Università degli Studi di Cagliari

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA

Ingegneria Civile e Architettura

Ciclo XXIX

TITOLO TESI

Do the construction of new major cultural infrastructure and related

urban beautification contribute to stimulate economic development,

social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement?

A comparative study concerning London, Cagliari and Rome.

Settore scientifico disciplinari di afferenza

ICAR/20 – Pianificazione e Tecnica Urbanistica

Presentata da: Leccis Francesca

Coordinatore Dottorato   Prof. Deidda Roberto

Tutor   Prof. Zoppi Corrado

Esame finale anno accademico 2015 – 2016

Tesi discussa nella sessione d'esame Settembre 2017

Acknowledgments

Abstract

Cultural policies have assumed increasing importance in urban regeneration processes. However, the contemporary academic debate makes a clear distinction between "urban Regeneration" and "urban Renaissance" on the basis that interventions really solve social and urban inequalities or rather exacerbate them by fostering gentrification.

The aim of this study is to contribute to this debate. For this reason, three case studies are analysed. The first one is the Bankside programme, developed between the XX and XXI Century in the ward of Cathedrals in the London Borough of Southwark. The second one is the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* realised during the first decade of the XXI Century in the neighbourhood of Is Bingias in Cagliari. The third one is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* constructed during the first decade of the XXI Century in the neighbourhood of Flaminio in Rome. All the three case studies are examples of cultural regeneration that tried to achieve the regeneration of whole neighbourhoods by combining the opening of an art centre with a series of activities addressed to the local community.

After identifying in the literature the difference between Regeneration and Renaissance, the parameters to conceptualise gentrification and the methodologies applied in previous studies, a methodological framework is specifically tailored for this study. Accordingly, the analysis is organised in two complementary parts. The first one focuses on the tangible (hard) effects of the opening of the three cultural centres through visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis. The second one focuses on the intangible (soft) part and enquires about the activities of the regeneration programmes through qualitative research.

It shows that the construction of new cultural infrastructure and the related urban beautification are not able, on their own, to determine economic development, social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement. On the contrary, they are part of a complex set of factors that, as a whole, contribute either to accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. Consistently, the *Tate Modern Gallery*, being realised in a vibrant and very popular touristic area in London, which is already interested by a gentrification process at an advanced stage, where many other initiatives are promoted to ameliorate the area, collaborates to determine the improvement of the area in many respects, but it also contributes to worsen socio-economic conditions of the local population by encouraging gentrification. Conversely, the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in Cagliari, being located in an area, which is

not a touristic destination and it is characterised by depressed real estate market and unpretentious social-economic conditions, where no other significant collateral initiatives have been promoted, does not improve either the neighbourhood conditions or the socio-economic status of the local community. Coherently, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, being located in an area in Rome, which is not subject to either extreme real estate pressure or real estate depression, which is a touristic destination, but, at the same time, it is not overrun with tourists, where various public interventions cooperate to improve the area conditions, both physically and socio-economically, contributes to ameliorate the area without determining any major negative consequences.

By studying the impacts of complex multifaceted regeneration projects on the respective local population and by enquiring whether cultural policies are able to determine genuine urban regeneration, this study provides a threefold cognitive contribution, of which the constituents are illustrated below.

(i)   Methodological aspect: it develops a comprehensive multi-method approach that assembles visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis, explicitly drawing from the epistemological analysis of literature both in terms of conceptualisations and methodological frameworks, and by distinguishing between tangible and intangible effects.

(ii) Empirical aspect: it is a pioneering work structured around a rigorous longitudinal, comparative ward level analysis, never done before in none of the studied contexts, based on the process of raw data from a variety of sources and the building of a multi-factor analysis that interpret relationships and patterns of change over two decades, complemented by visual and qualitative analysis; applied to the three case studies of Bankside, Pirri and Flaminio, which are considered as examples to reflect on the ability of cultural policies to stimulate genuine Regeneration as widely discussed in the current academic debate.

(iii) Theoretical aspect: it critically bridges between theoretical and methodological debates ongoing in the international arena on the subject matter. While the empirical findings contribute to this wide debate, the study also challenges the effectiveness of cultural Regeneration by critically opposing state-led gentrification versus social upward mobility, and records a case of supergentrification, thus contributing to an additional theoretical phenomenon that has recently emerged.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

Cultural policies have assumed increasing importance in urban regeneration processes (Parkinson and Bianchini, 1993) and within a little more than twenty years cultural activity has achieved a preeminent role in the new urban entrepreneurialism (Miles and Paddison, 2005) becoming the key component of regeneration activities (Evans, 2005). Cultural planning integrates many social and human aspects in the attempt of simultaneously achieve results in the cultural, social, economic and urban sphere (Stevenson, 2004) as well as in the creative sphere (O'Regan, 2002) by including elements like local history, heritage, townscape, architecture, design, fashion, entertainment and food related activities (Deffner, 2000).

However, back in the nineties Boogaarts (1990) already wondered if cultural policies are truly able to attract investments. Griffiths (1993) dreaded the risk that culture would be abandoned once its economic potential is capitalised. This is what happened in New York, for example, where artists were incentivised to live in the lofts in SoHo and when the area grew in real estate values and rents, they were firstly threatened by eviction and secondly gentrified by residential conversion (Zukin, 1982). Indeed, the new urban culture attracts in the revitalised neighbourhood new high income residents, who impose significant pressure on the local housing market, which can generate gentrification and displacement (Spirou, 2011). Gentrification is what McCarthy (2002) saw behind the entertainment-led regeneration project in Detroit as well. McGuigan (1996) reported gentrification as one of the dramatic effects of urban transformations determined by cultural policies that left the inner cities abandoned. According to Smith (2002), "*urban regeneration represents the next wave of gentrification, planned and financed on an unprecedented scale*", but regeneration sugar-coats gentrification anesthetising our critical understanding of it. After all, urban renovation and urban renaissance have traditionally been linked to gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005).

What is even more alarming is that, nowadays, gentrification is considered as "*a positive and necessary environmental strategy*" (Smith, 2006). It is seen as an indicator of healthy real estate market (Lees et al., 2013). Since 1990, gentrification has emerged as a competitive global urban strategy within the neoliberal urbanism (Smith, 2002) flanking "*capital market processes, public sector privatization schemes, globalized city competition, welfare retrenchment and workfare requirements*" (Lees et al., 2013:165) and has assumed the role of key driver in urban economic development, a

fundamental aspect of the new urban economies (Smith, 2002). Cameron and Coaffee (2005) recognised in public policy the main promoters of "positive" gentrification considered as a tool to encourage urban regeneration.

By the end of the twentieth century, liberal urban policies removed public limitations on gentrification, subsidised private initiatives of urban transformation and encouraged partnerships between public planning and private capital (Smith, 2006). Local governments leave the achievement of social improvements to the market rather than to its regulation, and gentrification has become an urban economy strategy to accumulate capitals (Smith, 2002). Gentrification became ubiquitous and tightly connected to urban economic and to political and geographical restructuring aiming at remaking the central urban landscape, not only through the construction of new condominium towers and office buildings, but also through the opening of wine bars, boutiques, markets, festivals and various cultural attractions (Smith, 1996a).

As the gentrification process evolved, it was no longer restricted to residential rehabilitation, but it also included more profound programmes of spatial, economic and social restructuring (Sassen, 1991), such as "*the redevelopment of urban waterfronts for recreational and other functions, the decline of remaining inner-city manufacturing facilities, the rise of hotel and convention complexes and central-city office developments as well as the emergence of modern trendy retail and restaurant districts*" (Smith and Williams, 2013:3). This new urban ambience constitutes the background where bohemian citizens can widely show their impeccable environment friendly and social responsible trendy lifestyle characterised by "*sipping chardonnay from a boutique winery, beer from a microbrewery, coffee from organic beans grown in the developing country du jour*" (Shaw, 2008:2).

In addition, Lees (2003:2487) identified a more recent phenomenon, that she called super-gentrification, consisting in gentrification in already "*upper-middle-class neighbourhoods*" gentrified by "*super-rich financiers*".

1.2 Research context and aim

Cultural regeneration constitutes both an exciting field of inquiry for academic researchers and a challenging issue for planning practitioners (Smith, 2005). It requires a joint multi-disciplinary approach, which integrates "[…] urban studies, planning, architecture, cultural geography, sociology […], cultural studies, anthropology, economics, environmental studies, leisure and tourism, heritage studies (and more)", to interpret the diverse aspects of the complex phenomenon (Smith, 2005: xi).

The contemporary academic debate makes a clear distinction between "urban Regeneration" and "urban Renaissance" on the basis that cultural regeneration policies improve community well-being, by really solving social and urban inequalities, or rather exacerbate them by fostering gentrification (Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli, 2012). In particular, while the former is defined as: "Comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement" (Roberts, 2017: 9), the latter is widely considered a Trojan horse that fosters socio inequalities and economic injustices (Smith, 1987, 1996c; Zukin 1995; Lees, 2003a; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Moulaert et al., 2004) behind an illusory urban rehabilitation. More specifically, "urban Renaissance" is stimulated by economic factors more than by cultural forces (Smith, 1996b). Researchers have understood the social and urban consequences of Renaissance agendas and an increasing number of them are focusing on the relationship between public policies and their urban repercussions, such as gentrification (Lees and Ley, 2008).

This study aims at contributing to the current debate where cultural policies are not always considered able to determine genuine Regeneration and they rather encourage gentrification. In particular, the study focuses on the relationship between cultural regeneration schemes promoted by public bodies and their impacts on the local areas and communities. However, one should not interpret the assessed connection as a direct cause-effect relationship, but they should rather refer to the concept of "congruence" proposed by Offner (1993) according to which spatial, social and economic transformations cannot be exclusively attributed to a unique factor, but they have to be interpreted through a systematic vision based on the synergy, interdependence, interaction and aggregation of factors, which either amplify and accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions.

For this reason, three case studies are analysed. The first one is the Bankside programme, developed between the XX and XXI Century in the ward of Cathedrals in the London Borough of Southwark. The second one is the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* realised during the first decade of the XXI Century in the neighbourhood of Is Bingias in Cagliari. The third one is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* constructed during the first decade of the XXI Century in the neighbourhood of Flaminio in Rome, All the three case studies are examples of cultural regeneration that tried to achieve the regeneration of a whole neighbourhood by combining the opening of an art centre with a series of activities addressed to the local community.

1.3 Research question, objectives, structure, findings and contribution

This study addresses the following research question:

Do the construction of new major cultural infrastructure and the related urban beautification contribute to stimulate economic development, social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement?

In order to answer this question, a comparative analysis concerning three case studies related to London, Cagliari and Rome is proposed and discussed in this study. The three case studies have been meticulously selected with the aim to avoid that findings depended on the initial characteristics of area. For this reason, they profoundly differ from one another in their geographical, socio-economic and wider contexts, in the realised collateral interventions, in the organised cultural initiatives, and in the promoted forms of community involvement, as detailed in 3.1. For each case study, it is questioned whether the regeneration programme significantly benefit the relative local population.

Thus, a set of objectives to guide the analysis of each case study is defined.

- Description of the changes in landscape and in population socio-demographic and economic characteristics.
- Establishment of the relationship between the outcomes and the programme.
- Investigation of the extent to which local population participates at the decision-making process and at neighbourhood life.

After identifying in the literature the difference between Regeneration and Renaissance and the methodologies developed in previous studies, an original multi-method approach, which combines visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis, is specifically tailored for this study on the basis of the epistemological analysis of the literature in order to enquire both socio-economic and urban changes as well as community involvement in decision-making processes and in daily routine in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, the analysis is organised in two complementary parts. The first one focuses on the tangible (hard) effects of the opening of the three cultural centres through visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis (informal conversations and interviews to key-informants). The second one focuses on the intangible (soft) part and enquires about activities organised to involve the local communities through qualitative research (interviews to key informants).

The case of Bankside shows the paradox between the tangible and intangible effects given by the positive community involvement largely outweighed by the negative consequences. While the city benefits from the process, the local population suffers gentrification. Thus, the it is not possible to define it genuine Regeneration, and therefore it might be considered Renaissance at best. The case of Cagliari is the emblem of ineffective regeneration policies. Indeed, it has not been possible to recognise either Regeneration or Renaissance, and the local population has not been involved either in decision making or in daily routine in the neighbourhood. Consequently, the area is still considered not just unpleasant, but even unsafe and it barely constitutes a dormitory suburb of Cagliari. The case of Rome is an almost successful example of regeneration policies. In fact, both neighbourhood conditions and socio-economic status of the local population extensively improved. However, some minor aspects such as rubbish collection, street cleanliness and potholes still remain to be solved.

It follows that the construction of new cultural infrastructure and the related urban beautification are not able, on their own, to determine economic development, social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement. On the contrary, as explained by Offner (1993), they are part of a complex set of factors that, as a whole, contribute either to accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. Consistently, the *Tate Modern Gallery*, being realised in a vibrant and very popular touristic area in London, which is already interested by a gentrification process at an advanced stage, collaborates to determine the improvement of the area in many respects, but it also contributes to worsen socio-economic conditions of the local population by encouraging gentrification. Similarly, the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in Cagliari, being located in an area, which is not a touristic destination and it is characterised by depressed real estate market and unpretentious social-economic conditions, where no other significant collateral initiatives have been promoted, does not improve either the neighbourhood conditions or the socio-economic status of the local community. Coherently, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, being located in an area in Rome, which is not subject to either extreme real estate pressure or real estate depression, which is a touristic destination, but, at the same time, it is not overrun with tourists, where various public interventions cooperate to improve the area conditions, both physically and socio-economically, contributes to ameliorate the area without determining any major negative consequences.

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2. Literature review

In this section, the various extents to which culture can be part of urban Regeneration programmes are analysed in order to collocate the case studies in the correct framework. After identifying cultural Regeneration as the model to which it belongs, the relation between Renaissance and Regeneration is investigated. Subsequently, in order to inform the conceptual and methodological framework of this study, the main parameters that identify gentrification and the various methodologies applied in previous similar works are analysed in the literature. Overall, the literature review plays an epistemological role, as it is clearly aimed at developing a methodological and analytical framework, whilst anchoring the study to important umbrella debates (Regeneration opposed to Renaissance), thus setting the foundation for the innovative contribution of the study.

2.1 The topic: culture and urban regeneration

Since the 1990s arts and culture begun to be no longer considered an expensive privilege for the rich, but an instrument to encourage integration among the various urban groups in order to promote community identity definition, thus assuming a preeminent role in social and urban development (Moulaert et al., 2004). In particular, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) identified in public art and cultural facilities, promoted by local government and public agencies, the main drivers of urban regeneration. Indeed, according to Smith (2006) contemporary urban strategies are not just about housing, but about re-creating whole neighbourhoods as new conglomerates of shopping malls, restaurants, public spaces, tourist arcades, theatres, museums and cultural complexes. Some critics consider culture an instrument to rise real estate values in recently gentrified urban areas (Montgomery, 2003).

Nonetheless, in order for new major cultural infrastructure to have effective positive impacts on the local community, it is necessary to embed cultural activities that are appropriate for the local social reality (Moulaert et al., 2003), so that either local identity is reinforced or a new original distinguishing characteristic is identified (Stern, 2001). Examples of activities suitable to determine long-lasting benefits on the spatial context where they are located are artistic groups, such as orchestras or theatre companies, and collections for exhibitions (Werquin, 1999).

According to Griffiths (1993) cultural strategies are so popular in urban regeneration because they attract investments, create new jobs (directly and indirectly), promote spending and adequately respond to the needs of the new politically predominant "service class" constituted by multi-skilled employees from the commercial and financial sector that fulfil itself through culture. Moreover, the

different urban organization created competition among cities and consequently boosted the city marketing in which culture is a vital element to attract tourists and local residents.

Moulaert et al. (2004) describe the numerous dimensions of culture in urban regeneration by highlighting the various benefits these bring to local communities. From their perspective, culture promotes communication among people, expresses critiques and need for change of disadvantaged groups, constitutes a planning tool to involve those groups excluded from conventional participation, translates individual expressions into visions that can be shared and discussed, promotes neighbourhood revitalisation, supports identity building, activates economic flows and fosters employment opportunities.

However, there is a distinction in the roles that culture plays in regeneration programmes and Evans (2005) identified three models of urban regeneration according to them:

- in **culture-led regeneration**, culture is the "*catalyst and engine of regeneration*" (Evans, 2005:10). Activities are unique and distinct from anyone else and promote a holistic approach to the regeneration programme. They usually include the use of public building and open spaces and a set of events and art scheme to rebrand the area. Typical examples are flagship events such as the Olympics and the Expos;

- in **cultural regeneration**, cultural activities are part of a greater regeneration strategy, which includes social, economic and environmental activities as well. It is possible to identify two parts: the tangible one constituted by a hard intervention like the construction of a museum or the opening of a cultural centre and the intangible one, which comprises all the activities and initiatives related to the hard part.

- in **culture and regeneration**, culture is not incorporated in the strategic phase; conversely, cultural interventions are introduced later either by the government or by residents and cultural organizations. It is usually a matter of small initiatives like art programmes to be added to already designed offices, local history museums, streets signs or furniture, music night events, etc.

All the three case studies analysed fall in the cultural regeneration model, since it is possible to recognise both the tangible part and the related intangible part in each of them. In particular, the tangible part is constituted by the opening of the Tate Modern gallery in London, of the Local Centre

for the Arts and Culture in Cagliari and of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in Rome. Simultaneously, the intangible part is recognisable in the series of initiatives related to each cultural building.

2.2 Regeneration or Renaissance?

The Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) of British Government defined Regeneration as "the positive transformation of a place – whether residential, commercial or open space – that has previously displayed symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline" (DMCS, 2004: 8). Similarly, the Local Government Association (LGA, 2000) explained that Regeneration brings new liveliness in feeble communities, determining long-lasting positive effects in the economic, social and environmental sphere.

However, even the most ambitious regeneration programmes might turn out to be state-led gentrification, as it is described in the paragraph "Gentrification definition", a process in which the government plays a pivotal role in promoting it. For example, the project adopted in Inner Vesterbro in Copenhagen aimed at upgrading both the built environment and the social conditions of the pre-renewal residents, but it actually triggered a gentrification process in which the local authority played a crucial role (Larsen and Hansen, 2008).

Many regeneration policy documents often depict gentrification as a positive process, which encourages local housing rehabilitation and neighbourhood renewal (Atkinson, 2004). Nevertheless, Reid and Smith (1993: 199) clarify that "Gentrification, [protestors argue], is not for the good of all and is not a progressive development from the perspective of the community and its residents. For them, it means homelessness, displacement, expensive and inaccessible housing, and a challenge to their cultural diversity, practices and tolerance that have been a mark of their neighbourhood".

Andersson and Musterd (2005: 386) critically evaluated the assumptions behind the application of site specific interventions to reach genuine Regeneration, reported both in the literature and by key actors, and concluded that: i, they are not sufficient to solve urban social problems, ii, they actually exclude the vast majority of the needy population, iii, it is necessary a broader structural approach, which integrates "the welfare state at the national level, the labour market and economy at the regional – and global – levels, the social networks at the local level". An attempt of this kind of integrated approach was made by The Big City Policy developed in the Netherlands, which combined a variety of goals in different policy fields belonging to the three pillars, constituted by physical, economic and social aspects, to promote a virtuous circle of development (Kempen, 2000).

Indeed, the Committee on the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions (ODPM: 3) explained that "Regeneration is not simply about bricks and mortar. It's about the physical, social and economic wellbeing of an area; it's about the quality of life in our neighbourhoods. In relation to the physical, this is as much about the quality of public realm as it is about the buildings themselves". Kwon (2004: 166) proposed the approach that needs to be implemented in order to succeed in the depicted multi-sectoral regeneration by stating that "[It is necessary to address] the uneven conditions of adjacencies and distances between one thing, one person, one place, one thought, one fragment next to another, rather than invoking equivalences via one thing after another. Only those cultural practices that have this relational sensibility can turn local encounters into long term commitments and transform passing intimacies into indelible, unretractable social marks — so that the sequence of sites that we inhabit in our life's traversal does not become genericized into an undifferentiated serialization, one place after another".

Catteral proposes a reflection on the same issue as well "Culture, but not just its aesthetic dimension, can make communities. It can be a critical focus for effective and sustainable urban regeneration. The task is to develop an understanding (including methods of study) of the ways – cultural and ethical – in which even the 'worst estates' can take part in and help shape the relics of their city (and society) as well as their locality. This is a massive challenge to academics, professionals, business, and to local and ultimately national government and – of course – citizens. But nothing less can work" (Catterall, 1998: 4). It follows that the key ingredients for successful regeneration programmes are culture and local communities' involvement (DCMS, 2004).

Differently, Renaissance is defined by Porter and Shaw (2013: 3) as "[...] an expression with no real content at all, used loosely and uncritically by its usually neoliberal advocates to refer to a desired re-emergence of cities as centres of general social well-being, creativity, vitality and wealth. Including environmental concerns about urban sprawl, and recognition of the benefits of more 'compact cities', urban renaissance encapsulates a confusion of ideals of social, cultural, economic, environmental and political sustainability". Renaissance agenda aim at pushing the undesirable and unmanageable issues away from day-to-day reality, by transferring them to out of sight peripheral areas (Silimela, 2003). Reducing inner city poverty is not a priority, instead stimulating economic growth, real estate values and tax revenues increase are the main objectives (Beauregard, 2004; Catterall, 2004; Ley, 2003).

For this reason, they point at restructuring the neighbourhoods populated by the most disadvantaged groups and measure the success of the policies adopted through mere economic indicators, especially through property values increase (Porter and Shaw, 2013). Moreover, disadvantaged groups are usually excluded from strategic decisions (Yiftachel, 2006). This is even clearly declared in the project *Yorkshire Forward*, which asserts "Whatever the qualities of its community engagement, visioning and design aspirations, the ultimate test of renaissance was in delivering major physical enhancements that improved places, perceptions of them and boosted their economic fortunes" (McDonnell and Newby, 2011). References to social class restructuring and displacement are intentionally omitted (Smith, 1996a), even though these are the precise objectives of the interventions, which perpetrate uneven development (Porter and Shaw, 2013).

These policies are normally justified as the means to stimulate the new economy and to meet the differentiated needs of the middle class (Díaz Orueta, 2007). Criticism is diverted through ad hoc policy language, which glorifies positive outcomes (Slater, 2006). It is plain to see, in this context, that urban policies are not directed to manage economic growth, instead to take advantage of the existing free-market dynamics to maximise the profits (Smith, 2002). In this way, aspirations for occupation and wealth creation are entrusted to free-market strategies, rather than to public policies (Winkler, 2009), while local governments stop being simple planners and start operating as active agents of the free-market (Brenner and Theodore, 2005; Gordon and Buck, 2005).

2.2.1 Urban beautification

According to Andersson (2003), interventions concerning urban beautification that aim at improving the neighbourhood aesthetics are the more frequently adopted strategical approaches to stimulate local regeneration, even though they are unable to solve either economic problems or social issues. Similarly, Musterd and Ostendorf (2011) state that urban beautification is not helpful in improving conditions of disadvantaged groups and that tailored policies are necessary to meet their specific needs. Likewise, Makhzoumi (2015, 2016) argues that a broader approach that goes beyond basic urban beautification, embracing local community aspirations and cultural perceptions, is necessary to achieve successful long-term development.

Conversely, Moulaert et al. (2004) highlight the double role played by works of art hosted in urban centres. On the one hand, they determine the beautification of the area; on the other hand, they give expression to local identity. Van Kempen and van Beckhoven (2002), by building upon various case studies analysis, confirm that beautification interventions enhance both the image of the area and

residents' appreciation of it. The renowned experiment of "the broken window" conducted in 1969 by Zimbardo supports this thesis as well (Wilson and Kelling, 1989). It suggests that signs of decay stimulate people to perpetrate normally unacceptable behaviours, empowered by the belief that nobody cares, thus triggering a vicious circle. On the contrary, when people care, effective social control reduce truancy, litter and graffiti (Cohen et al., 2000). In this case, people commit themselves to safeguard the quality of the environment, triggering a virtuous circle (Maguire et al., 1997).

Kamali and Tahmouri (2013) also endorse the double role of city beautification, by recognising both the physical and socio-economic effects. More specifically, they identified, in qualitative elements such as urban design, architectural forms, landscape beauty and city cleanliness, the factors that determine the creation of both a sense of belonging and of city identity and, in urban beautification, the main means by which cities try to attract tourists and travellers who support local economy prosperity. Back in the 1910s Muir highlighted the essential presence of beauty in everybody's life stating that "Everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where Nature may heal and cheer and give strength to body and soul alike" (Muir, 1912: chpt. 16).

Similarly, Maguire et al. (1997) stated the preeminent role of scenic beauty in personal and community wellness, in boosting economics, in the quality of daily routine and in shaping healthy and sustainable environment. Their thesis drew from several studies that proved the impacts of aesthetics on behaviour, health and economics. Among these, they referred to Gallagher (1993), who linked people behaviour to place aesthetics, Ulrich (1984, 1991), who demonstrated that patients who enjoy a pleasant view recover better and faster than those whose ordinary view is a brick-wall; and Cobb et al. (1995), who assert that performance of local economic development exclusively measured by GDP increase instigates detrimental behaviours and discourages more comprehensive approaches.

An intermediate position is Kruythoff's (2003), who explains that physical interventions on the housing stock, facilities, infrastructure and the public spaces do not guarantee, by themselves, a certain improvement of disadvantaged groups, but they still contribute to overcome spatial segregation, thus promoting social equity with the aim of generating future social cohesion.

2.2.2 Neighbourhood economic development

"As an economic tool, culture is a hot ticket" (Stern, 2002: 1).

A lively street scene attracts urban consumers to cities (Glaeser et al. 2000). For this reason, cultural activities, such as theatre companies, dance studios, film projects, adult education, artistic and

professional training and alike play an economic role and have the potential to stimulate economic development (Moulaert et al., 2004). Consequently, various forms of culture and entertainment such as parks, art spaces, festivals and beautification programmes, profoundly transform urban centres with the aim of attracting both visitors and high income residents and benefit from their spending (Spirou, 2011), which is used to finance social and economic transformations (Spirou, 2006).

The constant increase of people's disposable income for cultural and leisure activities pushed local governments to revisit their planning policies (Clark, 2003) in order to attract both locals and tourists (Spirou and Bennett, 2003) to translate cultural heritage showcase and cultural identity export into revenue streams (Spirou, 2006). Art has become a ubiquitous economic development strategy, able to considerably impact neighbourhood economies and to substantially revitalise them by both fostering population growth and housing prices increase (Stern, 2002). This might degenerate into gentrification. Jacobs (1961) warns that all depends on money finance, which might alternatively determine decline or Regeneration, depending on its availability, the kind of availability and its usage. More specifically, she analyses various case studies and she concludes that financial concentration produces cataclysmic effects, whereas small amounts of money determine the gradual change needed to maintain the neighbourhood attractive once the novelty has gone (ibid.).

In this way, although community cultural providers are not doing first-hand business, nevertheless they tight community together through arts and offer cultural opportunities that are the unique factors that determine long-lasting economic development of the neighbourhood (Stern, 2002). Indeed, cultural amenities influence choice location of both individuals and companies, thus determining either population increase or decrease (Clark, 2003). Not surprisingly, Glaeser et al. (2000) verified that cities with many amenities grow faster than cities with a few of them. This study is supported by numerous studies on economic effects of cultural regeneration projects, that highlighted, not only direct impacts such as increase of visitors' expenditure on good and services in the area, higher rates of employment in the cultural sector, and increase of property values, but also indirect impacts such as reduction of social costs and increase of taxation and other revenues (Evans, 2004).

2.2.3 Gentrification definition

The term "gentrification" was coined by the sociologist Ruth Glass when she researched the new aspects of urban change in London in 1962 (Harris, 2008), but roots of it can be traced back to the previous century according to Clark (2005) and Smith (1996d). Many cases in the past revealed

to be Renaissance and not Regeneration since they do not determined social upward mobility, instead they caused gentrification (Berman, 1982, Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980).

Ms. Glass coined the term gentrification to indicate the process she could observe in London, since she moved in the Borough of Islington in 1951 with reference to the fast restoration of the Victorian lodging houses, the housing tenure change from renting to owning, the rapid property price increases, and the displacement of working-class occupiers by middle-class incomers (Slater, 2011). In order to understand what gentrification is, it is worth reporting a Glass' quote (1964: XVII): "Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed".

Since Glass' coinage candidly reports the class shift implicated in the regeneration process, politicians, developers and financiers started considering it a dirty word (Smith, 2002). Subsequently, they try to sweeten its meaning by emphasising the positive effects and concealing the negative ones (Slater, 2011). In some circumstances, they also had the support of scientific research, as it is in the case of Florida (2002), who highlighted the benefits of gentrification that serve the whole community, such as amenities and services like cycle lanes and off-road trails. McDonald (1986) exalted the increased sense of safety linked to gentrification as well. Freeman (2006), identifies in gentrification the opportunity for indigenous residents to achieve upward mobility without having to abandon their neighbourhood.

Even if it has to be admitted that gentrification determines neighbourhood improvements, it has to be kept in mind that such improvements might entail very serious costs (Schill and Nathan, 1983). Atkinson (2002) systematically reviewed 114 pieces of research on the neighbourhood impacts of gentrification written between 1964 and 2001 and summarised the positive and negative characteristics of gentrification in a table (**Table 1**). It can be noticed that some aspects are considered as both benefits and costs. It is because, as Lang (1982) explained, their classification as positive or negative effect depends on the stakeholder in question. Indeed, Smith (1996b) explained that the conceptualization of gentrification needs to include the perspectives of both gentrifiers and gentrified.

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilisation of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
Reduced vacancy rates	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Increased cost and changes to local services
	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Decreased crime	Increased crime
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas
Even if gentrification is a problem it is small compared to the issue of: ▪ urban decline ▪ abandonment of inner cities	Gentrification has been a destructive and divisive process that has been aided by capital disinvestment to the detriment of poorer groups in cities.

Tab.1. Gentrification costs and benefits (Atkinson, 2002).

More specifically, Williams and Smith (1986) underlined that, since beneficiaries and payers of gentrification are identified with different parts of the population, considering the total amounts of costs and benefits would be erroneous, whereas they sustained it would be much more appropriate to focus on disadvantaged classes, who are those affected by the hardest consequences of the process.

Hackworth and Smith (2001) identified three global waves of gentrification. The first wave is related to small neighbourhoods in large cities during the Sixties and the early Seventies. The second one concerns new neighbourhoods converted into real estate frontiers and is integrated with economic and cultural processes at national and global scale in the late Seventies. The current third wave has begun in the late Nineties and sees the State systematically collaborating with large-scale developers to rebuild entire neighbourhoods, which are often already partially gentrified.

According to Davidson and Lees (2005) this third wave, also known as state-led gentrification for its linkages to regeneration and public-led programmes, is characterised by:

- "reinvestment of capital;
- social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups;
- landscape change (developers invest huge amount of economic capital to realise large-scale luxury residential complexes);
- direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups".

In the state-led gentrification, the process is triggered by the government regardless of community opposition (Hackworth and Smith, 2001) and it is realised by large developers (Ball, 1994). According to Smith (2002), a lack of institutional interest in the fate of the displaced people characterises this third wave. An example of state-led gentrification are the case studies of Cabini-Green and Near North in Chicago illustrated by Dixon (1998), where the local administration abused public power to expropriate the land in minority areas, used public resources to demolish the decaying buildings and finally sold the cleaned land at prices far below the market value or even donated it to the privileged developers, who could thus realise very profitable developments, while former inhabitants were displaced to substandard homes in the suburbs.

Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012) considered urban dynamics as appropriate variables to understand if the urban renewal programmes introduced in Barcelona encouraged state-led gentrification. In particular, they investigated changes in the demographic, education and occupational categories as well as ethnicity, ages, and changing in housing tenure and prices.

Simon (2008) identified in the influx of people with middle and high economic and social positions the main characteristic, if not the definition itself, of gentrification. Moreover, he (2002) distinguished between gentrification through exclusion and gentrification by aggregation on the basis that lower-

and working-classes are evicted from their neighbourhoods or that affluent people chose to assemble in areas where their professions are well represented, respectively.

Lyons (1996) considered gentrification as the cause of exacerbation of geographical socioeconomic polarisation of the city. It is characterised by the following features:

- influx in the affected area of high socioeconomic households,
- increase of land values and revalorisation of housing,
- subsequent displacement of low socioeconomic households,
- change in housing tenure (in favour of ownership).

This study refers to the above illustrated aspects to analyse the processes connected to the cultural regeneration programmes promoted in the three case studies examined, in order to detect if the adopted polices determine genuine Regeneration of the area, foster gentrification or have no crucial impact.

2.2.4 Gentrification: social mix or displacement?

A long-lasting vibrant academic debate questions whether gentrification might encourage social mix by fighting segregation (Freeman, 2006), thus leading to more liveable and sustainable communities, or it causes displacement, segregation and social polarisation (Lees, 2008). It is also questioned whether gentrification might deconcentrate poverty (Freeman, 2006) or it drives it towards less attractive areas (LeGates and Hartman, 1986) or, alternatively, aggravates inequalities within a neighbourhood (Diskin and Dutton, 2002).

Geography is often considered a fundamental factor of the question, so that mixed neighbourhood policies are frequently promoted both in Europe and the United States with the aim to stimulate positive social networks and to shape social opportunities in order to face physical, social, economic and safety issues (Andersson and Musterd, 2005). However, it often happens that the neighbourhood is considered just a dormitory and the base from which departing to reach other daily destinations (Friedrichs, 1997; Wellman, 1996). Although, in theory, a certain degree of gentrification might increase the social mix in low-income areas, in practice, geographical proximity not necessarily implies genuine integration.

On the contrary, various studies demonstrate that people with profoundly different backgrounds are not interested in meeting each other and tend to live alongside rather than together in the same

neighbourhood (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). In addition, long-term residents oppose gentrification (Wilson et al., 2004) and discourage gentrifiers to move in their neighbourhood (Mele, 2000). Furthermore, scholars report tensions and conflicts between indigenous residents and newcomers (Henig, 1982; Abu-Lughod, J., 1994) that in some circumstances even led to acts of vandalism toward the gentrifiers (Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980) and to police-community clashes (Diskin and Dutton, 2002). Kearns and Forest (2000: 1013) warn that "the stronger the ties which bind local communities, the greater may be the social, racial or religious conflict between them".

Moreover, many experts agree that gentrification is negative by definition since it causes displacement of poorer groups (Gander, 2016). For example, Marcuse (1985a) argues that far from encouraging social mix, gentrification actually creates a vicious circle in which lower-income people are continuously threatened by displacement, while affluent people do their best to enclose themselves in gentrified neighbourhoods, thus exacerbating social polarisation. Coherently, after systematically reviewing the English-language literature on urban gentrification produced between 1964 (when the term was coined) and 2002 in order to identify both the costs and benefits of the process, Atkinson (2004) concluded that, despite gentrification is often seen as the panacea for local problems, research evidence demonstrates that it is actually a considerably negative process which causes fragmentation and displacement of disadvantaged communities.

Displacement is generated by the onset of a variety of reasons that long-time residents are not able either to prevent or to control that preclude them from occupying the dwellings they have always been living in, although they had always met all the condition of occupancy until that moment (Grier and Grier, 1980). Marcuse (1985a) lists three reasons for poor displacement, "[…] the land is too valuable to house them further […], the buildings and the neighbourhoods are too expensive for them […], the buildings and the neighbourhoods are unsuitable to provide decent housing for them".

However, evidence for direct and immediate displacement is often missing, thus it is difficult to clearly establish an undisputable relation between displacement and gentrification. Nevertheless, physical displacement is with no doubts a certain and direct consequence of gentrification and it frequently occurs even before the area is clearly perceived as gentrified (Grier and Grier, 1980). Following Alicea (2001) and Muñiz (1998), Cahill (2008) clarifies that displacement is not just an abstract threat, but a tangible gentrification consequence that families experience in the forms of deception, treason and loss, such as temporary relocation that becomes endless, landlord harassment, friends'

displacement and home buy-out proposals. According to Marcuse (1985b), it can be a shattering experience that in the best-case scenario undermines the sense of community, but it might even cause homelessness.

Albeit many researchers included displacement in their studies considering it a major problem, it has usually been deduced rather than directly measured due to the difficulties in tracking the displaced (Atkinson, 2002). National household surveys undertaken with reference to long periods can help infer gentrification-induced displacement, but even these studies fail to cleanly link neighbourhood abandonment to gentrification, since factors such as rising rents or landlord pressure are generally not listed among the possible causes residents can identify in the delivered questionnaire (Freeman et al., 2015). Newman and Wyly (2006) explain that difficulties in tracking displacement are basically determined by the fact that displaced residents have literally disappeared from the areas in question. The only efficient way to measure gentrification is to find the new location of each individual and try to detect the reasons that determined their relocation, even though this is extremely expensive and time consuming (Lees et al., 2008).

In addition, it has to be considered that gentrification is also associated with cultural and social displacement, despite these aspects have less coverage in the literature. By cultural displacement, Cahill (2008) identifies the destiny of those who can still afford to live in their gentrified neighbourhood, but feel displaced, since the area underwent a profound transformation so that it is now unrecognisable. Thus, their own identity, their group identity and their culture are undermined (Altman and Low 1992) as explained by the theories on place attachment and place identity elaborated by Proshansky et al. (1983). By social displacement, Chernoff (2010) indicates the loss of prestige and control that the long-time residents used to have with respect to their neighbourhood, caused by the newcomers, who overpower them by imposing their goals and priorities. As a consequence, they spontaneously abandon associations and organisations that no longer represent their ideas and interests, and, by doing so, facilitating their replacement.

To sum up, although gentrification might in theory have the potential to facilitate social mix and create diverse communities, research evidence shows that it rather exacerbates social polarisation, incites social clashes and causes displacement. A more severe consequence of gentrification is that displacement is not just about the simplistic physical displacement of the lower social class, but it implies loss of personal identity, sense of community and cultural roots. Accordingly, the environment resulting from this process exercises high displacement pressure on those who are not displaced yet,

so that they might want to move quickly, even before being forced to (Marcuse, 1985a), thus further fuelling the process.

2.2.5 Public engagement

Governments have long recognised that traditional centralised government, characterised by a top-down approach, generates bureaucracy and makes people feel constrained and deceived rather than included in the decision-making process and among the makers of their future, as it should be in a healthy democracy. Specifically focusing on cultural infrastructure, Moulaert et al. (2003) explain that citizen involvement in the various phases of cultural infrastructure planning and realisation improve social-political life, thus stimulating urban identity definition. Cultural participation and citizens' engagement stimulate residents' protection of their quality of life and favourite connection between different ethnic groups and social classes, thus facilitating the creation of a better social environment (Stern, 2002). Since residents are those who are mostly affected by regeneration programmes, meetings their needs, before satisfying tourists expectations, has more chances to succeed in reaching sustainability, economic development and competitiveness (The Economist - Intelligence Unit, 2013) For these reasons, programmes and policy documents that have been launched worldwide (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004) since the 1950s (Day, 1997) tried to be as inclusive as possible.

According to this approach, authorities have the role to enable, rather than to control, and the leadership of urban regeneration programmes is entrusted to local communities (Taylor, 2000). Thanks to this shift, it is possible to benefit from community knowledge of the area, both in terms of problems and existing community networks (Wilkinson and Applebee, 1999). Local realities become the heart of development interventions (Hickey and Mohan, 2005) and people's knowledge, the knowledge retained by the local community — nowhere to be found in written documents — is accessed (Chambers, 1983). Community engagement is vital to ensure sustainable programs, but communities need government support to effectively operate, especially in deprived areas where volunteering is limited (Duncan and Thomas, 2000). Enabling poor communities to make their voices heard is fundamental since this often is the only possibility they have to participate in shaping their area (Taylor, 2000). A severe weakness of community participation is community representation. Indeed, Botes and Van Rensburg (2000) explained that it frequently occurs that only rich and well-educated people get involved, whereas Gaigher et al. (1995) illustrate how poor groups are sometimes considered to be an obstacle to community participation and face difficulties in getting involved (Campbell, 2011). Indeed, the meetings scheduled by the government are often outlined in formal structures than tend

to exclude participation rather than to invite it, due to the use of highly specialised and professional language, the tremendously formal atmosphere, the set of the meetings at inconvenient time and location and the attitude of developers, who limit their effort to the presentation of the project and avoid true dialog by justifying the project through the repetition of the mantra "change is inevitable" (If the river swells, 2016).

In order to promote participation of disadvantaged groups, it might be beneficial to involve residents before the delivery of the programs so that the capacity to develop from the bottom is realized in the long run (Batty et al., 2010). It might be also helpful to formulate alternative forms of civic engagement such as informal meetings with residents, hearings with religious groups, social media, study groups, discussions among friends, art, and public consultations (If the River Swells, 2016). Relatively simple techniques that facilitate citizens' involvement, before spending money on unsuitable plans, are computer photorealistic simulations, which allow to visualise the designed interventions, and assembling the community stakeholders to define together development strategies, thus acknowledging communities needs and preventing protests organization (Maguire et al., 1997). On the contrary, areas of intervention are usually identified by the central government on the basis of national priorities determined through indexes like the index of deprivation (ODS, 2006) so that residents passively receive the initiative rather than actively promote it (Duncan and Thomas, 2000).

The Scottish Community Development Centre examined the experience of more than 500 community and agencies representatives and developed ten standards, and their relative indicators, to ensure a top-quality effective engagement process (SCDC, 2005). They are reported in **Appendix 1**.

2.3 Methodologies

Once the variables that characterise gentrification are identified, it is necessary to define a methodology to measure them. For this purpose, three approaches from the literature are reported. All three look at changes, but while Atkinson (2000) and Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012) conducted primarily quantitative studies, Davidson and Lees (2005) combined quantitative analysis with qualitative investigations and add a visual analysis.

In particular, Atkinson (2000) used both cross-sectional and longitudinal census data and defined proxies to measure gentrification and displacement. Firstly, he measured the professional and working class that migrated to four new defined areas where there was above average level of gentrification. Secondly, he compared the inflows and outflows finding that the increase of professionals in the

gentrified areas was above the metropolitan average as well as the decrease of people of disadvantaged groups, pointing at gentrification and displacement. However, the quantitative study has not been able to determine if those displaced were induced to leave the property (priced out, forced out) or freely decided to move. Neither it has identified the mechanisms attracting professionals in the gentrified areas. This gap might be filled through qualitative research like questionnaires and interviews.

Davidson and Lees (2005) applied the proxy model prosed by Atkinson (2000), which proved displacement through reporting the significant decrease of lower and middle-income groups and low-income occupational groups. In addition, they reported the changes in landscapes through a visual analysis that revealed the economic capital reinvestment by illustrating the particular aesthetic and build form of the new developments and the promotional campaign of an urban lifestyle permeated with urban history and culture.

Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012) conducted a longitudinal study comparing change in super output data across 20 years after the inception of the regeneration programme (1986-2009). On the one hand, it highlighted an important reduction of the local population and a simultaneous significant growth of Western foreign population, flanked by age rejuvenation in lower dense areas, suggesting a process of substitution. On the other hand, it observed population aging and non-western foreign vulnerable population increase in already deprived areas excluded from the regeneration programmes. They recognised the seeds of state-led gentrification in those deprived areas interested by the renewal programmes characterised by an increase of young highly educated professionals and Western foreigners in the role of gentrifiers. In addition, data showed increases in rent values and housing prices and steady process of housing tenure transformations from renting to owning, signals of an advanced process of gentrification.

For the purpose of this study, the methods reported above define a multi-method framework (see paragraph 3.2), primarily quantitative complemented by qualitative analysis that will be applied to the three case studies examined to verify if they contributed to determine social upward mobility (Regeneration), or they rather played a role in fostering gentrification (Renaissance) or had no crucial impact.

3. Methodology

Explicitly drawing from the epistemological analysis of the literature, a new multi-method framework, that considers both socio-economic and urban changes as well as community involvement in decision-making processes and in daily routine in the neighbourhood, is specifically tailored for the analysis of the three case studies selected for this study. First of all, the reasons behind the choice of the three case studies are explained together with the description of each related regeneration programme and their positioning in their wider contexts. Secondly, the methodological examples reported in chapter 2.4 compound and justify the multi-method approach presented in this section and identify the variables later operationalised in the analysis section.

3.1 The case studies

The three case studies selected for this study are the Tate Modern Gallery in London, *La Vetreria* in Cagliari and the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in Rome. These case studies are chosen because of a number of reasons that made them suitable to analyse physical, economic and social impacts of new major cultural infrastructure on local areas and communities from different perspectives. The reasons for the choice are illustrated below.

Firstly, they support the underlying thesis that cultural infrastructure and the related urban beautification are not able, on their own, to determine economic development, social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement. On the contrary, as explained by Offner (1993), they are part of a complex set of factors that, as a whole, contribute either to accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. Indeed, the three regeneration programmes, although located in profoundly different general contexts, play the same role in influencing the fate of the corresponding area. Cathedrals is a vibrant and very popular touristic area in London, which already is interested by a gentrification process at an advanced stage. Is Bingias, in Cagliari, is not a touristic destination and it is characterised by depressed real estate market and unpretentious social-economic conditions. Flaminio, in Rome, is not subject to either extreme real estate pressure or real estate depression and it is a touristic destination, but, at the same time, it is not overrun with tourists. Coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", the Tate Modern Gallery collaborates to determine the improvement of the area of Cathedrals in many respects, but it also contributes to worsen socio-economic conditions of the local population by encouraging gentrification, *La Vetreria*, does not improve either the conditions of Is Bingias or the

socio-economic status of the local community and the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, cooperate to improve the conditions of Flaminio, both physically and socio-economically without determining any major negative consequences.

Secondly, their location in deeply different geographical and socio-economic contexts allows the identification of positive and negative influencing factors. For example, Bankside, where the Tate Modern Gallery is located, is affected not only by the museum, but also by its geographical proximity to the City of London that makes it an area coveted by international financial professionals, who, in turn, influence the local socio-economic conditions. Distinctively, Cagliari is a medium-size city of an island in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea and it is targeted by neither large companies nor by huge masses of tourists like London and Rome are, so that its population is basically indigenous. Diversely, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in Rome, is located in a mainly residential neighbourhood, which is, thus, not subject to the housing pressures typical of a financial district like the City of London, but, differently from Cagliari, it is stimulated by being quite close to the city centre of an international tourist destination and of the Italian capital city.

Thirdly, diversified collateral interventions have been realised in each area examined, so that the outcomes of the considered regeneration programme can be assessed considering whether or not the plan has been flanked by other congruent actions. For example, in London many initiatives have been promoted to ameliorate both the area (Borough Market, Shakespeare Globe Theatre, Vinopolis) and its accessibility (the Millennium Footbridge and the Thameslink Borough Viaduct Bridge). Similarly, in Rome various public interventions (MAXXI, Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli, The Science City, The Park of the Arts) cooperate to improve the area conditions, both physically and socio-economically. Diversely, in Cagliari no significant collateral initiatives have been promoted in the area.

Fourthly, cultural initiatives and various forms of community involvement characterise each case study, so that good and bad practises can be identified and distinguished. For example, in London the local population has been initially involved in a wide range of initiatives from the information on the new developments, passing through a series of consultations, steering groups, liaison groups, to various cultural initiatives like film screenings, private views at the Tate, artists' projects, gardening etc., but, as the time passed by, community involvement and communication between the Council and the local community dramatically diminished. In Cagliari, community involvement resulted absent both before and after the project, there were no meetings to inform the population on the new

developments nor consultations, steering groups or liaison groups. In Rome, community involvement extremely improved. Whereas no consultation nor steering groups or liaison groups were held in preparation to the project of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, now many residents are involved in the infinite numbers of cultural activities and events held at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. Many residents even took the initiative to constitute new voluntary association with diverse aims. Their presence is now so rooted that they are often contacted by political parties to agree a common vision and to obtain their support at the elections.

Fifthly, statistical data availability and accessibility played a preeminent role since they were crucial to perform the quantitative analysis. Moreover, they had to be comparable in order to identify differences and similarities among the three analysed case studies. Indeed, for each case study several datasets, which examine a variety of aspects, have been collected. Thanks to the reasoned choice of the variables, it has been possible to elaborate the original table 22, reported in the discussion section, that places side by side the main changes observed in each city according to the study of common factors.

Sixthly, site reachability smoothness was carefully considered in order to make easier the survey activity. In particular, I spent a whole year in London to enrich my doctoral training through an international experience, Cagliari is my hometown and also the location of the university where I am candidate to be awarded the doctoral title and Rome has frequent daily connections with Cagliari at affordable prices thanks to both low cost companies and government subsidies to make cheaper the air tickets for the island resident population.

Lastly, the language spoken in the country was a crucial discriminating factor since it was essential being able to both understand it to correctly read the various documents and to fluently speak it in order to properly communicate with the interviewees. For this reason, since Italian is my mother tongue and I manage English conversations well enough to both understand written documents and hold interviews, two case studies have been chosen in Italian cities and one in an English city.

Before proceeding to the conduction of the analysis related to the three cultural regeneration programmes, it is useful to situate them in their wider context. For this reason, for each case study, there will be a paragraph that provides the location of the project and general information about it, such as its origin, description and history.

3.1.1 Tate Modern Gallery - London

The Tate Modern Gallery is located in Bankside, in the ward of Cathedrals in the London Borough of Southwark, south of the river Thames. The red dot in **Map 1** indicates London in the territory of the United Kingdom. The red area in **Map 2** represents Cathedrals surrounded by the wards in dark grey used as basis of comparison in this study while the light grey area depicts the Greater London Area. **Figure 1** indicates the location of the Tate Modern Gallery in the district of Bankside.

Map 1 Location of London in the UK (Author's elaboration, 2016).

Map 2 Location of Bankside in the Greater London Area (Author's elaboration, 2016).
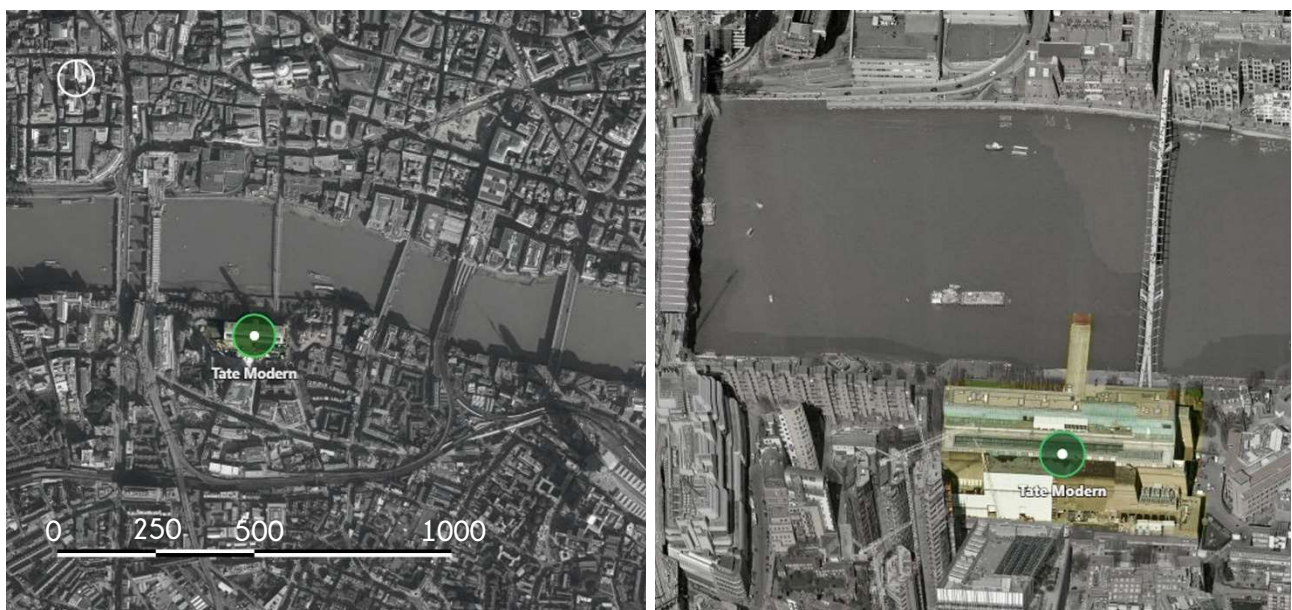
Fig.1. The Tate Modern in the district of Bankside (Author's elaboration, map from Bing, 2016).

The Tate Modern project is an example of cultural regeneration that tried to go beyond the building of a museum by involving the local communities, stimulating creative thinking aiming at regenerating the whole neighbourhood with its opening in the year 2000 (Hyslop, 2014). The Tate Modern Gallery is part of a network of art museums, which also includes the Tate Britain, the Tate Liverpool and the Tate St Ives. Its creation was announced in 1992 and the site was chosen in 1994. The iconic power station in Bankside was thus transformed into an art gallery by the Swiss architects Herzog and De Meuron and opened to the public in May 2000. In 2009, Herzog and De Meuron were appointed to further developing the gallery by creating more space and improving visitor facilities. It is one of the British top three tourist attractions and generates economic benefits that amount at approximately £100 million to the London city every year. (Tate, 2015).

Fig.2. The Tate Modern (Hooton, 2012).

The museum plays a preeminent role in the project, but it is not the only component, since a series of activities and interventions strategically organised support it by trying to meet the needs of local communities, businesses and tourists (Hyslop, 2012). In addition to exhibitions, collection displays and events, visitors can relax in five bars, dine in two restaurants, buy books, magazines, prints, design objects, jewellery and art materials in two shops (Tate, 2016a) and enjoy a 360° view from the open viewing terrace on the top floor (Tate, 2016b).

3.2.2 *La Vetreria* - Cagliari

The Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* is located in the neighbourhood of Is Bingias, on the edge of the historical city centre of Pirri, the only independent Municipality of the City of Cagliari, in Southern Sardinia. The red dot in **Map 3** indicates Cagliari in the territory of Italy. The red area in **Map 4** represents the neighbourhoods of Is Bingias and Terramaini, which are merged in the statistical surveys of this study, surrounded by the wards in dark grey used as basis of comparison for this study. Meanwhile, the light grey area depicts the city of Cagliari.

Map 3 Location of Cagliari in Italy (Author's elaboration, 2016).
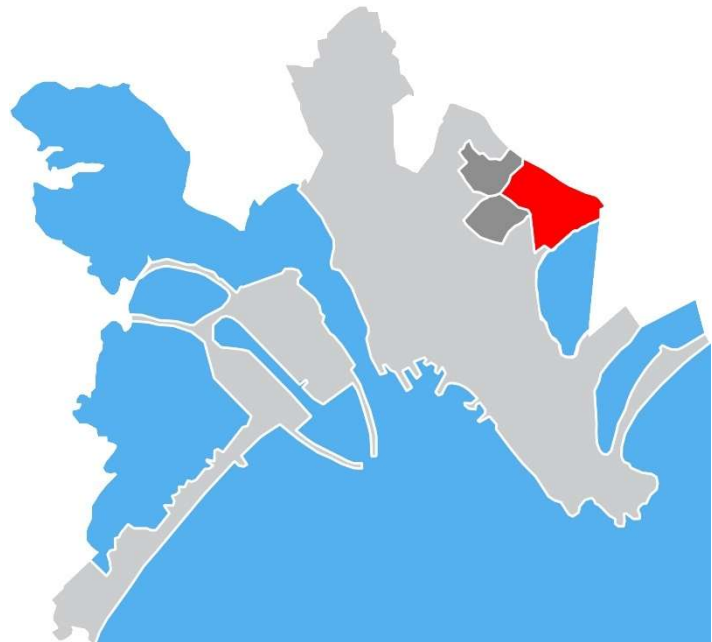
Map 4 Location of Is Bingias and Terramaini in Cagliari (Author's elaboration, 2016).

Fig.3. *La Vetreria* in the neighbourhood of Is Bingias (Author's elaboration, map from Bing, 2016).

The project is placed in the spaces of a glassmaker, of a distillery and of a wine factory, built at the beginning of the XX century (Sardegna in Rete, 2014), where manufacturing activities were regularly conducted until the sixties (Nonnis, 2011). Once they stopped, the area uderwent relentless urban decay. Thus, the city of Cagliari initiated the transformation of these structures into the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in the year of 2000 with the aim to regenerate the whole area (Ibid.). For this reason, they did not limit the works to the restoration of the buildings, but, following the traditional practices of cultural regeneration, they mixed spaces for cultural activities with areas for recreational and leisure activities by providing exposition rooms, conference halls, the cine-theatre, a park, a restaurant, a bar, a playground, an off-leash dog area, an internet point, and artistic laboratories (Cagliari, 2016). The area is served by public transport; bike racks are available and two large car parks are provided next to the two entrances (Comune di Cagliari, 2016). The opening ceremony of the complex took place in 2003 (Nonnis 2011).

Fig.4. *La Vetreria* (Sardegna in Rete, 2014).

3.2.3 *Auditorium Parco della Musica* - Rome

The *Auditorium Parco della Musica* is located in the neighbourhood of Flaminio, in the North West of Rome. The red dot in **Map 5** indicates Rome in the territory of Italy. The red area in **Map 6** represents the neighbourhoods of Flaminio, surrounded by the wards in dark grey used as basis of comparison for this study while, the light grey area depicts the city of Rome.

Map 5 Location of Rome in Italy (Author's elaboration, 2016).
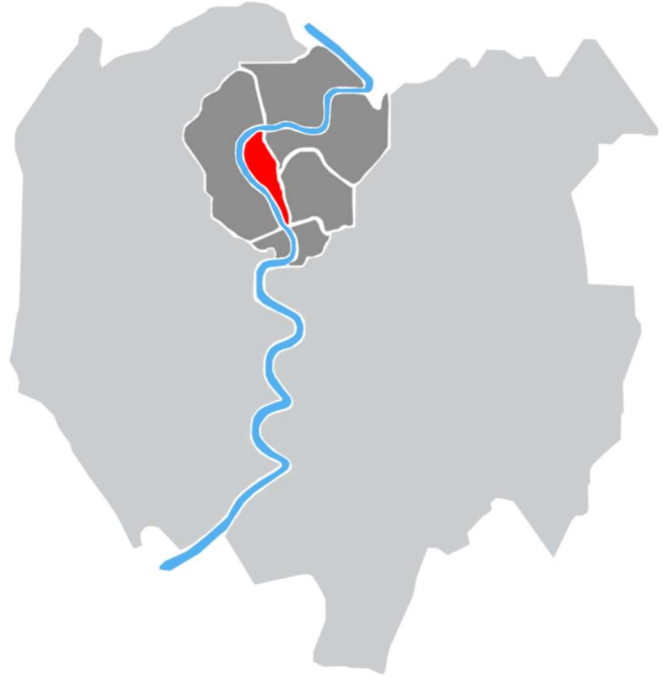
Map 6 Location of Flaminio in Rome (Author's elaboration, 2016).
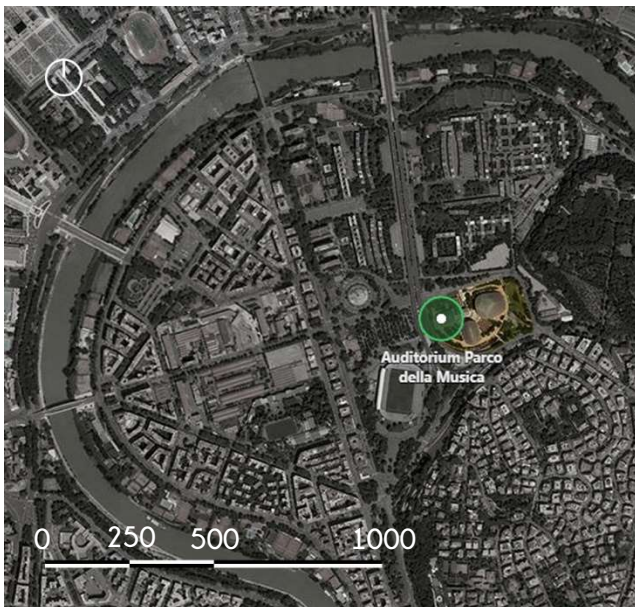
Fig.5. The *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in the neighbouhood of Flaminio (Author's elaboration).

The project of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* went beyond the realisation of a concert hall by creating a multi-function "Music City" able to fill the historical urban void between the Olympic Village, the Sports Hall and the Flaminio Stadium (RPBW, 2002) through a public park of approximately three hectares (RPBW, 2004). Indeed, it is constituted not only by four concert halls connected by both a circular walkway and an internal road, but it also includes an amphitheatre, an exhibition space on two levels, a children play area, a 1200 sqm pedestrian area, an urban biological vegetable

garden, a conservatory, the remains of a Roman villa from the 6th century B.C. and the connected museum of Italian musical instruments, (Fondazione Musica per Roma, 2016a), a bar, a restaurant, a bookshop and an emporium (Fondazione Musica per Roma, 2016b) (**Fig. 7**).

Fig.6. The *Auditorium Parco della Musica* (Framepool, 2016).

Preliminary studies begun in 1994 (Comune Roma, 2014) and the opening ceremony in 2002 has been the first of a series of interventions in the neighbourhood of Flaminio (Panella, 2010) including the centre for contemporary arts named Maxxi, the Music Bridge, the current requalification of the Reni barracks and the realisation of the Park of the Arts aiming at regenerating the whole area. The *Auditorium Parco della Musica* is the biggest European multi-cultural complex and one of the ten largest in the world able to attract 1 million spectators per year to a number of event which is second only to the Lincoln Centre in New York, besides the 300000 participants to the business gatherings (Fondazione Musica per Roma, 2016a).

3.3 The framework

According to the models described by Evans (2005), the three case studies examined are examples of cultural Regeneration. In order to understand if the programme truly benefited the local communities (Regeneration) or conversely exacerbated social and economic inequalities (Renaissance), the methodological framework is based on the conceptualisation of gentrification presented in the literature review, focusing on both socio-economic and urban changes (tangible) and community

involvement through initiatives and activities (intangible). Therefore, each case study is divided into two parts: the first one focuses on the tangible aspects, enquiring on the effects the project development triggered in the adjacent areas, in terms of visual analysis, quantitative longitudinal and cross sectional analysis and qualitative analysis. The second one includes all the initiatives and activities related to the interventions that can only be described qualitatively and it is therefore named the intangible part.

The tangible part is built on a multi-method set of analysis:

- Visual analysis identifies landscape changes and consequently hypothesises reinvestment of capital and commercial displacement through rental increase. For each case study, a map illustrates all the interventions observed in the area after the construction of the cultural architecture and a table reports their building year to facilitate the relation with the opening of the cultural edifice. In particular, following the example of Davidson and Lees (2005), new residential estates, new public buildings and closed pubs are identified in the vicinity of the Tate Modern Gallery in London and their building or closure year points to reinvestment of capital and thus suggests the hypothesis of a third wave gentrification. Differently, only few private and public interventions are detected in the surroundings of *La Vetreria* and even fewer in the area around the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, thus disproving a significant reinvestment of capital.

- Quantitative analysis explores socio-demographic and economic changes. It enquires whether social upgrading has occurred and, in case of positive evidence, if it is due to the influx of upper-class households flanked by the eventual loss of social diversity or thanks to the upward social mobility of the original population. Since the three case studies are located in two different nations and three different regions, it has not been possible to gather data on identical variables due to the diversity of the statistical offices that provide them. Nevertheless, similar variables able to represent the same phenomenon have been considered. For example, data on people employed in elementary occupations and on manager and professional positions are not available in Rome, but data on unemployment decrease are discussed. Vice versa, both in Cagliari and London data on unemployment variation are not available at ward level, but variation of the number of people employed in elementary occupations and in manager and professional positions are analysed. Differently, data on

average income are not published at ward level in Italy, consequently deprivation index and housing affordability are not definable either in Cagliari or in Rome.

Drawing from the examples of Davidson and Lees (2005) and Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012), cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on Census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 in the ward of Cathedrals and compared to those of the surrounding wards of Chaucer, Newington, Riverside and Bishop in London. Data drawn from three Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the museum (year 2000) and the effects in the following decade. Similarly, cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on Census data from 2001 and 2011 in the ward of *Is Bingias* and compared to those of the surrounding wards of *Monte Leone*, *Santa Rosalia*, *San Giuseppe*, *Santa Teresa* and *Parteolla* in Cagliari. Data drawn from two Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the cultural centre (year 2003) and the effects in the following decade. Accordingly, cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on Census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 in the ward of Flaminio and compared to those of the surrounding wards of *Pinciano*, *Della Vittoria*, *Prati*, *Parioli* and *Campo Marzio* in Rome. Data drawn from three Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the museum (year 2002) and the effects in the following decade. Comparative ward level analysis is used in order capture and contextualise micro-scale changes and divergence/convergence patterns of change. Moreover, average housing prices trends are reported for each city considered. In addition, data on annual income and changes in housing affordability from 1997 to 2013 are calculated in the case of London.

▪ Qualitative analysis investigates phenomena that cannot be captured by visual and quantitative analysis and explores reasons behind changes. For this reason, participation to the Bankside Residents Forum (BRF, established in 1995 in response to the concerns of the local population on planning issues) Open Forum on the 23rd July 2015 has been taken in order to get in contact with local residents. Informal conversations have been held with around fifty local residents, adding together those in London, Cagliari and Rome, to elicit neighbourhood changes, to detect current issues in each area, to apprehend how they are affected by both changes and issues and to understand the reasons that attracted people there or motivated them to move somewhere else. In order to facilitate interviewees to freely express their impressions and perspectives, an informal conversational style was adopted

during the dialogues. Italian records have been translated by the author ensuring fidelity to the meaning of the original and possibly maintaining dynamics of the original. Moreover, questions asked to the residents are detailed in English in **appendix 4**, and the original text of the Italian native speakers is reported as **footnotes**.

The intangible part is entirely built upon qualitative research, since the effects of initiatives and activities can be neither visualised nor measured. For this purpose, interventions at the BRF Open Forum and views from residents of each neighbourhood analysed are reported.

In addition, to complement both the tangible and the intangible analysis, fifteen one-to-one interviews with key-informants from different sectors have been held to gather diverse points of view based on different experiences in a detailed way. The first one (K1) covered the riverside frontage from Tower Bridge to Blackfriars Road over the last 25 years and was the coordinator of the Bankside Resident Forum from 2009 to 2011. The second one (K2) is the Curator of Regeneration and Community Partnerships at Tate. The third one (K3) is a former Deputy Leader and Executive Member for Housing at Southwark Council from 2006 to 2010 and current founder and managing director of the independent corporate finance and real estate consultancy "Carvil Venture". The fourth one (K4) is the director of Blackfriars Settlement, a charity based in Southwark for over 125 years that creates and provides community services and support. The fifth one (K5) is the coordinator of the projects of the "*Cada Die Teatro*", a theatre company which performs at *La Vetreria*. The sixth one (K6) is a co-founder of the cultural association "*Cemea*" which operates at *La Vetreria*. The seventh one (K7) is a stage manager at "*Il Crogiuolo*", a theatre company which has its stage in *La Vetreria*. The eighth one (K8) is an employee at the planning office of Pirri. The ninth one (K9) is the secretary of the "*Amici di Santa Cecilia*", which is located at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. The tenth one (K10) is the founder of the non-profit organisation "*Mi Attivo Flaminio*". The eleventh one (K11) is the coordinator of the neighbourhood civic participation movement "*Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio*" *and president of the association "Carte in Regola*". The twelfth one (K12) is the administrator of the politically independent group "*Quartiere Flaminio*". The thirteenth one (K13) is the president of the association "*I Bambini per il Flaminio*". The fourteenth one (K14) is the director of the cultural activities at the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*" which operates at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. The fifteenth one (K15) is the author of the book "*La via Flaminia dal miliaro aurea a Ponte Milvio, riscoprendo il quartiere Flaminio*" Once again, Italian records have been translated by the author ensuring fidelity to the meaning of the original and possibly maintaining dynamics of the original. Moreover, dates

and locations of the interviews are reported in **appendix 3**, questions asked to key informants are detailed in English in **appendix 4**, and the original text of the Italian native speakers is reported **as footnotes**.

This allowed the creation of a useful picture of both current reality and historical development and to assemble a broad cross-section of views and opinions from those with extensive knowledge of the area.

4. Analysis

The multi-method framework previously defined in chapter 3.3 is here operationalised through a cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis and simultaneously comparative ward level analysis flanked by visual analysis plus two sets of qualitative analysis based on the voices of the local residents and on the opinions of key informants covering the diverse angles such as the formulation of the cultural regeneration programme, the local planning sector, the real estate sector, the charities operating in the area, etc. Key dates, against which the changes will be interpreted and discussed, are highlighted for each case study in every analysis. Overall, the analysis is structured in two complementary parts. The first one focuses on the tangible (hard) effects of the opening of the three cultural centres. The second one focuses on the intangible (soft) part and enquires about activities organised to involve the local communities. Data have been collected from a variety of sources and these will be described in the following chapter.

4.1 Data Sources

All the data used in the quantitative and qualitative analysis have been compiled, calculated and processed by the author after collecting them from a vast range of renowned sources, which will be illustrated below separately for each case study considered.

4.1.1 London

Sources consulted for the London case study include The Lost Pubs Project, The Borough Market, Shakespeare Globe Trust, Bankside Lofts, Fourmation, New London Development, Severfield, London SE1, Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, the UK Data Service, the London Datastore, Norman, the Land Registry, the Greater London Authority, key informants and local residents.

The Lost Pubs Project collects anecdotes, historical information and photographs of closed English pubs in order to archive their memory before they are forgotten. It is an online website that mainly relies on the collaboration of Internet users, who provide the documentation on closed pubs, which is published on the website after control of historical accuracy.

The Borough Market is owned by a charitable trust and it is run by board of volunteer trustees, who oversee its strategic governance and have the responsibility to bequeath the Market to the next generation in the best possible conditions. They also have a website, from which information on the market and its history have been extracted for this study.

The Shakespeare's Globe Trust was founded by the American actor, director and producer Sam Wanamaker with the aim to reconstruct the theatre and to create an education centre and permanent exhibition. In their website, it is possible to read the history of the Globe and the rebuilding phases.

Bankside Lofts is a Manhattan Loft Corporation development, which has its own website, where information on the project, pictures of the realised building and characteristics of the Bankside area are provided.

Fourmation is the interior design studio that projected the 2600 sqm exposition area of Vinopolis by restructuring the existing building to create a new experience supported by interactive games and video contents. Their website provides information on both the opening year and the characteristics of the intervention.

New London Development showcases the principal commercial and residential developments across London. Among these, a web page is entirely dedicated to Bankside Mix, the mixed-use development constituted by three buildings, which offers both office and retail space.

Severfield is the structural steel company that was responsible for the fabrication of the structural steelwork and for the erection of the Thameslink Borough Viaduct bridge.

London SE1 is a community website dedicated to the correspondent London area of Bankside. It provides a detailed chronicle of the installation of the Thameslink during the Bank Holiday weekend of May 2011.

Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners are the architects who design the 217 residential units of Neo Bankside. Their website has a webpage dedicated to the intervention, where information on the project and pictures of the realised blocks are provided.

UK Data Service provides access to England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland census aggregate data. It is possible to extract data from the website by selecting the area of interest and choosing the output geography and the dataset needed.

The London Datastore is a free and open data-sharing portal where it is possible to access data relating to the capital. The Census Information Scheme provides the spreadsheets containing the census statistics for the 33 London local authorities, the GLA and its Functional Bodies.

Paul Norman of the University of Leeds has reproduced Townsend and Carstairs indices using 2001 Census data and allowed the UK Data Service to make them available:

The Land Registry tracks the property sales in England and Wales that are submitted to them for registration. Data on property transaction prices are available on their website at borough, ward, Lower SOAs, Middle SOAs and postcode level.

The Greater London Authority provides estimates on average gross annual household income for, Lower SOAs, Middle SOAs, Wards and Boroughs of London.

The key informants consulted are the coordinator of the Bankside Resident Forum from 2009 to 2011, the curator of Regeneration and Community Partnerships at Tate, the former Deputy Leader and Executive Member for Housing at Southwark Council from 2006 to 2010 and current founder and managing director of the independent corporate finance and real estate consultancy "Carvil Venture" and the director of Blackfriars Settlement, a charity based in Southwark for over 125 years that creates and provides community services and support.

4.1.2 Cagliari

Sources consulted for the Cagliari case study include the Comune of Cagliari, Vacca srl, the Camera di Commercio of Cagliari, key informants and local residents.

The Comune of Cagliari provides information on the regeneration project and the census data on its population.

Vacca srl is the construction company that realised La Residenza nel Parco. Their website include a webpage dedicated to the project, which displays pictures of residential blocks and provides information on the characteristics of the residential units.

The Camera di Commercio of Cagliari provides the property prices related to real estate transactions registered in Cagliari.

The key informants consulted are the coordinator of the projects of the "Cada Die Teatro", a theatre company which performs at La Vetreria, a co-founder of the cultural association "Cemea", which operates at La Vetreria, a stage manager at "Il Crogiuolo", a theatre company which has its stage in La Vetreria and an employee at the planning office of Pirri.

4.1.3 Rome

Sources consulted for the Rome case study include, Fondazione Musica per Roma, Pro Loco Roma, p+A, Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, Roma Capitale, ISTAT, Agenzia delle Entrate, key informants and local residents.

The Fondazione Musica per Roma is the foundation that runs the Auditorium Parco della Musica and updates the website where information on the Auditorium, its project, the ongoing activities, the shows and the events placed there are delivered.

The Pro Loco Roma is a volunteer, grass-roots organization which seeks to promote Rome as touristic destination. On its website, there is a webpage dedicated to the MAXXI, where it is possible to find information and pictures of the project.

p+A is an internet portal specifically designed for architects where various thematic sections address the potential interests of the professionals in the architecture field. One of these sections is dedicated to relevant projects and, among them, one webpage is dedicated to the Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli.

Cassa Depositi e Prestiti is an Italian investment bank which manages the investments of public bodies, such as real estate funds. The fund which includes the project for the realisation of the City of Science is among these. Cassa Depositi e Prestiti updates the information related to the project on a website entirely dedicated to the City of Science.

Roma Capitale is the local council of Rome, which promoted the initiative "Open Data Roma" to promote the free distribution of public electronic data. Accordingly, all the data collected by the public administrations in Rome are freely downloadable on the website.

The ISTAT is the Italian National Institute of Statistics, a public independent research organisation, which produces official statistics in the service of citizens and policy-makers. It provided the census data on Rome.

The Agenzia delle Entrate is an Italian public agency that conducts tax audits. It the property prices related to real estate transactions registered in Rome.

The key informants consulted are the secretary of the "*Amici di Santa Cecilia*", which is located at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, the founder of the non-profit organisation *"Mi Attivo Flaminio"*, the coordinator of the neighbourhood civic participation movement *"Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio" and*

president of the association "Carte in Regola", the administrator of the politically independent group "*Quartiere Flaminio*", the president of the association "*I Bambini per il Flaminio*", the director of the cultural activities at the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*" which operates at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* and the author of the book "*La via Flaminia dal miliaro aurea a Ponte Milvio, riscoprendo il quartiere Flaminio*".

4.2 Tangible Part - Visual Analysis

According to Evans' (2005) classification, in cultural regeneration, it is identifiable a tangible part constituted by a hard intervention like the construction of a museum or the opening of a cultural centre. In the section, visual analysis identifies landscape changes and consequently hypothesize reinvestment of capital and commercial displacement due to rental increase. For each case study, a map illustrates all the interventions observed in the area after the construction of the new cultural infrastructure and a table reports their building year to facilitate the relation with the opening of the cultural architecture.

4.2.1 London

Drawing from Davidson and Lees (2005) definition of the third wave of gentrification the visual analysis points at a significant change in the landscape of the area since the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery and the new large-scale luxury residential estates constitute the evidence of reinvestment of capital from both residents and developers. Additionally, the characteristics of the third wave enlightened by Ball (1994) and Hackworth and Smith (2001) are recognisable. While many pubs have closed, there has been the emergence of new estates and new activities, commercial and not commercial, with the construction or the rehabilitation of buildings (**Map 7**). This process was supported by the government that improved the infrastructure to ameliorate access to the area in order to attract large investors endowed with important economic capacity.

Map 7 visualises pubs that have been closed within the boundaries of the ward of Cathedral in red and in yellow in the immediate vicinity after the designation of the power station as the location of the Tate Modern Gallery in 1994. These are listed in the online database created by the "The London Pub Project", which is continuously updated by users, who can also add anecdotes, historical information and photographs. Accordingly, some pubs have been simply demolished, while others have been converted into flats, offices, restaurants, hotels or dance clubs. Many more are recorded in the database, but dates of closure are not always reported. **Map 7** also shows in green the major

interventions that have changed the area landscape since the inception of the Tate programme in the 1990s. Both the physical and functional transformations of the urban fabric in Bankside are shown in detailed in **Map 8**, while **Table 2** reports their details.
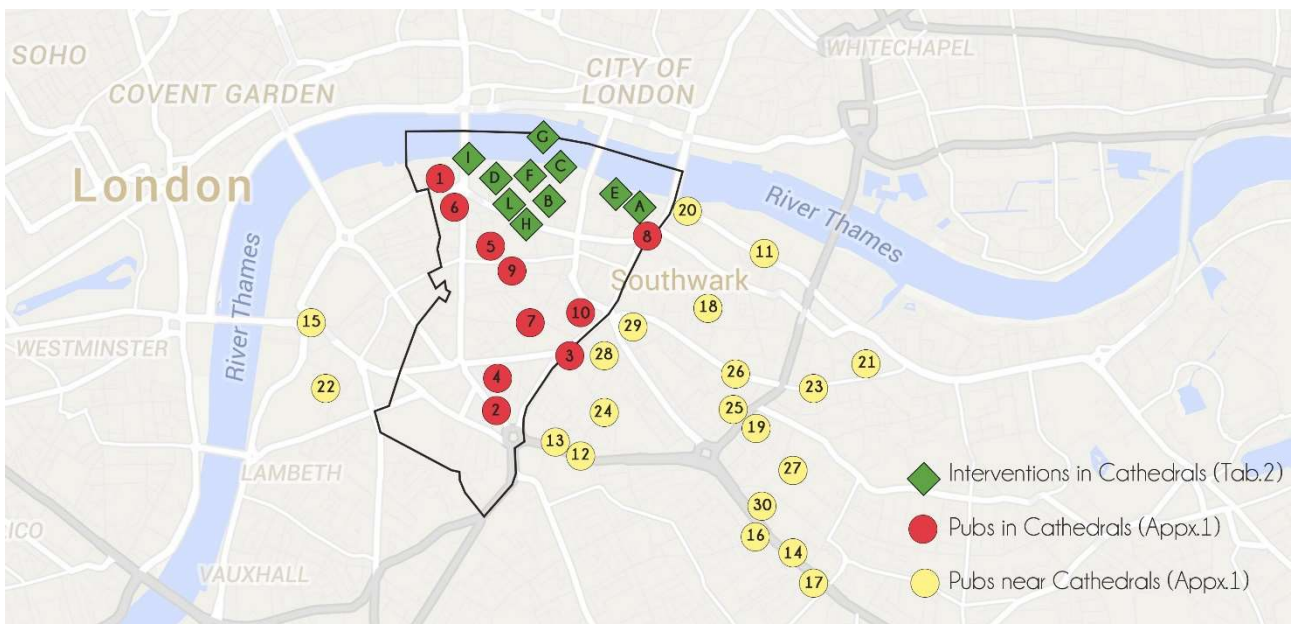
Map 7. Closed pubs and interventions in Cathedrals and in the surrounding areas. Source: compiled by the author through My Maps (Google). Data from (The Lost Pubs Project, 2015). **Appendix 2** reports the names, closure years and addresses.
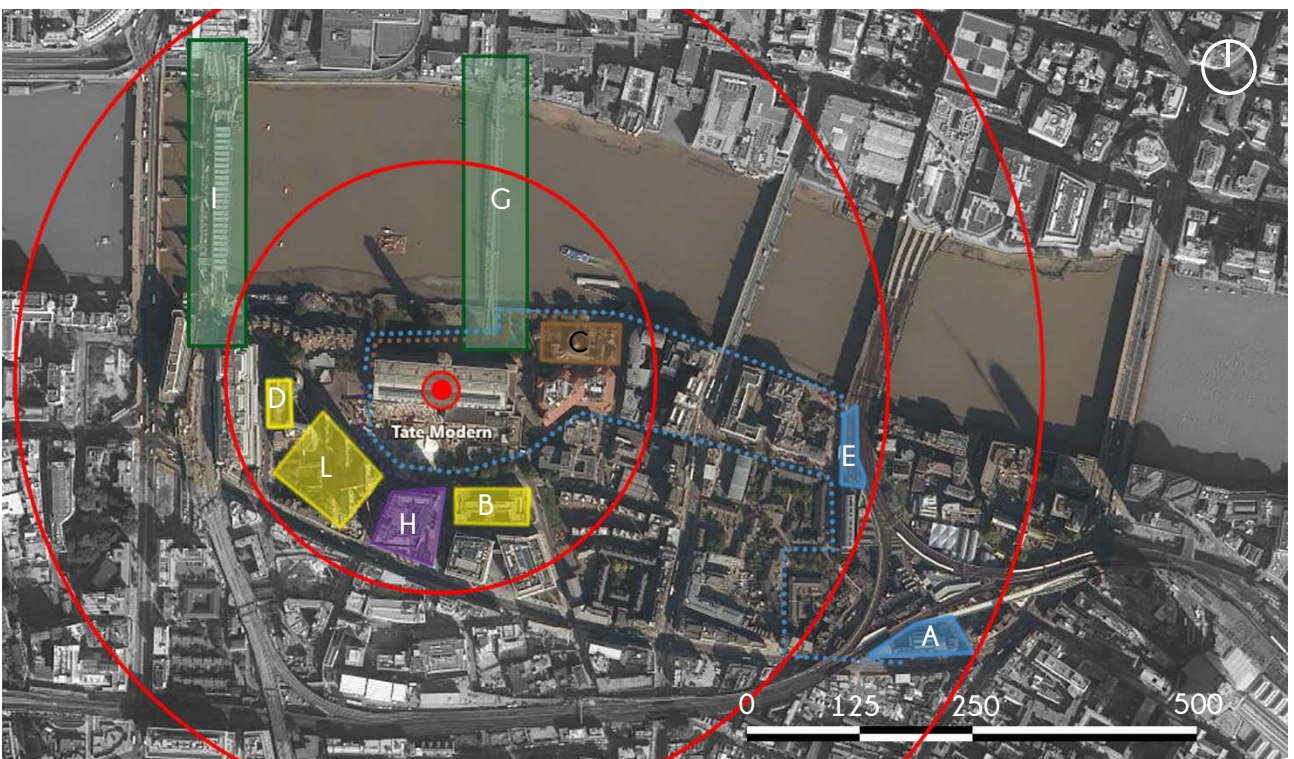
Map 8. Physical and functional transformations of the urban fabric of Bankside. Source: compiled by the author through BingMaps.

Map 8 visualises the proximity of new transport infrastructure (green) that favoure site reachability, the presence within walking distance (dotted lines) from the Tate Modern Gallery of another cultural destination (brown), leisure centres (blue) and shopping mall (purple) that attract both residents and tourists into the Bankside area. In addition, new residential buildings (yellow) testify conspicuous reinvestment of capitals. In the middle of the map the Tate Modern Gallery constitutes a strong pole of attraction per se (red circles).

	Image	Opening year	Notes
A	**Fig.7.** Borough Market.	1990s	The market started hosting special retail events during the 1990s. In 1999 the Market Trustee decided to hold a regular monthly retail market that became weakly in a short time determining a big increase in the number of visitors in the area.
B	**Fig.8.** Bankside House.	1995	Offices of the Bankside Power Station converted into a student residence for the London School of Economics.

C	**Fig.9.** Shakespeare Globe Theatre.	1997	It was reconstructed thanks to the commitment of the American actor, director and producer Sam Wanamaker. The building includes the theatre, an education centre and a permanent exhibition.
D	**Fig.10.** Bankside Lofts.	1998	Residential complex.
E	**Fig.11.** Vinopolis.	1999	2600 sqm of wine showcase area, which offers interactive learning technology and includes: a bar, a reception, an auditorium and blending rooms with interactive games and video content.

F	**Fig.12.** Tate Modern Gallery.	2000	Power Station converted into an art gallery.
G	**Fig.13.** The London Millennium Footbridge.	2000	Link between St. Paul's Cathedral and the Tate Modern.
H	**Fig.14.** Bankside Mix.	2007	Mixed development which provides 71525 sqm of office space and 7058 sqm of retail. .

| I |
Fig.15. Thameslink Borough Viaduct Bridge. | 2011 | Railway viaduct installed above Borough High Street. |
| L |
Fig.16. Neo Bankside. | 2012 | Residential development.
. |

Tab.2. Interventions in Cathedrals. Source: compiled by the author, data from (Knight, 2014, Borough Market, 2013, Ellis, 2012, University Rooms, 2015, Folger, 2015, Shakespeare Globe Trust, 2015, Linwood, 2008, Bankside Lofts, 2000, Gobetz, 2006, Fourmation, 2015, Habitat, 2015, Benjaminfeenstra, 2011, New London Development, 2008, Severfield, 2011, London SE1, 2011, Sumner, 2013, Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, 2015).

4.2.2 Cagliari

Visual analysis does not show reinvestment of capital either from residents or developers, as expected by Davidson and Lees (2005) in gentrified areas. Although the public sector converted the old railway station in the close shopping mall into a light railway station to improve the accessibility of the area through this service, investors endowed with economic capacity have not been attracted here. Indeed, it is possible to identify only one mixed-use development and only one building restoration. In addition, many of the residential units are still unsold, sign that the area is not attractive either as a place to live. **Map 9** shows in green the major interventions that have changed the area landscape since the realisation of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in 2003. Both the physical

and functional transformations of the urban fabric in Is Bingias are shown in detailed in **Map 10**, while **Table 3** reports their details.
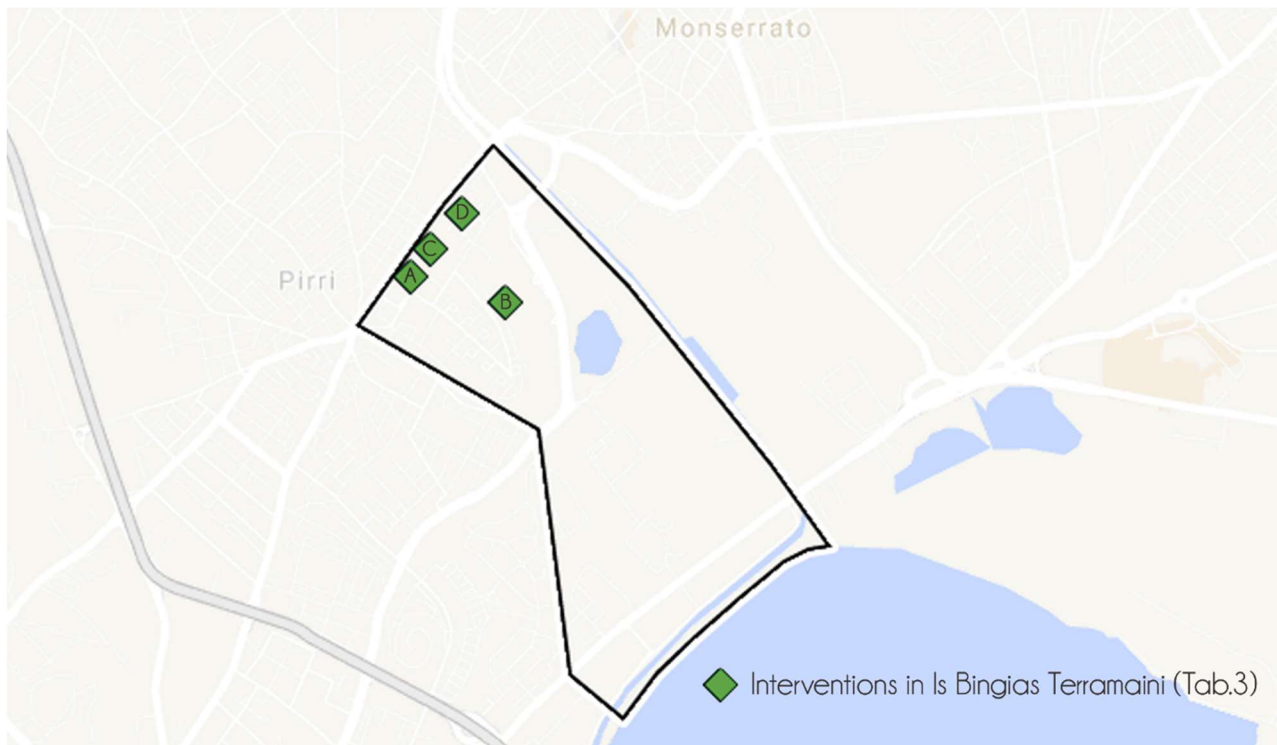
Map.9. Interventions in Is Bingias. Source: compiled by the author through My Maps (Google).

Map 10. Physical and functional transformations of the urban fabric of Is Bingias. Source: compiled by the author through BingMaps.

Map 10 visualises the location of the new light railway station (green). The only two new residential buildings realised are highlighted as well (yellow). In the middle of the map La Vetreria is represented with only two circles since it does not exercise strong attraction per se.

	Image	Opening year	Notes
A	Fig. 17. *La Vetreria.*	2003	Distillery and glassmaker converted into a cultural centre.
B	Fig. 18. The light railway station in Pirri.	2008	The station used to be a railway station until it was converted into light railway.
C	Fig. 19. La Residenza nel Parco.	2012	More than half of the flats (28 out 53) were still unsold by the end of June 2016, although they had been launched in the market in 2008.

| D |
Fig. 20. Residential redevelopment. | Two-story residential building located on the corner of Via Italia and Via Dolianova |

Tab.3. Interventions in Is Bingias. Source: compiled by the author, data from (Comune Cagliari, 2016, Vacca srl, 2016).

4.2.3 Rome

Visual analysis shows that after the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* the public sector constructed both new infrastructure and new cultural destinations. Moreover, the Science City, a mixed-use development project to regenerate the area of the barracks Guido Reni, is currently in progress. In addition, preliminary studies are currently being conducted to realise the Park of the Arts. **Map 11** shows in green the major interventions that have changed the area landscape since the inception of the project in 1994. **Table 4** reports their details. However, no private initiatives can be identified in the area. This can be attributed mainly to the fact that there were no plots available since the whole neighbourhood was already fully constructed with buildings considered to be of national architectural or historic interest (K.12).
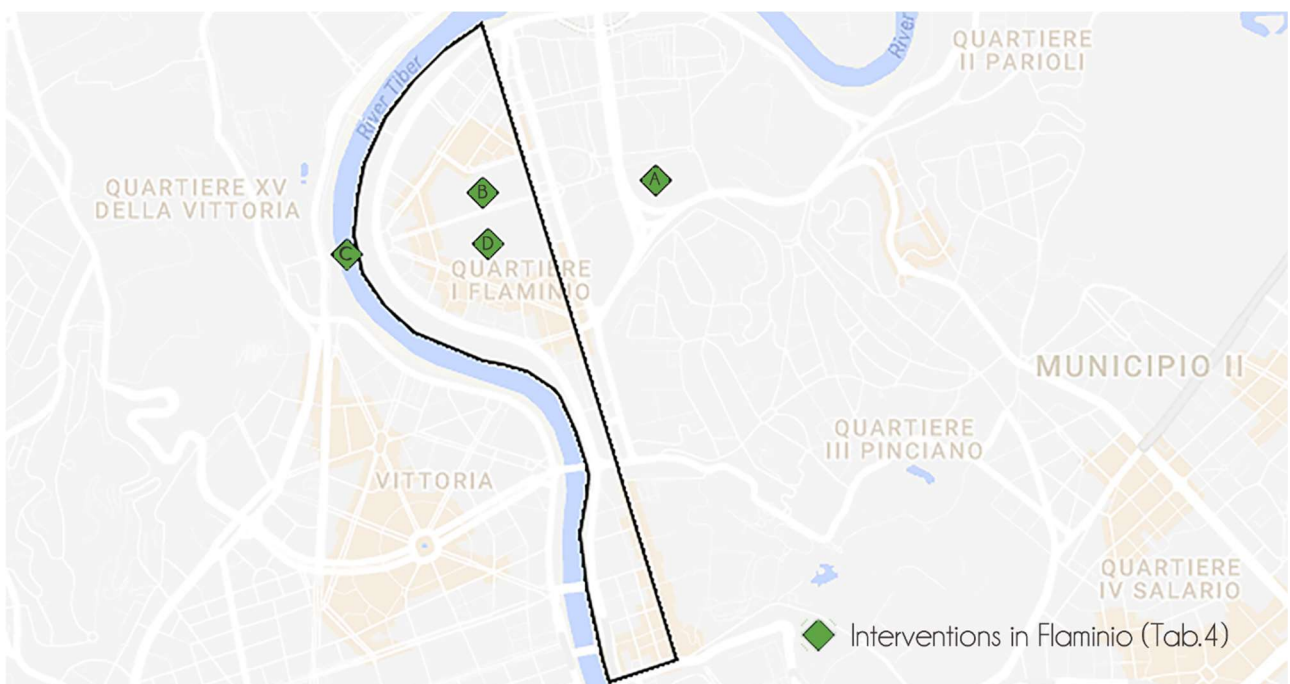
Map.11. Interventions in Flaminio. Source: compiled by the author through My Maps (Google).

Map 12. Physical and functional transformations of the urban fabric of Flaminio. Source: compiled by the author through BingMaps.

Map 12 visualises the proximity of the new bridge (green), which favourites site reachability, the presence within walking distance (dotted lines) from the Auditorium of other cultural destinations (continuous brown: the already realised MAXXI, dashed line: the project of the City of Science), that attract both residents and tourists into the Bankside area. In the middle of the map the Auditorium constitutes a strong pole of attraction per se (red circles).

	Image	Opening year	Notes
A	**Fig.21.** *Auditorium Parco della Musica.*	2002	Multi-functional complex dedicated to music which includes a series of spaces for commercial, recreational, exhibition and study activities.

B	**Fig.22.** The MAXXI.	2010	Public museum commissioned by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism has been completed after eleven troubled years from its approval.
C	**Fig.23.** Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli.	2011	The 190-meter long bridge connects the neighborhood of Flamino to the one of Della Vittoria.
D	**Fig.24.** The Science City.	Ongoing	The winning project includes a museum, a hotel, residences, commercial activities, a multi-purpose area and a building for local association meetings.
E	**Fig.25.** The Park of the Arts.	Ongoing	Public park which connects the hills of Villa Glori and Monte Mario incorporating the Sports Hall, the Flaminio Stadium, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* and the Maxxi.

Tab.4. Interventions in Flaminio. Source: compiled by the author, data from (ClassicTic, 2016, Pro Loco Roma, 2016, Cipolletti, 2011, p+A, 2011, CDP, 2014).

4.2.4 Differences and similarities

In all the three case studies analysed the government improved the infrastructure to ameliorate access to the area in order to attract large investors endowed with important economic capacity. In particular, the Millennium Footbridge and the Thameslink viaduct have been built in London, an old dismissed railway station has been converted into a light railway station in Cagliari and the *Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli* has been constructed in Rome. However, the effect has not been the same everywhere. On the contrary, in London many other developments, entirely financed by private investors, have been realised, whereas in Cagliari only a few unpretentious real estate private investments are detectable and in Rome the all the interventions identified in the area are part of integrated regeneration plans

4.3. Tangible Part - Quantitative Analysis

Visual analysis of the tangible part is here complemented by quantitative analysis, which explores socio-demographic and economic changes. It enquires whether social upgrading has occurred and, in case of positive evidence, if it is due to the influx of upper-class households flanked by the eventual loss of social diversity or thanks to the upward social mobility of the original population. Since the three case studies are located in two different nations and three different regions, it has not been possible to gather data on identical variables due to the diversity of the statistical offices that provide them. Nevertheless, similar variables able to represent the same phenomenon have been considered. For example, data on people employed in elementary occupations and on manager and professional positions are not available in Rome, but data on unemployment decrease are discussed. Vice versa, both in Cagliari and London data on unemployment variation are not available at ward level, but variation of the number of people employed in elementary occupations and in manager and professional positions are analysed. Differently, data on average income are not published at ward level in Italy, consequently deprivation index and housing affordability are not definable either in Cagliari or in Rome.

Drawing from the examples of Davidson and Lees (2005) and Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012), cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on Census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 in the ward of Cathedrals and compared to those of the surrounding wards of Chaucer, Newington, Riverside and Bishop in London. Data drawn from three Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the museum (year 2000) and the effects in the following decade. Similarly, cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on

Census data from 2001 and 2011 in the ward of Is Bingias and compared to those of the surrounding wards of Monte Leone, Santa Rosalia, San Giuseppe, Santa Teresa and Parteolla in Cagliari. Data drawn from two Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the cultural centre (year 2003) and the effects in the following decade. Accordingly, cross sectional and longitudinal analysis are conducted on Census data from 1991, 2001 and 2011 in the ward of Flaminio and compared to those of the surrounding wards of Pinciano, Della Vittoria, Prati, Parioli and Campo Marzio in Rome. Data drawn from three Census years are adequate to capture the context of evolution of the area before and after the opening of the museum (year 2002) and the effects in the following decade. Comparative ward level analysis is used in order capture and contextualise micro-scale changes and divergence/convergence patterns of change. Moreover, average housing prices trends are reported for each city considered. In addition, data on annual income and changes in housing affordability from 1997 to 2013 are calculated in the case of London.

4.3.1 London

During the twenty-year period between 1991 and 2011 many socio-demographic and economic changes can be observed in the ward of Cathedrals. Concerning the socio-demographic aspects, the ward of Cathedrals had the highest growth of population, especially during the first decade when the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery was announced and inaugurated (**Figure 26**, **Map 13**).
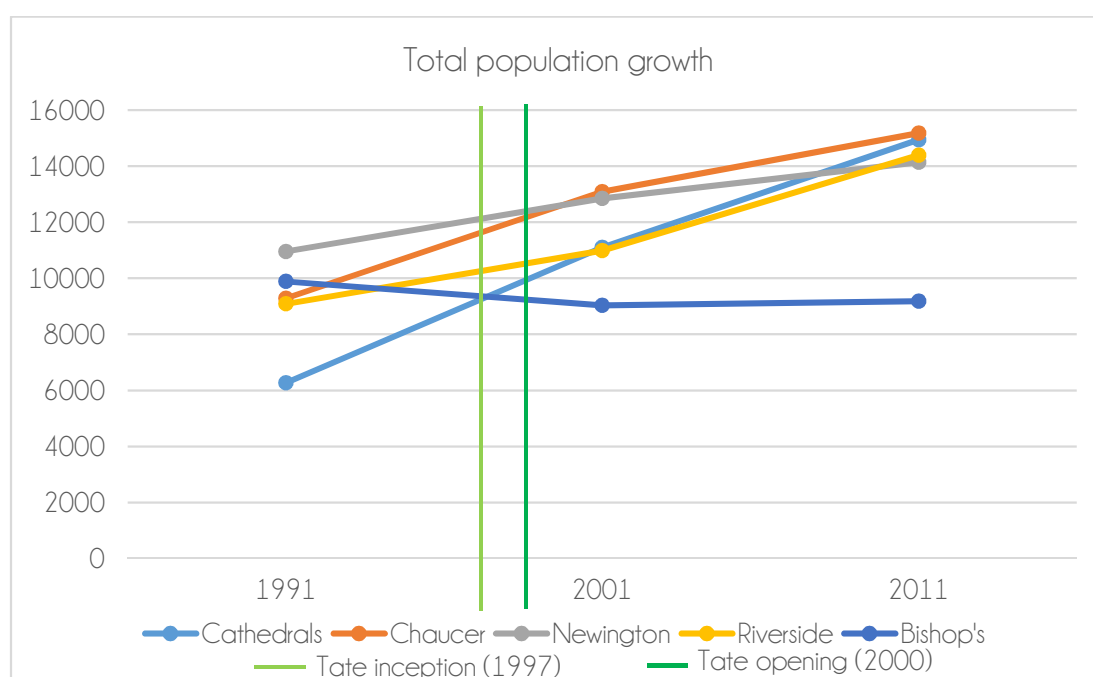
Fig.26. Population growth in London (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service, 2012).

Map 13 clearly visualises the sharpest increase in population growth in Cathedrals and Chaucer by colouring them in the darkest grey. They are contraposed to Bishop's, characterised by population decrease, thus painted in the lightest grey. Newington and Riverside present similar trends, therefore they are coloured in medium grey.

Map 13. Population growth in London (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service, 2012).

This growth was essentially determined by the immigration of people in working age. In particular, the percentage of people aged between 20 and 64 years increased at the expenses of the fraction of older people (**Figure 27, 28** and **29**) so that a sensible rejuvenation of the area is detected.
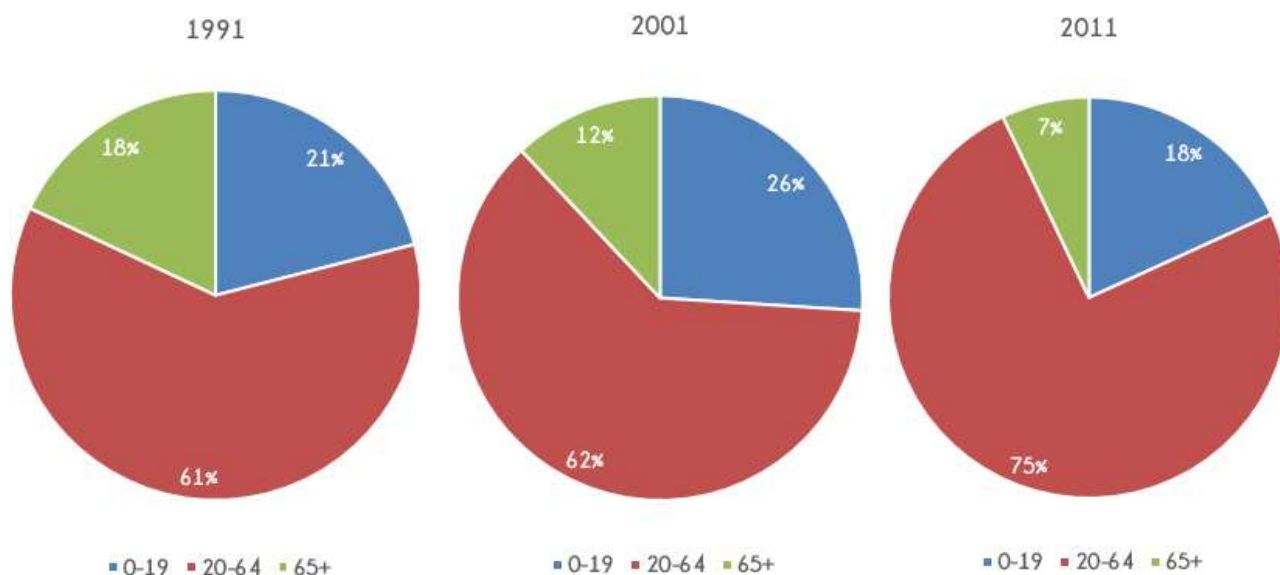
Fig.27, 28, 29. Age distribution in Cathedrals in 1991, 2001 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service, 2012).

This hypothesis is confirmed by a specific focus on the variation of population aged between 20 and 40 years of age and over 65 together with the variation of the ratio of the youngsters to the elderly

reported in **Table 5** that points at a significant rejuvenation of the ward population at almost a 500 percent.

Cathedrals	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
20-40	2115	6134	7.274	190%	19%	244%
65+	1148	1332	1112	16%	-17%	-3%
Ratio (20-40/65+)	184%	461%	654%	276%	194%	470%

Tab.5. Variation in age distribution and ratio of the youngsters to the elderly (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service, 2012).

The increase in Cathedrals' population was mainly determined by the influx of managers and professionals, while people employed in elementary occupations were not attracted by this ward (**Table 6** and **7**, **Map 14** and **15**). Indeed, considering the active population figures in absolute and relative terms, the managers' and professionals' category grew significantly between 1991 and 2011 while the number of people employed in elementary occupations had a small and marginal increase over the same period.
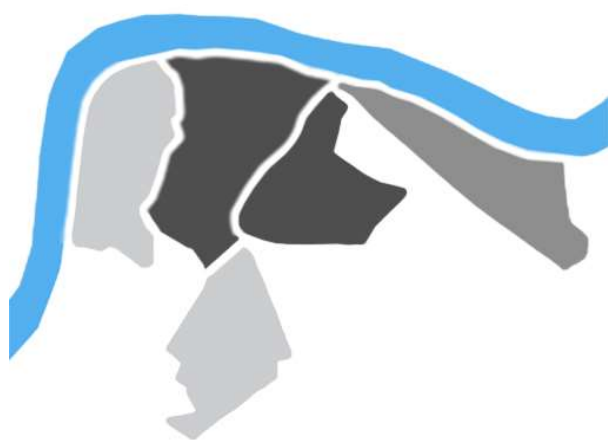
Map 14 compares the variation in managers and professionals in the wards surrounding Cathedrals and visualises the most significant increase of the number of managers and professionals in Cathedrals and Chaucer by painting them in the darkest grey. Riverside is coloured in medium grey, while Bishop's and Newington are in the lightest grey to indicate a progressively more moderate increase.

Map 14. Variation in manager and professional occupational category in absolute terms over the twenty-year period between 1991 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002b, London Datastore, 2012b).

The wards of Cathedrals, Bishop's and Riverside registered the same decrease in the number of people employed in elementary occupations, therefore they are all painted in the same darkest grey. Diversely, Chaucer had no variation, while Newington even registered an increase. For this reason, they are represented in medium grey and lightest grey, respectively.

Map 15. Variation in the ratio of population aged between 20 and 64 years working in elementary occupation over the twenty-year period between 1991 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002b, London Datastore, 2012b).

	Population 20-64 years			Managers and professionals in absolute terms			Managers and professionals variation absolute terms (%)			Managers and professionals as % of pop. aged 20-64			Manager variation as % of population aged 20-64		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Cathedrals	3834	6844	11105	540	1797	3399	1257 (233%)	1602 (89%)	2859 (529%)	14%	26%	31%	12%	4%	17%
Chaucer	5633	8797	11230	520	1601	3417	1081 (208%)	1816 (113%)	2897 (557%)	9%	18%	30%	9%	12%	21%
Newington	6468	8086	9835	870	1309	2172	439 (50%)	863 (66%)	1302 (150%)	13%	16%	22%	3%	6%	9%
Riverside	5701	7716	11257	850	2266	4064	1416 (167%)	1798 (79%)	3214 (378%)	15%	29%	36%	14%	7%	21%
Bishop's	5977	6345	6267	660	1451	2255	791 (120%)	804 (55%)	1595 (242%)	11%	23%	36%	12%	13%	25%

Tab.6. Variation in manager and professional occupational category (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002b, London Datastore, 2012b).

	Population 20-64 years			Elementary occupations in absolute terms			Elementary occupations variation absolute terms (%)			Elementary occupations as % of pop. aged 20-64			Elementary occupations variation as % of population aged 20-64		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Cathedrals	3834	6844	11105	460	883	917	423 (92%)	34 (4%)	457 (99%)	12%	13%	8%	1%	-5%	-4%
Chaucer	5633	8797	11230	530	909	1058	379 (72%)	149 (16%)	528 (100%)	9%	10%	9%	1%	-1%	0%
Newington	6468	8086	9835	730	1014	1313	284 (39%)	299 29%)	583 (80%)	11%	13%	13%	1%	1%	2%
Riverside	5701	7716	11257	640	772	840	132 (21%)	68 (9%)	200 (31%)	11%	10%	7%	-1%	-3%	-4%
Bishop's	5977	6345	6267	860	628	678	-232 (-27%)	50 (8%)	-182 (-21%)	14%	10%	11%	-4%	1%	-4%

Tab.7 Variation in people working in elementary occupation (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service , 2002b, London Datastore, 2012b).

Regarding changes in educational profile, Cathedrals is the ward where there has been the highest increase in the number of people holding a level four qualification or above in absolute terms, whereas the increase as ratio on population over 20 is actually in line with the increase in the wider area (**Table 8**).

	Level 4 qualification and above absolute			Population over20			Variation of absolute numbers			Level 4 or above qualification ratio on population over 20			Difference of ratio on population over 20		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Cathedrals	530	3844	6112	4982	8176	12217	3314(625%)	2268(59%)	5582(1053%)	11%	47%	50%	36 %	3%	39 %
Chaucer	930	3818	6308	7008	9809	12026	2888(311%)	2490(65%)	5378(578%)	13 %	39%	52%	26%	14%	39 %
Newington	1080	2879	4381	8388	9629	11037	1799(167%)	1502(52%)	3301(306%)	13%	30%	40%	17%	10%	2%
Riverside	1080	3556	6914	7213	8962	12179	2476(229%)	3358(94%)	5834(540%)	15%	40%	57%	25%	17%	42%
Bishop's	950	2841	4045	7456	7236	7204	1891(199%)	1204(42%)	3095(326%)	13%	39%	56%	27%	17%	43%

Tab.8. People holding level four and above qualification (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service , 2002d, UK Data Service, 2012, London Datastore, 2012c).

The highest increase in absolute terms of population holding level four and above qualification in Cathedrals is visualised on **Map 16**. Indeed, Cathedrals is coloured in the darkest grey, while Newington and Bishop's are in the lightest grey due to their lowest increases. Riverside and Chaucer are in medium grey, since their variations are in-between Cathedrals and Newington - Bishop's.

Map 16. Variation of population in absolute terms holding level four and above qualification (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002c, UK Data Service , 2002d, UK Data Service, 2012, London Datastore, 2012c).

These changes in the professional and educational profile that indicate a social upgrading of the area are matched by the decrease in the deprivation index (**Table 9**, **Map 17**). It dropped considerably in all the wards considered during the decade between 2001 and 2011, but the reduction was remarkably high in Cathedrals and Bishop's.

Deprivation index	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
Cathedrals	6,92	7,87	2,54	14%	-68%	-63%
Chaucer	10,39	10,49	3,71	1%	-65%	-64%
Newington	6,86	10,32	5,00	50%	-52%	-27%
Riverside	6,49	6,04	4,03	-7%	-33%	-38%
Bishop's	8,33	6,91	2,20	-17%	-68%	-74%

Tab.9. Variation in Carstairs Deprivation Index (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (Eimermann and Lovett, 2013, Norman, 2013, Wheeler, 2015).

Map 17 visualises the noteworthy drop in Deprivation Index observable in Cathedrals, Bishop's and Chaucer in the ten-year period after the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery by painting them in the darkest grey. Simultaneously, it represents Newington in medium grey and Riverside in the lightest grey.

Map 17. Variation in Carstairs Deprivation Index (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (Eimermann and Lovett, 2013, Norman, 2013, Wheeler, 2015).

These demographic and socio-economic changes support the hypothesis of a gentrification process in the area, starting with the inception of the Bankside programme in 1997. **Table 10**, **Map 18** and **figure 30, 31**, and **32** confirm this hypothesis since housing changes are key factors that signal a gentrification process, particularly when they consist in changes in housing tenure from rent to owner occupied (Simon 2002). Indeed, they show that home ownership grew considerably and the distribution of the tenure changed from being mainly social rented to being mostly owner occupied and private rented.

Owner-occupied	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
Cathedrals	503	1253	1488	149,1%	18,8%	195,8%
Chaucer	557	1013	1332	81,9%	31,5%	139,1%
Newington	919	1293	1348	40,7%	4,3%	46,7%
Riverside	872	1683	2011	93,0%	19,5%	130,6%
Bishop's	530	964	962	81,9%	-0,2%	81,5%

Tab.10. Variation in owner occupation tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002a, London Datastore, 2012a).

Map 18 represents in the darkest grey the ward of Cathedrals, where the highest increase in owner occupation tenure is registered in the twenty-year period between 1991 and 2011. Bishop's, Chaucer and Riverside are coloured in medium grey, since they show lower increase than that in Cathedrals. Newington is painted in the lightest grey, due to the lowest increase.

Map 18. Variation in owner occupation tenure in twenty-year period between 1991 and2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (UK Data Service, 2002a, London Datastore, 2012a).
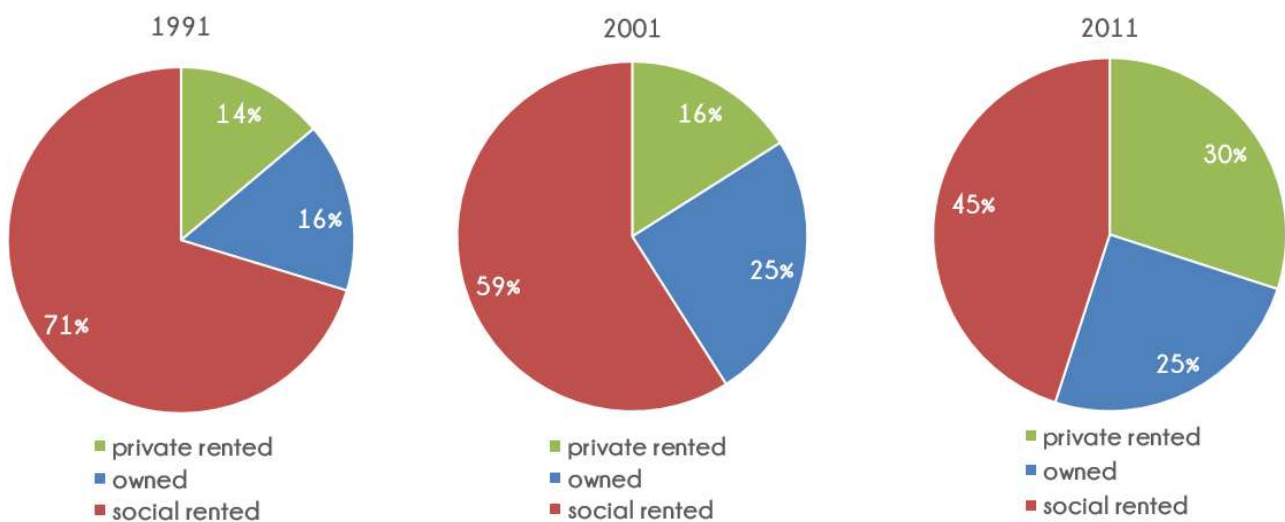
Fig.30, 31, 32. Housing tenure distribution in Cathedrals in 1991, 2001, 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from(UK Data Service, 2002a, London Datastore, 2012a).

These housing tenure transformations and the loss of social rented sector are also linked to an increase in average housing prices (**Figure 33**) which indicates a transformation and uprising of the housing market of all wards and in particular of the ward of Cathedrals where the most significant pattern of tenure change is driven by the increase in housing values.
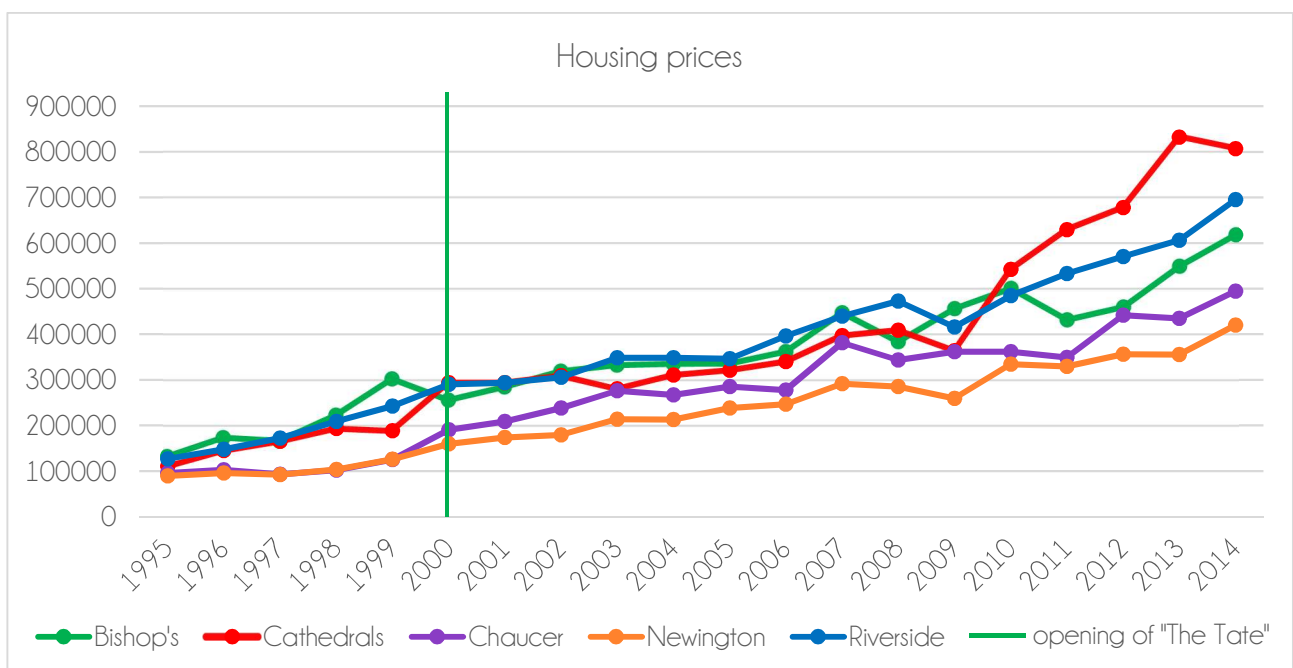
Fig.33. Historic trends of housing prices in Cathedrals and in the surrounding areas (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (Land Registry, 2015).

The line graph shows that housing prices increased consistently in Cathedrals and in the surrounding wards until 2010. After this year, prices increased more sharply in Cathedrals than in the close areas.

This has important consequences in terms of housing affordability. **Tables 11a** and **11b** show that incomes grew consistently over the 1996-2013 period. However, this was driven by the influx of managers and professionals, who determined the steady population growth rather than by the upward mobility of original local residents. For this reason, it is interesting to compare housing affordability considering the real annual income and the annual income of the original residents updated according to inflation. In this way, it can be seen that housing affordability not only diminished dramatically for original residents, but also for the new ones. While in 1997 less than seven annuities were necessary to buy a house for a medium-income resident and a little bit more than seven for original residents, in 2013 almost 16 are required to a medium-income resident and more than 22 to a historical one. This leads to two considerations. On the one hand, people that traditionally inhabit the area are priced out from the current housing market or at least have to make enormous efforts to access it, also due to the loss of social rented sector. On the other hand, access to the housing market is more difficult even for the newcomers, the gentrifiers. This excludes both type of residents from housing purchasing in the area, which is becoming very attractive for international investors who benefit from the rapid increase of property values.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Income (£ per year)	22 669	24 445	26 222	27 998	29 774	31 550	34 020	34 650	36 410
Housing prices (£)	144 596	165 233	193 190	188 231	293 553	293 677	308 757	279 980	310 743
Affordability	6.38	6.76	7.37	6.72	9.86	9.31	9.08	8.08	8.53
Updated inc. 1996 (£)		23 380	24 182	24 554	25 281	25 728	26 157	26 914	27 715
Afford. Inc. 1996		7.07	7.99	7.67	11.61	11.41	11.80	10.40	11.21
Diff. in affordab.		5%	8%	14%	18%	23%	30%	29%	31%

Tab.11a. Housing affordability (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (GLA, 2015, Land Registry, 2015, Bank of England, 2015).

Note. Based on the average weekly household total income (unequivalised). Missing years have been interpolated and extrapolated. Affordability is calculated twice. The first time, it is defined by the relationship between housing price and correspondent income of the same year. The second time, it is determined by the relationship between the housing price and the income of 1996 updated through the inflation calculator of the Bank of England by the year of calculation. The difference between the two affordability indexes is provided in the end.

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Income (£ per year)	38 880	39 810	42 550	43 540	46 940	47 210	49 250	51 270	52 610
Housing prices (£)	321 052	339 955	396 875	408 908	363 484	542 014	628 980	677 656	832 289
Affordability	8.26	8.54	9.33	9.39	7.74	11.48	12.77	13.22	15.82
Updated inc. 1996 (£)	28 498	29 409	30 669	31 892	31 723	33 187	34 914	36 036	37 131
Afford. Inc. 1996	11.27	11.56	12.94	12.82	11.46	16.33	18.02	18.80	22.41
Diff. in affordab.	36%	35%	39%	37%	48%	42%	41%	42%	42%

Tab.11b. Housing affordability (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from (GLA, 2015, Land Registry, 2015, Bank of England, 2015).

To sum up, the changes observed make it plain to see that the phenomenon that Simon (2002) defined as gentrification by aggregation took place particularly in Cathedrals. Indeed, a considerable number of young people of high social and occupational position has been attracted into the area leading to a rejuvenation and social upgrading of locale; with a loss of social diversity and linked to a significant property values increase and housing tenure change.

However, it has to be stated that gentrification is not occurring only in Cathedrals. Although some trends are more pronounced in Cathedrals than in the neighbouring wards, overall similar gentrification patterns can be recognised in the whole area.

4.3.2 Cagliari

Contrastingly with a hypothesis of Regeneration or gentrification, during the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 the population of Is Bingias-Terramaini remained stable both before and after the opening of *La Vetreria* in 2003, as can be observed also in the other surrounding areas of Pirri (**Fig. 34**, **Map 19**), thus suggesting that trends in the neighbourhood are congruent with those of the wider context where the neighbourhood is located and perhaps depending on a composite set of pre-existing urban dynamics. Fig. 34 reports the exact number of residents officially registered, while Map emphasises population variation by colouring each neighbourhood with appropriate grey hue. Since no relevant change can be observed, all the neighbourhoods are painted in the same medium grey, thus visualising population steadiness in the whole area over the seventeen-year period examined.
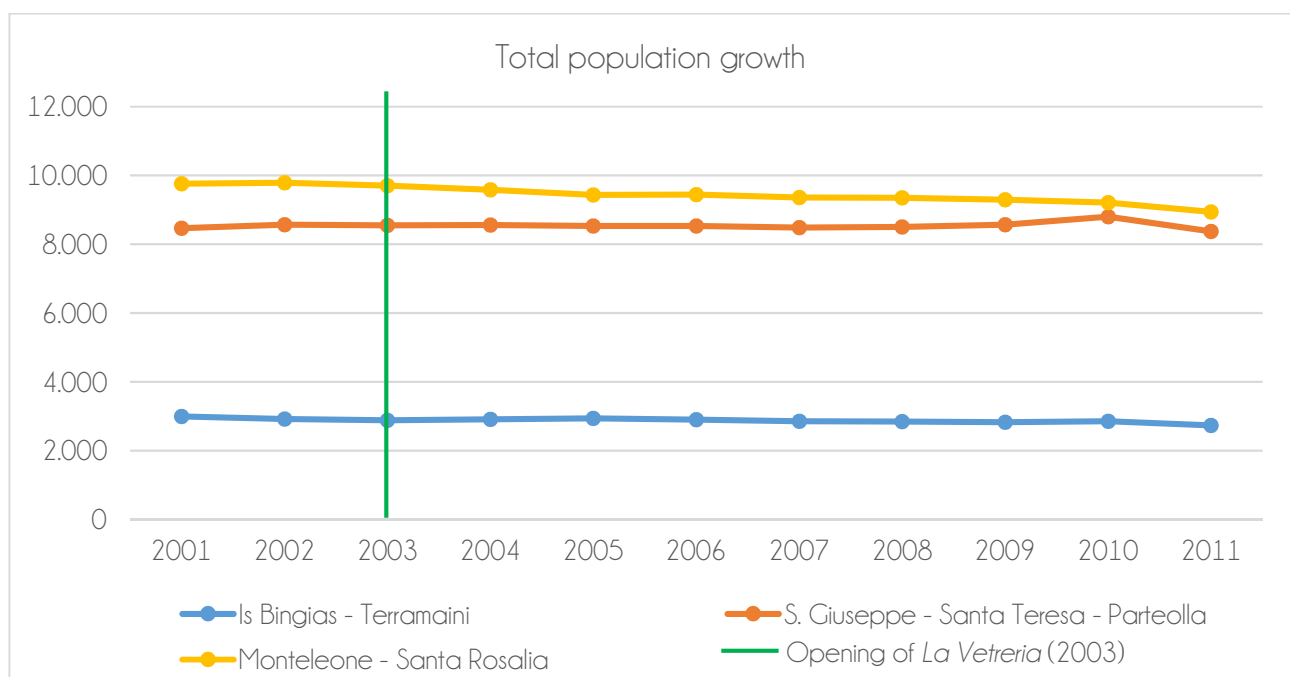
Fig. 34. Population growth in Cagliari (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014)

Map 19 Population growth in Cagliari (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

In addition, the ageing of the population of Is Bingias – Terramaini outweighed all other neighbourhoods in Pirri (Map), as there has been the highest proportion of elderly citizens in any given year between 2001 and 2011. Moreover, the percentage of population ages 65 and above has more than doubled in the examined area in the ten-year period analysed, whereas it has had only a slight increase in the surrounding neighbourhoods (**Fig. 35**). These figures confirm that no Regeneration nor gentrification is happening in Is Bingias and that the opening of *La Vetreria* is not sufficient to contrast the wider scale urban dynamics.
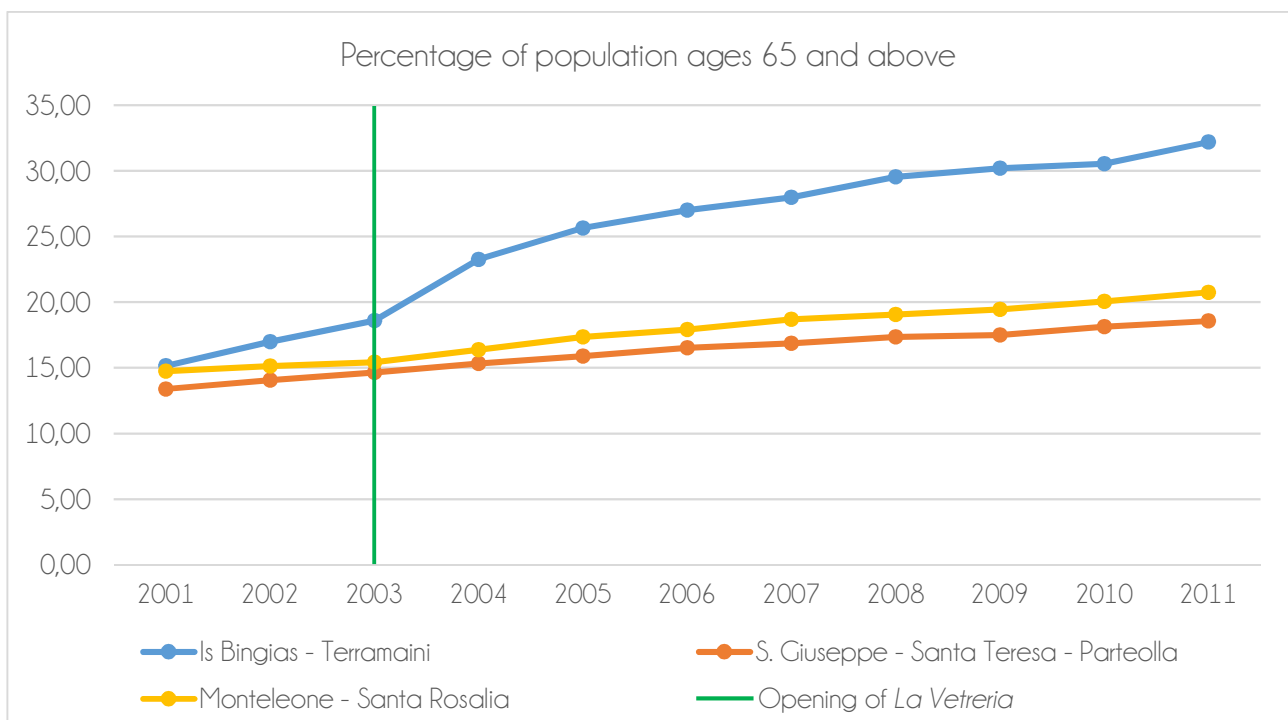
Fig. 35. Percentage of population aged 65 and above (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Map 20 represents in the darkest grey Is Bingias – Terramaini, because here it is registered the highest growth of ratio of population aged 65 and above during the eight-year period after the opening of *La Vetreria*. Differently, Monteleone – Santa Rosalia and S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa – Parteolla are coloured in medium grey, because population aging is less serious than in Is Bingias – Terramaini.

Map 20 Population aging in Cagliari (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Data on employment by sector are provided aggregated in macro-areas that include various neighbourhoods. Consequently, the analysis cannot be very accurate in this aspect. Nonetheless, it is still worth to taking a look at them anyway. One might hypothesises a moderate social upgrading noticing that the number of people employed in elementary occupations decreased by more than 22% in the area where Is Bingias is included whereas the same increased slightly in the other area (**Tab. 12**).

Elementary occupations	2001	2011	Variation
Is Bingias-Terramaini, Monteleone-Santa Rosalia	749	581	-22,43%
Barracca Manna, Is Campus-Is Corrias, Monreale, Villa Doloretta, S. Giuseppe-S. Teresa-Parteolla	906	907	0,11%

Tab. 12. Variation in people working in elementary occupation (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

However, this hypothesis is not proven by the number of entrepreneurs and professionals, whose increase is insignificant in Is Bingias area when compared to the other group of neighbourhoods (**Tab.13**), and it is definitely invalidated by the decrease of the number of people holding a level four qualification or above, diminution that occurred only in Terramaini-Is Bingias whereas it grew consistently in all the other areas (**Tab. 14**, **Map 21**).

Entrepreneurs and professionals	2001	2011	Variation
Is Bingias - Terramaini, Monteleone - Santa Rosalia	338	447	32,25%

Barracca Manna, Is Campus-Is Corrias, Monreale, Villa Doloretta, S. Giuseppe-S. Teresa-Parteolla	333	728	118,62%

Tab.13. Variation in entrepreneurs and professionals (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Level 4 qualification and above	2001	2011	Variation
Is Bingias - Terramaini	1414	1356	-4,10%
S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa - Parteolla	2218	3004	35,44%
Monteleone - Santa Rosalia	3996	4379	9,58%

Tab. 14. Population holding level four and above qualification (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

The only decrease in population holding level four and above qualification is registered in Is Bingias – Terramaini, therefore, the lightest grey colours this area. Medium grey is used for Monteleone – Santa Rosalia, while the darkest grey paints S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa – Parteolla, where considerable increase in population holding level four and above qualification is appreciable.

Map 21 Population holding level four and above qualification (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Neither the analysis of economic aspects supports an upgrade of the area. For example, housing tenure did not change from rent to ownership. On the contrary, the number of owner-occupied houses slightly decreased over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 (**Tab. 15**). Similar trend is observable in the neighbourhoods of Monteleone and Santa Rosalia, where the number of owner-occupied houses decreased, thus leading to hypothesise that more general patterns influence the whole area (**Map 22**).

Owner-occupied	2001	2011	Variation
Is Bingias - Terramaini	931	930	-0,11%
S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa - Parteolla	2227	2466	10,73%
Monteleone - Santa Rosalia	3216	3169	-1,46%

Tab. 15. Variation in owner occupation tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Since both Is Bingias – Terramaini and Monteleone – Santa Rosalia registered a decrease in owner occupation tenure, they are both coloured in the lightest grey. Conversely, variation in owner occupation tenure is positive and quite important in S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa – Parteolla, so that the darkest grey paints this area.

Map 22 Variation in owner occupation tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Differently, the number of rented houses increased by approximately 10% over the same time both in Is Bingias – Terramaini and S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa – Parteolla. The number of rented houses increased in Monteleone – Santa Rosalia as well, but the increase is less evident than in the other areas (**Tab 16**, **Map 23**).

Rented	2001	2011	Variation
Is Bingias - Terramaini	99	109	10,10%
S. Giuseppe - Santa Teresa - Parteolla	642	703	9,50%
Monteleone - Santa Rosalia	416	439	5,53%

Tab. 16. Variation in tenancy tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Map 23 represents in medium grey both Is Binias – Terramaini and S. Giuseppe – Santa Teresa – Parteolla, because they both registered an increase in the number of rented houses by approximately 10 percentage points, whereas Monteleone – Santa Rosalia, characterised by more moderate increase, are coloured in the lightest grey.

Map 23 Variation in tenancy tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Comune di Cagliari 2014).

Not either residential real estate prices have been influenced by the opening of *La Vetreria*, since they varied according to the general property cycle characterized by a steady increase of the prices until the global crisis and a subsequent plateau or fall, regardless the buildings were new (**Fig.**

36), in good conditions (**Fig. 37**) or in need of renovation (**Fig. 38**). It can also be observed that prices in the centre of Pirri, where *La Vetreria* is located, overlapped with those in the transitional areas since 2003 in the case of buildings in new conditions or in need of renovation (**Fig. 37**, **Fig.38**), and since 2001 in the case of new buildings (**Fig. 36**). Consequently, the real estate market suggests that neither Regeneration nor Renaissance happened in Pirri, since, as illustrated above, the market has not consistently grown after the opening of *La Vetereria*, not more than it would anyway, considered the general property cycle.
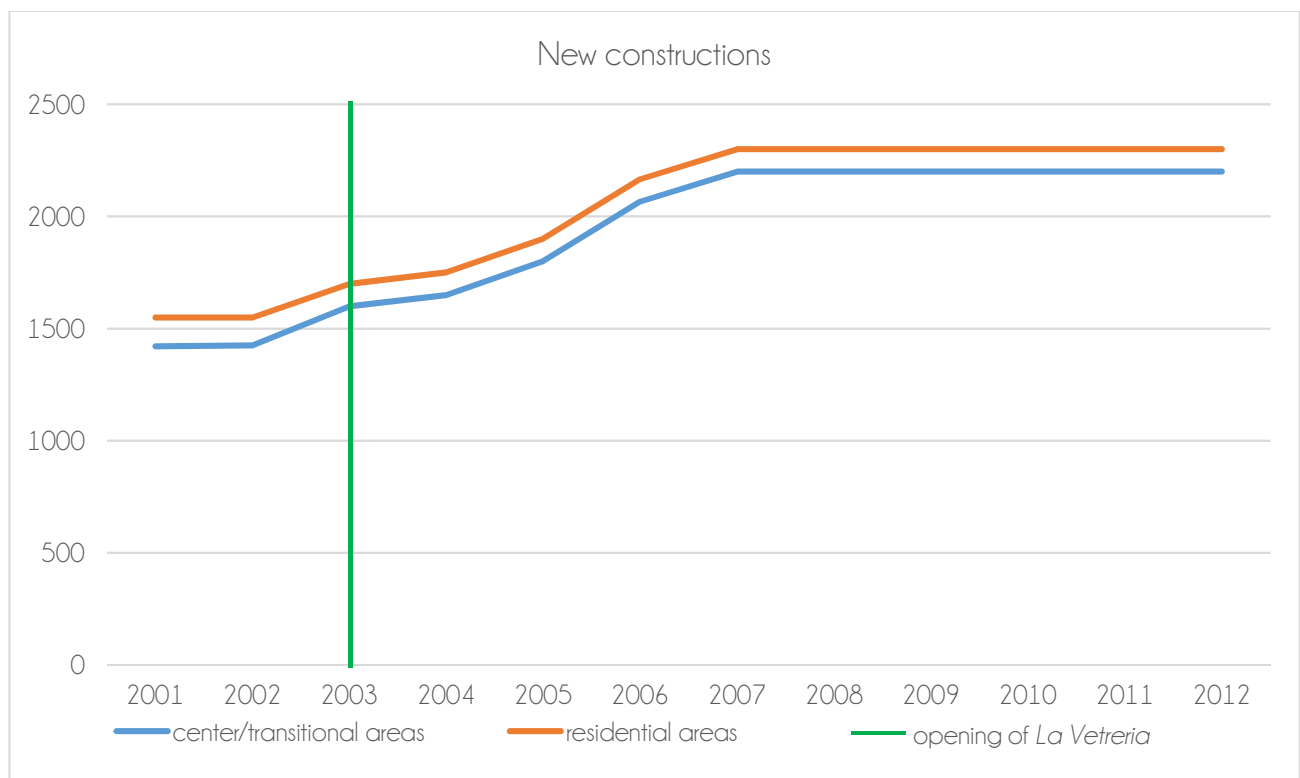
Fig. 36. Historic trends of housing prices in Pirri referred to new constructions (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Camera di Commercio di Cagliari s.d.).

Fig. 37. Historic trends of housing prices in Pirri referred to buildings in good conditions (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Camera di Commercio di Cagliari s.d.).
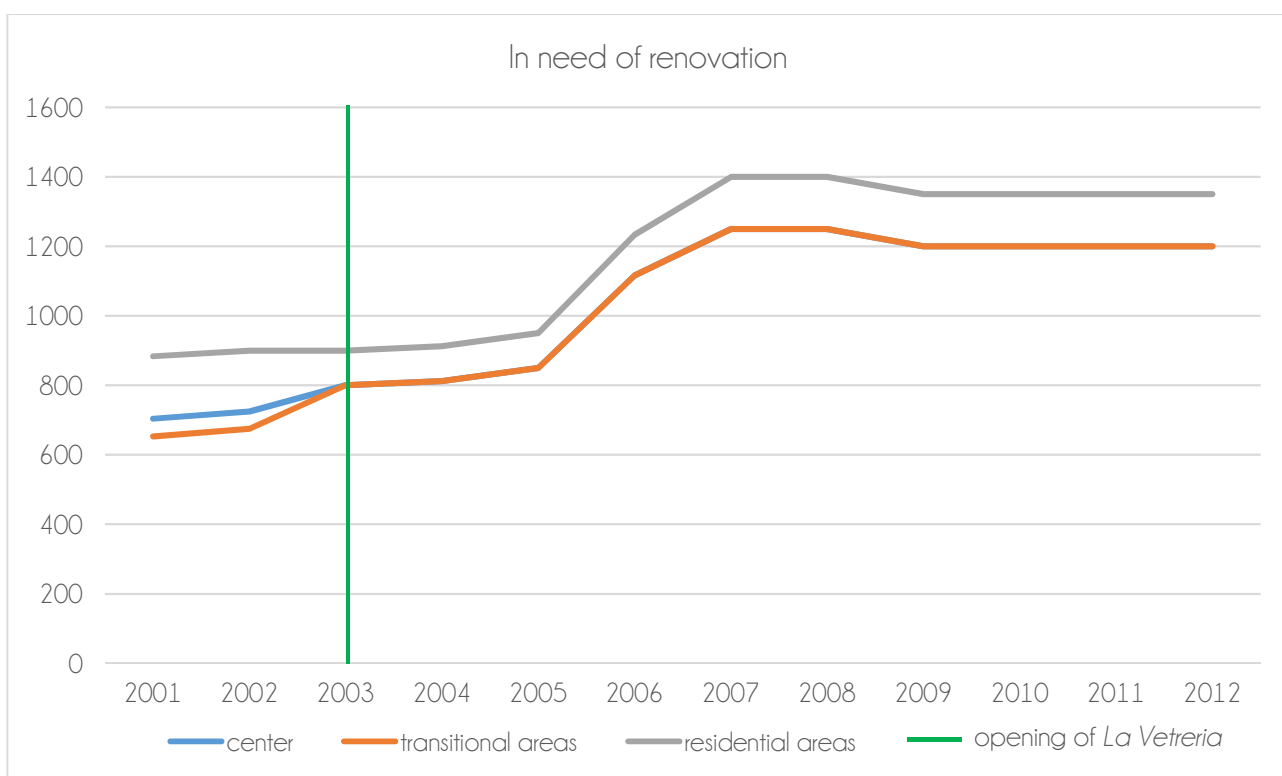
Fig. 38. Historic trends of housing prices in Pirri referred to buildings in need of renovation (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Camera di Commercio Cagliari s.d.).

To sum up, the quantitative analysis showed that population remained stable in number and aged dramatically in the neighbourhood of Is Bingias, symptom that the area is not trendy enough for youngsters. Although the decrease of the number of people employed in elementary occupation might suggest a socio-economic upward mobility of local residents, the figures on entrepreneurs and professionals and on qualification holding prove this hypothesis wrong. Indeed, Is Bingias is the only neighbourhood in Pirri where the number of people holding a level four qualification or above decreased in the ten-year period examined and the number of entrepreneurs and professionals grew by a much smaller rate than in the surrounding areas. On top of that, the analysis of both the housing tenure and of the residential real estate prices deny the upgrade of the area. In fact, there has not been a change from tenancy to owner occupation. Actually, the number of rented houses has even grown. In addition, housing prices varied according to the property cycle, independently from possible influences of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria*.

4.3.3 Rome

During the seventeen-year period between 1997 and 2014 population remained stable in Flaminio both before and after the opening of *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in 2002, as it can also be observed in its surrounding neighbourhoods (**Fig. 39**, **Map 24**). **Fig. 39** reports the exact number of residents officially registered, while **Map 24** emphasises population variation by colouring each neighbourhood with appropriate grey hue. Since no relevant change can be observed, all the neighbourhoods are painted in the same medium grey, thus visualising population steadiness in the whole area over the seventeen-year period examined.
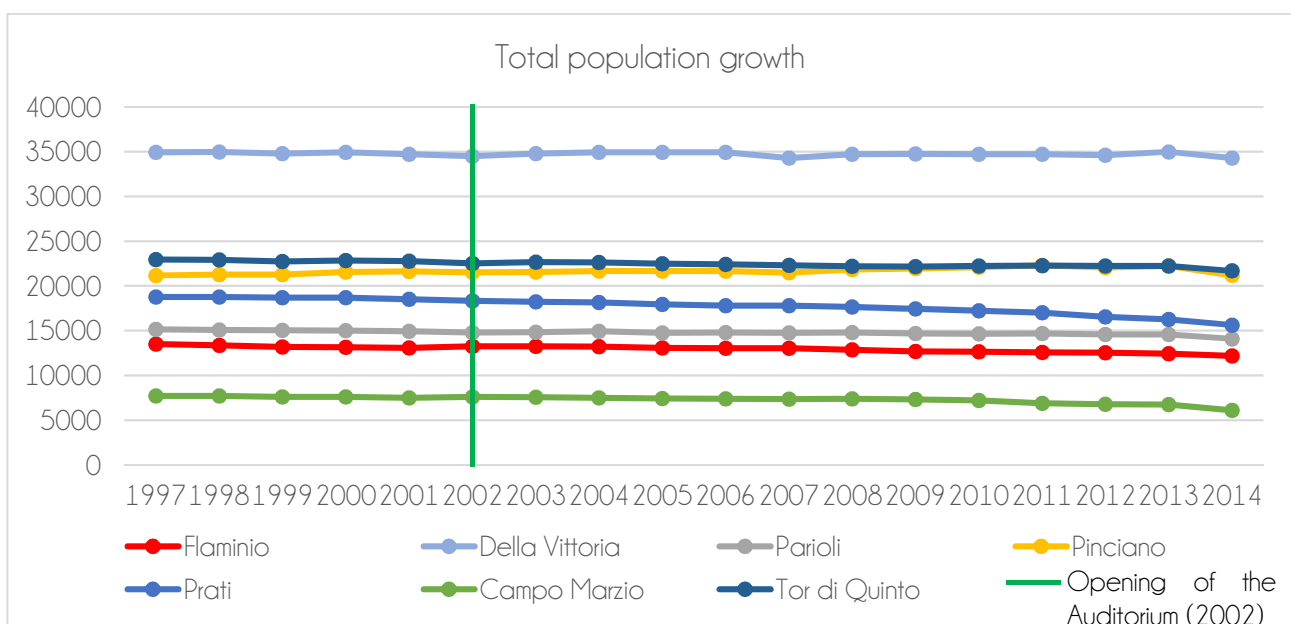
Fig. 39 Population growth in Rome (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Roma Capitale 2016).

Map. 24 Population growth in Rome (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Roma Capitale 2016).

Analysis on age distribution (**Fig. 40, Fig.41, Fig. 42**) shows that Flaminio maintained its characteristics over the twenty-year period examined, since no variation exceed six percentage points.
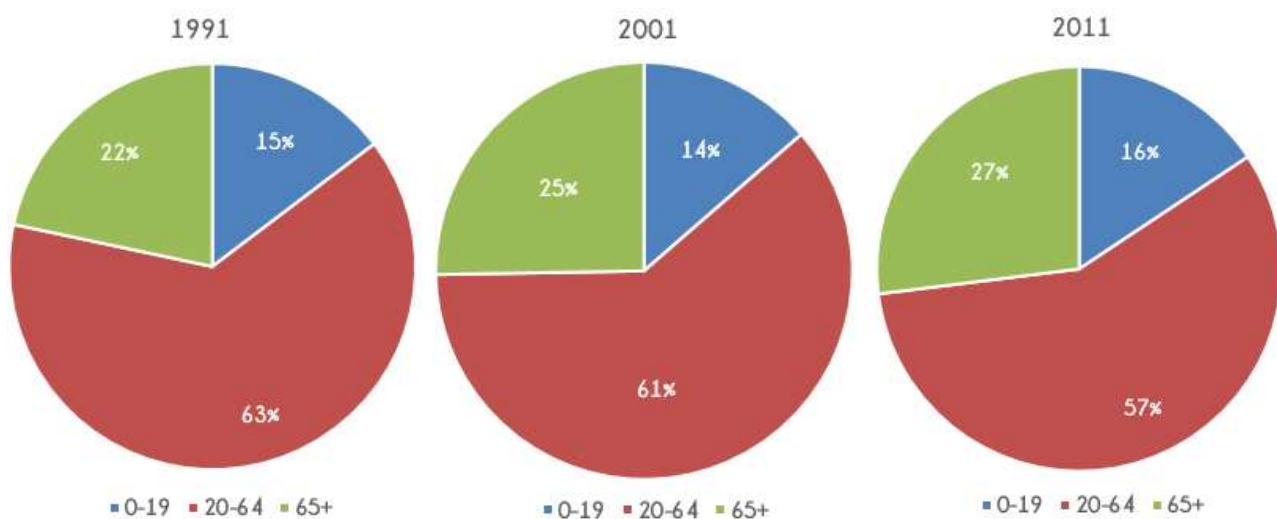
Fig.40, 41, 42. Age distribution in Flaminio in 1991, 2001 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016).

The percentage of children and teenagers remained approximately stable, pointing at a constant birth rate, whereas the slight increase of the elderly at the expenses of the class aged between 20 and 64 suggests that population aged and chose to live their old age in their neighbourhood. This hypothesis is confirmed by the variation of the ratio of the youngsters to the elderly reported in **Table 17**. Combining these observations with the steadiness of the population it is also possible to exclude an influx of people from outside the neighbourhood.

Flaminio	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
20-40	4263	3185	2214	-25%	-30%	-48%
65+	2970	2974	3039	0%	2%	2%
Ratio (20-40/65+)	144%	107%	73%	-26%	-32%	-49%

Tab.17. Variation in age distribution and ratio of the youngsters to the elderly (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016).

Data on the types of occupation are not available, but examining unemployment rates (**Tab. 18, Map 25**) it can be seen that unemployment dropped in Flaminio especially in the course of ten years during which the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* was opened, performing better than 3 of its surroundings neighbourhoods. In addition, Flaminio had the highest percentage increase in population holding a level four qualification or above in the area in the twenty-year period examined, and gained the second place in absolute terms during the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 (**Tab. 19, Map 26**).

	Active population			Unemployed			Unemployed variation in absolute terms (%)			Unemployment rate of active population			Difference of the unemployed rate of active population		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Flaminio	5435	5363	5163	305	289	260	-5%	-10%	-15%	5,6%	5,4%	5,0%	-0,2%	-0,4%	-0,6%
Pinciano	8007	7886	8318	435	298	295	-31%	-1%	-32%	5,4%	3,8%	3,5%	-1,7%	-0,2%	-1,9%
Parioli	5646	5705	5877	384	233	239	-39%	3%	-38%	6,8%	4,1%	4,1%	-2,7%	0,0%	-2,7%
Della Vittoria	17292	15277	15386	928	671	674	-28%	0%	-27%	5,4%	4,4%	4,4%	-1,0%	0,0%	-1,0%
Prati	7646	6669	6716	425	323	275	-24%	-15%	-35%	5,6%	4,8%	4,1%	-0,7%	-0,7%	-1,5%
Campo Marzio	2651	2416	2372	167	108	91	-35%	-16%	-46%	6,3%	4,5%	3,8%	-1,8%	-0,6%	-2,5%
Tor di Quinto	9085	8612	8288	600	394	338	-34%	-14%	-44%	6,6%	4,6%	4,1%	-2,0%	-0,5%	-2,5%

Tab.18. Variation of the unemployed (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016)

	Level 4 qualification and above absolute			Population over 20			Variation in absolute numbers and (%)			Level 4 or above qualification ratio on population over 20			Difference of ratio on population over 20		
	1991	2001	2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
Flaminio	6823	7274	7569	11696	10162	9503	451(6.6%)	295(4.1%)	746(10.9%)	58%	72%	80%	13%	8%	21%
Pinciano	12514	12490	12614	18511	15191	14898	-24(-0.2%)	124(1.0%)	100(0.8%)	68%	82%	85%	15%	2%	17%
Parioli	8113	8615	8632	12945	11242	10435	502(6.2%)	17(0.2%)	519(6.4%)	63%	77%	83%	14%	6%	20%
Della Vittoria	21489	22398	22730	33596	29980	28531	909(4.2%)	332(1.5%)	1241(5.8%)	64%	75%	80%	11%	5%	16%
Prati	9160	9512	9773	16647	12960	12259	352(3.8%)	261(2.7%)	613(6.7%)	55%	73%	80%	18%	6%	25%
Campo Marzio	3309	3451	3542	5836	4348	4258	142(4.3%)	91(2.6%)	233(7.0%)	57%	79%	83%	23%	4%	26%
Tor di Quinto	12866	13688	13070	17809	16748	15494	822(6.4%)	-618(-4.5%)	204(1.6%)	72%	82%	84%	9%	3%	12%

Tab.19. People with level four and above qualification (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016).

Map represents in medium grey the neighbourhood of Flaminio, where the unemployment rate decreased by 0.4 points in the ten years after the opening of the Auditorium. Simultaneously, the neighbourhoods of Della Vittoria, Parioli and Pinciano are painted in lighter grey to visualise the smaller reduction of the unemployment rate, whereas Tor di Quinto, Campo Marzio and Prati are coloured in darker grey to indicate that the unemployment rate had bigger decrease than in Flaminio.

Map 25. Variation of the unemployed over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016).

Map represents in the darkest grey the neighbourhood of Flaminio, where the highest percentage increase of population holding a level four qualification or above is registered during the period between 1991 and 2011. Differently, the neighbourhoods of Della Vittoria, Campo Marzio, Prati e Parioli are painted in medium grey, because the increase is slightly lower than in Flaminio, whereas Pinciano and Tor di Quinto are coloured in the lightest grey, due to an increase much lower than in Flaminio.

Map 26. Population holding level four and above qualification over the twenty-year period between 1991 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016

These changes in the professional and educational profile indicate a social upgrading of the area flanked by the economic upgrade, proven by the highest increase of home ownership (**Tab. 19**, **Map 27**) and the most dramatic decrease in tenancy (**Tab. 20**, **Map 28**) in the area over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011, during which the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* was opened.

Owner-occupied	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
Flaminio	3278	3148	4012	-4%	27%	22%
Pinciano	6244	5064	5541	-19%	9%	-11%
Parioli	4133	3801	4038	-8%	6%	-2%
Della Vittoria	9281	9565	11412	3%	19%	23%
Prati	4780	4165	4821	-13%	16%	1%
Campo Marzio	1450	976	1257	-33%	29%	-13%
Tor di Quinto	5423	6089	6515	12%	7%	20%

Tab.20. Variation in owner occupation tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT 2016).

Increases in owner occupation tenure are very similar in the neighbourhoods of Flaminio and Campo Marzio during the ten-year period after the opening of the Auditorium, so they are both represented in the darkest grey on **Map 27**. Diversely, Della Vittoria and Prati register moderate increase in owner occupation increase, thus they are coloured in medium grey. Differently, Tor di Quinto, Parioli and Pinciano are characterised by modest increase in owner occupation tenure, thereby they are painted in the lightest grey.

Map 27. Variation in owner occupation tenure over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT 2016).

Rented	1991	2001	2011	Variation 1991-2001	Variation 2001-2011	Variation 1991-2011
Flaminio	2245	1799	946	-20%	-47%	-58%
Pinciano	2608	1596	1166	-39%	-27%	-55%

Parioli	1932	1122	927	-42%	-17%	-52%
Della Vittoria	5217	4534	2945	-13%	-35%	-44%
Prati	3184	1604	1169	-50%	-27%	-63%
Campo Marzio	1573	959	785	-39%	-18%	-50%
Tor di Quinto	2157	1641	1265	-24%	-23%	-41%

Tab.21. Variation in tenancy tenure (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT 2016).

Map 28 highlights the highest decrease in tenancy tenure in the neighbourhood of Flaminio during the ten years after the opening of the Auditorium by colouring it in the darkest grey. Differently, Tor di Quinto, Della Vittoria, Prati and Pinciano are painted in medium grey, because the decrease in tenancy tenure is less evident than in Flaminio. Diversely, since Parioli and Campo Marzio registered the smallest decrease in tenancy tenure, they are represented in the lightest grey.

Map 28. Variation in tenancy tenure over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT 2016).

These trends led to a sensible change in housing tenure distribution, which saw owner occupation sensibly growing at the expenses of tenancy (**Fig. 43**, **Fig. 44**, **Fig. 45**).
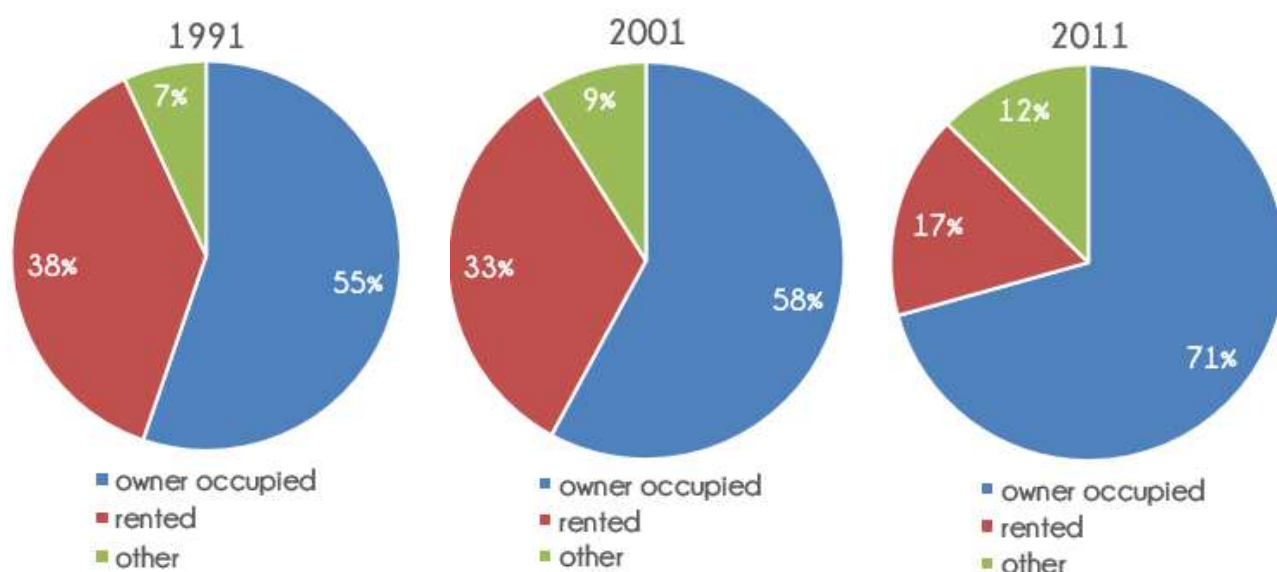
Fig. 43, 44, 45. Housing tenure distribution in Flaminio in 1991, 2001, 2011 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from ISTAT, 2016).

Housing prices in Flaminio varied according to the general property cycle characterized by a steady increase of the prices until the global crisis in 2008 and a subsequent plateau or fall (**Fig. 46, Map 29**). The line graph shows Flaminio maintained the lowest values of the area together with Della Vittoria and Tor di Quinto, but it suffered the consequences of the real estate crisis more than both of them.
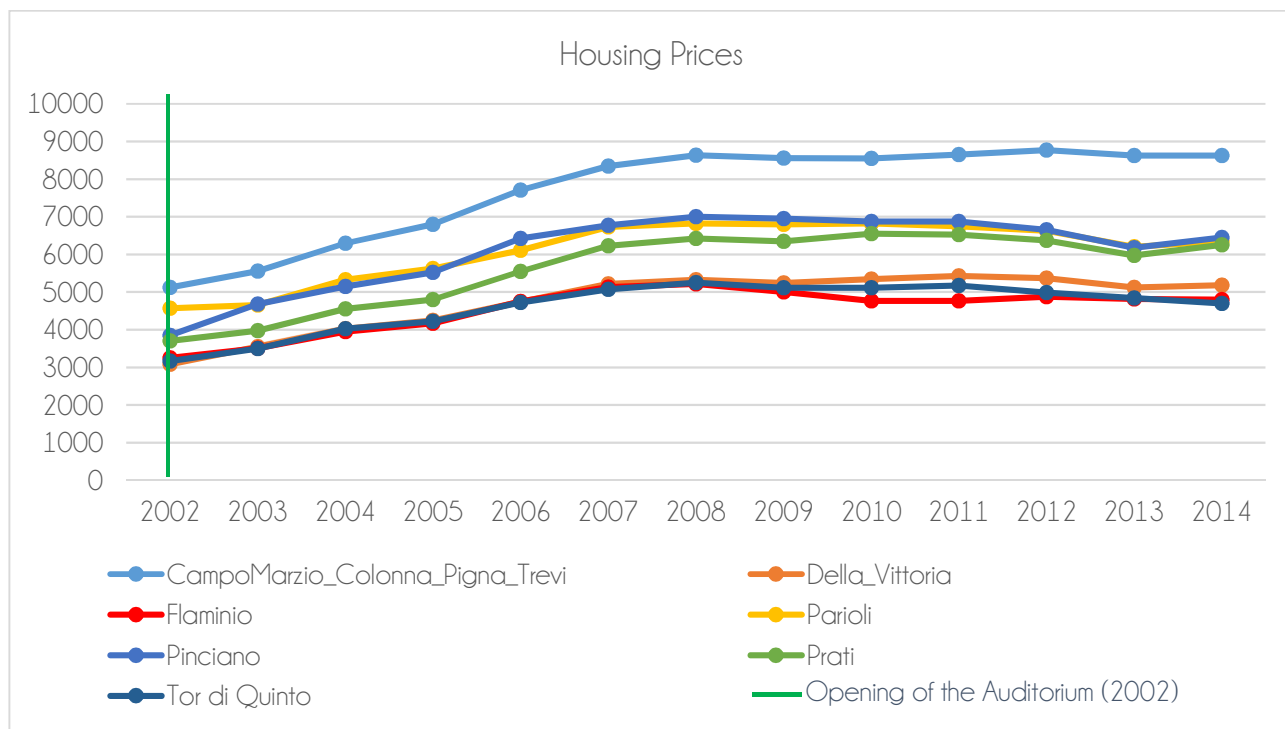
Fig.46. Historic trends of housing prices in Flaminio and in the surrounding areas (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Agenzia delle Entrate, 2016).

Since all the neighbourhoods follow the same trend over the twelve-year period after the opening of the Auditorium, they are all painted in the same medium grey, thus visualising a real estate market that neither suffers nor gains advantage from the realisation of the Auditorium.

Map 29. Variation of housing prices over the period between 2002 and 2014 (Compiled and calculated by the author. Data from Agenzia delle Entrate, 2016).

To sum up, the quantitative analysis showed that population remained stable in number and naturally aged in the neighbourhood of Flaminio, without experiencing either the influx of youngsters from outside or the abandoning of the locals. In addition, socio-economic upward mobility of local residents is testified by the dropping figures on unemployment and by the growing ones on people holding a level four qualification or above. Indeed, Flaminio is the neighbourhood where the ratio of unemployment decreased more than in other three surrounding ones and the ratio of population over 20 holding a level four qualification or above increased the most in the area considered. On top, the analysis of both the housing tenure and of the residential real estate prices indicate the upgrade of the area. In fact, there has been a significant change from tenancy to owner occupation. In addition, housing prices varied according to the property cycle, in line with the trends of the surrounding neighbourhoods and independently from possible influences of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. The neighbourhood appears balanced, able to maintain its attractiveness without being gentrified pointing at the socio-economic upward mobility of the residents, the sign of a successful regeneration policies.

4.4   Tangible Part – Residents Views

Since visual and quantitative analysis are unable to capture either reasons behind changes or residents' perception of changes, this study is complemented with qualitative analysis. In this section, results from the participation at the Bankside Residents Forum Open Forum held on the 23rd July 2015 and of informal conversations held with local residents of respective neighbourhoods are reported,

in order to elicit neighbourhood changes, to detect current issues in each area, to apprehend how they are affected by both changes and issues and to understand the reasons that attracted people there or motivated them to move somewhere else. In order to facilitate interviewees to freely express their impressions and perspectives, an informal conversational style was adopted during the dialogues. Italian records have been translated by the author ensuring fidelity to the meaning of the original and possibly maintaining dynamics of the original. Moreover, questions asked to the residents are detailed in English in **appendix 3**, and the original text of the Italian native speakers is reported **as footnotes**.

4.4.1 London: Views from the BRF Open Forum and informal conversations with residents

The impact of the Bankside regeneration programme is well recorded by the quantitative analysis reported above. The hypothesis of gentrification and negative effects on the population is confirmed by the views collected at the BRF Open Forum and by the informal conversations with residents.

They expressed their concerns on public tranquillity being threatened by the increase of heavy traffic during the construction phase of the new developments and of the circular traffic after the conclusion of the building works and by the opening of new clubs, pubs and restaurants that attract more people in the area. Moreover, they expressed worries about the access to green areas when the architects talk about the creation of semi-private spaces.

The attitudes and words of the residents are signs of a strong attachment to the area and of the willing to preserve it, to maintain it liveable and accessible to everyone. This has been further confirmed by the question that a resident shared with the BRF:

> *"Who are these houses for? This is not even gentrification, this is the creation of a ghost town. They are not affordable for local people, they are sold to international investors based in Russia, Dubai, Singapore, etc., but nobody lives in there in the end."*

Another two issues arose here. Firstly, the social fabric is undermined because local people can no longer afford to live in the area and nobody is replacing them. Consequently, social relations become weaker and the sense of community is going to be lost. Secondly, the seeds of the super-gentrification phenomenon identified by Lees (2003b) are recognisable.

Thanks to informal conversations with some residents that have lived in the area for a long time, various attractive factors of the area have been identified. Among the reasons that attracted them in the area there are the vicinity to the job place, the good public transport service, the presence of amenities and facilities and a good sense of community. Conversely, factors that caused displacement have been recognised as well. Many residents knew people that left the area due to unaffordable rent, eviction or job posts in other places. In addition, they demonstrated high sensibility in noticing the rapid transformation of the area. Indeed, everybody, also the latest newcomers that moved in during the last year, is aware of the increase of densities, of the realization of many new developments, of the rise of the number of tourists and of the changes in social composition. Among these, they cited gentrification or, more vaguely, the leave of real residents and the increase in the number of wealthy people (named high rollers or "city" types in order to indicate the workers from the financial sector in the City of London).

To sum up, residents reported loss of tranquillity in the area as consequence of its increased liveliness connected to the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery and expressed concern over the high international investor's interest in the area that risks to create a ghost town where every single housing unit has an owner, but it is de facto empty. In addition, they identified the factors that attracted the gentrifiers and those that determined displacement of locals as well confirming the occurrence of the hypothesised gentrification process in their neighbourhood.

4.4.2 Cagliari: Informal conversations with residents

Quantitative analysis reported above shows that the opening of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* did not trigger social upward mobility of the local community. This hypothesis is confirmed by the views collected through informal conversations with residents who are worried about the stable presence in the vicinity of *La Vetreria* of groups of NEETs[1] responsible for episodes of vandalism and public nuisance, interpreted as an absence of interesting alternatives offered in the area able to captivate them.

> *"When I come back from work I often feel uncomfortable because groups of*
> *NEETs stare at me until I get into my apartment building"[2]*

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[1] NEETs: Not in Not in Education, Employment, or Training
[2] "Quando torno da lavoro mi sento spesso a disagio ad essere fissata da quei gruppi di nullafacenti finché non entro in casa"

In addition, they feel unsafe and they are worried about their belongings because of the several episodes of petty crime reported in the area that force them to pay extra attention when they have to shop in the local open air market or to park their car in the neighbourhood streets.

"It was and still is an unsafe area. When you're doing your shopping at the market you have to be aware of pickpockets and snatchers that operate in the area."[3]

"More than once my car has been opened when parked in the area. It was not a long time ago that they broke the window to steal the steering wheel".[4]

However, not all the residents agree on the outcomes of the regeneration strategies adopted in the neighbourhood. On the contrary, they are split into two groups. One is strongly convinced there is no winning idea to increase the attractiveness of the area which is destined to remain the second-best option for people who cannot afford living in the city centre of Cagliari.

"We're in Pirri! If we were in via Dante [one of the biggest business street], *in Cagliari the matter would be much different, because there's an interest in living there, interest which is completely absent in Pirri".[5]*

The other group is enthusiastic about the intervention and some of them even identify in the park one of the convincing reason to move in the Residenza nel Parco.

"It's nice having a close park where to go on sunny days with your children and dogs. This neighbourhood was missing it".[6]

"We bought our home here only because there is this huge park, otherwise we'd never move to such a congested area".[7]

This last statement leads to consider the heavy traffic congestion associate with the shortage of parking lots that distress the area and constitutes a factor that, on the one hand, discourages

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[3] "Era ed è rimasta una zona poco sicura. Quando vai a fare la spesa devi stare attenta ai borseggiatori e agli scippatori della zona
[4] "Più di una volta la mia macchina è stata aperta quando era parcheggiata in zona. Non è da molto che mi hanno rotto il finestrino per rubarmi il volate".
[5] "Siamo a Pirri! Fossimo stati in via Dante a Cagliari, la questione sarebbe completamente diversa, perché c'è un certo interesse a vivere lì. Un interesse che è completamente assente a Pirri".
[6] "È bello avere un parco vicino a casa in cui poter andare nelle belle giornate coi bambini e i cani. Ci voleva nel quartiere".
[7] "Abbiamo comprato casa qui solo perché c'è questo parco grande, altrimenti non ci saremmo mai trasferiti in una zona così trafficata".

prospective inhabitants to take up residence here, on the other hand, encourages people grown in the neighbourhood to move somewhere else once independent from their own family.

Nonetheless, residents cited two additional attractive factors of the area, its betweenness centrality and good public connection to the university campus and the teaching hospital in the close city of Monserrato and to the city centre of Cagliari, which can all be reached through the new light railway.

"We generally prefer quite residential areas, but this was a good compromise between centrality and calmness [of the park]*".[8]*

"It's 5 stops away from both the teaching hospital and Piazza Repubblica [stop in the heart of Cagliari city centre]. *I can get to job and to the shopping district in just 10 minutes avoiding both driving and parking stress".[9]*

To sum up, informal conversations with residents confirmed that the realisation of the park beautified the area and brought to light that the location of this multi-function complex is quite convenient and easily accessible. However, residents also reported that the area is heavily congested, parking lots are insufficient to meet the needs of the area and there has been lack of attention towards the local youngsters who often have nothing better to do than spending their days loitering in the surroundings of *La Vetreria*. In addition, petty crimes afflict the area affecting residents' serenity.

4.4.3 Rome: Informal conversations with residents

Quantitative analysis reported above leads to hypothesises the socio-economic upward mobility of the residents and to consequently consider successful the regeneration policies adopted in Flaminio. This is confirmed by the views collected through informal conversations with residents who are enthusiastic about both the new physical aspect of the area and the many initiatives organised over there.

"It's an area that can be reached on foot or by bicycle from around the neighbourhood, there's a children playground, there's the farmers' market on the weekends, I'm therefore completely satisfied with the project".[10]

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[8] "In generale preferiamo aree residenziali tranquille, ma questa era un buon compromesso tra vicinanza al centro e tranquillità".
[9] "È a cinque fermate sia dal Policlinico sia da Piazza Repubblica. Posso arrivare a lavoro e in centro in dieci minuti evitando sia lo stress sia di guidare sia di parcheggiare.
[10] "È una zona che può essere raggiunta sia a piedi che in bici da tutto il quartiere, c'è un parco giochi per i bambini, il mercatino nel weekend, sono molto contenta del progetto".

"They set up an outdoor ice rink over the Christmas period and this is always full to bursting, if it were bigger it would be better!"[11]

"It has a both physical and psychological relation with the neighbourhood. The park is easily walkable, on the plain, safe and accessible".[12]

They do not even remember any annoying inconvenience linked to its realisation, because the area was an abandoned dirt area out of their daily routes. It just took a long time to be built because many archaeological finds have been discovered during the works.

"We didn't experience any major inconvenience, because it was an abandoned area or a car park at best".[13]

"The works were often interrupted because of new archaeological finds".[14]

"I don't remember suffering from particular inconveniences".[15]

However, it took a while to the residents to appreciate this unusual forms, also because they knew almost nothing about the project before seeing it under construction. Indeed, they have not even been informed about the plan, still less actively involved.

"At the beginning I was sceptical about this massive architecture, but it was probably a matter of personal acceptance of a style different from the rest of the neighbourhood".[16]

"We read in the news the works were up to start and we saw the bulldozers working, but there hasn't been a huge amount of hype on this".[17]

"There hasn't been a great relationship between the Council and the citizens".[18]

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[11] "Nel periodo di Natale montano la pista di pattinaggio sul ghiaccio ed è sempre piena da scoppiare, se fosse più grande sarebbe meglio"!

[12] "Ha un rapporto sia fisico che psicologico col quartiere. Il parco è facilmente percorribile a piedi, pianeggiante, sicuro e accessibile".

[13] "Non abbiamo subito gravi disagi, perché era un'area abbandonata o un parcheggio al massimo".

[14] "I lavori venivano spesso interrotti in seguito a nuovi ritrovamenti archeologici".

[15] "Non ricordo di aver subito disagi particolari."

[16] "All'inizio ero scettica su questa enorme nuova opera architettonica, ma probabilmente era solo una questione personale di accettazione di uno stile diverso dal resto del quartiere".

[17] "Abbiamo letto nei giornali che i lavori sarebbero iniziati a breve e poi abbiamo visto i bulldozer al lavoro, ma non c'è stata molta pubblicità del progetto"

[18] "Non c'è stata molta relazione tra il Comune e i cittadini".

"If any meeting has been organised at the local Council, I haven't been informed".[19]

Moreover, they report the felling of old trees to favourite traffic circulation and inadequate road conditions. Indeed, although the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* is easily accessible on foot or by bicycle, traffic congestion is very heavy in the area.

"They felled some trees in the surroundings of the Auditorium, including a healthy centuries-old plane tree, well maybe not centuries-old but centenary for sure, to improve the traffic circulation".[20]

"The Auditorium is a great construction, but it's not supported by an adequate infrastructural network. It looks like a Lego-brick construction realised somewhere else and subsequently positioned here".[21]

This condition is even worsened by illegal parking that is not either legitimate by a lack of legal park areas, but it is the result of the combination of the parsimony of the spectators and the negligence of the Council.

"Illegal parking causes traffic congestion and it often obstructs the road to buses that thus stuck and block the traffic circulation. But nobody cares! You never see the local police giving a ticket to these rude people".[22]

"I can't understand why people who pay set of ten Euros to assist to the shows at the Auditorium, don't want to pay some Euros more to park their car in the underground parking and illegally park their car on the streets nearby. The point is they know nobody will ever fine them!".[23]

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[19] "Se qualche riunione è stata organizzata al Comune, io non sono stata informata".
[20] "Per migliorare la viabilità hanno abbattuto alcuni alberi attorno all'auditorium, compreso un platano centenario, vabbè magari centenario no, ma 100 anni li aveva di sicuro".
[21] "L'Auditorium è un'architettura fantastica, ma non è supportata da un'adeguata connessione stradale. Sembra una costruzione fatta coi Lego, realizzata da qualche parte e poi posizionata qui".
[22] "Il parcheggio selvaggio causa una congestione del traffico e spesso ostruisce il passaggio agli autobus che non riescono a passare e bloccano la circolazione. Ma se ne fregano tutti! Non si vedono mai i vigili urbani fare la multa a questi maleducati".
[23] "Non riesco a capire perché persone che pagano decine di Euro per assistere agli spettacoli dell'Auditorium, non vogliano pagare qualche Euro in più per parcheggiare la macchina nel parcheggio sotterraneo e lasciano la macchina dove capita nelle strade vicine. Il punto è che sanno che nessuno metterà mai loro una multa"!

"Illegal parking afflicts the close Quartiere Olimpico during the shows so that its inhabitants have to look for a park for ages when they come back home from job".[24]

In addition, residents also complain about road maintenance, but this is a common problem to the whole Rome.

"As everywhere in Rome, our streets are dirty and full of potholes".[25]

"Rubbish should be collected more frequently and streets should be cleaned better".[26]

"it's plenty of potholes on the street, but this is a common evil in Rome".[27]

To sum up, residents are enthusiastic about the project and recognise its successful impact with no doubts. Although the contemporary project, characterised by unusual forms for the neighbourhood, took a while to be accepted by the uniformed residents, they finally appreciated it because it has been able to regenerate a neglected area. Since it was an abandoned place, the local community did not experience any major inconveniences during the works and it only report minor issues that still afflict the neighbourhood such as illegal parking, rubbish collection and potholes that are, however, common to the whole of Rome and might require a wider approach to be adequately addressed.

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[24] Il parcheggio selvaggio assale il vicino Quartiere Olimpico durante gli spettacoli, tanto che gli abitanti passano ore a cercare parcheggio quando tornano da lavoro".

[25] "Le nostre strade sono sporche e piene di buche come in tutto il resto di Roma".

[26] "La spazzatura dovrebbe essere ritirata più spesso e le strade dovrebbero essere pulite meglio".

[27] "È pieno di buche nelle strade, ma questo è un male comune a Roma".

4.5 Tangible Part - Interviews with key informants

Qualitative analysis of the tangible part also relies on the interviews held with fifteen key-informants from different sectors in order to gather diverse points of view based on different experiences. The first one (K1) covered the riverside frontage from Tower Bridge to Blackfriars Road over the last 25 years and was the coordinator of the Bankside Resident Forum from 2009 to 2011. The second one (K2) is the Curator of Regeneration and Community Partnerships at Tate. The third one (K3) is a former Deputy Leader and Executive Member for Housing at Southwark Council from 2006 to 2010 and current founder and managing director of the independent corporate finance and real estate consultancy "Carvil Venture". The fourth one (K4) is the director of Blackfriars Settlement, a charity based in Southwark for over 125 years that creates and provides community services and support. The fifth one (K5) is the coordinator of the projects of the "*Cada Die Teatro*", a theatre company which performs at *La Vetreria*. The sixth one (K6) is a co-founder of the cultural association "*Cemea*" which operates at *La Vetreria*. The seventh one (K7) is a stage manager at "*Il Crogiuolo*", a theatre company which has its stage in *La Vetreria*. The eighth one (K8) is an employee at the planning office of Pirri. The ninth one (K9) is the secretary of the "*Amici di Santa Cecilia*", which is located at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. The tenth one (K10) is the founder of the non-profit organisation *"Mi Attivo Flaminio"*. The eleventh one (K11) is the coordinator of the neighbourhood civic participation movement "*Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio" and president of the association "Carte in Regola"*. The twelfth one (K12) is the administrator of the politically independent group "*Quartiere Flaminio"*. The thirteenth one (K13) is the president of the association "*I Bambini per il Flaminio*". The fourteenth one (K14) is the director of the cultural activities at the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*" which operates at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. The fifteenth one (K15) is the author of the book "*La via Flaminia dal miliaro aurea a Ponte Milvio, riscoprendo il quartiere Flaminio*" Once again, Italian records have been translated by the author ensuring fidelity to the meaning of the original and possibly maintaining dynamics of the original. Moreover, dates and locations of the interviews are reported in **appendix 3**, questions asked to key informants are detailed in English in **appendix 4**, and answers in original language are reported as footnotes.

4.5.1 London

> **K1** *"Between London Bridge and Blackfriars in 1995 there were 5 cafes, I think in total there were about 25 pubs and cafes, today something like 250 and that*

was 25 years ago. We originally have I think it was three hotels, today there must be something like 25 or more."

K2 *"There've been a lot of physical changes. […] and lots of new businesses are arriving in the area, lots of hotels. […] Things like the Borough Market, which is like an attraction. It's a market, but also a tourist attraction now. And that market was relatively small and has grown massively in size […] There've been very visible, physical changes. A lot of small bars, cafés and restaurants and traditionally this area has had very few of those."*

K3 *"The uses of the area have changed fundamentally, […] you got large numbers of tourists, large numbers of office workers, you got an increase of residents living in the area. […] So yeah, definitely it's changed."*

All the three interviewees agreed on the fact that the area has experienced a tremendous physical change since the Tate Modern Gallery has arrived. The changes depicted by them complement the picture obtained from the quantitative data and further confirmed the already evident process of gentrification of the area. Among the impacts of these changes the transformation of the area from a quiet one to a very busy one should also be considered.

Differently, contrasting views on social changes have been collected from the different interviewees. On the one hand, K1 reported a major failure of the project in developing the cultural offer and the cultural industry, because the rise of property prices and rents actually caused displacement of artists.

K1 *"There were lots of very cheap artist studios […] everything is going off, everything. […] There used to be some young artists using the railway arches and they moved to somewhere else. You lose all the creativity and all the area suffers."*

Like some residents, he questioned who is going to afford the new developments and dreads an incoming risk of a permanent change in the social composition.

K1 *"There are still lots of local residents, but it's radically changing, radically."*

On the other hand, K3 sees in the reduction in proportion of social renters the chance to create better community.

> **K3** *"The number of social rent in the area is the same it was before, the proportion in terms of sociality has reduced. And that's not necessarily a bad thing because […] areas with a mixed social economic group, I think, it's probably much more sustainable rather an area which is predominantly low social economic group."*

Conversely, K4 warned against the current wave of immigration in the area, different from the previous ones because people are no longer identifiable by their geographical origins, but by "*the cut of their clothes*" and this visible contrast can create community tensions.

> **K4** *"It's something that our politicians are ignoring and is a risky strategy".*

To support his statement, K4 reported the example of the community tensions arising from a football pitch contention between the youngsters of the Southwark estate and the students living in the new top-of-the-range student accommodation block.

> **K4** *"It wouldn't surprise me if it ended up in violence if we don't pay enough attention to the imbalance".*

Differently, K2 does not see striking changes in social composition and even though no special initiative has been put in place by the council to preserve the social mix, the community can still be considered socially balanced, according to her.

> **K2** *"There haven't been special initiatives to protect the housing by the Council. I think, yeah, the balance of the area has remained, neighbourhood is mixed."*

Contrasting to K2's view, data reported a dramatic fall in social renting proportion, supporting K1's view, instead. K3's statement on more sustainability of mixed communities is debatable, as demonstrated by the example cited by K4. In addition, by maintaining this tendency at this pace, the mix will be lost very quickly, because those labelled economically deprived will soon constitute a minority with no voice. It would be appropriate to consider this possibility and plan suitable policies to prevent the permanent loss of the creativity of the Borough and to promote a real cultural development. Moreover, it is important to encourage community cohesion to avoid tensions.

4.5.2 Cagliari

> **K9** *"This area was deeply different from how you see it today"!* [28]

> **K5** *"These spaces were only used as carnival floats warehouse".* [29]

Key interviewees' statements reveal a profound physical change of the environment following the regeneration project of *La Vetreria*. However, these changes did not influence the wider area, trigging extensive regeneration. K9 explains that this is due to the Local Plan, which prohibits demolitions and new constructions in the bordering historical city centre and in the adjacent area subject to flood risk.

> **K9** *"You have no developments because they are forbidden by the current*
> *Local Plan. All this area* [pointing at the historical city centre] *is protected for its*
> *historical value. All this area* [pointing at the remaining area around *La Vetreria*
> excluding the historical city centre] *goes under the water every time it rains a little*
> *bit more than usual. You can't see real estate developments because on the one*
> *hand you can't get a planning permission in these areas, on the other hand all*
> *the building areas have already been built".* [30]

The only new development realised has been "*La residenza nel Parco*", which has been authorised through the neighbourhood plan jointly with the regeneration plan according to a vision that included both the park and the residential building.

> **K9** *"The only new residential development you can find is "La Residenza nel*
> *Parco" and only because it was part of a BS3 district that allowed the*
> *development as part of the neighbourhood plan,*
> *otherwise you wouldn't have this one either".* [31]

In addition, as suggested by the quantitative analysis, residents did not experience either economic or social upward mobility and the area continues to face the same problems that were afflicting it

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[28] "Questa zona era profondamente diversa da come la si può vedere oggi".

[29] "Questi spazi erano usati solo come magazzino per i carri di carnevale".

[30] "Non ci sono nuove costruzioni perché è vietato dal Piano Urbanistico in vigore. Tutta quest'area [indica il centro storico] è protetta per il suo valore storico. Tutta quest'area [indica tutta l'area attorno alla Vetreria, escludendo il centro storico] si allaga ogni volta che fa due gocce più del solito. Non si vedono nuove costruzioni perché da un lato non si possono concedere autorizzazioni in quest'area, dall'altro tutto quello che si poteva costruire è già stato costruito".

[31] "L'unica nuova costruzione residenziale che si può trovare è *La Residenza nel Parco* e solo perché faceva parte del comparo BS3 che ha previsto la sua realizzazione come parte del piano attuativo, altrimenti non ci sarebbe nemmeno questa".

before the intervention. For example, the high number of petty crimes make the area being perceived unsafe especially at night. Consequently, people avoid going for a stroll thus, they reinforce this vicious circle.

K5 "If you have a walk in the night, there's nobody out there"! [32]

K6 "People are scared from these lowlifes that wander around the area". [33]

This is mainly caused by social exclusion partially caused by high rate of unemployment and low level skills and partially determined by the absence of adequate integration policies.

K5 "They failed at school, they have no job,

they often have family issues, what are they options"? [34]

For this reason, all the professionals that work at *La Vetreria* are willing to initiate new activities specifically addressed to the disadvantaged of the neighbourhood in order to improve both their quality of life and community cohesion. K6 explains that they have the education and training to succeed in this challenge, but they do not have the economic capacity.

K6 "We would like and we'd be also able to organise some activities to include

the NEETs that hang out over there every day. We know they would enjoy our

activities and they would have more satisfying days with us, but we have no funds.

We need financial support since they would not generate any direct income". [35]

4.5.3 Rome

K12 "The Auditorium has broken through the major problems that

were blocking the neighbourhood. It empowered the

neighbourhood to enter into the new millennium". [36]

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[32] "Se vai a farti una passeggiata di notte, non trovi nessuno in giro"!

[33] "La gente ha paura di quegli sbandati che vagabondano nella zona".

[34] "Hanno abbandonato la scuola, non hanno un lavoro, spesso hanno problemi in famiglia, quali sono le loro possibilità"?

[35] "Ci piacerebbe e saremmo anche in grado di organizzare attività per integrare questi ragazzi allo sbando che passano tutte le loro giornate là fuori. Sappiamo apprezzerebbero le nostre attività e passerebbero giornate più produttive con noi, ma non abbiamo fondi. Abbiamo bisogno di un supporto economico perché loro non genererebbero alcun introito".

[36] "L'Auditorium ha dato una svolta ai grossi problemi che attanagliavano il quartiere. Ha dato al quartiere la forza necessaria per entrare nel nuovo millennio".

K13 *"Since its realisation, the whole area is well maintained,*
it has been rescued from deterioration". [37]

K14 *"It has been an outstanding moment of regeneration because, if you*
remember, this area was a place for solely not very pleasant nocturnal traffics". [38]

K15 *"The Auditorium has been the trigger of urban regeneration".* [39]

All the interviewees agreed on the positive impact of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in Flaminio, thus confirming the hypothesis formulated on the basis of the quantitative analysis that identified in the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* realisation the trigger of the successful urban Regeneration of the area. They also agreed on the fact that the success of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* is strictly related to the fact that it is a daily destination, visited by many people of the area who take their children to the playground and their dogs to the park, visit the temporary exhibitions, do some shopping at the farmers' market held during the weekends or simply read the newspaper.

K10 *"It's an amazing place to spend the Sundays, many initiatives take place*
here and they draw large crowds from both the neighbourhood and outside". [40]

K11 *"People feel at home here, it's a meeting point".* [41]

K12 *"The Auditorium is a very important meeting point for families that come here*
every day of the week and in particular over the weekends to spend their time in
a safe place, far from busy roads, monitored 24/7 to let their children play in the
square in front of the Auditorium or in the playground […]
Pets are welcome all around the area". [42]

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[37] "Da quando è stato realizzato, l'intera area è ben curata, è stata salvata dal degrado".

[38] "È stato un momento di eccezionale rigenerazione, perché, se ricordi, questo era un posto frequentato solo da spiacevoli traffici notturni".

[39] "L'Auditorium è stato il detonatore della rigenerazione urbana".

[40] "È un luogo fantastico in cui trascorrere la domenica, vengono organizzate molte iniziative e richiamano grandi afflussi di gente sia dal quartiere che da fuori".

[41] "La gente si sente a casa qui, è un luogo di incontro".

[42] "L'Auditorium è un luogo di incontro molto importante per le famiglie che vengono qui tutti i giorni della settimana e in particolare durante il weekend per trascorrere il tempo in un luogo sicuro, lontano dalle strade trafficate, monitorato 24 ore al giorno e 7 giorni su 7 in cui i bambini possono giocare nella piazza di fronte all'Auditorium o nel parco giochi […] Si possono portare gli animali domestici in tutta l'area".

K13 *"The area definitely improved because it's [the Auditorium] an incredible*

cultural magnet able to attract people from all over Rome".[43]

K14 *"This place has had a great success since day one. People of any age come*

here. The elderly come here to read the journal, parents take their children here to

play in the park. It's an attractive place simply because it's a beautiful place that

offers many alternatives so that many people regularly hang out here". [44]

K15 *"It often happens to meet at the café or at the mega library,*

or people simply choose it to take the dog for a walk". [45]

In addition, some interviewees explain that the neighbourhood really needed a space like this and the realisation of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* had been long-awaited.

K12 *"It offers a safe and pleasant meeting point that the neighbourhood is no*

longer able to provide because it caught in the grips of the traffic jam". [46]

K14 *"Its realisation has been the end of a long wait that had been protracting*

since 1936 […]. Having this Auditorium has been a very important achievement.

It has been the Academy objective for 60 years!" [47]

K15 *"It constitutes a new identity element which joins*

and connects two parts of the city". [48]

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[43] "La zona è decisamente migliorata perché [l'Auditorium] è un magnete culturale incredibile che attrae persone a tutta Roma".

[44] "Questo posto ha avuto un grandissimo successo fin dal primo giorno. Persone di tutte le età vengono qui. Gli anziani vengono a leggere il giornale, i genitori portano qui i figli per farli giocare nel parco. È un posto attraente semplicemente perché è un bel posto che offre molte alternative cosicché molte persone ci trascorrono regolarmente il proprio tempo".

[45] "Capita spesso di incontrarsi al bar o nella gigantesca biblioteca, o la gente lo sceglie semplicemente come posto per andare a fare la passeggiata col cane".

[46] "Offre un luogo di incontro piacevole e sicuro che il quartiere non è più in grado di offrire, in quanto stretto nella morsa del traffico".

[47] "La sua realizzazione è stato il coronamento di una lunga attesa che si protraeva fin dal 1936 […] Avere questo Auditorium è stato un risultato molto importante. Era un obiettivo dell'Accademia da 60 anni"!

[48] "Costituisce un nuovo elemento identitario che unisce e connette due parti della città".

4.6 The intangible part

The intangible part is entirely built upon qualitative research, since the effects of initiatives and activities can be neither visualised nor measured. For this purpose, interventions at the BRF Open Forum, views from residents of each neighbourhood analysed and interviews held with the fifteen key-informants listed in paragraph 4.5 are reported in this section. It is divided into three parts, one for each case study, but the London one is, in turn, articulated into four sub-paragraphs due to the complexity of the neighbourhood evolvement, which is characterised by an initial high involvement of the local population and by the contrasting following aversion to it.

4.6.1 London

4.6.1.1 The initial community involvement

The Tate Modern project strongly believed in community participation and pioneered the so-called "Social approach" to effectively engage the local community since the very beginning of its delivery.

> *K1* *"Sir Nicholas Serota [Tate Modern Gallery director] had actually engaged with local community from day one and continued the engagement. Probably the only art institution in the world had such a good engagement process."*

> *K2* *"We worked quite hard to bring the community on a journey with us."*

A flexible dialectical approach was adopted, numerous consultations have been carried out and steering groups and liaison groups have been organised.

> *K1* *"They did lots of consultations, lots of activities, encouraging people to use the Tate."*

> *K2* *"A lot of projects have modelled like steering group or liaison group, I attend at residents' meeting, I talk quite informally"*

The time spent in listening to the local community proved to be worthwhile not only in terms of defining shared options, but also in saving time during the planning approval phase.

> *K1* *"It was very very easy for them to get planning permission, because they spent so much time."*

In addition, different kind of activities, projects and initiatives have been co-ordinated to facilitate community gathering and stimulate residents to use their spaces. For example, in an area close to the

gallery a community garden has been realised, private views allow local residents to visit the temporary exhibitions of the gallery for free, a yearly community newsletter keeps residents updated and an annual festival of music, art and live performances celebrates contemporary culture and heritage of Bankside. What is important in all of these initiatives is the active participation of the local community. Different approaches have been adopted for their development, but in all of them, the local community had the primary role. In some cases the initiative came directly from some residents.

K2 "We did it very collaboratively."

4.6.1.2 Different commitments

Despite the success of the initial approach, things have changed for the worse. For instance, in 1995 the Bankside Residents' Forum was autonomously founded by residents and shortly after, the Council started founding the role of the coordinator. However, today the forum has no longer a coordinator because the Council stopped subsidizing it. If it was a question of lack of public funds, it would be reasonably acceptable. The point is that this is difficult to believe since the Council is getting huge amounts of money from Section 106/CIL of the numerous new developments to which planning permission was given. More likely the Council just no longer sees the value of community engagement or, even worse, it wants to explicitly avoid the debate.

K1 "The reason why they don't wanna do that, you know, we object to the
Council. [...] They don't want anybody's objection!"

Nevertheless, residents continue to work on a voluntary basis to preserve the sort of the Borough. Due to the quantity of development that is continuously going on, they have to stay active to ensure that sensible development is realised.

K3 "Obviously, they've needed to wake up and follow it [the development]."

For this reason, they keep themselves informed on planning issues and they periodically meet to discuss new needs, opportunities and threats in the area.

K1 "[...] developers turning up thinking they are walking to talk to normal residents,
but these people know everything about planning!"

For their part, developers involve the local community in the definition of their plans.

K4 *"I've been in the social [chair] for six months. During that time, we've been*

contacted by three developers."

Understanding local stakeholders' concerns and their requirements for successful developments are the basis for new developments. In the case of 185 Park Street, for example, they organised one to one meetings, they met with the main landowners, with the residents in the nearby social housing blocks and in the private residential blocks close to the river, they attended a number of public meetings and they arranged public exhibitions. However, this obviously happens when the strategic decision are already taken, since the framework and the key parameters in which developers operate have been defined beforehand by the Council.

K4 *"We always get our staff crawled important decisions to be made, whereas if*

we were in the thing earlier we could be involved in shaping"

During the negotiation phase the local authority, the director of regeneration and key planning officers are involved, but, according to K3, it is uncommon to go further than that.

4.6.1.3 Views from the BRF Open Forum

During the BRF Open Forum, the question asked by a resident is emblematic of the changes in community involvement in Bankside. Her inquiry was:

'Do you know if the Tate is proposing to invite groups like BRF to introduce the new building, because when they were building the original Tate Modern they were really hot on involving the residents, taking towards himself but I can't say we've actually heard very much now."

She clearly stated her willingness to be more involved in the current plans for the construction of the new gallery building and her words revealed that community participation was higher in the past.

4.6.1.4 Findings

It is unquestionable that the approach adopted in the delivery of the Tate Modern has been an innovative one that demonstrated to be an effective one, a model to replicate and imitate. However, it could be further improved by including collaborations and interactions at the outset of the process, during the strategic phase, in order to shape the interventions according to community needs and by monitoring the outcomes after the process completion. In particular, special attention should be paid to preserve the social mix of the community. Specific policies should be elaborated in order to address this issue. Indeed, it is has been seen in the literature review that it is quite common for a

neighbourhood to be gentrified once its economic potential is capitalised. For this reason, residents' attitude and effort are largely admirable, whereas the same cannot be said for Council's approach that is now no longer able to find the funds to pay the wage of a residents' coordinator. It has been demonstrated that the intangible benefits are volatile, since they rely on the will and commitment of the people in charge.

4.6.2 Cagliari

The opening of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* was an attempt to regenerate the neighbourhood of Is Bingias through both physical beautification and cultural activities. For this reason, it provided adequate spaces to the various associations which operate in the local community to carry out their activities. Indeed, the four associations Cada Die Teatro, Cemea, *Il Crogiuolo* and *Kuntra* grouped into an ATI (Associazione Temporanea di Impresa = Temporary Business Association) to properly manage the centre in order to offer to the users of the big metropolitan area of Cagliari a wide range of diversified activities specifically intended for children, youngsters or adults. In particular, *Cada Die Teatro* is a theatre-research company committed to the realisation of a popular theatre able to captivate not only adults, but also children and teenagers through a contemporary scenic language and new storytelling techniques. *Cemea* manages both the recreational café and the recreational space. In the recreation cafè free board games are used as vehicle of education for adults and children who are invited to meet and know each other at any age, whereas in the recreational space children practice in-hand manipulation activities, play construction games, draw and attend creative laboratories linked to the theatre shows. *Il Crogiuolo* is a theatre company and a learning centre that operates both at regional and national level and collaborates with schools to tackle the problem of failing students. It produces both theatrical and cinematographic pieces as well as musical theatre performances. *Kuntra* is a nomadic cultural association born to broadcast alternative music which is normally not released by the major record labels. It travels all over Sardinia organising concerts and musical events, but they also have their stable headquarters in the *Kuntra space* in the complex of *La Vetreria*, where they promote initiatives and courses to link the music to the various artistic, creative and managerial aspects such as lyric writing, illustration, graphics, photography, video making, booking and management.

Although the various associations have been located in *La Vetreria* for several years now, there are still many people of the local community that know nothing about them and sometimes even ignore their presence.

> *K5* *"We are sick and tired of listening to people that after so many years of our activity here, still exclaim astonished – Oh, you work at La Vetreria! And what do you do? – They often are people who live here, who work here. Unfortunately, it happens quite a lot to meet people like these".* [49]

Not being recognised is a common sorrow among the various workers of the sector who organised and keep organising a range of initiatives to make their presence known, but they certainly know the difficulties of these processes worsen by the fact that theatre is a niche reality.

> *K7* *"We obviously need to take root in the local community. We started working in this direction, but it is necessary a long time, it's a slow process".* [50]

> *K5* *"We strive to attract different publics, but at the end of the day […] there's a kind of difficulty for a certain public to mix with others. […] We are perfectly aware that we do theatre, it's impossible to suddenly have throngs of spectators. It has to be known, it's not that immediate".* [51]

In order to let the local community to know the activities that occur in *La Vetreria*, four promotion days have been organised in the area in April 2016. This challenge would benefit from public financial support.

> *K6* *"We don't want to get rich. Public financial support would help us to become known and recognised by more people. Right now, all the marketing relies entirely on word of mouth, we don't even have the money to produce flyers!"* [52]

The idea to allocate public funds to cultural activities which play a social role in the area of Cagliari is a shared opinion.

> *K5* *[…] We want to be recognised as an association that has a positive social impact. We don't want to have the money tout court, we would like a Legislative*

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[49] "Siamo stufi, dopo tutti questi anni che siamo qui, di sentire la gente che ancora ci dice meravigliata: - Oh, lavorate alla vetreria?! E cosa fate? – Spesso è gente che vive qui, che lavora qui. Sfortunatamente capita abbastanza spesso di incontrare gente così".
[50] "Ovviamente abbiamo bisogno di radicarci nella comunità locale. Abbiamo iniziato a lavorare in questa direzione, ma ci vuole tempo, è un processo lento".
[51] "Cerchiamo di attrarre diversi pubblici, però alla fine […] c'è una sorta di difficoltà nel mischiare certi pubblici con altri […] Sappiamo perfettamente che facciamo teatro, è impossibile avere improvvisamente le folle di spettatori. Si deve sapere che non è immediato".
[52] "Non è che vogliamo arricchirci. I finanziamenti pubblici ci aiuterebbero a farci conoscere da più gente. Al momento tutto il marketing è basato sul passaparola, non abbiamo nemmeno i soldi per stampare dei volantini"!

Decree that within the boundaries of a general framework states – Since you are

a complement element of schools, training and development agencies, etc. you

have the responsibility of raise and develop the potential of my future generation,

so etc etc etc". [53]

Lack of funding is the main reason responsible for the need to ask for financial contribution to the families of the children participating to the various activities organised by *Cemea*. Indeed, the revenues coming from the bar activity are not sufficient to cover all the management expenses and the association is forced to exclude the elderly from its programming even though they repeatedly asked to be involved in whichever pastime.

K6 *"We don't get a Euro from the Council. On the contrary, we also have to pay*

a rent, although a marked down rent, to lease the spaces of La Vetreria". [54]

Despite these difficulties, all the associations work seriously like any other enterprise on the market. Indeed, they do not rely on volunteers, but they monthly pay regular salary to each collaborator. However, they do not ask for funds to cover their employee costs, they want to be recognised and supported only for their social role.

K6 *"I don't want you support me because I have to pay my employees, but if you*

entrust me with a social role within the framework of your cultural policies, it might

be perhaps appropriate that you also help me to bear the related costs". [55]

K5 *"Do we contribute or not to the social welfare of this city? Is there any*

reduction in moped thefts thanks to the attendance of some guys to my courses?

Is there any improvement in the quality of life of those people who are facing

mental problems? Is there any relief for their families that give custody of their

relative to a welcoming association? […] Don't ask me to answer these questions,

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[53] "[…] Vorremmo essere riconosciuti come un'associazione che ha un impatto sociale positivo. Non vogliamo i soldi tout court, vorremmo un decreto legislativo che all'interno dei confini di una cornice generale dica – Siccome sei un elemento complementare della scuola, delle formazioni professionali, etc., hai la responsabilità di accrescere e sviluppare il potenziale delle mie generazioni future, quindi…"

[54] "Non riceviamo un Euro dal Comune. Al contrario dobbiamo anche pagare un affitto, anche se a canone agevolato, per stare negli spazi della Vetreria.

[55] "Non voglio che mi contribuisci perché devo sfangarmi lo stipendio dei miei dipendenti, ma se mi riconosci un ruolo sociale all'interno della cornice delle tue politiche culturali, potrebbe forse anche essere giusti che mi aiuti a sostenerne i costi".

I don't want to lapse into self-indulgence. Determine the rules, subsidise the entitles, ask for balance sheets and carry out proper and adequate controls". [56]

Conversely, even the board games in the recreational café have been bought by *Cemea* workers who have then made them available to anyone who wants to play with them and the spaces of the *La Vetreria* have been completely refurbished by the associations. Considering the important social role of the organisations, the key interviewees' wish for public funds which would enable them to enrich their cultural offer. For example, a common objective is to captivate the NEETs that loiter in the area damaging and vandalising the complex that has been refurbished with many difficulties. These people usually come from the many disadvantaged families who live in the surroundings of *La Vetreria* and are often marginalised. Recuperating and including them in the society is the primary aim of the associations, that have the competencies to succeed but miss the adequate funding to operate effectively. Nonetheless, they did not give up. On the contrary, they are trying their best to cooperate with students from the school of social service of Cagliari and with voluntaries from the national civil service according to an agreement that, on the one hand, helps the associations in accomplishing their mission, on the other hand enhances students' curricula with a valuable work experience. For example, the recent collaboration with the high school *Pitagora* in the close city of Selargius, allowed its students to discover the existence of *La Vetreria* and to appreciate novel forms of social interaction and relation. The aim is to engage all age groups so that the cultural centre becomes popular among Cagliari inhabitants, assuming the role of daily destination where meeting both old friends and new people and growing together.

4.6.3 Rome

Besides the scheduling of concerts performed by musicians of international standing, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* promotes community involvement through other forms of culture. For example, it hosts on a permanent basis the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*" which regularly organises exhibitions, lesson-concerts, conferences, seminars, symposiums, activities for children and young people as well as traditional concerts of classical music and specialised training. It also publishes

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[56] "Contribuiamo o no al benessere sociale di questa città? C'è una qualche riduzione nel furto di motorini grazie alla partecipazione di alcuni ragazzi ai miei corsi? C'è un qualche miglioramento nella qualità della vita di quelle persone affette da problemi mentali? C'è qualche sollievo per le loro famiglie che danno in custodia i loro cari in un'associazione accogliente? [...] Non chiedete a me queste domande, non voglio peccare di autoreferenzialità. Decidete delle regole, finanziate chi ne ha diritto, chiedete una rendicontazione delle spese e fate dei controlli adeguati".

books, CDs and DVDs and it participates in international multi-media projects and events to spread musical culture.

> **K14** *"We don't limit our activity to concerts. We also provide advanced training*
> *courses as well as basic education for children […], we preserve and promote*
> *cultural musical heritage through CDs and DVDs publications […]. We've always*
> *being trying to let the residents know our activities, we propose interesting music*
> *package to schools of any level […] We also organise workshops with local*
> *schools and we dedicate the initiative "Tutti a Santa Cecilia"*
> *[All at Saint Cecilia] to children and youngsters and the*
> *laboratory "Corus" [Choir] to adults over thirty".* [57]

In addition to the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*", the "*Amici di Santa Cecilia*" association also enriches the cultural offer of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* with a series of initiatives conceived for both youngsters and adults.

> **K9** *"We organised a series of seminaries in the high schools in Rome to attract the*
> *youngsters to the so-called art music and to make them able to autonomously*
> *attend classical music concerts. […] The association also curates annual cycles*
> *of free conferences linked to the concerts programmed at the Academy to*
> *explore the typical characteristics of the authors, of the historical periods and of*
> *the musical styles".* [58]

All the initiatives organised by the association are financed by members' donations and free of charge for the all the attendees, so that literally anyone can access culture.

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[57] "La nostra attività non si limita ai concerti. Organizziamo anche corsi professionalizzanti e di educazione di base per bambini […] conserviamo e promuoviamo il patrimonio culturale musicale attraverso pubblicazioni su CD e DVD […] Abbiamo sempre cercato di far conoscere le nostre attività ai residenti, proponiamo degli interessanti pacchetti musicali alle scuole di ogni livello […] Organizziamo workshop con le scuole della zona e dedichiamo l'iniziativa "Tutti a Santa Cecilia" ai bambini e ai giovani e il laboratorio del coro agli adulti sopra i 30 anni".

[58] "Organizziamo una serie di seminari nelle scuole superiori di Roma per avvicinare i giovani alla cosiddetta musica colta e renderli autonomi nell'ascoltare un concerto di musica classica. […] L'associazione cura anche dei cicli annuali di conferenze gratuite legate ai concerti programmati all'Academia per esplorare le caratteristiche tipiche degli autori, dei periodi storici e degli stili musicali".

> **K9** *"All the initiatives promoted by the "Saint Cecilias's friends" are free of charge,*
> *because the association is deeply convinced that culture has to be accessible*
> *to anyone. It doesn't have sponsors, but it only relies on its members' donations".* [59]

Moreover, a number of spontaneous citizens' associations and social organizations work every day for the improvement of the neighbourhood. Among the others, there are: *"Mi Attivo Flaminio"*, *"Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio"*, *"Carte in Regola"*, *"Quartiere Flaminio"* and *"I bambini per il Flaminio"*.

"Mi Attivo Flaminio" is a non-profit association, which promotes active citizenship through small initiative of urban decorum such as street cleaning, garden maintenance and rubbish collection.

> **K10** *"We are a group of residents that take care of their neighbourhoods*
> *through small initiatives that aim at improving cleanliness of Flaminio"* [60]

"Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio" is a movement of civic participation that has its basis in art. 118 of the Italian Constitution, which encourages autonomous citizens' initiatives for the common interest. Indeed, their main aims are the protection of the common good and citizens' participation.

> **K11** *"As neighbourhood committee we oppose those developments that we think*
> *might have a negative impact on the area and we take part to participation*
> *processes to better outline future projects that will be realised in the*
> *neighbourhood".* [61]

"Carte in Regola" is an association organised into groups that address specific issues such as policy transparency, community participation, urban mobility and environmental and architectural heritage preservation.

> **K11** *"We strongly opposed the realisation of a multi-screen cinema and the*
> *connected shopping centre, the car park, etc. that would have a strong impact*
> *on an area devoted to a different kind of cultural activities.*

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[59] "Tutte le iniziative promosse dagli "Amici di Santa Cecilia" sono gratuite, perché l'associazione crede fermamente che la cultura debba essere accessibile a tutti. Non ha sponsor, sopravvive grazie alle donazioni dei soci".

[60] "Siamo un gruppo di residenti che si prende cura del proprio quartiere attraverso piccole iniziative che mirano a migliorare la pulizia del Flaminio".

[61] "Come associazione di quartiere ci opponiamo alle realizzazioni di progetti che pensiamo possano avere un impatto negativo sul quartiere e prendiamo parte ai processi partecipativi per definire meglio i progetti che verranno realizzati nel quartiere".

It looks like we escaped it, we don't know if someone will propose

it again in the future, though". [62]

"*Quartiere Flaminio*" had its origins from the idea of two residents born and raised in Flaminio that wanted to show and protect their neighbourhood. They give voice to its inhabitants remaining impartial to political parties and free from political and commercial influences.

K12 *"We don't want any political involvement. They tried to collaborate with us,*

but we've always refused it, because we want to maintain our independence. We

don't have any ulterior motive to showing and protecting the neighbourhood, we

don't want have any political or commercial aim". [63]

"*I bambini per il Flaminio*" is a volunteer association that was born to enliven the neighbourhood and to improve the abandoned hidden corners looking at Flaminio through child's eyes.

K13 *"We try to look at the neighbourhood through child's eyes because this*

allows the consideration of everyone including the elderly

and all the disadvantaged". [64]

It is plain to see that residents have a strong attachment to their neighbourhood and, since they are perfectly aware of urban dynamics and of the consequences of an inadequate government of the area, they do not hesitate to give voice to their concerns in order to preserve Flaminio from becoming an unliveable trendy district and to protect it from abandonment and consequent degradation.

K11 *"We are scared of the possibility that the bustling of the night life that*

currently characterises Ponte Milvio might move here and thus threaten the

neighbourhood peacefulness". [65]

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[62] "Ci siamo opposti fortemente alla realizzazione di un cinema multisala e relativo centro commerciale e parcheggi ecc, che avrebbero avuto un forte impatto in un'area destinata ad altri tipi di attività culturali. Sembra siamo riusciti a scamparcela, non sappiamo però se qualcuno lo riproporrà in futuro".

[63] "Non vogliamo alcun coinvolgimento politico. Hanno cercato di collaborare con noi, ma abbiamo sempre rifiutato perché vogliamo mantenere la nostra indipendenza. Non abbiamo nessun secondo fine nel tutelare e mostrare il nostro quartiere, non vogliamo avere fini politici o commerciali".

[64] "Cerchiamo di guardare il quartiere con gli occhi dei bambini perché questo ci permette di considerare tutti, inclusi gli anziani e tutti i gruppi svantaggiati".

[65] "Temiamo che il trambusto della vita notturna che attualmente caratterizza Ponte Milvio si possa spostarsi anche qui e compromettere la tranquillità del quartiere".

K12 *"Intolerance against non-EU immigrants that loiter in the close Piazza Mancini is heavy, thus adequate inclusion policies are needed".* [66]

K13 *"Wherever you have abandoned areas, see the Flaminio Stadium not far from the Auditorium, the ghastliest deterioration gains the upper hand".* [67]

For this reason, while they express their admiration for their neighbourhood, they also highlight the need for continuous commitment of both the government and the residents and for new projects to improve the quality of other areas of Flaminio that are currently not as pleasant as the one around the *Auditorium Parco della Musica.*

K12 *"Flaminio is the only neighbourhood in Rome completely self-sufficient since it offers an Auditorium, a museum of contemporary art, the MAXXI, two stadiums, free activities along the Tiber, three bridges that represent various historical periods, etc. It probably is the only neighbourhood able to produce such variegated historical and cultural offer. […] Unfortunately, over the last three/four years, the issue of prostitution has come back to the dark and isolated residential areas of the neighbourhood. […] Piazza Mancini has been transformed into a Kasbah on the fringes of the law, not safe after a certain time in the evening. […] Lowlifes of the area hassle shopkeepers of the surroundings and you often witness disagreeable scenes. Greater attention from the Council to these thorny situations would be advisable".* [68]

K13 *"In some exclusively residential areas of the neighbourhood streetwalkers practice their activity. Physically occupying these areas with cultural activities would push them away, as it happened in the surroundings of the Auditorium that was previously location of prostitutes and drug addicts […] it's desirable to create destination places like the Auditorium in other neglected areas of the*

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[66] "L'intolleranza nei confronti degli immigrati extra-comunitari che stazionano su Piazza Mancini è notevole, servono politiche di integrazione adeguate".

[67] "Ovunque ci siano aree abbandonate, vedi lo stadio Flaminio non lontano dall'Auditorium, il peggior degrado ha la meglio".

[68] "Flaminio è l'unico quartiere a Roma completamente autosufficiente, in quanto offre un Auditorium, un museo di arte contemporanea, il MAXXI, due stadi, una serie di attività gratuite lungo il Tevere, tre ponti che rappresentano diversi periodi storici, ecc. Probabilmente è l'unico quartiere in grado di offrire un'offerta storica e culturale così variegata. […] Sfortunatamente negli ultimi tre/quattro anni il problema della prostituzione è tornato nelle aree buie e isolate del quartiere […] Piazza Mancini è stata trasformata in una kasbah al limite della legalità, non è sicura a una certa ora della sera […] i malviventi della zona importunano i negozianti della zona e spesso si assiste a scene piuttosto spiacevoli. Sarebbe bene che il Comune facesse attenzione a queste situazioni difficili".

neighbourhood. For example, our sword of Damocles is Piazza Mancini where

there's now the same situation there was there. […] We're asking to occupy it with

culture, playgrounds, etc. so that it can be possible to hang out there again. [69]

In addition, they underline the preeminent role the government have to play to ensure public interest is pursued even though it is often the private initiatives that allows for change.

K11 *"Unfortunately many projects only kick off when there are private economic*

interests. But such important places require, if not public funds, since there is any,

at least a very strong public direction with clear ideas on what can be done and

what cannot, able to involve local communities" [70]

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[69] "In alcune zone esclusivamente residenziali del quartiere le prostitute praticano la loro attività. Occupando fisicamente queste aree con attività culturali si spingerebbero fuori, così come è successo intorno all'Auditorium che prima era luogo di prostitute e drogati […] si dovrebbe creare dei luoghi-destinazione come l'Auditorium anche nelle altre aree dimenticate del quartiere. Per esempio, la nostra spada di Damocle è Piazza Mancini dove c'è ora la stessa situazione che c'era lì […] Noi chiediamo di occuparlo con la cultura, parchi giochi, ecc. in modo che sia nuovamente possibile trascorrerci del tempo".

[70] "Sfortunatamente molti progetti hanno inizio solo quando ci sono interessi economici privati. Ma posti così importanti richiedono, se non fondi pubblici, almeno una direzione pubblica molto forte con le idee chiare su cosa si può fare e cosa no e capace di coinvolgere le comunità locali".

5 Discussion

In order to simplify the comparison among the three case studies analysed, the main changes observed in each city are reported in Table 22. In the first column, the key factor considered for discussion is indicated and, in the other three, the number of coloured squares indicates the intensity that characterises its presence in each locality. The dotted squares signify data are not available. Moreover, each factor is discussed in detail later in this paragraph together with the illustration of the protocols of evaluation adopted for of each of them, in order to justify the levels assigned to each case study, so that it will be possible to accordingly evaluate additional case studies in a relatively unambiguous way.

Factors	London	Cagliari	Rome
Reinvestment of capital	■■■■■	■■□□□	□□□□□
Closure of commercial activities	■■■■■	■■□□□	□□□□□
Other public initiatives	■■■□□	■□□□□	■■■□□
Population growth	■■■■■	□□□□□	□□□□□
Changes in age distribution	■■■■□	■■■■■	□□□□□
Population rejuvenation	■■■■■	□□□□□	□□□□□
Displacement	■■■■■	□□□□□	□□□□□
Increase of managers and professionals	■■■■■	■□□□□	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚
Decrease in elementary occupations	■■□□□	■■□□□	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚
Unemployment decrease	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚	■□□□□
Qualification increase	■■■■□	□□□□□	■□□□□
Change from rent to owner occupied	■■■■■	□□□□□	■□□□□
Changes in housing tenure distribution	■■□□□	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚	■■□□□
Increase in housing prices	■■■■■	■■□□□	■□□□□
Deprivation index drop	■■■□□	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚
Decrease in housing affordability	■■□□□	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚	⬚⬚⬚⬚⬚
Inconveniences during the works	■■■■■	□□□□□	■■□□□
Residents' attachement to the area	■■■■□	□□□□□	■■■■■
Residents' concern	■■■□□	■■■■□	■□□□□

Residents' appreciation	■■□□□	■■■□□	■■■■■
Residents' complaints	■■■■■	■■■□□	■□□□□
Community involvment in decision process	■■■■□	□□□□□	□□□□□
Daily fruition of the area	■■■■■	■■■□□	■■■■■
Other cultural activities	■■■■■	■■■■■	■■■■■
Citizens' initiatives	■■■■□	□□□□□	■■■■■

Tab.22. Key factors for discussion (Compiled by the author).

First of all, Tab.22 shows that, while in London there is high reinvestment of capital, thus pointing at the third wave of gentrification described by Davidson and Lees (2005) mainly realised by large developers (Ball, 1994), it is quite moderate in Cagliari and completely absent in Rome. It has to be specified that the reinvestment in Cagliari is basically constituted by the realisation of the *Residenza nel Parco* which was approved together with the regeneration plan, but it still has many unsold residential units. This is the unique real estate development that could be authorised in the area, since the surroundings of *La Vetreria* are either in the preserved historical city centre or assessed as flood risk areas. Similarly, no real estate developments are realisable in Rome because the area is already completely built and under the national historic preservation law. Following these observations, with respect to the factor named "reinvestment of capital", five squares have been attributed to London, where reinvestment of capital is witnessed by the realisation or refurbishment of at least four large residential or mixed-use developments; two squares have been assigned to Cagliari, where only one medium-size residential block has been built; and zero have been appointed to Rome, because no private investment has been recognised.

Gentrification is also revealed in London by the closure of many pubs that were not able to compete with the international chains that opened in the area thanks to the reinvestment of capital, attributable to private large developers (Ball, 1994) that Davidson and Lees (2005) identified as one of the main characteristics of the third wave gentrification, whereas in Cagliari some commercial activities have been closed not because of competition, but because the area is not popular suggesting that the area has not been regenerated. Differently, Rome is not interested by this phenomenon since commercial activities follow their own natural course here without undergoing impacts either positive or negative related to the realisation of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. According to this analysis, concerning the factor called "closure of commercial activities", five squares have been attributed to London, where at least 30 pubs closed after the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery; two squares

have been assigned to Cagliari, where a reduced number of commercial activities went out of business; and zero have been appointed to Rome, because no store closed because of economic problems.

Both in London and Rome the government contributes to the improvement of the accessibility of the area by realising new connections such as the Millennium Bridge and the Thameslink station in London and the Ponte della Musica in Rome. In addition, the Borough Market and the Shakespeare Globe Theatre have been refurbished in London while the MAXXI have been realised in Rome, where also the projects for the Science City and the Park of the Arts have been approved. Differently, the government limited its participation to the transformation of an old train station into a light railway station in Cagliari. Consequently, it is self-evident that the State really played a preeminent role in triggering the gentrification process in London, as Hackworth and Smith (2001) stated, and that large developers actually realised it (Ball, 1994). However, the fact that similar gentrification dynamics have not occurred in Rome, despite public investments, suggest that a direct cause-effect relationship would not be applicable and that the concept of "congruence" suggested by Offner (1993) would rather be more appropriate to explain these dynamics. Considering these interventions, in relation to the factor "other public initiatives", three squares have been assigned to both London and Rome, where other four public initiatives were promoted whereas, only one square has been attributed to Cagliari because only one correlated public intervention was realised.

Following the example of Arbaci and Tapada-Berteli (2012) of analysing demographic dynamics and interpreting the variations observed through Davidson and Lees (2005) and Lyons (1996) lists of gentrification characteristics, demographic changes in London point at gentrification, whereas it hints at ineffective regeneration policies adopted in Cagliari and at natural demographics dynamics in Rome. Indeed, while population grows consistently and definitely rejuvenates in London thanks to the increase of youngsters' presence at the expenses of the elderly, population remains approximately stable in both Cagliari and Rome. However, while population sensibly ages in Cagliari due to the increase of elderly and to the contemporary decrease of youngsters, it very slightly ages in Rome suggesting that natural aging occurs in the neighbourhood because life expectancy increases and residents spend their old age in their neighbourhood. Due to these features, the factor "population growth" got five squares in London, where population grew almost 80% in the ten-year period following the announcement of the Tate Modern Gallery; whereas it got zero in both Cagliari and Rome, where population remained relatively stable, tending, if anything, to decrease. Meanwhile, the

aspect "changes in age distribution" got four squares in London, where the percentage of people aged between 20 and 64 years increased by 14 points with respect to the elderly, whose percentage decreased by 11 points; whereas it got five in Cagliari, where the percentage of people aged 65 or more increased by 17 points and zero in Rome, where age distribution remained substantially unchanged. Similarly, five squares have been assigned to "population rejuvenation" in London, where the ratio of the youngsters to the elderly increased of almost 500 percentage points; whilst zero has been assigned to both Cagliari, where population aged, and Rome, where population basically maintained the same characteristics.

Demographic changes in London are mainly determined by the influx of young managers and professionals and by the displacement of people employed in elementary occupation, supporting the hypothesis of gentrification both through exclusion and by aggregation, as described by Simon (2008). Differently, the increase of managers and professionals and the decrease of people employed in elementary occupations in Is Bingias is quite moderate and it has to be considered that data on these aspects are only available at a bigger scale, so that changes might be influenced by phenomena happening in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Data on managers, professionals and people employed in elementary occupations are not available in Rome, thus the variation of the unemployment rate is considered and its reduction leads to hypothesise an economic and social improvement of the area, in accordance with the definition of Regeneration provided by Roberts (2017), Kwon (2004) and Catterall (1998). Consistently with these trends, the factor "displacement" got five squares in London, where the phenomenon has been signalled by a high number of the interviewed people, whilst it got no squares either in Cagliari or in Rome, because none ever reported it. With regard to the factor "increase of managers and professionals", five squares have been assigned to London, where their number grew by more than 200 percentage points in absolute terms in the decade during which the Tate Modern Gallery was announced and opened; while only one square has been assigned to Cagliari, where the same working category grew by just 32 percentage points. Similarly, concerning the aspect "decrease in elementary occupation", two squares have been assigned to both London and Cagliari, where the percentage of population occupied in elementary occupation decreased 5% and 4% respectively in the whole period examined. Referring to the "unemployment decrease", one square has been assigned to Rome, where the unemployment rate dropped of approximately one percentage point.

The increase in the number of people holding level four qualification or above confirms the hypothesis of gentrification in London, since it is basically determined by external influxes, as explained by Simon (2008). At the same time, it also supports the hypothesis of economic and social upward mobility of the residents in Rome conforming to the definition of Regeneration provided by Roberts (2017), Kwon (2004) and Catterall (1998), because no significant external influx interested the area so that the improvement is attributable to the residents. Meanwhile, the steadiness of this variable in Cagliari strengthens the inefficiency of the regeneration policies adopted. Considering the increase in absolute terms of people holding level four qualification or above documented higher than 1000 percentage points in the area of Cathedrals, four squares have been assigned to the factor "qualification increase" in London, while none have been assigned in the case of Cagliari, where a decrease of people holding level four qualification is recorded, whilst only one has been assigned in the case of Rome, because the increase of the absolute number of people holding level four qualification or above is lower than 11%.

The remarkable change from tenancy to owner occupancy and the change in housing tenure distributions, characterised by an increase in owner occupied houses, confirm a gentrification process in London, since international investors are buying a sizeable part of the area, aspects that Davidson and Lees (2005) and Lyons (1996) consider revealing of the presence of an ongoing state-led gentrification process. On the contrary, similar changes confirm economic upward mobility of residents in Rome, because former residents are buying the houses where they live, thus improving their life conditions in accordance with the definition of Regeneration provided by Roberts (2017), Kwon (2004) and Catterall (1998). Contrastingly, there is not a significant change from tenancy to owner occupancy in Cagliari and this is consistent with the hypothesis of an inefficient project. Data on housing tenure distribution are not available in Cagliari. Following these observations, the factor "change from rent to owner occupied" scored five squares in London, because housing ownership increased of almost 200 percentage points over the period analysed; one square in Rome, because the increase stopped at just 22 percentage point and zero in Cagliari, because housing ownership even decreased here. Simultaneously, the factor "change in housing tenure distribution" got two squares in both London and Rome, where variation of the various fractions is observed at 25-21, 16 and 5-9 percentage points. Due to the unavailability of data on housing tenure distribution, squares are dotted in Cagliari.

Housing prices increase in every case study considered, but growth is more accentuated in London, where the average house price pass from £290000 to £800000 in the decade after the opening of the "Tate Modern Gallery", thus reaching one of the main objectives of Renaissance programmes (Porter and Shaw, 2013; Beauregard, 2004; Catterall, 2004; Ley, 2003; McDonnell and Newby, 2011; Díaz Orueta, 2007 and Smith, 2002), pointing at gentrification (Atkinson, 2002). Differently, in Cagliari data on average prices are referred to the whole of the central areas where they shift from 960 to 1700 €/sqm in the decade following the opening of *La Vetreria*; whereas in Rome average house price per square metre vary from €3100 to €4700 in the decade after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. Considering these changes, five squares have been attributed to London, where the increase has been of almost 200 percentage points; two have been done to Cagliari, where the increase has been of almost 80 percentage points; and one has been assigned to Rome, where the increase has been of almost 50 percentage points.

Data on deprivation index and housing affordability are only available in London. They both corroborate the hypothesis of gentrification and even point at super-gentrification. Indeed, housing affordability decreases mainly because international investors determine an excessive rise of property values even for the incomes of the gentrifiers, who, thanks to their better economic and social condition than the local residents, determine the decrease of the deprivation index. Once again, the peculiar characteristics of gentrification identified by Simon (2008), Lees (2003), Atkinson (2002) and Lyons (1996) are observable. Considering that the deprivation index dropped by 63%, three squares have been assigned to the related factor "deprivation index drop". Similarly, two squares have been appointed to the factor "decrease of housing affordability", because the housing affordability index passed from six annuities to 16 or 22 depending on the assumed income (current year or original year updated through inflation, respectively).

Residents are those who are mostly affected by regeneration programmes (The Economist - Intelligence Unit, 2013), but impacts have been different in the three case studies analysed. London residents are those who report the major inconveniences during the works, whereas in Cagliari none of the interviewees complains about it. Some of the Roman interviewees report occasional slowing downs in the local traffic circulation, but the majority of them do not experience any inconvenience because do not pass through the area interested from the works. In this case, no quantitative data allows to objectively measure the phenomenon, since inconveniences are basically related to residents' viewpoints. For this reason, squares have been attributed to the factor "inconveniences

during the works" on the basis of residents' stances. Five squares have been attributed to London, where numerous inconveniences have been reported; two squares to Rome, where occasional inconveniences have been referred and zero to Cagliari, where no inconveniences have been ascertained.

London residents show great attachment to the area where they live even though they were not born and rise there. The same cannot be noticed in Cagliari, where residents come back to their neighbourhood only because it is where they have their home to sleep, but they live their life in Cagliari city centre and they even ignore the presence of the associations in *La Vetreria*. Conversely, the Romans are strongly attached to their neighbourhood, which is often the place where not only they were born and raised, but also their ancestors were. These characteristics recall the sense of self identity and group identity described by Altman and Low (1992) and the theories on place attachment and place identity elaborated by Proshansky et al. (1983). Even in this case, squares attribution depends on residents' personal experiences. According with their statements related to the factor "resident's attachment to the area", zero squares have been assigned to Cagliari, where people do not live the neighbourhood, but limit themselves to sleep there; four squares have been assigned to London where residents show great attachment to the neighbourhood and live it as part of their daily life; and five squares have been assigned to Rome, where neighbourhood attachment not only is very strong, but it also goes beyond current generations finding its roots in the ancestors.

Concern is common to residents in every city considered. However, the reasons behind it are different in any of them. Indeed, in London residents are worried about the loss of identity and social cohesion and fear for the transformation of the area into a ghost neighbourhood, further confirming the hypothesis of gentrification. This refers to both their group identity and their culture (Altman and Low 1992) as explained by the theories on place attachment and place identity elaborated by Proshansky et al. (1983). Differently, residents are worried about their own safe in Cagliari, especially at nights because NEETs loiter in the area and several episodes of petty crime and vandalism are reported there, sign that regeneration policies have not been able to determine the liveability of the area (Atkinson, 2002). Distinctly, residents are worried the peacefulness of the neighbourhood might be compromised in Rome by crazy night life and by disorderly groups of immigrants. Once again, the evaluation of the factor depends on residents' perspectives. The factor "residents' concern" has been evaluated one squares in Rome, because residents' are concerned about problems they observe in the surrounding neighbourhoods and might arise in Flaminio in the future; three in London, because

residents can already spot the seeds of the dreaded problems; and four in Cagliari, because residents already experience the problems they fear might exacerbate.

Appreciation is largely outweighed by complain in London, where residents cannot deny the importance of an international attraction, but report the deterioration of the quality of life in the neighbourhood. Differently, residents recognise the park is a nice place that improved their quality of life in Cagliari, but complain about the dangerousness of the area. Distinctly, Romans are enthusiastic about the successful regeneration determined by the construction of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. They only complain about other abandoned areas where they wish similar projects are realised and about minor issues such as street cleanliness and potholes that are not either specific of Flaminio, but common to the whole of Rome. This confirm the hypothesis that urban beautification gives expression to local identity (Moulaert et al., 2004), enhances both the image of the area and residents' appreciation of it (Van Kempen and van Beckhoven, 2002; Zimbardo, 1969) and creates a sense of belonging (Wilson and Kelling, 1989; Cohen et al., 2000; Maguire et al., 1997; Kamali and Tahmouri, 2013). This picture is coherently depicted through the two squares assigned to the factor "resident's appreciation" opposed to the five given to "residents' complaints" in London to indicate the appreciation for the project and the severe downsides residents are suffering. The contrast in Cagliari is not as accentuated as in London, three squares have been assigned to both resident's appreciation and complaints, because appreciation of the park goes hand in hand with feelings of unsafety and none of them is neither very high nor negligible. Differently in Rome, five squares have been assigned to the factor "resident's appreciation", because all the people interviewed largely approved the project and recognised its effectiveness; while only one square has been attributed to "resident's complaints", since the negative aspects they reported had minimal influence on the quality of life and are common throughout the city.

Concerning community participation in decision making, London profoundly contrasts with Cagliari and Rome. Indeed, while the Tate Programme successfully pioneered the so-called "Social approach" to effectively engage the local community since the very beginning of its delivery, as suggested by Batty et al. (2010) so that capacity to develop from the bottom is realized in the long run. Neither in Cagliari nor in Rome local communities have been involved in the project definition and not even properly informed about it. Due to these levels of "community involvement in decision process", this factor has been graded four squares in London, where population actively participate in decision making since day one and for all the duration of the project, but they are currently slowly, inexorably

and relentlessly excluded. This dynamic finds explanation in the retreat of the government, which no longer support community participation, thus making impossible for local communities to effectively operate, especially in deprived areas where volunteering is limited (Duncan and Thomas, 2000). Diversely, this same factor has been valued zero squares both in Cagliari and Rome, where, not only population has not been actively involved in the decision-making process, but they have not even properly been informed about the project.

The area interested by the project is a daily destination in all of the three case studies examined thanks to the various cultural activities organised in the spaces of the Tate Modern Gallery, of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* and of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. However, fruition is often reduced to only daylight in Cagliari due to the danger felt by local inhabitants. All the three projects clearly are examples of cultural regeneration, where cultural activities are part of a greater regeneration strategy, which includes social, economic and environmental activities as well (Evans, 2005). In order for new major cultural infrastructure to have effective positive impacts on the local community, it is necessary to embed cultural activities that are appropriate for the local social reality (Moulaert et al., 2003). The activities here promoted may be ascribed to those listed by Werquin (1999) as able to determine long-lasting benefits on the spatial context where they are located. In this aspect, the projects have been very successful both in London and Rome, where five squares have been assigned to the factor "daily fruition of the area", since the neighbourhood has been radically revitalised by the new activities, which are able to attract big crowds daily nightly. Contrastingly, impacts have been left behind in Cagliari, where fruition of the area is still limited to daily hours. For this reason, only three squares have been attributed to the factor in this case.

Citizens are quite active in London where they participate to various activities organised in the neighbourhood and attend several meetings where the future of the area is discussed. In Rome, citizens participate in an ever more emphasised way, not limiting their contribution to already organised activities, but creating voluntary groups committed to various aspects of the neighbourhood life. In this way, social-political life and cohesion between different classes a ethnic groups are improved (Moulaert et al., 2003; Stern, 2002). Differently, residents barely come back to their homes to sleep in Cagliari and they often do not even know what it is happening in their neighbourhood, as stated before, thus not reinforcing the sense of belonging and of community (Kamali and Tahmouri, 2013; Marcuse 1985b). Following these observations, the factor "other cultural initiatives" has been rated five squares in all the three case studies examined, since many other

collateral cultural activities flank the main new cultural infrastructure in every city. Conversely, the factor "citizens' initiatives" has been rated four squares in London, because residents willingly participate at already organised; zero in Cagliari, because the only activity residents enjoy in the neighbourhood is sleeping in their own house and five in Rome, since residents actively enrich neighbourhood life with their own initiatives, more than simply taking part in the existing ones.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Key findings

The study, focusing on the outcomes of cultural regeneration schemes promoted by public bodies, investigates if local communities really benefit from these initiatives. Three case studies located in different contexts are analysed as examples of cultural regeneration programmes that tried to regenerate the whole corresponding neighbourhood by combining the opening of a cultural centre with a series of activities geared towards the local community. In particular, the opening of the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Tate Modern Gallery and the related Bankside programme, in the ward of Cathedrals in the London Borough of Southwark, the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in the Cagliari neighbourhood of Is Bingias and the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in the Rome neighbourhood of Flaminio are reported. For each of them, the key findings corresponding to the set of objectives defined in paragraph 1.3 are reported and finally compared.

6.1.1 London

Three key findings are reported with regards to the case study of the Tate Modern Gallery in Cathedrals.

Firstly, visual analysis shows that the area underwent through a series of physical changes recognised as signs of gentrification by Davidson and Lees (2005), Ball (1994) and Hackworth and Smith (2001). Several pubs went out of business, numerous new luxury estates have been realised by large developers and the government encouraged the investments by providing new infrastructure. In addition, quantitative analysis shows that population has been subject to important socio-demographic and economic changes, but, once again, they are just the result of a deep gentrification process, the one defined by Simon (2002) as gentrification by aggregation, and not as a result of a social upgrading of the original residents. This resulted in displacement, as reported by some residents, due to rent increase and eviction, and in loss of diversity.

Secondly, it is difficult to identify a direct causal relationship between the changes illustrated above and the programme analysed. Indeed, coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", all the transformations happened in a composite context where many different initiatives played their role in shaping the ward. Moreover, the ward of Cathedrals is not the only one experiencing gentrification. A steady process of gentrification is affecting the surrounding wards as well, so it can be inferred that wider phenomena than a single cultural regeneration programme, are interesting the whole area.

Nonetheless, this does not imply that the Council and the programme curators are allowed to take no interest in the matter. It is acknowledged from the interview to the programme curator that no measure has been adopted to prevent the loss of social diversity, but this is an aspect that should be taken into account when the aim is Regeneration, not just Renaissance.

Thirdly, community involvement resulted to be volatile. All the interviewees and the consulted people recognised the initial high involvement of the local population in a wide range of initiatives from the information on the new developments, passing through a series of consultations, steering groups, liaison groups, to various cultural initiatives like film screenings, private views at the Tate, artists' projects, gardening etc. What is not clear, though, is why any desire for that is no longer there. Why have the funds for the coordinator of the Bankside Residents' Forum been cut? Why do residents complain about the lack of communication of the current Council's plans underling the difference with past attitudes? It seems like the Council is trying to avoid the debate with the residents. The involvement that in the past was considered a valuable contribution is today not encouraged at all if not even prevented.

6.1.2 Cagliari

Three key findings are reported with regards to the case study of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture in Is Bingias.

Firstly, the visual analysis shows that the area did not underwent through any of the significant physical change recognised as signs of gentrification by Davidson and Lees (2005), Ball (1994) and Hackworth and Smith (2001), beyond the building of *La Vetreria* and the linked *Residenza nel Parco*. The government tried to encourage investments by providing a new light railway station, but this was clearly not enough. In addition, quantitative analysis shows that population has not been subject to any positive socio-demographic or economic change. On the contrary, population aged and economic conditions did not improve. The result is that the area is still afflicted by the same problems it was suffering from before the realisation of *La Vetreria*, as revealed by the quantitative analysis and confirmed by the qualitative one.

Secondly, it is difficult to identify a direct causal relationship between the unsatisfying outcomes illustrated above and the programme analysed. Indeed, coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", Is Bingias is located in a composite context where many different aspects play their role in shaping the neighbourhood. Moreover, Is Bingias is not the only one experiencing negative

trends. Bad socio-economic conditions characterise the surrounding neighbourhoods as well, so it can be inferred that the wider context influences the thorny situation of Is Bingias. Nonetheless, this does not imply that the Council and the programme curators are allowed to take no interest in the matter. Cultural operators that work in *La Vetreria* expressed their willing and potential to effectively cope with social exclusion, but they have not enough funds to successfully manage this. However, this is an essential aspect that should be taken into account when aiming at regenerating a neighbourhood.

Thirdly, community involvement resulted absent both before and after the project. Indeed, the restoration of *La Vetreria* was basically realised by the government and finalised by the theatre company "*Cada Die Teatro*", which adopted the spaces to its needs. There were not meetings to inform the population on the new developments nor consultations, steering groups or liaison groups. Now that everything is set and working, a very restricted number of residents are informed on the various activities that are organised at *La Vetreria* and those who actively participate are even less. Many residents even ignore the presence of the four associations in these spaces.

6.1.3 Rome

Three key findings are reported with regards to the case study of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture in Flaminio.

Firstly, visual analysis shows that the area did not undergo through a series of physical changes except for the public initiatives namely the *MAXXI* and the *Ponte della Musica*. Nonetheless, the neighbourhood became more safe, more pleasant and more popular. The government is also willing to further improve Flaminio through the two cultural projects named the "City of Science" and the "Park of the Arts". In addition, quantitative and qualitative analyses show that population benefitted from many positive socio-economic changes, that point at socio-economic upward mobility of the residents, sign of successful regeneration processes.

Secondly, despite a direct causal relationship between the changes illustrated above and the programme analysed is difficult to prove, it is unquestionable that, coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", the building of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* collaborated in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions, thus amplifying and accelerating the regeneration process. Indeed, the area where the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* is located was an abandoned area often used as car park populated by prostitutes, before the *Auditorium Parco*

della Musica was built. As soon as the area has been physically occupied by the *Auditorium* prostitution vanished and it became a popular daily destination for the local community and a must-see cultural attraction for international tourists. Moreover, socio-economic improvements of the residents are registered in the decade between 2001 and 2011, after the opening of the *Auditorium* and are more accentuated in Flaminio than in the surrounding neighbourhoods. In addition, all the residents and key-informants interviewed are enthusiastic about the project and they reported only minor inconveniences and problems remained unsolved.

Thirdly, community involvement extremely improved. Whereas no consultation nor steering groups or liaison groups were held in preparation to the project of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, now many residents are involved in the infinite numbers of cultural activities and events held at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*. Moreover, many residents took the initiative to constitute new voluntary association with diverse aims. Their presence is now so rooted that they are often contacted by political parties to agree a common vision and to obtain their support at the elections. For example, differently from the past, all the residents' associations are involved in the definition of both the "City of Science" and the "Park of the Arts" and all the decisions taken and the milestones achieved are reported on internet websites.

6.1.4 Key findings compared

Significant differences come to light when comparing the key findings of each case study analysed.

Concerning the first objective, it has to be noticed that profound physical changes in landscape are visually recognisable only in London, where reinvestment of capital is evident and points at gentrification process. Differently, only restrained private developments have been realised in Cagliari and none in Rome, despite the various improvements in accessibility and connection promoted by both the local governments. Deeper analysis reveals that the local planning law restricted new developments due to historical preservation in both the areas. Socio-demographic and economic changes are significant in London, but, instead of suggesting socio-economic upward mobility of local residents, they confirm the hypothesis of gentrification, because they are mainly determined by the influx of upper class young managers and professionals. On the contrary, socio-demographic and economic changes in Rome testify socio-economic upward mobility of local residents, because they reveal the improvement of social and economic conditions of local population. Differently, no improvement is recognisable in Cagliari either in the social or in the economic sphere, leading to the hypothesis that regeneration policies have been inefficient.

With regard to the second objective, identifying a direct causal relationship between the changes illustrated and the related regeneration programme would be erroneous in any case study analysed. It would rather be more appropriate to consider Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", according to which spatial, social and economic transformations cannot be exclusively attributed to a unique factor, but they have to be interpreted through a systematic vision based on the synergy, interdependence, interaction and aggregation of factors, which either amplify and accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. In particular, the neighbourhoods analysed in London and Cagliari are located in a composite context influenced by many factors that impact on the shape of the area. Indeed, similar phenomena to those depicted in the examined neighbourhoods occur in the surrounding ones as well. Differently, the broader context in Rome determined an amplification and acceleration of the intended regeneration programme. Indeed, the area underwent through a series of physical, socio-demographic and economic changes that are partially attributable to also the realisation of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* thanks to the visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis conducted in this study.

In relation to the third objective, London results to be the only place where local communities have been actively involved in the decision-making process related to the realisation of the Tate Modern Gallery. However, this participation, which earned it international fame, is now even discouraged or at least not promoted as it was in the past. On the contrary, residents have not even been properly informed about the project of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* in Rome, but their participation in neighbourhood shaping and daily life has had a stunning increase and it is currently impressive. Conversely, community involvement has been completely absent in Cagliari both before and after the project and realisation of *La Vetreria*, so that residents are barely aware of the existence of the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture and are rarely familiar with the activities organised in its spaces.

6.2 Has the research question really been addressed?

In order to answer the research question, each case study is firstly critically summarised and a conclusion that take into account all the experiences analysed is finally drawn.

In regard to the ward of Cathedrals, it has to be said that it has been experiencing a continuous process of gentrification since the 1990s. Consequently, the realisation of the *Tate Modern Gallery* has to be positioned in an already vibrant and very popular touristic area in London, characterised

by an active real estate market, with gentrification process at an advanced stage, where many initiatives have been promoted to ameliorate both the area (Borough Market, Shakespeare Globe Theatre, Vinopolis) and its accessibility (the Millennium Footbridge and the Thameslink Borough Viaduct Bridge). Coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", according to which spatial, social and economic transformations cannot be exclusively attributed to a unique factor, but they have to be interpreted through a systematic vision based on the synergy, interdependence, interaction and aggregation of factors, which either amplify and accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions, it is clear that the Tate Gallery programme has not been able, on its own, to reverse the ongoing process of gentrification. On the contrary, it became part of the set of factors that support it. Indeed, even though the intangible part actually had positive impacts on the original residents, they have been largely overwhelmed by the negative consequences that caused gentrification. Since the intangible part is now minimised, the answer is even worse. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the neighbourhood experienced big improvements in all the tangible aspects, both physical and socio-economic. The problem is that this is not genuine Regeneration, at most it might be considered Renaissance. The city benefited from the process, at the expense of the local population. Not only have social and urban inequalities remained unresolved, but they have also been exacerbated by the progressive enrichment of the area that forced many of the vulnerable ones (now including also middle-income residents) to move to cheaper neighbourhoods, making the area poorer, since many local artists left.

Respecting the neighbourhood of Is Bingias, it has to be noticed that it is not a touristic destination and it is characterised by depressed real estate market and unpretentious social-economic conditions. Given this broader context and considering that no other significant collateral initiatives have been promoted in the area, the failure of the regeneration programme is consistent with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence". Neither the tangible aspects nor the intangible ones ameliorated. Indeed, the area did not physically improve, apart from the realisation of the park linked to the cultural centre, nor it is more popular. Moreover, the streets are perceived insecure because of the presence of NEETs responsible for episodes of vandalism and of lowlifes, authors of petty crimes. In addition, local population did not benefit from socio-economic improvement and is not involved in the neighbourhood life. It has not been involved in the past in the strategical decisional phase, nor now in the daily activities organised at cultural centre. Many of the residents do not even know the

existence of the associations that operates here. Consequently, social and urban inequalities remained unsolved and, with them, the related problems.

As regards the neighbourhood of Flaminio, it is characterised by a real estate market, which is not subject to either extreme pressure or depression, it is a touristic destination, but, at the same time, it is not overrun with tourists and various public interventions (MAXXI, Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli, The Science City, The Park of the Arts) cooperate to improve the area conditions, both physically and socio-economically. Coherently with Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", research demonstrates that regeneration cultural policies have been successfully here, since they determined great improvements in both tangible and intangible aspect. Indeed, an abandoned area used at best as a car park, occupied by prostitutes in the night, has been transformed into a popular cultural centre able to attract both local people and international tourists. The *Auditorium Parco della Musica* hosts important musical events of different genres as well as a number of related cultural activities. Moreover, original local residents improved their socio-economic condition and they still enjoy the spaces of the complex for a walk or for a family day. In addition, their involvement into decision making has grown over these years and they are now regularly informed and consulted to define future scenarios of the neighbourhood. They consider this project so successful that they are asking for similar initiatives in other abandoned areas of the neighbourhood and they are proposing a future connection among the various cultural centres.

In conclusion, to answer the research question, it has to be said that the construction of new cultural infrastructure and the related urban beautification are not able, on their own, to determine economic development, social upward mobility, social mix and public engagement. On the contrary, coherently with the illustrated Offner's (1993) concept of "congruence", they are part of a complex set of factors that, as a whole, contribute either to accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. Consistently, the *Tate Modern Gallery*, being realised in a vibrant and very popular touristic area in London, which already is interested by a gentrification process at an advanced stage, where many other initiatives are promoted to ameliorate both the area (Borough Market, Shakespeare Globe Theatre, Vinopolis) and its accessibility (the Millennium Footbridge and the Thameslink Borough Viaduct Bridge), collaborates to determine the improvement of the area in many respects, but it also contributes to worsen socio-economic conditions of the local population by encouraging gentrification. Similarly, the Local Centre for the Arts and Culture *La Vetreria* in Cagliari, being located in an area, which is not a touristic

destination and it is characterised by depressed real estate market and unpretentious social-economic conditions, where no other significant collateral initiatives have been promoted, does not improve either the neighbourhood conditions or the socio-economic status of the local community. Coherently, the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*, being located in an area in Rome, which is not subject to either extreme real estate pressure or real estate depression, which is a touristic destination, but, at the same time, it is not overrun with tourists, where various public interventions (MAXXI, Ponte della Musica-Armando Trovajoli, The Science City, The Park of the Arts) cooperate to improve the area conditions, both physically and socio-economically, contributes to ameliorate the area without determining any major negative consequences.

6.3 Planning policy recommendations

Drawing from both prior research findings reported in the literature review and lessons learnt from the evaluation of the three case studies analysed in this work, a series of planning policy recommendations are identified, in order to encourage social equity in the face of gentrification and thus the achievement of genuine Regeneration, rather than simplistic Renaissance. Considering the various actors involved, recommendations are specifically addressed to the following recipients:

- local governments,
- local communities and associations,
- the private sector.

6.3.1 Recommendations to local governments and policy makers

The most important recommendation is addressed to policy makers that are suggested to define programmes that aim to benefit people and not only the areas they rule. It is not very difficult to remake the urban reality through gentrification, the real challenge is to solve or at least to alleviate social and urban inequalities through genuine Regeneration. The research undertaken leads to propose the following suggestions to local governments and policy makers in order to achieve genuine Regeneration:

- synchronise urban interventions with social and economic supportive measures;
- encourage joined up approaches among the various stakeholders;
- promote cooperation between both public and private sector;
- pay specific attention to disadvantaged groups by promoting economic development, poverty reduction and social integration;

- protect social diversity by ensuring that an adequate number of social and affordable houses are delivered in the area and not off-site;

- defend the identity and distinctiveness of the area;

- lead inclusive and participatory planning by repeatedly consulting with residents and by actively involving them in all the stages of the regeneration programme since the strategic defining phase to the after-completion monitoring, when a series of spontaneous transformations happens;

- monitor the physical, socio-economic and demographic changes of the area;

- stimulate social interaction by promoting events, festivals and collaboration among residents;

- minimise inconveniences caused to the residents by tourists and visitors through the accurate planning of traffic routes, accesses and car parks.

Specifically considering the three areas analysed in this study, it is demonstrated that various factors interact in synergic ways to amplify and accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. It follows that urban interventions are not sufficient on their own to ensure genuine regeneration and that social and economic supportive measures are needed. This is particularly necessary for the areas of Bankside in London, where the local population suffers the consequences of the gentrification process, and Is Bingias in Cagliari, where the overall socio-economic condition is quite modest.

For this reason, it would be appreciable to adopt adequate measures to contrast gentrification in London. For example, all new real estate developments should meet Section 106 requirements and viability concerns raised by developers should be conscientiously examined by the Local Planning Authority, so that the right to adequate housing is guaranteed to also low-incomers without forcing them to move to peripheral areas. The provision of on-site social and affordable houses units is of paramount importance to encourage the social mix and to preserve the identity, distinctiveness, creativity and social diversity of the Bankside area. It is plain to see that cooperation between public and private sector, also through public-private partnerships, and joined up approaches among the various stakeholders are essential for this aim.

Diversely, specific attention to disadvantaged groups through the promotion of economic development, poverty reduction and social integration is needed in Cagliari, where there is a significant presence of NEETs and lowlifes responsible for episodes of vandalism and petty crimes. Educational programmes and training courses might help these disadvantaged groups to find a job

and thus improve their economic condition and, as a result, poverty would reduce, social cohesion would increase and crime might decrease in the neighbourhood.

The initial community involvement and social interaction promoted in London during the initial phases of the Tate programme revealed to be a successful approach to regeneration, as confirmed by the current experience in Flaminio, where the local community was not even informed about the project planned in the area and it now plays a preeminent role in shaping its neighbourhood. Since community involvement and participation are essential to acknowledge the characteristics of the area, to identify its actual needs, to plan appropriate interventions, to promote social cohesion, to avoid objections once decisions are taken and to shape the area accordingly with local community expectations, it would be advisable to resume consultations with residents in London and to activate them in Cagliari as well.

Minimising inconveniences caused to the residents by tourists and visitors through the accurate planning of traffic routes, accesses and car parks is always a desirable initiative, since residents might have the perception their neighbourhood is invaded by tourists, who might compromise its liveability. Similarly, monitoring the physical, socio-economic and demographic changes of the area would be advisable for all the three case studies considered, since only through accurate monitoring it is possible to rapidly adapt policies and interventions to the constantly changing contexts.

6.3.2 Recommendations to local communities and associations

Local communities and associations play a key role in shaping their neighbourhood. Moreover, they store in their memory the local knowledge based on first-hand experience, which is of great value to define strategic policies. In addition, population involvement creates a sense of belonging and identity, thus preventing tensions and conflicts. For these reasons the following recommendations are addressed to local communities and associations:

- actively participate in all the phases of the regeneration process since the strategic defining phase to the after-completion monitoring, paying particular attention on local impacts;
- encourage participation of all groups of the population, paying particular attention to the disadvantaged ones;
- promote networking through the organisation and participation to informal gatherings and events, where it is possible to meet and know each other in relaxed contexts, which facilitate spontaneous collaborations and friendships;

- support and facilitate bottom-up initiatives;
- share their knowledge and experience so that lessons can be learnt from previous failures and successes;

Specifically concerning the three case studies, it is of primary importance that local communities and associations continue to actively participate and to engage the disadvantaged groups in both London and Rome, with the aim that their views and opinions become known to politicians, planners and developers, thus influencing the neighbourhood shaping accordingly with their needs and expectations and monitoring the after-completion phase. Even more seriously, it is necessary that local communities start participating at their neighbourhood shaping in Cagliari, where top-down approach was applied for the realisation of *La Vetreria* and local communities did not have, and still do not have, a say in local policies. It would be valuable if the associations that work at *La Vetreria* promoted more informal gatherings and events so that residents could meet each other and socialise, thus creating a collaborative network, which would both improve social cohesion and lay the foundations for bottom-up initiatives.

In addition, it is advisable that all the three experiences are publicly shared also through the internet. For example, each local council website might dedicate a section to the regeneration programme promoted. The various phases should be described together with the main difficulties encountered, the measures adopted to overcome them, the basics strengths and weaknesses identified and the lessons learnt. In this way, when a local authority is approaching a similar project, it can benefit from a wide range of examples and plan its intervention more efficiently.

6.3.3 Recommendations to the private sector

The private sector has assumed a preeminent role in delivering regeneration programmes, mainly because it identifies highly remunerative investment opportunities in currently ruined areas, which aim to become the new city's pulse. However, it is important that the private interest does not prevail over the public one, because it might endanger the achievement of a balanced society and foster gentrification. Therefore, it is advisable that the private sector:

- assumes social responsibility for urban development;
- embraces inclusive development;
- defines projects that help to overcome tensions and conflicts, paying particular attention to the definition of public spaces and to the distribution of residence blocks;

- gives priority on long term social impacts rather than on immediate investment return.

Unfortunately, recommendations formulated for the private sector should have been considered before and during the delivery of regeneration programme. Now that the projects are completed and developers are no longer involved, it is long overdue. However, recommendations reported above should be taken into consideration when future projects are outlined.

6.4 Contributions, limitations and recommendations for future research

By studying the impacts of complex multifaced regeneration projects on the respective local population and by enquiring whether cultural policies are able to determine genuine urban regeneration, this study provides a threefold cognitive contribution, of which the constituents are illustrated below.

(i)   Methodological aspect: it develops a comprehensive multi-method approach that assembles visual, quantitative and qualitative analysis, explicitly drawing from the epistemological analysis of literature both in terms of conceptualisations and methodological frameworks, and by distinguishing between tangible and intangible effects.

(ii)   Empirical aspect: it is a pioneering work structured around a rigorous longitudinal, comparative ward level analysis, never done before in none of the contexts studied, based on the process of raw data from a variety of sources and the building of a multi-factor analysis that interpret relationships and patterns of change over two decades, complemented by visual and qualitative analysis, applied to the three case studies of Bankside, Pirri and Flaminio, considered as examples to reflect on the ability of cultural policies to stimulate genuine Regeneration as widely discussed in the current academic debate.

(iii)   Theoretical aspect: it critically bridges between theoretical and methodological debates ongoing in the international arena on the subject matter. While the empirical findings contribute to this wider debate, it also challenges the effectiveness of cultural regeneration by critically opposing state-led gentrification versus social upward mobility, and records a case of supergentrification, thus contributing to an additional theoretical phenomenon that has recently emerged.

However, the study needs further development. Future analysis would benefit from a more extensive focus on landscape changes. In addition, more quantitative and qualitative analysis that underpin the mechanisms and causes of outcomes observed in relation to the regeneration programmes need to be explored. For example, it would be interesting to distribute a questionnaire to statistically-representative sample of residents and commercial activities to transform the few views gathered in this study into statistically-significant opinions. Views from developers and investors would be an important complement of the analysis because they would possibly reveal the attracting features for investments in the areas considered. It would be also useful to track the various activities organised along the years to verify the level of community involvement in the different phases of the programmes.

Besides a more in-depth analysis of the three case studies examined in this study, it would be advisable to apply the multi-method approach pioneered here to more case studies, in order to broaden the basis of examples for the debate on impacts of cultural regeneration policies. For instance, it would be valuable to analyse a number of (five) case studies which share the common characteristic of being all located in disadvantaged areas, or, alternatively, in gentrified areas, with a view to verify if similar interventions realised in similar contexts lead to similar outcomes or, in case outcomes differ, to identify factors that play crucial role in determining genuine regeneration. In addition, the analysis of a number of case studies located in different areas of the same city would allow the comparison among the outcomes of projects located in areas which share the same general features (national and local government and legislation, national and regional macroeconomic conditions, etc.) but are characterised by different local traits (accessibility, real estate market, socio-economic conditions, tourist attraction, community participation, etc.) with the intention of better understand the role played by the surrounding conditions in accordance with the concept of "congruence" introduced in this study.

Future research should strengthen evidence provided by this study in relation to positive and negative impacts of major cultural infrastructure projects and to the synergy, interdependence, interaction and aggregation of factors, which either amplify and accelerate the already existing patterns or collaborate in promoting local strategies within a set of congruent actions. Moreover, further research should suggest adequate planning policy recommendations in order to promote genuine Regeneration and to avoid social polarisation and uneven development. This study already analysed these aspects, but deepen research is needed. In particular, spatial correlation analysis can better investigate the kind of relationship among the various factors that determine either

Regeneration or Renaissance. It would be interesting to understand which factors contribute to genuine Regeneration and which ones lead to Gentrification and what is their weight in influencing the urban dynamics.

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Appendix 1 –Indicators to measure effectiveness of community engagement

Standard	Indicators
Involvement	• Representation of all the interested groups • Promotion of the involvement of people who experience difficulties to participate • Involvement of all the people affected even though not organized in groups • People involved are prepared, show willingness, and commitment to participate, dialogue continuously with those they represent, and have the legitimacy and authority to take decisions and actions
Support	• Absence of practical barriers (e.g., access, transportation, assistance, communication aids, meeting time) • Absence of financial barriers (e.g., out of pocket expenses, loss of earnings) • Access to needed equipment (e.g., computers, telephones) • Availability of impartial and specialist professional support
Planning	• Involvement of participants since the early stages • Participants agree upon the time schedule, the purpose of involvement, and their respective roles and responsibilities • Identification of resources, definition of measurable and realistic results, assessment of constraints and opportunities • Review of plans following the evaluation of the performance
Methods	• Methods used are acceptable to the participants and appropriate for the purpose, needs, and circumstances of involvement • Methods are explained and understood by all the participants • Methods are adapted according to feedbacks and enable the expression of different views and the solution of conflicts of interest
Working Together	• Open, honest, positive, respectful, and non-discriminatory behavior • Recognition of participants' time value and of communities' statutory requirements • Encouragement of everyone's participation • Procedures agreement and knowledge sharing • Identification of opportunities and discussion of strategies • Efficient, effective, and fair use of resources • Focus on agreed purpose, roles assignment, and action delegation • Skill co-ordination and enhancement, reciprocal learning • Risk assessment, conflict address
Sharing Information	• Relevant information is accessible, clear, understandable, and available in appropriate format and time for consultation • All participants have equal access to information and justify why access to certain information is restricted by confidentiality
Working with	• Establishment of collaboration links with relevant structures, activities, and

Others		organizations
	•	Learning from others, avoidance of work duplication, complement of others' work
	•	Encouragement of community engagement
Improvement	•	Access to resources, support and opportunities for training for all participants
	•	Identification of learning needs and development of individual's potential
	•	Share of skills, experience, and knowledge
Feedback	•	Regular feedback on the considered options, on the agreed actions and decisions, and on their outcomes and impacts
	•	Relevant information is provided in understandable language, promotes positive images of all groups, avoids stereotypes and encourages participation
Monitoring and Evaluation	•	Evaluation of the engagement process against the intended results
	•	Collection, recording and presentation of relevant information
	•	Drawing of lessons from the evidence
	•	Celebration of progress
	•	Recording and sharing of good practices

Appendix 2 – Pubs details

	Name	Closure year	Address
1	Brunswick Arms	2008	22 Stamford Street
2	The Duke Of Clarence	2004	132 London Road
3	Elephant & Castle	2015	1 Newington Causeway
4	George	2004	Keyworth Street
5	Hop pole	1999	14 Gambia Street.
6	Paper Moon	2008	24 Blackfriars Road
7	The Bell	2011	Webber Street
8	Wheatsheaf	2009	6 Stoney Street
9	Whinchester	2005	154 Great Suffollk Street
10	Prince of Wales	2005	23 Lant Street
11	Antigallican	2005	155 Tooley Street
12	County Terrace Tavern	2003	93 New Kent Road
13	Crown & Anchor	2012	116 New Kent Road
14	Dun Cow	2004	279 Old Kent Road
15	Florence Nightingale	2009	199 Westminster Bridge Road
16	Frog & Nightgown	2013	148-150 Old Kent Road
17	Green Man	2008	278-280 Old Kent Rd
18	Guys Arms	1990s	2 Guy Street
19	Hartley	2013	64 Tower Bridge Road
20	Mitre	2003	Duke Street Hill
21	Marquis of Wellington	2015	21 Druid Street
22	Royal George	2000	27 Carlisle Lane
23	Royal George	2004	84 Abbey Street
24	Royal Standard	2012	42 Harper Road
25	Sherwood	2008	3 Rothsay Street
26	Ship	2001	228 Long Lane
27	Tanners Arms	2004	61 Willow Walk
28	Trinity Arms	2002	29 Swan Street
29	White Bear	2010	33 Tabard Street
30	World Turned Upside Down	2009	Old Kent Road

Appendix 3 – Interview details

Key informant	Place	Date
K1	London	June 2015
K2	London	July 2015
K3	London	July 2015
K4	London	July 2015
K5	Cagliari	February 2016
K6	Cagliari	February 2016
K7	Cagliari	March 2016
K8	Cagliari	May 2016
K9	Rome	April 2016
K10	Rome	April 2016
K11	Rome	April 2016
K12	Rome	April 2016
K13	Rome	April 2016
K14	Rome	April 2016
K15	Rome	April 2016

Appendix 4 – Interview questions

Questions asked to the residents of Bankside

1. How long have you been living in Bankside?
2. Why did you choose to live here?
3. Did you consider any other alternatives when looking for a place to live?
4. Did you ever face any problems since you are here?
5. How many people that moved to another area do you know?
6. Do you know the reason why they moved somewhere else?
7. Have you noticed any physical or social change in the area since you moved here?
8. What are the current major problems of the area?
9. Are you informed about the initiatives organised at the Tate? Do you participate?
10. What are your ideas to improve the area?

Questions asked to the residents of Is Bingias

1. How long have you been living in Pirri?
2. Why did you choose to live here?
3. Did you consider any other alternatives when looking for a place to live?
4. Did you ever face any problems since you are here?
5. Have you noticed any physical or social change in the area since you moved here?
6. What are the current major problems of the area?
7. What do you thing is missing in the area?
8. Are you informed about the initiatives organised at *La Vetreria*? Do you participate?
9. What are your ideas to improve the area?
10. Would you like to be involved in decision-making processes?

Questions asked to the residents of Flaminio

1. How long have you been living in Flaminio?
2. Why did you choose to live here?
3. Did you consider any other alternatives when looking for a place to live?
4. Did you ever face any problems since you are here?
5. Have you noticed any physical or social change in the area since you moved here?
6. What are the current major problems of the area?

7. What do you thing is missing in the area?

8. Are you informed about the initiatives organised at *La Vetreria*? Do you participate?

9. What are your ideas to improve the area?

10. Would you like to be involved in decision-making processes?

Questions asked to K1

1. Why and by whom was the Bankside Resident's Forum (BRF) founded?

2. Does the BRF receive any kind of support from the Council? For example, financial support, in terms of spaces to use, expert consultation, etc.

3. How does the forum work? Is it articulated in formal or informal meetings?

4. There used to be a coordinator, why don't keep it?

5. Since there is no coordinator, who is the person who interact with the Council?

6. Does the BRF cooperate with the other groups that operate in Bankside?

7. Is the BRF consulted from the Council to identify needs to tailor the policy framework? How are you involved in the process and at which stage?

8. Is the BRF consulted from the developers to better define the various projects? How?

9. What are the physical changes you noticed in the area since the opening of the Tate Modern Gallery?

10. Can you illustrate which positive impacts and/or negative consequences has the Tate (and its current extension) had on the local population?

Questions asked to K2

1. How does the social model become real?

2. What is the relationship among the various initiatives and what is the framework in which they are organised?

3. Would you consider the rise of property prices as a consequence of the regeneration programme and as a factor of gentrification of communities?

4. Do you think social housing and affordable houses are still there because the Council protected them or was it just the market itself that did not need to touch them?

5. Do you think there have been negative aspects such as displacement?

6. How has Bankside changed since the year 2000?

7. What about social changes?

8. what are the aims and forecasts for the future?

Questions asked to K3

1. I've seen you presenting the project 185 Park Street (Delancey), so it's clear your job involves interaction with the local communities. Has your approach changed over the years?

2. Which activities do you usually carry out to involve local communities?

3. Do you also include any kind of active involvement during the strategic phases, before the project is defined? Can you please describe them?

4. How do you identify community needs and how do you combine them with profit maximisation?

5. What attracts developers in Bankside and what attracted them originally in the 1990s? (Bankside Loft is from 1998)

6. Do you think community needs are changed over the years in Bankside? In which way and why?

7. Do you think the local community is changed in Bankside? Social composition, education, information on planning issues, participation, etc.

8. Who are the buyers of the new developments? Investors or new residents?

9. How do you think Bankside will change in the near future and in the long term?

Questions asked to K4

1. Do you have any kind of relationship with the other groups that operate in Bankside? (Bankside Residents Forum, Better Bankside, Bankside Open Spaces Trust)

2. Do you receive any kind of support from the Council? For example, financial support, in terms of spaces to use, expert consultation, etc.

3. Are you consulted from the Council to identify needs to tailor the policy framework? How are you involved in the process and at which stage?

4. Are you consulted from the developers to better define the various projects? How?

5. I've seen you offer a wide range of services (Art2Print, Book Clubs, Children and Young People's Services, Learning and Development, Legal Advice Clinic, Mental Health and Well-being, Older People's Services).

6. Do you have any kind of collaboration with the Tate to deliver some particular activities?

7. How do you involve the local community? (activities and communication)

8. What are the principal needs you are trying to meet at the moment?

9. Can you illustrate which positive impacts and/or negative consequences has the Tate (and its current extension) had on the local population?

10. Do you think the changes that are happening in the neighbourhood will improve or worsen the life of disadvantaged groups?

Questions asked to K5

1. How long have you been working at the *Cada Die Teatro*?
2. Since when is the *Cada Die Teatro* working at *La Vetreria*?
3. What kind of relationship do you have with the other associations that work at *La Vetreria*?
4. Who are the people who participate at your performing art school?
5. Does the local population participate both as actors and public of the shows?
6. The *Cada Die Teatro* is recognised by the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Cultural Activities. What does this mean? Does it benefit from any special supports?
7. Does the *Cada Die Teatro* receive any funds from the Local Authority or other public entities?
8. What are the main problems the company faces?
9. What would you suggest to address them?
10. How could local policies help the company?

Questions asked to K6

1. How long have you been working at *Cemea*?
2. Since when is the *Cemea* working at *La Vetreria*?
3. What kind of relationship do you have with the other associations that work at *La Vetreria*?
4. Who are the people who participate at your workshops?
5. Does the local population participate at your playing evenings?
6. Does the *Cemea* receive any funds from the Local Authority or other public entities?
7. Do you organise any project in collaboration with local schools?
8. What are the main problems the company faces?
9. What would you suggest to address them?
10. How could local policies help the company?

Questions asked to K7

1. How long have you been working at the *Crogiuolo*?
2. Since when is the *Crogiuolo* working at *La Vetreria*?
3. What kind of relationship do you have with the other associations that work at *La Vetreria*?
4. Who are the people who participate at your workshops and courses?

5. Does the local population participate both as actors and public of the shows?

6. Does the *Crogiuolo* receive any funds from the Local Authority or other public entities?

7. Do you organise any project in collaboration with local schools?

8. What are the main problems the company faces?

9. What would you suggest to address them?

10. How could local policies help the company?

Questions asked to K8

1. How long have you been working at the at the planning office of Pirri?

2. What are the physical changes recognisable in the area since the opening of *La Vetreria*?

3. What do you think is the reason behind such restricted number of interventions?

4. Can you illustrate which positive impacts and/or negative consequences has *La Vetreria* had on the local population?

5. What social and economic change would you say interested the area since the opening of *La Vetreria*?

Questions asked to K9

1. How long has the "*Amici di Santa Cecilia*" been based at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

2. What are its main activities and interests?

3. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

4. Do your activities attract local population or do they basically attract foreign people?

5. What problems do you often face at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

6. What suggestions would you propose to address them?

7. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

8. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K10

1. How long has the association "*Mi Attivo Flaminio*" been active in the neighbourhood?

2. What are its main activities and interests?

3. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

4. Is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* regularly visited by local population or does it basically attract foreign people?

5. Has the local population been informed, involved or did it actively participate at the strategical definition of the project?

6. What inconveniences has the neighbourhood faced during the realisation works?

7. Did the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* determined an improvement in the quality of life of local communities?

8. What problems are still unsolved in the neighbourhood and which have been solved?

9. What suggestions would you propose to further improve the area?

10. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

11. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K11

1. How long have the associations "*Cittadinanzattiva Flaminio*" and "*Carte in Regola*" been active in the neighbourhood?

2. What are their main activities and interests?

3. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

4. Is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* regularly visited by local population or does it basically attract foreign people?

5. Has the local population been informed, involved or did it actively participate at the strategical definition of the project?

6. What inconveniences has the neighbourhood faced during the realisation works?

7. Did the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* determined an improvement in the quality of life of local communities?

8. What problems are still unsolved in the neighbourhood and which have been solved?

9. What suggestions would you propose to further improve the area?

10. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

11. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K12

1. How long has the association "*Quartiere Flaminio*" been active in the neighbourhood?
2. What are its main activities and interests?
3. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?
4. Is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* regularly visited by local population or does it basically attract foreign people?
5. Has the local population been informed, involved or did it actively participate at the strategical definition of the project?
6. What inconveniences has the neighbourhood faced during the realisation works?
7. Did the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* determined an improvement in the quality of life of local communities?
8. What problems are still unsolved in the neighbourhood and which have been solved?
9. What suggestions would you propose to further improve the area?
10. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?
11. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K13

1. How long has the association "*I Bambini per il Flaminio*" been active in the neighbourhood?
2. What are its main activities and interests?
3. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?
4. Is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* regularly visited by local population or does it basically attract foreign people?
5. Has the local population been informed, involved or did it actively participate at the strategical definition of the project?
6. What inconveniences has the neighbourhood faced during the realisation works?
7. Did the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* determined an improvement in the quality of life of local communities?
8. What problems are still unsolved in the neighbourhood and which have been solved?
9. What suggestions would you propose to further improve the area?

10. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

11. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K14

9. How long has the "*Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*" been based at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

10. What are its main activities and interests?

11. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

12. Do your activities attract local population or do they basically attract foreign people?

13. What problems do you often face at the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

14. What suggestions would you propose to address them?

15. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

16. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

Questions asked to K15

1. How long have you been living in the neighbourhood?

2. How has the neighbourhood changed after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica*?

3. Is the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* regularly visited by local population or does it basically attract foreign people?

4. Has the local population been informed, involved or did it actively participate at the strategical definition of the project?

5. What inconveniences has the neighbourhood faced during the realisation works?

6. Did the *Auditorium Parco della Musica* determined an improvement in the quality of life of local communities?

7. What problems are still unsolved in the neighbourhood and which have been solved?

8. What suggestions would you propose to further improve the area?

9. To which direction is currently going Flaminio?

10. What are the main real estate and infrastructure interventions that have been realised after the opening of the *Auditorium Parco della Musica?*