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CULTURAL EVENTS AND KNOWLEDGE SPILLOVER:
PROCESSES OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND
DISSEMINATION

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Abstract

In spite of the growing importance of events as a regeneration strategy, the long term cultural effects of a festival on its region still lacks solid methodologies and empirical analysis. The present research attempts to fill this gap and investigates the cultural processes that both facilitate and result from events in a region. Specifically, the study addresses knowledge production and dissemination effects. This is a major strand for development within the knowledge economy, although barely investigated by critics with respect to the cultural industries in general, and even more rarely in relation to the events sector.

Therefore, the research investigates the dynamics activated by a festival within a region, including knowledge production and dissemination in a network. This analysis is framed through the interpretative lens of multifaceted cultural processes involving a wide range of actors. Such an approach entails on the one hand a cross-sectoral review integrating different fields, including locational economics, knowledge management, cultural economics and events studies. On the other hand, using a grounded theory methodology, the study involves also a multiple-case study analysis of two festivals concentrating on knowledge production.

The critical comparison of processes operating in knowledge based festivals (KBF) highlights their key role in the network society and the extent in which they can be seen as hubs that circulate knowledge in a region. Hence, our perspective shifts from the idea of an event as a moment in time to the event as a permanent catalyst of knowledge generation in a regional context. The theoretical interpretations supporting this conceptualisation are organised to form a pilot model describing the way knowledge spillover is generated after a festival in a region. Specifically, the model envisages knowledge spillover effect as determined by a cyclic process formed by four phases (knowledge sources, buzz, embeddedness, and pipelines) moving through two main axes implicit-explicit and local and global. According to the grounded theory approach guiding this research, the following empirical analysis serves as a way to operationalise the model that in turn acts as a guide to conduct the investigation on the field.

Festivaletteratura was chosen as the main explorative case study as one of the oldest events of this kind in Italy, being well-embedded within the regional context and hence facilitating embedded knowledge processes. A comparative case study was also developed of *Pordenonelegge.it*, which shares many characteristics with Festivaletteratura, such as the topic, the focus of knowledge dissemination, the longevity and similar regional contexts, all necessary to allow knowledge spillover. Data were collected via semi structured open ended interviews, desk analysis and surveys with local actors.

The main outcome of the research is twofold. On the one hand it generates a new methodology to interpret and empirically analyse processes of knowledge spillover from a festival to a region. On the other hand, through a systematic analysis of data, the study maps the evidence-based cultural effects generated by a festival on the different forms of capital in the region. Moreover, the integration of a wide range theoretical interpretations with a comprehensive analysis of relatively small and defined empirical settings represents and innovative approach to the subject. Such a perspective also allowed us to develop conceptual innovation by bringing to light the permanent action of a KBF in knowledge circulation overcoming its temporal constraints.

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CHAPTER 0

0 Introduction

0.1 Research framework

The aim of the present research is to explore the impacts of a festival on the local milieu, meant at large as the local community and the social fabric, from a cultural perspective.

In the last decade, both policy makers and academic researchers have increasingly highlighted the potential of cultural events not only as strategies for repositioning, but also as tools to deliver wider social and cultural effects. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to define in the long term, what exactly is the effective symbolic legacy of a cultural event for a region. The strong connection of cultural planning that coincides with political agendas in recent decades, along with the consequent pressure for more tangible results, might have contributed in generating a plethora of ad hoc studies based on short-term impacts, analysing what is easy to measure rather than what is important (Richards, 2014). Conversely, cultural impacts are usually intangible elements resulting from complex multi-faceted processes occurring on a long-term scale whose characteristics are difficult to capture. The systemic nature of an event and consequently of its cultural outcomes, is formed by an interplay of factors varying from case to case and generally ranging from the event design and planning as a product, to the identity of the place and its cultural and natural heritage (Argano et al. 2005). This crossroad of fields and approaches followed by the unpredictable nature of results, made the theme very interesting and challenging to analyse from the perspective of design for heritage enhancement. Moreover, while the current literature lacks empirical evidence in terms of cultural impacts, and studies on how to conduct cultural impacts assessment. In light of this, a vast and holistic literature review was done to try to generally frame the macro theme. The reviewed topics ranged from: cultural events in the perspective of cultural tourism; business events, to grasp ideas on learning processes; learning organisations and creative clusters literature to have an insight into dynamics of knowledge creation and transmission besides studies on the Arts impacts. The latter were useful in indicating the operations, influences and outcomes of intellectual production and the users/consumers co-creation act, which Bourriaud names as post-production (2002) in relation to the arts field.

The first frame of review regarding the literature that the present research conducts, generates a conceptualisation of a cultural event as a catalyst of networks generation and knowledge exchanges, potentially nurturing a virtuous circle of knowledge spillover within the region.

Following this first stage, processes activated by a festival within a region and the dynamics guiding knowledge production and dissemination in a network emerged as privileged fields to investigate.

0.2 Objective of the study and research questions

In line with this perspective, the study analyses the potentialities of cultural festivals as knowledge catalysts within the network society (Richards, 2014) and together, with the quiescent capability of knowledge generation and circulation to improve local networks. Grounded on these perspectives, the research develops by conceptualising a cultural event as a creative network that is characterized by the creation and circulation of knowledge and by the cognitive and geographic proximity of actors along with temporal continuity. These factors are expected to generate creativity by stimulating socio-cultural innovation. Hence, this reflection highlights the gap between the short duration of an event and the long-term process required to activate regional development. Thereby, the perspective shifts from the analysis of the temporal dimension of an event as a moment in time, to its permanent role as a creative hub embedded in a regional context.

Consequently, the theoretical framework generates the delineation of four research questions. The first and the second concerning the relationship and dynamics of a festival with the region:

RQ1: How does an event embed itself in regional networks in temporal and spatial terms?

RQ2: Which processes contribute to generating knowledge spillover?

The last questions involve the consequent activated processes on the long term:

RQ 3: What are the knowledge spillover effects on the region?

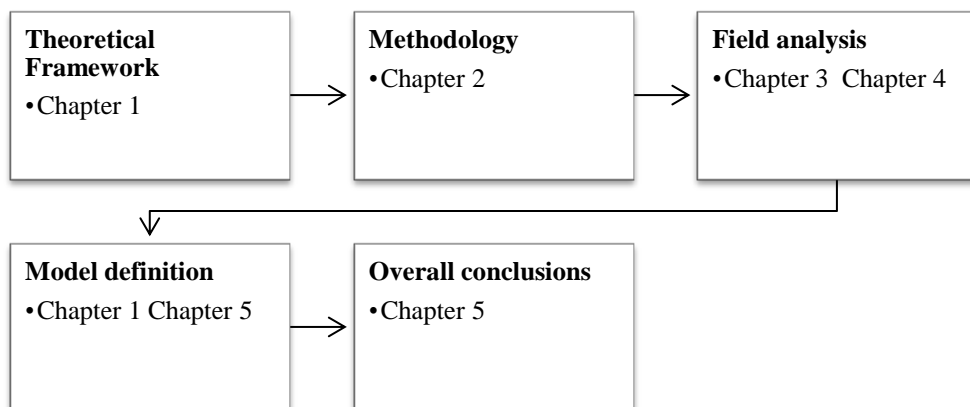
RQ 4: How can we analyse and measure processes triggering these externalities?

0.3 Structure of the chapters

An important finding in regards to the literature review was the lack of investigation. Not only is it sparse in the body of research dealing with events and on aspects connecting the cultural dimension and the regional development, but also in the methodology to examine claims or empirical results. Other gaps entail the absence of a recognised taxonomy and framework of the events phenomenon aside from the lack of comprehensive empirical studies. In light of this, the first part of the theoretical research framework presented in Chapter 1, reviews a range of disciplines and approaches to develop the idea that cultural events have been accruing a key role in the network society and the extent in which they can be seen as temporal hubs in a region. Subsequently, it is identified in knowledge-based festivals (KBF) (Guerzoni, 2008) as the most suitable kind of event to investigate for research purposes. The second section of the theoretical chapter, concentrating on the production and transmission of knowledge through events, compares the action of a KBF with that of the creative industries. We suggest the idea of a KBF as a creative industry triggering positive externalities, which was systematised into a theoretical model. The model describes the various processes of knowledge generation, consumption, circulation and spillover, while representing both a theoretical answer to the main research questions and a guide in the triggering of further empirical analysis. Chapter 2 is focused on describing the epistemological approach of the researcher and the methodological choices on which the study is based.

By including a detailed description of the criteria and goals guiding the choice of case studies, the research also discusses methods used for the empirical investigation and interpretation of findings. Generally speaking, the study is rooted on a multiple-case study analysis along with a grounded theory approach. It develops on the one hand, a procedure transferrable methodology to analyse a festival's cultural effect on a region while on the other hand, it discloses a guide to collecting empirical evidence of the legacy of the analysed cultural events. The exploratory nature of the research guides the choice to compare two very similar environments, the first being *Festivaletteratura* (FL) of Mantua (Italy) as the main case study followed by the comparative case of *Pordenonelegge.it* (PL), a literature festival held in Pordenone (Italy). The context and findings of the former are described in Chapter 3, whilst Chapter 4 reports a detailed description of evidence collected with regard to the latter. In order to facilitate the comparison and testing the model's validity, findings were collected and presented in accordance with the model. Therefore, each festival is described according to the four processes predicted within the model (knowledge sources, buzz, embeddedness and pipelines) and according to the two axes: local global and implicit-explicit. In fact, as defined in great detail in Chapter 2, the aim of conducting case studies, apart from providing examples based on hard data at the local level, consists in developing the theoretical model and therefore, the overall methodological framework which allows for the assessment of knowledge spillover effect from a festival to the region. All of these reflections are brought together in the last chapter, Chapter 5, which is formed by three main sections: discussions, conclusions and recommendations. The former compares the similarities and discrepancies of the analysed cases in order to identify main indicators, processes and outcomes. Following this, conclusions open with the description of an overall resulting model of the cyclic process of knowledge spillover generation from a festival, answering the first and second research questions. The third research question is subsequently solved by the mapping of the actual spillover effects. This part is followed by a section devoted to the model answering to the final research question. The last unit based on recommendations, attempts to transform the main theoretical results into more operative actions to help, factually, to trigger wider positive externalities from the festival performance to the involved milieus.

Figure 1: Summary of the main phases of the thesis



CHAPTER 1

1 Cultural events and knowledge exchanges: towards a new interpretation

1.1 Introduction

Even before the official start of Festivaletteratura more than the 50% of tickets were sold out. That's right, to participate in these events you have to pay, not that much, but there is a fee. And so, how can we explain this phenomenon? I give a two-part answer. One: there is an actual hunger for culture as well as knowledge, and policy makers should take cognizance of it. Two: the real, unexplored and rich reserve of vitality, curiosity and activity today lies in the underestimated Italian Province

As expressed in the words of Andrea Camilleri¹, *Festivaletteratura*² in Mantua (Italy), currently in its 19th edition, was immediately a great success. In fact, the festival, launched by a group of citizens with the aim of avoiding regional lock-in, has seen progressive growth. From the perspective of visitors, there were 20,000 at the first edition (1997) and this had developed to 120,000 in 2013 (*Festivaletteratura*, 2014). The number of events, cultural guests, and volunteers have all grown and there is now massive press coverage, with 1,460 between international and national articles just in 2013 (*Festivaletteratura*, 2014). The evidence would suggest that Mantua cannot be conceived anymore as the “sleeping beauty” provincial city as it was once characterised by Piovene (1957), but instead, as an internationally renowned city of festivals. In line with this, some critics (Guerzoni, 2008; Paiola and Grandinetti, 2009; IRER, 2006) believe that *Festivaletteratura*' success is twofold, entailing regional renovation and the stimulation of more festivals of this kind in the country. The main regional impacts are identified by the rise of the city as a cultural destination, with a significant off season flow of tourists; a substantial economic benefit; an increased consumption of the historical heritage and the general cultural development of the area. Concerning the latter, the data seem to partly confirm scholars' reflections. In fact, according to ISTAT (2009), the number of events labelled as ‘festivals’ has grown by 74% from 1990 to 2009 in Italy, and festivals have become a leading sector of the tourist industry. However, if we attempt to find empirical findings supporting these presumed benefits, the topic appears to be overlooked by critics, particularly in regards of cultural impacts. In fact the systemic and regional perspective of the present research generates consequently some broad questions, such as: What has changed concretely in the region after two decades of festivals from a cultural perspective? What does it provoke in the regional capital?

¹ *Il Messaggero* 13 /11/ 1997 from the press review of *Festivaletteratura*

² *Festivaletteratura* is one of the most famous literature festivals in Italy, launched in 1997 in the city of Mantua (Lombardy Region)

The attempt to answer these questions revealed the wide gaps around the subject. Cultural manifestations and events are now an established trend as policy strategies and repositioning tools, while they are also the subject of a plethora of sociological studies that show how the soft power wielded by festivals can spark social cohesion, inclusion and local pride, as noted also within the Hangzhou International Congress of UNESCO (2013). Nevertheless it is still quite hard to find empirical investigations on the cultural effects of intellectual activities on the local capital stocks and above all to know how we can measure them. Some scholars have attempted to analyse festivals as part of the cultural industries, revealing the complex relationship between production and consumption, material and symbolic (Pratt, 2004), as well as the difficulties in capturing the diverse dynamics involved in these processes. In addition, the strong connection of cultural planning with political agendas, and the consequent pressure to achieve more tangible results, has stimulated a plethora of ad hoc studies based on short-term impacts, analysing what is easy to measure rather than what is important (Richards, 2014). The great majority of existing accounts fail to capture the less tangible effects, including creativity and learning. Therefore, the core focus of this study is to delineate the effective legacy of a festival on the region in cultural terms, with the effort to fill the above mentioned lacuna. Consequently, it assumes a holistic approach to reviewing the literature on the relationship between cultural events and regions, integrating cultural industries approaches with intangible legacies and ideas about knowledge transfer derived from learning organizations. Therefore, the chapter firstly tries to delineate the current role and potential of cultural festivals as knowledge catalysts within the network society. This reflection leads us to identify a specific category of events, namely knowledge based festivals (KBF). Another focal point of this study is the evaluation of the high investment in the knowledge generation and its potential role as key nodes to improve local networks. Drawing from these reviews the second part moves on to frame KBF within the realm of the cultural and creative industries. Consequently it proposes an interpretation of the phenomenon as a creative network that is characterized by cognitive and geographic proximity along with temporal continuity; these factors generating creativity that could potentially stimulate socio-cultural innovation. In the end, the research attempts to delineate an embryonic model to guide empirical investigations aimed at exploring whether this assumption holds true and how these processes occur.

1.2 Cultural events and the network society: a literature review

Before exploring the main topic of this study in greater depth, it is important to establish some definitions, as the field of cultural events is characterized by blurred boundaries and a lack of clear taxonomy.

The term 'cultural events' is generally linked to the realm of event studies, which according to Getz (2010) covers all those planned events created with a specific purpose. More specifically, planned events are used by public, private, governmental and corporate bodies to organise a wide range of activities such as cultural celebrations, business activities and sports and mega-events (Getz, 2008).

Events research to date has tended to see the industrial crisis of the 1970s and the consequent global changes in society as the main cause of the growing trend towards planning cultural activities. The progressive conversion of industrial systems from standardised mass vertical production based on large companies to more dispersed and intangible economies of networks (Castell, 1996; Asheim, 2002) is one of the key elements conditioning this shift.

Events have developed within this trend from being mainly “sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observances” (Falassi, 1987: 2) to being purposely produced initiatives to promote spaces of encounters, celebrate regional culture and creativity, or to stimulate economic actions in response to global competition. In fact cultural and creative activities have been among the key strategies for the repositioning of former industrial cities (Getz 1997; Goldblatt 2010; Amendola, 2010; Pike et. al 2011; Ferrari 2012; Evans, Shaw, 2004). The intangible assets of particular places also became catalysts for regional economic development, image enhancement and diversification among cities in a wider and wider global market (Richards and Palmer, 2010; Getz, 2010; Smith, 2012; Amendola, 2010). In addition, as epitomized by Pine and Gilmore (1999) experience generation has become a source of competitive advantage in place of traditional forms of production. In this context culture and knowledge arguably become important as both the inputs and the outputs of a new economy focused on the production of services and experiences instead of goods and on human capital and talent. This puts a new emphasis on the relationships between actors as a source of value.

This last trend was pinpointed already by Martin (1978) describing the growing importance of connections among people as a *wired society*, characterized by new interaction between new technologies and social organization. Furthermore, Castells recognizes the key role played by networks in guiding interactions among actors. In what he termed the “network society” (1996), new forms of production and social organization are based on a more horizontal system of relationships and networking, contrasting with previous systems of production, characterized by vertical organizations and centralized management. These transformations were also interpreted by Lash and Urry as *economies of signs and space* (1994) characterised by the advent of spontaneous organisations and interactions among social actors. The collapse of industrial production based on the generation of tangible goods was gradually supplemented by that of intangible services (Piore, Sabel, 1984). Pine and Gilmore (1999) characterised this as an *experience economy* in which emotions and participation became central in the new production system. Their model provides a basis for understanding the growing demand for involvement rather than simple products, and by the new role of events and other “experiences” to connect with consumers. In particular, for Pine and Gilmore, experiences related to cultural consumption are of four kinds: pure entertainment, in which spectacle is intended to overwhelm the senses; unplanned event organization; engagement and co-creation of meaning; co-creation. The latter entails the pro-active role of the consumer in contributing to the meaning of the experience. This perspective approaches Drucker’s pioneering idea of the new era as a knowledge economy (1969) for the transformation of human capital into potential business products and productive assets. Rifkin (2000), to frame these processes, highlights the extent to which resources are now measured on the basis of their accessibility and not any more on their quantity. Therefore, it has become quite common to see the creation and transfer of knowledge as a significant driver in the new economy, guiding also the activities of social actors (Sacco, Tavano Blessi, 2004). Accordingly, the concept of value dramatically changed as well, flowing from the relatively concrete exchange basis of the transactional economy towards less tangible symbolic and relational forms of value (Richards, 2014) affecting also the way people interact. This has led on the one hand to a general rediscovery and enhancement of regional resources and heritage as a basis for creating distinction (Richards, Palmer, 2010); on the other hand it draws the attention of researchers and policy makers towards the economic impact of culture.

In this context intellectual and creative initiatives, both tangible and intangible, become key tools for urban regeneration, and economic and social prosperity (Scott, 2014; Throsby, 2005).

1.2.1 Cultural events as multiple sources of regeneration

According to Throsby (2005), attention for the role of cultural assets in urban life began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s, but then progressively increased in the 1970s in response to policies focused on participation, personal and collective development, egalitarianism and the democracy of urban space. The 1980s and 1990s marked a further effort in this direction with a new attention to the potentialities of the arts and culture as positive economic catalysts for social and physical renovation of cities. In this perspective, intellectual and creative initiatives became key tools for urban regeneration, in addition to economic and social prosperity. The OECD report of 2007 (cited in Smith, 2012) recognized three main strategies used by cities to deploy such initiatives: city branding, flagship development, and intangible strategies.

The first strategy is characterized by a marketing approach to the destination, using the 'genus loci' and local lifestyle as a trademark. Olivares (2011), by framing the phenomenon from the perspective of the relationship between cultural activity and the region, defines this period as "marketing to the end". The second approach, flagship development, entails the use of major projects to kick-start regeneration processes (Smith, 2012). These usually involve "hard infrastructure" in the guise of facilities serving as venues for mega-events, iconic buildings of signature architects targeted at elite consumers, and new museums, art galleries and theatres conceived as a new hub within urban developments (Evans and Shaw, 2004). This type of strategy was epitomized with the construction of the *Guggenheim Museum* in the city of Bilbao which, although not immune from criticism for the victory of form over content with few room for a dialogue between the content and the observer (e.g. Clair, 2011), can be seen as "a turning point in the study of leisure and the relationship between art, architecture, culture and local development" (Richards, 2010:20). Since then, this has generated what has been called the "Bilbao effect" (Plaza, 2000) and the opening of the museum has in fact brought a vast number of high profile visitors from around the world to a declining port city. According to a KPMG study (1998/99 cited in Guerzoni, 2012), the presence of the museum in the area triggered a growth of 0,41% in the city's GDP just in the first years after its opening. Intangible strategies bundle the plethora of cultural-driven processes based on intangible activities, which may range from the creation of a creative quarter to the planning of events, commissioning art works for events, rejuvenating traditional manifestations, and franchising existing events. For example the *Edinburgh International Festival* epitomizes the power of cultural events to make high culture more popular, mixing traditional social structures with new democratic practices. On the other hand more "free festivals" models adopted by cities such as Liverpool and London showed the manifestations potentials to strengthen local identities, create civic pride and support development (Quinn, 2010). On a macro level, these strategies have been analysed in depth by Evans and Shaw (2004) and specifically, regarding the strategic use of events by cities by Richards and Palmer (2010). The use of events as tools for urban regeneration, particularly mega events, has instead been widely investigated by Smith (2012) and Garcia (2005).

A key contribution within the events impacts studies is represented by the pioneering work of Myerscough on the economic assessment of the ECOC (European Capital of Culture) of Glasgow, a research on the effect on the city image in 1990 and a 'follow up' study in 2011 analysing the long-term impact.

These three strategies also seem to be operating in parallel in many cities with blurred boundaries between them. In fact, several municipalities promoted the integration of these diverse approaches in order to achieve greater results. Take the case of Rotterdam, for example, that coped with the slowdown of the port with a repositioning strategy primarily based on three key assets. First, the implementation of the creative industry sector, particularly concerning media, design and architecture, followed by the renewal of national museums and institutes as well as the creation of new cultural spots; and lastly, the staging of events and festivals to promote and celebrate the city for both its multi-cultural environment and its alternative lifestyle (Branzanti, Podestà, 2014).

Nevertheless according to OECD (2014), the trend now seems more generally focused on cultural regeneration strategies grounded on "soft infrastructure" in the guise of creative spaces, events, bars and cafes, all corresponding with a decrease in the fashion for the development of hard infrastructures. A similar position is held by Turok (2009) who concludes that there has been a shift away from more tangible distinction strategies towards branding. Staging cultural events has in fact proved a particularly attractive approach, satisfying the needs of both policy and consumers 'cheaper to stage than new buildings, flexible and adaptable to changes in fashion' as summarised by Richards and Palmer (2010). According to Prentice and Andersen "the explosion in festival numbers is multifaceted in cause, ranging from supply factors (such as cultural planning, tourism development, and civic repositioning), through to demand factors (such as serious leisure, lifestyle sampling, socialization needs, and the desire for creative and "authentic" experiences by some market segments)" (2003: 8). Furthermore, this "fashion for celebration" embodies both the new need for distinctiveness in order to combat growing uniformity and creates a sense of community to counteract increasing individualism (Richards and Palmer, 2010). It is this type of mentality that has gradually entered every sector of urban life, from museums to shopping malls and even factories (Amendola, 2010). The new cultural city users seek out a hive of heterogeneous and overlapping experiences based on the one hand, on the consumption of permanent and institutionalized "traditional" cultural goods; on the other hand, the pursuit of more and more ephemeral experiences of consumption (Montanari, 2008).

1.2.2 Events as places of transformation and knowledge generation

“...faites mieux encore: donnez les spectateurs en spectacle; rendez-les acteurs eux-mêmes; faites que chacun se voie et s'aime dans les autres, afin que tous en soient mieux unis.” (Rousseau, 1759)³

The increasing growth in the number of events and happenings seems to shape the contemporary cities in a constant need of ephemeral, emotion and transformation. This process, that has also been referred to as “festivalisation” (Richards, 2004) is connoted first, by an increasing number of times and spaces traditionally devoted to celebration, and secondly, by an intersection of supply elements. Altarelli speaks about *Light city* (2006), to suggest an urban fabric as an outfitting place formed by a multiplication of time and space by means of the staging of initiatives, fairs, festivals, expositions, and happenings, while moving them out of their traditional locations. The ephemeral becomes a permanent issue and what is long-lasting is transformed in a temporal manifestation. Consequently, arts and cultural expressions are conceived “not only as high spiritual forms to enlighten but also as common and popular forms to consume” (Hui, 2010:5). Some critics interpret this process as a generalisation of cultural consumption from a niche and elite segment to a wider and more popular range of consumers, a strategy also used by policy makers to appeal to the residents and voters in their cities (Richards, 2000; Hitters, 2000 cited in Jordan, 2014). This attitude is epitomized by Clair, who regards this moment as the *Winter of Culture* (2011). ‘Winter’ is determined by an increasing impoverishment of intellectual productions, frosty feelings and ideas due to the importance given to heightened emotions and sensational structures. In a similar vein, the Italian art critic Gillo Dorfles (2009) reads this era as the advent of fetishism determined by the tacit acknowledgement of every circumstance as if it were an event. This attitude, according to Dorfles, has blurred the boundaries between reality and plausibility by eroding the value of the meaning “artistic-cultural”. Therefore he conceives this process as a progressive weakening of symbols by the development of new rituals lacking solid roots and content. Purini et al. (2008) critically analysed a similar phenomenon within the field of museums flooded by exhibitions and the “spectacular temporary”. They suggest these “hyper-consumption museums” replace their three traditional main functions, preservation, exposition and study of art works, with more commercial functions. In a similar vein, Clair (2011) reflects also on how contemporary art production is witnessing a loss of creative power, in an era in which referring to the past becomes more important than the creative impulse. In spite the present study is framed through the perspective of the enhancement of cultural heritage and the diversification of regions, therefore acknowledges the validity of these reflections lamenting the impoverishment of the real genius loci of places. On the other hand, this trend entails interesting elements of innovation from the perspective of this research. In fact, it is our opinion that the new need for emotions, transformations and involvement do not substitute the traditional consumption of “high” culture but may instead play an important role in its enhancement under certain circumstances.

³ Rousseau, J.J., “La fête contre le théâtre” Lettre à d’Alembert sur les spectacles ,1758 (Chaumat, 2007)

Indeed the lack of elitism doesn't necessarily mean a lack of content, but by interpreting Bauman (2000), cultural production is not anymore a structure but rather a process in which the emotions and rituals generated can be taken as new ways of creating value; albeit different from the traditional high cultural forms, and as new tool to respond to users' needs.

This line of reasoning echoes the thoughts of Abruzzese (2003), stressing the potential of performance and live events to generate shared feelings and identities. This view finds confirmation in Pine and Gilmore's (1999) concept of the experience economy. Through an in depth analysis of users' need for co-participation and involvement, they recognize the main needs of the new omnivorous city user as participation, emotion and transformation. Consequently, a further step towards transformation is predicted. In this vein, cultural events may entail diverse layers of transformations, namely the audience playing the role of content creator. Public spaces are converted into stages and relative spaces of aggregation and consumption; museums are transformed from the archive of permanent collections into hubs of ephemeral vast exhibitions more and more spectacular, the set up becomes an event in itself (Spagnoli, 2010). From this perspective, we can see cultural events as important places of physical interactions to counteract the increasing individualism of the post-modern network society (Richards, 2011) for those who share the same interests and rituals (Collins, 2004). As remarked by Amendola, cultural events symbolize experiences that allow people to be with people, "the crowd represents the real show in which everyone plays as both actor and spectator at the same time" (2010: 108).

Furthermore, some cultural events may play also an important role in processes of knowledge and the creation of value, acting as dynamic forces with the power to change structures. This perspective, put forward by Richards et al. (2014) stresses the need for synthesizing the diverse impacts that cultural events may generate on the social capital, as a gap between expectation and reality. Getz (2008) emphasizes the importance of events in creating experiences and divides the topic into three main interrelated dimensions:

- the conative dimension, dealing with the behavior;
- the affective dimensions connected with emotions;
- the dimension of cognition: awareness, understanding and learning.

These three elements appear interrelated as cultural productions are more and more characterized by the integration of production and consumption in the knowledge economy of soft factors (Pratt, 2008). An important contribution to this perspective, as previously touched on, is the reflection of Pine and Gilmore (1999). They identified the two main dimensions of experiences in relation to costumer participation and connections. While the former entails participation, understood as both passive contemplation and active identification, the latter constitutes those environmental relationships linking visitors with the event or performance. Intellectual productions co-created and post-produced by consumers

The potential of the cultural industries lies in creating connections and meaning through empathy as expressed in the pioneering thought of Benjamin, who develops this concept to the interpretation of the act of consuming art as a potential weapon against the alienation of capitalism. When studying the *Verfremdungseffekte*, connoting Brecht's theatrical pieces, Benjamin (1969) interprets the reduction of reserves between performers and the audience as the key element in generating active involvement.

This may trigger awareness by means of the ‘shock’, allowing the awakening of the public through identification (Polgovsky, 2012). In the post-modern society this approach to cultural consumption, “*tua res agitur*”, is further extended upon and in a way, overturned through the new role of the consumer as a meaning generator in a participatory process. In this vein Bourriaud⁴ developed the concept of *relational aesthetics* (1998), interpreting the art work as information exchanged between the artist and the viewer in a co-creation process. In this way, he puts the emphasis on processes, social contexts, transitivity and the production of dialogue rather than the traditional modernist object, visualise and hyper-individualism. On a further extent, in *Postproduction* (2002), Bourriaud describes the act of creating as a step in a network of interconnected elements in which the creator post-produced what has already been created by previous actors and the audience produces in turn, a new meaning through consumption. Although some critics have challenged Bourriaud’s thesis on the grounds that it lacks social commitment and appears too market-related (Bishop, 2004; Martin, 2007), it actually mirrors a new sensibility for the involvement of consumers. This trend may be epitomised by the growing importance and power of educational departments within museums in the last decades, as well as the spin-off educational activities started from cultural events. Within this framework there is also the work of diverse contemporary artists conceiving their activity as a meta-context between the artist and the viewer. The former is represented by a plethora of mediation activities planned by educational departments of museums to involve the audience in contributing to the meaning of the opera, this is epitomised for the Foundation Sandretto Re-Reabudengo “mediatori culturali” in Turin, Italy and the Gallery Guides of Guggenheim Foundation. The upgrade of this trend is represented by the spreading of Internet of things within the Arts field to allow the audience to live a real immersive experience while co-creating the art works.

A good example embodying the second layer may be instead represented by the work of the spatial artist Olafur Eliasson, whose research is mainly devoted to enhancing and to triggering the viewer’s perceptions and thoughts through the use of elemental material that creates an elliptical relationship between the perception and representation of reality. Even though from another perspective the Brazilian conceptual artist Cildo Meireles focus his production on creating spaces through installations which “live” for the consumer, in order to reproduce intangible ethical issues through physical perception stimulating identification and awareness. The common search for involvement and identification of both producers and consumers and the networking and relationality among actors echoes Richards and Wilson’s reflection on the shift of cultural consumption from an information-based model to a knowledge and skilled based one in which users are active actors of the final product (Richards and Wilson, 2007). That being said, the cultural industry, along with cultural events, emerges not only as occasions of physical encounters in a network society, but also as bearers of ideas and knowledge catalysts. Relations and collaborations appear to be central also with respect to the planning action of design for the regional enhancement, more and more connoted, as maintained by Villari (2012), by the direct involvement of stakeholders and the conceptualisation of the region as formed by interacting processes, as key conditions to achieve a regional development.

⁴ Benjamin’s vision is strongly connected with the interpretation of the Art as a tool to trigger social changes, favouring democracy and individual enhancement whilst Bourriaud’s thought has been criticised for the lack of political and social commitment of the artists (Bishop, 2004)

This reflection may find its confirmation in Lazzeretti's observation on the pivotal role of cultural activities as engines for creative economics able to generate processes by combining new and old resources, or launching innovative ideas (Lazzeretti, 2012). Along the same lines, Lange (2012) asserts that events may represent important nodes in social networks acting as facilitators for a whole range of effects, involving both the locations they take place in and the sector in which they run (cited in Richards, 2014). Accordingly, processes of cross-fertilisation within the plethora of redundant activities that often connate a cultural event, may indeed stimulate activities of knowledge and ideas circulation by creating new relationships and exchanges that impact on both individual and collective learning (Solima, Minguzzi, 2012; Davenport et al., 2001).

Thus, the potential of cultural activities in generating social innovation and new knowledge appears to be wide and intriguing. This may find confirmation in the growing body of literature interested in event impacts other than economics, based on a wider re-consideration of cultural manifestations as producers of exchanges and knowledge transmission. This trend is epitomized by the Arts Council's report (2014) enlisting as the main benefits nurtured by cultural events: linking people to culture; enriching the quality of life; providing opportunities for celebration of the local genius loci; put a destination on the map and hence stimulating social cohesion. Nevertheless, these presumed positive outcomes often lack a solid methodologies and evidence-based feedbacks, hence remain more claims than empirical evidences (Belfiore, Bennet, 2008). This attitude is reflected in the lack of specific perspective of investigation and classification of the event phenomenon other than touristic or anthropologic as well as the paucity of studies and researches on their cultural and intangible effects.

In order to contribute to filling this gap the chapter will try to frame the concept of festivals within the cultural events field and the main contribution of critics on their impacts.

1.3 An attempt to frame the idea of festival beyond tourism

The scenario of cultural events is multi-faceted and cross-sectorial and thus difficult to define. Critics lament the lack of a recognized taxonomy along with the lack of precise models and theoretical frameworks related to events. The rapid success of the phenomenon as a repositioning strategy has produced a tight link with economic and touristic activities to the detriment of the potential for knowledge creation, as described above. Despite a recognised role as producers of culture, researchers primarily assessed cultural events by collecting sectorial data based on quantitative measurements of increased audiences, funding and production (Pappalepore, 2014). This focus is based on what is easy to measure, rather than what is important, therefore failing to capture the less tangible effects, including creativity and learning.

1.3.1 Gaps in the literature

Donald Getz, a leading scholar in the fields of tourism and event studies, identifies three major discourses concerning the approach to the phenomenon (2010): the meanings and impacts of festivals in society and culture; festival tourism; and festival management.

Amongst these, the former represents the most relevant for research purposes as entailing an anthropological perspective on events as ritual and symbolic community based activities (e.g. Falassi, 1987; Manning, 1983). In terms of the second and the last fields, the economic significance accrued by planned events in the last decades, and their promotion as tools for regional development, have meant that tourism represents one of the main drivers of the sector, particularly in terms of generating economic benefits (e.g. Richards, 2001, 2010; Getz 2010; Thrane 2002; Guerzoni, 2008; Argano et al. 2005; Ferrari 2012; Paiola, Grandinetti 2009). Instead, issues outside traditional disciplines such as the role of events in establishing places and groups identity; fostering the arts and the preservation tradition; or the social and cultural impacts of festivals and tourism, received little attention by scholars despite the recognition of the value of these initiatives for society and culture as pinpointed by Getz (2010). Moscardo (2007), recognises four main categories within the events tourism literature: economic impacts studies; audience studies; management and organisational studies and impacts on the residents. Ritchie in 1984 presented one of the seminal conceptual frameworks for the evaluation of hallmark events recognising six main categories: economic; tourism/commercial; physical, socio/cultural; psychological and political (cited in Sherwood, 2007). From a different but parallel perspective, Crompton and McKay (1997) moved the focus more towards the economic impacts of events and tourism.

In doing so they initiate one of the wider field of analysis within event studies that has rapidly been studied from several perspectives such as methods and results. (e.g. Faulkner et al., 2000; Dwyer et al., 2000a, 2000b; Thrane, 2002; Uysal, Gitelson, 1994; Jones, Munday, 2004 cited in Guerzoni, 2008). In the great majority of cases, investigations are rooted on the in depth analysis of the economic effects generated by a festival on its environment. As remarked by Kinsey (2002) this attitude is conditioned by the fact that the economic impacts of a cultural activity are very important for the recognition of its role within the regional context in order to justify its expenses and to support the search for funding. According to Sherwood's collection (2007), the mid 1980s were marked instead by a new attention for the social impacts of events on the host communities by researchers including Newman (1989) and McLeod (1989) (cited in Sherwood, 2007: 70). The topic was further developed through studies of positive and negative impacts on residents (e.g. Rollins, Delamere, 2007; Fredline et al., 2006; Xiao, Smith, 2004; Solima, Minguzzi, 2012). Simultaneously, attendees or audience profiles and characteristics became also more central topics in event studies, usually aiming to improve marketing and service quality (Bowen, Daniels, 2005 cited in Moscardo, 2007; Chacko, Schaffer, 1993 cited in Getz 2010; Prentice, Andersen, 2003). In addition to these three main categories, primarily guided by marketing aims, a new interest for issues related to the environment and urban development assessment started in the last decade. On the other hand, cultural and intangible impacts have been almost totally neglected.

Cultural impacts are usually approached on the basis of the impact of the cultural life in the place and the impact on the culture of the place. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of evidence and specific studies on the topic, despite the growing literature on events "beyond anyone's capability of reading it all" (Getz, 2008: 410). This trend is confirmed also by Sherwood's collection on the main research fields in relation to special events and related themes.

The study reveals an imbalance amongst economic, social, environmental and cultural effects to the extent to which culture does not even specifically appear as an independent section of investigation. Moscardo (2007) also laments the predominance of research based on descriptive case studies and the prominent

interest of scholars with regards to the role that festivals and events play in tourism or destination development rather than the enhancement of the region in general. This attitude has contributed to generating a plethora of ad hoc studies based on short-term impacts, and lacking of a more general design model. Similarly Garcia maintains that “assessment of cultural impacts is seldom undertaken and often dismissed as purely anecdotal in comparison with the hard evidence offered by established economic and physical impact evaluations” (Garcia 2005: 841). On a more general level, Guetzkow (2002) stresses the lack of specificity on the meaning of impact, evident for instance, between short-term or long-term and between impacts on individuals or places as a whole. In this vein Getz specifies “the term legacy applies to all that is left over from the event as a positive inheritance for future generations or as problem to deal with” (Getz, 2007: 319) stressing particularly the importance of understanding the difference between net present value and future earnings. A similar perspective is developed by Richards et al. (2013) underlining the increasing need to embed events research in a broader social context while considering the context and content of the events together with processes of organisation, management and outcomes. Richards and his co-authors also stress a new trend that combines economic, social, and environmental aspects into one framework and a more complete perspective. This approach corresponds with an increasing need of public authorities to know more precisely about outputs of the events in which they are going to invest, thus generating a demand for new business models. Nevertheless studies from this perspective are still very rare. On the other hand, if we move to the realm of social impact analysis related to the Arts, the focus is usually on individuals rather than on a community. An interesting contribution for the present research purposes is the analysis of Guetzkow on the Arts on the local region, (2002) in which he recognises three main approaches potentially provoking both individual and community effects: direct involvement in the organisation; participation in the arts as audience; and presence of arts organisations in a community. Moscardo (2007) also highlights the importance of community involvement and the building of networks as two commonly identified factors in the positive contributions of festivals and events to regional development. In particular, she recognises three main potential assets: building social capital, enhancing community capacity and triggering other activities. Moscardo makes a point of stressing the importance of the second as the most direct outcome of participation in an event, allowing the development of new skills, and in particular that of leadership.

However, it is still rare to find analysis of the intangible legacy of cultural events from a long-term perspective. In this context, some scholars have recognized the development of entrepreneurship and local talent as one of the expected outcomes of a mega event (Richards, 2007; Sacco, Tavano Blessi, 2004). This is the case of Gospodini, who investigated the effects of the Olympic Games on creative activities and clusters in Athens (Gospodini, 2009) and Pappalepore (2014) who explored the qualitative intangible impacts of the Cultural Olympiad program on local small creative firms, both in London and Turin. On a similar subject, Scherrer (2008) analyses the nexus between innovation and forms of knowledge spillover in the performing arts industry and the implications of this interconnection for regional economic development. He advocates the existence of three different types of knowledge base and another four means of knowledge transfer whose forms and intensity differ according to the industrial sector where they occur. Although this research represents one of the most comprehensive accounts of knowledge spillover within the realm of the cultural industries, its weakness is the lack of precise methods to identify types of knowledge within diverse fields and to collect their outcomes.

One of the main attempts to analyse the cultural effects of an event is represented by the longitudinal case study of Garcia (2005) investigating on the cultural legacy of Glasgow European Capital of Culture (1990) during the period 1986-2003. This study represents an important step in underlining the prominence of cultural effects and their clear separation from the social and economic ones. In addition, the research also stresses the necessity of creating credible and replicable approaches and methods for evaluating cultural impacts. Unfortunately it remains almost unique in the realm of cultural events.

So far this chapter has pinpointed the difficulty of framing the subject due to the lack of an appropriate theoretical framework and specific studies related to it. Therefore, there is a need to select a more precise typology of events to investigate in greater depth. Consequently, the section that follows is an attempt to delineate the main characteristics of a festival and of its setting that may trigger symbolic outcomes.

1.3.2 What is or what is not a festival?

One of the first observers of the spread of cultural initiatives in the form of events planned with a purpose rather than as spontaneous local grassroots activities, was Daniel Boorstin (1962). An American historian, he critically interpreted the new trend of event creating in the 1960s in response to the progressive loss of authenticity in society. Therefore he named these initiatives *pseudo events*, designed for a specific goal by policy makers or private firms. Drawing from this analysis, Getz (2007) defined such activities as planned events to mark diversity with community based or ritual events. In fact, despite the abundance of anthropological literature regarding cultural celebrations, the phenomenon appears to be linked mainly with tourism and the marketing of city regeneration within post-modern society. As previously shown, this is due to the flexibility of this phenomenon in facing and favouring societal changes while still boosting economic growth. According to Getz (2012) events have become of global importance in terms of public policy, industry and corporate strategy because of their timeless nature and their fundamental role in the experience economy, based on “experience that has been designed and would not otherwise occur” (2012:8).

On a macro level, cultural celebrations can be conceived as activities with a specific temporary duration, generally recurrent and usually build upon a topic, community, region or tradition with content focused on artistic and regional roots. Festivals have been recognized by the critics as the main sub-sector of this vast realm to the extent that the term is often used all too generally in reference to cultural events. Getz pointed out how in fact “festival studies is emerging as a distinct sub-field, in large part because festivals occupy a special place in almost all cultures and have therefore been well-researched and theorized by scholars in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology” (2010: 2). He identifies sports events, business events and festivals as the three main academic categories of events.

In particular he termed the latter as *festivals and other cultural celebrations* (Getz, 2008: 412), including arts and entertainment in general, as well as, carnivals and religious events. Ommundsen (2000) stresses the fact that the word 'festival', despite its ritualistic origins, has been subjected to considerable inflationary pressure.

Therefore, he laments that the term no longer fits the anthropological definition of Galassi as “scared or profane time of celebration” (1987:2) but instead, it pertains to every kind of initiative dealing with culture or community from a school fete to celebrations on a global scale. Nowadays, the term suggests a format of cultural production connoted by short duration, with a spatial dimension. The latter includes that is the physical site in which culture is generated and consumed, and may be entailed in a plethora of shapes, usually linked with a specific area, ranging from an auditorium to a museum, a whole municipality or even a region. However, the term festival still generally refers to manifestations strictly related with popular and high culture, as stressed by Getz (2010) in a comprehensive review of all festivals-related articles. The analysis reveals three main discourses: role meaning and impacts of festivals in society and culture; festival tourism and festival management.

The focus of the current research guides us to centre attention on those festivals connoted by a particular link with the territory in which they are held, both physically and symbolically. In this perspective Giorgi et al. affirm festivals represent “particularly good examples of the ways in which local cultures get expressed using other cultures” (Giorgi et al., 2010: 7)

The variety of types of events, along with the dichotomy between the symbolic allure they still exert for a community –such as new forms of social interactions, or strategies to celebrate local genius loci (UNESCO, 2013; ACE, 2014)- and the role as marketing tools, has determined a semantic vagueness lamented by scholars. Amongst the pioneering attempt to select classification criteria there are Getz and Frisby (1988), and Frey (2000). For instance Guerzoni (2012), remarks on the difficulty in taking a census of the phenomenon without recognised criteria, and reports that in regards to music festivals in Europe whether Rolfe in 1992 hypothesises the presence of 529 manifestations, Maillard had mapped 864 events of the same type in 1994. In light of this ambiguity, the present research selected those classifications concentrating on relevant aspects for study purposes. Amongst these, a significant reflection for our perspective is Jordan’s delineation of urban festivals (2014) that she meant to as those activities related with the urban environment benefitting of an increasing importance as both sociological and policy tools. Therefore, she proposes a classification on the basis of actions, policy guidelines and outcomes, resulting into three main categories: aesthetic, commercial and civic festivals. These festival types are then described according to related organisation kind, participation and core values. Namely, aesthetics festivals are more concerned with art form development and target appreciation, directed towards a well prepared, non-local audience with the aim of learning; while the commercial ones are instead focussed on addressing a market segment. Finally, civic festivals attempt to address local policy agendas most explicitly, as they try to integrate their values as much as possible with those of the local community. This attitude has a twofold aim: to improve the local cohesion and to trigger economic regeneration. The former and the latter type represent a relevant focus for the purposes of the current research, since aesthetic festivals concentrate on the production of new art and knowledge, where the civic festivals play a pivotal role in local development. From a similar perspective, Giorgi et al propose an interpretation of festivals as important expressions of aesthetic public culture because they are “spaces and times of concentrated debate and social effervescence” (2010:7), while allowing a particular emphasis on the performance dimension of artistic expression and enabling the celebration of local tradition by means of other cultures. Along the same lines, Zoltán states that generally we can refer to cultural festivals as “events putting arts values into the centre of the festival concept” (2012: 3).

These reflections approach a specific type of festivals, identified by Guerzoni (2008) within one of the first systematic economic impact studies of cultural events in Italy. He registers the diffusion of a certain type of events centred on knowledge creation and transmission by means of an in-depth analysis of a discipline with its diffusion generated through a redundancy of occurrences. The core role played by knowledge creation has guided Guerzoni to define these events as knowledge based festivals⁵ (KBFs). As will be further analysed in greater detail, the term refers to events that share some characteristics of both what Jordan defined as aesthetics and civic festivals, because of the important role of intellectual activities and regional milieu. Despite the lack of official definitions and regulations, KBFs have been recognised as a genre due in large part to various critics and in particular, by Paiola and Grandinetti (2009) and by Federico (2008, cited in Paiola, Grandinetti, 2009) who referred to the same subject, as *intelligent festivals*. The current research will use the term KBFs for research purposes and we will extend it to a wider range of events sharing the same characteristics.

Table 1 outlines, amongst the plethora of scholars who have investigated the topic of festivals, those definitions more concentrating on aspects relevant for research purposes, whose interpretation as guided us to identify KBF as the most suitable type to investigate.

⁵ In the Italian version Guerzoni named these manifestations as *festival di approfondimento culturale*, the English version *knowledge based festival* was suggested to the author by Guerzoni during a pilot interview

Table 1: Festivals in the network society, some definitions

DEFINITION	AUTHOR
Format of cultural production: short duration and a spatial dimension	Conventional wisdom about festivals as regional strategies
Every kind of initiative dealing with culture or community from a school fete to celebrations on a global scale	Ommundsen 1999
Manifestations strictly related with popular and high culture	Getz, 2010
Important expressions of aesthetic public culture. Spaces and times of concentrated debate and social effervescence	Giorgi et al., 2010
Cultural festivals: events putting arts values into the centre of the festival concept	Zoltán, 2012
Festivals are social practices where dominant meanings are promoted, negotiated and resisted. Festivals are key mechanism through which collective identities and connections with places are continuously make an re-make	Quinn, Links, 2013
Urban festivals: activities related with the urban environment with an increasing importance as both sociological and policy tools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic festivals: concentrate on the production of new art and knowledge • Commercial Festivals: focussed on addressing a market segment • Civic Festivals: addressing local policy agendas 	Jordan, 2014
Knowledge based festivals (KBF): live events concentrating on knowledge production and consumption around a certain discipline within a small-medium size area which is widely involved	Guerzoni, 2008

1.3.3 Knowledge based festivals: spaces of knowledge exchanges

“KBF cover every branch of knowledge, bringing it out from universities and places dedicated to research, to the benefit of new forms of democratization” (Guerzoni, 2008:83).

Festivaletteratura is amongst the most representative festivals of this kind as consistent with all the parameters identified by Guerzoni to distinguish the format, which, as shown in Figure 1, can be summarised as:

- Longevity: because a festival lasting for at least five years allows for a certain continuity to the initiatives;
- The temporal dimension: a short-duration, from few days up to few weeks;
- The absence of competition and price discrimination (not free, but open to public) with non-profit activities and the centrality of culture and knowledge creation.
- High investment in new knowledge creation and its transmission that is centred on a precise topic (i.g. literature, philosophy, poetry, science, economics, creativity etc.) celebrated through a plurality of episodes, in the guise of performing arts, theatrical representations, live concerts, workshops and laboratories.
- Dimension of urban areas involved: in the great majority of cases small and medium size cities. The staging developed across different venues and locations (mainly public spaces, as squares, parks, museums, historical buildings).
- The live dimension and the peer-to-peer meetings are elected as privileged forms of interaction. Therefore production and consumption of knowledge occur in the same space and time allowing a high experiential value to the event.

Paiola and Grandinetti (2009) listed these elements as the key factors triggering the success of KBF together with the involvement of the region, interpreting an event of this kind, as a meta-context covering a plurality of elementary contexts. Therefore a the festival is regarded as a unique occurrence combining the creation of knowledge with the generation of an informal habitat in which it can be shared. Arguably, this format and the intrinsic processes involved, favour interactions between actors, venues and consumption at different levels, and in two phases: during the event and throughout the year. During the event, interrelations of contexts are created by the plethora of activities offered by a festival merging in the same place and time:

- Diverse genres of consumption (adventure, learning and engagement; formal, non-formal and informal);
- Diverse kinds of venues (historical buildings, arena, squares, museums, gardens etc.)
- Diverse kinds of products, for instance both ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture;
- Different target groups: (guests, visitors, volunteers, local residents);

Throughout the year interrelations refer to the on-going production cycle of the festival, which Jordan named as “hidden activities”, connecting organisers to various urban policy domains, in the guise of city authorities, sponsors, artists, venues and educational institutions.

Figure 2: Main features of a Knowledge Based Festival.

High investment in new knowledge creation and its transmission
Celebration of a unique theme
Simultaneity of production and consumption of culture
Involvement of the local milieu both physically and cognitively
Diverse layers of consumption
Cohesiveness of space and time
Tight relationships with the local milieu and heritage
Peer to peer interactions
Live dimensions- Non-reproducibility

Data elaborated after Guerzoni (2008, 2012)

These processes of cross-fertilisation and hybridization may arguably stimulate activities of knowledge development, impacting both individual and collective learning (Solima, Minguzzi, 2012; Lazeretti, 2012; Davenport et al., 2001). Reflections of this kind lead us to extend the field of investigation to other streams of literature, both dealing with cultural events social impacts and with other disciplines. In fact, although Guerzoni's analysis on the impacts of knowledge based festivals is one of the most comprehensive studies on Italian festivals, and a reference point in the field thus far, however, it is oriented to the sectorial investigation of the economic impacts and therefore no attempt is made to capture evidence of the less tangible outcomes. On the contrary, Paiola and Grandinetti's study (2009) on the relationship between cities and festivals, while encompassing diverse fields and perspectives and presenting a plethora of case studies, does not provide an explicit comparison with empirical investigations and the processes behind the generation and transmission of knowledge. Chwe (2001), reviewing public manifestations, interprets festivals and special events as strategies to create a general common knowledge, by providing a communication mechanism for residents to disseminate social information. In a similar perspective, Richards (2014) calls attention to the growing importance of events in social networks in facilitating a hive of effects acting both upon locations and upon the field in which they operate. This is the case, for instance, of those established festivals seen as catalysts for the development of cultural infrastructures operating year round, as notably Chichester, Edinburgh and Malvern (Jordan, 2014). In the same vein, Guerzoni (2012) posits the increasing number of spin off activities planned year-round by festival organisers, aimed at creating a regional network of diverse subjects and institutions. This attitude may also stimulate and favour the implementation of permanent activities running throughout the year. A positive outcome of these dynamics may well be the Aarhus Festival of the Arts, running since 1965 in Denmark, which has nurtured a local vocation for the artistic expressions epitomised by the rise, in the last decade, of a plethora of art galleries, art institutions and public art places across the city. Likewise, the festival represents a window for the cutting edge artistic production and exchanges at an international level.

Even though on a more local perspective, among the plethora of similar cases of contamination, the relationship between the *Mutoid Waste Company* and the festival *Santarcangelo dei Teatri* and the consequent artistic development represents an interesting story. The British performing arts group, with their occasional participation in the festival, moved to the surroundings of Santarcangelo di Romagna (Italy) at the beginning of the '90s, founding the artistic village of Mutonia, in which art and craft creations, along with numerous laboratories and shows were promoted and implemented for 20 years. Their activities have gradually stimulated local regeneration and a new role for the city as an artistic centre, building tourist success. Particularly, their integration within the local context seems to rely on recycling, a strong vocation of the area. Namely, Mutoids post-produce mechanical waste to transform into decorations and sculptures. This gradual integration within the local tradition flanked by an innovative flow brought by a community of artists living out of the traditional production-consumption cycle, triggered a strong embeddedness of the community into the regional context. This is exemplified by the fact that the Mutonia village is now considered as a “cultural good” by local actors who decided to elect it as an artistic Park in May 2015. These examples, although relatively scarce, confirm the idea that a festival cannot be considered a one-off event (Hitters, 2000), but as a production-cycle operating all-year round. Specifically, the present research focusses on the pivotal role that knowledge nodes can play, within the local capital, in favouring the development of entrepreneurship in knowledge related sectors. Accordingly, the embedding of the event in the local milieu is a key condition for a knowledge based festival. As will be analysed in greater depth in the following sections, these reflections stimulate the idea of the event's setting as a potential creative habitat connoted by formal and informal exchanges, knowledge hubs and conduits, theoretically generating exchanges and nurturing the rise of a creative atmosphere (Tinagli, 2005).

1.4 Shifting the idea of a knowledge based festival from temporary occasion to permanent hub.

Drawing on literature, we can therefore argue that a festival may potentially plays a triple role:

- Generator of knowledge, new and recycled
- Catalyst of a milieu in which knowledge can be shared
- Key node in local networks

Consequently, the assumption is that some festivals may be best understood as creative networks characterized by geographic proximity and temporal continuity over a number of years. Accordingly, the interweaving process of knowledge transmission, together with networks and serendipitous exchanges, might potentially act as an engine for local development and innovation, nurturing opportunities and spurring the development of new projects in knowledge-related sectors. This idea recalls Bellandi's definition (1992) of a creative milieu as the place where the transfer of practical knowledge, intended as circulation of ideas, occurs.

From this perspective, the present research approaches both the multi-faceted nature of projects connected with a KBF and the diversity of timing. The last is meant to demonstrate the gap between the short duration of an event and the long-term process required in order to stimulate regional development after the festival itself.

Thereby, the perspective shifts from the analysis of the temporal dimension of an event as a moment in time to its permanent role as a creative hub in a regional context. In order to explore the validity of these assumptions it is necessary to integrate the above outlined reflections on temporal initiatives with contributions on creative networks and related processes of knowledge generation, codification and transmission. Accordingly, the first questions the research intends to investigate are:

- Which factors determine the success or hinder the development of a KBF as a regional knowledge hub?
- What conditions are necessary to facilitate the occurring of these processes?

Therefore, the following section addresses the extent to which some entrepreneurial scholars' reflections on knowledge exchanges within a network of firms, might work in the setting of a cultural event. Additionally, we will use the term KBF not only as related to the specific type categorised by Guerzoni, but more generally to all initiatives centred on knowledge creation and transmission. This is the case for instance of many of those manifestations listed as Arts festivals in the U.K. (BAFA, 2008; Giorgi et al., 2010; Arts Council England, 2005).

1.4.1 Festivals as creative industries, a critical reinterpretation

There is no common standard to classify and define creative industries or creative occupations either in the academic literature or in cultural policy. The dichotomy between the world of culture and the world of industry generally reflects the new importance allocated on cultural and intellectual activities as a tool to generate economic and social benefits, following the societal changes provoked by the industrial divide (Pilotti and Ganzaroli, 2009). In fact, the term *cultural industries*, first used in 1947 by Horkheimer and Adorno (1947) to describe the idea of cultural products as purposely designed for consumption by the masses, became widespread in the 1980s, highlighting the role of some culture-related activities in triggering economic growth and employment (O'Connor, 2000). From the 1990s on, cultural industries often became substituted by of the term *creative industries*, according to Pratt (2005), in order to identify creative production as an economic sector per se, grounded in the creation of values based on processing information and generating experiences, rather than products *stricto sensu*. Whereas, OECD (2014) relates the shift from the word *cultural* to the term *creative* to a new understanding of culture within society, based on changes in consumption and demand patterns triggering a more democratic, creative and inclusive approach of culture. However, the demarcation of the two fields is a matter of a wide debate amongst both scholars and policy makers, with a plethora of approaches and goals and a lack of a recognised taxonomy (see OECD report, 2014 pp: 32-37). Although the great majority of reflections speculate on the economic outcomes and benefits of these activities, there are some interesting perspectives which represent a stimulating relation with the research topic. Along these lines, a remarkable point is the distinction used by Pratt (2004) who divides the creative industries according to three main processes. The first entails those activities bringing the audience to the content such as live performance, galleries, exhibition, festivals etc.

The second is bringing creative content to the audience and delivering highly reproducible goods such as books, newspapers, films, TV and radio programs, computer games and records. The last enlists service-based activities that generate revenues according to the time spent on commissions or fixed rates, this in the case of architecture, advertising and design activities. The former is the most suitable to integrate the adopted vision of a KBF and furthermore it approaches the OECD's (2014) definition of creative industries as "knowledge based activities that link producers consumers and places, by utilizing talent or skill to generate meaningful intangible cultural products, creative content and experiences" (OECD, 2014:14). This view emphasizes the role and meaning of the generated value, not simply as economic but also as relational, emotional and creative.

A similar perspective is shared by Throsby's model (2008) that focuses on the importance of content rather than output stating that "the more pronounced the cultural content of a particular good or service, the stronger is the claim of the industry producing it to be counted as a cultural industry" (2008: 149). According to his concentric circle model, the core cultural industries are those with highest intellectual content, in the guise of literature, music, performing and visual arts. Following, the circle extends from the centre with the increasing of commercial value. On top of that, he also stresses on the importance of cross-fertilization among diverse layers in order to stimulate new ideas.

This reflection is crucial for our research purposes as it represents a rare attempt to prioritize intellectual creation, value creation and transmission over the economic outcomes. Nevertheless, no sound explanations or empirical evidence are provided to analyse how hybridization between diverse fields triggers knowledge exchanges and therefore networks, whereas, the latter represents a major issue of this research. A much more systematic approach from this perspective is provided by Potts et al. (2008) conceiving creative industry centred on value creation and networks. Specifically, complex networks are seen as the key actors of the creative industry facilitating dynamic relationships between agents, "engaged in the mutual enterprise of creating values, both symbolic and economic." (2008: 174). Therefore, Potts and his co-authors define as the three main players of a creative industry: agent (consumer), network and enterprise, not conceived anymore as part of a "causation value-chain from (active) producer via text-distribution to (passive) audience" (Potts et al. 2008: 172). But they represent all dynamic and active actors of the creating value-chain by means of networks and circulation of ideas. That said, the resulting innovation and facilitation activities are conceived as bottom up processes. In fact the Potts et al. model offers an interesting view of the generation of creative outputs as a possible means by which people and actors socially create and adopt novelty for the retention of knowledge.

In light of this perspective, KBF may be hence read as creative industries when meeting the emerged three main features:

- the generation of value and knowledge by means of diverse active players;
- the presence of an habitat/network in which it can be shared and codified;
- system of networks to support knowledge diffusion, connecting inputs with outputs, therefore the demand with the supply.

Therefore, essential conditions to allow value generation appear to be:

- the embeddedness of the festival in the spatial structures of social relations
- the presence of networks both within the regional contest and outward.

1.4.2 The means of conveying knowledge. Local and global networks

From what emerged so far, embeddedness and networks are two crucial elements, related one another, to favour the transmission of know-how and ideas also shared by non-market-based perspectives.

On a general level we can interpret networks as relations with stakeholders meant as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives” (Freeman, 1984:46). Every group of stakeholders as a different extent of involvement, influence and expectations concerning the festival synthesized by Crespi-Valbona and Richards (2007) as: power, legitimacy or urgency. Every group may be linked to the festival by a different kind of linkage and degree of resonance, therefore generating diverse kind of networks. In view of that Moscardo (2007) pinpoints the importance of both community involvement and the building of networks, as two guiding factors in the positive contributions of festivals and events to regional development. This position is remarked in Giorgi et al. (2010) observing how networking activity is pivotal in Arts festival operating on different levels from value generation, to local embeddedness. Specifically within a section devoted to the analysis of European literature festivals, they recognized four main kinds of network affecting a festival organization and success:

- the literary community (authors, translators, agents and publishers);
- cultural institutions: private and/or public—providing organizational support and/or financing;
- the media: as sponsors and for the supply of journalists as intermediaries, moderators or publicity/dissemination agents;
- other festivals for the exchange of ideas and ‘circulation’ of authors / themes. (Giorgi et al. 2010:22)

Getz (2007) participates in a similar approach, arguing that organisations with valuable knowledge and capabilities rooted in their culture, management systems and stakeholders networks, can sustain competitive advantages and achieve superior performance. Along the same line, Holden (2007) states that “networks and serendipitous exchanges” should act as engines for local development, stimulating and encouraging the growth of new ideas and activities, and improving expertise, enhanced by the unique ‘physical ambience’ and ‘social atmosphere’ of a festival (Mackellar, 2006).

On a general level, many scholars agree that interactive processes among actors with different types of knowledge and competencies, coming together to exchange information, are representative of the best conditions in triggering innovation. It is a widely held view that these processes are favoured by proximity and the presence of clusters, meant on a general level, as geographically proximate groups of interconnected companies in a particular field (Porter, 2000). Nevertheless, as underlined by Torre (2008), the advent of ICT has guided critics to consider a new proximity known as organisational proximity, not measured in terms of physical distance but rather in terms of common routine, rules or even beliefs. Debates on the subject emphasize the importance of spatial factors in conditioning the type of knowledge transmitted; while on the other hand, spotlight the idea of a codified knowledge as globally available (Bathelt et al., 2004).

On the same subject, Boschima distinguishes between cognitive proximity, meant as the mutual learning of people partaking the same knowledge and expertise, and ‘social proximity’, defined as “socially embedded relations between agents at the micro-level [...], involves trust based on friendship, kinship and experience” (Boschima, 2005:66, cited in Richen and Zimmerman, 2008). The last, referred to as “localised capabilities” are recognised by diverse scholars as facilitators of interactive processes, in order to recombine and produce knowledge (Maskell et al., 1998; Bathelt et al. 2004). Amongst scholars supporting these positions, Lazzeretti considers the hybridization processes (2012) within the cultural clustering phenomenon in Italy. Her analysis recognizes three main pre-conditions to activate typical district processes: the local dimension of stakeholders; proximity, not only in the geographic sense but also cognitive, organizational, social and institutional; informal spaces of encounter, enlisted as the most suitable environments to foster a creative flow. On a further extent, Bathelt et al. (2004) attempt to integrate the dualism between in-ward and out-ward approaches, by means of a cluster model based on the concept of buzz and pipelines. In the model both local exchanges and global connections are seen as essential elements to generating innovation. Narrowly, drawing on Marshall’s notion of “industrial atmosphere” (1927), they suggest the idea of a local buzz, meant as the information and communication ecology created by both formal and informal face-to-face contact.

Nevertheless, according to Bathelt and his co-authors the presence of buzz, therefore internal transaction, is not sufficient to nurture innovation. Drawing from previous intuitions highlighting the importance of external linkages to avoid the risk of stagnating - such as Camagni’s concept of milieu innovateur (1999) or Uzzi’s study (1996) on the over-embeddedness of New York textile district, among others- they define the idea of pipelines, meant as networks conveying knowledge and ideas from the cluster to extra-local linkages and vice versa.

1.5 Research questions

In view of these reflections and assumptions, we can hence consider knowledge based festivals as potential temporal hubs activating creativity and cultural innovation within a region. As previously remarked the main conditions triggering these processes appear to be the embeddedness of a KBF within the local context and the presence of inward and outward connections. The complexity of the outlined scenario brought us to identify two main areas of investigation, namely dynamics occurring within the region and related processes of knowledge production. Therefore the resulting research questions are:

- **RQ1: How does an event embed itself in regional networks in temporal and spatial terms?**
- **RQ2: Which processes contribute to generating knowledge spillover?**
- **RQ 3: What are the knowledge spillover effects on the region?**
- **RQ 4: How can we analyse and measure processes triggering these externalities?**

Knowledge spillover (KS) is meant as the “external benefit from the creation of knowledge that accrues to parties other than the creator” (Agarwal et al. 2007: 271).

Since the seminal work of Arrow (1962) and Romer (1986, 1990), KS is conceived as the production of prototypical externalities that provide benefits for both recipient firms and society at large within the logic of geographical proximity. The topic hence was mainly investigated by entrepreneurial scholars from an economic perspective, as a key occurrence for a firm's innovation and regeneration, especially with regard to traditional manufacturing and ICT production. Whereas, within the realm of "cognitive cultural capitalism" (Scott, 2014), few researchers attempted to explore the phenomenon unless in terms of generated revenues (among others Sacco and Crociata, 2013; Sacco, Tavano Blessi, 2004; Pilotti 2012; Lazzeretti, 2012A; Belussi, 2009,), and even fewer in the sphere of cultural events (Scherrer, 2008; Migliaccio, Rivetti, 2012). The topic is not easy to describe for its elusive nature as, within the cultural industries, knowledge represents both the main tacit input and the output (Arrow, 1994; Lazzeretti, 2012B; Santagata, 2007; Polanyi, 1966; Nonaka, Toyama, 2003) and hence, it is difficult to demarcate. Additionally, a major drawback is represented by blurred distinction in existing research between outcomes seen in terms of innovation or creativity, as remarked by Belussi and Staber, 2011. In fact, within their compelling publication on creativity and innovation within networks, the outcomes related to innovation are defined as the production of a well-defined product. Whereas those related to creativity are described as the generation of new ideas and actions. Along these lines, they separate the Art, usually related with spontaneous and informal organisations, from creative activities that are grounded in formal project-based research systems. In the opinion of Mackellar (2006), instead we can recognise the main outcomes of an optimised network as the development of new products; new knowledge of customers' preferences; access to a larger pool of knowledge and information; design of new service delivery systems; and improved entrepreneurial activity. Nevertheless, as already remarked, no sound evidence was collected by critics on this topic; moreover the theoretical question of how the processes may occur hasn't received much attention yet.

1.6 A proposed theoretical model to analyse knowledge transformation and spillover.

In light of these lacunas, the present research generates a model that synthesises the reflections emerged so far with an attempt to describe the circulation process that can position an event as a permanent actor in a region by generating positive KS. Specifically, the model envisages four essential phases, which will be analysed in detail below, covering with the translation of knowledge inputs to outputs and participating in determining KS:

- The sources of knowledge acting as inputs.
- The local buzz, meant as inward relations and exchanges.
- The conditions facilitating the embeddedness of a KBF within its region.
- Pipelines, outward relations pinpointing how innovation needs both local and global networks in order to produce spillover.

These four phases are conceived of as a field of forces playing between two axes: the first, ranging from implicit to explicit, describes processes of codification of knowledge and exchanges from intangible and spontaneous to progressively more structured and planned. The second is expected to range from local to the global.

In fact, the nature of knowledge as innovatively classified by Polanyi in the 1966, can be divided into two complementary categories: tacit knowledge and codified knowledge. While the latter entails more tangible forms and sources of knowledge, the first “resides within human beings and within their daily behaviour, therefore it can only be communicated through face-to-face interaction.” (Torre, 2008:882). Consequently, tacit knowledge needs a spatially concentrated community in order to be shared and transmitted together with a social environment able to stimulate its codification. Conventional wisdom usually views local informal interactions and geographic proximity as the essential conditions to transmit tacit knowledge. While on the other hand, external exchanges playing at a cognitive proximity layer, are usually interpreted as conveying explicit knowledge. Although this assumption is not immune from criticism (Torre 2008, Lazzeretti, 2012 Bathelt et al., 2004) as earlier touched on, the regional dimension and the overall duration have emerged as two key dimensions within these dynamics, and therefore form the vertical axis of our model.

On a general level, the concept guiding the model is that the knowledge spillover effect of a KBF within the region constitutes a circular process determined by the four phases of knowledge development and flowing from implicit to explicit knowledge and from local to global scales. The sources of knowledge within the region can be shaped by a KBF to develop a local ‘buzz’. The buzz needs to be embedded in the region before it is distributed at global level through pipelines, otherwise the local distinctiveness of the knowledge produced will be lost, and the region will gain no knowledge spillover benefits. In order for the embedded local knowledge to be distributed globally through the pipelines, it must be translated from implicit, locally based knowledge into explicit, more universal forms of knowledge. The feedback generated by the pipelines leading from the local ‘space of places’ to the global ‘space of flows’ (Castells, 2009) then allows more knowledge sources to be created, feeding the local ‘buzz’ and thereby continuing a virtuous cycle of knowledge spillover.

At each stage different relationships need to be developed and new processes established. Knowledge sources are primarily about the internal organisation and the connected local creative industries, but also influenced by the contribution of visitors and gatekeepers; the buzz is about creating formal and informal linkages between creative sectors and local actors sharing tacit knowledge; embeddedness is achieved through institutional relations and networks at a local level along with the acknowledgement by locals of the festival as part of the environment. Pipelines in order to work need to be built around a planned activity shared by actors who trust each-other a have a mutual return of investment; the latter is higher with a higher absorptive capacity.

1.6.1 Knowledge sources

Knowledge sources are here meant as those input factors whose amalgamation and circulation determine what Sacco and Crociata define as the Quality of the Production of Knowledge (2013). Specifically, we draw from the distinctive element of their approach which consists of theorising these features as interplaying through many different idiosyncratic ways. This is a crucial factor for the success of a creative industry, according to the models of both Throsby (2008) and Potts et al. (2008), as previously touched on.

Specifically concerning a KBF, the literature review guides us to contemplate as the main knowledge sources:

- Internal agents: here meant as the artistic director, festival organizers and the local cultural capital.
- The visitors' cultural background together with the new knowledge developed directly during consumption of the festival experience.
- Gatekeepers: according to Bourdieu's concept (1993), field experts in the guise of publishers, journalists, writers booksellers ect. and their corresponding networks.

It is also commonplace that festival organisers (FO) perform a key role in ensuring festival success, its duration and sustainability. Nevertheless, FO are usually investigated from the perspective of the festival management and associated social relations. Whereas, our perspective focuses more on the way in which intellectual capital and know-how are merged to generate the festival program. Therefore, the type of decision making structure, along with its permeability and flexibility may play a fundamental part in allowing the codification of individual tacit knowledge and merging stocks of know-how and relationships.

Additionally FO's networks and relationships at both local and international levels, constitute important conduits to guide global sources of knowledge into the local dimension. This is the case of international guests and visitors and international projects with other festivals and institutions.

People engaged in knowledge-producing activities constitute important conduits for knowledge spillover leading to the enhancement of human capital in the form of technological, social, and cultural capital (Becker, 1964; Yli-Renko et al., 2001 cited in Migliaccio and Rivetti, 2012).

In regards to the role of visitors and cultural guests in generating the "amount" of knowledge, Scherrer (2008) specifically discusses the level of invention brought by gatekeepers and the importance of the audience's previous knowledge to developing the product. As expressed in the words of Lugosi and his co-authors "cultural capital refers in part to abstract knowledge and competencies, but also to embodied, material and institutional manifestations, which reflect and transmit knowledge and competencies, most notably about taste" (Lugosi et al., 2010:3046).

1.6.2 Buzz

The interconnections of the diverse knowledge sources may generate processes of cross-fertilisation on diverse levels. Firstly, provisionally during the event through the plethora of initiatives provided by the festival's programme. Secondly, on a long-term, related with the festival planning actions within the local context:

- Fusion dynamics
- Planned and unplanned activities

As previously analysed, in fact a KBF is connoted by a high number of activities, here termed as fusion dynamics because merging in the same place and time, diverse genres of consumption (adventure, learning and engagement; formal, non-formal and informal), of venues (historical buildings, arena, squares, museums, gardens etc.), of actors (guests, visitors, volunteers, local residents and stakeholders).

These interactions occur through both planned official events and by means of the informal encounters favoured by the often small dimension of the involved urban places and the concentration of activities. On the other hand, the permanent dimension is generated by the festival planning and activities undertaken through the year and the linked network of stakeholders providing financial support, services, goods, and know-how. Drawing from the analysis of these elements buzz is here generally meant as the peculiar environment created by a specific festival into a specific regional contest. Specifically, this lesson is drawn from scholars reflections on the Marshallian notion of “industrial atmosphere” (1927) related to learning organisation. Generally speaking, learning organisation tend to conceive an environment triggering knowledge circulation and mutual learning as generating positive externalities. These latter, when relate to fostering innovation and entrepreneurship are named as industrial creativity (Bellandi, 1992; Beccattini, 1989; Lazzarotti, 2012b; Solima, Minguzzi, 2009). Conventional wisdom sees industrial creativity as primarily determined by geographically clustered actors interacting through a wide range of ways, from formal subcontracting to informal communications. In addition Bathelt et al. describe buzz as a “network of communication and information linkages which develop within a cluster. The way they express, these communication mechanisms depends on the history of interactions within a region, but on a general level is more or less automatic by those located within the region and who participate in the cluster’s various social and economic spheres” (2004: 38). Therefore we see buzz as an “implicit” force as its power resides exactly within the variety of spontaneous and unforeseen interactions. This is also due to the fact that the presence in the same environment allows actors to understand each other in a fluid and unstructured manner. In a similar perspective, Lupo et al. (2011) analysing processes triggering the activation of local heritage along symbolic assets, termed this step as internal cross-fertilisation as occurring between the same discipline and in the same context. In the same vein, Pilotti and Ganzaroli talk about ecology of value (2009), when referring to a system of relationships, self-produced through the sedimentation of the interaction between a heterogeneous set of actors who operate in a common area of knowledge and knowing. As they postulate, the common path may provide opportunities for local people to develop new entrepreneurial projects in knowledge-related sectors and to improve their expertise.

These factors in turn contribute to generate a stimulating and motivating social and cultural environment favouring the settlement of formal and informal ‘localized learning’ processes, stimulating creativity (Sacco, Crociata, 2013).

1.6.3 Embeddedness

The embedding of a festival within a region is a wide field, entailing, on a general level, the relationship with local stakeholders, as previously touched on and in turn the legitimacy of the event as a local institution by the latter.

The degree of rootedness of a festival within its region determines in fact the possibility to be seen as a permanent hub along with the power and leeway in coordinating complex systems of relations.

- Institutional Relations
- Local awareness

Grounded into learning organisation literature, the social embeddedness of an activity within its milieu is recognised as a key factor to favour knowledge spillover both by industrial districts theories considering social embeddedness more important than formal institutions (Piore, Sabel, 1984; Becattini, 1989) and according to innovative milieu scholars maintaining that local institutional endogeneity generates innovative dynamic firms (Camagni, 1992) (Kesidou, 2007).

On a further extent Bathelt et al. consider the shared knowledge basis a pivotal condition to allow firms “to combine and re-combine similar and non-similar resources to produce new knowledge and innovations” (2004: 37). While Sacco and Tavano Blessi (2004) remark on the key role of hybridization in activating cultural driven forms of local development, pinpointing proportionality between high level of coordination amongst agents belonging to different value chains and positive outcomes. Local actors may play diverse crucial roles as:

- Inputs and sources of knowledge
- Conduits for its circulation
- Influencers of the local permeability to incoming knowledge.

Concentrating on the events field, Migliaccio and Rivetti (2012) stress the need for a festival organization to catalyse and manage these players termed as “cultural milieu of organizations and institutions” to promote and favour knowledge dissemination. In a similar vein, Paiola and Grandinetti (2009), in a sound analysis of the Italian festival cities, compare the urban areas characteristic of knowledge based festivals - usually small-medium size state capital cities- with Porter’s concept of inner city competitive advantage (1995). Specifically, they focus on the importance of embeddedness within the local context to find in it the main sources of development and also to be able to meet the local demand by means of context-based actions. Recalling the above mention necessity of coordination, they conclude assuming the best condition should be the presence of a local coordination structure able to mediate amongst contrasting powers at a local level.

The present model specifically considers the KBF organization itself as a possible meta-context linking a plurality of different contexts.

In this perspective, despite the degree of spontaneity and flexibility that may characterise some of these interactions, the model envisions the local embedding as an explicit phenomenon due to the complex insertion within local relationships. Confirmations of the importance of connections, for measuring the level of rootedness of an event in the region, came from field literature (Scherrer, 2008; Migliaccio, Rivetti, 2012; Pappalepore, 2014; Garcia, 2005). Knowledge spillover may thus be identified as the creation of value stimulating and favouring innovation through the interplay of actors and the presence of an institutional system of relationships. Namely, main indicators in triggering the embeddedness of the festival within the local milieu are identified with the role played by local stakeholders and the ability of the festival organization to interact and coordinate them. In light of all these reflections, the model entails the local awareness of the festival as a local agent. Particularly, the model involves the acknowledgment of the long-lasting pivotal role of the event in the region by local institutions, firms, opinion makers and policy makers. On the other hand, it considers and frame the policy guidelines of the festival organization in managing local relations.

1.6.4 Pipelines

“to be successful you have to marry the local interest with an international one, achieving plurality and diversity, that’s what make you strong[...] Yes there is a legacy of exposure to international ideas”

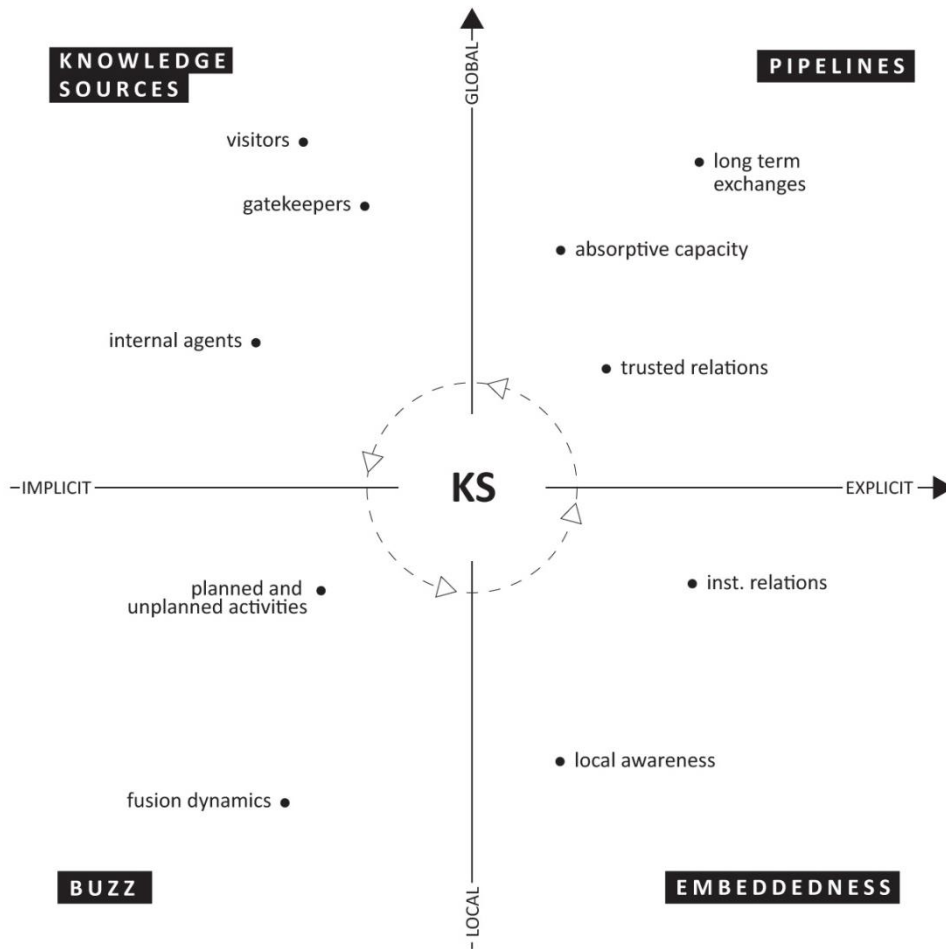
These words expressed by Peter Florence on the occasion of a pilot interview to prepare the field analysis, recall Bathelt et al.’s notion (2004) of pipelines previously analysed. These reflections stimulate a further round of literature review focussing on the role of external linkages with respect to knowledge flows within learning organisations. The result is the identification of pipelines as key elements to determine innovation integrating local know-how with “multiple selection environments”.

- Trusted relations
- Long-term exchanges
- Absorptive capacity

The model draws in fact on the idea that trans- local relations and linkages are fundamental elements to convey information, news and stimuli into the local networks. The former may be represented by specialised skills related to specific industries, but also by institutions sharing common projects or additional services. According to Giorgi et al. (2010) external networks of cultural festivals may be represented by the media or by other festivals for the exchange of ideas and ‘circulation’ of authors / themes. In a similar attempt Paiola and Grandinetti (2009) observe the pivotal role played by festival networks whose influence depends on the number of subjects involved and on the kind of cooperation. The first may range from a simple bilateral partnership up to national and international networks, and the second may include both vertical and horizontal liaisons. Finally they observe how the term of the cooperation influences on the kind of outcomes. Similarly Bathelt and his co-authors define as a possible scenario of pipelines the establishment of branches abroad to have the advantages of benefitting from both diverse environments and the same rules and languages. A similar attitude may be found for instance in the Hay Festival, that have been able to create around 20 branch festivals across the world. These latter on a macro level belong to the same organisation but at the same time they are settled and tailored on the basis of the specific regional environment. Additionally, Hay embodies the three kind of media linkages enlisted by Giorgi et al. (2010) in the guise of sponsoring media; journalists participating as active authors within the events and as representative position within the festival organisations. Usually the building of pipelines may result from a planned action to overcome deficiencies requesting also a mix of similar and non-similar knowledge of actors at both ends (Nonaka, Toyama, 2003). In fact, the degree of innovation and new knowledge incoming from these relations correspond to the amount of local actors able to generate pipelines and conveying related flow into the local buzz, “the integration of multiple selection environments open different potentialities and feed local interpretation and usage of knowledge.” (Bathelt et al. 2004: 42). Knowledge flowing through pipelines is not spontaneous and automatic as within local buzz. Therefore, pipelines need to be planned and structured on mutual trust in an explicit and systematic way. This process is also necessary in order to “prepare” local actors to receive the incoming knowledge and spurs from pipelines and re-organise them.

In fact both the concept of ecology of value postulated by Pillotti and Ganzaroli (2009) and the buzz and pipelines model of Bathelt et al. (2004), state that the degree of innovation highly depends on the absorptive capacity of the local milieu to receipt, in turn, the generated flow of new ideas and knowledge. This condition is favoured by the level of setting of the festival within the local milieu along with the local buzz, previously touched on. In absence of these two foregoing conditions otherwise it wouldn't be possible to generate a virtue circle from local buzz to global environments and from implicit knowledge to explicit projects and ideas. The circulation of potential innovation and spurs across the four phases is conceived therefore as generating knowledge spillover.

Figure 3: Theoretical model knowledge transformation and spillover



Elaborated by the author

1.7 Conclusions

This chapter represents the basis to describe processes behind the symbolic outcomes of a festival for a region and to develop further empirical investigations. Specifically it enlists as the core focuses the production of knowledge and its transmission and transformation by means of cross-fertilisation along with the action of networks within the context of a festival. Particularly, this study was expected to underline the importance cultural events have been accruing in the network society and to the extent in which they can be seen as temporal hubs in a region. In order to do so, it adopts a holistic perspective with an appropriate degree of dialogue between diverse theoretical frameworks and the identification of a research model.

This attempt was complicated by the lack of both a recognised taxonomy and framework of the subject along with a lack of empirical studies and therefore of a methodology to examine claims or empirical results.

Thus, the chapter analyses those definitions of a creative industry that may meet the action of a KBF as well, recognising the Potts et al. model (2008), as the most suitable reference point for our reflections for its focus on networks. To a further extent, considerations moving Bathelt et al. (2004) idea of buzz and pipelines on the KBFs phenomenon may represent a further confirmation in the proposed idea of a KBF as a creative hub and also constitute a major source to guide the further step. The last, therefore, collects the main emerged features into a theoretical model aimed to describe processes of knowledge generation, consumption, circulation and spillover. The model represents both a source to theoretically answer the main research questions and a guide in the triggering of further empirical analysis.

In essence, this model is absolutely embryonic and symbolizes just the first step of a broader study. However, it does attempt to contribute to the awareness of the potential of a cultural festival in nurturing smart processes developing new resources, aside from economics, a frequently neglected perspective. Furthermore, the model aims to reflect on the importance of systematization of the theoretical reinterpretation in order to overcome anecdotal deductions.

CHAPTER 2

2 Methodological approach. Grounded theory strategy for a case study analysis

After the illustration of the theoretical frameworks and literature review developed in this study, described in the previous part, this chapter is intended to define the selected methodological approach and the research design, which are firmly anchored in both the overall study objectives and the derived research questions. The first section describes the general philosophical assumptions that have guided the investigation along with a reflection on the role of the inquirer in the research process. This part ends with a short glossary of specific terms used in the research. The second section of the chapter describes more fully the methodology and the resulting research approach. Finally, the last section gives a detailed description of the methods and tools used to analyse the data collected for the case studies.

2.1 Philosophical and personal overview of the research

Before describing in detail all the processes and steps that have guided the present research, it is important to highlight that the principal rule followed is to prioritising investigation's aims and research questions, beyond every possible aprioristic design philosophy. Moreover, the philosophical standpoint of the investigator was a key element in guiding the analysis' development. Therefore, the paradigm, procedures and reflexivity of the research appear to be mutually interrelated. At the basis of the scientific foundation of a investigation project are to be found ontology and epistemology. The first may be described as the perspective from which we see reality, specifically the nature of what we aim to investigate, which is defined by Creswell (2003) as the distinction between what reality is and what the relationship is between reality and the human being. Ontology conditions epistemology which may be seen as the relationship between the researcher and the explored consisting of the study of knowledge and justified beliefs. As expressed by Guba (1990) hence epistemology and ontology represent the interpretative lens through which to develop and to frame both approaches to inquiry and the research methods. In this perspective, the present study adopted an holistic approach. This involves the elaboration of knowledge claims, as analysed in Chapter 1 that guide in turn the definition of assumptions and consequently the research strategy. Accordingly, the overall conceptual structure, or what Kuhn defined as a 'paradigm' (1962) (cited in Maxwell, 2009), is based on the observation and interpretation of reality. Guba (1990) identified four lead 'basic belief systems' guiding contemporary science: positivism, based on a realist ontology; post-positivism, underpinned by a critical-realist view of reality; critical theory, characterised by an ideologically oriented standpoint; and constructivism, with its dialectical attitude on the world's multiple realities. Corbetta (2003) renamed the latter *interpretativism* conceiving it as a broad umbrella covering all those research approaches based on the importance of subjectivism along with interpretations and interrelations.

Conventional wisdom sees these subjective approaches as all originated from the revolutionary theories of Max Weber who was one of the first researcher to propose an approach other than Positivism during the 1960s (Campelli, 1999). From Weber they generate a plethora of attitudes to research generally defined as the qualitative research approach grounding on the attention paid to the difference between knowing and evaluating. In a similar vein, Delanty (2005), in defining constructivism, argues that reality can only be filtered by our cognitive structure as “our knowledge of social reality is a construction of social science in the sense that social scientific knowledge is a reflexive knowledge which constitutes its object (Delanty 2005: 137). He follows this line of reasoning by identifying three main branches of the constructivist tradition related to the multiple meanings which derive from the approach: radical constructivism, social constructionism, and scientific (or social) constructivism. Creswell (2003) reflects on the the complexity of views and related multiple meanings defining these processes Socially Constructed Knowledge Claims. The same subject is analysed by Corbetta (2003) who maintains that the plurality of realities or ‘multiple realities’ corresponds to the plurality of participants since the central aim of social constructionist research is understanding (Robson, 2011).

2.1.1 A design-oriented approach as the interpretative lens

These interpretative approaches examined so far are very close to the present research setting in which the distinction between ontology and epistemology and between the ‘scientist’ and the object of study blur, requiring a constant interaction and interpretation of empirical reality. From this perspective, reflexivity, meant as the direct and indirect influence of the researcher on investigation’s choices and data, represents a major concern of the present research. In fact being knowledge linked to the knower, according to constructivism, reflexivity represents the awareness of researchers of their ability to affect the process and outcomes of the investigation.

In line with this point of view, it must be said that the multifaceted nature of the researcher’s background had a great influence on the general approach of the present study that matured and was framed by a multidisciplinary research environment. Specifically, the major areas of knowledge on which the present study is based may be identified as event studies (Getz, 2012), which in turn can be related to the creative industries and creative tourism field, as widely analysed in the previous chapter and design and planning for cultural heritage development. The design perspective, in which the present study is integrated, was fundamental to allow a multi-disciplinary research. In fact, as underlined by Friedman design is mainly an integrative discipline frequently requiring to operate across fields and to engage multiple research methods (1999). Manzini (2010) refers to these characteristics by defining design as a discipline combining subjectivity with creativity. The present research specifically refers to design for the regional enhancement which aims to investigating the region not anymore as simply the context of designing but as the object of design itself. This approach is related to a new view of product as a systemic process often formed by intangible elements (Parente, 2010; Fagnoni et al., 2004). New is also the role of designers now performing as part of a transforming game-process. Therefore the focus shifts from the centrality of designers to that of collaborative processes of co-design and co-production between the researcher-designer and the analysed community (Villari, 2012).

This perspective helps to elevate processes as more central than products or single hard outcomes. Following this line of reasoning, the present research conceives the knowledge produced in relation to a cultural festival as resulting from a circular process activated by the regional capital and in turn impacting on it. Along the same line, regional capital is here meant, according to Fagnoni et al's definition (2004) as the ensemble of diverse elements of the investigated environment, namely: know-how and expertise, human resources; physical resources; governance and policy approaches; markets and external relations.

In essence events can be seen as actors that generate tangible outputs in terms of cultural heritage and intangible outputs in terms of symbolic capital, and events can also be seen as creative hubs that gather, process and disseminate knowledge, increasing and transforming the knowledge base of the region. The first view sees events mainly in terms of their externalities, whereas the second view emphasises their ability to actively transform the resources available in the region. The latter interpretation was at the centre of the study investigation.

Glossary of the main terms

Before proceeding to examine the methodology in more detail it is necessary to clarify some of the main terms used in this study. A major drawback of methodology, in fact, is represented by the term itself and its related meanings and synonyms. As stressed by Rampino and Colombo (2012) within an analysis of sources, the terms *approach*, *methodology* and *tool* can all be used interchangeably. In light of this, we thought it necessary to try to clarify the way in which we use each of these terms with reference to key methodological studies.

Approach: according to Rampino and Colombo the term covers an overall description of the research attitude, its philosophy, the ontological and epistemological influences. Conventional wisdom organises the major research approaches according to the opposition between quantitative and qualitative perspectives or between inductive and deductive methods. Robson (2011) proposes Kuhn's definition (1962) of the general research approach as the paradigm, confirming the interchangeability of the two terms.

Methodology: this term may refer to both the study of all the employed research methods in a discipline and to the description of the methods used in a specific research project. Here we will use the term to indicate the more general design we selected to guide the research that conditions in turn the data collection's methods. According to Yin (2003) methodology means the logical sequence connecting empirical data to a study's initial research questions and conclusions.

Design research is the strategy, meant as the step bridging the theoretical framework of the research with its components. According to Maxwell (2009) the component of a research design are five: goals; conceptual framework; research questions; methods and validity. Every component "addresses a different set of issues that are essential to the coherence of a study" (pp:216). Denzin and Lincoln define design research as "a strategy of inquiry comprises the skills, assumptions, enactments and material practices that researchers-as-methodological-bricoleurs use when they move from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of empirical materials" (2000: 379). Each strategy relies on specific tools, meant as a structured procedure, in order to collect data.

2.2 A qualitative and flexible research approach

In accordance with social science literature, the interpretative research strategy adopted by the present study can be defined as both a qualitative and flexible design. In fact it is consistent with the characteristics that Robson (2011) allocates to this approach which consist of:

- Non-numerical findings
- Inductive logic
- Focus on meanings and on their context
- The description of findings from the perspective of involved actors
- The *in fieri* emergence of a design research
- Small scale of the environment/persons researched
- Open to contrary findings

Silverman (2006) sees as the main difference between quantitative and qualitative perspectives that the former focusses on establishing relations between variables, while latter, qualitative research, opens up the investigation of specific phenomena which would be unavailable elsewhere. Similarly, Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) highlight the ability to relate individual events and interpretations to larger meanings and patterns as the main characteristic of qualitative methods. This approach was seen as particularly beneficial for this research. Drawing from Creswell's categorisation (2003) we can consider as the main strategies of qualitative design in the social science realm: ethnographies, concerning the study of specific cultural groups in their natural setting; grounded theory connoted by the elaboration of an abstract theory partly from the field study; case studies, in which the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process, or one or more individuals; phenomenological research, based on the understanding of experiences related to a specific context, actions; and narrative research combining the participants and investigator lives in a collaborative narrative (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000 cited in Creswell, 2003). Alternatively, Robson (2011) suggests a definition of quantitative and qualitative designs, respectively as fixed and flexible. The latter, which serves better our approach, may commonly involve case studies, ethnographic studies and grounded theory studies. Case studies and ethnographies are defined by Robson (2011) as two well-established strategies of research. The first usually focuses on a situation, which can be an area, a city, a phenomenon, a person etc., envisaging multiple methods of data collection. Whereas, the second typically is built around the observation of a social group for a long period. On the other hand, grounded theory is presented as a more recent strategy centred on the development and definition of the theory of a particular social situation in which the study itself is grounded.

2.3 Grounded theory strategy for a case study analysis

As remarked by Robson (2011), grounded theory represents both an overall research approach and a data collection strategy. Generally speaking, it denotes a research procedure allowing the conceptualisation of the latent social patterns by means of structuring the investigated topics through a process of constant comparison. This approach, in fact, originally rooted in the work of two American sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, relies on the idea that it is possible to discover concepts and define assumptions from the empirical field.

Specifically their work rose in opposition to the dominant belief of that time (the 1960s) that every research has to emanate from a theoretical orientation. On the contrary they introduced the idea that a theory, developed inductively from a corpus of data, represents an equally valid research approach. As remarked by Eisenhardt (2014) from the seminal text of Glaser and Strauss (1967) a plethora of approaches and a plurality of perspective of building theories from cases have developed so far, whose main distinctive features are embodied by the inductive process and the role of literature (Yin, 2003; Miles et al., 2014). These pluralities of possible approaches generated growing pressures between the progressive and inductive style of a flexible study and the systematic approach of grounded theory. These latter are seen as the major drawbacks in carrying on a grounded theory research (Robson, 2011) besides the intrinsic difficulty to start a research study without some pre-existing theoretical ideas. On the contrary, Holton (2008) considers these features as a positive element given that it is free of any theoretical lens and it is able to adopt any epistemological perspective appropriated to the data and the ontological stance of the researcher. According to Creswell grounded theory is “a qualitative strategy of inquiry in which the researcher derives a general, abstract theory of process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study.” (2009: 13).

Albeit flexible and open to be modified in accordance with empirical findings, the starting point of the present study was the theoretical framework that informed the research questions and related assumptions which were tested through field investigations. Nonetheless, grounding on Yin’s conceptualisation (2003), the research interprets literature review not as a tool to determine the answers to research questions but as a way to develop more insightful enquiries about the investigated phenomenon. In this perspective, the research design that we followed, part of a qualitative and flexible methodology, may be conceptualised as a grounded theory design flanked by a case study analysis to compare theoretical assumptions with evidence from the field. Specifically, the ongoing definition of the pilot model, presented in Chapter 1, based on the constant comparison of theories with emerging data, may be seen as the bridge connecting these two approaches.

From the seminal work of Yin (1984), a case study strategy may be defined as an empirical inquiry investigating a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. In a similar vein Robson describes a case study as one of the possible strategies to illustrate the functioning of “the situation, group, organisation or whatever it is we are interested in” (2011:135).

The present research meets the main elements connoting a case study approach as emerged from literature review, from its being characterised by:

- Contemporaneity: the study does not intend to reveal the historic development of processes lying behind the knowledge spillover effect of a festival but it aims to investigate the dynamics and processes happening now.
- Real-life context: that is the festival and its related actors and activities.
- Boundaries between phenomenon and context blur: due to the multi-faceted nature of an event and the plethora of connected activities.
- Depending on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge through triangulation.
- Benefitting from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

As categorised by Yin (2005) a case study is expected to be formed by five main elements:

1. questions,
2. propositions, where existing;
3. units of analysis;
4. logic linking the data to the proposition;
5. criteria for interpreting the findings;

Conventional wisdom sees the development of a specific proposition as the more significant difference between a case study research and a grounded theory one, as the latter deliberately avoid specifying any theoretical suggestion (Yin, 2005). Nonetheless, other approaches to grounded theory, as that of Eisenhardt (1989) stress the importance of a research focus to start an inquiry and more specifically the key role of prior constructs and specification to shape the overall strategy. Variants of this concept rely on the fact that, in spite of the importance of a construct to build upon a research, it anyhow represents just a tentative. “No construct is guaranteed a place in the resultant theory, no matter how well it is measured. Also, the research question may shift during the research.” (Eisenhardt, 1989:536). Embracing these reflections, we decided to elaborate a prior hypothetical construct synthesised into the theoretical model to integrate and, in case, modify on the basis of emerging evidence from the field.

The main criticism of both grounded theory and case study design research is the supposed lack of rigour and the difficulty in developing generalisation. Moreover the deficiency in systematics is a general risk lamented in regards to every qualitative research. In reply to these positions Glaser (1998) remarks that the result of a grounded theory study does not consist of describing facts but lies in a number of assumptions derived from empirical data creating probability statements on the relationships between concepts. In line with this perspective, we decided the most appropriate technique for this project was transferability (Phillimore, Goodson, 2004). In line with the great majority of qualitative research scholar’s reflections, the concept generalisation, usually belonging to the positivist quantitative approach, is here substitute by transferability meant as the external validity related to the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other context (Gall et al., 2003). Specifically, we conducted an exploratory case study and a comparative case.

The latter was aimed at observing, comparing and testing the phenomena derived from the first case. This choice was not conceived as an analytical generalisation, or as a developed theory used as a template to compare the empirical results, but as a middle way between the validation of the first case, and a source of transferability. Concerning the presumed lack of systematics, we share the opinion of Pappalepore (2010) that the level of rigour of a study depends on the researcher’s ability to design, enquire, collect evidence and analyse data both for qualitative and quantitative approaches. In this perspective we try to be as systematic and flexible as possible in treating the collected information. Additionally, in order to avoid biases, none of the selected fields of inquiry was familiar or related to the author, so the investigation could be approached with no pre-conceptions.

2.3.1 Steps and Criteria guiding the selection of case studies

The first case study is crucial to verify the validity of the whole research, and in Yin's opinion (2003) the robustness of the theoretical framework should play a major role in driving the choice of case studies 'stating conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found.' Following this line of reasoning the case study was selected consistent with the main elements of the theoretical model, hence, we started to consider and map festivals with evidence of spillover, specifically those connoted by high investment in knowledge, thick internal and external ties, and human capital mobility. Therefore, key features for the selection were identified into the temporal dimension which indicates continuity of the event over the years and the cyclic nature of its frequency, determining a high investment in knowledge creation and circulation across the region and the development of the festival as a well-defined product. In addition the spatial dimension is also crucial as involving both the urban spaces and their narration, including the intangible contribution of local actors and stakeholders into the festival development from the region and from outside with related networks. The explorative nature of the study and the difficulty in finding specific researches on the topic along with the lack of segmentation of the field drove us to concentrate the analysis on the Italian festivals. We held in fact the opinion that in order to understand a context in its complexity the knowledge of the overall national system and the facilitation in interacting with every kind of person and every type of source represent two crucial elements. Moreover, we have considered also important, in the framing of the empirical analysis, to collect advices and experiences from field experts both nationally and internationally. Therefore, we conducted two informal/pilot interviews with Peter Florence, the director of one of the main knowledge based festivals in Europe, which is the *Hay Festival* in Hay on Wye. Following his suggestions and advice we then involved some Welsh writers whose career is closely related to the festival's presence in the region of Wales. Specifically they are five cultural operators (journalists, writers etc.) of the area that we interviewed via mail through open-ended questions about the cultural legacy of the festival within the regional capital and the extent to which it boosted their professional life.

The explorative case study of *Festivaletteratura*

In light of these reflections as the result of this long journey, within a shortlist of some Italian main KBF as potential case studies to be investigated, it was selected *Festivaletteratura* the literature festival of Mantua (Italy).

Festivaletteratura (FL) is in fact considered the pioneer initiative of this kind in Italy in terms of breeding positive externalities for the region (Guerzoni, 2008; Paiola, Grandinetti, 2009; Argano et al., 2005). Launched in 1997, after 19 editions, it may certainly be considered a well-defined product, well-settled in the area. Moreover the event benefits from outstanding support from local firms, along with a wide autonomy to use urban venues, in fact it is one of the KBF with the highest number of involved venues (33). Therefore, at a first sight it may be seen as well-rooted within the local context. In regards to knowledge production and circulation, drawing from recent secondary data (Festivaletteratura, 2014), the cultural programme has enlarged the number and types of initiatives, from 106 projects in the first edition to 322 in 2013, along with that of cultural guests, who have doubled from 200 to 400 (Festivaletteratura, 2014).

Scholars ascribe this success to some peculiarities of the event, such as redundancy: the hive of events within the festival offering a multitude of cultural consumption opportunities and therefore allowing customisation of the programme; concentration: diverse kinds of initiatives merged in the same space, time and theme; enhancement: the festival enriches the contents of the cultural basic product (books) and enhances the urban context; sustainability: community based and facilitating exchanges between sponsors and organizers.

Consequently, they also postulate that this success generates a plethora of benefits for the region in the guise of:

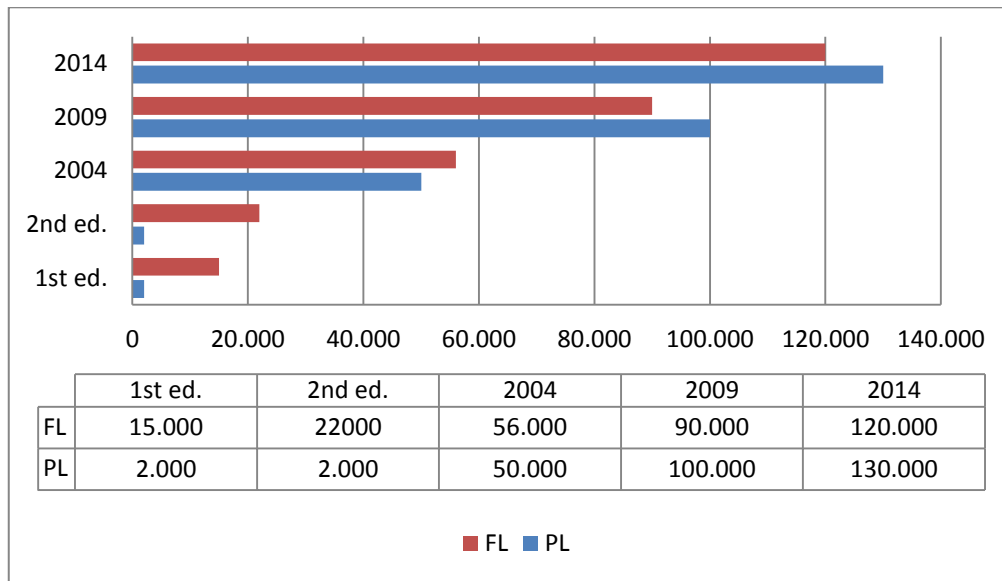
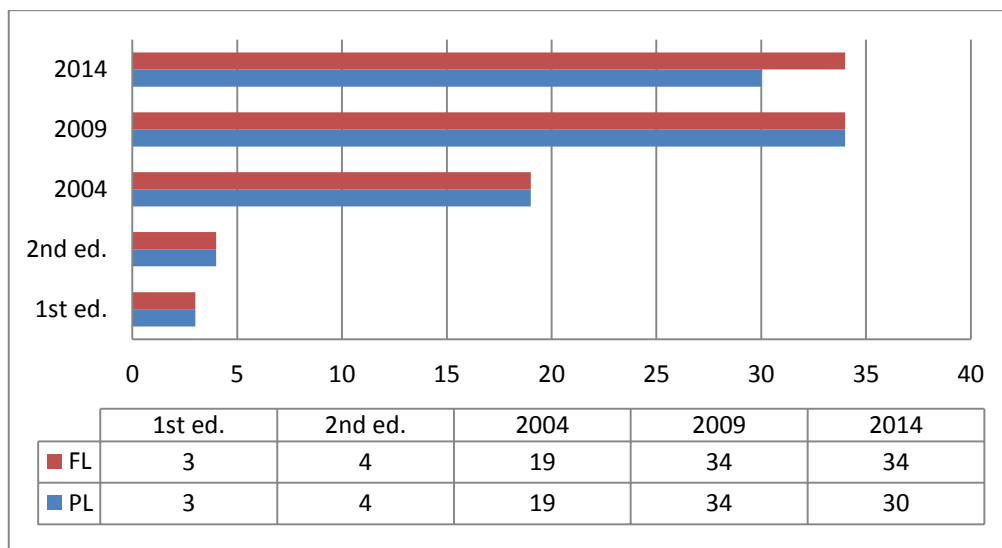
- The increased importance of the city as a cultural destination;
- A significant increase in low season tourism;
- A substantial economic benefit;
- Enhancement of the historical heritage
- The general rejuvenation of the area
- Strengthening of the local identity

(Guerzoni, 2008; Paiola, Grandinetti, 2009; Argano et al., 2005; IRER, 2006).

These claims however, are not confirmed by empirical findings, hence the case is even more suitable to be investigated.

The comparative case study of *pordenonelegge.it*

The exploratory nature of the research guided us to extend the analysis to another case and to compare it with FL. Therefore, we attempted to select a case as similar as possible to this last in terms of regional context, age and structure. After a sound reflection on possible options, we decided to concentrate on *pordenonelegge.it* (PL). The literature festival of Pordenone shares in fact many features with that of Mantua both in relation to the region and to the festival itself, apart for being both centred on literature. Firstly, they represent two successful events in their field as it is evident from their long-term sustainability and the progressive growth in the visitor numbers, as shown in Figure 4, which are now more than 100,000 for each of the two events. Concerning the temporal dimension, albeit the Mantua event is older, PL has been running for 15 years, from 2000, and it has been able to settle within the regional and national context as one of the main literary events. (Paiola, Grandinetti, 2009).

Figure 4: A comparison of FL and PL visitors number throughout the years**Figure 5: A comparison of FL and PL use of city venues throughout the years**

With regard to the spatial dimension, there is a plethora of mutual features of the two, reported in Table 2. Firstly both FL and PL are held in two small medium size Provincial capitals in the north east area of Italy, respectively Lombardy and Friuli Venezia Giulia sharing a similar regional vocation as will be analysed in more detail in subsequent chapters. Moreover, both festivals apparently entail a great involvement of the region as can be gathered from the growth of the events and the numerous activities within the city and the consequent extensive use of city venues (Figure 5), besides the consistent contribution of local firms in financing the event and co-operating into project development. Specifically, the contributions coming from enterprises correspond to 75% of the total budget for FL and have reached 40% in PL, coming to be the biggest source of finance.

A further remark validating the assumption of a high local involvement and associated benefits, came from the calculation of the economic multiplier effect, that is the induced impact within the region of visitor expenditure. Specifically, FL is considered as the Italian festival with the highest multiplier effect, equivalent to 10,32, albeit the last investigation was done in 2006 (IRER). Namely, it means that for every single EUR spent by a festival visitor on average 10,32 EUR is generated within the region. The total economic impact of the event supports a consequent FTE (Full Time Equivalent) employment calculated as 104 full time staff. According to a recent impact study research, guided by Guerzoni (*Pordenonelegge.it*, 2015), PL generates the second highest multiplier effect after FL, equal to 7.27 EUR, with a corresponding estimated FTE amounting to 46 workers. In this perspective, it becomes even more challenging to investigate the cultural effect corresponding to this presumed economic vivacity. Moreover, as a matter of choice, some differences between the two events were important too, like the managerial and organisational structure conditioning a different approach to local relations with the local stakeholders and therefore virtually determining different outcomes on the region. Finally, the networks on which the two festivals rely are complementary: a librarian background and a writers region. Namely, FL is grounded on a solid base of booksellers in the city, while on the contrary PL is inserted and in turn feeds a land of writers.

Table 2: Festivaletteratura and pordenonelegge.it in comparison.

FACTOR	Festivaletteratura	Pordenonelegge.it
Year of origin	1997	2000
Schedule	4 days beginning Sept.	4 days mid Sept.
Location	34 venues city centre	30 venues city centre
Organisation	Committee with 8 members	Foundation pordenonelegge.it + CCIAA
Events	322	250
Attendance	112,000	130,000
Admission prices	tickets with fee/free events	Free
Public supporters	11%	CCIAA 25% + 34%
Private supporters	75%	40%
Tickets	14%	/
Budget	1,400,000 (2006)	868,612 (2014)

Data collected after the two organisations' secretariat and elaborated by the author

In conclusion, the chosen KBFs are not considered to be the festivals with the most outstanding production of knowledge or those generating the highest cultural spillover, also because as already remarked, this is an almost virgin field of research. Basically, they were preferred to others because their characteristics seemed to be consistent with the focus of the research and interesting to compare for their apparent dissimilar elements in relation to the four phases forecasted by the model. In the next section, the specific methods that were used for data collection and analysis will be illustrated, and the fieldwork described.

2.4 Methods and data collection tools

In order to achieve a deep understanding from a multi-sectorial perspective, as implied by the theoretical framework, multiple data sources were considered the best way to investigate the multi-faceted nature of the cases. In this vein, Yin (2003) suggests the way in which a question is expressed plays a pivotal role in determining the research strategy's choice. For instance, he argues that the *how* formula preferably refers to explanatory investigations, which is also the basis of the current study. In addition, he notes that *which* and *what* should usually involve the incidence or prevalence of a phenomenon or when it is to be predictive about certain outcomes and therefore be related to survey or archival investigations. In line with this perspective, the present study employs diverse methods of data collection in order to answer the research questions, explained in the previous chapter:

RQ1: How does an event embed itself in regional networks in temporal and spatial terms?

RQ2: Which processes contribute to generating knowledge spillover?

RQ 3: What are the knowledge spillover effects on the region?

RQ 4: How can we analyse and measure processes triggering these externalities?

Drawing from Creswell (2003), the present research specifically adopts a sequential exploratory strategy that consists in a first step of qualitative data collection and examination followed by an iterative process gradually integrating other data sources. Specifically, in regards to the case of Mantua, the strategy envisages a “second phase of quantitative data collection and analysis that builds on the result of the first qualitative phase” (Creswell, 2003: 211). This strategy is useful when the quantitative data and results are functional to support the understanding of qualitative findings and hence to deduce theory from data, but also when it is necessary to generalise qualitative data to different contexts (Morgan, 1998; cited in Creswell, 2003). Therefore, the present research entailed:

- **Interviews:** with festival directors and sponsors as well as artists, journalists and other relevant stakeholders with detailed protocols and/or transcriptions for each.
- **Discourse and text analysis:** covering festival programmes and related documentation, official or unofficial reports on the festivals, festival-specific publicity produced by the festival organizations; media coverage materials.
- **Survey:** the present project created a survey specifically tailored for the volunteers of the main exploratory case study festival.
- **Field work observation:** participation in some festival editions through observation and detailed field notes.

As the primary source of investigation we selected the voice of local actors collected by means of face-to-face in depth interviews exploring the complex and interrelated nature of the issues to analyse.

As illustrated in Table 3, the main exploratory case, *Festivaletteratura*, was investigated over a six month period, through qualitative and quantitative analysis, along with several visits to the area and participant observation.

The comparative case study, *pordenonelegge.it.it*, was pre-eminently explored by means of in depth interviews based on the findings gathered from Mantua.

Table 3: FL and PL investigation's tools

Festivaletteratura March 2014-Sept 2014	Pordenonelegge.it March-April 2015
Desk analysis	Desk analysis
35 Face to face semi-structured interviews	25 Face to face semi-structured interviews
Online survey	Secondary sources
Participant observation	Participant observation

2.4.1 Face to face interviews

According to Robson (2011) the most common classification for interviews, based on their structure, involves: fully structured interviews, covering a defined order of questions; semi-structured interviews, based on a guide of topics to explore; and the unstructured interviews centred on a general area of interest. The flexible nature of the present study, along with some emerging theoretical assumptions, implies the use of semi-structured interviews, as they allow the researcher to modify her questions according to the interviewee's answers (Robsons, 2011). This provides two fundamental advantages: the chance to explore in depth particularly interesting topics as well as emerging new ones; but also the chance to make the uncertain aspects of an interview clearer while contributing to strengthen the validity of the data collected (Jordan, 2004, cited in Pappalepore, 2010). In the specific context of this research, the first interviews, based on the preliminary research model design, were used to explore on a wide level the relationships occurring between the FL's organisation and the local stakeholders. In a second step, the interviews gradually became more and more structured in order to examine emergent topics in more detail.

The interviews 'sampling

"Neither the number nor the type of informants needs to be specified beforehand (...) the size of the sample in an interviewing study is something that should be determined toward the end of the research and not at the beginning" (Taylor, Bogdan 1998: 92). Drawing from this reflection, the present research selected some general populations to interview by purposive sampling, which is, as depicted by Robson (2011), the most suitable tool for a grounded theory research, as it can be tailored on the basis of the researcher's specific needs. Narrowly, the first groups were derived from the literature. Specifically the principal references we followed were Garcia's pivotal study on the long-term cultural legacy of Glasgow European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 1990 (2005), Migliaccio and Rivetti's analysis of the Sannio FilmFest'spillover (2012) and Pappalepore's inquiry (2014) on the impact of Olympiad cultural programme on creative entrepreneurs. These suggestions were integrated with the expected outcomes of the theoretical model. The resulting sample includes hence: festival organizers, management and promoters, local authorities, opinion leaders and creative groups. Additionally, the peculiar relationship of FL with local sponsors, as remarked by studies in the field (Guerzoni, 2008; Paiola, Grandinetti, 2009), prompted us to collect ideas from local sponsors. Subsequently, snowball sampling was phased in; this consists of using the first interviewees as informants to identify other members

of the population that may be relevant as respondents for the research (Robson, 2011).

In the specific context of FL, interviews revealed the key role of volunteers who were, consequently, engaged in discussions. In regards to PL we involved the same population as in the Mantua case although the snowball sampling step guided us to identify young writers as the actors most related to festival's cultural outcomes. In order to avoid the framing of a macro field drawing from micro situations the present research ascribes a great importance to in-depth interviewing and a plurality of personal narratives to understand the relations occurring within an area and to extract possible beneficial cultural legacies, but the results do not claim to be representative of the city as a whole.

Interview structure

The interview duration ranged from 30 to 90 minutes, in line with Silverman's statement (2006) that an interview that lasts shorter than 30 minutes may not be considered valued. Every interview was scheduled in accordance with the interlocutor's availability in terms of time and place and then recorded and transcribed.

Dialogues revealed interesting elements on goals, reasons and settlement of festivals, contributing to fill the literature gaps on the general framework. A consistent part of the interviews, instead, covers with a set of three major issues built around the theoretical model, hence related to the extent of embeddedness of FL within the region, the essential processes triggering knowledge creation and its transmission and the cultural dynamics that have been consequently generated or influenced within the cultural capital.

2.4.2 Survey

As previously touched on, the preliminary findings of the in-depth interviews with stakeholders and opinion makers related to *Festivaletteratura*, shed light on the central role of volunteers as both sources of knowledge and inputs and as main targets of the outputs. Therefore, after a collective discussion with five former volunteers of the festival and a pilot questionnaire tested with them, an online survey was created. This was hence specifically tailored to those local actors who had volunteered in the first editions of FL in order to monitor the long-term effects and continuous reciprocity. The survey is composed by 10 main questions ranging from personal information to the extent to which the event may have affected both their personal quality of life and their community as a whole. Specifically, the first groups of inquiries entails six closed ended multiple choice questions concerning personal information about origins, professions and the connection with FL, covering the number of festival editions attended and the role played in them. The second part of the survey encloses four principal themes, explored through Likert scales and additional open questions. The first concerns the involvement of city venues and spaces and the consequent perception of learning, cultural consumption and identity. Secondly, another group of 6 questions relates to the type of initiative of FL and the kind of interactions and participation. The third group of 10 questions explores the effect of FL on personal and professional life. Finally, the relationship of FL with the regional capital is investigated.

Following the pilot model test, the survey was created sharable and anonymous by using an online software program, Survey Monkey. This was then distributed

using the facebook page of the festival volunteers and word of mouth. The total number of survey respondents was 82 people.

Albeit on a general level this number may not be considered large, our main sample was the 'first generation' of volunteers, as focussing on the cultural legacy of the festival on the long term, and the number of people volunteering in the festival's first edition were roughly 150 (Festivaletteratura, 2014). From this perspective hence this sample represents a large proportion of potential respondents. Moreover, as already remarked, the survey was developed to support and enlarge the knowledge of topics resulting from interviews.

2.5 Reading and interpretation of findings

Following Robson's suggestion (2011) when analysing qualitative evidence, a central role is played by the researcher, conversely to quantitative investigations ruled by data and objective evidence. In fact, despite the growing numbers of text books providing with tools and strategies to measure qualitative data in recent decades, there are few fixed formula to guide the interpretation of findings (Yin, 2003). In accordance with the described approach to methodology, the researcher completed a sound theoretical review prior to field analysis to achieve a more comprehensive view of the topic and to identify the most relevant themes, formulate hypothesis and research questions. This step was integrated progressively with emerging subjects and dynamics from the field that conditioned a new literature review and a re-definition of the theoretical model. Therefore, this study involved 'a combination of inductive and deductive theorising' (Liamputtong, Ezzy, 2005: 259) that is typical of qualitative studies. Specifically, in order to interpret data, we followed what Yin (2003) termed as 'explanation building' as the preferred analysis technique. This method, concerns the stipulation of causal links between variables, generally in narrative form. Following this guideline, independent investigations were conducted for each case, but using one common list of codes. Specifically, a sound analysis of FL's emerging qualitative findings was carried out and the related first interpretation was designed. On this basis we further interpreted the survey responses, as it is described below. At a later stage, the field of the PL festival was investigated drawing from previous findings.

The first phase of interview data analysis entailed the full transcription of recorded conversations and the coding of the main topics relevant for research purposes. Following Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003), all the emerging themes coming both from data and from previous researchers 'speculations were collected; subsequently, these themes were concentrated into few key themes derived from sources of inputs; exchanges and possible outputs. Consequently, in order to interpret information from the online survey, two rounds of data exploration were conducted. Firstly, a basic analysis of descriptive statistics was undertaken on data stored in the online database. In a second step, further insights into the data were gained through comparison of these former with those elaborated from interviews. A crosstabulation analysis through was done to investigate whether they were some interesting interrelations amongst specific selected variables to find virtual interactions between them. This phase was conducted via SPSS Statistics Software. Specifically, to test the statistical significance of the cross-tabulation table and whether or not the two variables were independent the chi-square test was used.

As previously touched upon, we followed the pilot model structure both as a source to interpret findings and codifying answers and as a structure to display

them. In light of this, the next chapters start with a section presenting the context and origin of the festival, as revealed from interviews and desk sources.

Information are then are organised according with the four phases of the model: knowledge sources, buzz, embeddedness and pipelines creating a fluid circular process of knowledge creation and spillover.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter was intended to clarify the main methodological choices at the basis of the current research to contribute to a better understanding of the results that are presented in the further parts. First of all, it is rooted on a case study analysis along with a grounded theory approach to explore on the one hand what could be an exportable procedure to analyse a festival's cultural effect on a region; on the other hand to collect field's evidences of what is, concretely, these legacy formed by in two selected environments. The latter are *Festivaletteratura*, Mantua and *pordenonelegge.it.it*, Pordenone, both in Italy, selected on the basis of their mature evolution stage and the presumed links with local networks.

The two case studies' purposes are not exactly the same. In fact FL represents the explorative case study, investigated by means of triangulation of causes and across a 6 month investigation on the field to collect information on the sources of knowledge, decision making structures and philosophy guiding the event's action, beside the embeddedness of it within the local context and the degree of acknowledgment of the local population. Thus, this investigation serves also to define and adjust the pilot theoretical model of knowledge spillover deduced from the literature's review. On the other hand, PL represents a comparative case study whose investigation was more focussed on the themes identified from the former case in order to collect additional or conflicting elements to validate the model.

The two following chapters present the collected and analysed data by means of narrating the festivals from the origins and inputs guiding its rise to the revealed cultural outcomes on the local community. In this perspective data are not divided per genre, narrowly if deriving from interviews, surveys or desk analysis, but they are organised on the basis of topic and the model's phases: Knowledge sources, local buzz, festival's embeddedness and pipelines.

CHAPTER 3

3 Festivaletteratura: potential spillover effects from an independent festival

3.1 Chapter overview

This chapter intends to investigate processes guiding the production and consumption of knowledge related to the *Festivaletteratura*'s phenomenon and the consequent knowledge spillover effect within the region from a cultural viewpoint.

Having defined the research approach and methodology's tools in forming a sequential exploratory strategy (Creswell, 2003) which includes desk analysis, 36 in depth interviews, along with an online survey and participant observation. What follows next is the description of the collected information synthesis regarding the festival's aims and objectives, premises, motivations and settlement.

After a general introduction to the local context's cultural overview, the first part of the chapter describes not only the origin of the event but the organization as well. The second part follows with the presentation of findings as they are revealed by the local community's reflections integrated by desk resources, consistent with the pilot model's phases. Hence, the section displays artistic direction type and decision making structure; emerged cross fertilisation processes and generated ecology of values; the relationships and conditions determining the embeddedness of the festival into the region and its international linkages. In order to illustrate and highlight key points, verbatim comments have been included in the description of the findings. To facilitate the interpretation of the latter, interviewees were organized into 5 main groups of stakeholders: Festival founders: Group A; people working in the festival management and organization: Group B; local opinion makers, cultural figures: Group C; local firms and sponsors of the event: Group S; local volunteers: Group V. In the Annex 1 there is table with a more detailed description of interviewees.

3.2 Introduction to the local context

The province of Mantua is located in the northern part of Italy, a border town wedged in a crossroads of three regions: Veneto, Emilia Romagna and Lombardy. A unique territory connoted by its vicinity to an abundance of water, the city is intersected by five rivers and surrounded almost entirely by the three lakes derived from the Mincio river. The province population is composed of 408,187 inhabitants and is part of the Lombardy Region, a specific administrative area described as the core economic driver of the Country and amongst one of the most productive European regions.

The province of Mantua, ascribable to the so-called third Italy phenomenon (Bagnasco, 1977), is characterised by the presence of two industrial districts recognised: the textiles and stockings industrial district and the wood production industrial district. Furthermore, it is also part of a large number of meta-districts such as: food biotechnology, biotechnology, design, materials and fashion (Branzanti, 2014).

Within this context, the city of Mantua itself (48,588 people) is a historic centre that originated as an Etruscan settlement and later, during the Roman period, developed into a fortified town. To this day, we can track the origins of Virgilio, one of the golden Latin poets who was born just outside the modern town in 70 BC. This legacy represents an important element to define the regional vocation along with the Renaissance court of Gonzaga. The Gonzaga family who ruled the city from XII-XVII century, generated and nurtured for a number of centuries, one of the most flourishing hub of intellectual production all over Europe. Connoted by an open and multifaceted philanthropic approach, they had the ability to convey power within their court and rapidly became an important buffer state between the expansionist ambitions of Milan and Venice, by leading the way in architecture, fine art and sciences. Amongst these, the outstanding names of Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Mantegna, Giulio Romano, contributed to define the Renaissance architectural skyline of the city that is considered thus far, one of the most prominent and well-preserved in Europe. In fact, thanks to exceptional renaissance buildings such as Palazzo Te, Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, Chiesa di Sant'Andrea, amongst others, the whole historical centre of the city was declared a World Heritage Site in 2008, along with Sabbioneta. The latter, settled 30 km away from Mantua's city centre, actually represents the implementation of the period's theories about planning the ideal city. These two towns are important for the value of their architecture and for their prominent role in the dissemination of Renaissance culture. This heritage has conditioned a vocation of the city heavily rooted in the Renaissance's legacy, which appears to be the strongest cultural inclination even now. A negative aspect of this legacy may be represented by the difficulty for alternative cultural activities to emerge. A drawback that seems to be increased by an intrinsic tendency to remain isolated, although several attempts were made in the last decade to animate the city for both tourists and residents. However, the will to create network ties among some cultural institutions has emerged in the attempt to coordinate in a more coherent way the cultural offerings of the city. This is the case for instance of the great exhibition on *Giulio Romano* that in 1989, which entailed a new and unusual cooperation between the two main monumental realities of the city, Palazzo Ducale and Palazzo Te. Furthermore, this project represented also a key moment within international studies and researches on the topic. The *Galleria Celeste's* main show in 2002 followed this tradition of cooperation. A successful case of permanent network is represented by the *Sistemi Bibliotecari Territoriali*, (the regional librarian systems), which are collected into 3 main centres, namely *La Grande Mantova* (covering 12 municipalities), *Legenda Basso Mantovano* (18 municipalities) and *Ovest Mantovano* (26 municipalities) and co-operate with an innovative loan service, a growing number of reading groups, and a plethora of activities and meetings all year-long. In line with this approach is the agreement amongst museums within the province stipulated in 2004 to launch the basis for new forms of collaboration. The agreement currently counts 76 affiliated museums of different typologies: historic museums, art museums, ethnographic museums, archaeological museums, and eco-museums. This system of museums was conceived to achieve on the one hand, a major quality, quantity and accessibility of museums, which were meant to become a pivotal source of interpretation of local identities and territorial specificities. However, on the other hand, it represents an attempt to share resources aimed to rationalise costs, achieving economies of scale and implementing more effective organisational systems.

Other top down main initiatives which focused on both the preservation of the cultural heritage and the active use of cultural venues, are represented by the establishment of two *cultural districts* both co-funded by local authorities and Fondazione Cariplo⁶. The first is called *Oltrepò Mantovano Cultural District* (DOMInUS) and it is aimed at coordinating and enhancing certain remote areas of the province by means of a series of measures: infrastructure restorations, coordinated marketing and promotion, cultural events, and enhancement of poorly exploited cultural venues. The second planning project known as *Regge dei Gonzaga Cultural District*, focuses on the strategic importance of the Mantua renaissance period to stimulate new forms of cultural consumption, especially addressed to visitors and tourists. (Branzanti, 2014)

Other hints of the effervescent background in which *Festivaletteratura* was inserted, may be entailed by the activity of *Casa del Mantegna* across the decades. Since the 1970s the historical building has housed a plethora of grass roots cultural activities constituting a system as well as the isolated entities that ran independently, ranging from musical critics to literature and politics. These are epitomised by the activity of the debate carried on by the journal “Il Portico” which partly flowed into the *Ottobre Club* (Poletini, 2012). According to the council member in charge of cultural activities, the main guidelines of the city’s cultural policies are represented by the curatorial activity of the municipality and in parallel, the plethora of proposals coming from the regional actors. The latter seems to be connoted by events and activities related to what has emerged as a threefold vocation: music, theatre and literature. The former is represented by the presence of the music conservatory *Luciano Campani* recognised as equivalent to a University due to its prominence. Moreover, the OCM (Orchestra da Camera di Mantova), running since 1981, is well known for the quality of performances and their research activity. The central role of music for the city is expressed also by the presence of *Eterotopie*, a manifestation about performing arts and music held in a small municipality within the Mantua province. The second vocation, theatre, may be captured not only for the renovated *Teatro Bibiena* in the city of Mantua, but perhaps more significantly for the number of theatrical companies that range from experimental to theatre for children. This is in fact the case of *Segni d’Infanzia*, originated from an event that was part of FL, and now an independent international festival combining creativity and theatre with a child audience, and a number of renowned international guests. Lastly, the literary vocation is epitomised by the presence of *Festivaletteratura*. Generally speaking, cultural events came to play a key role in the cultural city life during last decade and to the extent in which around 2005, the city attempted to become the city of festivals. The project didn’t succeed due to a range of factors such as political shifts, thus resulting in a series of terminated festivals. So far, FL represents the major cultural appointment of the agenda benefitting from the larger amount of financial support from the municipality equal to 13%.

⁶ Fondazione Cariplo is a bank originated foundation which primary vocation is supporting the organizations of civil society that represent the social infrastructures of our system. Its approach is based on the principle of subsidiarity.

3.3 Festival's origins: a grass-root initiative with diverse drivers

The story of FL is partly related to the attempts to rejuvenate the city explained in the introduction. In fact, in 1993 the Region, through the *Osservatorio Culturale dell'area Lombardia*, commissioned *Comedia* (the think tank for creative cities founded by Charles Landry) to design a re-launch project for the city of Mantua through the enhancement of its cultural assets. Actually, despite the significant historical and artistic heritage, the area was characterised by provincialism and an inability to exploit the heritage resources as a catalyst for rejuvenation. The need for new activities to revitalise the region was in fact shared not only by tourist institutions but also by like-minded policy makers, firms and citizens, as *Comedia's* research indicated (1994). Particularly, a sclerosis of the public system was lamented along with the approach to cultural initiatives more curatorial and ad hoc than entrepreneurial (*Comedia*, 1994). Therefore, after a sound analysis of the regional assets followed by a benchmarking, some possible drivers were identified, including a concentration on books and literature, as a number of other towns, notably Hay on Wye (Wales), had done.

In line with the aforementioned scenario of paralysis for coordinated actions, no public act followed this study, not even from the Region that was the commissioner of it. On the contrary, as encouraged by the *Comedia's* research, a group of local intellectual and professional figures joined forces to create something new, and that became what is known as *Festivaletteratura*. Specifically, they were eight private individuals from diverse backgrounds, mainly from the publishing industry and the socio-cultural fields forming a committee of volunteers⁷, who decided to take suggestion from the Landry's think tank by planning a cultural event drawn from the most well-known International practices but tailored to Mantua's local milieu. Accordingly, after some years of organisation and training, they launched the first edition of *Festivaletteratura* in 1997, creating an event that has been continuously growing for 19 years and, as already touched on, registering an immediate success of audience. As expressed in the words of sociologist and committee member, Poletti (2012), the key elements contributing to the festival's success may be identified into the external solicitation entails by the *Comedia's* analysis; an internal creative group linked by informal and tight relations along with the example of the Hay Festival to follow.

The structure of the festival: participation, quality and books

The main topics that emerged from interviews with Group A and B regarding the festival's structure and approach, captured also during discussions with others opinion makers, may be synthesized into: participation, quality and books. The first, participation, refers to diverse layers and meanings and it can be meant as group creativity in the guise of a flexible decision making structure and based on mutual trust and exchange. This structure hasn't changed throughout the years, and the eight members are still working volunteers on the committee that they founded in 1996. They are supported by a managerial body that has gradually developed over the last decades and progressively partitioned into sponsoring activities, logistics, international projects and relations, administration and services related to the archive. On another level, participation here is intended as autonomy and self-responsibility, two central attitudes of FL from its origin to present day.

⁷ The committee member is formed by: two booksellers; an architect, a gallerist publisher; a philosopher and enterprise's advisor and a sociologist.

On the one hand there is the will to remain economically independent from the fast changes of the political powers, and yet on the other hand, the more explicit will to use gaming and identification as a way to connect one another and educate. This idea is exemplified by the importance devoted to volunteers who in fact, are in charge of the whole practical staging of the event.

In regards to external actors, participation embraced the will to create amusement and vitality through culture and that was the main goal of the festival founders.

“FL generates five days of cholor, as described by Morin, it activates molecules and warms up into own passions and interests” Group A

Answers from group C and V seem to confirm both Group A’s aims and scholarly speculation on the pivotal role played by participation in activating the success of the manifestation in generating a special atmosphere. In fact, although in the UK’s literature festivals format of peer-to-peer interactions between the audience and the speaker was quite common, in Italy this approach was absolutely new when FL started and therefore, it highly contributes to the success of the event.

Participation from the gatekeepers and writers viewpoint means sharing knowledge through informal interactions and creating new nodes. Many cultural guests when requested to express their feelings about the festival experience used the words “good time” or “pleasant” or “having fun”, to express their feelings of a friendly and informal atmosphere, (Colibrì, 2012)⁸. Finally, the identification of the audience occurs by means of horizontal and active interactions between the audience and the writer, accrued also through the chance to create an individual path of consumption thanks to the redundancy of the proposed events. As analysed in the previous chapter, the latter have now exceeded more than 300 initiatives.

“Eighteen years ago, television seemed to represent the only way to communicate, therefore we decided to take up a quest for something different coming from our city by promoting a new alternative approach to show that diverse attitudes and contents were possible without giving up fun. And people answered by coming to our festival” Group A

Expressed on a number of diverse levels, quality emerged as another pivotal element of FL. According to Group A and B, quality is a twofold goal meant as the research activity in the literature field and achieved by a continuous dialogue with the event golden and habitué gatekeepers to discover new emerging talent from unknown countries.

“Over 80% of our guests are almost totally unknown or part of literature niches or particular countries. We capitalize on our visitors’ loyalty to promote emergent talents because the continual search for the new and the unknown has to be the goal of cultural production”. Group A.

However, quality is also intrinsic to the continuous research activity and feedback analysis to improve on the basis of contemporary societal trends. This is the case for instance, of the pioneering attention of the organisation, and particularly the editorial team to social media and new technologies over the last decade, as remarked by some of the senior volunteers.

⁸ Colibrì was a magazine founded by the festival organisation which has been running for more than ten year. The specific issue cited is Colibrì, 16th year n.2; dec 2012

Local opinion makers and firms, albeit recognising the quality of the program, remarked specifically on the quality and outstanding level of the organisation management, as will be analysed in details below. In many ways, excellence and quality are also characterized by the unique cultural heritage of the city in which the festival is hosted. The architecture acts as both a general frame while contributing to the special atmosphere and serving as a scenic design. In fact there are a plethora of venues used for the events, ranging from historical buildings, churches, private aristocratic palaces and public parks along the lake. Quality also represents the main element linking FL with the city's intangible heritage of arts patronage, and as expressed in the words of its founders, it brings together the best contemporary representations of the diverse branches of culture as the Gonzaga's court used to do during the Renaissance. Finally, the book became the leitmotif of a multidisciplinary concept of literature "*celebrating diverse cultural expressions codified in the form of a book*". Group A

Festivaletteratura, while contrary to many KBF that aim to widen their sectorial coverage with time, started as a multidisciplinary event on books and then gradually focused more and more on novels and literature while maintaining a cross sectorial viewpoint.

3.4 Knowledge sources of Festivaletteratura. A collective decision making structure based on mutual trust

"Our decision making structure is not easy to explain. It's like a soft organisation that is able to remain fresh for 20 years and pretty naïve [...] There's a setting about style and management as liquid and easily recognisable by everyone" Group A

The decision making structure of FL, as revealed from group A and B's interviews, intentionally avoids rigid rules.

"There is no artistic direction, we listen to everything and everyone and we trust each other and every person has a place in their specific competence field." Group A

The great majority of respondents from Group B are more inclined to consider decision making structures flexible but with a tight hub, apparently lateral but with a hidden hierarchical structure. Nevertheless, what emerges is clearly the lack of an artistic director along with the absence of curators or professional figures from the events management field. The central unit is still composed by the 8 members of the committee who still work as volunteers. As pinpointed by both group A and B, each member has invested personal know-how, expertise, passion as well as diverse contacts and relationships into the development of *Festivaletteratura*. Accordingly, they have gradually generated branches deriving from the specific expertise of Group A, administrated with a high degree of autonomy and then integrated with one another into a unique structure where knowledge is shared. Furthermore, a secretariat has formed gradually over time with around 5 to 10 full-time employees working all year round to develop the festival programming, funding system and management. Hence, despite the presence of a hierarchical structure, albeit hidden, the distinction of roles and rules is blurred and the organization seems to be mainly connoted by mutual trust, reciprocity and a readiness for input, as described by both groups A and B:

“It is an atmosphere governing Festivaletteratura, perceived by the city, visitors and volunteers” Group A

This idea, cited and pinpointed by several respondents from diverse groups, may be interpreted as the self-narrative that FL generates; along with an ensemble of ethics, moral and behavioural unwritten rules. Consequently, according to the committee members and managerial secretary, knowledge sources concurring to define the cultural programme can be conceived as consequential aggregations.

“We receive suggestions and proposals from several sources. Suggestions and feedback from citizens attending bookshops or art galleries, authors and cultural actors in previous editions, volunteers and from other international festivals we share programmes with, and we listen and consider everyone’s opinion” Group A.

As previously noted, this special atmosphere appears to invest in the great majority of recurrent authors and gatekeepers in general, regarded by many as the main sources of suggestions and also a sort of community within *Festivaletteratura*.

“Listening to the authors represents a very important moment from several viewpoints: the production of new subjects, innovation and sense of community. This last particularly is very strong” Group B.

Group A and B in fact, stress on the importance of regular gatekeepers. The latter appear to be composed mainly by writers and journalists, both at a national and international level, investing their expertise and knowledge within the festival while supporting or suggesting emerging writers. They constitute in doing so, important nodes between the manifestation and other cultural communities linked by cognitive proximity and in fact, the previously mentioned challenge of niche programme is validated by “recurring” writers and “recurring” visitors.

Specifically, the habitués are partly represented by the association Filofestival⁹ which was founded to promote the event’s activities throughout the year by means of the cultural magazine Colibrì. According to the organisation sources the number of Filofestival members associated from 2006 to 2014 corresponds to around 17,000 people. (Festivaletteratura, 2014).

3.5 Buzz – reciprocity in and out the festival

The special narrative of *Festivaletteratura* is also a product of cross-fertilisation that occurs during the festival in which diverse ways of consuming culture and various types of audience are mixed. The unique configuration of the historical centre has quaintness to it. Everything is nearby and it is not uncommon for visitors, citizens and even Nobel Prize winners to cross paths while traversing narrow alleyways. This sensation only adds to the suspense that begins during the peer-to-peer informal presentation of books, as remarked by many opinion makers:

“It is incredible how the city is alive and unique during FL. Unfortunately when the festival finishes, everything goes back to the grey routine” Group S

⁹ According to Festivaletteratura’ sources the number of Filofestival associated from 2006 to 2014 corresponds to around 17.000 units (Festivaletteratura, 2014)

In regards to local projects and year-round activities, interviews with group A and B brought to light a plethora of relationships and projects within the surroundings, though not easily palpable, as for instance:

- Partnership with local schools and families in order to host volunteers coming from abroad. The latter account for around 40% of the total (700).
- Partnership with local booksellers for the realisation of the official bookshop of the event.
- Connections with a number of retailers or associations promoting their activities or creating ad hoc for the occasion.
- Local firms services' providers.

One of the most interesting actions within this perspective that has generated cross-fertilisation and nurtured learning, is the agreement with the Istituto Alberghiero (Hospitality Training Institute) of the city to provide the entire food service of the manifestation. For the occasion of FL, the school organises a special workshop for 60 selected students in their final year of training, who are in charge of the management of around 1200 meals per day as well as other services, that are then provided to volunteers, guests, journalists, etc.

3.5.1 Stimuli and know-how transmission

“... FL generates a modus operandi in regards to the management of an event as for instance with volunteers. FL taught the region how to use these strengths. In my opinion it was also able to transform the city's weak points into opportunities. This is the case of the small dimension, the historical centre, the lack of comprehensive event etc.” Group C

“There are always occasions to have new stimuli and ideas when dealing with FL” Group S

The general tone emerging from the interviews recognises a pivotal role played by FL in injecting stimuli and new ideas, therefore creating a general buzz and transmitting an effective modus operandi within the region. Specifically the majority of actors from the group S see the high quality, creativity and the constant search for innovation as the primary added value of their sponsoring activity. On top of that, they enjoy partaking in a shared project for the revitalisation of the city. In fact, although the decision-making process is a prerogative of the festival directorate, firms saw themselves as having an area of choice and being sometimes involved in giving advice. Therefore, they emerged as networks of actors connected by reputational factors supporting the event:

“We believe, it is our job to make a culture of it by paying great attention to every step of its production and diffusion with a constant search for high quality. This is why we brought this attitude in a cultural locus par excellence that is FL. I see them as two very coherent actions” Group S

Some of the local sponsors have taken advantage of the cooperation to create interactions. For example a society representing 150 local SMEs organises round tables every year not only to connect cultural guests of FL with entrepreneurs but to also stimulate new creative inputs and knowledge transfer.

As the interviewees declared, these experiences have triggered creativity and new ideas among the entrepreneurs in fields aside from just culture. Along the same lines, a huge fashion brand based in the region, *Corneliani*, explains how they take advantage of the sponsorship activity to trigger interactions between writers and staff of varied levels in regards to their marketing strategy. Namely, they invite the guest of the year into the firm's offices to choose an outfit from their collection. This is the case for instance of thriller writer Michael Connelly, who, after the festival, started to dress one of his main characters Harry Bosch, with *Corneliani* clothes and thus generating wider press attention for the firm and the partnership with FL on an international level.

"Thanks to the sponsorship and co-operation with the festival they have transmitted to me a way of behaving with a project, very functional, clear and professional that helps me a lot with future relationships" Group S.

Another predominant outcome pinpointed by many respondents of both Group C and S, is the transmission of skills and know-how on two levels. The first, is in regards to the creation of conditions within the city to facilitate intellectual consumption and production and therefore creating a new need for it; and secondly the development of the managerial strategy of FL and the consequent communication to diverse stakeholders as an effective *modus operandi* to produce, manage and sustain a complex activity.

"The fact that something that is working in such a good way in your region gives you a dash to think I can do it as well. A successful managerial machine generates also an administrative machine. Therefore it has spread a know-how within the region" Group C

Particularly many respondents pointed out the managerial structure of the organisation of the event and how it had brought forth a sense of innovation within in the region than before, when the manifestation had yet to begin.

"The festival organisation has represented for the whole region a virtuous, innovative and successful model of management of a cultural project. It has created the premises within the region for further initiatives to develop and be accepted" Group C

"FL has generated in the region what I defined as human infrastructures, allowing the milieu to receive new projects and know how to manage them and also to know what you are talking about when stating the word festival" Group C

Both the transmission of a new approach to deal with sponsorship and the injection of intellectual stimuli are enlisted by group S and are considered the main causes for the wider philanthropic approach they play in the region following the collaboration with *Festivaletteratura*; the consequence being a growth in corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (Evans, Shaw, 2004). For the sake of clarity, some cultural opinion makers claim instead that support from firms for other local cultural projects is lacking because firms say they have already invested the sponsoring budget with FL.

As explained in the former chapter, the present research attempts to further investigate the emerged topic of know-how transmission by means of the survey with local former volunteers. Amongst other topics, the survey inquired about the extent to which FL may be seen as an input to trigger commercial and economic activities, collecting extremely favourable responses. Specifically, when divided per origins people strongly agreeing emerged to be for the 64.3% from abroad (born in Mantua but living abroad, born abroad but living in Mantua and from abroad) and for 88.9% locals.

Table 4: The impact of FL on the economic activities.

Category	Location	A lot	Quite	Slightly	None	Total
FL represents an input for commercial and economic activities	Mantua	88.9%	9.3%	1.9%		
	Others	64.3%	25.0%	7.1%	3.6%	
	Total	80.5%	14.6%	3.7%	1.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.848 ^a	3	.049
Likelihood Ratio	7.823	3	.050
N of Valid Cases	82		

a. 5 cells (62.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .34.

Data elaborated after the survey through *SPSS Statistics Software*

With concern to the decision making structure and the development of partnership within the region, some speakers, belonging to group S and C, underlined the absence of involvement in the festival, even despite the pivotal cultural roles they are assumed to play in the region. The great majority of the latter, therefore tends to interpret the FL fluid and blurred approach as an attempt at hiding the lack of openness and clarity due to the close decision making structure. This is seen as a sort of lobby, mainly formed by relatives or friends of the committee members. From this perspective, the festival would seem to fit the idea of a community of actors relatively close to innovation.

According to McMillan and Chavis communities may be defined as those groups “where people feel that they are members, that they have influence over the group, that their needs will be fulfilled through the group and that they have a shared emotional connection (1986:9)” (cited in Jordan, 2014). Shared artistic experiences can be effective in creating an emotional connection and a sense of belonging, so it is not surprising that local politicians should want to use them to bolster community cohesion.

Some opinion makers highlight the fact that if FL during the first years, gave more room to local productions and activities instead to international projects and relations as it had in the last decade, there wouldn't have been such a detriment to the local enhancement.

3.5.2 Do locals read more?

With the immediate output of local buzz, the general assumption that a literature festival may drive local people to read more has unfortunately little empirical confirmation. If the visitors' perspective in this regard hasn't been investigated, data collected from the provincial database don't seem to confirm the assumption in respect to locals. As we can observe in the snapshot below, if we compare the number of books retailers in the province before and during FL, we can notice an increase from 2000 to 2013 of 3 new book sellers within the province, but with respect to the municipality of Mantua from the year before the festival was launched (1996) and 2013, the number of booksellers seems instead to have diminished by 4 units.

Table 5: Books retailers and industries in the Province of Mantua.

Year	Municipality	ATECO 5247*		ATECO 52471**	
		Registered	Operative	Registered	Operative
1996	Mantua	0	0	17	17
2000	Mantua	3	3	18	18
	Grand Province	12	11	39	38
2005	Mantua	2	2	17	17
	Grand Province	6	6	41	41
2013	Mantua	0	0	13	13
	Grand Province	3	3	42	41

*Retailers of books, magazines and stationers; **Retailers selling new books

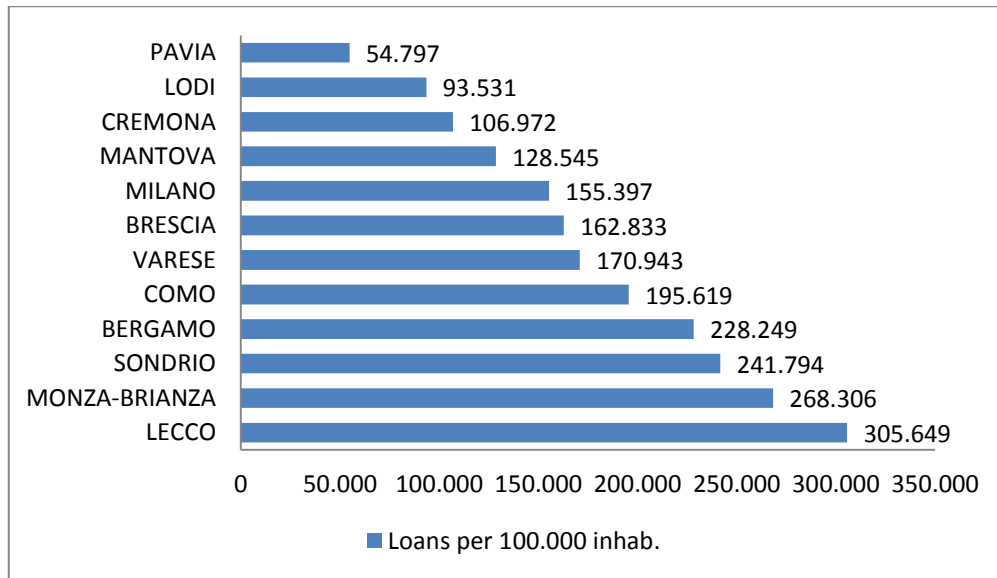
Data elaborated after Servizio Informazione e Promozione Economica, Chamber of Commerce of Mantua.

We also analysed the Lombardy Province Libraries' loan database last update, corresponding to 2012. As reported in table 6, Mantua is not among the more active provinces in regards to libraries 'members, and loans or for the number of libraries.

Table 6: Lombardy Libraries 2012.

Province	Number of Libraries	Population	Total loans
Bergamo	237	1,086,277	2,479,422
Brescia	219	1,238,044	2,015,949
Como	109	598,810	1,171,390
Cremona	75	357,581	382,515
Lecco	54	336,127	1,027,369
Lodi	56	223,659	209,192
Mantua	70	408,187	524,708
Milano	181	3,038,420	4,721,630
Monza Brianza	64	862,684	2,314,636
Pavia	93	535,666	293,530
Sondrio	40	180,766	437,082
Varese	123	871,334	1,489,488

Data elaborated after Servizio di Prestito Regione Lombardia - 2012

Figure 6: Lombardy Province loans per 100.000 inhab. Ascending order¹⁰

Data elaborated after Prestito Regione Lombardia – 2012

This data, albeit not claiming to be complete, does not correspond to the idea of the festival as a catalyst of growth in the purchasing or borrowing of books. Nonetheless, field investigations revealed an interesting ecology of value (Pilotti, Ganzaroli, 2009) in the local reading groups, which raised, according to the main organiser, the 40 units in the province. Unfortunately, it hasn't been possible to collect specific data on their number and structure, but as indicated by both group A and B and some opinion makers, reading groups (RG) seem to represent an interesting vehicle of knowledge innovation and exchanges within the region. Although, a clear direct causality has not yet emerged between the origin of these groups and the festival, the latter has undoubtedly represented a catalyst for their growth and diffusion. Reading groups in the great majority of cases are related to local libraries. This is the case for instance of *Aspettando il Festival*, a cycle of approximately 30 meetings around the themes, guests and topics that will be debated during the event. Consequently, members of these groups may participate in *Festivaletteratura* with a high degree of symbolic theme knowledge and therefore potentially allowing innovation through re-interpretation. In light of these connotations, many respondents tend to conceive the reading group participants as important carriers of knowledge. They contribute to the success of the niche programme as participating with a previous knowledge of authors and the event's topics. Therefore, not only are they dynamic and active consumers but sources of suggestions for the festival programme and providers of feedback regarding the initiative. In this perspective, reading groups arose as a network connected with FL even though they were not officially part of it. The second main player is in fact the province system of libraries that plays a major role in the development of projects¹¹ related to *Festivaletteratura*.

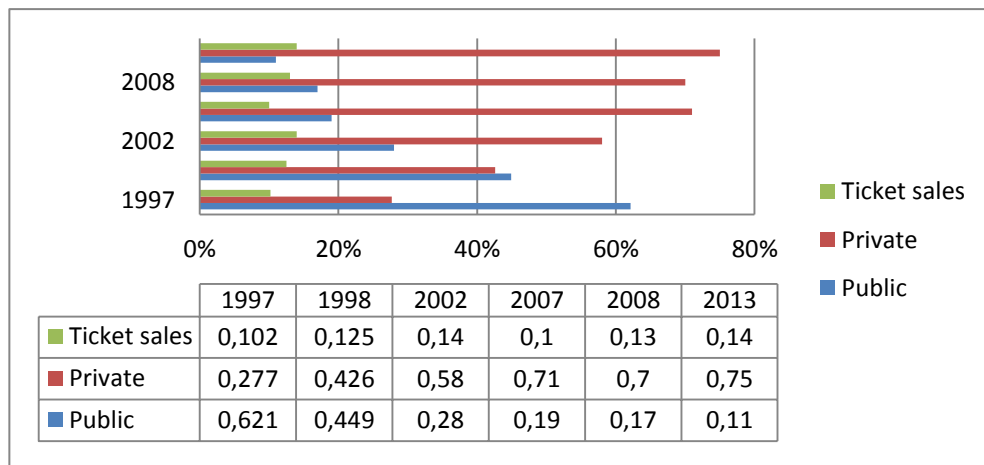
¹⁰ Numbers are written according to the Italian format dividing hundreds by a full stop instead of a comma.

¹¹ FO maintain the main and longest-lasting project was *Biblioteche Circolanti*, a project echoing the ancient itinerant libraries, in which a selection of those books selected by four main writers, were available during FL and around the province after the festival. La *Biblioteca di Fantascienza*, a library with more than 1000 science fictions books; The

3.6 Festivaletteratura and local embeddedness. Knowledge conduits: networks and community

Having identified the most significant local relations of FL, the study will now move on to present related indicators of the embeddedness of the event within the region. Above all, the pivotal role of local firms as financial supporters of FL is already evident from the budget of the event. In fact, as reported in Figure 7, while public funding accounted for 62.1% of the budget of the first edition of the festival, in 2014 it accounted for just 11% of the total. In contrast, funding from the private sector rose from 27% to reach 75% in 2013 and according to the sponsorship manager, more than 60% of this percentage is given by local firms. This is the first significant signal of the high involvement of local entrepreneurs in the realisation of FL.

Figure 7: FL budget's history.



Data elaborated after Festivaletteratura, 2014

From churches to palaces, boats to theatres and squares, the involvement of the city spaces has increased as well. Actually, the first edition was formed by more than 100 initiatives and their number reached 333 events in 2013 with the use of 33 diverse venues around the city (Festivaletteratura, 2014). As remarked by interviewed policy makers and stakeholders, the involvement of public spaces marks the embedding of the festival in its region, along with the recognition of its value for the city. Furthermore, some interviewees see this attitude as an opportunity to reach new audiences and therefore by doing so, create a new narrative. As observed by the public actors and despite the general cutting of funds, if we also take account of the value of the expenses of opening, maintenance and security of the venues, FL remains the most funded event in the city.

In addition, some local opinion makers believe FL to be an important occasion for the exclusive openings of significant historical buildings that generally remain closed the rest of the year.¹²

Reading Circle, a moment during the festival in which to experiment the reading group; *Il Palazzo delle Fiabe*, formed by diverse readers of tales, started with FL 2014 and then ran across the province year-long.

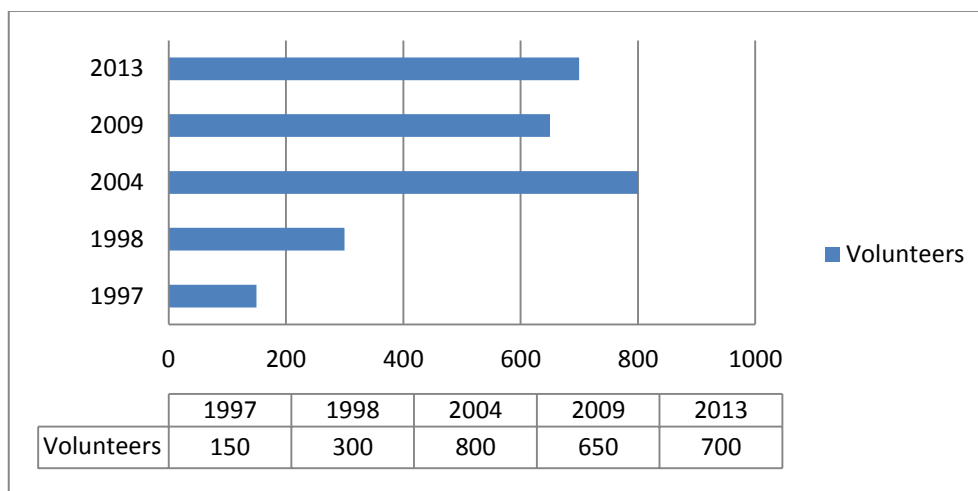
A third element that displays the rootedness of the festival, is the creation of community volunteers as one of the main outcomes of both buzz and local embeddedness, representing also an interesting input and output.

“Volunteers are Festivaletteratura’s body and soul” (FL website)

Named *Magliette blu*, young volunteers revealed to be a key actor of FL as both festival makers and knowledge sources. Mostly young people, they come from all over Italy to cover a plethora of roles divided per sector: box office, information, costumers service, children’s events, logistics and set-up, flying squads, drivers, escorting foreign authors, photographers, video operators, online editorial office and *Blurandevu*. *Blurandevu* consists of a series of events completely managed by volunteers who are in charge of introducing guests, asking questions, taking care of breaks and music, and also open a limited debate with the audience. The young volunteers interviewed declared that this was a unique opportunity to develop their skills and know-how, as well as an occasion for liaising and interacting directly with people from the intellectual world.

The significant growth in the number of volunteers shown in Figure 8, reaching 700 people in 2013, may be partly driven by the positive experience. Yet, on the other hand this growth is part of a general trend in Italy, as remarked in the analysis of De Luca and Galloni (2009) to which the FL formula has made a huge contribution (Guerzoni, 2008; Beccari, 2006).

Figure 8: Number of Volunteers across years.



Data elaborated after Festivaletteratura, 2014

According to the festival secretariat, around 60% of volunteers are from the Mantua province, an observation confirmed by De Luca and Galloni’s analysis although unfortunately not updated to now (2009).

Specifically, the first editions were connoted by local volunteers, as confirmed by the great majority of interviews.

“Festivaletteratura has the ambition to build up a community that remains. New volunteers of today are the children of those who worked on the first editions” Group A

3.6.1 Festivaletteratura, a public good or an exportable fair?

Generally speaking, the topic of reciprocity between local identity and cultural manifestations is often inflated and generalised and hence, the object of some debate due to the ineffable nature of the topic and the plethora of ways in which it may be built.

Within the analysed context, the word has emerged pre-eminently in terms of connection and correspondence between the festival's development and the local vocation. In this regard, the great majority of interviews perceive a direct and strong connection of FL with the local genius loci; whilst a minority considers the event as separated from the local context and hypothetically replicable elsewhere without big changes. Specifically, the connection with the local vocation is multifaceted in terms of cause; general wisdom allocates the main link to the prestigious cultural heritage of the city mainly related with the flourishing Gonzaga court and the fact of being the birth place of the Roman poet Virgilio as previously mentioned. Nevertheless, interviews with cultural opinion makers revealed a fertile intellectual background to the city that may have nurtured the genius loci to host and develop a prestigious literature festival. In these terms the pivotal element appears to be the presence of a consortium of young booksellers who had been developing several cultural activities since 1989, with the occasion of the above mentioned, exhibition *Giulio Romano* between Palazzo Ducale and Palazzo Te. This was in fact, considered quite unique in Italy at the time, representing an innovative and flexible way to organise events and share knowledge. Other vanguard philanthropic activities, spread over the '60s and the '80s, connected with intellectual outlets such as the philosophical magazine *Il Portico*, the *Eisenstein cinema club* and the *Galleria Einaudi*.

“Why Festivaletteratura in Mantua? For a plethora of intellectual trends as not institutionalised latent networks generating a fertile parterre. Everyone with its ‘island’ separate one another but forming a background for a successful festival” Group C

Albeit inherent, these activities were representative of a certain degree of the area's fertility for cultural consumption and production, as noticed also by Comedia's analysis (1994).

“What has Festivaletteratura prevented instead? It avoids the natural entropy of the city, it prevents the city withdrawing” Group A

These words express another side of the relationship FL has with the region in the attempt for recreate the lively and stimulating atmosphere of the Gonzaga court in the area for a short period. In fact, according to the founders of the event, the connection with the Gonzaga legacy is not conceived anymore as tangible, inflated Renaissance heritage. More significantly, it narrates the splendour and innovativeness of the court as one of the greatest cultural centres of that era.

Festival organisers imagined recreating the intellectual dynamism of the Gonzaga court in an important cultural hub by attracting some of the most talented contemporary artistic figures from all over Europe, injecting new ideas and knowledge by means of peer interactions and exchanges into the city. While most local actors recognise the effort of the festival in attempting to create something new with culture, and not merely related with the Renaissance heritage; there still remains a small minority who doesn't see a connection with the region. Stating for example:

“What will it change if Festivalletterature was in another city or in an exhibition hall? I dare say nothing, because literature is not linked with the local vocation” Group C

Other viewpoints see FL and its success as catalyst to give their citizens something to be proud of, as well as draw national attention. Nonetheless, part of the statements lament a lack in further initiatives aimed to maintain that atmosphere throughout the year.

Use of heritage venues

In this perspective, many share the idea that the new use of heritage venues with the occasion of FL and their exceptional opening, does in fact nurture their enhancement. Particularly, some respondents from group A and B affirm that the major added value is the unique occasion to change narration of places through new use and new consumers, and therefore, adding charisma. On the contrary, diverse opinion makers see the use of historical buildings or city squares as an auditorium, as diminishing their value for diverse reasons. Firstly, for the deprivation of the content of its shape and secondly, the large audience doesn't allow a full and complete consumption of the location. Thirdly, the presence of big tents for temporary structures seems to spoil the aesthetic ensemble and harmony of the centre. As previously explained, the focus on this topic guided the research in deepening the theme within the survey. Responses of the latter seem to confirm the first position. In regards to the high involvement of city venues, as synthesized in Table 7, generally the great majority of respondents, 89.02%, strongly agree that the use of non-ad hoc locations as festival's venues may nurture the enhancement of the cultural heritage, whilst only 2.4% believe that it valorises the heritage only to a small extent. Similarly, 80.49% agree that alternative locations can stimulate a lot of new interplays of actors.

Table 7: The use of heritage locations of FL.

Category	Topic	A lot	Quite	slightly	Not at all	None	Resp.
Involvement of a hive of locations	Enhancing the region and its heritage	89.02%	8.54%	2.44%	0.00%	0.00%	82
	Allowing new interactions between spaces and audience	80.49%	14.63%	3.66%	1.22%	0.00%	82
FL and its region	FL represents the good of the city's heritage	87%	10%	3%	0%	0%	82

Data elaborated after the survey

Table 8 presents the same snapshot with specific cross-tabulation between respondents born and living in the city and the rest (born in Mantua but living abroad, born abroad but living in Mantua and from abroad).

In this perspective, some diverse factors emerged although most appeared to be going in the same direction. In fact, we can see how generally people from abroad view the relationship in a more positive manner, between the high number of people and the consumption of cultural venues.

Table 8: The use of heritage locations of FL, a comparison between people from Mantova and others.

Category	Location	A lot	Quite	Slightly	Not at all	Total
FL represents an input for commercial and economic activities	Mantua	1.9%	20.4%	44.4%	29.6%	100.0%
	Others	10.7%		35.7%	53.6%	100.0%
	Total	4.9%	13.4%	41.5%	37.8%	100%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.844 ^a	4	.012
Likelihood Ratio	16.652	4	.002
N of Valid Cases	82		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .68.

Data elaborated after the survey through *SPSS Statistics Software*

The tendency to see the use of diverse venues in a positive way is also reinforced by the further open answers/opinions on the topic in which respondents generally express positive feelings.

“I find it really stimulating when unconventional venues that usually are closed to public are used for the occasion. Over the years this use has allowed me to feel more and more part of my city and to be proud of it with friends and contacts not from here”

“I think that thanks to FL, you can know palaces you wouldn’t otherwise have known. Therefore it plays as a catalyst for the local valorisation”

Additionally, in the final section of the survey while analysing the relationship of FL with the regional capital, the great majority of respondents, 87% strongly agree with the statement that FL is a positive representation of the local cultural heritage. 10% agree with the statement while only 3% of them agree only in part.

3.6.2 Improvement of the professional life

“Festivaletteratura spreads some seeds and inputs allowing a more prolific cultural consumption not only into the city, but also out of its borders thanks to volunteer experience” Group V

“Some of our former volunteers of logistics are now civil engineers; some from the editorial staff are working in prestigious newspapers, others founded their own projects, some others are now working for my gallery¹³”
Group A

Volunteers and former volunteers’ discussions seem to confirm this statement. In fact, during the interview and when filling the survey, they reveal the importance the initiative had on their growth from both a private and professional perspective and also, how it contributed to their staying in the city. Even those now, while their roles may not be directly connected with the festival, have stressed the importance of their volunteering experience in developing new skills, strengthening relationships with work colleagues, and also to remaining linked with the region:

“The festival atmosphere has been a pivotal element for our future profession to connect to each other, arouse our enthusiasm and moreover, to teach us the editorial profession; but at the same time it also helps us to avoid shying around, to be fast in problem solving and furthermore, to improvise and invent” Group V

As evident from this last statement, the development of professional skills and working competence on a more general level is an interesting issue emerging from the research. In this line of reasoning, different ex-volunteers had found a job in the city within local cultural institutions thanks to their previous experience and the skills it has enabled them to develop.

This idea is confirmed by the survey responses. Specifically, the penultimate section investigates on the impact of FL on private and professional life and positive responses are related with a general improvement of one’s own education and knowledge. These latter points are viewed as strong outcome by 59% of respondents and as a moderate outcome by 33%.

3.6.3 Incentive for the development of new projects and activities

Interviewees drew attention to the presence of activities and projects within the region connected with the presence and action of FL, which did not emerge in the first analysis. As declared by the organisers, some originated directly from the festival experience while others were stimulated indirectly. Several of them are still running as a permanent cultural hub with activities throughout the year.

¹³ Corraini: art gallery and publishing house internationally renowned

“Thanks to the experience with the editorial staff, I have learned how to run a cultural event and how to communicate its context through new social media. So I decided to try to start a small literature festival in my city, and it has now reached the third edition. I have chosen to select new media and literature as the topic of my academic research” Group V

“During the first decade of 2000 the municipality tried to launch the city as “the city of festivals” by means of supporting many cultural initiatives and initiating new ones following the example and success of FL. Some of them haven’t overcome the general crisis and cuts in funding, while others are still running and have created interesting communities and audiences.” Group C

“Our project was launched 10 years ago and it has truly started from the example that Festivaletteatura gave to the city. With the idea that certain kinds of initiatives were possible here, [...] I think FL has been very productive in generating a legacy from this perspective and it has stimulated a lot. Furthermore the majority of our staff were festival volunteers” Group C

Another interesting point is that over the years, the archive of FL has gradually become a permanent office with several employees. On top of that, there has recently been a launching of projects in partnership with diverse national high schools to promote its heritage through the creation of digital monographs.

“FL has given to the local community a common project in which everyone is involved, in any case both enthusiastic supporters and sceptics suffering for the overcrowded city. And I think the city really needed it, that’s why it is working” Director of reading groups.

3.7 Oneway Pipelines

Finally, this section attempts to also clarify the role FL plays as a node in international networks and with other festivals sharing the same aims. This is the case, in particular with the *Hay Festival* of Hay on Wye and of the *Internationales Literaturfestival* of Berlin. In the last decade, the three events have developed diverse projects aimed to promote and trigger the flow of knowledge and pollination amongst diverse languages and countries by means of itinerant activities, a young writers tournée, books and seminars¹⁴.

Scritture Giovani is the most successful and long-termed activity shared by the three events, which has ran since 2002 as a European Union Cultural Programme aimed at discovering and promoting young new literary talent in Europe. Every year, three young authors under the age 32 are selected from different linguistic backgrounds (English, Italian and German) and requested to write short stories specifically for the project. These stories, then translated in the three languages, are published in a book that is presented by the authors at each one.

¹⁴ Another interesting European project is *Vocabolario Europeo* dealing with the peculiarities of the languages and the important of preserving them, therefore it is aimed to collect peculiar or vernacular words of a specific European region that has to be chosen by young writers and described in their own language and then translated

Therefore it provides the first opportunities for emerging talents to introduce themselves to a wider international audience, as expressed by management. Together with the three festivals, the Illy Café Foundation played a major role in triggering the initiative and was also a main sponsor of the event. In fact, Illy not only funded part of the initiative but since 2002, they have contributed by distributing *Scritture Giovani*'s books for free in all their bars worldwide. The idea, according to Illy, is to promote reading and literature as an informal means of leisure through its connection with the coffee bar atmosphere.

In collaboration with the three festivals in 2005, Illy also launched *Illystories*, in which established authors were invited to write stories around a specific topic with the aim to promote culture and reflections on public spaces. Widening the international and multidisciplinary nature of the project, Illy also involved some of the main International schools of graphics and design around the globe to design the book cover. Specifically, the Parsons School of Design (New York) was asked to draw "il viaggio"; the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs (Paris) for the "il caffè" and the EINA, Escola de Disseny i Art (Barcelona) (Illy Press, 2012). Although due to budget cuts, the cooperation of Illy with *Festivaletteratura* has diminished in the last few years to the role of coffee distribution. According to FL's sponsorship manager, the *Illystories* was an interesting case of a project shared by diverse countries and diverse kinds of actors by means of knowledge exchange, international linkages and mutual trust along with the circulation of new stimuli and ideas.

Members of the committee are inclined to interpret these local and international connections, as the most important sources of new knowledge creation and vitality of the event. Despite these fascinating international linkages and their integration into the programme of the event, it is difficult to trace how pollination processes from the global pipelines feed the local 'buzz' and furthermore, produce innovative outcomes.

3.8 Conclusions

Themes debated in this chapter shed light on a hive of important sedimented relationships of FL both on a local and an international level and they are distinguished by sharing a common project and the aim to generate innovation. In this line of reasoning, *Festivaletteratura* can be conceived without any doubt, as a manifestation embedded within its local context and perceived by the majority of stakeholders as an occasion to grow and to enhance the local milieu. Nevertheless, the local relationships are mainly based on specific topics or projects that focus on the cultural development and revitalisation of the region through continuous research and improvement of cultural production. Consequently, there is a lack of institutionalised and explicit connections hence leading the present networks failure to create strong relational values generated by diffused interdependencies among actors. On the contrary however, these relations seem to be built around a shared general vision of culture and specific isolated projects.

We can conclude that *Festivaletteratura* presents a diverse and rich knowledge source whose interactions appear to be based on mutual trust, independency and participation. The resulting buzz effect is immense with a respect to fusion dynamics occurring during the event and in terms of the presence of a festival community shaped by the special atmosphere. Nonetheless, there is a lack of strong institutionalised networks built around the event in the region and some elements determining the local embeddedness of FL were identified.

For example, this is the case of the high contribution of local firms for the funding of the event, along with the support of public institution with the provision of venues. Additionally it creates a sort of temporal continuity between FL and the genius loci, this in turn reflects back to the legacy of the Gonzaga court in terms of the philanthropic approach towards the city bringing to the forefront the intellectual production at an international level. However, FL embodies, for better or for worse, the local industrious spirit in regards also to the Arts and the critic inclined to remain independent and isolated. Lastly, pipelines are developed by means of international projects with other European festivals. The current research couldn't find strong evidence for a high absorptive capacity of the local milieu which is an essential condition within the KS model to receive flows of new ideas and knowledge.

1. FL is not only a temporal static manifestation but perhaps and more significantly, a permanent hub in regional creative networks connecting diverse players both locally and internationally for specific thematic processes forming a community.
2. FL is not a significant determinant of local stakeholder's network creation but rather an important source of stimuli.
3. FL has contributed to develop and generate diverse soft factors potentially boosting innovation and regeneration.
4. FL has transmitted an innovative approach and a methodology in managing a cultural programme as well as liaising with external actors. This involves the design of new projects or the creation of premises and inputs to facilitate new activities along with a dense, varied and fluid network of stakeholders and partners
5. FL has triggered the rise of diverse projects in knowledge related sectors and therefore generating new connections among diverse actors; the creation of new jobs and exchanges; retention of graduates in the area, and a wider involvement of local firms in other cultural activities.

Overall, the city generates more isolated positive externalities instead of a holistic ecology of value. The lack of coordination and sound networks mirrors a lack of consciousness of the potential of the festival, which is confirmed by the paucity of research as well as public actions to stimulate and enlarge the event's effects on the region. Therefore, in order to engender broader policies able to trigger knowledge conduits and build an ecology of value, as our theoretical model suggests that it would be necessary to strengthen flexible local interconnections with tighter nodes and improved management of potential innovation in global pipelines, ensuring a constant and explicit flow of new ideas and stimuli.

CHAPTER 4

4 Pordenonelegge.it: civic and talented actors to trigger a regional brand

4.1 Chapter overview

As previously described in the chapter relating to the methodological approach, the exploratory analysis of *Festivaletteratura* made it necessary to compare emerged data from the field with those collected from another case sharing a similar commitment and environment beside some interesting variances. The literature festival *pordenonelegge.it* (PL) was identified as a suitable comparison.

This chapter will begin by introducing the general cultural context of the area housing the event in order to present the festival's roots and background. Data collected from field investigations are then analysed to describe the knowledge sources of the festival including the origin, organisation type and policy approach. Furthermore, the 'buzz' generated by the festival is described in terms of its effects on the region along with the degree of knowledge embeddedness and the 'pipelines' that connect the festival with other creative clusters. In accordance with the selected method of analysis, evidence from interviews and grey literature are illustrated together and quotes from interviews are used to describe key themes. In order to facilitate the interpretation, interviewees are organised into four main groups similar to those identified within the FL analysis, as reported below in Annex 3 in the appendices. Please note the following groups:

Group A: main figures behind festival's foundation, management and curatorship; Group B: local actors collaborating with the festival; Group C: local opinion makers, cultural figures; Group S: local firms and sponsors of the festival.

As opposed to the FL case, interviews were not reinforced by a survey as there was not a clearly defined target population of local actors in relation to the festival as there was in regards to the volunteers in the case of FL. However, with respect to the festival of Pordenone, interviews shed light upon a group of local writers who were acknowledged by many respondents as strictly connected to the event both in terms of input and output. Hence they were interviewed with the same structure of questions.

4.2 Introduction to the local context

Pordenone is located in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region in the North-eastern part of Italy and it is one of the five autonomous regions of Italy with a special statute. The province population is composed of 314,644 inhabitants, and specifically, the city of Pordenone has a population of 51,758 citizens (ISTAT, 2014). The local economy is dominated by industrial production and during World War I the city was considered one of the key territories involved. However, aside from the fact, Pordenone itself is not marked by any notable past events nor did it host any great dynasties. The Roman city of Pordenone, created after several agricultural settlements and villas, eventually became a port on the river.

In the 14th century, it was handed over to the Hasburg family and in the 16th century passed onto the Republic of Venice. However, scarred by World War I, the economy suffered extensively and it was not until World War II that the city was regenerated thanks in part to the military presence of NATO. Nowadays, similar to the area of Mantua, the zone is characterised by a very productive and entrepreneurial environment mainly represented by engineering and furniture sectors. Specifically, it houses three major industrial districts: the knife-making district in the area of Maniago, the furniture district of Livenza and the electro-mechanics district, which includes 25 municipalities in the provinces of Pordenone and Udine. Even though the city of Pordenone cannot boast such an outstanding architectural heritage as the World Heritage city of Mantua, the province of Pordenone has invested a great deal in culture and creativity in the last decade in order to change their previous industrial image while creating new sources of income by means of diverse strategies of regional marketing. In fact, innovation within the key industrial sectors represented a second major strategy of regional enhancement. It was during the 1990s that the chamber of commerce had a crucial role in this renovation stream and a special agency was created to oversee the plethora of cultural-led activities focused on the enhancement of the area. The efforts made by the Province of Pordenone to develop creative and cultural activities in the last decade is likewise confirmed by the numbers, in fact, according to Fondazione Symbola¹⁵ report (2015) the Province of Pordenone is the fourth main contributor to the national economy for cultural and creative activities. The study sustains that the cultural and creative industries of the province contribute 7.7% of the whole value added of the Productive Cultural System to the national economy and they occupy the fifth position in regards to their influence on employment (8.6%). Contributing to this cultural vitality of the city of Pordenone seems to be directly linked to the creation of events. The most established event is “Le giornate del cinema muto” internationally renowned as one of the world’s leading silent-film festival and has been promoted by the cultural association *Cinemazero* since 1980. Similarly, “Dedica”, running since 1995, is another famous civic event with each edition celebrating a specific person from the cultural world through a plethora of initiatives within the city. Moreover, the province has a great number of museums, including six civic museums, several of which focus on agriculture and the lifestyle of the farmer, as well as other eco-museums also highlighting the important relationship the region has with the environment. On top of that, music is a defining characteristic of the cultural scene in the area. Mainly related to the activity and legacy generated by the 1980s post-industrial music movement, *great complotto*, this vocation is epitomised by the presence of several music bands and six music festivals reunited under the project “vibration”.

According to involved stakeholders and secondary sources¹⁶ other major fields of local identity of the area are poetry and literature, as evidenced by the interesting number of local poets and prose writers. This trend is embodied by the presence of *pordenonelegge.it* (PL), the literature festival of the city is now considered as one of the main cultural assets of the province, “*representing a further demonstration of the dynamism and cultural entrepreneurship*” of the area, as stated by a consulted opinion maker.

¹⁵ Fondazione Symbola and Unioncamere analyse every year the overall national *Cultural System of Production*, which they established to be formed by 5 sectors: *Performing and Visual Arts; Management of the cultural heritage (libraries, museums, archives etc.); cultural industries; creative industries; creative-driven productions.*

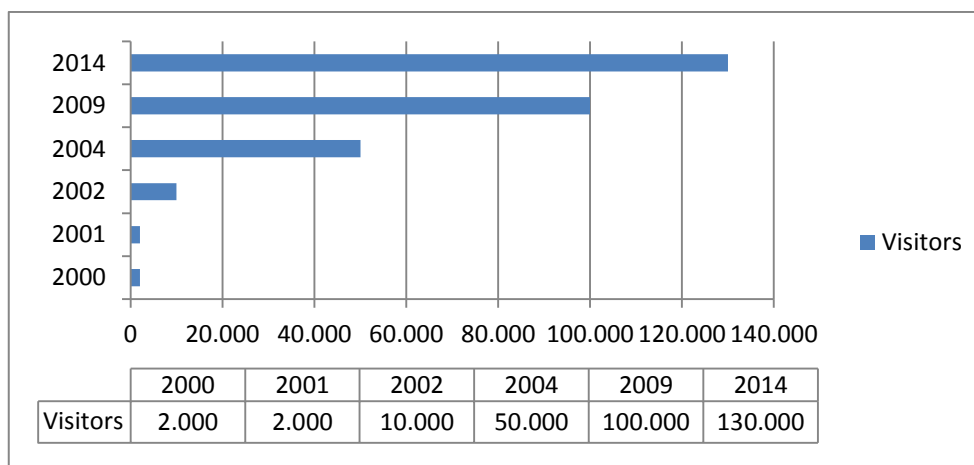
¹⁶ Lonely Planet, Friuli Venezia Giulia, 2014; Tassan Caser, Libri della Biblioteca, 2010

4.3 Origin of the festival, a top down initiative with creative individuals

Based on the cultural strategy developed by the special agency of the chamber of commerce, *pordenonelegge.it* (PL) was launched in September 2000 with clear objectives related to cultural regeneration, community development and civic pride. Within the framework of culture-led regeneration and similar to many festivals of that period, behind the festival launch there is a regional vocation for writing and publishing. Inspired by the book fair *Editexpo*, an existing event based on the local publishing industries, it served also as the example of the festival of Mantua. In fact, stimulated by the immediate success obtained from the latter, the director of the chamber of commerce (CCIAA) decided to move *Editexpo* from a conference centre to the historical city centre and converted its commercial allure into a knowledge-based ‘dialogue with writers’. The centrality and crucial role of the latter was immediately declared by the festival subtitle, *la festa del libro con gli autori* (the book festival with the authors) and reinforced the key role that writers have been playing within the manifestation throughout the years. The festival’s organisation and curatorship was at first entrusted to an external agency based in Rome that specialised in events management. However, due to a lack of expertise in the field, the first editions were not so successful despite the wide-ranging programme. Attracting a mere 2000 visitors and involving only two local cultural companies according to respondents from Group A, the major drawback of the first editions was the lack of connection between the local context in terms of topics, the actors involved and the overall narrative of the event. In addition, the absence of contribution on the part of the municipality constituted a further obstacle to local acknowledgement of the festival during its first editions. These opinions seem to be confirmed with the effective growth of the festival after the artistic direction was allocated to local intellectual figures. In fact, the third edition was conducted by a local figure who had a promising career as a writer and teacher.

The will to capitalise on the local surroundings clearly emerges as the major goal of the new creative direction. While increasing the number of cultural entities two in the first editions to 20 by 2002, also noteworthy, is the related increase in the number of visitors, jumping from 2,000 to 10,000, shown below in Figure 9.

Figure 9: PL visitors trend.



Data elaborated after Fondazione Pordenonelegge.it

Another shift in the curatorship occurred in 2004 when a new director was elected, Gian Mario Villalta who has been guiding the manifestation until now, joined by two other cultural operators, Alberto Garlini and Valentina Gasparet.

4.3.1 Local ties and return on investment

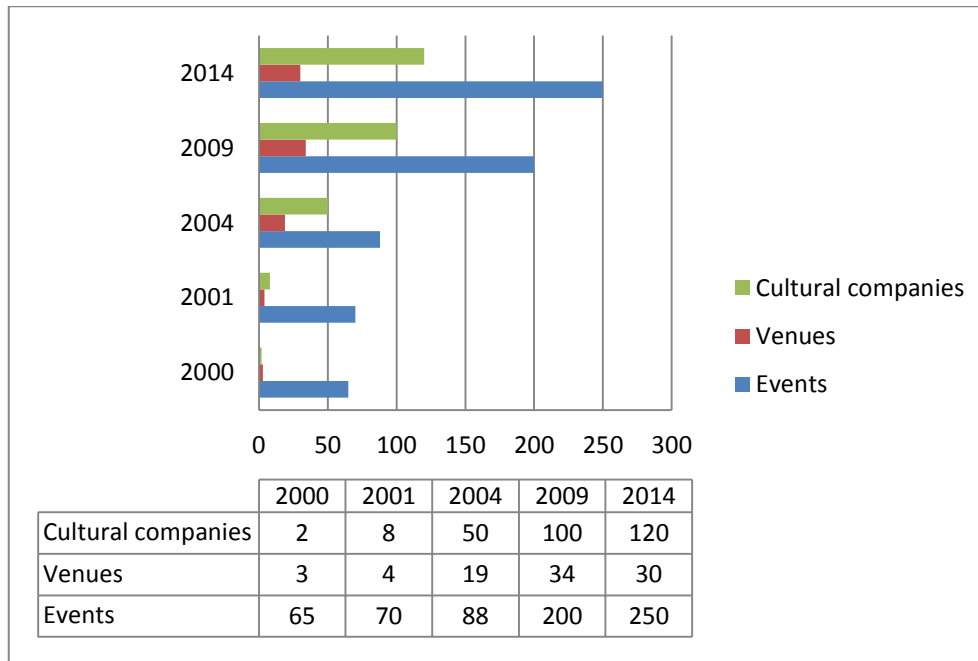
From this moment, curatorship and management have run in parallel both guided by the clear goal to integrate the festival's values with those of the local community and with the municipal authorities' objectives. Specifically, management and practical organisation have remained under the CCIAA special agency, which has progressively grown over the years and was turned into a foundation in 2013. It is now exclusively in charge of the festival organisation and establishments within the region and this shift provides the festival with a certain degree of autonomy while keeping it linked to a public institution. Three previously part-time employees have gradually enlarged their activity to the extent of which they are now employed as full-time by the festival foundation. The number of seasonal co-operators has also risen to between four to ten people depending on the workload. Simultaneously since 2004, the artistic direction attempted to create a programme as close to the region and its genius loci as possible, even though it was built around international figures. As remarked by the organisation, thanks to the public relations brought on by the new festival curators, from 2005 the event's media coverage leapt from local to national newspapers while serving as a spotlight on the event and consequently increasing the number of visitors.

Territoriality has thus become a major policy connotation of the festival, covering every aspect of its approach from the organisation to the relationship with supporters, and to the main projects undertaken.

In line with this, the festival founders declared that they planned to create an activity in hopes to generate an economic return of investment for firms linked to the CCIAA (chambers of commerce), while also bonding together the main public actors. Evidently enough, the major trustees of the event are also the main public actors of the region: from the second edition in 2001, municipality, province, region and of course the chamber of commerce became promoters of the project flanked by the main bank and the biggest cultural association *Cinemazero*. These attributes resemble those of the civic festival as described by Jordan (2014), whose main concerns are civic goals and whose "policy narrative that is most commonly used when discussing whether or not a festival should be supported is its positive economic impact" (Jordan 2014:9). Echoing this attitude, the high commitment of the civic chamber of commerce in terms of funding the event has meant that dissemination and research activities of the festival are predominantly focused on highlighting its economic benefits on the region. It may be argued that this attitude mirrors a common attempt to justify public sector funding and therefore triggering wider support as highlights by Hewison's thoughts on public festivals (2006). Nonetheless, within the latest analysis commissioned by the Fondazione Pordenonelegge.it to the Bocconi University (2015) a special section on social impacts was introduced.

This analysis¹⁷ presents some interesting results which will be partially disclosed within this chapter

¹⁷ The investigation is grey literature as it was officially presented to the festival's trustees on March 2015, during the second round of field observation of the present study.

Figure 10: PL Local involvement trend.

Data elaborated after Fondazione Pordenonelegge.it

4.4 Knowledge Sources: territoriality as the main connotation

Having analysed the general features of the festival, it may be argued that the main effort of PL is to celebrate and enhance the local capital as the basis of the event development; unlike FL, which has a more general aim of celebrating intellectual production and contemporary talents within the beauty of the city. Generally speaking, knowledge sources can be interpreted as the use of the production process to serve as an engagement device for different sectors of the community. The latter ranges in scale, from the directorship to the cultural guests and aside from the staff of the event, the content of the programme is deeply rooted into the local identity as well.

Particularly speaking however, the strong connotation of the area with prose and poetry writing has determined both the main issues of the festival narrative and it has served as a major source of stimuli and relations. This is the case for instance of the participation of local writers in the festival, they serve not only indirectly as gatekeepers in the guise of cultural guests but also directly as ‘gate-openers’ and active collaborators of the management of the programme.

“In 2005, along with others, I was requested by the creative director to invent something for the festival that he alone would not had been able to imagine. With all of us sharing a manifested passion for writing, we created a series of meetings based on the idea of performance as a way to celebrate reading and writing that we called “Fight Reading”, “Fight Writing”. These events within the festival are still ongoing and those young students that we once were, are now established writers or workers in the publishing industries field.” Group B

Therefore, writers represent both conduits and receivers of knowledge, thus forming a sort of concentric circle of knowledge surrounding the festival organisation.

“The fact of giving such wide attention to the local energies as an important part of the festival constructors influences the outcome through their redistribution at a local level”

Group B

Further, as declared by Group B, sources of inputs are represented also by the project “da vicino” a well-equipped group of events merging all of the projects coming from the region. The number of sources contributing to the programme reflects the willingness to be multi-faceted in topics and to enhance locality by means of a parallel international flows. Additionally as recognised by the curators themselves, the multidisciplinary of the festival programme reflects also the wide range of public and private bodies supporting the festival as trustees or partners. The resulting overall tone hence appears as a mixture, blurring niche productions and more popular works in order to provide something for everyone.

“Fiction and poetry are the main themes but we try to create as much intersection as possible with other intellectual media, for instance, music, theatre, cinema [...]. We are pre-eminently concerned with bringing to the festival and therefore to the city, what we think best represents the most up to date international issues without renouncing a hint of pop for our wide audience” Group A

Linked to the area appears to be the audience of the festival as surfaced from the Bocconi investigation (2015) in which 73.2% of respondents come from the Region (Friuli Venezia Giulia) and exactly, 62.2% from the province of Pordenone. In addition, the study highlights a strong attachment and loyalty to the festival as the 84% of interviewees declared they have indeed participated in several editions. Data suggests that the festival is perceived by locals as a community event and is part of their heritage. This place attachment is reflected also in the huge involvement that the festival has with city venues, as the spaces used as event locations now reach more than 30. The entire city, as described by many interviewees, is completely taken up with the occasion of *pordenonelegge.it*, during which “everything in the city is yellow, which is the festival’s colour”. Moreover, guided by a creative studio in charge of the corporate image of the festival, many areas of the city are transformed and relocated, therefore presumably stimulating a new positive image and a new narrative of themselves by being transformed for a short period from an urban place to a festival place (Montgomery, 2003; Van Aalst, Van Melik, 2012).

Figure 11: In 2013 the façade of an abandoned house was fully covered with the PL main edition posters on a yellow background



© Fondazione Pordenonelegge.it.

4.5 The festival organisation as orchestrator of the buzz

The diverse sources contributing to the festival knowledge creation suggest the existence of fusion dynamics during the event, from which they have gradually developed networks over the last years.

“The great majority of cultural operators have contributed to widening and strengthening the diverse sections and I think this is a very rare phenomenon as the cultural world tends to usually act individualistically. Here instead, music, poetry, theatre and cinema cooperate to succeed”
Group C

The number of local relationships and connected projects have continued growing with a significant hike corresponding to the shift from a public institution to a private foundation and as previously stated, all entirely dedicated to the festival. The huge number of initiatives planned within this framework, termed as *tuttolanno* (all year) include events, courses, awards, tourist itineraries etc. According to the organisation, these activities are attended by a rising number of participants and therefore demonstrate how PL was able to meet a request coming from the city and the extent to which locals acknowledge the festival as a permanent actor within the region. As remarked by many, PL was able to generate an unprecedented common platform of coexistence, sharing and mutual support for entities operating in the cultural sector. This idea seems to be confirmed by the plethora of activities creating scattered dealings within the region in the form of bonds, as remarked by respondents of Group C:

“In connection with PL, we organise Scrivere il Cinema (writing the movie), a course aimed to incline students towards the cinematographic critic through a two-month training period to be concluded and awarded with the occasion of the festival. This initiative started as a local project but it has now reached a national level, it is supported by major sponsors and has generated national media coverage along with thousands of inscriptions.” Group C

“The organisation of PL was able to gather together, mediate and emphasise the excellences of the region. From schools to entrepreneurs, they have been brought to the forefront at a national and international level”
Group C

More specifically, the focus of the format is based on poetry and prose. Poetry stands out as the most significant topic by reflecting the interests of the artistic director who is a well-known poet at a national level. With the consequent know-how, relations and intellectual tradition he brings to the event, many actors involved consider it as a festival within the festival. This special attention is also exemplified by three main projects related to poetry held in the city from February to July in diverse locations. Another major legacy of the festival in the region can be recognised in the school *Pordenonescrive*: a creative writing course for 30 selected participants aimed to stimulate and encourage writers to emerge through laboratories, workshop and brainstorming.

Many of the interviewed local opinion makers emphasised the effort made by festival’s organisers and curators to create solid connections and bonds amongst the local entities in the attempt to bring the entire region to the forefront through the festival.

“PL was able to allow those unexpressed demands from the region to come to light and to create a system involving every institutional actor. This approach has strengthened the festival and the city is proud of it” Group C

From what has emerged so far, we may conclude that the festival has implemented a top down strategy to activate connections with local entities. Therefore, they appear in the form of solid bonds forming dense concentric circles surrounding the festivals.

4.5.1 Bonds and community creation incentivize local actors to emerge

As underlined by the words of local stakeholders and festival organisers, the sense of community generated by the development of solid connections seems to be similarly perceived by local actors as the major source of stimulus to develop creativity and talent. In fact, local authors and writers involved in the programme definition declared a feeling of community generated by the gathering of people who share the same intellectual commitment, a perception that has incentivized their inherent aptitudes to emerge. On top of that, the involvement into the festival network contributed to their connectedness with a second layer of relations, as national publishing houses and international writers.

“The festival represents my leap from being a ‘writer for myself’ to a writer ‘for an audience’, which I consider the first substantial step towards becoming a writer” Group C

“For me, PL has represented, above all, the discovery of a community which recognised the effort of a guy attempting to write. What’s more, it was an occasion to meet other people sharing my passion, desires and difficulties which make the place very stimulating” Group C

In addition, the creative school *pordenonescrive* has become increasingly rooted in place observing a rising success. The informal context of production and creativity the school generates is recognised as an influential factor in the remarkable number of local writers published at a national level.

“There are at least 10 local writers published at a national level, all of which, have lingered around the festival for many years reframing the relationship between the festival and the authors” Group B

The fact that writers feel part of a community, though not specifically composed of authors, is an element that seems to relate to the great charisma of the artistic director who, being a poet, is very keen on writers. In fact, it is a common idea that the artistic director is not only the mastermind of the festival but a switcher of related networks. Specifically, many respondents highlight his major role in elevating poetry as a major aspect of the festival. Indeed, poetry seems to permeate the programme and activities with specialist events during the year, awards and also a national census of young Italian poets. Know-how related to poetry came to form the basis of shared projects and external links with other entities at a national and international level.

This is viewed as an exceptional result when acknowledging the difficulty of the sector and hence the ability of the director in promoting it.

“It was the artistic director who was able to generate activities all year long around poetry, notably a very difficult sector, which he made alluring to everyone”. Group C

For the sake of clarity, although there is unanimity regarding the importance of the artistic director and his role as the main switcher channelling this local buzz, some opinion makers critically interpret the generated connections as perhaps too invasive and mono-directional, flowing predominantly from the festival to the region and not vice versa. An idea considered by many as a matter of fact and by others, as a major drawback.

“There are plenty of manifestations but they don’t generate processes within the region because they are all implemented by the same actor” Group C

“I believe that everything is monopolised by a unique author who is not interacting horizontally with the others but vertically in a sort of ‘intellectual autism’, therefore it is more difficult to generate innovation”. Group B

“The amount of brilliant, generated activities in parallel to the festival were always planned in a unique direction, from the festival to the region” Group C

“They are scared to death by the idea that someone may lay a hand on their garden” Group C

“Let’s see whether the foundation of the festival will work for the region or will it progressively absorb all the energies and funding available at the detriment of others associations” Group C

Conversely, other respondents from Group S remark the open attitude of FO to having a new potential interlocutor or partners both at a formal and informal level.

“We can consider the festival’s growth as absolutely positive for the region due to the effort they made in widening the influence, but I think that now, they should start to balance more carefully their resources”. Group S

In light of this evidence, we recognise the fact that a number of exchanges and relationships within the region were effectively triggered by the festival’s presence or planned by the festival organisation. However, either the perspective above outlined, demonstrate the subjectivity of these relations, occurring only under certain circumstances and towards some determined actors. Thus, it seems that the ability of local players to act within the festival’s ‘buzz’ is still restricted by the structure of the latter. Probably, the effort FO made to plan and structure the involvement of the region while generating solid bonds around the festival, have in turn hindered the development of informal and spontaneous interactions

4.6 Top down embeddedness

The preceding analysis touched on contrasting opinions regarding the way relationships with the local capital are implemented or guided from the festival to local stakeholders. Although the connection with the city was a declared goal of the festival since the beginning, the involvement of the region has progressively grown over the years. In fact, as acknowledged by Group A, the festival was aimed mainly to increase exposure and return of investment for business owners, it has gradually been conceived as an occasion to build a tight and solid network. In this perspective, the range of local actors directly involved in the festival has progressively grown, ranging from young writers curating specific events of the programme to a group of 120 cultural entities promoting activities under the name of *da vicino*. Moreover, throughout the years there have been a lot of on-going initiatives relating to the culture and literature promoted under the ‘label’ *Pordenonelegge.it*.

The relationship with sponsors

On top of that, despite the solid financial basis guaranteed by the manifestation from the public sector, the festival approach and success triggered local firms to participate as supporters. Regional companies now represent a major source of income, equal to the 40% of the total budget. Additionally, some of them may exert also a considerable influence on the festival and are involved in the co-creation of the sponsored projects, as maintained by group S.

Table 9: PL Budget, 2014.

Admission prices	free
Public	34.2%
CCIAA (institutional partner)	25.4%
Private	40%
Tickets	/
Budget	868,612 (2015)

Data elaborated after Pordenonelegge.it, 2015.

Interviewed sponsors find the reason of their involvement is driven by the desire to support a well-rooted, regional cultural project that is acknowledged by the population as part of the city's identity. Moreover, they remarked on the proactive collaborations with PL as a stimulus for their activity on diverse levels by triggering new ideas and solutions, representing a means of transmitting innovation, by mediating and transferring projects and ideas developed with PL to other contexts and actors.

The fame of the festival within the region also seems to influence the reputation of the sponsors, who, in some cases, said that the communication campaign about the partnership with PL was followed by an increase in the number of spontaneous candidacies. Unlike FL, where contents and rules associated with a sponsor are pre-eminently established by the festival management, sponsors, in this case, PL utilizes a very participative form of sponsorship allowing them to propose topics, guests and projects that often run throughout the year.

As confirmed by the great majority of interviewed actors who consider the event as part of the local identity, these outcomes appear cogent of the integration of the festival within the regional context.

Volunteers as co-workers

Another key element confirming this reflection is the festival's policy approach to volunteers. The latter, named as *Angeli custodi* (Guardian angels) (AC), started with six people in the first edition and are now in 200 volunteers from the surrounding area. As surfaced from the interviews with organisers, seniors and former volunteers, the local origin and retention seem to be the two main concerns in terms of volunteer management and organisation. For this reason, there has been a conscious decision to involve no more than 200 people, fewer compared to FL or many other similar events (Guerzoni, 2012), in order to prioritise local actors, their education and loyalty across years of volunteering. In fact, every year there are fifty new volunteers while the remaining 150 from the previous edition receive a small fee and are treated as co-operators. Therefore, self-responsibility and official engagement decrease the need for gaming and creativity as a tool to implicate volunteers as co-creators. As opposed to FL, the AC are not entrusted with assisting the editorial staff or the media coverage but instead are responsible for a range of tasks relating to the logistics and management of people flow, in the guise of welcoming the authors to organising audience access to event. The consequence of this vastly diverse approach is that, throughout the years, PL has not created a community of volunteers, unlike FL. The latter in fact is rooted in the relationship developed between the festival and its volunteers. Field observations and interviews depict an image of FL as a sort of summer training camp, where

everybody shares the same dormitory, canteen, work spaces while living together for a week and learning a plethora of festival related tasks. This experience provides volunteers with a sense of independence from one's family along with a feeling of importance while performing the tasks at hand and by interacting with new people from around the globe. Volunteers of PL in turn, work for their city from home and therefore do not experience the excitement of a campus or the 'buzz' provoked by so many young people living the same experience. However, the fact of receiving a small salary for their contribution in realising a huge city project does indeed generate a new sense of responsibility and involvement. In fact, discussions with some AC clearly reveals that this experience has affected their personal and professional growth in a positive way, from the development of communication and managerial skills, to working in a professional setting with related clients and networks.

"Working with PL helped me a lot, it has taught me become more confident with myself and to show off my personality. The main reason why I've continued to co-operate with PL for several years is the fantastic problem solving attitude they have". Group B

The main service providers of the festival from video coverage to corporate image, are also locally based and thus reflect their approach to outsource regionally, unlike *Festivaletteratura*, that handles the graphics internally and selects a different international artist every year to create the festival's cover. The willingness of PL's organisers to keep the region's economic benefits in mind by selecting local contractors was declared during the interviews as the basis for creating the foundation. This organisation type, as opposed to public ones, is allowed to select contractors independently instead of creating a tender notice at a national level.

Another emerging element marking the festival's approach to the region is their devotion to local schools, who are involved in a hive of initiatives both throughout the year and during the event, involving students in reading groups, writing competitions, thematic projects amongst others.

"PL invested a lot into involving schools and in turn, has been extremely pro-active. Indeed they should launch a specific Pordenonelegge.it-schools to include the large number of schools which will be willing to participate but have no room now." Group C

Overall, these findings reveal the high degree of local awareness regarding the importance of the festival action within the region. The trend finds confirmation in the aforementioned audience analysis (Pordenonelegge.it, 2015), showing that the festival atmosphere has triggered attendees to perceive the city spaces differently. Specifically, 69% of respondents said they perceive the space in a more positive manner and 77.7% of this group declared that they feel more integrated in the city and the surrounding region after the festival. The survey also revealed how this sense of community may have activated a major concern about culture, as 79.6% of respondents maintain that participating in the festival stimulated a personal involvement in enhancing and promoting the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. In addition, 73% feel more committed to promoting and supporting new local cultural activities.

As touched upon in the previous paragraph, if a major role in the development of the festival embedding within the region and the implementation of connections is planned by the organisation itself, for the sake of clarity, other findings also

highlight the key role of stakeholders in widening and influencing the festival's impact on the region as a whole. This is the case for instance of the main regional bank, which created diverse connections with PL along with other core cultural entities of the region. These are *Estoria*, the history's festival held in the city of Gorizia and the *Lucchetta* award which annually rewards the greatest national journalists. When put in perspective, these vehicles of exchanges and ideas contribute to the festival's embeddedness more than acting as external pipelines. Accordingly, FO now considers the whole region as part of the festival's "internal" landscape.

Therefore, we may conclude that the festival appears to be firmly rooted in place as confirmed by the plethora of solid bonds creating a concentric circle around it and anchoring and disseminating its activity across the region. Moreover, it is acknowledged by the social capital, in the guise of firms, volunteers and opinion makers, as a key contributor in the development of a new approach towards culture

4.7 Pipelines: poetry as a local brand

As a final step in the festival analysis, the present research attempts to identify and frame the nature and development of its current external relations based on intellectual commitment. Evidence related to this aspect appears relatively modest in comparison to those concerning local exchanges; however, we can recognise two main types of pipelines: those based on the exchange of specialised skills related to specific industries; and those grounding on the sharing projects or additional services amongst diverse institutions. The former seems to be the prevailing kind of link, entailing specific know-how and expertise related to poetry as outlined above. This is evident for instance with the *Salone del Libro*, the major Italian book fair held in Turin, which signed an agreement with PL to mutually promote each other. "A Torino Pordenone si presenta come città della poesia"¹⁸ (Pordenone presents itself in Turin as the city of poetry) as declared by the local newspaper. The nationally renowned expertise of PL in the poetry field not only extended to flourishing the city's identity but it also drove the festival to be entrusted in curating the poetry programme of the entire event of *Salone del Libro*.

Poetry has represented also the main conduit for other partnerships and relationships across the country as for instance with a number of publishing houses. On the one hand, we might be able to reconcile both the positive reflections shared by those opinion makers conceiving PL as a poetry-brand connoting the region while on the other hand, recognizing the negative standpoint that the niche connections based on a too narrow channel may preclude a wide national and international overture.

"I see the festival's growth as shifting from being a mere event to a cultural hub for the region and furthermore, an exportable brand outside our territory." Group B

However, PL also entails pipelines based on the sharing of common projects as shown by the participation in the European project on literature festivals *cross roads of European literature*, along with the *Cúirt International Festival of Literature*, Galway (UK), and *Vilenica International Literary Festival* (SL).

¹⁸ *Messaggero Veneto*, 13th May 2015

This experience will most likely be followed by a further international project within the creative Europe framework as declared by Group A, although no further details were provided. Despite the importance of these exchanges, building international relations was not seen as the main goal regarding the festival's development, instead organisers stressed the importance of celebrating the local genius loci by creating an international atmosphere. The lack of policy in this respect may have conditioned the preponderance of one-on-one exchanges over long-term projects thus bridging the local context with external organisations and regions. In addition, it was difficult to identify distinct impacts generated or provoked by these linkages within the regional buzz in terms of innovation related to the absorptive capacity of the locals. On the contrary however, at this stage, external relations appear pre-eminently oriented on exporting the brand outside rather than on creating a "cultural return of investment" in the region.

4.8 Conclusions

The analysis of evidence collected in regards to *Pordenonelegge.it* shows substantial differences between the event strategy and generated outcomes in respect to the FL case previously analysed.

Concerning knowledge sources, unlike FL, which has a fluid and unstructured hub, PL presents a clear distinction of roles between the operating organization, the former public actors who are now employees of the foundation, and the definition of intellectual contents entrusted to an artistic director flanked by two curators. In contrast to FL, which has relatively fluid and weightless relations, the density and extensiveness of the connections activated by PL can be imagined as diverse concentric circles around the festival.

Amongst the various layers, as disclosed by the field analysis, the event is composed of connections involving the community of local gatekeepers in the guise of writers, authors and cultural actors, representing both co-creators of the event and conduits of ideas and inputs from other networks. Conversely to FL, in the great majority of cases these relations appear to be well framed and established. Although there are several projects activated in the region that contribute to the festival buzz, it was difficult to identify networks and activities directly or indirectly linked to the festival that had been generated spontaneously.

The growing number of local relationships may therefore be read on the one hand, as a clear sign of the increasingly effective embeddedness of PL in the region. While on the other hand, noting the plethora of knowledge channels that increase the festival's influence on the region resemble knowledge distributors flowing from the festival towards the external environment. However, there is also a wide range of involvement from public and private actors in the form of trustees, partners, supporters and collaborators, which may be seen as representing the second concentric layer around the event. Yet, findings also reveal an interesting regional specialisation in intellectual production, expressed especially in the form of writing, both poetry and prose. In the province of Pordenone, this characteristic may be symbolised by the presence of at least ten writers published at a national level, whose career was in many cases, influenced by diverse opportunities generated by the festival. Furthermore, field evidence reveals external connections occurring pre-eminently at a national level in the form of an intellectual service providing an informal or formal flow of ideas and innovation.

Therefore we may summarize the main emergent features of PL as:

1. Since its launch, PL has shifted from being a single event to being a permanent actor within the regional context operating in the field of cultural promotion.
2. The key issue in determining the festival's success is the presence of an artistic direction well embedded in the region, able to convert social capital and informal networks into professional collaborations, and therefore generating an ecology of value involving many local actors.
3. The festival is a key switcher in the creation of a dense network of local players that was strengthened and enlarged over the years. However, the injection of stimuli appears to restrict itself to direct involvement in projects and the creation of a creative and positive atmosphere.
4. PL has contributed to implementing and developing a hive of projects and activities spread throughout the year and throughout the region to promote literature and culture, and on a more general level, as sources of innovation and cohesion.

The know-how of curators along with their relationships and the networks generated, helps to spread the festival's fame abroad, mainly as a poetry brand, favouring diverse external bonds based on intellectual service provision.

The top down approach has indeed generated a plethora of positive relationships amongst cultural entities as well as between public and private actors, thus overcoming some pre-existing barriers and bridging a gap in the region. The ecology of value appears to be dense and formed by tight nodes, which, as suggested by the theoretical model, are certainly a pivotal precondition to generate innovation and represent the positive effect of knowledge spillover. Nonetheless, it is difficult to identify positive externalities spontaneously generated within the city ascribable to the festival's activity. Hence, we may deduce that wider bridging connections and more extemporaneity would have probably allowed the emergence of further ideas and projects from the region through processes of knowledge spillover.

CHAPTER 5

5 Discussions and Conclusions

“Not everything that counts can be counted, and not everything that can be counted counts” attributed to Albert Einstein.

This sentence was considered particularly suitable to introduce the final section of the present research. The whole study is grounded in a qualitative approach attempting to ‘measure’ the intangible process of knowledge transfer. Nonetheless, we have shown that knowledge transfer can trigger innovation in the previously mentioned regions. Therefore, this section will present the main effects generated after the knowledge produced by a festival is circulated, and we also propose a model to recognise and measure these processes.

The present research aims to investigate the extent to which a cultural festival may act as a catalyst for regional development by generating positive externalities and while nurturing a virtuous circle of knowledge spillover. Following a theoretical reinterpretation, we approach festivals as creative hubs that gather, process and disseminate knowledge from the region and from external networks in order to accumulate local capital. Therefore, an input-output model was generated to frame these processes and to guide an exploratory case study analysis as a basis to test the assumptions and further develop new reflections on the subject. Consequently, as remarked in the methodological chapter, the model came to represent both a framework through which to collect evidence from the field and a research objective in itself.

Briefly, as described in Chapter 1, the concept guiding the model is that knowledge production and cross fertilisation, amongst diverse actors related to the festival, may generate a cyclic process engaging four phases of development producing a knowledge spillover effect. Namely, the four phases of knowledge development are: knowledge sources, buzz, embeddedness and pipelines and these are expected to constitute a circular process flowing from implicit to explicit knowledge and from local to global scales. The sources of knowledge were estimated to be formed by the many input factors already existing in the festival region and which have an influence on the creation of the festival and its production of knowledge. Therefore, knowledge sources represent the starting point of the circular process and can be shaped by a KBF to develop local ‘buzz’. It is formed by interactions and cross fertilisation amongst the diverse knowledge sources through planned and unplanned activities involving several stakeholders. This type of buzz needs to be embedded in the region to connect the produced understanding with local identity. The level of embeddedness may be determined from the range and origin of stakeholders, the number and importance of institutional relations within the territory and lastly, the extent to which locals acknowledge the event as part of their heritage. Finally, pipelines are key elements in assuring that this knowledge is distributed at a global level. Bringing new information into the local context from external clusters and allowing the creation of knowledge sources that feed the local ‘buzz’ and to further the virtuous cycle. The development of this tool results from the grounded theory approach outlined in the methodological chapter and based on the constant comparison of theories with

emerging data. The latter were collected from an exploratory case study followed by a comparative case.

The exploratory case was selected on the basis of its temporal continuity, its cyclical nature, and its level of involvement of the region. From urban spaces to local actors and stakeholders, these criteria guided us to select *Festivaletteratura* (Mantua, Italy) as the main case to explore since it is considered well-settled within its region and within the national context, well-defined, and it is claimed to generate considerable benefits in terms of local capital accumulation. *pordenonelegge.it* on the other hand, despite having some distinct features in terms of organisation type and public cultural policy, was designated as the most similar environment to that of FL in terms of size, regional vocation and festival age and topic. Moreover, while guided by different types of actors and not linked to any specific investigation regarding the cultural benefits generated, these two festivals seem to have emanated from similar strategies of cultural-led regeneration. In fact, as we reported in the respective chapters, both festivals have commissioned research on their economic impact but neither are aware of their influence on the knowledge economy, echoing a shared attitude by festival organisers worldwide (Richards, 2014). Findings emerged from field research on *Festivaletteratura* reveal a lack of consciousness of both festival organisers and public actors regarding the key role the festival plays within the creative context and its contribution in triggering innovation and stimulating new projects. Indeed, the festival is increasingly independent from the influence and support of public institutions, which may have conditioned relationships both with the local actors and organisations outside the region. These links are primarily based on flexible ties that rely on specific topics or projects. Hence, the external relationships may be interpreted as bridging connections in the sense of having a high potential for innovation but lacking institutionalised and explicit channels to transfer innovative ideas. On the contrary, since the very beginning, *pordenonelegge.it* has attempted to evolve from being simply a moment in time, to being a permanent public player within the regional context by involving the main local actors and operating in the cultural promotion. Consequently, it has generated bonding connections within the region by forming a dense network of local players that has strengthened and enlarged over the years. The downside being that there is a lack of spontaneous and informal relations, which are pivotal conditions in developing local buzz. However, to a certain extent, both the manifestations analysed came to act as permanent players in regional creative networks, implementing and stimulating connections amongst diverse players both locally and internationally.

In light of these findings, this chapter attempts to present the original contribution of knowledge and the significance of the research, along with problems and flaws by means of three main sections: discussions, conclusions and recommendations. The discussions section presents each of the model phases by comparing the main evidence of the two investigated cases. This process generates a new and evidence-based description of the model, presenting all the emerged indicators and their influence on related outcomes. This develops a more comprehensive framework for describing the cyclical nature of the knowledge transfer.

Following this, the conclusions section presents the findings and reflections conducted so far to answer the four original research questions germinated in Chapter 1, which are:

RQ1: How does an event embed itself in regional networks in temporal and spatial terms?

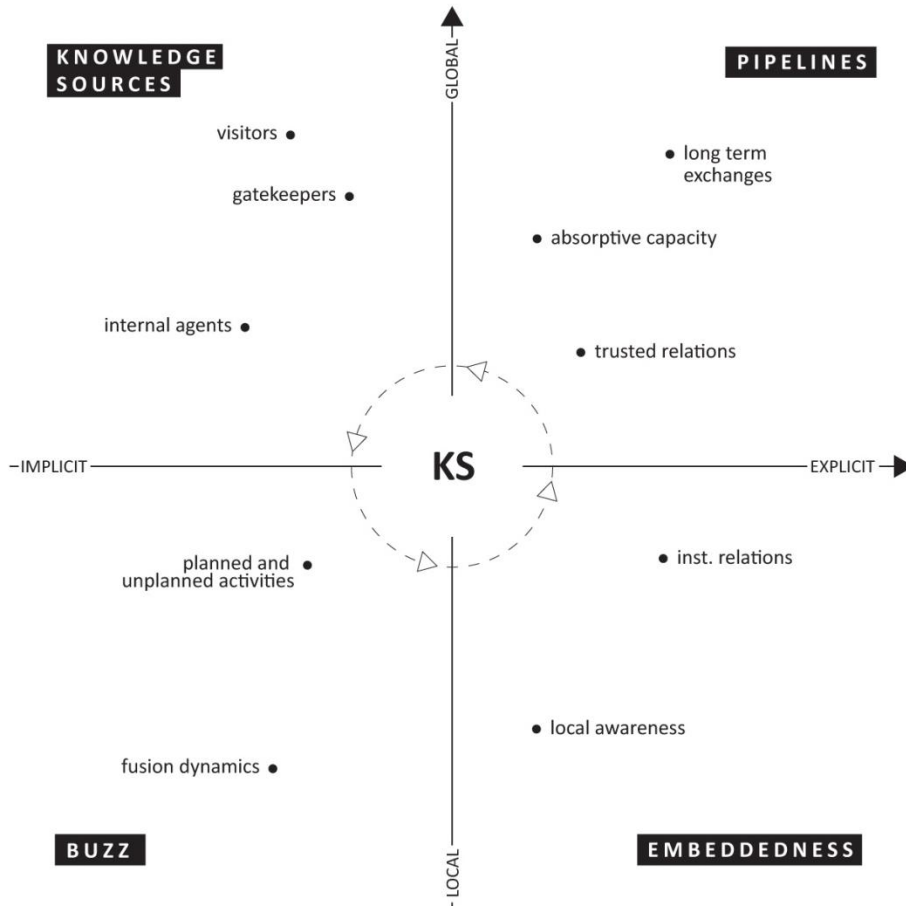
RQ2: Which processes contribute to generating knowledge spillover?

RQ 3: What are the knowledge spillover effects on the region?

RQ 4: How can we analyse and measure processes triggering these externalities?

Finally, the recommendations following the detailed description of the analysed phenomenon, meant as the original context (Shenton, 2004) attempts to assess the transferability of the research findings to other situations and research fields.

Figure 12: Theoretical model to analyse knowledge transformation and spillover.



Elaborated by the author

5.1 Discussions

5.1.1 Knowledge sources: local cluster activating networks

The comparison of inputs guiding the knowledge production of the two festivals firstly entails the analysis of the organisations involved. Although it is quite commonplace that festival organisers play a key role in ensuring festival success, its duration and sustainability, figures, rules and the organisation behind a festival origin and development, are not easy to frame in fixed indicators.

A general framework to define the main input at the basis of festival development is provided, as already remarked, by Jordan (2014), who organised these events into three major types: aesthetics festivals built around the centrality of the intellectual creation and its quality, commercial festivals based on the exchange of economic with symbolic values and lastly, civic festivals which try to coincide festival values with municipality representation and standards.

In accordance with this conceptualisation, *Festivaletteratura* (FL) may be considered an aesthetic festival for the centrality of the artistic vision and the unwillingness to reject it for business or political purposes. On the contrary, *Pordenonelegge.it* (PL) is more reminiscent of a civic festival with its clear attempt to address local policy agendas, integrate the festival's values with that of the local community and at the same time, acknowledging the needs of policy makers. FL can be synthesized as created by an intellectual input of a community formed by its founders while, conversely, PL may have built upon an intellectual experience to create a sense of community.

Following these overall characteristics, it is now important to compare more specifically the key internal agents of the two investigated festivals and the links between them. As touched on above, these actors have a key role in stimulating or even hindering the flow of specific kinds of knowledge.

Internal agents

As described in Chapter 3, FL is guided and managed by a collective artistic direction of eight individuals, various intellectual and creative local actors along with other collaborators, all organised in a branching and radiating structure whose main centre is constituted by the festival's creators and the related networks.

On the other hand, the programme development of PL is entrusted to an artistic director appointed by the organisation and assisted by two other curators, who is acknowledged as a key node in generating positive relations and outcomes for the region. Moreover, the support and entrepreneurship of public actors represents a key element for the festival development. In fact, empirical evidence shows that the growing rise of festival success was not determined merely by the creation of an artistic director himself as an orchestra leader, but more significantly by their close ties to the region and ability to network both locally and nationally. Hence the differences between the two cases are quite apparent in terms of organisational structure and variances from the conventional canon, which usually sees a festival organised by public institutions, charities or non-profit associations. Specifically in regards to Italian events, public bodies represent the most frequent legal framework guiding festival production (most often municipality or university) or a private one (Guerzoni, 2012). Instead, the crucial factor in determining the success and working principles of the two analysed manifestations is the presence of a charismatic leader.

This can be either a single artistic director or even a creative group, but they have to work simultaneously as a creative entrepreneur and as an orchestra leader, guiding an interplay of actors co-creating knowledge exchanges and codification. This trait conforms closely to the conclusions of previous studies on the conditions triggering knowledge spillover from a festival to a region (Migliaccio, Rivetti, 2012). Field evidence highlights the level of connectedness of the organisation with the region as a further key connotation of knowledge sources in order to favour the festival's development, establishment and embeddedness. These conclusions confirm Giorgi et al.'s (2010) compelling analysis of festivals, emphasising the key role of founders or directors with respect to the networks they activate and in terms of the intellectual traditions they bring to bear on their work.

In light of these reflections, we may argue that the key indicator to assure the development of a festival interpreted as a regional hub is the presence of a well-networked organisation that is able to manage the interplay of actors with charisma and connections.

FL, formed by a group linking creativity with autonomy, describe their decision making structure with keywords such as flexibility, liquidity, mutual trust, reciprocity, and a great readiness to accept inputs from others. They share the opinion that a flexible structure and informal way of interacting may allow everyone, from writers to volunteers, to play an important role and to feel part of the community. Conversely, PL has been marked since the beginning by a clear division between management and curatorship that is concentrated on territoriality and connections amongst local actors. The compact organisation structure of both events is a fundamental condition to ensure the disciplined and timely organization of the festival each year. This condition seems to be a frequent model within the creative industry (Kesidou, 2007).

According to FL organisers, this structure permits them to carry on with a niche innovative programme without renouncing their friendly environment.

As described so far, an organisation entrusted to intellectual local figures stands out as a crucial factor beyond that of an artistic direction for mediating between local spurs and external clusters. In this regard, gatekeepers understood as recurring intellectual figures, journalists, writers and publishing houses, play a focal role in forming nodes of connections from the festival to other cognitive networks. This vision echoes the reflection of Csikszentmihalyi (1999) on the need to obtain a social or scientific validation in order to transform new ideas into new knowledge. In this regard, he identifies gatekeepers as 'selectors' who make aesthetic decisions about cultural content. Practically speaking, gatekeepers linked to FL were defined as corresponding to a system of diverse authors and figures at a national and international level, whereas those relating to PL are pre-eminently represented by a local community of writers, teachers and journalists. However, in both cases they represent important conduits of human capital (Argawal et al., 2007) and therefore innovation. Following this perspective, both the internal agents and gatekeepers may perform as switchers activating latent networks or even generating new ones. In both cases, activators are part of a local cluster able to convert their social capital and informal networks into professional collaborations and exchanges. FL has had a long-term relationship with other similar international festivals and this provides a further layer of exchange and stimuli that is missing in PL.

Overall, the festival acts as a concentrator enabling latent knowledge sources to be activated and consequently enabling the buzz to become tangible.

5.1.2 Buzz: developing a creative hub through bridging and bonding connections

The diverse sources of knowledge and exchanges that have emerged through various interviews partially confirms the prior hypothesis regarding a network of relationships producing a context with a high experiential content favoured by both the high symbolic value and by the mutual interactions of producers and consumers. In this vein, the festival committee have stressed their attempts to create alternative forms of interaction and consumption of culture within the manifestation. Therefore, the event presence allows the coalescence of internal and external knowledge sources, which in turn, acts as a framing mechanism for the production of 'buzz'. As previously explained, the notion of buzz drawn from learning organisation theories (Bathelt et al., 2004; Pilotti, Ganzaroli, 2009; Lazeretti, 2008), build on clustering theories, highlighting the importance of co-location, path dependency, complementary resources, shared conventions, and institutional arrangements along with experiences and routine (e.g. Murdoch, 1995; Maskel et al., 1998). Amongst the plethora of connected actors and activities, what is most important for understanding knowledge aggregation, is the structure of interactions as was maintained by Marshall (1927), which in turn influences the stream of inputs circulating and the means of absorption. In line with these perspectives, our evidence sheds light on the crucial role of knowledge sources in the framing mechanism for buzz. The following section will describe not only the structure of interactions occurring within the two festivals but also their related outcomes.

Structure of interactions

As our findings reveal, both of the analysed milieus generate buzz through the creation of a festival environment. Not only through the physical event itself but also through the virtual platform that represents a 'third space' where networks can be improved by means of increasing nodes (people) or connections.

If comparing the kind of communication and information linkages developed from knowledge sources, FL is characterised by spontaneous and unforeseen interactions in the guise of a plethora of loose, non- institutionalised projects and agreements with local stakeholders, which potentially mutate year after year.

According to Brusco's reflection (1990), informal and flexible contexts are more likely to stimulate collaboration amongst practitioners as opposed to standardised protocols. Hence, the festival provides a framework with ample space for innovation and ideas to flow yet perhaps hinders the sedimentation of interactions and the circulation of knowledge. On the other hand, PL is mainly surrounded by institutionalised alliances resulting from a deliberate policy approach of the festival organisation. These relationships constitute strong bonds that form a dense web around the festival in which actors appear to be closely connected to one another. Echoing Lazeretti's reflections on the dynamics of creative clusters (2008), the structural variances between the two investigated events are heavily dependent on knowledge sources related not only to industrial or institutional creativity, but also to professional creativity and creativity of places fuelled by contextual factors and relational factors.

Related outcomes

The flexible and fluid interactions amongst actors with complementary resources connoting the buzz of FL, generate a twofold transmission of stimuli and know-how. In the first place, they create the premises and conditions to allow for intellectual consumption to be more accessible and desirable to actors operating in different sectors. Secondly, it spreads expertise and skills to stakeholders along with the ability to produce, manage and sustain a complex activity dealing with diverse layers and subcontractors. These two conditions together seem to have triggered a wider philanthropic approach of firms operating in the region. This attitude echoes Sacco and Blessi's thoughts on the role of horizontal integrations in transmitting cultural innovation and production to different industries and fields of activity (2009).

The dense network of PL bonding connections has triggered the conditions for the codification of tacit knowledge consistent with the theoretical assumptions. Namely, the act of blending official institutionalised cooperation with local authors and together, with the enhancement of the local inclination of writing, has driven the creation of a spatially concentrated community operating in a common area of knowledge while effectively stimulating the codification of tacit knowledge and encouraging the rise of local talent (Pilotti, Ganzaroli, 2009). We may consequently interpret these actors as 'gate openers'¹⁹ transmitting and conveying their know-how and ideas through the networks they partake in.

In conclusion, the relationships surrounding FL may be interpreted as bridging connections based on shared values and on a similar intellectual commitment, whilst those of PL are bonding connections based pre-eminently on locality. Both strategies seem effective in generating and disseminating knowledge due to the capacity of festival organisers to orchestrate diverse kinds of relationships and the consequent level of hybridisation amongst fields. Therefore, we may argue that the integration of the two kinds of relationships in the same environment may trigger even stronger positive outcomes acting over a wider range of stakeholders and including other diverse interactions.

According to our pilot model displayed in Chapter 1, in order to produce localised learning, the festival organisation, which is seen as the fulcrum of these relationships, must be embedded in the local context. Therefore the level and form of embeddedness regarding the two festivals are compared in the following section.

5.1.3 Embedding a festival: processes and outcomes

As has emerged so far, it is arguable that the diverse actors pooled together in the networks have conditioned different processes and therefore, driven diverse outcomes. The first part of this section analyses the processes, which have determined the embedding of the festivals within their milieu, while the second part provides a comparison of festival outcomes.

Concerning FL, as shown in greater detail in Chapter 3, the event displays itself as a recognised and institutionalised actor of the city, notwithstanding the independent nature of its organisation and the policy oriented towards autonomy. In fact, interviews reveal deep links with some of the main regional actors. Firstly, although never institutionalised, with private firms that came to represent the major supporter of the festival with established and long-term relationships.

¹⁹ Mark Norman, personal communication, ATLAS Conference, Lecce, May 2015.

Another key player concerned with the regional presence of FL is the extensive community of volunteers that has formed spontaneously in recent decades, transmitting the commitment and becoming part of the festival-making process. The huge involvement of the city space represents another main indicator of the embedding of the event in the region, mirroring the support and acknowledgement it gets from public actors. While it may not be obvious, there is a sound connection with the local character and identity. These connections with the environment are material, concerning the natural landscape and the physical spaces of the city; and semiotic, conceptual, (Richards, 2015) in the guise of the strong connections with the intangible historical heritage of the urban space. The great majority of these embedding processes seem to be grounded on the spontaneity and flexibility of relationships developed through sharing a mutual interest rather than institutionalised links. The case of PL presents similar elements to indicate the level of embeddedness, with the progressive growth of private subsidies and the increasing involvement of the tangible and intangible heritage of the city. Nonetheless, the types of links appear differently. As seen in Chapter 4, behind PL there is a strong and deliberate effort to capitalise on creativity in order to pursue civic aims. This policy led the organisation to establish many institutional relationships with central actors since the very beginning. What escapes from this rigid approach is, in turn, the involvement of local writers, who are often operating informally and resembling network types that Giorgi et al. defined as “exemplified by the way in which the artists’ represented in festival programmes are often identified (externally) as the directors’ ‘friends’ and colleagues” (2010: 18). Therefore, we may conclude that the embedding processes of FL and the related outcomes for the region are mainly bottom up, based on mutual trust and informal relations that are flexible and ready to be shifted or reactivated. Whereas those relationships connected with PL resemble top down interactions based extensively on planning.

An interesting dialectic relationship has emerged between the buzz and embeddedness functions exposing differences in relation to the theoretical model. In fact, the model presented the embedding process as a necessary step to link buzz with the atmosphere of a place and to sediment relations, however, the field analysis shed light on the crucial role of buzz in creating embeddedness by supporting and developing relationships.

Outcomes

The creation of a community of volunteers is the most tangible impact which emerged when observing FL. First off, a community of local actors has been cooperating with the festival for two decades and they have transmitted the rules to a new generation who have “grown up” with the idea of the festival as a local identity and training campus. Secondly, by expanding the opportunity for volunteering to the whole country of Italy and Europe as well, FL has generated a virtual community assembled by diverse ‘bridges. These take form as developed projects connecting the local environment with other regions or by means of a cyclic and updated know-how and experiences exchanges. This perspective recalls Putnam’s view of social capital as based on civic engagement hence not merely “nominal membership, but active and involved membership” (2000: 58) produced by face-to-face interactions and participation into projects. And lastly, FL boosted the development of professional skills and working competences along with an improvement to the general approach to things and personal life.

Practically speaking, previously analysed outcomes related to local buzz include not only a transmission of stimuli and know-how but also a wider philanthropic

approach and the emerging of local talents. This is in part due to the embedding of the festival in the region and the guiding of new projects in knowledge related sectors, mainly in the urban area of Mantua. Some of the latter originated directly from the festival experience and related opportunities, while others, were stimulated indirectly by new policy conditions, which the manifestation contributes to develop. The gradual injection of stimuli favoured by FL concerns not only private actors but also policy makers, who started to develop a new approach in regards to cultural manifestations. Another fundamental element entails the retention of graduates in the area for the generated favourable conditions of being noted, networking and discovering personal attitudes.

Therefore, the important but somehow isolated impacts of FL may resemble what Bathelt et al. (2004), defined as “communication ecology”. A smart circle built around constant information transfer and stimuli by characterising interactions in creative clusters. This idea recalls Putnam’s vision of weak ties by providing new opportunities and a basis for innovation. On the other hand, these are in disarray and lack a policy in charge of reinforcing their effect and conveying it into a more systematised structure.

Conversely, PL, as focused on local actors, volunteers, students and writers, has mainly conditioned cultural impacts concentrated both in terms of places and flow. Local volunteers ascribe a great importance to this experience in their private and professional growth but at the same time do not feel part of a community. However, the embedding of the festival in the region along with the plethora of planned activities with local schools and the implementation of cultural entities such as developing of a creative writing school has triggered the rise of local talent. The area is now home to a large number of writers published at a national level and poetry and prose have become a defined local brand object of business exchanges. Therefore, evidence from PL highlights how planning, harnessing creative energies as well as the tools through which knowledge transfer happens, generates more concentrated long-lasting outcomes. As analysed by Hitters and Richards (2002) in regards to the WGF district in Amsterdam, a top down approach integrated with a creative atmosphere, seems to play a crucial role in injecting commercial skills while stimulating the creation of an effective local brand, conducive in attracting talents and creative newcomers.

Overall, one element shared by the two festivals is the increased awareness of culture both in terms of the private citizens’ involvement and with respect to the commitment of policy makers. This appears to be centrally linked to the embedding of the festivals and is also in line with some scholars’ reflections relating the act of creating partnership and coordinating input factors of a festival organisation to favourable reactions of the local population to other regional development opportunities (Carter, Shaw, 1993; Jones, 2005; Lade, Jackson, 2004; Long, 2000). As outlined already and in concern to the buzz structure, the tangible heritage of the city plays an important role in the framing effect of the festival, directing attention to a specific part of the urban fabric at a specific time. However, on another level, both festivals are acknowledged as a permanent part of local heritage. More specifically, almost all of the survey respondents acknowledged FL as a local institution. Moreover, 86.5% of those surveyed view FL as part of local heritage. Similarly, data from PL showcase how participation in the festival triggers a greater involvement in other kind of cultural activities. This phenomenon corresponds to observations by Giorgi et al. (2010) relating the significance of place for festivals with the concentration of social and cultural capital network, along with how these networks are in turn reproduced by the festivals, and thus forming a virtuous circle.

However, surveys are not representative of the whole population and for the sake of clarity, in both the areas and in spite of their declared community-based policies, some local actors lament a lack of transparency in the engagement processes of the festivals. This criticism centres on the low degree of involvement and directness, during the decision-making process, increases the distance between the festival organisation and the local “receivers” of its circulated knowledge. In fact, during the empirical investigation, it was difficult to delineate the area of action effectively entrusted to citizens. Instead, in recent decades, community engagement has become fundamental to ensuring that the process of regeneration works and is effective (Campbell, 2011). Moreover, to allow the influx of new sources of innovation and creativity, it is necessary to expand relationships. This mirrors the views of Richards et al. (2014), who defined networks within an event as open structures that are able to develop without limits while integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network and share the same communication code.

The present research has named these connections as pipelines, based on institutional relations flowing at a global level.

5.1.4 Pipelines: a pluralistic wedding

As a result of the outlined rise of projects directly and indirectly connected with the festivals and from the new approach towards culture stimulated by policy makers, it seems that both the investigated events were able to generate processes encouraging creativity and innovation. According to the festival organisers, external alliances are critical to the success of the festival and its development. The intensity of connections, whether at an international or national level and in both the investigated environments, decreases consistently when compared to the local buzz. Specifically, pipelines linked to FL revolve around the sharing of common projects, whilst those connoting PL mainly consist of the exchange of skills and services. As seen in Chapter 3, beyond the tight connections maintained with the Hay Festival since its launch, FL also belongs to a network of international literature festivals in which diverse projects are planned and shared with the goal to promote and trigger the international flow of knowledge. Another interesting channel of exchanges is represented by one of the main sponsors of the festival, acting as both a creative centre in generating new projects around FL’s activities and as a node in a network formed by actors belonging to diverse sectors. Hence, it may be argued that the shared projects of FL represent a key occasion to activate local buzz and stimulate regional absorptive capacity, however, they perhaps also represent weak channels allowing the injection of new knowledge within the region and therefore, fostering innovation. On the other hand, PL seems to have developed some solid relationships but these are apparently mono-directional, functioning as a sort of broadcasting mechanism that gives visibility to the event without stimulating knowledge exchange.

The characteristics of the two festivals suggest a potential local propensity to receive and re-develop the generated flow of new ideas and knowledge, which is seen as a crucial enabling condition for innovation. However, despite these potentialities, neither of the two festivals appears to have a clear policy or specific goals in terms of external linkage development, rather concentrating mainly on developing local communities. Remarkably upon in the theoretical chapters, this gap confirms the necessity for pipeline development to be planned and to form part of a wider local strategy in order to function.

As suggested by Bathelt et al. (2004) “perhaps it would be wiser for policy actors to consider the possibilities of stimulating pipeline development rather than to make extensive efforts in generating and promoting local buzz through various forms of social engineering”.

The crucial role of the development of external links evoked also by Giorgi et al. (2010), showed that the explicit goal of the analysed festivals’ directors is to use literature as a tool for the exchange of ideas, not only through the debate generated during the festival itself, but also by means of the strong international relationships developed primarily through media networks. Pipelines are indeed amongst the key elements at the basis of the success of the Santarcangelo festival, a festival focused on performing art and the public space, it has been running for 45 editions. In fact, aside from the plethora of projects and activities proposed throughout the year; its longevity and establishment are a reference point within the region are due to the ability to blend together the international artistic presence, as well as the relationship with the public space of the city and the community of its citizens.

The organisation has always aimed for the development of international linkages in the guise of international projects or international artists’ residencies, in order to blend creatives with locals. In this line, they have recently made an effort to develop pipelines with foreign universities based on student exchanges and residencies. In addition, to disseminate this rethought knowledge, they have just launched a publication series collecting creative outcomes resulting from this cooperation.

As already remarked, since the cases investigated are too limited in number to justify generalisation, it may be useful to elaborate on the emerged issues. Firstly, our analysis indicates that the two events are different enough in terms of their knowledge generation functions and outcomes to identify them as two different types of KBF. FL, based on the high level of creative output and relative artistic freedom of the organisation, takes a ‘knowledge for knowledge’s sake’ approach, which we defined as creative; whereas PL’s local identity and development processes take precedence over artistic aims, is more interested in applying the knowledge generated, hence was termed as civic festival.

Table 10: Festivals type and related knowledge spillover effects

	Creative festivals	Civic festivals
Ks type	Embedded Local cluster Creative group	Embedded Local cluster Artistic direction
Networks type	Bridging connections	Bonding connections
Policy approach	Bottom up/ mainly un-institutional relations	Top down/mainly institutional relations
Main processes generated	Communication ecology	Ecology of value
Main spillover effects	Community building Social capital development Creativity	Social capital development

Elaborated by the author

A table describing the common elements generated by the four phases and related outcomes in order to allow further insight in facilitating transferability to other fields as described below in Table 11.

Table 11: Knowledge spillover elements, processes and outcomes.

Elements/indicators	Phases				Outcomes					
	K.So	Buzz	Embed.	Pipelines	Ecology of value	Comm. ecology	Connecting values	Community devel.	Creativity and Innovation	Social cap. devel.
Local figures well networked	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Best practice	✓			✓			✓			
Local identity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
Small team + vol.	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
Gatekeepers	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Public actors	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
Complementary interplay of actors		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	
Interplay of actors common area		✓			✓			✓		✓
Bridging connections		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bonding connections	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Involvement of city venues		✓	✓				✓	✓		
Involvement of private actors		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Involvement of cultural entities			✓		✓	✓	✓			✓
Planned activities		✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓
Mutual trust	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Informal relations			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Absorptive capacity				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
External projects			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
External services			✓	✓	✓				✓	

5.2 Conclusions

In light of the evidence presented we may argue that a festival, under certain conditions and according to determined processes, can become a permanent regional actor that generates a positive circle of knowledge spillover through a cyclical process of embedding and bridging. Starting from this first verification and drawing lessons from Glaser (1998), conceiving a grounded theory study not as a description of facts but as a number of assumptions derived from empirical data, the present research will elaborate probability statements on the relationships between concepts in order to answer the original research questions.

5.2.1 Embeddedness and generation of knowledge spillover.

This section attempts to delineate a model of processes occurring as a consequence of the embedding of a festival into the regional context. Our findings suggest a close relationship between processes determining the festival's embedding in the local context and processes generating knowledge spillover, meant as "external benefits from the creation of knowledge that accrues to parties other than the creator" (Agarwal et al. 2010:271). In light of this cyclical process, it was considered more appropriate to answer research questions one and two together. The following questions are:

RQ1: How does an event embed itself in regional networks in temporal and spatial terms?

RQ2: Which processes contribute to generating knowledge spillover?

The previous section discussed the crucial role of the organisation behind the festival in conditioning its narrative and activating the cyclic phases leading to knowledge spillover. As we analysed, the key factor is not the type of organisation, but rather its connectedness with the region along with the capability to manage interplay of actors. Accordingly, the first layer surrounding the internal agents should preferably be formed by a compact organisation with few members and occasional collaborators allowing a well-organized and timely management of the event. In terms of external agents, our evidence confirms the key role of gatekeepers as important conduits of human capital and therefore innovation, as they control entry to the their respective fields and the possibility for creative success. The theoretical model identified amongst the main players of this category recurring visitors as able to codify more easily new knowledge and to transmit it. However, they play an important role only in regards to FL. Instead, our evidence indicates that the presence of switchers as activators of networks is a crucial factor in transmitting knowledge. The latter are usually players of a local cluster able to convert their social capital and informal networks into professional collaborations and exchanges. Overall, the knowledge sources of a festival act as a concentrator enabling latent knowledge sources to be activated and consequently enabling the buzz to become evident. As these findings show, the festival enables the coalescing of internal and external knowledge sources, which in turn, act as a framing mechanism for the production of 'buzz'.

The structure of the relationships determined by knowledge sources is a key condition of buzz, which drives diverse kinds of outcomes. More in detail, un-institutional interactions and knowledge exchanges based on flexible relations amongst actors, as in the case of FL, seem to allow more room for creativity to

emerge and to be shared. These kinds of connections have been named here as bridging connections, meaning weak ties revolving around a flexible hub. On the other hand, bonding networks, similar to those germinated by PL, are those connections formed by strong ties developing around a tight hub. Our opinion is that flexible and spontaneous connections may favour the increase of new creativity in the form of new projects, ideas and major intellectual commitment. This view seems to find confirmation in Erickson and Kushner's notion of a dynamic network (1999) generated after a public event, meant as nonexclusive relationships caused by short-term projects. Narrowly, they suggest that every actor participating in a dynamic network arguably partakes in other networks as well, accessing a wide number of potential partners and generating new connections. Therefore this process may widen the possible sources of new knowledge incoming.

On the contrary, it was also noted that the dense institutional relations formed by strong bonds, similar to those considered within the context of PL, not only encompass exclusive connections, but present also dynamic relations. Moreover, tied alliances facilitate the sedimentation of the generated creativity, thereby allowing innovation. Erickson and Kushner (1999) also stress the need for a dynamic network to deal with both local government and community relations to enhance the environment. Hence, a degree of planning and management is necessary to convey resources and shared values within the network. These two scholars theorise four connections levels on which an event network relies: focal, between the members forming the initial dyad (owner and promoter); primary, participants outside the dyad creating ties to both dyad member; secondary, participants outside the dyad generating their own relations and tertiary, participants outside the dyad retaining ties only to dyad member (Erickson and Kushner 1999: 362). Drawing from these reflections, we may argue that bridging connections are necessary in generating secondary relations that may be more difficult to develop within a network with very close ties. Equally bonding connections may, in turn, facilitate the development and establishment of primary and tertiary connections.

Therefore, the resulting model proposes an ideal mixture of informal bridging connections and more institutionalised bonding relations, in order to stimulate creativity that can be transformed into innovation. The bridging type, due to their looseness and flexibility may potentially involve more new actors and diverse connections and hence, trigger creativity with a greater input of new ideas. Institutional and long-lasting alliances, in turn, may contribute to circulating creativity within the region and potentially generating innovation. As outlined in the theoretical chapter and following Belussi and Staber (2011), we understand creativity as the generation of new ideas and actions, as was ascertained for the environment related to Mantua's event. Instead, innovation is meant as the creation of a well-defined product stemming from creativity and long-term connections and embeddedness within an environment are key conditions to allow these processes to happen.

Following this line of reasoning, 'buzz' can be essentially thought of as a phenomenon occurring along an axis moving from implicit to explicit knowledge. In fact, the shifting of local connections from informal and implicit to more structured and codified knowledge, corresponds to the flowing from buzz to rooted relations, therefore increasing festival embeddedness.

This concept largely confirms our conceptual foundation. Concerning the second axis, which is expected to flow from local to global, it was noted that locality is an important characteristic both to assure buzz and embeddedness processes.

Firstly, this is because the local dimension represents the physical place where the event happens and where people meet to celebrate a ritual generating emotional energy and trust. This concept was widely analysed by Collins within *Interaction ritual chains* (2004), where he maintains that sharing rituals physically, as for instance, by participating in an event, may allow the development of social ties. If the reflection of Collins mainly approaches the audience perspective, the present research has shown the extent to which the festival represents a ritual also for the main local stakeholders who carry on alliances throughout the year, but which have their peak and *raison d'être* when the festival occurs. Secondly, the local dimension arises as a leading condition to allow the incoming creative flows triggered by the 'buzz', to remain within a limited cluster and encouraging localised learning while consequently, allowing innovation to happen. In addition, the importance regarding the enhancement of tangible heritage emerges, not only in terms of giving a stronger connotation to the event but also unexpectedly, as a tool to engage local actors. The latter should be the object of a sounder project of collaboration and co-working to trigger more effective social capital development. This is remarked by Sacco and Crociata (2013) who, within an article analysing the diverse models of cultural-led programmes, notice the strict relation of successful culture-based value creation processes and the increase of the level of access to cultural opportunities by local residents. Conforming closely to the present research's conclusions, they also maintain that cultural revitalization needs to rely upon a highly coordinated organizational model, "that fully addresses the specificities of the systemic logic of the creative sectors, embeds them in a proper socio spatial context, involves all kinds of local agents and builds upon the resilience of local talent in the first place" (2013: 1691). Similarly, Richards (2015) enlists as one of the main reasons in driving the city of Barcelona to become a best practice in events led regeneration strategy, the declared involvement of over 100,000 citizens in producing the events programme. Following this line of reasoning, theatre maker Stella Duffy, within a debate on the need for new museums, counteracts with the necessity to open existing cultural hubs to a wider public to generate innovation by means of active involvement of the community. She reports that within a recent cultural project involving diverse locations (*Fun Places project*) those venues which had invited the local community to curate the spaces had a 70% increase of new visitors "because their families and neighbours came to see what they had made"²⁰ (RA, May, 2015). Similarly, Derrett (2008) suggests that a festival should act as a gauge of strength, in which a community's key resources 'operate in networks of mutual support, reciprocity and trust'.

In light of these reflections, we may delineate the ideal form of governance as merging the bottom up and top down approaches. The former, ascribed here to FL, allows actors of a network to express spontaneously, generating new dynamic connections, favouring the rise of a "communication ecology" providing with new opportunities and a basis for creativity. The top down, as seen within PL, ensures a recognisable coordination structure of festival organisers embedded in the local context, permitting knowledge flows to sediment and hence to generate an ecology of value. In fact, we saw how the lack of public support causes more creativity but less embeddedness, hence hindering the development of innovation and yet conversely, greater public support may facilitate the embedding of the festival but inhibit the rise of creativity.

²⁰ *Royal Academy of Arts Magazine*, published online on 21st May 2015 from the Spring 2015 issue.

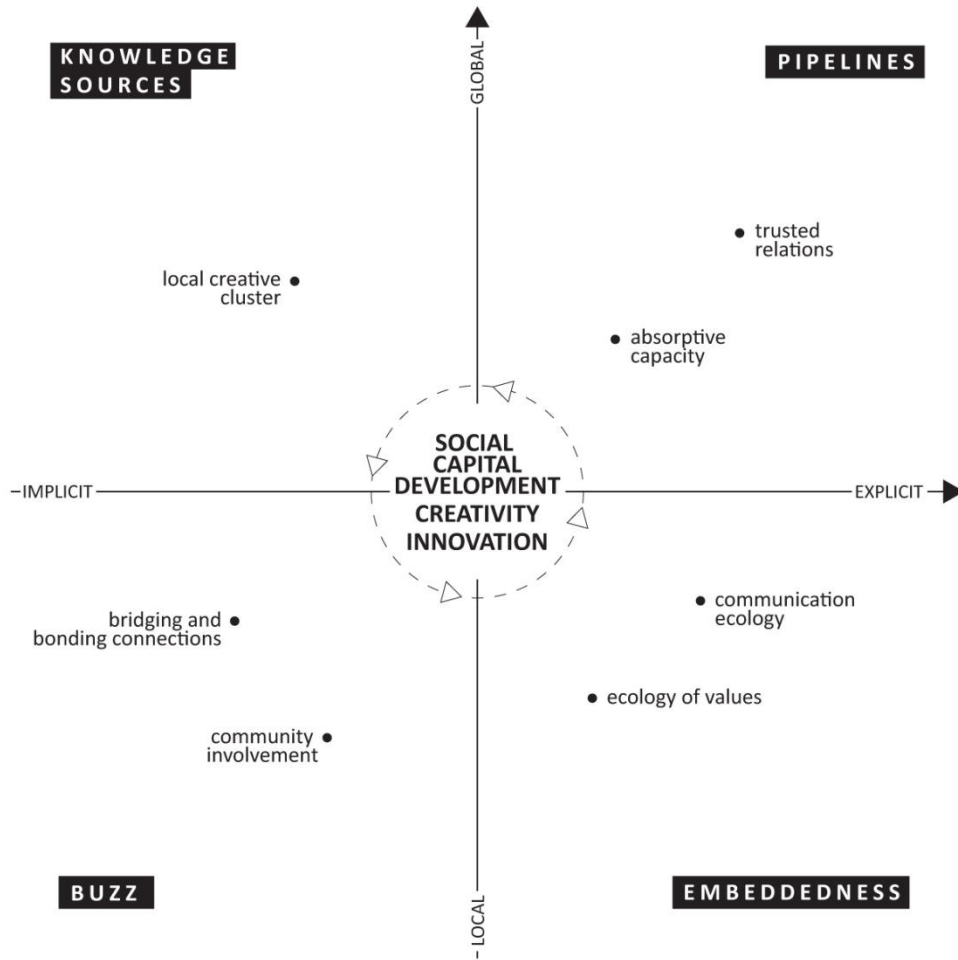
As already stated, in order to stimulate the local community in generating new knowledge, it is necessary to assure a constant flow of new ideas and creative inputs within the context. This process is made possible through buzz and perhaps more significantly, by means of pipelines, connections with external clusters based on trusting relationships and the sharing of skills and services and projects. Although the events analysed appear to have neglected in developing numerous solid pipelines, they do however recognise the importance of these connections for stimulating innovation. Our findings suggest that a greater effort in developing external links may trigger a wider development of new projects and ideas, while also helping local people to develop professionalism on a national or international level, as suggested by the PL network of publishing houses.

Overall, we emphasise the importance of fluidity and spontaneity as key conditions to generate knowledge spillover within a region and KBF appears to work as a vascular system, with the different parts feeding each other in order to achieve organic development.

In conclusion, returning to our theoretical assumptions, our findings suggest that KBF stimulates value and knowledge generation by bringing diverse active players together, and by creating a habitat in which knowledge can be shared and codified. Furthermore, KBF requires systems of networks to support knowledge diffusion, connecting inputs with outputs and therefore, the demand with the supply. As was discussed in the theoretical chapter, our opinion is that the festival more closely represents a hub to trigger a creative cluster, rather than a creative industry itself. In fact, even though processes of knowledge creation and transmission occurring after a festival perform like the creative industries in terms of forging knowledge, it is not necessarily the festival itself generating this value, but the entire network that is established around it. Therefore, we may argue that a festival acts as a hub stimulating and fostering the creation of a creative network.

In this regard, we can conclude that there is indeed knowledge spillover from a festival embedded in its environment. More specifically, what can be deduced from the case study analysis is that the produced spillover effect is mainly related to new ideas, creativity, and the rise of new projects. These generated externalities are difficult to measure and are barely taken into account by the market; hence they resemble public goods in terms of being non-excludable and non-rival. As firstly theorised by Erickson and Kushner (1999) and reinforced by Kesidou (2007), non-excludability of a good signifies that it is difficult to retain the exclusive use of it. Kesidou adds the idea of “non-rivalry means that the consumption of a public good by one actor does not prevent others from enjoying the benefits of its use” (2007:15).

Figure 13: Model describing processes guiding from knowledge production to knowledge spillover and related dynamics



Elaborated by the author

5.2.2 Positive externalities for the region. Creativity or innovation?

Having so far answered research questions concerning the processes triggering the embeddedness of a festival within the region and the dynamics contributing to generate knowledge spillover, this section summarises the effective outcomes produced after these processes, thereby answering the third research question.

RQ 3: What are the knowledge spillover effects on the region?

Although we are aware that is reductive and difficult to isolate the specific effects of the festivals from other activities occurring in the region, below, we will try to summarise the main emerged dynamics related to a knowledge based festival.

These outcomes are the act of connecting values, meant as the connection of valuable actors, who are often key players within the local networks. These create value through being transmitters and transformers of values and at the same time by means of interactions. Social capital development is another general spillover effect involving the local community.

Connecting values

One of the most defining characteristics of a knowledge-based festival in a region is that it acts as a catalyst for connecting private and public actors both operating in the local context and beyond. As well as being a crucial step in generating all of the creative processes described so far, it is also a positive outcome per se. In fact, it is recognised that strengthening partnerships between private and public actors is probably one of the best ways to understand mutual needs while at the same time, being conducive to improved regional performance (Runde, Zargarian, 2013). In this line of reasoning, Camagni bestows these functions to policy makers performing the role of “facilitator of linkages and cooperation among actors, both at the regional or the inter-regional/inter-national scale” (Camagni 2008: 47). Although from a smaller scale perspective and with less influence, our findings reveal the extent to which a cultural institution well-embedded in a region, may affect the establishment of trusting relationships and the network-building process amongst some local actors. The latter is a delicate, complex and time-consuming phenomenon, which is perhaps facilitated by the apparent provisional nature of the event, which makes relationships appear less demanding and more profitable than other institutionalised connections. As maintained by Richards, events may represent “significant moments of co-presence, where a feeling of community can be created, however briefly” (2011: 25). Similarly, Gursoy et al. (2004) reported how the sociological literature surrounding events (Durkheim, 1912; Rao, 2001; Turner, 1982, cited by Gursoy, 2004) view the development of social cohesion as the main purposes of cultural events by reinforcing ties within the community. This attitude also entails the appeal that the ritual allure and cultural production of a festival have for private companies.

Therefore, the connecting value refers to the festival organisation’s capacity to connect and mediate amongst various groups of actors. As we saw, these players usually play important roles within the local community in different productive sectors. They may range from policy makers, civic institutions, private entrepreneurs, international organisations, or even intellectual figures, all gathered together for a moment in time as nodes in a network transmitting knowledge. In this regard, the involved actors may be seen as values in terms of knowledge generators and knowledge transmitters.

A clustered and embedded festival organisation therefore performs as connector and switcher of networks and as a provider of knowledge transfer channels with the latter in turn, conveying stimuli and expertise from one node to another. The transmitted element may be potentially mutated and re-converted at every step when the incoming explicit knowledge meets the context-related tacit knowledge of that specific node.

Social capital development

Processes of value connection create a relational framework blending participating actors in a sense of community and hence, making them potentially more inclined to develop trusting relations.

Our findings show how the festival, by becoming a reliable institution within the region, stimulates the trust-building process, thus eventually encourages networking. These reflections recall the learning organisation literature, which suggests that when an established organization is able to maintain and not disregard long-term strategies in which firms can rely on, it may generate a positive effect on the overall entrepreneurial fabric. (Levi 1998; Sölvell et al. 2003 cited in Branzanti, 2014b). These processes further guide community development and the enlivening of social capital through diverse forms, such as the development of a community of volunteers related to FL through commitment, spontaneity and weak ties besides direct involvement in producing knowledge. Instead, the planned investment in writing and local actors activated a community of writers related to PL. Important indicators of social capital development is the local ecology of an interplay of actors, representing a fertile ground that fosters creativity and intellectual commitment along with a direct channel to drive expertise and ideas. In addition, the new narratives attached to public spaces have generated favourable reactions from the local population to other regional development opportunities. For example, enlivening the local sense of ownership of the heritage, creating an increased feeling of civic pride in local traditions and cultures, and involving local people in the regeneration process. This phenomenon has in turn triggered people to develop their own creativity and has contributed to an increasing commitment and absorptive capacity towards creativity. The leading related effects are for instance, triggering a wider philanthropic approach from private firms; more attention towards cultural production from policy makers; and the development of favourable conditions to retain young creatives in the area. Overall, these factors facilitate the development of social capital and community capacity, which both contribute to community well being. As outlined in the literature chapter, these elements correspond to Moscardo's reflection (2007) on the main drivers in which a cultural festival may have the type of influence she defines as: building social capital, enhancing community capacity and triggering other activities.

Creativity and Innovation

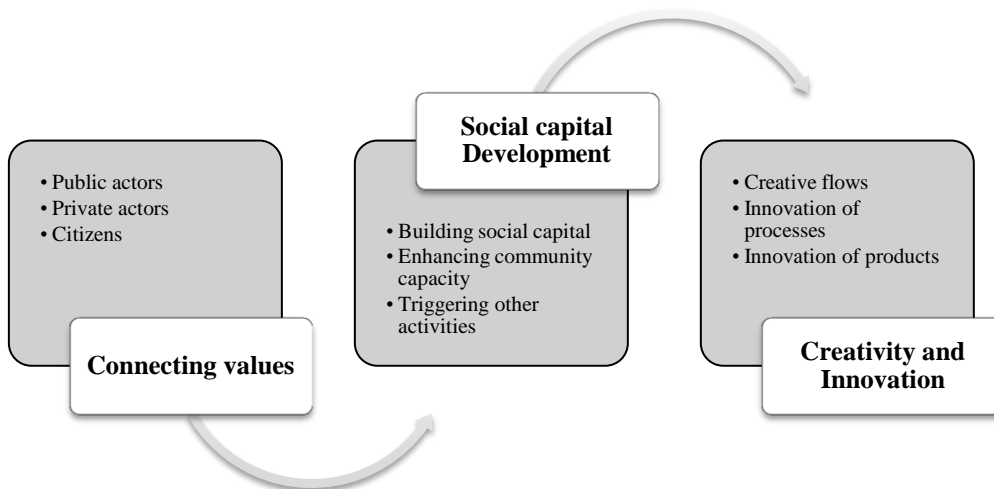
Social capital development also stimulates further creativity. Particularly, the milieu of FL reflects Santagata's idea (2007) that a more stimulating, free and multidisciplinary cultural environment, is linked to greater creative productivity. The latter, as previously outlined, consists of a plethora of activated projects in the guise of positive externalities directly or indirectly related to the festival's activity. Conversely, there is not a lot of innovation going on, arguably because great creativity is not applied. However, the signs of innovation were classified into two main types: innovation of processes and innovation of products. By borrowing the terms from De Luca and Rotondo (2005), we see innovation of process as an innovative approach, related to soft factors, which may refer to a new way to relate with other actors or to manage services and organisations. On the other hand, innovation of product refer to an outcome more related to a project or a hard factor on the region, as for instance, the foundation of a new creative space or of a new operating cultural player.

Innovation of processes refer to the innovative approaches ascribed by local actors to the festival's organisation as a way of dealing with networks, allowing in both the investigated cases, the informal transmission of good practices. Innovation of products or cultural production, primarily relates to the new cultural entities and activities running all year long germinated within the involved regions through the direct or indirect influence of the festival's activity.

In some cases, as we have described in the section devoted to *Festivaletteratura*, some new projects have been founded in regions other than the festival's milieu, thus exporting ideas and networks from the festival. As was mentioned in the previous section and will be further explained in the following one, the gap between the amount of creativity and innovation could be lessened by more involvement of local creative firms. This is because a mixture of bridging and bonding connections amongst clustered partnered agents with trust relationships potentially represent a key condition to encourage the risk-taking attitude necessary to produce innovation. On the other hand, as previously touched on, the presence of established cultural entities, stimulate the production of the local entrepreneurial fabric.

In light of what has emerged so far, we may hence summarise the main activated processes of knowledge spillover from a festival to the region as outlined in Table 12, connecting values in the guise of partnerships amongst public and private actors and citizens. These connections stimulate social capital development, which is mainly expressed in the form of building social capital, enhancing community capacity and triggering other activities. The latter represent the generation of creativity and innovation in the form of stimulating an overall creative fabric, triggering innovation of processes and products.

Figure 14: Processes of knowledge spillover



5.2.3 The crucial role of a design-oriented model as a tool of analysis and interpretation

Generally, the paucity of sources in regards to the cultural impacts of a festival and specifically related to its knowledge spillover effect, require a new approach in the field investigation. Our starting point was the idea that cultural production is a process derived from the integration of fields and actors, generated by a combination of factors including available local resources, individual creativity and external stimuli. Therefore, a holistic approach was adopted from the beginning to avoid mono-causal explanations.

The main features emerging from the theoretical reflections were further organised into a pilot model and the model came to serve two main goals.

On the one hand, it theoretically describes processes of knowledge generation, consumption, circulation and spillover. While on the other hand, it also guided the empirical analysis. In fact, the research design that we followed part of a qualitative and flexible methodology, shown in Chapter 2, was theorised as a grounded theory design flanked by a case study analysis in order to compare theoretical assumptions with evidence from the field. Specifically, the theoretical model passes through a sound process of re-definition, from Chapter 1 to 5, based on the constant comparison of theories with emerging data while furthering new rounds of literature review. In parallel, it also serves as a valuable tool to conduct field analysis, overcoming the often anecdotal attitude towards cultural impacts and more significantly to interpret related findings. Thanks to a design-oriented approach conceiving the sources as a system (Trocchianesi, 2008), the investigated regions peculiar aspects and specific findings were organised and transformed into processes.

In summary, the model helps to generate a canon to study the cultural impacts of festivals as means to connect and synergize their different dimensions; moreover, it also serves as a filter for their interpretation. In light of this, the overall definition, development and use of the model suggest some main actions described below.

Highlighting the interdependence of theoretical framework and processes

The model development shows that on the one hand, the crucial role of grounding on a general theoretical framework, even though holistic and multidisciplinary to delineate the basis of the model and consequently of the whole analysis. This is in line with what Richards (2014) maintains, that often the main limit of evaluation studies is related to being ad hoc and developed without a sound theoretical framework for designing the research. Similarly, Garcia (2005) laments the sectorial approach in collecting evidence and the lack of holistic perspective considering processes activated after an event as a whole or the specific regional connotations. These are in turn elements encompassed by the structure of the present model. Therefore, the overall procedure highlights the need to abandon the mono-causal schemes often used to interpret culture-led strategies and to avoid ad hoc studies lacking in theoretical background, in favour of more articulated approaches that are well-rooted in a theoretical path and flexible enough to be modified according to emerging evidence.

Raising awareness of the long-term cultural spillover effect of a festival

The present research journey attempts to contribute to the awareness of the potential of a cultural festival in nurturing smart processes in developing new resources aside from economics, a frequently neglected perspective. The emerged outcomes, in fact, represent important factors within their region and are also symptomatic of a wider potential in the production of knowledge and its transmission in generating long-term positive externalities. Specifically, the model approach has helped to conceive these externalities as resulting from a virtuous cycle process more than as isolated specific outcomes. Without the support and framework provided by the model it would have been difficult to notice these outputs and perhaps even more difficult to capture their importance as processes and regional specific gaps.

A framework to operationalise findings

The model also provides a new awareness to conceive and develop a festival and its outcomes for the sake of regional development. Therefore, by drawing from the revealed processes and implications, the model could represent a good starting point to transform academic findings in operational tools, as we will attempt to do in the next section. By better understanding the processes guiding the diverse phases of embeddedness and spillover production, festival organisers and policy makers could evaluate their activities from another perspective while improving or modifying their networks and connections, as well as monitoring the processes and outcomes.

5.3 The main innovative aspects of the present research

In light of discussions on findings and the elaborated answers to research questions, we can recognise four general innovative aspects of the present research:

1. Innovation of approach
2. Conceptual Innovation
3. Systemic innovation
4. Processual innovation

The formula innovation of approach expresses the new perspective we adopted to analyse the phenomenon. By mixing a wide range theoretical interpretation with the detailed analysis of relatively small and defined empirical settings, we were able to obtain both a solid theoretical basis and evidence-based reflections. Conceptual innovation refers to the new conceptualisation arising from the present research. A knowledge based festival as a hub connecting a system of networks supporting knowledge diffusion and therefore, allowing the creation of a habitat in which it can be shared and codified. The potential of a cultural festival in nurturing smart processes that in turn, determine the development of new resources in terms of creativity and innovation represents a new idea of the topic.

The model underlines the restrictiveness of attempting to capture specific outcomes without considering the processes behind their development or the specific regional connotations.

In light of this, systemic innovation is identified by the present study as it explores the region as a system and it demonstrates the extent of dependency amongst players to enhance a region generating innovation. Simultaneously, this approach allows also concentrating on the specific emerged positive externalities, which were triggered after the festival presence.

Processual innovation refers to the innovative use of the theoretical model to structure the research and to frame the cases in a more coherent way.

Figure 15: Scheme of the main innovative aspect of the research

INNOVATION OF APPROACH	CONCEPTUAL INNOVATION
Holistic and cross-sectorial approach to investigate the cultural impacts of a festival conceiving culture as a process influenced by interactions, local context and codification	New conceptualisation of a knowledge based festival from a temporal manifestation to a permanent hub stimulating the creation of networks and smart processes
SYSTEMIC INNOVATION	PROCESSUAL INNOVATION
Interpreting processes related to cultural production as cyclical and interdependent from each other	Use a model to structure the theoretical framework and to guide the field investigation. Model as a tool to shift produced knowledge into practical recommendations

5.4 Recommendations for future research and applications

The research presented so far is an exploratory study limited to the empirical analysis of two fields within the same national context. Moreover, the entire study is conceived as basic research mainly aimed to improve understanding and scientific theories on the cultural effects of a festival. However, the flexible design-oriented approach linked to a critical re-interpretation of findings, allowed the transferability of the distinct characteristics of a place into more general processes. Therefore, this makes it possible to open to a wide range of further applications and uses. In fact, the methodological framework can be a starting point for future studies on the impact of festivals from a perspective aside from economic or sectorial. Due to the experimental nature of the model, it would be desirable to test its validity with other cases in order to explore new connections and contexts. Obvious directions in this perspective may include other festivals celebrating topics other than literature and engaging other kinds of urban contexts.

This is the case for instance of the plethora of events now drawing attention on ICT and new technologies, what happens beyond technologies? Which elements contribute to the four phases of the model? Which spillover effects are generated? Moreover, it could also be interesting to finalise the model by applying it to various international festivals that share similar organisation types and goals but are housed in a different geo-political contexts.

Presumably however, there would be a different attention to the phenomenon at a national level. Yet on the other hand, it would also be interesting to investigate through the present research's lens, other kinds of cultural productions strictly related to the network mechanism and not exclusively in the form of a festival, but focused on knowledge production and connoted by the embeddedness and interplay of actors comparable with the cases our study investigates. Such research would

provide useful insights and expand our understanding regarding processes of knowledge production and spillover in non-market oriented environments.

On top of that, as already remarked, we don't aim to extrapolate general guidelines to offer to festival organisers. It is our opinion, that it should not remain simply an academic exercise, but rather the emerged implications could be used and interpreted to better plan or manage, events and activities similar to those analysed here. This might not only achieve social capital development amongst other effects, but also be beneficial to the planning step and crucial in determining innovation.

According to Reed et al. "the extent to which knowledge generated through research is likely to inform policy and practice depends on its relevance, legitimacy and accessibility" (2014: 337). We have widely described and summarised in previous sections, what we consider to be the most relevant and innovative aspects of this research which consequently, also determines the legitimacy of the whole study. Finally, according to Reed and his co-authors (2014), accessibility usually depends on the way the produced knowledge is translated and occurs through a triangulation amongst knowledge producers, intermediaries and those who use the knowledge. In this perspective, due its flexibility and developing status, the model may represent a common ground and a shared "language" from which to start a co-operation engaging a two-way dialogue with the likely users of its results.

Hence, the final step of the present research attempts to transfer the evidence emerged so far from the study, into tools and recommendations which might be useful to start a dialogue with public administration and event organisers willing to approach cultural events planning as catalysts of processes of value creation in cultural and creative terms.

Defining a clear regional policy and monitoring the effects

As it emerged clearly from the overall discussion, the effects of the knowledge spillover of a festival cannot happen without certain conditions but they are also difficult to capture and therefore, difficult to facilitate. In light of this, having a clear policy approach towards the regional capital emerges as a crucial factor in achieving a positive cyclic knowledge spillover effect. This approach has to be flanked by a clear idea of how to monitor and assess the developing process. The policy definition is not intended as a rigid aprioristic planning that would be counter-productive for developing bridging connections, but is meant to highlight certain aspects. As our findings reveal, weak ties and informal relations at a local level trigger creativity and new inputs, hence, an overly structured organisation would represent an obstacle to the creative flow. On the other hand, creativity also needs to be nurtured by more formalised and long-term external connections and also by bonded capital and sediment relations at a local level to create innovation. In consequence, a tension emerges between having an idea of what you want to achieve but at the same time, allowing space for spontaneous and unforeseen processes to happen. Therefore, our research suggests the need to define clearer goals related to the effects of the festival on the local milieu and the region with a well-defined idea of how to use the outputs while at the same time, providing space for creativity to happen.

Due to the difficulty of predicting processes and overlapping dynamics, we think a crucial role may be performed by a constant action of monitoring goals and mapping effects. As the CHCfE report (2015) maintains, the value of culture refers to what it means to people, while the impact is the effective influence on a region's economy and society. These are not predefined factors, but developing processes that mutually influence each other.

As emerged from the literature review and as was proved by the empirical investigation, the cultural impact of intellectual production is too often taken for granted and it is frequently difficult to obtain even basic data related to cultural investment. Hence, cultural productions should be considered as “opportunity spaces” (Pendlebury et al. 2004:12) in which regeneration may occur, if guided and received. Therefore, the step following the identification of goals has to be the determination of how the processes and the outcomes will be monitored. As demonstrated by the model, it is important to capture the whole process guiding and triggering the final outcomes and their cross sectorial nature.

Create opportunities for connecting

As findings suggest, the interrelating by means of informal interactions within clustered actors are key conditions in allowing tacit knowledge to be transmitted and codified, as theorised by Asheim et al. in the context of knowledge based regional advantages (2007). Moreover, these exchanges may facilitate the transmission of know-how and expertise, which emerge as crucial elements of a festival’s creative portfolio. The field study also indicated that informal interactions, under a more formalised protocol, might encourage players to contribute relationships to the cluster thus generating more ‘buzz’ and exchange of ideas. As discussed in the previous section and parallel to the development of weak ties, it is crucial to establish tight connections both locally and outside the region. As remarked by Bathelt et al. (2004), this process is not immediate but needs to be planned and developed across time through, for instance, a renewed commitment to the free international movement and exchange of talent, ideas, products and services. Moreover, a strong effort may be in the developing of strong ties with some main local actors from which to build further external connections. In order to triangulate and systematise the diverse agents, our findings reveal that it is important to develop a festival narrative embedded in and connected with the local identity. In turn, local identity plays a crucial role in anchoring networks to the region by sedimenting the learning generated by the festivals and stimulating a wider participation and commitment of citizens. Moreover, the involvement of heritage sites as part of the festival narrative was shown to play a key role in guiding the engagement of local actors, stimulating a new awareness of local heritage and creating a new approach to cultural sites and productions.

Conceiving the knowledge sources and buzz phases as collectively driven open platforms

A festival should aim to present itself as a sort of cultural shared space, an open platform to engage citizens and encourage supporters to shape the programmes and participate in more spontaneous forms of interaction. These processes, as emerged from the stakeholder interviews, may trigger on the one hand, a strong sense of identification for the audience and collaborators, as shown by FL’s volunteers and PL’s group of young curators and writers, and reflected in the literature (Onyx, Bullen, 2000; Derrett, 2008). Yet on the other hand, these processes can also facilitate the embeddedness of the event and social capital generation.

As analysed in great detail by Derret (2008), participating in a festival may allow residents to formalise the mutual informal exchanges existing in small communities, giving an insight into social structures, political institutions, and legal systems. The validity of this idea is confirmed by a common tendency of successful cultural projects in the U.K to become more and more open platforms for the community. Specifically, within a recent report elaborated by Bop Consulting (2015) to analyse new trends of creative and cultural industries, it was

remarked that entities associated with physical buildings tend to act as a public space to live in and to relate in; whilst non-building based organisations are inclined to capitalise on the value of technology, networks and partnerships to achieve an equivalent social openness. Drawing on field evidence we may argue that a wider involvement of local actors could allow a greater exchange of ideas, and improve the capacity for codifying tacit knowledge and therefore increasing absorptive capacity. Specifically, our findings suggest two main processes: the involvement of schools and educational institutes and the engagement of creative firms.

- **A new commitment to creative and cultural education**

The theme of social openness and capitalising on soft factors recalls the huge investment PL made in involving educational institutes in activities related to the festival's topic all year long. This effort is widely recognised as a main outcome of the festival's presence. An attitude also epitomised by the foundation of a creative writing school directly related to the festival, as well as representing a physical venue of encounter. The success of these activities and the ecology of value consequently doubled the outcomes and created a wider appeal in the region. Therefore, we may argue that an improvement in the festival learning action organised in synergy with stakeholders and policy makers might probably favour the development of a learning region. The latter, as defined by an OECD report (2001), is based on the fact that innovation may be triggered by society's propensity for collective learning. Collective learning usually occurs in small social units (regions, or cities) where people have the opportunity to collaborate and interact with each other (Stavrou, 2003 cited in Villari, 2012). From this perspective, we may argue that the environment generated by a KBF cyclic spillover effect could represent a collector and repository of ideas and knowledge facilitating the flow of learning, which are the characteristics signifying a learning region according to Richard Florida (2001).

Therefore, the learning function should be imagined outside conventional spaces and manners reaching out into new areas beyond traditional cultural venues, while developing activities year round to re-inforce learning effects.

- **Implementing collaborations with creative firms**

Given the fact that a knowledge based festival of this kind can be read as a permanent hub within its region stimulating and activating networks. Confirmed within the discussion section, a further step to enlarge its action and optimise related positive externalities may perhaps lie in connecting more significantly with creative firms. As previously outlined, it seems quite obvious that a greater involvement and commitment of creative firms would stimulate efficiency in the latter and provide business opportunities to the former (Holden, 2007). More specifically, it would arguably facilitate the transformation of positive externalities into innovation because of the risk-taking attitude connoting a firm as well as the presence and interest of the market, which were recognised as two main conditions to transform creativity into innovation (Belussi, 2009).

Unfortunately, the lack of field data on the relationship between creative firms and festivals does not allow us to infer any correlation between creative firms involvement and the increase in generated innovation. However, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that these kinds of collaborations might have a positive impact not only in terms of creative stimuli from both sides, but also in terms of opportunities to get involved in operative networks, which, may facilitate profitable

encounters between cultural institutions and commercial creative firms. This idea finds its confirmation in the emerged co-operation between one of the investigated festivals and local creative firms; empirical analysis brought to light a few cases, which are emblematic of the potentialities of a cooperation between the festival and the creative firm. This is the case for instance of the graphic studio in charge of the PL visual communication. As reported in Chapter 4, they generate every year a new comprehensive concept to visually present the festival and the region as a brand. Another example of an osmotic process is the long-term relationship between FL and a local company responsible for designing all the furniture used to decorate the ephemeral spaces during the event. From the editorial staff office, desks, seats and shelves to the beds of the dormitory for volunteers all designed with recycled paper. These pieces are now part of the festival brand and narrative and have also registered a great success to the extent that they are requested by other costumers. Moreover, until few years ago one of the most widely-known and innovative projects forming FL's pipelines, was supported and transformed by a main Italian food firm.

Other confirmations in this perspective come from the literature. Caves (2000), within his compelling study, explored the industrial organisation of the art world suggesting that creative firms may provide the 'motley crew' of skilled practitioners necessary to convert creative conceptions into products. Moreover, bridging connections between the festival and firms complete the external layers of Throsby's concentric circle model (2008) generating the theorised osmotic process of ideas. Similarly, the CEBR's report underlines how the close proximity to a vibrant cultural environment may improve creative firms' productivity with "the continuous stream of inspiration" (CEBR, 2013: 66).

From a similar perspective, Hui (2007) maintains that creative industries and cultural organisations represent an increasingly integrated ecological system due to the changing role of cultural activities indicating that important input providers influence the productive activities of firms (Branzanti, Podestà, 2014). In light of these reflections, there should be a strategy used to involve creative industries in the development of a festival, not only as mere sponsor but as an active participant of specific steps of the processes or specific projects related to the festival.

Figure 16: scheme of the main recommendations with connected outcomes

		ACTIVITIES	SPECIFICATIONS	EXPECTED RESULTS
Areas of interest	STRATEGY	Defining a clear policy stimulating creativity	Defining clear policy towards local and external connections Investing in informal and formal relations	Connecting values
	PLAYERS	Triggering a cultural shared space, an open platform of co-creation for local actors	Narrative connected with the local identity Engaging citizens and supporters Involving educational insitutes Increasing collaboration with creative firms	Community development Social capital development Absorptive capacity Creativity and innovation
	TOOLS	Monitoring and assessing the impacts	Developing two way trusting relations with researchers to employ the model as a framework	Imroving impacts Developing complete knowledge-based startegies

Elaborated by the author

CHAPTER 6

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7 Appendices

7.1 A. Ex ante scheme for semi-structured open ended interviews

Interviews with festival organisers

Festival coordination structure

What kind of legal subject is your organisations?
By how many persons is it formed?

Which is your decision making structure
(vertical, horizontal, artistic director etc)

How many full time employees the festival has got?
Have you got any institutionalized co-operation?
Who? What kind of co-operation

How many projects/initiatives have you launched across the territory?

Has the festival developed, through years, strategic alliances
with other organizations sharing similar aims (universities, libraries etc.)

**Structure and its
interrelations**

- *Activities and projects*

How many new pieces (books, novels) are created for the festival every year?

How many visitors are Festivals *habitué*?

How many activities are performed for the first time during the festivals?

How many events are displayed within the festival?

In how many venues are they displayed?

How many projects have been activated within the festivals?

**Dissemination of
knowledge**

- *Sponsors*

Sponsors and partners support in percentage: Public sector/Private sector/Non profit/Others

How many enterprises collaborate with the festivals as sponsors partner or through other ways of collaboration?

For how long have they been collaborating with the festivals?

How?

What type of sponsorship are your activities benefitting from?

(i.e. Financial sponsors, In-kind sponsors, Media sponsors, Location sponsors)

Which are the main local actors among them?

Which is your policy to manage sponsor's initiatives?

**Devel. of
local firms**

Interviews with local actors/entrepreneurs/experts grounded on previous questions

(partly after Maughan and Dyer, 2004)

What kind of support do you offer to festivals and how is this provided?

What do you consider to be the actual benefits of festivals?

Have you developed, or are you planning to develop, any specific initiatives that may impact upon the festival?

Does your business have a cultural policy/strategy for working with cultural sector?

Do you undertake any networking with respect to cultural/tourism strategy/activity?

Do you have any specific documentation to consult related to your work in these areas?

Which is the cultural return of investment of your sponsoring activity?
(e.g. social acceptance, exposure....)

Do you think now the city main identity is that of a city of books and literature?

Do you feel part of a festival's network?

Interviews with local artists/writers/galleries/tourist guides

What do you consider to be the actual benefit of the festival for theregion?

Have you ever collaborated with the festival? How? Why not

Have you developed, or are you planning to develop, any specific initiatives that may impact upon the festival?

Has the festival changed your activity? How?

Have you found source of inspirations for your activity within the festival and the festival's buzz?

Do you think now the city main identity is that of a city of books and literature?

Do you feel part of a festival's network?

Devel. of local talent and new initiatives

7.2 B. Interviewees of Festivaletteratura

Relation with FL	Group	Profession
Founders	A	Architect
Founders	A	Sociologist/policy maker
Founders	A	Publisher/ Gallery owner
Fl Mng staff	B	Archivist
Fl Mng staff	B	Responsible of volunteers
Fl Mng staff	B	In charge of International relations
Fl Mng staff	B	Sponsor office
Fl Mng staff	B	Program's contributor
Fl Mng staff	B	Corporate Communication
Opinion maker	C	Cultural Association
Opinion maker	C	Tourist guide
Opinion maker	C	Bookseller
Opinion maker	C	Bookseller
Opinion maker	C	Sociologist Researcher
Opinion maker	C	Mantuacreativa Festival
Opinion maker	C	Segni d'Infanzia Festival
Opinion maker	C	Cultural actor
Opinion maker	C	Cultural actor
Opinion maker	C	Policy maker
Opinion maker	C	Policy maker
Opinion maker	C	Provincial libraries' consortium
Opinion maker	C	Civic Museums
Opinion maker	C	Creative Industries
Sponsor	S	Food Enterprise
Sponsor	S	Fashion Enterprise
Sponsor	S	Garden Centre
Sponsor	S	SME consortium
Sponsor	S	Services Enterprise
Ex. volunteer	V	Founder of a literature festival
Ex. volunteer	V	Founder of a literature magazine
Ex. volunteer	V	Member of a local cultural association
Ex. volunteer	V	FL's cooperator
Ex. volunteer	V	FL's cooperator
Ex. volunteer	V	FL's cooperator

7.3 C. Interviewees of pordenonelegge.it

Relation with PL	Group	Profession
Director Foundation	A	Director Foundation
Curator	A	Writer
Curator	A	PR
Collaborator/Former vol.	B	Art&craft
Collaborator	B	Graphic studio
Collaborator/Vol	B	Student
Trustee	B	Cultural operator
Trustee	B	Bank official
Collaborator	B	Teacher/Writer
Collaborator/Vol	B	Student
Collaborator	B	Writer
Collaborator	B	Writer
Collaborator	B	Writer
Opinion maker	C	Teacher
Opinion maker	C	Policy maker
Opinion maker	C	Cultural operator
Opinion maker	C	Cultural operator
Opinion maker	C	Creative firm
Opinion maker	C	Writer
Sponsor	S	Private firm
Sponsor	S	Creative firm

7.4 D. Festivaletteratura Survey

“L’eredità culturale di Festivaletteratura sul capitale umano”

1. Età

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-54
- 55-74
- 75+

2. Professione

- Studente
- Impiegato
- Imprenditore
- Libero professionista (indicare settore)
- Artigiano
- Artista
- Operatore Culturale
- Insegnante
- Ricercatore/docente universitario
- Casalinga/o
- In cerca di occupazione
- Pensionato
- Altro

Specificare il settore

3. Livello di istruzione raggiunto?

- Diploma di scuola media inferiore
- Diploma di scuola superiore
- Laurea triennale
- Laura specialistica o quadriennale
- Ph.D, ricercatore
- Preferisco non rispondere

4. Qual è il tuo legame con il territorio mantovano?

- Sono nato nel mantovano e vivo qui
- Sono nato nel mantovano ma vivo altrove
- Sono nato altrove ma vivo qui
- Sono nato altrove, non vivo qui, ma a volte mi reco qui per studio o lavoro

Altro (specificare)

5. A quante, se mai, edizioni del festival hai partecipato?

- Nessuna
- Una
- Tra 1 e 5
- Tra 6 e 10
- Quasi tutte

6. Sei mai stato coinvolto dal festival in qualcuna delle seguenti modalità?

- Gruppo di lettura
- Collaboratore occasionale
- Collaboratore a tempo determinato
- Collaboratore a tempo indeterminato
- Non sono mai stato coinvolto dal festival
- Sono stato volontario del festival
- Fornitore di servizi
- Sponsor/partner
- Indirettamente fornitore di servizi (ricezione, strutture turistiche, gestione locations etc)
- Altro

Sapresti dirmi qualcosa in più su questa esperienza? Ogni dettaglio, commento e pensiero sarà fondamentale per questa ricerca

7. Esprimi un valore personale per ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni relative al coinvolgimento del festival di numerose location della città e l'utilizzo di spazi non convenzionali (parchi, piazze, palazzi, chiese, teatri, ecc)

MOLTO; MODERATAMENTE; IN PICCOLA PARTE; PER NULLA; N/D

L'afflusso elevato di persone limita la possibilità di fruizione di alcune location e ostacola il godimento del territorio nel suo insieme

Valorizza il territorio e il suo patrimonio

Limita la fruizione della città e del patrimonio nel suo insieme

Permette la creazione di nuove interazioni tra gli spazi e il pubblico

Gli incontri in spazi non convenzionali rendono più difficile l'ascolto e l'attenzione

Gli incontri in spazi non convenzionali permettono un livello di emozionalità più elevato

Gli incontri in spazi non convenzionali favoriscono l'attenzione e il divertimento

Saresti dirmi qualcosa in più su questa esperienza? Ogni dettaglio, commento e pensiero sarà fondamentale per questa ricerca

8. Esprimi un valore personale per ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni relative alle tipologie di incontri presenti al festival e le relative modalità di interazione tra autori, pubblico e cittadini.

MOLTO; MODERATAMENTE; IN PICCOLA PARTE; PER NULLA; N/D

Facilitano il coinvolgimento nella tematica e l'apprendimento

Stimolano a pensare e vedere le cose da prospettive nuove e differenti

Stimolano e incoraggiano la condivisione del proprio pensiero e della propria esperienza e l'ascolto di quella degli altri

Stimolano la creazione e la condivisione di nuove idee

Generano un senso di familiarità e comunità con gli altri partecipanti

Distolgono l'attenzione dal tema trattato

Saresti dirmi qualcosa in più su questa esperienza? Ogni dettaglio, commento e pensiero sarà fondamentale per questa ricerca

9. Esprimi un valore personale per ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni relative agli effetti che il festival ha generato/condizionato nella tua vita privata e/o attività professionale?

MOLTO; MODERATAMENTE; IN PICCOLA PARTE; PER NULLA; N/D

Conoscere nuove persone e condividere esperienze

Avviare una personale attività grazie alle competenze acquisite, passioni scoperte o persone conosciute

Sentirmi parte della community del festival

Migliorare la mia cultura e formazione

Frequentare di più le librerie, le biblioteche e i gruppi di lettura del territorio

Incremento nelle mie attività culturali, quali corsi, viaggi, workshops, seminari, associazioni c.

Sviluppare nuove idee e nuove modalità di approccio ad alcuni ambiti/mansioni/lavori

Avvicinarmi a contesti disciplinari che non avevo considerato prima

Avvicinarmi a realtà territoriali che non conoscevo (associazioni, fondazioni, scuole, istituti culturali, musei, gallerie etc)

Sviluppare nuova conoscenza e know-how in alcuni determinati ambiti

Sapresti dirmi qualcosa in più su questa esperienza? Ogni dettaglio, commento e pensiero sarà fondamentale per questa ricerca.

10. Esprimi un valore personale per ognuna delle seguenti affermazioni relative al legame del festival con il territorio mantovano e i suoi effetti su di esso.

MOLTO; MODERATAMENTE; IN PICCOLA PARTE; PER NULLA; N/D

è un incentivo e un impulso per le attività economiche e commerciali

rappresenta un'istituzione nel contesto mantovano

rappresenta un bene del patrimonio culturale cittadino

ha favorito lo sviluppo di nuovi progetti e attività nel contesto territoriale

ha reso la comunità mantovana più aperta e ricettiva a nuove iniziative

ha favorito la nascita di una rete di attori locali attiva tutto l'anno

ha stimolato la crescita di attività imprenditoriali legate al settore della cultura e della creatività

ha reso la città più attiva e vitale anche durante il resto dell'anno.

ha favorito il passaggio di capacità e buone pratiche nei cittadini e partecipanti.

ha rafforzato l'identità locale e il legame con il proprio territorio.

ha fatto accrescere l'orgoglio locale.

Sapresti dirmi qualcosa in più su questa esperienza? Ogni dettaglio, commento e pensiero sarà fondamentale per questa ricerca.