere il gesto istintivo dell'uomo contemporaneo: quello di buttar via.*"

he established between patrimony and consumerism. What he could not see, instead, was the coming about of a specific *alliance* of heritage and consumerism. While the role of heritage in the construction of national identities has turned into a kind of 'empty signifier' – for instance, that the Coliseum is Italians' national heritage is a conventional truth largely devoid of substantive meaning – its practical functioning in the global tourist industry is an attested reality – Italy is a country that manages to lower its own external debt by mega-events such as the Holy Year etc. While, in Balzac's France, *patrimonialisation* could provide the missing link between morality and the economy, today it is an unmistakably unhappy or hypocritical moral conscience that is left to establish and guarantee the link between heritage and cultural identity.

Historical and commercial triangle of Athens

Patrimonialization through imaginary urban projects, rhetoric and rediscovery of tradition

Katerina Polychroniadi

Athens has both famous and infamous identities. A city immersed in history surrounded by an “ugly” contemporary urban environment. A city which people love to ‘hate’ exactly due to this dense urban environment and fast pace, but which at the same time is celebrated for its lively everyday (and night) life and creativity.

In this paper¹ we focus on the so called “historical and commercial triangle”, the city’s downtown in which the historic image of Athens juxtaposes to (coexists with) the most important touristic, leisure and commercial activities. By following the events and discourses that changed the perception of these areas, we observe that although the material image remains the same, the imaginary (good or bad) shifts constantly. Moreover, several aspects of this multilayered area are, intentionally or not, patrimonialized.

It is important to note that this period is marked by two key moments: The 2004 Olympic Games and the financial crisis from 2008 onwards. In both instances, urban politics and dominant discourses changed in order to adapt to the situation and thus abandoning a more organized plan, while the key actors involved in the shaping of the area also changed.

The turn of the millennium found Athens hopeful for its future, looking forward for the 2004 Olympic Games and more accepting of its multicultural inner-city character. A trend of ‘returning to the city centre’ started to become more evident, with small or large-scale investments (housing, entertainment and art) focusing on central areas earmarked for gentrification.

Until the mid 90s, the broader centre of Athens seems to be forgotten from the ‘grand urban development narratives’ since most of major works are taking place at the regional level. Despite suburbanization, it remains the city’s administrative, cultural and commercial centre. As the 2004 Olympic Games were coming closer, Athens “needed” a downtown equivalent to that of other European cities. During this period, a new image of the city was been developed, drawing both from its (ancient) history and from its multicultural character that is emerging and becomes slowly accepted.

From the mid-90s the city centre becomes the stake and the terrain of regeneration projects (actually of their announcements) that can be characterized as ‘beautification’ ones. Even if many of them are not materialized, they fed into the public discourse, they transformed the

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¹ This paper is partially based on a fieldtrip organised by Katerina Polychroniadi, Eleni Kallimopoulou and Panos Poulos for the INURA conference in Athens, September 2015. <https://inura15.wordpress.com>

urban imaginary and they affected the social organization of the neighbourhoods in question. Among them, two projects can be characterized as landmark ones: (1) the Unification of Archaeological Sites (UAS)² (before the Olympic Games) and (2) the announced pedestrianization of Panepistimiou Av., a major road axis of the city centre (characteristically branded as “Rethink Athens”³ and initiated during the period of the debt crisis).

The unification of archaeological sites started in 1998 and goes on until today. It mainly consists of several public spaces redesigning projects in the historic centre, though it was initially presented as a full-scale regeneration programme also including adjacent neighborhoods. For the project’s implementation, a public company was established from the Ministries of Environment and Culture in order to ensure independent (less bureaucratic) action.

The pedestrianization of D. Areopagitou St. and Ap. Paulou St. underneath the Acropolis (first part of the programme) paved the path (and defined the choice of the location) for the development of the New Acropolis Museum (already discussed since the 70s), which, as expected was designed by a ‘celebrity architect’. The Unification of Archaeological Sites was presented as a flagship project that would “change the image of the city” providing an urban / archaeological promenade for tourists and residents alike. This part of the project – the pedestrianization – was considered particularly successful and is still used by large numbers of people. However, and despite its significance, the new Acropolis museum hasn’t become the aspired cultural point of reference for the city’s residents, while its cost was immense. As for the adjusting neighbourhoods (ig Koukaki, Petralona, Gazi), they were indirectly affected through re-investment (without planned renewal processes) and transformed to the new trendy places to be and to live on the south side of the centre.

Besides the pedestrianization, the project included the redevelopment of main squares of the city center and projected the whole reconstruction of the historical and commercial triangle of Athens. Tensions that emerged between public administration and architects about the rehabilitation of the major squares of the city illustrate some contradictions of the processes of production of public space in contemporary Athens; contradictions which involve heritage, professional interests and bureaucratic logic. Simultaneously, at that time, the discussed projects were contested by different groups and collectivities in ways that emphasised the tensions between cultural heritage, touristic economy and everyday life. Ten years later, the tensions appear to have been settled, with no important urban issues at stake.

Though most of the small scale projects have not been implemented, the sensation that “something is changing”, along with cultural events that took place in public spaces in the “hidden” parts of the city center during and after the Olympic games, resulted in the creation of a renewed downtown leisure center, interesting not only for tourists but also for inhabitants .

Nevertheless, this enthusiasm (excitement) did not last long. Shortly after the 2004 Games, the economic downturn was becoming increasingly visible. For a whole range of inter-related reasons, this culminated to what has been termed in the dominant public discourse as “the crisis of the centre of Athens”. At the same time, the promising “multicultural” character of Athens shifted in a “problem” that had to be solved / cleaned. Amidst a media frenzy portraying the city-centre as a place of fear and abandonment and political games, harsh measures were introduced to reverse both the discourse and the image. While most focused

2 For more information about the project, see description on the site of Ministry of Culture http://www.yppo.gr/4/e40.jsp?obj_id=90

3 <http://www.rethinkathens.org/>

on security, several other concerned urban renewal initiatives. Prominent among them is the “Rethink Athens”, an image-related redevelopment project for the city centre with clear neo-liberal choices for the city (promoting consumption, attracting visitors, re-branding – and all of these with a ‘green’ façade). Although it included a range of initiatives, at its core lays the pedestrianization of Panepistimiou Av. (an old idea that has been debated at length) and it is complimented by a ‘participatory’ project of gathering ideas pointedly titled “Re-activate Athens”. Significantly, behind this project is the private Onassis foundation which has funded the urban design competition and initiated the extensive publicity campaign for the project.

Although both projects consider the city centre mainly as an economic / touristic product, UAS is more rooted on the city’s history and runs through several inner city neighbourhoods. On the other hand, Rethink Athens employs history as an excuse for commercial and tourist development for a (high-end) part of the city centre that will cater for some and exclude others.

Even though it’s not yet implemented, it has raised significant reactions both from professional bodies and from the public. “Re-activate Athens” wasn’t convincing neither about its participatory character nor about its usefulness. The project’s core, Panepistimiou Av., is a major road axis and its pedestrianization will most probably cause traffic havoc in the city centre (and potentially further away). It is a very wide road with few night-time activities and as such it will probably be quite

In the Athenian patrimony, nowadays we observe the inclusion of other “products” which belong either to the urban lived reality of the city or to traditions and history that were purposefully hidden for a very long time

empty of people and uses during the night, turning it into a rather inhospitable environment. Finally, and crucially, it is a costly project at a high-profile area at a time when funds could be distributed differently in areas and projects where they are desperately needed.

The announced project partly re-mobilised a different part of the historical and commercial center. This re-mobilization is once more based of leisure activities (opening of new bars, cafes and restaurants).

For the time being, and while Rethink Athens is suspended, the historical and commercial center of Athens seems to be settled. Yet, behind what is apparent, one senses the presence of a series of different narratives about the city’s past and future; narratives which partly arise from the conflicting interests and stakes of the various actors involved in the life and the production of the city.

Through an imaginary tour in the city centre, we can briefly see the juxtaposition of at least four different realities:

Starting from the Acropolis, there is first the ancient and touristic part of the city. Adjacent to it, we find the new trendy commercial and mostly leisure downtown, followed by the remains of small retail shops and the central meat, fish and vegetable market. The sequel (tour) ends with one of the most downgraded and impoverished areas of the center. The limits between these realities are of course not clear. They shift from one block to another and in some cases they coexist in the same street. During the last couple of years, this multi-layered and contradictory situation led into to two different but related phenomena that try to discover and promote new aspects of heritage, beyond the classic ancient heritage (and beyond the multicultural aspect that was promoted in the early 2000’s).

First the soaring number of new travel agencies who propose alternative explorations of the city center, promoting a different reading of the city's history (e.g. including ottoman era, modern architecture etc), discovery of hidden places (e.g. forgotten passages, small retail shops, but also traditional restaurants and groceries). They also suggest tours like "Places of urban struggles in Athens". The emergence of these alternative tours stems, on one hand from the financial crisis which led many well educated young people to unemployment, and on the other hand from the increase of tourists willing to explore Athens after the "publicity" triggered by the current affairs..

This later point, brings us to the second phenomenon: the patrimonialization of aspects of the "traditional everyday life" especially in and around the traditional central market where a particular kind of rebranding is taking place. Old groceries and traditional cafes are switched into delicatessen shops and restaurants where both tourists and Athenians can taste and buy delicacies from all over Greece. While for a long time, and especially during the pre-Olympic period, Athens was seeking for its global image, now we are facing a "back to the origins" shift but in a more occidental / sanitized package. Of course, this process is not new for many cities around the world, but is new for the case of Athens and more generally Greece. After a very long period when the Athenian "product" and patrimony was primarily the ancient world, nowadays we observe the inclusion of other "products" which belong either to the urban lived reality of the city or to traditions and history that were purposefully hidden for a very long time.

In their initial phase, the emergence these new-found heritage aspects is strongly associated with the two main projects described above and primarily with the public "dialogue" which created a new imaginary about the city centre.

Nowadays, in their second phase, these aspects of heritage are rooted, on one hand on narratives the histories that the tourist walks construct, and on the other on the broader re-branding of the city-centre.

Constant in these is the continuous shift of attention to areas within a very limited area of the city.

Consequently, it seems that patrimonialization is based more on rhetoric than on actions (such as implemented projects or policies). Moreover, this new patrimonialization takes place primarily through small-scale private initiatives that are often fragmented, without an evident (at least for the moment) integrated plan.





Negotiating urban change

Strategies and tactics of patrimonialization in Hackney Wick East London

Marta Rossi
Francesco Aliberti

Introduction

The heritage category function of building collective identity, condensing in specific goods, tangible or intangible, a set of locally significant values and practices, has been often pointed out to show its use in managing relations between the authorities and local communities (Simonica 2015).

This happens nowadays with a particularly conscious approach in urban planning, not only in the practices and rhetorics of institutions, but also in the quotidian experience of people who develop their own informal planning. In this discussion, the heritage arguments become an appropriate tool to handle and shape the change, especially when these processes have a deep impact in the everyday lives of communities and territories, like in cases of gentrification.

A crowded field

Last stop of London's overground, *zone 2*. It is little far from the City, but the landscape suggests a much greater distance. Empty spaces and silence prevail; the former warehouses, one or two centuries old, stand out against the grey English sky. This first encounter with the district of Hackney Wick and Fish Island (HWFI), East London, could unlikely evoke the density of economic, political and cultural interests converged on this patch of post-industrial land. In fact, the people and the history of this territory have loaded it with various meanings, imaginaries and practices.

HWFI was born as a rural appendix of London, incorporated by the city during the industrial revolution. Heavily affected by WWII, this Dickensian district, peopled with workers and factories, deeply redesigned its material and social geography, hosting for a long time the last and vital cogs of London's secondary sector, but losing most of its residents. Geographically and socially isolated and away from the view of authorities, Hackney Wick became, therefore, a liminal zone that welcomed all those users and those uses less desired by the capital of neo-liberalism: squatters, travelers, the last worker of industries, ravers (Marrero Guillamón 2012).

With the outsourcing of manufacturing activities, the warehouses empty shells were reoccupied and resemanticized by an active and heterogeneous assortment of individuals, representing themselves as a creative community. Behind the walls of former-factories a group of

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people who, beyond their more or less professional and professionalized job (painters, musicians, designers, architects, deejays . . .), defined themselves as creative and nonconformist, has built a live-work community that considers itself as based on a widespread sense of sharing and exchange, whether of practices or goods or life domains (Hannerz 1980).

These dynamics have been shaken in recent times. The logic of *the growth first* (Imrie, Lees, Raco 2009), typical of London regeneration policies, has found a dynamo in the organization of the 2012 Olympics, focused on specific projects regarding the social, economic and cultural legacy of the Games. The desired changes were set up as products of a leisure and cultural regeneration (Tallon 2013), led by activities such as major sports events and their resulting international capital inflow. The requalification should have to go through the construction of new blocks of mixed-use buildings in the areas around the Olympic park and of whole new districts inside it, strongly reiterating *the growth first* narrative as the only solution to the chronic lack of jobs, affordable residences and appropriate skills for the inhabitants of East London.

It is in this frame of planning policies, economic interests and daily experiences that different tactics and strategies of patrimonializations of HWFI emerge (de Certeau 1980). These, starting from the same set of localized *precipitate* of materials and symbols, differ depending on the various selection processes carried out by the diverse actors taking place in an arena of conflict. The stakes of this conflict are the imagination of the neighborhood, that is not a mere intellectual abstraction, but a real social practice, through which a group builds, both symbolically and materially, the neighborhood.

HWFI is a very crowded field in which are positioned, according to the capital in their possession (Bourdieu 1972), different groups. By necessity of exposure, it is here chosen to select four of them, starting from the classic dichotomy between institutions and inhabitants, and decomposing again the two poles of this dialectic, in order to highlight the polyphonic use of the heritage concept in the gentrification process.

Heritage(s)

Around Hackney Wick act complex institutional assemblages (Imrie, Lees, Raco 2009) whose principal components are the LLDC, the Councils of Hackney and Tower Hamlets and various forms of local associations.

The London Legacy Development Corporation is the non-profit organization appointed to manage the legacy of Olympics Games. Led by the Mayor of London and a team of businessmen, developers and community builders, the LLDC holds the powers in the field of urban planning of the four Boroughs surrounding the Olympic park. Among the strategies used to redesign, control and tame this informal area, the organization has developed a peculiar image of Hackney Wick as the creative and productive heart of London, establishing a *tradition of creativity* as typical of the neighborhood.

This narrative, evoked and disseminated through media, urban planning and community involvement actions, is constructed by establishing a direct relationship between three neighborhood history moments: the industrial past, the recent settling of the creative community and the monumental and centralized venture of Olympic Games. The three spatiotemporal contexts are selected according to their embodiment of a supposed creative spirit, demonstrating its inseparable and natural connection with this space. These strategies appear as a local enunciation of Neil Smith's *myth of the frontier*. In fact, extrapolating the historical and

geographical qualities from events and people involved in the processes of urban change, such strategies bring them back in the natural and organic regimes, like physical phenomena governed by immutable laws. Naturalizing the requalification of Hackney Wick through the evocation of the heritage represented by the industrial past, allows the LLDC to switch from historically, socially and geographically determined causes to the vision of and inevitable civilizing expansion eastward, seen as the only way to redeem and formally reorder a chaotic and disadvantaged area.

Furthermore, constructing a *tradition of creativity* rhetoric as distinctive feature of the place, i. e. as heritage to preserve, ensures that it turns into an engine of requalification; this becomes clear in the *Local Plan* (2015), describing the requalification project as *heritage-led*. Thus, the cultural capital embodied in *creativity* can be used by LLDC to deeply transform the material and social landscape of HWFI, taming the territory and making it appealing to new investors and residents.

However, the institutions side doesn't seem uniform. Indeed, the local councillors develop a personal idea of the character of the area, based not so much on creativity, but rather on the physical and social sustainability of the space and on the heterogeneity of its uses, both residential and work. In order to safeguard this sense of place and, therefore, its typicality, in their official discourses the local functionaries counterpoise the radical transformation of the landscape to its improvement. At times, this planning line has been described by them as an *evolutionary approach*, a natural

evolution to a higher level of urbanity of the human and physical components of the neighbourhood. This

Creativity as heritage, in the discourses of the activists, doesn't correspond to the History of the place, but lies in the inventive practices of the community; this pose themselves as essential interlocutors in the management of the cultural capital

narrative adopts a mechanism of positivistic naturalization of the local change, not unlike the myth of the creative tradition constructed by the LLDC; nonetheless, the councillors represent in an alternative way the authenticity of the place, reshaping the ultimate object to preserve from the "natural" urban transformations. In this way, also through patrimonial rhetorics, the politicians negotiate their presence on the territory, interacting with the cumbersome LLDC.

Walking through the doors of the warehouses, some important distinctions have to be made. In fact, there is no monolithic planning agency within Hackney Wick, since the members of the creative community develop different answers to the urban changes, perceived as an imminent gentrification. They seem to show more or less formalized levels of civic commitment and interest in the heritage safeguard and transmission, conceiving it in a very different way from the institutions.

The CIG (Cultural Interest Group) is an authoritative local association, which developed a project/action tactic (Cellamare 2011) called *creative regeneration*. This form of planning, which formalize ex post the tangible experience of the neighbourhood, places itself as an alternative option to the scenarios designed by institutions, lacking of adherence to the dwellers' everyday experience. In the public rhetorics of the CIG, the area becomes a laboratory of creative regeneration, a growth medium in which make interact, in a tactically way, a number of stakeholders (residents, entrepreneurs, politicians). As in a chemical reaction, the encounter of these diverse elements won't produce nothing but the desired results, i. e. the ownership of the estates and, therefore, the improvement of the inhabitants' position on the

field, whose stakes are the construction and the imagination of the future Hackney Wick.

Creativity as heritage, in the discourses of the activists, doesn't correspond to the History of the place, but lies in the inventive practices of the community; this conception confers to its members the authority to pose themselves as essential interlocutors in the management of the cultural capital and in the planning of the area. Thus, the CIG can establish an exchange between local knowledge, possessed by the members of the creative community, and advantages in terms of agency on the territory, offered by the authorities (Herzfeld 2006).

On the other hand, many warehouses dwellers, though they don't formalize their commitment, conceive one more image of the future Hackney Wick, more connected to their forms of sociality. Those who have built a strongest and more intense relationship with the place, because of their cultural self-reflexivity or interpersonal relationships, seem to find two ways to preserve the local heritage from its "inevitable" transformation: by staying *in situ* or by discovering a new youth of Hackney Wick in another area of London, still untouched by the *gentrification wave*.

The patrimony built every day by the Wickers departs from the institutional heritage, used to reintegrate HWFI as a resource in local and global fluxes of urban competitiveness. The cultural baggage with which the Wickers collectively identify, and which the most involved of them try to bequeath, appear to be constituted by the dwellers themselves, or better, by their own social capital. The relationships tied in this highly flexible and intersubjective *locale* are the ultimate object of the community place attachment, and therefore the most authentic heritage to be safeguarded: not so much the warehouses as such, but rather the people who incorporate them in their habitus and who built collectively the deepest sense of place of HWFI.

Conclusion

Making heritage is a process which implies preserving; but what? In an urban space in tension between gentrification and regeneration, it has been observed how various agents, institutional or not, are giving different answers to the question.

The very selection of what to safeguard represents a pivotal element to negotiate the imagination of the territory and the legitimation to act on it. Representing the creative spirit as naturally bonded to the History of the place, symbolically authorize the metropolitan administration to address its changes; alternatively, describing this spirit as being embodied in the artistic and reciprocity practices of the community, permits to the latter to introduce itself with authority in the territory management.

Consequently, the heritage becomes at once an *object* of debate and a *language* polyphonically enacted, which makes interact (in terms of conflict, negotiation, alliance) different local agents involved in the construction of the urban space.

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Les horizons du Paysage Carioca

Véronique Zamant

Un emballage étriqué¹

Dans un contexte d'effervescence lié notamment à l'accueil de plusieurs événements culturels et sportifs internationaux, une partie des territoires de la ville de Rio de Janeiro se voit attribuer le label Unesco, en 2012, en tant que « paysage culturel ». L'obtention de ce titre fait suite à deux autres tentatives et clôture dix années de travail au cours desquelles les diverses dynamiques des phénomènes de mondialisation ont été de plus en plus prégnantes. En témoignent la présence de plus en plus importante d'acteurs internationaux dans les équipes ayant pris part à la procédure, l'évolution du rôle de certains personnages clés du montage de la candidature vers des postes en prise avec des dynamiques territoriales internationales et/ou privatives, la prédominance d'un rapport au temps dicté par l'instantané et le présent tout au long de l'élaboration de la candidature, et l'évolution de la représentation cartographique du paysage culturel *carioca* vers plus d'adéquation à une image vendeuse.

Ainsi, un décryptage de la procédure dans ses dimensions spatiales, temporelles et politiques nous permet de constater qu'au-delà des enjeux de la procédure, l'interaction des échelons du local au global relève de dynamiques inhérentes aux transformations urbaines en cours à Rio – dans le cadre notamment de l'accueil d'événements sportifs internationaux tels que la Coupe du Monde de Football en 2014 ou les Jeux Olympiques d'Été en 2016 – et des intérêts économiques, diplomatiques et symboliques qui leurs sont liés. La multiplicité de ces dynamiques démontre que la ville est en prise avec plusieurs dynamiques de construction du paysage *carioca* dont certaines relèvent du phénomène de mondialisation en ce qu'elles sont mises en œuvre dans un objectif commun : l'affirmation de la marque *carioca* à l'échelle internationale. La procédure de labellisation – aux côtés, par exemple, de l'accueil de ces grands événements sportifs – participe ainsi d'un processus plus vaste de reconstruction du paysage carioca comme espace métropolitain aussi bien d'un point de vue politique que spatial ou symbolique. Un processus façonné par les volontés géopolitiques d'affirmer une identité territoriale métropolitaine dans un contexte de mondialisation où le poids de l'image devient prépondérant face au poids des usages. L'obtention du label Patrimoine Mondial de l'Humanité n'est qu'un des éléments contribuant au packaging des territoires *carioca* dans une optique de compétitivité internationale.

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After her thesis about Rio de Janeiro's heritage procedure entitled *Heritage "off-screen"*. *The construction of the landscape of Rio de Janeiro, between urban transformation and the Unesco "labelling"*, Véronique Zamant is going on investigating the interaction between "heritagization" process and urban transformations. She teaches at University and School of Architecture, and she's also working as an architect in an Architectural Agency in Paris.

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¹ Cet article est tiré d'une thèse de doctorat en Aménagement de l'Espace et Urbanisme intitulé : « Hors-champs patrimonial. La construction du paysage de Rio de Janeiro entre transformations urbaines et labellisation Unesco » et soutenue par Véronique Zamant en 2015 (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense).

Au-delà de ces constats, cette procédure est le fruit de choix permanents entre les différentes dynamiques impliquées. Elle se façonne à travers une démarche de sélection et de classification. Ces choix – effectués en fonction d'un cadre prédéterminé dont les limites sont tributaires d'un certain regard porté sur le patrimoine, en l'occurrence ici le corpus normatif de l'Unesco – entraînent a fortiori la mise hors du cadre de certains éléments, qui cependant contribuent pleinement à la constitution de ce qui se situe dans le cadre. La voix des habitants, le temps des usages ou le tissu urbain sont autant d'éléments qui se retrouvent aux marges de la procédure de patrimonialisation du paysage carioca (Zamant, 2012). Ainsi, le regard des habitants sur le paysage et les usages quotidiens qu'ils en ont, ne sont pas considérés tout au long de l'élaboration de la candidature. Cette mise « hors-champs » les amène à subir l'imposition d'un modèle social, culturel et territorial (véhiculé par la procédure) ; alors même que par la pratique quotidienne qu'ils en ont, ils contribuent grandement à la spécificité de ces territoires patrimonialisés. Cette situation est révélatrice de la culture de masse qui véhicule l'idée d'une identité globale de notre planète, l'idée d'un « village planétaire » (Augé 2006) pour laquelle le contexte local n'a plus aucun poids et où l'individu est désormais considéré comme un récepteur et non pas comme un « opérateur de culture » (Faustini 2009). Mais quelles vont être les conséquences de cette patrimonialisation sur l'évolution des pratiques et usages non considérés ? Quel est le devenir des pratiques socio-spatiales qui font partie intégrante du paysage, du milieu (être de) mais qui n'ont pas été impliquées (être hors de) dans la formalisation d'une représentation patrimoniale de ce paysage, de ce milieu ? Cette marginalisation de la population dans la procédure de patrimonialisation soulève des questions quant à la possibilité de mettre en place une démocratie territoriale, face à des procédures en prise avec les phénomènes de mondialisation. A l'instar de Jacques Lévy (2008) qui voit dans l'invention du politique, l'un des enjeux du moment actuel de la mondialisation, cette marginalisation questionne a fortiori les possibles évolutions du politique dans le contexte actuel de mondialisation.

Le geste de choisir

Les tenants de l'élaboration de la procédure ne se sont pas totalement pliés aux règles du jeu posées par l'adéquation au cadre de l'Unesco. L'ambivalence permanente qui a accompagné chacun de leurs choix leur a permis de se tenir à l'intersection entre les différents imaginaires liés à la patrimonialisation, entre vision et récit des institutions locales, internationales et des usagers. Ils ont insufflé de l'ambivalence dans leurs choix, ils ont cherché à trouver un équilibre entre ce qui était hors-champ et ce qui ne l'était pas en créant une sorte de fenêtre sur ces réalités du monde qui participent du processus de construction du paysage carioca au-delà de la procédure de labellisation. Que ce soit dans des décisions diplomatiques (comme la modification du protocole d'échange avec l'Icomos), par la mise en place de textes normatifs (comme celui concernant les paysages culturels), à travers la délimitation géographique de la zone (avec la zone tampon² et les cônes de vision), par le choix du titre et la narration du dossier, ou encore les réunions d'élaboration du plan de gestion (qui tentent de donner une voix aux habitants) ; ils ont à chaque fois travaillé de manière à ce que, ce qui restait hors des directives de l'Unesco puisse tout de même prendre place dans la candidature. Ils ont ainsi développé un art de faire, porteur de leur propre regard et de leurs propres objectifs tout en s'adaptant aux directives données par l'Unesco. Ils ont joué avec

² La zone tampon est un terme propre à l'Unesco pour désigner une aire de protection autour du bien reconnu comme ayant une valeur universelle exceptionnelle.

les divergences, les décalages, les incompréhensions entre les différents imaginaires et ont tiré parti des mésententes (La Cecla 2002, 12)³. Cette marque de fabrique de la candidature, l'ambivalence, fortement conditionnée par le contexte local carioca a eu des répercussions dans l'arène internationale de l'Unesco, proportionnant ainsi une dynamique « bottom-up » inhabituelle. Effectivement le « paysage culturel » a été considéré par les tenants de la candidature comme une figure répondant aux volontés d'une part, de voir dans le développement durable une opportunité pour repenser l'interaction sujet/milieu (Berque 1990), d'autre part de concevoir le patrimoine comme un outil pour le futur et finalement de considérer le paysage comme une figure plus complexe et englobante permettant d'articuler le détail et la grande échelle (Zamant, 2013) et permettant de transgresser « l'opposition du sujet et de l'objet, de l'individuel et de l'universel » (Collot 2012, 57). Comme le dit Paulo Vidal⁴, il s'agissait de « reconnaître la dimension immatérielle d'un patrimoine matériel » [Paulo Vidal, entretien, Rio de Janeiro, août 2012]. Finalement cette ambivalence n'est pas tant un choix volontaire des tenants de la procédure qu'une conséquence directe du fait de travailler sur la valeur patrimoniale d'un paysage. Elle démontre les limites des procédures de patrimonialisation qui se sont construites sur une opposition entre matériel et immatériel. Au vu de toutes ces caractéristiques nous pouvons finalement nous demander pourquoi le paysage carioca n'a pas candidaté à la liste du patrimoine immatériel ? Effectivement l'inscription d'une partie des territoires de la ville de Rio de Janeiro en tant que paysage culturel sur la liste du Patrimoine Mondial vient brouiller la scission patrimoine matériel/immatériel dans

La procédure de labellisation participe ainsi d'un processus plus vaste de reconstruction du paysage carioca comme espace métropolitain aussi bien d'un point de vue politique que spatial ou symbolique

le cadre normatif de l'Unesco, et témoigne d'une sorte de contamination de la Convention du Patrimoine Mondial par celle concernant le Patrimoine Immatériel (Brumann 2013). Elle participe ainsi de ce mouvement plus vaste concernant l'actualité et le débat institutionnel, social et intellectuel que suscite l'instauration du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel. Cette notion est en effet considérée comme l'aboutissement d'une anthropologisation progressive de la notion de patrimoine au sein de l'Unesco (Bortolotto 2007b) et (Bortolotto 2007a).

Depuis sa fondation, la ville de Rio de Janeiro a travaillé, à plusieurs reprises, sur son repositionnement à l'échelle internationale à travers l'emploi de la figure du paysage. La procédure de labellisation a impulsé une nouvelle dynamique autour du paysage carioca en y adjoignant l'idée de patrimoine. Et finalement, dans cette politique de marchandisation de la ville de Rio, l'obtention du label Unesco permet à la fois une reconnaissance internationale des spécificités culturelles cariocas tout en assurant une supposée gestion de la ville face aux bouleversements urbains qu'entraînent l'accueil des grands événements. La candidature présente donc ce double aspect d'être à la fois une parade éventuelle aux effets de la mondialisation tout en étant un outil pour cette mondialisation (Zamant, 2013). La procédure d'élaboration du dossier et plus particulièrement le travail de délimitation de la zone géographique à inclure dans cette candidature, révèlent toute l'ambiguïté de la notion

³ Tout ceci illustre finalement une situation de « malentendu doublement « bien entendu » » (La Cecla 2002, 21) qui est le plus souvent caractéristique des rapports institutionnels, politiques et diplomatiques. Cette situation consiste à respecter les formes d'ambiguïté nécessaires pour parvenir à une « concordance temporaire de stratégie, au service de finalités diamétralement opposées » (La Cecla 2002, 26)

⁴ Paulo Vidal est le directeur de l'Inepac (institut de l'Etat de Rio de Janeiro en charge de la gestion du patrimoine)

de patrimoine, entre valeurs locales et internationales, et de l'usage du label « patrimoine mondial », entre défense des spécificités et homogénéisation. Une fois entrés dans le jeu de la marchandisation des territoires, les acteurs de la patrimonialisation s'emparent de la question de la valeur des espaces urbains. Ils les réinterprètent, les façonnent en fonction de leurs objectifs. La multiplicité de ces dynamiques et des régimes discursifs qui les sous-tendent montrent que la procédure se situe au-delà d'une dichotomie local/global pour tendre vers une imbrication plus complexe qui s'affranchit de la question des échelles en participant d'un dispositif plus vaste. Effectivement, la confrontation de représentations différentes du « paysage culturel » carioca au cours de la procédure démontre que le paysage relève d'un processus de construction collective complexe qui se déploie au chassé-croisé entre différentes réalités du monde et leurs concrétisations dans les pratiques ; et sa patrimonialisation témoigne des différentes valeurs conférées au patrimoine dans un contexte de transformation urbaine.

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Le fotografie di questo numero, opera di P. Cattani Faggion, raccontano 'mobilità sociale', un progetto di Wunderkammer Trento, che da giugno ad agosto 2015 ha realizzato varie incursioni di cittadini nell'area abbandonata ex Italcementi, nel cuore della città di Trento: un invito ad abitare il vuoto urbano con attività auto organizzate di riappropriazione temporanea.

Il luogo rappresenta il simbolo di un patrimonio ex industriale che sembra offrirsi alla città futura carico di potenziali e caricato di immaginari e slogan, ovvero visioni e intenzioni di trasformazioni, eppure in attesa di un'azione di rigenerazione o piuttosto di una trasformazione, nel frattempo sospeso.

Senza volontà di inserirsi nelle forme del dibattito sul futuro della città, già molto carico di opinioni, il progetto ha esplorato proprio la materialità del vuoto di per se', di uno spazio che chiede di essere qualcosa, mostrando di se stesso alcuni potenziali minuti, nello starci delle cose che con 'mobilità sociale' si sono realizzate.

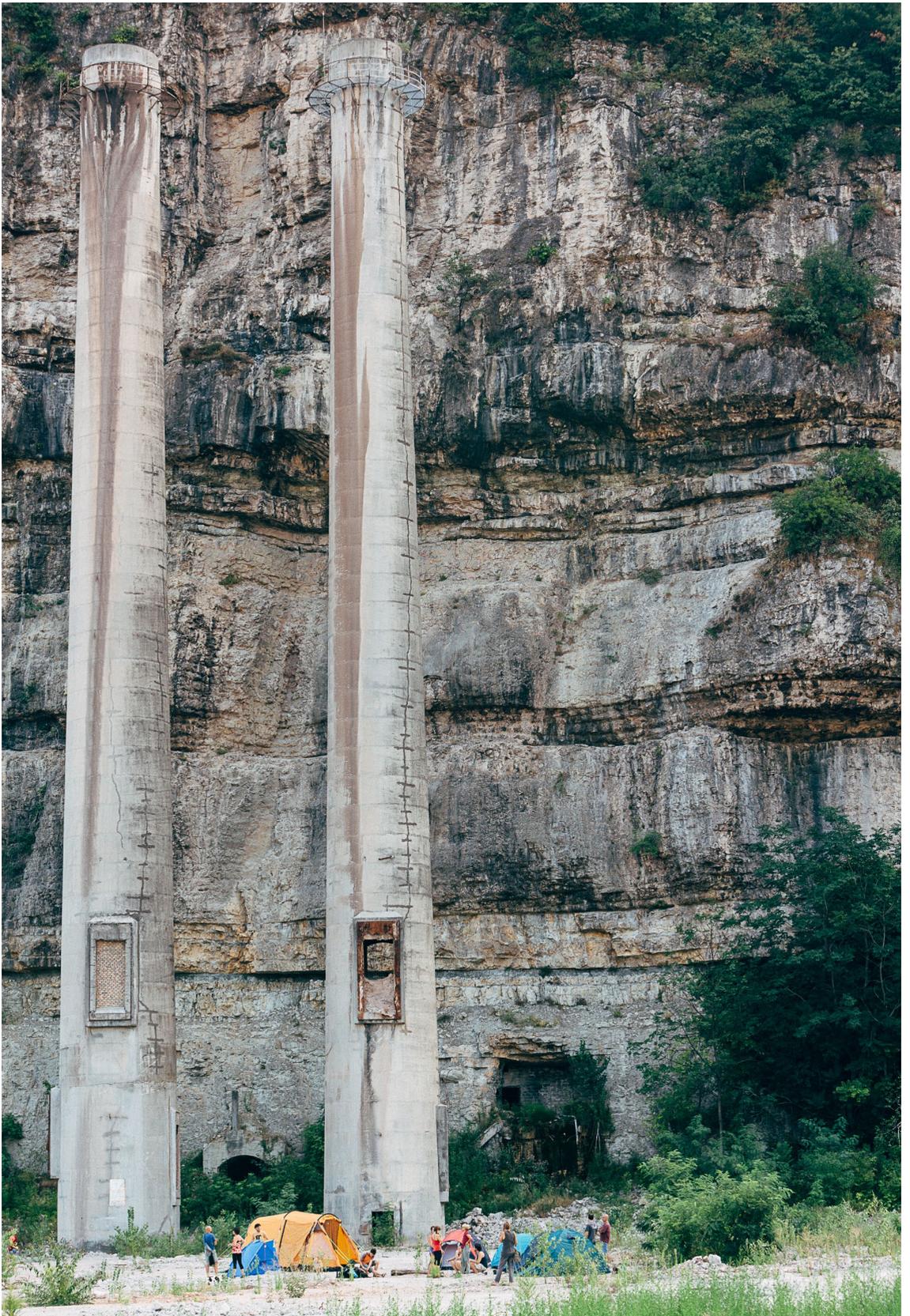
Il vuoto è parso inoltre l'unico luogo possibile ove proiettare immaginari. L'esperienza è infatti nata - ed è stata possibile - proprio nella sequenza indisciplinata delle cose che le persone, mettendovi piede, oltre il cancello, riuscivano a immaginare di poter fare - come il campo base e climbing il picnic, l'aperitivo o la costruzione del forno e la cottura della ceramica raku - che non funzionalizzano lo spazio, ma materializzano un desiderio.



Rispetto alla città, quell'azione ha teso infatti ad attivare per un momento luoghi e spazi, senza tuttavia - intenzionalmente - voler far corrispondere quelle azioni con indicazioni di funzioni. E dunque rifuggendo, nella sparizione oltre il momento dell'azione, ogni forma di inquadramento entro retoriche altrui.

L'esperienza, che è essenzialmente fatta di proiezione di immaginari, rende - quando è finita - il vuoto della città alla città.

Wuka_Tn è un museo nomade. Le sue azioni generano relazioni diffuse sul territorio, che di volta in volta “esplodono” dell'esperienza contingente e simultanea - e tendenzialmente temporanea - e poi si chiudono e concludono senza lasciare necessariamente nello spazio elementi che si accavallino a quelli più sottili da cui sono nate. Come se avvenisse una sorta di coagulazione delle esperienze contestuali, profondamente locali, in una temporalità puntaule, che è processuale nel creare una rete con la risorsa locale - sia essa la persona o le persone che ha/hanno attivato l'esperienza, o il gruppo che la sta vivendo, o la memoria che richiama, o ancora l'immaginario che produce - che altrove non potrebbe realizzarsi e senza la quale, di converso, il museo non si realizzerebbe.



Declaration of “Outstanding Universal Value”

and the commodification of the image of a city

Cristina Mattiucci

The historic center of Naples has been placed in the list of the UNESCO World Heritage since 1995. Its candidature is synthetized in the record n. 726, where the area, its boundaries and its features are describes, as well as the reasons to consider it of “Outstanding Universal Value”: “Naples is one of the most ancient cities in Europe, whose contemporary urban fabric preserves the elements of its long and eventful history. Its street pattern, its wealth of historic buildings from many periods, and its setting on the Bay of Naples give it an outstanding universal value without parallel, and one that has had a profound influence in many parts of Europe and beyond”¹.

Within one of the largest historical centers in Europe, the UNESCO recognition has determined asymmetrical attributions of values in its area, since it has triggered some hidden and fine depletion and impoverish processes of certain places excluded from such recognized “Outstanding Universal Value” from one side, and, from the other side, at the same time it has provoked the fast transformation of other places with predominantly touristic purposes, by promoting the city images’ marketing. Moreover, as we already discussed in this [Journal](#), the concept of value contains more than one ambiguous nuances. As a consequence, the city tends to be transformed according to a process of standardization and homogeneization, which is certainly useful for a mass fruition but tones down such peculiar characteristics already recognized as the foundation of that “value”.

So, since 1995, the historic center of Naples is in the spotlight of an Institution of valorization and supervision, and it is often at the center of media campaigns that in turn make the city the symbol of promotional and touristic programs, or – inversly – a symbol of neglect, if its image self-grows up following local complexities and forces and contradictions, which change it too much far from the imaginaries built around an UNESCO site. In primis, because the UNESCO recognition has determined the orientation of huge fundings for the rehabilitation of monuments and public spaces.

Actually, these funds have various sources and ratio. A lot of them, that are directed to the valorization of the UNESCO site, came already from other European Regional Funds – such as the Por Campania | European Social Fund 2007–2013 – and were then re-focussed. Beyond the balance of the works in progress, what we can notice in observing the recent changes in the historical center, it is rather the construction of imaginaries of renewal linked to almost exclusively touristic purposes or for loisir and the use of these imaginaries to attempt urban

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¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/726>

marketing policies within which it is possible to place some interventions of urban regeneration, and in which the everyday dimension of living can be swallowed, albeit it is a peculiar dimension of an inhabited historic center such as the one in Naples.

One of the interpretative-keys could be in the ongoing works to implement the so-called *Grande Progetto Centro Storico Unesco-Napoli*. They emerge as the most evident manifestation of the UNESCO label and at the same time as a real opportunity to start a requalification of the historic center. However, the spatial extension of the heritage that has been identified in 1995 and the numbers of provided and just partially started works in progress in the operational sites we can register in 2015 are not commensurable. Too broad the first, too limited the latter. Indeed, the works are a minute part of the most complex regeneration of the historical center which has to focus “both on the urban tissue and buildings, both on the social, environmental tissue and on the craft activities linked to the Neapolitan tradition”, as it is advocated by the local municipal administration.

Beyond the interventions on public spaces, the current projects are prevalently the restoration or the renovation of a few monuments, sometimes partially, for cultural and social new uses. This kind of works implies substantial but not total improvements, because often the monuments need preliminary considerable restoration works that often absorb “invisibly” much of the funding. Actually, a lot of these monuments have been closed for a long time and have waited for restoration for decades, so, beyond the opening of new spaces, there will not be new emerging architectures in the daily panorama of the historical town. These monumental complexes will be hopefully transformed in cultural containers and they will be give back to the citizenship, but in the ordinary dimension of their presence. Therefore, it is just in this ordinary condition that a strong potential for in the historical centre of Naples lies,

but this potential has, however, also a risk to fail, so it claims for a strong and vigilant attention.

Such attention should refer to the objectives set in the Strategic Plan²

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for the *Grande Progetto Centro Storico Unesco-Napoli*. In the document, approved by the Municipality of Naples in January 2011, it is asserted that a major goal of the program is “looking for (...) the difficult balance between policies to safeguard the local identity features and to develop them; improving the living conditions of the inhabitants, for their safety, as well as improving the attractiveness of the area, even in terms of tourism, so that the area will become a vibrant center, which is able not only to ‘consume’ its own image of the past but to achieve a fruitful synthesis between memory values and plans for the future”.

The terminology of the document follows the more established rhetoric of urban marketing³, whose aims may be applied to Naples as to elsewhere. As a matter of fact, however, the concrete and placed consequences of such rhetorics are already underway, while entire parts of the historical city center, that are adjacent to the expected construction sites, are removed, polished and reassembled. Before that only one of the works has been completed, “*Napoli-CentroStoricoUnesco*” has become a familiar word, setting in motion a kind of “brandizzazione” of itself, despite the alerts of the same Strategic Plan. On the other hand, it is still difficult to recognize a strategy, a structural policy which guides the “byproduct” of the process.

² <http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/14142>

³The issue has been already explored with Lea Nocera in [Lo Squaderno n. 25](#) (2012).

In the Unesco perimeter you can recognize the traits of a potential gentrification, very local and thin. Without noise, without evictions or forced relocations, without too many conflicts. A gentle gentrification, which is characterized by purchases, sales and rents of spaces addressed massively to be accommodations or places to eat, and by a growing assignment of the first floors of the buildings in the commercial streets to the big commercial trademarks or franchising, which compete on the market against the local crafts, provoking a disappearance of the proximity trade.

Moreover, in this context, the proliferation of the airbnbs emerges as worrying. Beyond its being ambiguously a “network hospitality” which promotes the idea of a different approach to the territory “like (and with) a local”⁴, here it is “sold” as a sort of local development perspective, in a place that does not offer too many other visions and projects against the very high youth unemployment. It can be understood connected to the capitalization of the “local” as an intangible equipment at a certain place that has become attractive for tourists, and it is encouraged by the same local Institutions as a positive externality, as a result of the transformations of some places, if not a real way to be “out of the crisis”, without revealing the alterations that it instead provokes to the ordinary life (trivially, such as the increasing the cost of the ordinary living is emerging in such contexts). A comparative analysis of the signs appeared in the last five years would be enough to give it evidence.

The categories of the the Urban Studies might not easily read this data – that refer rather to the field of the atmospheres and the phenomenology – by complex qualitative and / or quantitative analysis of market, (local hidden) rent, family self-welfare and so on, following which giving a name to things also implies a review of the analytical categories: in Naples we are not witnessing the the forced population resettlements that occur in other contexts, but yet, here as elsewhere, a sort of “packaging” of the landscape is being carrying out, by cleaning and reinterpreting the local memory and with monetizing the cultural values it expresses. A crucial point to overcome this condition could be the ability to see and act beyond the immediate gain, because these processes, not too long term, have the effect of altering the real estate market and consequently of changing the social fabric.

In a such situation, the public attention emerges even more necessary, as well as policies that guarantee manifold possibility of mixité in the historical centre; first of all to avoid the drift towards an homogeneous image – similar to that of many other historical city centers – and the loss of that ordinary inhabited condition that makes the places livable and safe, beyond any touristic and temporary use.

Just to be clear: overcoming any provincialism is sacrosanct, hearing different idiomias by walking Naples gives everyone the thrill of living in a metropolis, however, the great Italian art cities – the pioneer one like Venice or Florence, for instance – whose city centers are deserted, except from the flow of tourists during certain hours, clearly show us what’s the risk we run, and that seems to be an alert that the same institutions point out, recommending to not to lose that uniqueness already recognized by ICOMOS⁵ as a characterizing feature, because it might make “a modest and fragile urban fabric, the intangible heritage and traditional economic activities (in Naples, ndr)” disappear, where instead the ordinary city, in any case, continues (at least for now) to live.

4 With reference to Barcellona, for this specific aspect of the phenomena see: Quaglieri A. (2015) “[Airbnb, o il comunitarismo neoliberaista](#)”, online in *il lavoro culturale*. and in Arias-Sans, A., Quaglieri A. (2015) “Unravelling Airbnb. The case of Barcelona” in Richards et al. (eds.) *Reinventing the local in tourism*. London: Channelview.

5 <http://www.icomositalia.com/>



Chi ha paura della patrimonializzazione?

Andrea Canziani

È un'affermazione largamente diffusa che la cultura e la creatività forniscano nuovi stimoli all'innovazione e alla competitività. L'intero ambito della cultura è individuato come un fattore di crescita economica dalle grandi potenzialità, per la sua capacità di incidere sullo sviluppo locale (Throsby 2005, tra molti).

Quando si parla di cultura in questi contesti normalmente non si entra nel merito con ulteriori specifiche e vi si comprendono le più diverse manifestazioni: dai festival alle produzioni alimentari, dalle bellezze naturali al patrimonio storico, tutti al centro di desiderati, inevitabili e felici processi di sviluppo locale. Il passaggio da cultura a patrimonio culturale è breve, da un lato perché è l'espressione visibile e palpabile del concetto, dall'altro perché richiama l'idea di risorsa economica e di possesso, che si sposa bene con l'idea di sviluppo economico. Ed ecco che allora si gioisce di ogni monumento ritrovato, di solito grazie ad abili restauri, di ogni grande mostra, di solito sempre inedita, di ogni parte del territorio italiano riconosciuta degna di essere patrimonio dell'umanità.

Siamo di fronte a un meccanismo di produzione di "cose" culturali che non ha apparenti oppositori né lati negativi. La parola patrimonio con le sue varie specificazioni (territoriale, naturale, storico, ecc.) è un concetto 'nomade' (Choay, 1995) che gode di indubbia fortuna e "la memoria è diventata uno degli oggetti della società dei consumi che si vendono bene" come già notava Jaques Le Goff qualche decennio fa (1982). La patrimonializzazione oggi è necessaria, ineludibile e perfino consolatoria.

Ma se si dovesse "cominciare a verificare, con una semplice misurazione da pallottoliere, quanta parte del nostro patrimonio culturale tangibile e intangibile è soltanto — lodevolmente e indispensabilmente, ma soltanto — conservata e quanta parte è invece la risorsa di un più complesso processo produttivo che eroga informazione e conoscenza e dunque benessere per i consumatori diretti e per la comunità residente (oltre che per i tanto amati turisti)" (Trimarchi, 2005) i risultati non sarebbero certo confortanti.

Da una più ampia ricerca sul ruolo della cultura nell'attuale *knowledge society*, possiamo estrapolare due concetti primari per una riflessione sulla patrimonializzazione: il modo in cui il patrimonio si crea e il modo in cui si fruisce.

Un oggetto entra nella memoria collettiva e acquisisce valore patrimoniale nel momento in cui è rivelato socialmente. Il processo di patrimonializzazione seleziona, fa emergere dal passato indistinto alcuni elementi, li connota come dotati di caratteri che devono essere trasmessi alle generazioni future. Il patrimonio è un elemento di conoscenza e di rammemora-

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zione (Halbwachs 1987, Ricoeur 2003), un attivatore di consapevolezza locale, un elemento stabile nella costruzione della memoria collettiva (Connerton 2009). La sua dimensione fisica è fondamentale, perché il racconto identitario della memoria si manifesta in strutture materiali identificabili e riconoscibili (Poli 2015).

Ma non tutto il patrimonio è uguale, non tutto ha gli stessi meccanismi di percezione, di fruizione, di sviluppo.

I meccanismi di creazione del valore e di attribuzione dei significati sono radicalmente settoriali e con proprie specificità per ogni attività e disciplina. Il ruolo e gli effetti sono differenti a seconda del contesto e a seconda del livello di descrizione che si indaga. Cambiano, ad esempio, se ci occupiamo del rapporto tra offerta culturale e individuo, o del rapporto tra strutture materiali e realtà territoriali; cambiano se ci occupiamo della capacità della cultura di creare valore all'interno del proprio comparto o se analizziamo il valore della cultura in relazione a processi economici che incidono sul sistema società/ambiente.

Si dovrebbe forse considerare con maggior attenzione il fatto che l'analisi delle esternalità prodotte dalla cultura risulta essere particolarmente complicata (Sacco Pedrini 2003) e

le discipline collegate all'economia della cultura riescono ad analizzare esaustivamente solo le forme di produzione artistica e le relative forme di marketing: arti dello spettacolo, arti visive, musei, mostre ed eventi dedicati all'intrattenimento o all'educazione,

sono analizzabili ed analizzati in quanto attrattori di una domanda pagante.

I beni che costituiscono il patrimonio architettonico e paesaggistico invece, per le loro caratteristiche costitutive, sono a tutt'oggi poco indagati. Mancano esempi significativi in cui il patrimonio costruito sia il motore di uno sviluppo compatibile con le necessità della sua tutela e siano esplicitamente indagati i rapporti tra cultura, identità e patrimonio. Da un lato è estremamente complesso ottenere e disaggregare i dati che hanno a che vedere con le filiere produttive collegate, dall'altro non tutto può essere ricondotto a tali filiere. La valutazione del ruolo e dell'impatto sui meccanismi di sviluppo di una comunità locale è difficoltosa e richiede un approccio transdisciplinare che coinvolga antropologia, scienze sociali, scienze economiche e scienze del patrimonio.

La conseguenza è che letture ed analisi si concentrano quasi esclusivamente sulle ricadute turistiche. Il turismo si nobilita dell'aggettivo "culturale"; il comparto è ricco di dati e pare facilmente misurabile. Il ruolo della cultura appare decisivo in quanto sembra essere in grado di fornire agli altri settori del sistema obiettivi, contenuti ed anche una certa "nobilitazione".

I beni culturali però non sono una materia prima né un prodotto finito né tanto meno un marchio. La loro essenza è essere beni di fruizione, che hanno un significato solo se entrano in contatto con un fruitore consapevole e colto, che sia il visitatore occasionale o la comunità locale a cui i beni appartengono. Le due modalità sono diverse, certo. Nel primo caso parliamo di accesso e fruizione per chi sta operando un atto di investimento sul proprio percorso culturale personale, nel secondo caso siamo di fronte ai soggetti di una identità condivisa, agli attori stessi di quella rappresentazione dalle cui azioni dipende la conservazione e il senso di un bene. In entrambi i casi però l'uso coerente del bene culturale coincide con la sua cosciente fruizione da parte della collettività, con attenzione ai rischi del suo deterioramento fisico ma anche del suo deterioramento culturale, inteso come impoverimento del suo

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significato. La psicologia cognitiva ha sgombrato il campo dall'approccio idealistico secondo il quale un'opera suscita emozioni a prescindere dal background culturale del fruitore (Vettese 2007) e oggi sappiamo che dalla comprensione dipende la sopravvivenza stessa dell'opera.

Un esempio è quello rappresentato dal patrimonio materiale e immateriale selezionato dall'UNESCO nella sua World Heritage List. "Nasce come un antidoto contro gli effetti omogeneizzanti della globalizzazione, ma è reso possibile proprio dai suoi meccanismi, il più determinante dei quali è il turismo culturale. Il principio costitutivo del patrimonio collettivo è la selettività, che si fonda sulle nozioni di storia, memoria, rappresentatività, urgenza, autenticità. Tali nozioni però, già di per sé difficili da oggettivare, si piegano alla logica patrimoniale e piegano quest'ultima alle loro logiche. Il patrimonio infatti è il frutto di un'"addomesticazione della storia", dell'assegnazione di uno spazio che la concretizza e la rappresenta, che ne costituisce i realia, che la mescola con la memoria e di questa le trasmette la natura selettiva, costruita e, in ultima analisi, quasi arbitraria. La storia a cui fa riferimento il patrimonio non è una storia vissuta, né una storia-conoscenza, bensì una storia-selezione e una storia-valorizzazione" (Grillo 2011). Il patrimonio diventa facilmente vittima di quelli che sono stati acutamente definiti "spacciatori di passato" (Putignano 2009). Un passato che deve essere semplice, rispondere a facili stereotipi che riducano la complessità di un'architettura o di un paesaggio a qualcosa di comprensibile senza fatica, perché già parte della mappa cognitiva che si possiede di se stessi, della propria regione e così via. Per far questo solitamente si cerca di ridurlo a qualcosa di bidimensionale, di iconico, privandolo della dimensione temporale; riducendone la complessità ad una facciata e ad una sola delle soglie storiche che ha attraversato. In questo senso il patrimonio è tra le vittime dell'onnipresenza delle immagini e del bisogno di spettacolarizzazione che caratterizzano la società attuale, dove lo stereotipo, la copia, sono rassicuranti e la realtà è modellata sulla sua immagine (Augé 2004).

Nel quadro appena tracciato il patrimonio architettonico e paesaggistico ha un ruolo centrale per la sua visibilità. È fondamentale però assicurare la qualità dei progetti di sviluppo e degli interventi di conservazione, altrimenti questi non diverranno mai un fattore di conoscenza e quindi di crescita del capitale umano dei fruitori. L'alternativa è il consumo irreversibile dell'identità.

È il caso di strumenti come il piano di gestione che deve accompagnare ogni bene che entra nella WHL, ridotto a una scatola vuota, priva di reali indicazioni e priva di reali conseguenze sui beni che si vorrebbero mantenere intatti; è il caso di una crescita turistica che non si riesce a governare e consuma le stesse bellezze naturali che erano motivo di attrattività; o di una agricoltura che abbandona e cancella un paesaggio millenario inseguendo una modernizzazione insostenibile, invece di adattare la modernità all'equilibrio con il territorio, privilegiando colture alla lunga più redditizie perché più competitive.

Ma questi esiti non sono né inevitabili né scontati e soprattutto non sono iscritti nella logica della patrimonializzazione. Al contrario questa può essere il vantaggio competitivo che manca, la risorsa in più per far vivere un centro antico, per sostenere un modello alternativo di cura e coltivazione di un paesaggio, per chi non ritiene indispensabile replicare gli stili di vita e gli stessi modi di abitare ovunque.

In tutti i casi la chiave è il ragionamento sulla consapevolezza locale e sul riconoscimento di una singolarità rispetto a modelli omologanti.

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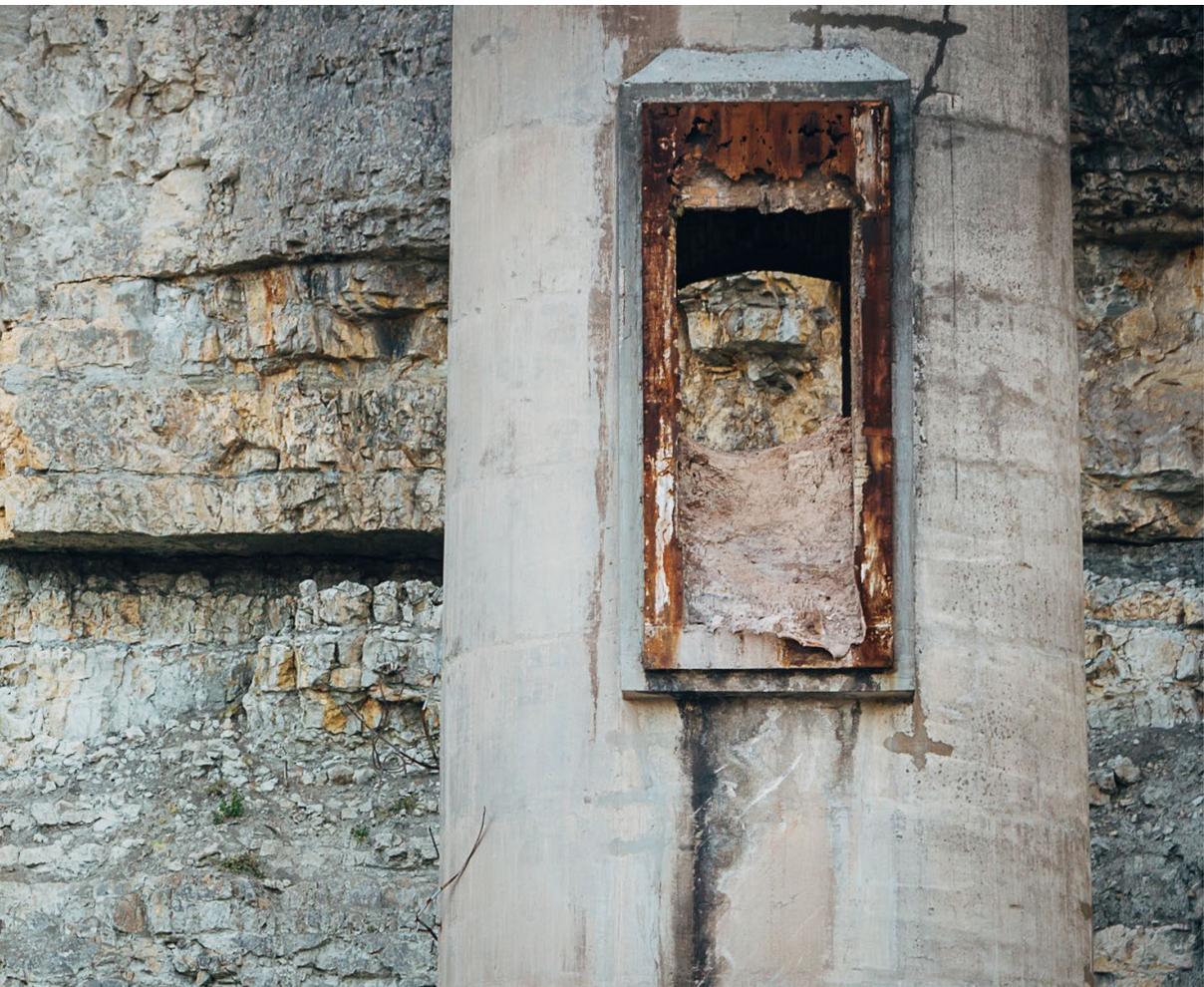




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