THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY

Regenerating industrial heritage in Rome

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Foreword

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ABSTRACT
Former industries are increasingly being reinterpreted for cultural uses despite sometimes having an ambiguous past. The slaughterhouse in Testaccio, Rome, has since its' closing in 1975 been the object of various kinds of plans and uses by a number of actors with different interests. Today, the former slaughterhouse is being transformed into a cultural and creative centre as a part of Rome's official urban planning. The aim of this study is to analyse and describe the process of a cultural regeneration of the post-industrial place. By identifying the various actors that have used that slaughterhouse, two main groups have been categorised as official and unofficial, based on their claims and formal resources of power in relation to the site. In order to analyse this process, the discourses created through statements and physical alterations of the material fabric and the situation of the area made by the various actors have been identified and examined. The establishment of a dominant discourse of place by the official actors involves the selection of certain features of the area, while other elements become obscured, in order to create the image of the creative city. Another important aspect of cultural regeneration having been made clearly illustrated through this study is the significance of unofficial interventions and uses of the industrial place. The unofficial actors have the possibility of developing discursive places outside of the normative views of urban planning, rediscovering the values of forgotten places. Although highly absent from the dominant discourse of the place as present, their previous interventions played an important part in the reinterpretation of place. Furthermore, the study of the various groups and their interaction and relations to the raises further questions on who has the right to transform and inhabit the future city.

Keywords: Industrial heritage, urban regeneration, creative city, place, urban resistance

Contents

1.   Introduction

1.1   Background

In the contemporary city, cultural projects and cultural heritage have become crucial factors in the regeneration of the urban landscape. The creative industries are increasingly seen as the new motors creating economic growth and social regeneration in the urban context. Simultaneously, the built heritage of the industrial era has increasingly come to represent an important resource for various kinds of adaptive reuse, including the possibility to modify these buildings for cultural and artistic purposes. Drawing on Richard Florida's influential theories of the creative class (Florida 2003), the housing of cultural and creative activities in redundant industrial buildings and sites is believed to enhance the quality of life and promote economic growth in the post-industrial urban place. After the closing of many major industries and the increased interest in subjects such as industrial archaeology, industrial landscapes have become increasingly popular spaces for creating trendy locations, that yet seemingly provide an authentic feeling. Although there can be said to exist a general agreement today of the value of the industrial place, there still exist a contradiction in the contemporary cultural uses of these areas that formerly have been defined by their low status and poor reputation. The current development indicates a shift from the previous ideas of redevelopment that often coincided with major demolitions, and the construction of new buildings. This contemporary paradigm concerning the redevelopment of the urban fabric has created an interface between urban regeneration and conservation as these projects per se are taking place in an historic urban environment.

The industrial place, and its heritage, is often representing an ambiguous relation to the past. On the one hand, the material remains of industry may represent painful memories and difficult conditions, while on the other, these buildings are increasingly being appreciated today due to their aesthetics and their potential to take on new uses. With various types of re-use of industrial buildings for cultural expressions becoming internationally spread, the industrial past has come to represent a resource for grass-root organisations as well as international and powerful actors. Not only does the industrial heritage represent an ambiguous relationship to the past, but its potential as a resource in urban regeneration will in many cases involve a number of various, and sometimes conflicting, interests. How did the industrial urban place come to be perceived a scene for cultural production and creativity? This is the ambiguous process of transformation that is the main point of departure for this study.

1.2   Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyse the development of a strategy, and the process, of cultural regeneration in a post-industrial area.

The following questions are guiding the analysis:

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Who are the main actors involved in the process of regeneration?

In what way are these actors reusing the industrial heritage at the site?

How has the pre-requisites for the current projects been created?

What is the intended audience for the above-mentioned projects?

In what way are the various actors interacting in the process of regeneration?

1.3 Case study and delimitations

The site that I have chosen as a case study is the neighbourhood of Testaccio in Rome. This neighbourhood is mainly defined by the urban development of Rome dating back from the *Risorgimento* and the early 20th century. Designated as the first proper industrial and working-class area of Rome, the neighbourhood has had a central position in the growth of the modern city of Rome. Since the slaughterhouse closed down in the 1970s, the area lost its industrial core, and has since been awaiting regeneration and new uses. New plans for the regeneration of the area and reuse of the slaughterhouse have been presented since the 1960s, but it is only the most recent years that any properly organised interventions have been realised. In this interim-period, many provisional actors came to use the empty spaces of the slaughterhouse, representing political and sub-cultural movements. At present, the regeneration projects in Testaccio are mostly focused on the former slaughterhouse, where the municipality of Rome is aiming to create a Città delle Arti, a cultural hub in the future city. The slaughterhouse is furthermore representing an important piece of Rome's industrial heritage, as one of the city's first sites of industrial production. Thus, this study will mainly be focused on the developments and uses of the industrial space of the former slaughterhouse, and the various events that have taken place within its borders. This being said, I will also be discussing the history and some of the visions for the rest of the neighbourhood, as the I believe that the industrial heritage cannot be discussed outside of its geographical and historical context in the city.

Although I am focusing on a single site of industrial heritage, the phenomenon of culture- and heritage-led regeneration of former industrial areas is widely spread throughout many major European cities today. In order to broaden the perspective of this study, I am also comparing the primary case study with a similar case situated in Berlin. The particular conditions of the roman context need of course to be taken into consideration, but given the international scope of the phenomenon of cultural regeneration, the results of this study will still provide valid insights on the problem in question.

In time, this study will be covering a period stretching from the 1960s until present day. This period is selected as it is representing the beginning of the discussions of the slaughterhouse's future uses, and it is ending at present, in the on going projects of cultural regeneration. In order to grasp the entire number of discussions, plans and various uses that the slaughterhouse has gone through since its' closing, it is necessary to cover this specific period in time.

1.4   Empirical material

The empirical material of the study is consisting mainly of printed sources concerning the urban development and regeneration of the case study, as well as my own observations at the site during a number of visits during a nine-month period between September 2014 and May 2015.

Looking more in detail at the chosen material, it is covering a range of various publications and documents such as plans, brochures, newspaper articles and books. I will also consult the 2003 general urban plan of Rome, and the websites of the concerned actors. From my own observations at the site I will also be taking into consideration the various interventions in the built fabric, as well as signs and available information on the current development of the projects and activities at the site. Furthermore, the printed sources will cover the same period in time as presented above, that is from the 1960s until present day, focusing mainly on the interventions dating from the 1980s and onwards.

By covering quite a broad range of sources, I will be able to describe the process of regeneration from a number of perspectives, thus capturing the various voices and interests that are, and have been active at the site. Further, the material changes, restorations and additions in the physical fabric constitute an important part of the process of regenerating and reinterpreting the former industrial place. The way in which these changes have been carried out and described is to some extent reflecting the visions and expectations of the actors at the site.

1.5   Previous research and relevance of the study

Within the field of conservation and heritage studies, there is a vast body of research concerned with the process and transformation of identities in the urban landscape. Due to the scope of this study, I will not be able to cover this entire body of research. Instead I will focus on some of the publications that are the most relevant to my study, and that have been influential to my approach to the current set of problems.

Industrial archaeology as a subject and field of research was born in the context of de-industrialisation in the 1950s England. As being the birthplace of the industrial revolution, post-industrial England has a vast number of industrial remains today, making up an important part of the country's heritage. Naturally, many approaches to the interpretation and managing of the post-industrial place were developed within an English context. The discipline of industrial archaeology is covering a wide and interdisciplinary spectrum of research, ranging from actual excavations and historical interpretations of the industrial past, to modern industrial heritage and the contemporary reuse and management of former industries. As discussed in *Industrial Archaeology: Future Directions,* there is an ongoing debate concerning the scope of the discipline. In the chapter " 'Social Workers' New Directions in Industrial Archaeology" of the aforementioned book, Eleanor Conlin Casella outlines some of these discussions, and shows how the field is expanding both in time – covering sites not only of production, but also of consumption, and how a more interdisciplinary approach

has developed concerning the interpretation and management of industrial heritage sites (Conlin Casella 2005:3-6).

In a Swedish context, an important contribution was made by Annika Alzén in 1996 through her dissertation *Fabriken som Kulturarv: Frågan om industrilandskapets bevarande i Norrköping 1950-1985* ("The Factory as Cultural Heritage: Preserving the Industrial Landscape in Norrköping 1950-1985). Departing from her case study of the former textile industry in the city of Norrköping, she is investigating how the worn down factories were turned into an accepted piece of cultural heritage and became viewed as an attractive industrial landscape. She finds that the reinterpretation of the remains of the industrial past coincided with a broadening of the dominating discourse of heritage. Included in the discourse was a new understanding of the cultural landscape and role of industrial heritage in matters of city planning. Specific to the Swedish context, she finds that the "dig where you stand"-movement influenced and democratised this process, so that the discourse of heritage also came to include the more common heritage belonging to the workers of the former factories. Further within this broad field, the recent dissertation by Anna Storm, titled *Hope and Rust* (2008), has presented results that have influenced my own approaches to the subject. In her dissertation, Storm examines how the former industrial place is being reused and reinterpreted in a contemporary situation. She finds that the industrial place has become a commodity and appreciated for aesthetic properties and a feeling of authenticity through their materiality. This process is interpreted by Storm as a way reconciling with the ambiguous and difficult past of the steel industry, and as a means of creating the conditions of hope and future development. While Storm's focus lies mainly in the contemporary understanding of the industrial heritage, my interests also covers the analysis of the processes leading up to these results, and their abilities to create new "images" of a place.

Dealing more specifically with the processes constructing historical identities of a former working-class area is Ingrid Holmberg in "'Where the Past is Still Alive': Variation Over the Identity of Haga, in Göteborg" (2002)[1]. Holmberg analyses how the historical values in Haga changed through a discursive process when the area was threatened with demolition in the 1960s. Heritage values were inscribed in the area through the construction of an historical identity as "the first worker's district" of Gothenburg. Holmberg finds that this identity was created through a discursive space where certain material values were connected to an imagined "worker's identity". Reinterpreting Haga as a genuine worker's district, only certain material properties came to be highlighted in the restoration process as they had been inscribed into the discursive space of the worker's identity. Holmberg also finds a commodification of the past in the contemporary reinterpretation process of the area, and

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[1] See also; Holmberg Martins, I. *På Stadens Yta: Om historiseringen av Haga* (2006)

[2] See the *Route Industriekultur* at: http://www.route-industriekultur.de

[3] "Questo quartiere, opportunamente segregato dal resto della città ed in immediato

specifically relevant within the present study, she finds that the construction of identities takes place through discursive practices.

Moving back towards the contemporary use of the industrial space, Gabriella Olshammar's dissertation *Det Permanentade Provisoriet: Ett återanvänt industriområde i väntan på rivning eller erkännande* (2002) ("The Provisional Made Permanent: A reused industrial zone in waiting of demolition or recognition"), has also been an important influence to the direction that my study is aiming towards. Olshammar bases her examination on the concept of the "permanent-provisional state", through a case study analysis of the Gustaf Dalén area in Gothenburg, a reused industrial centre. She finds that the area has been set in a "permanent-provisional state", by the various discourses established by the more powerful actors at the site. By describing the current uses as provisional, and the present built environment as worn down and lacking value, a situation is created where the area is being put on hold. Being described as an "in-between area" prevents the current uses from being properly established or developed, while the area can be more easily utilised by the more powerful actors when they choose to develop the site for their own means. The concept of the "permanent-provisional" state is thus a prerequisite of regeneration, and is useful for exploring the power relations within the development of a site. How this concept can be applied in my chosen case study will be further described below.

Culture-led regeneration has been highly influenced by the writings of Richard Florida (2003), who has developed the concept of the "creative city", as replacing the former society of production with one of consumption. As the creative industries are increasingly seen as the generators of economic growth in urban areas, the branding of cities has become increasingly common. These contemporary regeneration policies, in a western context, have been subject to much criticism. Graeme Evans, in "Branding the City of Culture – The Death of City Planning?" (2006), points out the risks of cultural branding being directed rather towards investments and tourism than enhancing local conditions, diluting local identities towards an international brand, rather than strengthening them. This development can also lead to an increasing gentrification of the areas affected by culture-led regeneration. One of the most influential scholars dealing with gentrification today is Sharon Zukin, who has studied this concept through a number of publications. Deriving from the word "gentry" (referring to an upper middle-class with a high cultural and economic capital), gentrification is commonly defined as a process of displacement of socio-economic groups and was first defined by the urban sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 (Zukin 1987). In *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (2010), Zukin explores how the older and diverse urban fabric is being increasingly valued as a carrier of authentic values. The authentic feeling of a neighbourhood is often based on aesthetic criteria, where formerly run-down areas become upgraded and appreciated by members of the new "creative" middle class inhabiting the city centres today. Her results also points towards a tendency of commodification and esthetisation of the urban heritage, and the increasing consumption of the authenticity and values connected to this heritage. Another common point made by the aforementioned authors is the risk of losing

regional urban identities as the arena of urban regeneration and the strategies behind them become increasingly international.

This body of research has been covering a wide range of disciplines and approaches to the urban heritage and the different means of its regeneration. In the current study I will be able to contribute by examining the quite contemporary phenomenon of cultural regeneration applied on a post-industrial place. While the chosen case study has been the object of historical and sociological research, the contemporary regeneration and reinterpretation of the place has not been studied thoroughly. Furthermore, by choosing a case where the process of regeneration is continuing at present, this study will also be able to provide a unique insight into the progress of a complex process of reinterpretation of place.

1.6   Theoretical positioning – place, heritage and branding
The theoretical positioning to my examination is together with the review of the previous research forming the background to my pre-understanding of the specific set of problems of this study.

When approaching the set of problems connected to this study, they are set within a certain *place.* The concept of place in this context goes beyond the mere physical boundaries of an area, and is instead viewed as a process where different meanings and stories are confirmed and reproduced. My interest concerns mainly the connection of place and the production of identity and images. As mentioned previously, the theoretical approach that Anna Storm takes in her dissertation *Hope and Rust* (2008) connected to the concept of place has been a point of departure to my own theoretical positioning. In what way then, are the ideas of a certain place being constructed? Storm connects the production of place to the process of reinterpretation (and as such a reproduction of a place), and concludes when talking about industrial sites, that: "a designated industrial heritage – one way the place in a post-industrial situation has been given new meaning – can be regarded as a selected and confirmed memory of the industrial past." (Storm 2008:20). In this sense, a place is being created and confirmed as having value in the present, with a connection being forged to the materiality of the site. The idea of the place thus, does not exist without certain material properties, which are being reinterpreted through time. As Storm points out, one issue at hand concerning the industrial place is the lack of contemporary understanding of the original meaning and function of the material remains and buildings. The industrial place does not "mean" the same thing for the contemporary visitor as it did for the original worker.

Doreen Massey, in the article "Places and Their Past" (1995), explains how the identification of place through its past can produce a number of competing stories and interpretations, as different groups tries to recreate a past that is conforming to their visions of the present and future. The ever-changing identity of a place becomes characterized by the history that is the most dominant at a specific moment, which also adds a dimension of power to the production of place. Massey also claims that spaces are produced within social relations through time, rather than material realities with physical borders. This is a notion that she describes as being constructed in "space-time", and

specifically through the social practices connected to this place (Massey 1995:188). That is to say, places, whether being a nation state or a neighbourhood, are created through a process in which both certain spatial and temporal values are being selected and reinterpreted. Through time, these places are constantly being transformed, new stories are being told and new interpretations are changing their borders. Connected to the case study of this examination is the way in which Testaccio has been continuously created and recreated as a specific *place.* Although this includes the material reproduction of a physical space and an urban fabric, the focus lies rather on how the reuse of the present physical place is transforming ideas of the place Testaccio.

When discussing the creation of places, there is also the issue of the consumption of said places, which is an increasingly relevant phenomenon in the contemporary post-industrial society of the western world. John Urry, in *Consuming Places* (1995)*,* introduces the concept of consumption in place making on a number of different levels. According to Urry, places can be consumed not only as a space for the trading of goods and capital, but they can also be visually and physically consumed by the people experiencing and visiting them. He also provides an interesting view of the image of post-industrial places. The post-industrial is a concept that is rooted rather in nostalgia and memory of a time perceived as more genuine than the contemporary. We live in a society where the production of goods is a major necessity, although it might not be present in the way that an industrial society is imagined. This, according to Urry explains the contemporary fascination with the remains of the early 20th century industrial development. In these material remains lies the nostalgic conceptions of times and values that have been lost. The idea of the post-industrial society conveys a sense of loss and distance to an industrial past. This past is what constitutes the industrial heritage of modern society. Within the visual consumption of places, the *materiality* of said places also becomes relevant to pay closer attention to. Specifically when dealing with the reuse of industrial buildings, where a value is recognised in the aesthetics properties of the construction.

Although the construction of place is a complex process, it is closely connected to both a material reality and time. In this same context, it can also be useful to discuss the concept of heritage, as this can be a central part of defining a place. Heritage is a concept much discussed by a number of scholars within different disciplines, but in this study I will use one of the more common definitions of heritage as the "contemporary uses of the past" (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2000:2). Just as places described above are in a constant state of change, so heritage is also being transformed to suit the needs of the present. Inherent in this process is an aspect of power, and the possibility of conflicting interests in representing the past (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). Heritage can also be used when creating places by providing a sense of belonging, or even ownership of a certain territory (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007:5). This constitutes that identities (plural or singular) become ascribed to places, which in turn can be used for a number of purposes, including; "the construction of images of place for promotion in various markets for various purposes" (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007:5). As outlined

here, place and identity are closely related and are constantly being transformed in the present by the selection and use of the past as heritage. The last quote is particularly relevant as it also highlights the role of place identities in the promotion and consumption of places. All places are then to some extent being transformed, but where a regeneration scheme consciously has been set up, the construction of place identity and promotion can be viewed in a particularly interesting setting. The specific identity and memory in a place can be expressed visually, through a symbolic "reading" of the landscape, where certain features carry meanings and values (McDowell 2008:39). How these symbols are read, and their meaning in the present is something that is constantly being negotiated and "invented" by different groups for various reasons (McDowell 2008).

Within this theoretical setting, we can establish a connection between place, the physical site, and heritage. Returning to the question of the construction of place and "branding" through the past of a place and by reusing the historic urban fabric, there can also be different histories being selected by the various aspects that are being highlighted through the selection of specific buildings and environments to reuse, as well as the once more, discursive practices by the various actors involved in the regeneration of the area. As the area of Testaccio previously have been a run down and low status neighbourhood, the process of regenerating the area through a number of cultural activities constitutes an act of creating a new brand of the neighbourhood. By highlighting certain historical properties, an area with a previously poor reputation can be reinterpreted through the establishment of a new discourse of place.

1.7   Methodology
In the field of cultural heritage research, there has recently been an increase in the interest in the analysis of discourses when examining the way in which heritage is being managed, used and interpreted (Oevermann & Mieg 2015:13). Laurajane Smith has provided important insights into this methodological approach through her book "The Uses of Heritage" (Smith 2006). She expands on the critical discourse analysis by focusing on how a profoundly Western discourse and construction of heritage has come to dominate heritage practices worldwide through what she calls an authorized heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006:29). The AHD is largely based on the narratives of Western history, with a focus on values connected to the authenticity of material heritage and the importance of expert and professional verdicts. Smith mainly focuses on the consequences of applying an authorized discourse on non-Western heritage and the unequal power relations between different actors that is the consequence of this discourse being sustained. Although Smith is engaged in a different context than this study is positioned within, her approach to analysing the dominance and consequences of an authority-based discourse can also be useful to apply on this case study, as she claims that:

"…another aspect of the AHD's obfuscation of, and attempts to exclude, competing discourses is the way it constructs heritage as something that is engaged with passively – while it may be the subject of popular 'gaze', that gaze is a passive one in which the audience will uncritically consume the message of heritage constructed by heritage

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experts." (Smith 2006:31)

Smith makes a point here of the power of the authorised discourse in completely dominating the context in which it is positioned. The role of the expert in interpreting the object of heritage leaves little room for any competing claims. Furthermore, in relation to the authorised and dominant discourse, there often exists a "subaltern or dissenting discourse" (Smith 2006:35). This alternative discourse is often in opposition to the dominant one, and is expressed by less powerful groups in relation to the object in question, but to whom this can represent an important part of their heritage.

As originally developed by Michel Foucault, discourses concern the way in which knowledge is constructed, mainly through texts, but stretching into a greater sphere of production of knowledge (Smith 2006:14; Foucault 1991). Discourses, as understood in this study, are the spheres of production of knowledge on a certain phenomenon expressed both through textual descriptions of the place as well as the ways in which people interact with the material site in various ways. In the previous section the theoretical approach towards place and heritage as constructed through social practices was established. As I aim to describe and analyse the process of regenerating a post-industrial place, and my material is mainly consisting of textual material, I will primarily be analysing how various discourses of place created through the documents produced by the relevant actors. My methodological approach is furthermore inspired by the work of Gabriella Olshammar, and her concept of the permanent-provisional state, developed in her dissertation *Det Permanentade Provisoriet: Ett återanvänt industriområde i väntan på rivning eller erkännande* (2002). Olshammar uses this concept to describe her case study of the Gustav Dalén-area in Gothenburg, a former industrial site in which a number of more or less provisional activities have established while the site awaits a "proper" renewal. The "permanent-provisional" state that this area has entered is described by Olshammar as a specific set of conditions making it possible to let the site remain in a state of being "in-waiting" by not letting the current activities become properly established and creating a stigma of the place. This state is also constructed by the dominating discourse of place, through which the problematic view of the place is being created and re-created. A vast part of her analysis is based on the discursive construction of place, and how certain actors can gain control of this construction by having larger resources of power and expression.

Through the analysis and identification of the various groups of actors that has a connection to the post-industrial place of Testaccio, and is occupied with its regeneration, I want to further analyse how different and possibly competing discourses of place are being created. The ways in which discourses and ways of interacting with the place is being constructed is naturally dependent on the resources of the different actors. In my analysis I will include primarily the textual material, but also the various activities taking place at the site, as well as the material changes of the built fabric. As I attempted to highlight in the theoretical approach, the process of constructing places is closely linked to

aspects of heritage and conceptions of history. Smith too makes the connection to place as a central aspect in the construction of heritage saying that:

"…a sense of place demands recognition that the act of *being* at a heritage place and experiencing that place – whether site managers or tour operators regulate that experience or not – is fundamentally significant." (Smith 2006:77)

The way in which people experience a place, and what they are doing at that place, is furthermore an important part of the creation of discourse of place. By focusing on the analysis of the different expressions by the concerned actors on the site, I aim to identify how dominant and alternative discourses are continuously constructing the place of Testaccio in the ongoing regeneration of the area.

The reason for having chosen to do a case study is based on the aim to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon rather than providing any final answers to a problem, as; "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena." (Yin 2003:3). The single case study is relevant as I wish to illustrate the complexity and uniqueness of the problem statement of the study - but also of the more comprehensive processes that could be found in similar cases. Furthermore, the specificity of the subject in question, where the process of transformation is deeply linked to the historical and geographical context, causes the need of a deep understanding and description of these circumstances. The case study as a method has been subject to much criticism and has been thought of as not providing generalized results of the studied phenomena and being too subjective, as well as being especially prone to bias when approaching the empirical material (Flyvbjerg 2003:197-199, Bell 2005:11-13, Yin 2003:9-11). Although this critique can prove to be relevant, and is highly important to be aware of when performing the study, the single case study has also proved to be a useful means of providing detailed information of a specific phenomenon, both due to its focus on case – and the richness of empirical material and detail that can be extracted and analysed from the circumstances of that case (Flyvbjerg 2003:200). Due to the site-specific circumstances concerning the present subject, the results, although linked to the particular context of the case, can provide a contribution to the specific body of research concerned with questions of urban regeneration and industrial heritage, and aid in broadening the understanding of the examined processes.

1.8   Disposition

In order to position this study in a broader context of adaptive reuse, industrial heritage and cultural regeneration, chapter 2 will provide a description and discussion of the general paradigm shift within the affected disciplines, and a more thorough background to the issues of interest in this thesis. Chapter three further describes the historical background to the case study, placing it in an historic context. The following chapters 4-7 are presenting the empirical material of the case study. As the study concerns the process of regeneration during nearly 40 years, I have chosen to divide this period into different phases. Occasionally overlapping, these phases are presented in a chronological order,

guided by the various groups of actors who have been active in the regeneration process. The following analysis is presented in chapters 8-10. These begin with a comparative analysis of the examined case to a similar situation in Berlin, which is followed by the identification and analysis of the various place-specific discourses created through the process of regeneration. Lastly, chapter 11 offers the final results and a conclusive discussion.

2.   Industrial heritage and the contemporary potential

In this chapter the development of a heritage perspective concerning the urban industrial past will be outlined, as well as its role within contemporary urban regeneration policies. What I wish to highlight here is the increasingly important role that the redundant industrial buildings of the early 20th century has come to play when developing regeneration schemes today, in particularly concerning cultural and creative regeneration, and the possible consequences of these approaches.

2.1   Managing the post-industrial

During the 1970s, a wave of deindustrialisation came to affect vast parts of Europe's industries (Stratton 2000:10). Being the birthplace of industrialism, the consequences of deindustrialisation were primarily noticeable in a British context. This development caused a large number of industrial sites to become redundant and left abandoned, which naturally led to the issue of whether these sites would be conserved and managed, or demolished to make way for new development. In many cases, an additional issue has been the pollution of the surrounding areas due to the production having taken place there, causing major interventions having to be carried out in order to clean the site (Stratton 2000:25). As the industrial place began to be threatened, the question of its status as heritage also came into focus. In order for a building or place to be considered as cultural heritage, it usually has to go through a process of reinterpretation. The potential heritage also need to be positioned at a considerable distance in time, so as the historical relevance can become identified. One of the first contexts where the material remains of the industrial past came to be recognised as heritage, was within the field of industrial archaeology. As a discipline, industrial archaeology had its origins in Great Britain, starting around the same period as many industries began to shut down (Conlin Casella 2005:4). The reinterpretation of the industrial place as heritage was not an unproblematic process in many cases, and was often met with a lack of understanding of the value of the building or site (Stratton 2000:11). In Great Britain, industrial archaeology initially evolved out of a concern of the former places of production disappearing together with the knowledge of the labour that had taken place there. The earliest forms of management of industrial sites took the form of industrial and open-air museums, preserving both material structures and means of production (Stratton 2000: 11). In a British context, the Ironbridge Gorge Museum was one of the earliest occasions of a former industrial site, in this case an ironworks, being preserved and reused through the creation of a museum in the 1970s (Storm 2008:104). Many of the early initiatives to preserve these industrial sites were grass-root movements, consisting of people with a personal connection and commitment to the history of the site. Eventually, these movements would spread from Great Britain, to the establishment of eco-museums in France, and the "dig where you stand"-movement in Sweden (Storm 2008:39). According to Storm, the popular interpretation and initiatives concerning industrial heritage, added a political factor to the preservation of these buildings and sites where;

"The early period of industrial archaeology was one of decline, and the public enthusiasm could partly be regarded as a way of contrasting and compensating the contemporary state of affairs with the glorious history of the early industrial revolution." (Storm 2008: 41)

The recognition of industrial heritage could, at least to begin with, thus be regarded as a counter-movement to de-industrialization and the consequences of this development on the local communities. These early initiatives also represent a democratization of heritage and the possibilities of creating your own history. Today, a vast number of industrial museums, hosted in their historical environment, are still located in Scandinavia and Great Britain (Stratton 2000:126). Similarly in Germany the industrial heritage came to be valorized at an early stage, with the "Route of Industrial Heritage" leading through the Ruhr-area[2]. In this project, Ruhr's well-known coal mining industry, dating from the late 19th and early 20th century has been turned into a vast eco-museum reflecting the heritage of this period. The route is planned as to guide the visitor through the most important sites of industrial archaeology and industrial museums, for the most part situated in the *Emscher Park.* Within this vast industrial park can be found sites such as the Oberhausen Gasometer, transformed into an exhibition hall, and the Zollverein coal mine area, today a complex including museums, restaurants and various other activities (Ćopić et al. 2014:46). The entire project has been celebrated as a success concerning its impact on the regeneration of a post-industrial area, as well as an important tourist attraction, that has inspired similar initiatives on a European scale (Ćopić et al. 2014:49).

Today, the recognition of, and interest in industrial heritage is widely spread and can illustrated through the greater inclusion of these sites in various official listings. Examples include the selection of former industrial sites to be included in UNESCO's World Heritage List beginning in the 1970s (Falser 2001:8), and the foundation of organizations specifically dedicated to the safeguarding of industrial heritage such as TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage). As Stratton also notes, the attitude towards, and interpretation of the industrial heritage can differ somewhat between context and countries, depending on the specific historic past (Stratton 2000:21). It should also be noted that industrial heritage is a concept that is covering a very wide range of places and buildings. Particularly within the field of industrial archaeology, the understanding and definition of industrial heritage is being broadened to include a greater number of sites of historic production. As pointed out in a recent publication by the Australian Heritage Council of Victoria, *Adaptive Reuse of Industrial Heritage: Opportunities & Challenges* (2013);

"The remains of our industrial heritage are more than the buildings that housed industrial activity – they include landscapes and precincts, machinery and industrial archaeology, remnants and other traces of processes and production. Agriculture and

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[2] See the *Route Industriekultur* at: http://www.route-industriekultur.de

mine workings have both had major impacts on our landscapes and topography – including the large-scale mounds of mine mullock and tailings." (Australian Heritage Council of Victoria 2013:3)

Considering the great diversity of industrial heritage sites, a number of different approaches have to be taken concerning their safeguarding and restoration, as well as the identification of the new context where these sites can be identified. Thus, sites of industrial heritage can be found not only in connection to cities, or city centers, although these sites will be the primary focus in this study. If turning the attention to the Italian context, although the industrial heritage and its cultural importance has been widely recognized today, it is not comprised by the great number of sites and initiatives of conservation that can be observed in the British or German context.

2.2   Conservation and reuse

The development of the understanding, and reinterpretation of the redundant industrial site as heritage was almost simultaneous to a general paradigm shift within conservation and heritage management, as well as in urban development. Concerning urban heritage, the formerly dominating preservationist ideas have come to be increasingly challenged by the possibility of using heritage as a resource of urban regeneration (Stratton 2000:18). This shift has inevitably lead to a closer cooperation between urban planners and professionals from the heritage sector, ensuring that historical values and use values are taken into consideration in the process of reusing historical buildings (Bandarin et al. 2012:68). Contemporary urban planning has begun to be increasingly concerned with the regeneration of the urban fabric, rather than traditional development. Stratton describes this new paradigm as:

"The underlying philosophy of regeneration is that cities have rich resources and values that can be nurtured and revived, and that the benefits of an improved environment and of new jobs will filter down to bring lasting or sustainable benefits to the whole community." (Stratton 2000:18)

These ideas naturally include the entire built heritage, within various limits of heritage listing and protection, but are particularly relevant concerning industrial heritage sites and buildings. The widespread interest in the potential of reusing historical buildings is reflected in recent publications such as *Investing in Heritage: A Guide to Successful Urban Regeneration* (2007) by the INHERIT project, and *Heritage Works* (2006) by English Heritage. The former publication is the result of a study carried out by INHERIT, an international project involving a number of European cities and led by the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions. This initiative focuses mainly on a European urban context, and illustrates the possibilities and difficulties of regeneration projects through a number of case studies from various countries. As suggested in the title, this is intended as a practical guide to implement various strategies of adaptive reuse on the built heritage. Further practical advice is given in the latter publication, that describes the actual process and necessary steps in establishing heritage-led regeneration projects. Although not concerning industrial sites in particular,

these publications illustrate the growing interest in regenerating the urban fabric, and the relevance of reusing the historical built fabric rather than constructing new buildings. Reasons for this are one hand practical, such as environmental and economic concerns, and on the other more concerned with the aesthetics of the older building. English Heritage highlights the need of finding tenants to the reused building matching its "style" (English Heritage 2006:27-28), while INHERIT focuses on the strengthening of local identities by the regeneration of historical buildings (INHERIT 2007:91).

There are many examples of how these ideas have been operationalized, such as the recent developments in the residential area of *Västra hamnen* in Malmö, Sweden. In this case, the former shipyard is being transformed into a new neighbourhood with a mix of old historic buildings from the yard industry, as well as contemporary additions (Nilsson/Hållbar Stad). The various ideas and forms that adaptive reuse can take illustrates how the *use value* of the historic environment has become of major importance when regenerating as well as restoring historic areas. Besides for the practical benefits of reusing older buildings, the style and aesthetic properties of the building are also emphasised as being able to enhance the local identities of an area, but also, which might seem as somewhat of a contradiction, attract suitable new tenants to the restored building. If considering former industrial buildings in particular the previously mentioned report by the Heritage Council of Victoria; *Adaptive Reuse of Industrial Heritage: Opportunities & Challenges*, which as the title suggests further focuses on the reuse values of the industrial heritage. In this case the act of adaptive reuse is highlighted as measure of conservation, and of specifically modifying the new use of the site as a means of interpreting the past of the site. It also reflects the continuous historisation of the building as; "Adding a new layer without erasing earlier layers, an adaptive reuse project becomes part of the long history of the site. It is another stage, not the final outcome." (Australian Heritage Council of Victoria 2013:5). Interpreted in its widest sense, the concept of adaptive reuse can be applied to nearly interventions in the historical site that provides additional meanings and uses to the original material state and function.

The ideas outlined above concerning the revitalization of the urban landscape, and the expected social and economic benefits following this revitalization, can be traced from the writings of Jane Jacobs' influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Jacobs' writings contain a heavy critique of the over-rationality that she discerns in the planning ideals of the 1960s. One main point of departure for Jacobs is the experience that in the "slums" of the city exists an urban vitality that goes against the belief of modernist planning principles focused on entire redevelopment as opposed to regeneration of the existing urban fabric. She also highlights the need of a mix of old and new buildings, as to promote a diversity of activities and create a living neighbourhood. "Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings" (Jacobs, 1993:245). The quite radical ideas of Jacobs at the time, that the old and worn buildings of the urban centres could not only provide a pleasant environment for the local community, but also stimulate innovation and growth, have today been incorporated widely in various contexts of

planning. This has eventually also led to a certain critique of the development of many city centres that have taken place during the last 20 years. The living, yet worn-down "slums" that Jacobs witnessed during the 1960s, have today in many cases been transformed into fashionable and trendy neighbourhoods that yet provide an authentic feel through the historical built environment. When the status of the neighbourhood increases, so does the costs of living, which can lead to a displacement of the previous tenants when they no longer can afford to stay in their former homes. This process of *gentrification* has been examined and critiqued from a number of angles, in this context perhaps most notably by Sharon Zukin, who notes that the aspect that Jacobs failed to predict was:

 "...too see how maintaining the physical fabric of the old city, its loft buildings and four- and five-story townhouses, would create a precious commodity that few longtime residents and store owners could afford."(Zukin 2010:244).

This was a development that hardly was visible for Jacobs, but that is evident in many major cities worldwide today.

2.3   Cultural regeneration

These developments can generally illustrate how industrial sites have been interpreted as heritage, and the evolvement of a contemporary interest in historical buildings in the context of urban regeneration. Other important influences in the context of current urban regeneration policies are, as mentioned in the introduction, the writings of Richard Florida. Florida further develops the ideas of the economic growth of cities having more to do with creative capital, rather than being based on a purely rational economic reasoning (Florida 2003:7). His theory of the "creative class" as a driving force of growth within cities is based on theories of human clustering. Simply put, members of the "creative class", consisting of highly educated individuals working within the creative sector (not to be confused with the cultural sector), are forming creative centres in contemporary cities. The clustering of the creative class in certain areas cannot be traced within aspects of traditional urban planning, as they are attracted rather by reasons such as those described by Jane Jacobs in the 1960s. "...high-quality experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and, above all else, the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people." (Florida 2003: 9) are the most important factors for this group to relocate in a certain area. The experienced authenticity and diversity desired by this group is more likely to be found in an urban landscape with mixed old and new buildings, than in entirely newly constructed suburban centers. Thus, upgrading old neighborhoods and city cores, and preserving historic buildings, can generate the prerequisites for the creation of the "creative city". Theoretically, this mix would create possibilities for a diverse range of social groups and activities to establish in an area, although the increasing presence of the creative class also can lead to an upgrading of the urban space that rather breeds gentrification through the exclusion and displacement of vulnerable socio-economic groups. Moving back again to industrial sites and buildings, the recognition of them as heritage, and of having important values of history, as well as of re-use, have included them in the discourse of creative planning and regeneration.

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The connection between industrial heritage and contemporary discourses of city planning is the focus of my interest, and the context in which this study is mostly positioned. I would further like to emphasise the increasingly important role of industrial heritage in urban planning discourse and practice, and the increasingly important role of culture and creative industries in the regeneration of former industrial sites in particular. A good account of the recent developments is given in the recently published anthology *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourses,* edited by Heike Oevermann and Harald A. Mieg (2015). This publication also underlines the contemporary relevance of these places, and the need of a critical examination of the processes of transformation directed specifically towards the industrial heritage. Focusing on the dominating discourses concerning industrial heritage, conservation and urban development, Oevermann and Mieg too, make the specific connection between industrial heritage sites and culture- and heritage-led urban regeneration (Oevermann & Mieg 2015:20). The conservation and reuse of the industrial place poses new challenges to both planners and heritage experts, that are different to those faced when dealing with various other types of historic built fabric, and that changes depending on its historic and urban context. As also exemplified by Olshammar (2002:132), the European network Trans Europe Halles, has for thirty years been creating cultural centres in, for the most part, abandoned industrial buildings. They are mostly organized on a non-profit basis in close collaboration with the local community, and have, as can be read on their website: "an unique experience and knowledge of how to transform abandoned industries into vibrant cultural hubs together with artists and the community." (Trans Europe Halles/About Us). In Italy, several cultural centers are part of this network, such as the *Interzona* in Verona, an artistic and cultural organization that in 1992 established in the former Magazzini Generali of the city, but were forced to move to a former warehouse, where they have been based since 2006 (Interzona Website). This bottom-up approach is one strategy of how these centers can be created and managed, but there are many cases in which the opposite approach has been used instead.

Today, one can easily find examples of how the former industrial place has come to be reused as various types of cultural and creative centres, illustrating how industrial heritage today has been not only accepted as *cultural* heritage, but also appreciated as a resource in the contemporary development of the creative city. Buildings and sites that previously have been connected to less desirable activities are to a high degree being appreciated as landmarks and important markers of local identities. As local and historic distinctiveness become increasingly attractive traits, the historic built fabric is further valorised, and thus the interests of conservation and planning coincide in contemporary urban regeneration. As redundant industrial areas commonly include large buildings and covers vast areas of land, they represent particularly desirable values for redevelopment. The comparatively recent recognition of historical significance and heritage values also aids in the reuse of these sites, as they have not to the same extent been subject to strict principles of conservation that have been dominating previously. Furthermore, the remains of the industrial past can often represent various ambiguous memories in different groups. When

considering the more recent industrial past (20th century and onwards), it has in many cases been an important employer for the local community, and its subsequent closing might entail a general decline of the area affecting social, material as well as economic factors. Having this background in mind, the industrial heritage plays a very specific role in contemporary urban planning and regeneration, one that need to be properly rooted in the local community and context in order to realise its full potential (Heritage Council of Victoria 2013:6). While this chapter provided to create an overview of the development of an interlaced paradigm of conservation and urban regeneration and planning, I will now continue to present my chosen case study and the particular historic context in which it is positioned.

3. A historic view of Testaccio

In this chapter, the historical context of Testaccio will be outlined. Beginning with a brief overview of the earliest history of the area, and continuing by covering the unification of Italy and industrialisation of Rome in more detail. The historical overview will end in the mid-1970s, with the final closure of the slaughterhouse, and the deindustrialisation of the central parts of the city.

3.1 The early history, 200 BC – 1870

The earliest activities in Testaccio were closely connected to its geographical location, in close proximity to the river Tiber. The first major construction to be built around 200 B.C. was the Emporium, a small port located at the bank of the Tiber. This was the first port of Rome on the Tiber when entering the city from the coast by the harbour of Ostia. At the Emporium imported goods such as olive oil, grains and marble would be unloaded and stored, before being distributed to the rest of the city. In connection to the Emporium the development of buildings mainly intended as storage facilities, the *horrea,* was to follow. *Porticus Aemilia,* one of the largest buildings in the antique Rome, was also located in this area.

Another spatial element that has come to define the area is the *Monte Testaccio –* the place from where the name of the rione is derived. The *monte* is actually an artificial hill, developed during the course of a few centuries, and consisting of entirely of amphorae sherds. These sherds were called testae in Latin, which would eventually give the hill its name. Many of the amphorae in which olive oil would be transported were not suitable for reuse, and would thus be discarded and eventually form what was virtually an ancient rubbish dump. The entire hill would stabilize throughout the years, and it is today measuring 36 metres, and covers an area of 22 000 square metres (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987). Naturally, the use of the monte as a rubbish pile would cease together with the trading activities that had come to define the ancient neighbourhood of Testaccio in second century A.D. Many of the spatial structures still existing in the contemporary area have been shaped by the earliest activities in Testaccio, and remain among the most notable monuments in the area.

Following the sack of Rome in around 500 A.D, Testaccio became virtually ruralised, as the inhabitants of Rome would be concentrated mainly in an area around the Campo Marzio. Although Testaccio was uninhabited during this period in time, it continued to play an important role in the life of the Romans. During medieval times the area surrounding the Monte Testaccio would come to house a number of wine yards, and the *prati del popolo romano*- the meadows of the roman people. The first sources describing Testaccio as anything more than a rubbish dump dates from about 800 A.D. and onwards (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987). In maps, the monte can also be seen as a structure that is well defined and accounted for, in what was a rural landscape rather than an urban one.

Following the renaissance, and the slow redevelopment of the city of Rome, the popular use of the area came to be a central purpose. Located in a safe distance from the inhabited part of Rome, the meadows surrounding the Monte would come to house a number of festivities and rituals in which the romans would participate. In these meadows one would also have found vineyards

belonging to the roman nobility. The vineyards would continue their expansion by the grottoes that were dug into the base of the Monte Testaccio, from the 17th century and onwards, in which the wine would be stored. Due to the unique climate inside the Monte, which derives from the air being able to circulate through the piled up amphorae sherds, these grottoes were particularly useful for storing wine. Eventually, the entire base of the monte would be surrounded by these caves, which would not only be used as wine cellars, but also in some cases be transformed into small buildings, incorporated into the side of the hill.

The roman carnival had an important role in shaping the popular use of the area near the Monte Testaccio. In the mid-13th century (1256), the Ludi di Testaccio would begin taking place nearby, and on, the Monte. These plays were a part of the Roman Carnival, and would take many interesting shapes. Among the activities taking place here were horse racing, but also a more violent and bloody practice. From the top of the Monte, carts with boars and bulls would be thrown down the sides, and chased by the young *lusores,* who would attempt to capture and kill the animals with their swords. Eventually, the Carnival would find its main location in the centre of Rome, at the Piazza Navona and the Via Lata (today's Via del Corso), and the games of Testaccio would only appear sporadically in the area. The *prati* would long remain as an important public space in Rome. During the 18th and early 19th century, Romans would gather in this still rural environment, having their Sunday stroll and enjoying a picnic. The *Ottobrate* festival was also arranged in this area, celebrating the harvest of grapes of the season. The general identity of Testaccio remains quite intact from the first centuries A.D, until the late 19th century. This identity is closely tied to the communal use of the area and the popular activities, rituals and festivals taking place here. When reaching the later half of the 19th century, the last celebrations of the Ottobrate had ceased, and the area would soon seem suitable for exploitation.

3.2   Developing industrial Rome, 1870-1930

The industrial expansion of Rome is closely connected to the *Risorgimento,* the unification of Italy and the following appointment of Rome as capital in 1871. Compared to other European capitals at the time, Rome was nearly a rural town lacking the infrastructure and industries of a modern city. Some developments had taken place during the mid-19th century, particularly concerning the realisation of a few railway lines and construction of new stations, but the general manufacturing industry remained small-scale (Neri 2000:86). As the capital of the unified Italy, Rome would face a great expansion during the period from 1870-1930. People from all over Italy where gathering in the new capital looking for work in the constantly expanding city. Rome was primarily to become the administrative centre of Italy in the late 19th century, but with the large rise in population the need of modern industries and functional public housing became apparent (Hall 1997:256). It was in this context that the administration of the capital was to begin the modern industrialisation of Rome, starting in Testaccio and then extending into the adjacent neighbourhood of Ostiense. The industrial development in Rome coincides with the general second industrial revolution, but naturally also presents its own particularities in the

roman context. Compared to many other European cities, Rome had witnessed a slow development that only gained speed with the unification of Italy. When developing the modern capital of Rome, the issues at hand were mainly concerning creating a balance between the conservation of the historic city and its monuments, and the development of a functional modern capital including the proper infrastructure that would be needed (Hall 1997:259). It is within this context of intensive urban development that the modern neighbourhood of Testaccio is first envisioned.

Fig. 1 Testaccio's location in the outskirts of Rome's historic centre

The construction of a new working class neighbourhood was first mentioned in the master plan (Piano Regolatore Generale - *PRG*) of 1873 – the first master plan of the new Italian capital (Puccini 2009:8). In the *Roma Capitale* master plan of 1883, Testaccio was identified as a specifically suitable area for creating a new industrial centre and the planning of the area becomes more specific (Torelli Landini 2007). The area was seen as strategic due to a number of reasons. Although the infrastructure in Testaccio proper was undeveloped, the entire area was closely connected to a number of strategic points in the city, such as the Tiber and the nearby railway station in Trastevere (Torelli Landini 2007). The well-defined borders of the area were also stated as a decisive factor in establishing Testaccio as an industrial centre. Considering this, it is worth noticing the awareness of the isolation and peripheral nature of Testaccio when planning the housing of the working class. In the aforementioned *Piano*

Regolatore from 1883, the segregation of the rest of the city is stated as one of the major reasons for the location of the industrial area of Testaccio[3].

Fig. 2 The expansion of the slaughterhouse complex in Testaccio

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[3] "Questo quartiere, opportunamente segregato dal resto della città ed in immediato contatto delle vie di terra e di acqua, avrà nondimeno facili comunicazioni colla parte centrale…" (Camporesi 1870: Stemperini 2004:73)

Fig. 3 The slaughterhouse, seen in the upper part of the map, as part of the vast industrial area of Ostiense

The real core of the neighbourhood would be the new slaughterhouse, which would also be dominating a large physical space in the urban tissue. Previously, the slaughterhouse of Rome had been located on the other side of the city, close to the Piazza del Popolo, but was no longer able to meet neither the needs of the growing city, nor provide the necessary hygienic standard of a modern slaughterhouse. In addition to the slaughterhouse, or *Mattatoio,* there would be a large cattle market (Campo Boario) and a *Mercati Generali* situated in the area*.* Out of these facilities, only the two first – the slaughterhouse and the cattle market, actually came to be realised. The *mercati generali* was eventually built, but not in Testaccio as previously planned, but in the neighbouring district of Ostiense. Although the industrial development begun in Testaccio, the neighbourhood would soon become part of a vast industrial area stretching southwards, through the Aurelian wall from Testaccio. While Testaccio had a twofold function including both the slaughterhouse and the worker's housing, Ostiense came to be a more strictly defined industrial area. The construction of the slaughterhouse was completed already in 1890, but it would not be until the 1910s that a proper industrial development of Ostiense also would follow (Torelli Landini 2007:150). Not only the Mercati Generali came to be built here, but also the important facilities of *Centrale Montemartini* (a thermal power station), *L'Officina a gas di San Paolo* (a gasworks) and *Centrale San Paolo* (a thermal power station), all built during the first years of the 20th century, in a neo-classical or art nouveau-inspired style (or *liberty* as the movement has come

to be known in Italy), with brick, travertine and cast iron being the most common materials, as can also be seen in the slaughterhouse of Testaccio (Ciampi et al. 2007). In this context, Testaccio gains a unique position as the area that is connecting the historic centre and the new industrial Rome, with its combination of ancient history, new spaces for industrial production and worker's housing.

3.3   Rome's first industrial area, 1871-1975

Moving back once more to the development of the neighbourhood of Testaccio, and its new slaughterhouse, this was a project of great importance for Rome at the time. The architect appointed for constructing the Mattatoio and the Campo Boario was Gioacchino Ersoch. This was not a surprising choice given that he had been leading the previous restorations and improvements of the old slaughterhouse that had taken place in 1868 (Rossi 2007). A student of Giuseppe Valadier, he had been schooled in both restoration and the most recent technical innovations in architecture (Torelli Landini 2007). The entire complex of the slaughterhouse and the Campo Boario is covering a total area of about 100 000 square metres (more or less evenly divided between the two functions) and was constructed during the years 1888-1890. When the slaughterhouse complex was first constructed it was to become famous for its innovative design, combining the decorative ideals of the late 19th century with the new demands of function and hygiene. Ersoch had gained his inspiration from contemporary slaughterhouses from elsewhere in Italy and Europe, but was still able to improve the construction and appearance of the building. The most innovative ideas of Ersoch's plan for the new slaughterhouse were perhaps those concerning the use of new materials in the building. Travertine, brick and cast iron are the main materials used in the pavilions of the Mattatoio. The extensive use of cast iron was not only new in Rome, but was also innovative in this particular category of buildings. Ersoch's reasoning behind his choice of materials were motivated by reasons of hygiene and functionality on one hand, and on the other hand by economic reasons. The functionality of the building is concealed by a neo-classical façade in travertine and brick. The main entrance of the Mattatoio is also marked by three arches, on which is placed an allegorical group depicting a putto taming a bull. In the original plan of the slaughterhouse complex, the slaughterhouse proper is located in the northern part, while the cattle market is in the southern part. The slaughterhouse is divided into a number of smaller pavilions, each with their particular use in the slaughter process. In the cattle market on the other hand, one finds an open space, interrupted only by the constructions in cast iron used to keep the different animals separated and in their proper place (Pistone 2007:65). While active, the slaughterhouse and its surrounding activities employed up to two thousand persons, making this a major sign of the impact of this industrial development (Neri 2000:88).

Concerning the housing and the rest of the area, a grid street plan was established already in the PRG of 1873, which was to be followed when the neighbourhood gradually developed between the 1883-1930 (Puccini 2009:8). The construction on the first part of lots began even before the slaughterhouse

was built, as early as 1883 by the building enterprise of Marotti (Puccini 2009:5). Around the turn of the century, this development continued further although there was still a general lack in the area of proper infrastructure and services (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987). The earliest building type for the worker's housing follows a common scheme. These buildings are characterised by their closed facades, of a minimum of three floors, enclosing the entire lot. The available space of the courtyard was in some cases also used by the construction of yet another cross-shaped low-rise building. This first phase of building activity in Testaccio, and the results that were produced, came to be subject to much contemporary criticism. Emphasised as particularly problematic in these buildings are the small and narrow apartments, in many cases housing large families, and the lack of light and fresh air, which would be further obstructed by the smaller houses built in the courtyard (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987). In 1905, the philanthropist Domenico Orano founded the *Comitato per il Miglioramento economico e morale del quartiere Testaccio* ("The Commite for the Economic and Moral Amelioration of the quarter of Testaccio"*),* which would be followed by a new phase in the building activity in the neighbourhood by the Istituto Case Popolari (ICP – Institute of Public Housing). The I.C.P. was founded only a few years previously, in 1903, and had the common goal of creating high quality, low cost public housing in Italy (Cocchioni et al. 1984:7-12). While the architects employed by the I.C.P. and their individual expression would vary, the fundamental ideas of ameliorating the quality of life for the inhabitants of the buildings. In Testaccio, ICP would be responsible for the creation of a number of residential buildings during the period from 1910-1930. Quadrio Pirani and Giulio Magni designed a majority of the new buildings, and although they differ in their appearance, they are all representative of the increased quality and functionality of the housing.

By the first half of the 20th century, Testaccio had become a part of modern Rome, a neighbourhood with roots in antiquity and an identity divided between a residential area on the one hand, and an industrial on the other. The population of the neighbourhood also came to be more diversified than perhaps originally envisioned. One of the visions of the I.C.P was the ambition of integrating the social classes of the neighbourhood. In practice, this would be done by both mixing apartments within the buildings, but also by creating different building typologies in the quarter. The major change in character of the area would begin in 1975, after the definitive closing of the slaughterhouse, which had up until then been the core of the neighbourhood both literally and figuratively speaking.
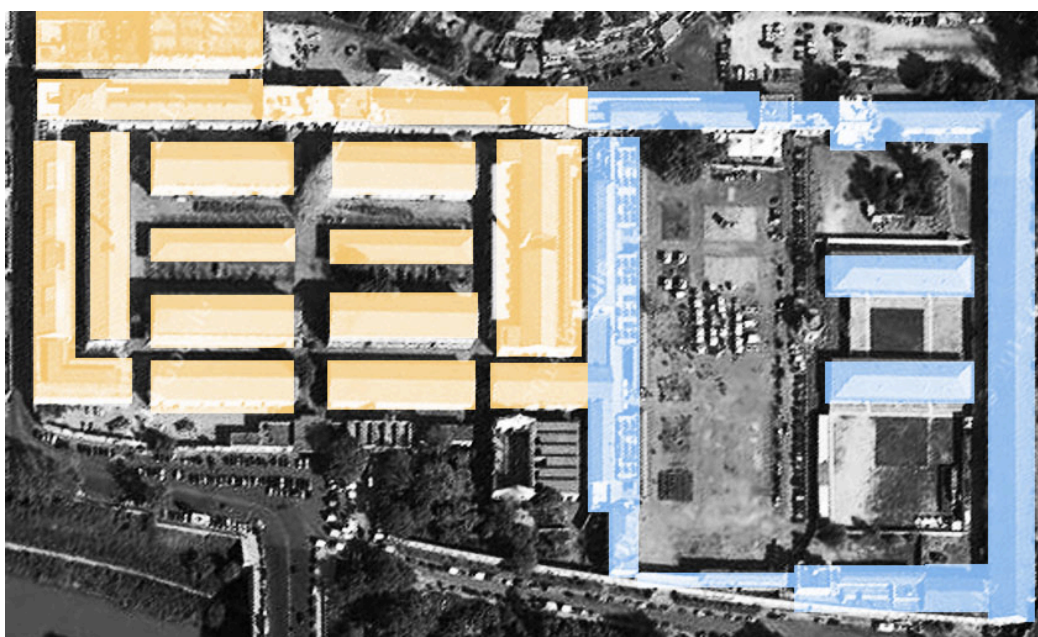
Fig. 4 Piazza Testaccio

Fig.5 An overview of the Mattaoio, orange indicating the slaughterhouse and blue the cattle market

3.4   Early debate and heritage status 1960-1976

The slaughterhouse of Testaccio had not even faced its final closure when its future began to be discussed. During the 1960s, as the decision to move the slaughterhouse to a more peripheral location had been taken, the issue of how to properly use the building complex that would soon come to be redundant arose. This discussion fairly quickly turned into a debate concerning the value and future of the entire complex. Industrial archaeology had not had a very strong base in Italy, and during the 1970s there were many who expressed their concern of whether or not the industrial area that the slaughterhouse was part of could be properly regenerated (Ranaldi 2012:137). Engaged in this debate were architects, art historians and politicians, as well as the local community of Testaccio (Rossi 2007:61). In fact, in the Piano Regolatore Generale (General Urban Plan) of 1962, there were plans of demolishing the slaughterhouse and replacing it with a public green area (Rossi 2007:61). Those in favour of demolition were mainly architects Leonardo Benevolo, Sandro Zapelloni and Bruno Zevi. Zapelloni makes the case of creating a new park in the area in 1965, suggesting not only the destruction of the slaughterhouse, but also of the partly illegal buildings in the nearby prati del popolo romano (Zapelloni 1965:602-603). Rather than considering the industrial heritage of the area, Zapelloni claims that a public park would enhance existing green spaces, such as the nearby non-Catholic cemetery, Monte Testaccio and Parco della Resistenza, connecting to the popular appeal of the area of the 18th and early 19th century. A general idea of this project of complete de-industrialisation of the Testaccio would be to return the area to the public and a more traditional use of the land (Zapelloni 1965:611). Leonardo Benevolo also makes the case against the conservation of the slaughterhouse in 1976, claiming a general lack of quality of the built environment of the Umbertine era that would not merit its future preservation (Perego 1993:102).

One of the main protagonists aiming towards the conservation and safeguarding of the slaughterhouse was art historian Simonetta Lux. She was one of the first to study the history of the slaughterhouse, and to highlight its unique historical characteristics (Cupelloni 2001:20). Particularly emphasised as an important artistic value, and in favour of its preservation was the originality in the architectural features and the innovations of Gioacchino Ersoch, as well as the high quality of the material and construction. These were all features that were pointed out as specific to the understanding of the historical context in which the slaughterhouse was originally built (Cupelloni 2001:20). The attention brought by the impending demolition of the slaughterhouse can be said to have aided the introduction of the discipline of industrial archaeology in Italy, and a greater recognition of the country's industrial heritage (Perego 1993:112). The slaughterhouse complex was in this context to become an emblematic case of industrial heritage from the Risorgimento facing a real threat of demolition. Lux's contribution was important for the future development of the use of the slaughterhouse as it would sway the academic opinion towards the conservation of this building and similar constructions of this period. Within the local community of Testaccio one would also find a strong opinion in favour of the conservation and recuperation of the slaughterhouse, not only due to nostalgic

reasons (as many had worked in, or in connection to, this production), but also for the still prevailing lack of proper services in the area, which would have the possibility of being located in the now empty complex of the slaughterhouse.

Another important figure in favour of preservation was architect and left-wing politician Renato Nicolini, who advocated the reuse of the slaughterhouse as a benefit of the local community of Testaccio (Nicolini 1976:203). As Lux was representing and enhancing the historical-aesthetic properties of the complex, Nicolini, perhaps also somewhat swayed by the general lack of interest in the built heritage of the Risorgimento, rather focused on the potential use-value of the former slaughterhouse. He was concerned not only with the restoration of the buildings, but also with the politics of urban development in Rome during the period. Nicolini was also among the first to emphasise the increasing importance of the strategic position of Testaccio as a whole in the urban tissue of Rome, a position that had been strengthened due to the occasionally uncontrolled urban sprawl that had been present in Rome during these years (Nicolini 1976:201). Testaccio thus would have to be developed in relation both to the local scale of the neighbourhood, but also to the city as a whole. As the closing of the slaughterhouse had brought a crisis to the entire area, with many people losing their main sources of income, the regeneration of the slaughterhouse could be a way by which the quality of life for the local community could be improved (Nicolini 1976:202-203). His concrete suggestion for the new use of the slaughterhouse was the creation of a multi-functional centre, with spaces that would be able to be transformed to be used for education, culture, sports or other types of activities needed by the local community. In this way the slaughterhouse would be:

"...recognised as cultural heritage, not due to its' 'artistic' values, and not only due to its significance as a sign of the history of the city, but by its capacity to assume new urban uses and thus new values." (Nicolini 1976:203)[4]

Together, Nicolini and Lux were the front-figures in the consequent development of Testaccio and the various plans of reusing the slaughterhouse. As Francesco Perego states, this debate was concluded with the historisation or monumentalisation of the former slaughterhouse of Testaccio, affirming its position as an important part of the city's cultural heritage, and its potential value for re-use (Perego 1993:109). In the following discussions of the future of the complex during the late 1970s', the option of its' demolition no longer seems like a realistic idea. It is within this context that the first proper plans of regeneration of the area could be developed. When looking at the following ideas of development, one finds similar notions being highlighted and certain values immersed in the discourse of reuse and heritage in which the slaughterhouse had now been positioned. Before outlining the various suggestions of reuse that arose during the following two decades, this early debate on the future of the slaughterhouse can be concluded by its final heritage listing in 1988 (within the

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[4] "...viene in questo riconosciuto come un bene culturale, non per i suoi valori 'artistici' e non solo per il suo significato di documento nella storia della città, ma per la sua capacità di assumere nuove funzioni urbane e dunque nuovi valori"

law no 1089), motivated to a largely by its aesthetic values; such as the novel use of cast iron, and its architectural references to neo-classical forms (Perego 1993:124).

3.5   A debated heritage

What I would like to highlight by tracing the main actors of this debate is that the notion of aesthetic appreciation and potential reuse of the slaughterhouse complex was not completely obvious during the period of its closing, but rather needed a process of negotiation to establish the premises of its future conservation. Although this process was not directly connected with any practical interventions of conservation or potential future development and reuse, a general consensus concerning the historic and aesthetic values of the slaughterhouse was reached. It might also be added that this discussion was quite limited to the premises of the slaughterhouse complex and did not naturally include the surrounding built environment of the area. To conclude, the discussions and developments during the time in which the slaughterhouse gradually was closed were closely related to the contemporary developments and success of industrial archaeology on a European scale. What can be noted is that the discussion is predominately a professional discourse among academics, although there was support for the preservationist approach in the local community. While those in favour of preserving the slaughterhouse used arguments based on aesthetic and historic qualities, social history and local impact of the complex was not put forward as an important reason of preservation. Contrary to the tradition of industrial eco-museums common in a Scandinavian or British context, the material remains of the industrial past was not so much a symbol for the worker's history as it was symbolic for the technical innovation and significant aesthetics of the period. Also influenced by the general European discussion concerning industrial archaeology was the importance of adapting the complex for contemporary use, which goes in line with the shift in heritage discourse described by Alzén (1996:122-123), where re-use is becoming a more widely accepted means for conservation and preservation of the historic urban fabric. All in all, these early discussions and the following safeguarding of the slaughterhouse were to influence the coming development, as will be further described in the following chapters.

4.   Early plans of reuse and conservation 1975-1986

Although the previously discussed debated also includes certain suggestions of the future reuse of the slaughterhouse complex, a few years would pass before any properly coordinated plans would be presented. While the commercial use of the complex housing markets of various kinds was dismissed, the new uses were more along the lines of what Renato Nicolini had discussed a few years earlier. Among the first to be introduced were the plans put forward in 1978 by the *Ufficio per gli interventi del Centro storico* ("Office for interventions in the historic centre"). These plans would ensure the preservation of the structure of the slaughterhouse, and suggested a future use as a cultural centre specifically concerned with the industrial heritage and science, as well as spaces for educational activities, while the former cattle market were to be redesigned as a park. Furthermore, the buildings in the near vicinity of the slaughterhouse were also envisioned to be restored (Menichini 1986:78). One of the most important aspects was still the common use of the slaughterhouse, but there was a certain disagreement between the planners and the local community concerning the scope and target groups of the future complex. While official plans wanted to integrate the slaughterhouse in its future form in a more general context concerning the city as a whole, the representatives of the local community wished the complex to remain as an asset primarily for the use of the neighbourhood of Testaccio (Menichini 1986:78, Perego 1993:118). Although at least 3,5 billion lire had been earmarked for the realization of this project, it was never completely carried out (Perego 1993:118).

4.1   An urban laboratory
As these first plans were never put forward in any cohesive manner, I would like instead to turn the attention towards the developments that begun during the early 1980s, and that would develop into an ambitious plan during the following years, but for which the grounds had been laid out during the period of negotiation in the 1970s. With the municipality of Rome as the main actor in charge these plans, the two most important figures in their main development were planners and architects Carlo Aymonino and Luigi Caruso. In 1982, Aymonino created a "laboratory" for certain strategic areas of urban development in Rome, with a specific focus on the Esquiline and Testaccio (Caruso 1986:10). As Ranaldi points out, this decision coincides with the final closing of the adjoining industries in Ostiense in 1984, thus creating a vast abandoned industrial area in a central location of the city, stretching from Testaccio southwards (Ranaldi 2014:138). This project of transformation was furthermore composed by a collaboration of a number of representatives from various departments of the Comune di Roma. The overarching goal was a general upgrading of the entire area, the reinforcement of the local identity, while Testaccio simultaneously would become better integrated with the rest of the city (Aymonino 1986:7). Three main points of interest were presented as the following:

1. The residential area of Testaccio

2. The traditional craftsmanship
3. The archaeological and modern cultural heritage

With these themes as common points of departure, the planned operations would concern mainly the renovation of the residential area, the construction of a new piazza at the (then) vacant lot next to Monte Testaccio, the restoration and reuse of the slaughterhouse complex, and the improvement of the area between the Monte Testaccio and the Via Marmorata, comprised mainly by workshops and garages (previously Prati del Popolo Romani), as well as the restoration of the caves in the Monte Testaccio.

Besides the upgrading of the residential area, the proposed interventions in the urban fabric were quite radical. The area of the former *prati del popolo romano,* that is to say, the area between Monte Testaccio, the non-Catholic cemetery and via Marmorata, would be completely reorganised. The workshops and various activities taking place in this area were in the plan divided between those of value due to their "craftsmanship" (mentioned are traditional crafts such as blacksmiths and carpenters) and those who were viewed as being more suitably located elsewhere in the city, presumably garages and mechanic workshops (Murgia et al. 1986:58). Referencing to the history of this particular area as an important public place in Rome, the entire site would be transformed into a centre of leisure and sports, which would also be connecting to the adjoining structures such as the non-Catholic cemetery, and the Porta San Paolo, which also would be in line with the ambition of further valuating the present cultural heritage of the area. The large sports field that would dominate the area would be a reference to the former *Campo Roma,* the football field of the team Roma, as well as to piazzas in the historical centre, such as Piazza Navona, through its shape of the "circus"(Murgia et al. 1986:58). Surrounding the field there were plans to create a nursery school, housing, and "laboratories". These laboratories were to be used by the craftsmen that would have to be evacuated from their former locations in the area. Following the plans further, the lot that is presently containing the Mercato Testaccio, would be transformed into a piazza, lowered a few metres into the ground, which would provide a central meeting place in the area. This piazza would also form a connection to the slaughterhouse complex, which was also envisioned to undergo a major transformation.

4.1.1 *Città della Scienza e della Tecnica*
Moving forward to the abandoned slaughterhouse, this was once more the very heart of the regeneration plan of the area. Primarily responsible in this particular project was the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (National Counsel of Research), together with the architect Paolo Portoghesi who was responsible for the material restoration and restructuring of the slaughterhouse. In this plan, the slaughterhouse proper was envisioned to become a "Città della Scienza e della Tecnica" – a centre for science and technology. Included in this centre would be possibilities for advanced research within the aforementioned fields, as well as spaces for exhibitions and educational activities, where the communication of recent innovation to the public was stated as an important goal (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche 1986:80). The realisation of this initiative would be a

way of defining and marketing Rome as a city of innovation and technology instead of the prejudice of being a conservative and bureaucratic capital (Portoghesi 1986:81). The official plans of this centre reflect the great expectations that were put into the future of the slaughterhouse. The "Città della Scienza and della Tecnica" would not only be a reference of the slaughterhouse as an innovative piece of industrial heritage, but could also help strengthen Rome's position within an international and competitive context with the new millennium approaching (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche 1986:80, Portoghesi 1986:81). Besides the restoration and conservation of the pavilions of the slaughterhouse proper, an entirely new building was envisioned on the side facing the Tiber, connecting the complex with the Ponte Testaccio and the neighbourhood of Trastevere on the opposite side of the river. The appearance of this new building would be a reference to iconic architectural forms in a Roman tradition, modern as well as classical, in a clearly post-modern tradition of experimenting with architectural tradition. In Portoghesi's words of describing the future building:

> "In this (…) is inserted symbolical allusions and historic memories: the cupola of the Sapienza as a symbol of the *Studium Urbis*; the spiral as a symbol of research, the anatomical theatre and the spherical amphitheatre of Leonardo, imagined as *locho dove si predica*" (Portoghesi 1986:81)[5]

Facing the river would be a long and rather compact façade, with a concave part creating a small piazza and interrupting the otherwise closed appearance of the building, while the façade facing the inside of the slaughterhouse would take on a lighter appearance divided into steps letting the building gradually rise upwards.

Concerning the other half of the slaughterhouse complex, namely the Campo Boario, or cattle market, a cultural centre was envisioned. The Campo Boario had posed both opportunities and difficulties for the various plans developed, due to its structure comprised by open spaces and cast iron structures. To be able to host a number of different cultural arrangements, the paving of the market would have to be redone, and the surrounding buildings be restored to house various activities, including the opening of a restaurant in a building originally intended for this specific use. Furthermore, there would also be possibilities of creating a small museum showcasing the archaeological remains from the area, as well as an archive and library for the use of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti Moderni (the Superintendence for Modern Monuments) (Murgia 1986:82). The entire project of restructuring the slaughterhouse complex had a budget amounting to a total of 69 billion lire, more or less evenly divided between the two parts (Perego 1993:128).

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[5] "Su questo (…) si innestano allusioni simboliche e memorie storiche: la cupola della Sapienza come simbolo dello *Studium Urbis*; la spirale come simbolo della ricerca, il teatro anatomico e l'anfiteatro sferico di Leonardo, immaginato come *locho dove si predica*"

4.1.2   Failed plans

Only very minor part of this project were eventually carried through, due to reasons which I will return to further on in the study. Although the project was unsuccessful, it does highlight the dominating ideas and influences concerning the regeneration of an urban complex of this vast size. As noted by Perego, this project was the first occasion on which a number of different urban interventions were coordinated in an overarching plan for the regeneration of the entire neighbourhood (Perego 1993:125). An explicitly stated objective was, as mentioned previously, to break the isolation from the rest of the historical centre that had been prevailing in Testaccio for a long time, an isolation that had been reinforced due to the geographical position in the city, as well as the established identity of being an industrial and working class neighbourhood. The new services and the enhanced quality of life in the neighbourhood would thus benefit the local community as well as the inhabitants of the rest of the city.

Regarding the physical restructuring of parts of the area, the architectural references can be interpreted as reflecting this vision. Several interventions, such as the resurrected sports field, and the additions to the slaughterhouse, were to reference architectural forms of Roman history as well as more contemporary buildings. As mentioned previously, these references need on one hand to be interpreted simply as influences by the postmodern architectural ideas of the time, but in this particular context, they can also be viewed as a way of attempting to add more specific, and traditional, urban elements into the present structure of the area. In this manner, the area would be inserted into a historical continuity of the city as whole, and also help strengthening the local identity in relation to the function of the city centre. Parallel to the traditional and artisanal activities that would be encouraged, the future ambitions of the area would be promoted through the establishment of the Città della Scienza e della Tecnica. This decision must be viewed in the light of the particular situation of Rome at this time, as a city in politic and economic turmoil, and in need of branding itself as something more than the carrier of a classical heritage. By locating this centre of research and technology in one of the most iconic buildings of the area, there would be a bridging to the past of the slaughterhouse and the technical innovation that this complex represented originally, as well as a symbol for the future prosperity and development of both Rome and Testaccio.

4.2   A period of crisis

While the future of Testaccio and the slaughterhouse complex were being debated and various plans put forward, very few actual interventions were actually being carried out. So how come so many ambitious projects, during nearly twenty years never came to be realized? It might prove difficult to trace the exact reasons, but some suggestions are given by Perego, who states that these plans coincided with a period of political uncertainty in the government of the municipality of Rome (Perego 1993:147). The left, who had been supporting the plans, lost their majority and as public finances were poor, thus came difficulties in carrying out any major projects in the city. Almost simultaneously, the department responsible for the project, *Assessorato per il Centro Storico,* was also closed. Perego further suggested that another cause could be found within

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the project itself, where the ambitious and overarching plans actually had little interest in the actual engineering behind the project (Perego 1993:125). The one organisation that actually came to establish in the slaughterhouse during this period within legal boundaries was the *Scuola Popolare di Musica di Testaccio,* that moved in to the old office building next to the former main entrance to the slaughterhouse in 1975. This school was founded with openly left-wing political ambitions, and had a strong support in the local community (Ranaldi 2014:133), born as they state themselves, in; "one of the most significant quarters for the tradition of *romanità*"[6] (www.scuolamusicaditestaccio.it). The particular political climate of the time, with strong leftist movements, as well as the rise of experimental expressions of culture in Rome, in many cases located within the borders of Testaccio, also provided the proper foundation for this school. While initially mostly directed towards, and used by members of the neighbourhood of Testaccio, the projects and courses of the school gradually came to expand in the 1980s and began to attract people from the entire city of Rome (www.scuolamusicaditestaccio.it).

All in all, the political restructurings during this period paralysed most new initiatives, and made it difficult to carry out even those that had been previously planned. I will not linger at the political situation of Rome at the time, as the purpose of this chapter is rather to attempt to trace the actual developments and events that took place in Testaccio and in the slaughterhouse during this "period in-waiting" of the neighbourhood.

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[6] "uno dei quartieri più significativi per tradizione di romanità"

5.   Portraying an area in waiting 1975-1995

The period during which a number of plans were put forward, and subsequently delayed or cancelled, the neighbourhood of Testaccio entered into a state of uncertainty, a "period in waiting". In time, this period more or less concerns the years between 1975-1995. While the plans presented by various actors above were reflecting a positive attitude towards the regeneration of the neighbourhood, and the desire of further valorising certain urban elements as important assets in said regeneration, this period was also characterised by an element of uncertainty and an ambiguous attitude towards the urban landscape and its qualities. I will now focus on some of the testimonies and descriptions of the area during this period to capture some of the other voices shaping the ideas of the neighbourhood.

5.1   Newspapers and guidebooks
          In a guidebook from 1987, *Guide Rionali di Roma,* Testaccio is introduced as an area with an extraordinary continuity, where the ancient heritage has an important role in enhancing this link to the past connected to commerce and distribution of food (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987:5). Further, the same guidebook notes that while the historical continuity has been somewhat interrupted by the closing of the slaughterhouse, this complex combined with the position of Testaccio in the urban landscape, presents an exceptional resource for regeneration – and for spontaneous reuse in the form of various types of cultural expressions. At the same time, a characteristic of the area is its location in a "historical periphery", perhaps confirming the deep-rooted position of separation from the rest of the historic centre (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987:18). In the 1980s, the city of Rome had grown to such an extent that Testaccio no longer could be properly defined as a "periphery" in the purely geographic sense of the word, but the concept was rather describing the prevailing prejudices of the formerly isolated working-class area. Only published one year after the official regeneration plans for Testaccio described above, these are also briefly covered in this guide, where the conservation of the slaughterhouse once more is expressed as an important act of preserving its historical values (Gallavotti Cavallero 1987:56).
          Moving forward to the 1990s, the complex was more or less abandoned by the municipality of Rome, and had begun to be spontaneously used by various groups in need of space in the city and found a suitable space on the premises of the slaughterhouse. The general view of the slaughterhouse still seems to have remained, as reflected in a frustrated article in the *Corriere della Sera* from November 1998, where the complex is described as being abandoned by the Comune di Roma and in a materially declining state. At this time, archaeological remains from Testaccio were kept in rooms above the Villagio Globale, rooms behind "windows with broken glass and unhinged doors". No traces could be seen of the ambitious and expensive plans previously put forward by the municipality. From the Mattatoio the authors are describing that one can still see the same view as "always", overlooking the drug dealers outside the walls of the campo boario, and inside the walls the roma settlements and the social centre of

the *Villagio Globale*. This article carries a pessimistic tone concerning the possibilities of regeneration of the Mattatoio, and the future seems to be holding "the same view as always".

5.2   Academic statements

Urban sociologist Irene Ranaldi gives a good account of the social alterations in the area, having studied the area between 1984-2014 through interviews and observations, primarily resulting in two books published in 2012 and 2014 respectively; *Testaccio: da quartiere operaio a village della capitale* and *Gentrification in Parallelo: Quartieri tra Roma e New York.* The material gathered by Ranaldi reflects some aspects of the daily life of the inhabitants during this "in-between" period. Although going through a period of material and social decline of the area, the sense of a proper roman identity remained, and perhaps even strengthened during this period. The closing of the slaughterhouse could have cause a crisis of identity, but according to Ranaldi, the strong sense of a proper working class, "popular" area remained (Ranaldi 2014:134). Despite of the material decline, the strong connection of the local community to the specific place of Testaccio remained. The disinterest from the rest of the city in this neighborhood would still remain, described by Ranaldi as:

"Testaccio continued to live with the prejudices of being an infamous and dirty location, connected to the blood and the slaughterhouse, with drug dealing and criminality, and from a commercial point of view, a place lacking attractions except for the traditional roman restaurants." (Ranaldi 2014:143)[7]

Despite this marginalised location in the urban landscape and the general public consciousness, the worn-down and dirty area of Testaccio continued to have a certain ambiguous attraction. This attitude towards the area is reflected in an article from 1992 by the Dutch historian Anna Vos, who when describing the Non-catholic cemetery states that when "Confronted with the poverty opposite, most tourists make a U-turn" (Vos 1992:59), but nevertheless continues by referring to the popularity of the night clubs and bars surrounding the Monte Testaccio. As seen here, there is still an appeal in the neighbourhood to certain groups, despite the run-down buildings and the illegal activity. This twofold attitude towards the area as a site of development, but also with a firmly based bad reputation, is repeatedly expressed during this period. Not only is this partly expressed in the official plans of regeneration and reuse, but also in the actual activities taking place in Testaccio, and in the slaughterhouse in particular, beginning in the late 1980s. In the slaughterhouse in particular there were a number of smaller festivals and events that were arranged during the 1980s, among which the most well known was the *L'Estate Romana.* This was an official

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[7] "Testaccio viveva ancora del pregiudizio di essere un luogo sporco e malfamato, legato al sangue e al Mattatoio, dove girava droga e criminalità e, dal punto di vista commerciale, un luogo senza alcuna attrattiva se non quella di ospitare ristoranti di cucina tradizionale romana."

initiative in cooperation with the Comune di Roma (Assessorato alla Cultura), which took place in the Campo Boario during the summers of 1983-84. These were among the first initiatives that attracted a new audience to the neighbourhood, a neighbourhood that previously would not have been of interest for those who did not live or worked there. As described by Ranaldi, this was the first time that a sort of "class of consumption" came to actively visit the area, which she claims as an important factor for the continuous development of various activities in the slaughterhouse (Ranaldi 2014:145)

5.3 Municipality of Rome

The official development plans created by the municipality of Rome also gives an insight into the general view of this area at the time. In the 1986 transformation plans for the cattle market, this place is described as the "più newyorkese di Roma" ("most New York-ish of Rome"), referring to the very reuse of the industrial space and its connotations (Bruscolini 1986:17). During the 1980s, a few temporary events had took place in the Campo Boario at the slaughterhouse, but in these plans, their success is highly contested. Although the comparison to New York is a mostly positive one, the text goes on by stating that the material standard, and dirt of the cattle market proved to be too uncomfortable for the Romans, thus implicitly expressing the need of an upgrading or restructuring of the area for a continuous use. Once more the ambiguous attitude towards the slaughterhouse and neighbourhood become evident, describing a successful use of the complex on one hand, while on the other seeing a place that is not suitable for use in its current condition. It is explicitly stated here that certain traditional crafts are suitably located in Testaccio, as they improve the planned "image" of the area, while others do not fit into the regeneration plans, and are even deemed as not being suitable activities for such a central location. Describing the area in its present conditions it is said that:

"Today this vast area exists in a condition that has been oscillating between deterioration and abusiveness for many years, in a context that is deprived of any rationality concerning the built environment" (Murgia et al. 1986:58)[8].

The materiality of this site is thus not valuable, and only certain activities taking place at this site are viewed as improving and enhancing the ideas of this place. Further, it is stated that this area is to become "liberated" from the present activities to be returned as a common area for public use (Murgia et al. 1986:58).

5.4 A central periphery

The various voices describing Testaccio on one hand rationally recognises that this is an area with a relatively bad reputation and low material standard, and yet there is undoubtedly a certain potential that seem somewhat difficult to pinpoint in these statements. There is an understanding and appreciation of the

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[8] The original quote reads: "Oggi questa vasta area vive una situazione che oscilla da molti anni, tra il degrado e l'abusivismo in un contesto privo di ogni razionalità insediativa"

values that can potentially be inherent in the older urban fabric, but simultaneously there is also a clear division of what kind of buildings and activities that are suitable for retaining the right character of the area. A prevailing sentiment expressed through many of these statements can be said to be the reinforcement of Testaccio being located in the *historical periphery* mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. During the 1980s, the reputation of the area would go through a drastic decline. Between 1971 and 1981, the number inhabitants would decrease by 16 percent, a drastic number in such a centrally located area (Noci 1986:49). Though much of the old population would still remain in Testaccio, the neighbourhood would also come to be defined by the increasing rates of crimes taking place here. The criminal activity was mostly focused on drug trading, which for a few years had its centre in Testaccio (Ranaldi 2012:132).

The prevailing poor reputation and low material standard is continuously reflected as an underlying theme in the descriptions of the area, distancing this place from the rest of the city and underlining its mentally peripheral location in the urban landscape. At the same time, the actual events taking place in the area and occupying the empty spaces of the slaughterhouse serves to illustrate a potential reuse, and general attraction of the area. In the absence of any official activities, the years following 1995 can be defined by an increasingly intensive use of the premises of the slaughterhouse as a resource for what I have chosen to call "unofficial actors". These actors, and their impact on the slaughterhouse during this period will be outlined in the following chapter.

6.   Discovering a different city 1995-2005

"...suddenly there was another Rome emerging before the public, a Rome that had little to do with its souvenir ancient monuments and famous historic core." (Lang 2006:195)

Before further examining the various activities and events taking place during the period from 1995 until the early 2000s, I would just like to briefly return to one official intervention that actually way carried out during this "in-between" period. This exception from the general paralysis of official initiatives was the restoration of the *ex-borsa,* the most characteristic building of the Campo Boario. This restoration was mentioned as part of the cultural centre envisioned in the great plans of Caruso and Aymonino that have been outlined above, and is the only part of this plan that was carried out as anticipated. The restoration did not entail any new additions to the building, and rather focused on renovating the building to its original appearance. In 1987 the ex-borsa was reopened and inaugurated for a new use as a communal art gallery – primarily focused on contemporary art (Perego 1993:147). Although inaugurated and functional during a few exhibitions in the late 1980s, no plan for its long-term use existed, and it was eventually left virtually abandoned. The point of describing this minor intervention, although a mostly failed project on the part of Comune di Roma, this still provided a basis for the future developments of the activities and use of the slaughterhouse complex.

6.1   Unofficial urban forces

Moving forward to the 1990s, the complex was more or less abandoned by the municipality of Rome, and had begun to be spontaneously used by various groups in need of space in the city and found a suitable location on the premises of the slaughterhouse. No traces could be seen of the ambitious and expensive plans previously put forward by the municipality. Despite this, the abandoned spaces of the slaughterhouse slowly began to be used by people in need. Immigrants and refugees would continue to find a temporary, or in some cases quite permanent, home within the premises of the Campo Boario. At one point the area would house both Somalian and Senegalese immigrants among others, and a Roma-Kalderashi camp having set up their caravans in the open space of the old cattle market. Besides these groups, a number of coachmen used some of the old stalls to keep their horses and coaches, and a local gym established in one of the buildings of the Campo Boario. The exact manner in which all of these groups came to use the premises is not quite within the scope of this study, but it is still important to note that the use of the slaughterhouse complex was continuously developing during these years and would take on a number of different forms.

6.1.1   Villagio Globale

With an empty and recently restored building in this relatively central position in the city, it became the base of the centro sociale (roughly translated as social centre) *Villagio Globale* when it was founded in 1990 (Perego 1993:154). This

marks one of the first organised initiatives of a more spontaneous use of the slaughterhouse by what I have chosen to call *unofficial actors*, as they did not have any official support for their activities, and spontaneously squatted in parts of the complex.

The centro sociale, Villagio Globale, was originally born out of a local radio show, the *Radio Città Aperta.* The organisation had a strong political orientation towards the left and arranged a number of different manifestations during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Their activities included art exhibitions, festivals, nightclubs and education, all with a focus on international solidarity and including several initiatives to aid refugees in Rome. The *centro sociale* is in many senses an Italian phenomenon, combining a political engagement with social and cultural activities, and the centres established during the 1970s to the 1990s often consciously made use of illegally occupied spaces. These centres can be found in a number of Italian cities, from the north to the south, represented by different organisations such as the *Leoncavallo* in Milan (Membretti 2007:252). In the Italian context, and in the case of the Villagio Globale that established in the slaughterhouse, their activities seem to have quite a wide popularity, particularly among a younger audience (Björk 2006:26). This organisation represents an opposite force to the officially directed plans towards the slaughterhouse, with their bottom-up, grass-root organisation, heavily rooted in a both local and social tradition. Many of these centres also have a strong connection to the local community and are providing socio-cultural services that might otherwise have been lacking in the area (Membretti 2007:252-253). Although illegally squatting the buildings, the centro sociale seemed to have been tolerated by the municipality and continued to develop their activities up until at least the 2010s. The fact that many centro sociale have been tolerated by the local municipality or the owners of the squatted buildings can most likely be found in the aforementioned strong local support, and the hope of them being more formally recognised in the future – and thus becoming a regular rent-paying tenant (Membretti 2007:254). At the website *Roma Explorer,* this particular centro sociale is described as; "since always a multi-functional centre animated by activities and debate, it also expresses its more pleasure and entertainment-loving side with low-cost concerts."[9] (*Roma Explorer: Villagio Globale).* Tracing the development of this particular centro sociale is not an easy task, as they no longer have a functioning website or any signs at the physical site in the cattle market indicating their presence, although they are included in the present plans for the project of creating a Città delle Arti that will be presented further on in the study.

6.1.2   Stalker and Ararat

Another organisation connected to the spaces of the abandoned slaughterhouse during the 1990's was *Stalker.* They can best be described as a group of young architects who were engaged in architectural and urban experimentation and activism. The origins of Stalker can be traced to a group of students illegally

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[9] "Da sempre centro polifunzionale animato da attività e dibattiti, esprime anche il suo lato più godereccio e divertente con concerti a basso costo."

occupying the School of Architecture at the Roman university La Sapienza in 1990 (Lang 2006:196). This squatting was a means of protesting against privatisation of the university system, coordinated mainly by the organisation *La Pantera,* which would later form the basis of Stalker (Lang 2006:196*).* Already having strong political undertones originating from their original activities at La Sapienza, this group would during the following years arrange a number of urban interventions, specifically directed towards forgotten or neglected places in the capital. Their strategies involved artistic interventions in different forms, as well as activities involving the local community, such as concerts and similar events (Lang 2006:197). The name Stalker originates from the 1979 film with the same name by Andrei Tarkovsky, where the exploration of a mysterious and possibly dangerous zone is the main subject. Stalker would continue arranging various activities during the 1990s, having created a manifesto stating that:

" (Stalker) Is a collective subject that engages research and actions within the landscape with particular attention to the areas around the city's margins and forgotten urban space, and abandoned areas or regions under transformation." (Stalker)

In 1999, the activities of Stalker came to be located in the Campo Boario of the slaughterhouse in Testaccio. Already during the previous years having turned much of their attention to the people actually living in these in-between urban spaces, often themselves on the margins of society, Stalker was becoming increasingly occupied with creating artistic and architectural means of improving the conditions of these groups, ambitions that also can be discerned in the previous quote. Together with Villagio Globale and Azad, a Kurdish social organization, Stalker came to the aid of a large group of Kurdish refugees who had fled to Rome at the time (Lang 2006:201-202). What started out as quite provisional measures of creating various social services for the refugees, eventually led to the founding and permanent residence of *Ararat* (taking its name from Mount Ararat, the mountain where Noah's ark stranded in the Bible), in the former veterinary buildings in the Campo Boario. This was done on a voluntary basis, as they had not official support or financing from the municipality of Rome (Stalker 2007:3). The creative strategies guiding the work of Stalker had gradually developed during the previous years, when different expertizes had come together combining theoretical and philosophical approaches with artistic interventions represented by professionals from diverse fields, ranging from conceptual art to astrophysics (Lang 2006:195). Together they developed a research strategy aimed at finding methods of mapping these in-between places, and producing different means of artistic expressions to aid the definition of place (Lang 2006:198-199).

6.1.3   Artistic interventions in the Campo Boario
When the group of Kurdish refugees established in the Campo Boario in 1999, besides the Villagio Globale, there were also other groups of immigrants and refugees who had found their home in the abandoned buildings. The Campo Boario had, as previously mentioned, for a few years been the site for a large Roma-Kalderashi community among others (Lang 2006:202). The foundation of Ararat in this environment came to increase the tension between the various

groups illegally occupying the area, and having previously lived at the site without much interaction or cooperation (Lang 2006:202). In this context, Stalker came to act as a mediator between the different groups, drawing on previous experiences and strategies to use artistic events in creating social spaces in which these groups could meet and find ways of co-existing (Lang 2006:202). Furthermore, they were deeply involved with the task of defining and mapping the place of the Campo Boario, and develop plans of how to better display the present values at the site. Concerning the choice of an artistic approach in relation to the issues and ambitions of the site, Stalker says that:

"Campo Boario need neither art works nor public architecture to define its clear identity. Its characteristics are the uncertainty, the indefiniteness, and the self-organisation of its own physical and relational spaces. The challenge is to produce a public space starting from these premises." (Stalker 2007:3)

As explained here, the specific qualities of the place already exists for those directly involved. Art was not the most important goal of those involved in the various projects at the Campo Boario, but rather a useful tool to facilitate the communication of the multicultural values of the place.

Two of the most important performances and events arranged by Stalker were the *Pranzo Boario* (Boario Lunch) and the *Orto Boario* (Boario Garden). The Pranzo Boario was quite simply a lunch arranged in the open piazza of the Campo Boario, where the various groups residing there could meet and talk in a non-threatening, informal environment (Lang 2006:202-203). Likewise, the creation of a "Mediterranean garden" in the same piazza in 2001 presented an opportunity of diverse group to meet and create an actual collective and physical space (Stalker 2001). Stalker would continuously host workshops and interventions in the Campo Boario, and eventually moving more towards an international scale. Another project worth mentioning in this context around the same period was *Transborderline.* Still working with issues concerning migration and international solidarity, Stalker created a new interpretation of a border, in a physical form. This border challenged the notion of the protective or even hostile barrier that a border can be, and was instead built in the form of a great spiral shape that one could both cross and stay inside (Stalker 2000). The exhibition of the border moved between Villa Medici (The French Academy in Rome), Campo Boario, the Biennale in Venice and Ljubljana (Stalker 2000). Through the various sites where it was exhibited, the border also came to be transformed. In the Campo Boario, balls were given out to the members of the immigrant communities on which they got to sign their name and origin, and which then were played with by the children in the area until the exhibition moved to Venice, where the balls also were brought along (Lang 2006:204). Exhibitions such as this one sought to illustrate the contemporary difficult situation of many refugees in Europe, and accentuate the individual stories of these migrations (Lang 2006:204).

Stalker arranged many other manifestations, workshops and exhibitions during this period, both in the slaughterhouse and in other locations, but these will not be covered further here. What should be highlighted is the overarching aim of these interventions, especially within the context of the Campo Boario and

Rome. Dealing, as described previously, with the forgotten and in-between spaced of the city, Stalker was an important actor in attempting to highlight and legitimize the unofficial use of the slaughterhouse during this period (Lang 2006 203). The various groups of immigrants, Ararat and Villagio Globale had created a refuge in this neglected piece of the urban fabric, where intra-cultural meetings and expressions could take place, an international meeting place that also could give the disused buildings an increased relevance.
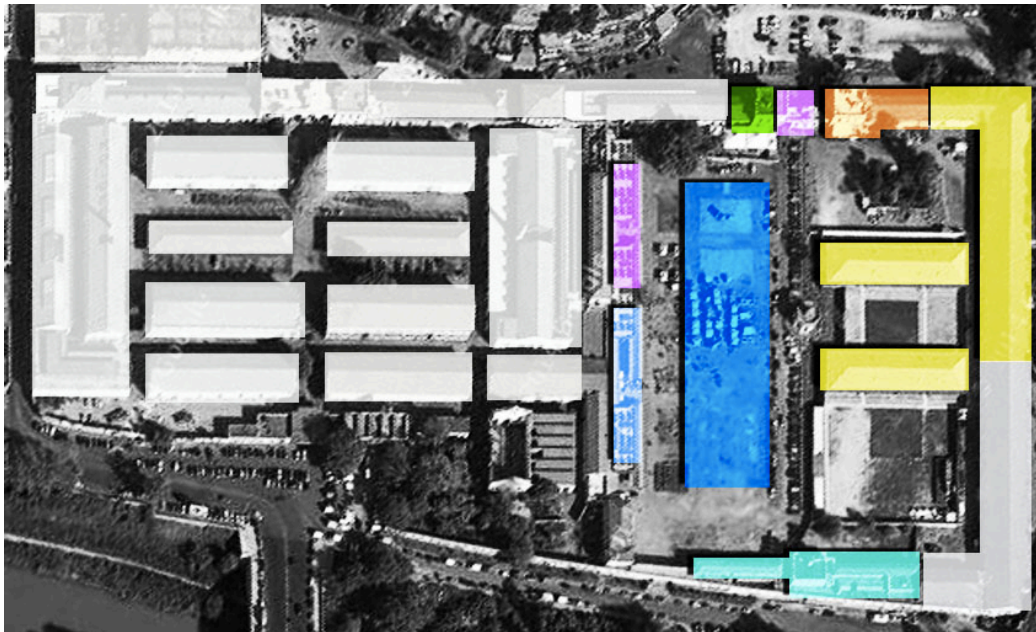
Fig. 6 Various groups occupying the Campo Boario during the 1990s

6.2   Organisation and success

The groups described above have some important common features. They all have some sort of political engagement, often with a radical approach, and continuously promoting international solidarity. Furthermore, they are grass-root, non-profit organizations, creating their interventions through small means to fill a need within the context in which they are working.

While the Roma settlement and the coach drivers had settled in this area due to practical reasons, Villagio Globale and Stalker actively tried to act as a mediator to bring the various groups together. The founding of Ararat had been a step in the direction towards creating a more structured multi-cultural centre in the slaughterhouse, as well as providing a greater valorisation of the spontaneous use of the place and its specific values. The Orto Boario actually constituted a way of deliberately intervening in the built environment, and letting the people occupying the site creating their own expressions and to gain control of their lived space. By cooperating directly with the affected groups on this direct level, interpretations and expressions could be developed in a different manner from the norms of urban planning and regeneration. The way in which these unofficial actors were occupying this space, and reinterpreting it both physically and mentally, partly contradicts the previous statements concerning the area. The site was still defined outside an urban norm, but the artistic means used by Stalker could create a way of enhancing the values of this place and putting them in a broader context.

One of Stalkers goals was to create a more structured multi-cultural centre on the premises of the slaughterhouse, a "citttà delle diversita" (a City of Diversity), where various groups of the city would be able to meet and interact (Stalker 2007:5). A strategy guiding their interventions was to be able to open these spaces both for the citizens of Rome and the people living within the Campo Boario. This approach included both a new valorisation of these difficultly defined places, as well as the aid of particularly vulnerable groups with origins from different parts of the world. An important point was that these interventions should not just be relevant for the various intellectuals and artists involved in the projects, but that they also have a value for those inhabiting these spaces (Stalker 2007:13). Ultimately, this can be seen as a way of trying to connect local and global contexts, creating new physical spaces in the city. The experimental approach of Stalker also raised relevant questions of who has the right to inhabit and transform urban spaces. Many of the interventions in the Campo Boario could serve to illustrate how the technically illegal use of these premises could develop in a constructive manner and create a potentially important urban place. The various interventions of Stalker were internationally noticed, and they have continued working in various constellations and through different projects, in Italy as well as abroad.

Concerning the success in creating a legitimate and intra-cultural centre in the Campo Boario, Ararat is still remaining in the ex-veterinary buildings on the premises, and have been granted a legal contract (Ararat 1999). Although well known in the art world, and in architectural circles, Stalker have not been able to be a part of the current development in the slaughterhouse. The exact

reason as to why they were not capable of carrying out their quite elaborate plans in the slaughterhouse is difficult to trace, but my interpretation is that they were not representing a strong enough actor to be able to contend the plans developed by the municipality. Ararat though, is continuously aiding Kurdish refugees and safeguarding Kurdish cultural expressions through various manifestations in the Campo Boario. The Roma-Kalderashi community on the other hand was ultimately evicted from Testaccio in June of 2008, during a controversial intervention directed by the municipality (*Corriere della Sera*, June 6th 2008). The entire community of 120 people, out of which 40 were children, was moved to a more peripheral location near Tor Vergata. Before this eviction, the camp had already been moved from the premises of the Campo Boario, where they had at that point been staying for 15 years and where the living conditions were described as: "…clean and well-maintained, the families were living in spacious and comfortable caravans surrounded by a large number of cars" *Corriere della Sera*, June 6th 2008).

       I will come back further to the importance of these early actual interventions further in the study, now turning the attention to the contemporary period of regenerating the former slaughterhouse and the beginning of creating a "Città delle Arti".

7.   Building a Città delle Arti 2000-

In this chapter I wish to outline the developments in the former slaughterhouse during the period from the year 2000 until present day. The actors involved in this process are those I chose to call *official,* as contrary to the spontaneous and sometimes partly illegal actors that previously had come to occupy this space. In the contemporary development of the slaughterhouse, the municipality of Rome has been the most important actor, as responsible for the slaughterhouse and with an overarching role of drawing out the general use and structure of the recuperated buildings.

In 2003, the municipality of Rome, specifically the Department of Urban Planning and Realization (Dipartimento Programmazione e Attuazione Urbanistica), presented the final version of the Urban Project of Ostiense-Marconi, which had been developed gradually since 1995, as an expansion of the new Piano Regolatore Generale (the General City Plan) that was approved in 2000, and continuously expanded in 2003 and 2005 (Comune di Roma 2003 & 2005). This project covers an area starting with the slaughterhouse in Testaccio, and stretching southwards past Ostiense, ending with Viale Gugliemo Marconi. In this final organization of the former industrial area outside the Aurelian wall, the structured plan of the re-use of the former slaughterhouse was also included (Cupelloni 2007:70). After many years of having an exaggerated focus on the historic centre within the Aurelian walls, the municipality of Rome is now aiming toward a shifting in focus towards a more polycentric than monocentric city (Garano 2001:259). By focusing on the creation of smaller, but functional centres located in more peripheral locations, a general regeneration of these areas would also be possible, breaking the perhaps previous isolation in relation to the dependence of centre of the city *(*Garano 2001:259-260). Rather than initiating any major new projects of urban development, this strategy aims towards recuperating the present resources of various parts of the city. In order regenerate these future sub-centres, plans include the general upgrading of services for the local inhabitants, but also the establishment of important public and private centres and institutions, such as cultural centres, exhibition halls, cinemas and hotels *(*Garano 2001:259-260). The Ostiense-Marconi area is included in the creation of the first planned sub-centres of the city, where planning already have been laid out, and which are partly operational at present.

7.1   The Ostiense-Marconi project

The Ostiense-Marconi project has specific significance for the new PRG in comparison to the other future sub-centres of the city. This zone is intended to be used as an area of experimenting with new and innovative strategies of urban planning (Ricci 2001:229). By implementing these strategies on the local scale of the sub-centre, they can be further developed and used also in the broader urban scale. The primary objectives in this project are the development social and cultural services (developed in close cooperation with Roma Tre) by recuperation of the former industrial buildings, as well as improving the mobility within the area and in relation to adjacent neighbourhoods, by the creation and amelioration of streets, cycle paths and bridges. Another significant concept in

the PRG is the strengthening of identities in the future city. By connecting notions of identity to historical and natural values in the urban fabric, these identities are envisioned to be guiding development on a local as well as an overarching urban scale (Cecchini 2001:222-223).

Included in this zone are significant parts of industrial archaeology such as the Centrale Montemartini and the gasometer, as well as the picturesque garden city of Garbatella, all of which are envisioned to be further valorised and made significant for the area. The gasometer in particular, due to its monumental size that makes it visible from a distance, is envisioned to become a symbol for the entire area (Ricci 2001:229). A vast part of the industrial heritage of Ostiense is described as having been abandoned since the major shut-downs of the centrally located industries of Rome, including the slaughterhouse, but is also claimed to have "a high density of collective memories and values" (Garano 2001:261). Looking more in detail on the Ostiense-Marconi project, and its effects on Testaccio and the slaughterhouse, the single most important actor in the drawing out of these plans is the university of Roma Tre. Overall, the role of the Roman universities is specifically highlighted in the PRG, as being able to regenerate worn-down parts of the city and at the same time finding new spaces for their various activities. In Ostiense, Roma Tre will be occupying 240 000 square metres, the vast part of which is former factories and other industries, and in the slaughterhouse, 20 000 square metres of the slaughterhouse will be used by their architectural department, also making them the single largest actor established in the recuperated slaughterhouse (Garano 2001:261). Other new activities that are planned to be located in the industrial area of Ostiense are, among other things, a science museum, and a large centre multi-functional centre in the former mercati generali, and various other cultural and social services (Comune di Roma 2003:4). In the decisions on the expansion of this project in 2003 and 2005, the complete plan for the restructuring of the slaughterhouse was also presented and approved. The first priority was naturally the restoration of the buildings and surroundings of the slaughterhouse, followed by the establishment of Roma Tre as the most important actor, that would also be responsible for the major part of the restructurings of the area (Comune di Roma 2005:19).

The Ostiense-Marconi project is thus responsible for the overarching governing of the development of the entire area. A few things concerning this project are worth noting before proceeding to the next chapter, and looking more in detail at the recent developments in the slaughterhouse. First of all, the inclusion of a regeneration plan for the slaughterhouse in a more broad urban context suggests that the geographical location of this complex might not be determinant for its location in the future urban landscape. A significant border between Testaccio and Ostiense would otherwise be the Aurelian wall, which is also marking the border of the historical centre of Rome. The location within the walls of the centre might suppose a quite strict definition of the elements of the area in the larger context of the urban landscape of Rome, but the Ostiense-Marconi project suggests that these borders are more fluid and open for interpretation than might be apparent at first sight. In this context, the slaughterhouse is rather connected to the vast cultural hub envisioned in the

Ostiense area, than to the historical worker's neighbourhood of Testaccio. Another important aspect to note within this project is its function as an experimental area for future urban strategies. This role supposes that considerable amount of prestige from the part of the planners at the municipality of Rome is being put into this project. The area thus has the potential of being an emblematic case of contemporary urban regeneration and planning, and one might also suppose that the final recuperation of the slaughterhouse, after many years of failed projects, can prove yet another prestigious aspect of this project if it is managed to be carried out with satisfactory results.

The most important aspect that I have wanted to illustrate in this section is the relevance of the regeneration of the slaughterhouse in a broader urban scale, and the more overarching development of which it plays an important part. Secondly, this chapter also serves to show some general directions in contemporary urban planning in Rome, as well as the need and wish for de-centralisation and creation of alternative centres. In the following section I will proceed with a more detailed description of the various actors who have recently established in the former slaughterhouse.

7.2   The creative industries in the slaughterhouse

The developments described in a more broad sense above have been operational in Testaccio since the year 2000, and new additions have continuously been carried out during the period of this study. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the University of Roma Tre has, besides the municipality of Rome, been the single most important actor in the recent developments in the slaughterhouse. Roma Tre, as the name suggests, is the third public university in Rome, and with a foundation in 1992, also the youngest. The department of architecture was previously primarily located in the rione Monti in the very centre of historical Rome. The lack of space in their former seat was an important factor for the relocation of many of the university's activities to the former slaughterhouse. As well as being partly responsible for the regeneration plans of the complex, they also moved into one of the first restored pavilions in the year 2000, as the first public institution to establish on the premises (Roma Tre/Architettura). In 2010 another building was restored, and in 2013 yet three more, housing lecture halls, an aula and a library. Roma Tre is also the actor that currently is occupying the most space in the slaughterhouse complex, with five pavilions at present, and a few more to restore if all goes according to plans. As an architectural department, the university has also had a lot of freedom in developing the shape of the restorations of the slaughterhouse.

 Another early tenant was a part of the museum of contemporary art in Rome, *MACRO*. This municipal museum is based on the former Galleria Comunale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Roma, and was first inaugurated in its contemporary form in 2002, opening on two locations in Rome, at Via Nizza in the Salaria neighborhood, also in a piece of industrial archaeology – the former beer factory of Peroni, and in two pavilions of the former slaughterhouse in 2003. In close connection to MACRO, a new exhibition space called *La Pelanda,* described as a broad centre of cultural production, opened in 2006. Officially under the overarching management of MACRO, this centre includes spaces for a

number of different cultural expressions with large galleries, theatre halls as well as studios and laboratories for artists in residence. Furthermore, La Pelanda also includes spaces for cultural activities specifically directed towards youth and children.

In the former cast-iron portico facing the Campo Boario, new spaces were created for the *Città dell'Altra Economia* (the City of Alternative Economy) in 2007. This is a quite loosely based non-profit organization, with the goal of promoting an alternative economy, solidarity and a sustainable development. Their activities include a restaurant, an organic food store, a bookstore, and several smaller companies. The events organized by the Città dell'Altra Economia are ranging from short film festivals to yard sales, attracting a vast number of people particularly during the weekends. The consortium of the CAE has a six-year contract with the municipality of Rome to occupy the space in the former slaughterhouse, but states on their website their ambition of transforming the CAE into a "…permanent laboratory of promoting an alternative economy on a city, national, and international scale, a culture of intelligent consumption based on the rights of the citizens."[10] (CAE Website/Consorzio CAE).

Lastly, the most recent actor to establish on the premises is the Accademia di Belle Arti, who are at present occupying two pavilions at the Campo Boario, officially inaugurated in the beginning of 2015. They are representing the second educational institution at the site, but with a focus on fine art. Besides these, a number of earlier actors are still remaining in the slaughterhouse complex as mentioned earlier, such as the Scuola di Musica di Testaccio and Ararat, and supposedly also Villagio Globale. Neither Villagio Globale, nor Ararat are frequently mentioned in the various projects by the other actors, but are included in the official plan of the municipality of Rome for the Ostiense-Marconi project. Together, these various actors are forming a future "Città delle Arti" (City of the Arts). This is envisioned to become a multi-functional centre, based on art, creativity and culture. Although this project already is partly operational, the future goal is to create:

"a grand campus dedicated to artistic activities, in the broadest sense of education, production and consumption of the arts, understood both in the classical tradition but also in more advanced expressions such as experimental and interdisciplinary research and multimedia." [11] (Cuppeloni 2007:70)

The project includes finding proper new uses for the slaughterhouse under the common theme of the development of the creative city, the restoration of the building complex, and lastly the historic research on, and valorisation of the built heritage at the site. Establishing a cultural centre in a relatively central

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[10] "…trasformare la CAE in un laboratorio permanente di promozione cittadina, nazionale e internazionale dell'Altra Economia, una cultura del consumo intelligente basato sui diritti dei cittadini."

[11] "un grande campus deputato alle attività artistiche, nel senso più ampioi di formazione, produzione e fruizione delle arti, intese nell'accezione classica ma anche nelle espressioni più avanzate riferite alla ricerca sperimentale, alla contaminazione della discipline, alla multimedialità"

location of Rome, is also stated as a way of modernizing the city, and making it more competitive on an international scale (Mosso 2001). The industrial heritage of the city could in this sense be used as a valuable resource of modernization, and also to potentially encourage economic growth (Mosso 2001). These statements are similar to those of the plans of the late 1980s, presented above, where a lot of faith is put into the regeneration of the former slaughterhouse as a way of promoting Rome not only as a city of great cultural heritage, but also with a potential of innovation and modernization. A both local and global ambition of regeneration is being realized through the development of the slaughterhouse. By showing the potential and innovation realized in the slaughterhouse the local community could gain better access to this vast building complex, and on the global scale, this development has the capacity of possibly attracting investors and tourists.

ROMA TRE

MACRO TESTACCIO

SCUOLA DI MUSICA DI TESTACCIO

LA PELANDA

VILLAGIO GLOBALE

CITTÀ DEL ALTRA ECONOMIA

ACADEMIA DI BELLE ARTI

ARARAT

Fig. 7 Overview of the organisation of the various present actors

7.2.1 Architectural interventions

The contemporary recuperation of the slaughterhouse involves not only the establishment of aforementioned creative actors, but also of a thorough restoration of the various buildings on the site, involving varying degrees of architectural transformation. The way in which the buildings have been restored can reflect the way in which they are expected to be used and experienced by visitors today. The actual interventions at the site are the result of the many years of primarily architectural and conservation research aimed at gaining precise knowledge into the specific materials and techniques used when the slaughterhouse was constructed. Involved in the practical restoration of the buildings as well as the architectural research have been both representatives of Roma Tre's architectural department, but also architects from *Lc-architettura*, an architectural firm consisting of architects Luciano Cupelloni, Giulia Cupelloni and Ana Paz, as well as the architectural firm *Carmassio Studio di Architettura,* engaged by the municipality of Rome. The projects of research and following restorations are described as having been made with an "Ersochian logic", referring to the slaughterhouse's original architect and his innovative ideas concerning both function and construction. (Cupelloni 2007:70). The goal according to Luciano Cupelloni, when dealing with the conservation of urban and industrial heritage from the period of the Risorgimento in Italy, is to preserve the building materials and significant details of the structures original use, while restructuring the interior in order to adapt it for contemporary uses (Cupelloni 2007*:* 69). He further states that the slaughterhouse complex can become an "emblematic case" in the development of novel strategies of conservation and adaptive reuse, and new ways of interpreting and presenting the past of the building (Cupelloni 2007*:* 69-70).

Looking in more detail on the actual alterations, these show some variety between the different pavilions. The first official actor to establish in the slaughterhouse was, as mentioned previously, the Department of Architecture of Roma Tre. In 1998 the university started the preparatory work on these buildings, mostly through historical research, and they are today occupying the buildings in the north end of the slaughterhouse. The transformation of these buildings has been specifically adapted for the various uses and the existing conditions, but do share some common features. One of the first buildings to become restored was the Aula Magna, housed in the former sanitary laboratories. To adapt this building for contemporary use, the interior walls were demolished, creating a vast open space, which then was divided into smaller lecture halls through new walls separating the different rooms (Rossi 2007:76). In order to valorize the original space of the building, and to properly experience the vastness of this hall, the new walls does not reach the outer walls and ceiling of the room, simultaneously shaping smaller spaces while retaining the original impression of the building. The exteriors of the pavilions of the slaughterhouse proper have all been restored to their original appearance, with few contemporary additions.

In the two pavilions that MACRO is occupying, the main requirement for contemporary use is to create functional exhibition halls for the museum, where

various expressions of art can be exhibited. The two buildings already provided quite open vast spaces, of about one thousand square meters each, suitable for the typical contemporary exhibition hall. Today, parts of the original iron rails and beams have been removed, and to add more exhibition spaces, new "floating" floors have been built, consciously using steel and red-tinted glass to distinguish these parts from the original construction (Cupelloni 2007:72). Besides the historical importance, this environment is also seen as particularly inspiring for creating and exhibiting new means of artistic expression, outside of the classic "white box" (Cupelloni 2007: 71). The buildings restored for Accademia di Belle Arti are consisting out of two former stables transformed into spaces for studios, lecture halls and laboratories (Cupelloni 2007: 73).

Similarly in the adjacent pavilion of La Pelanda, where the studio Carmassi mostly have been working, the appearance of the exterior has been restored to its original appearance, again with careful consideration to accentuate the authentic materials. It is interesting to note though, that the outside irons rails have been conserved and stabilized, as well as corresponding details in the interiors, in order for their slightly worn and rusty appearance to be preserved as an aesthetically and historically pleasing addition (Mulazzani 2010:60). In this part of the slaughterhouse, various industrial details on the interior have been preserved and conserved due to their important historical significance (Mulazzani 2010: 2-3). The buildings on the border of the slaughterhouse proper and the Campo Boario, restored to house the various activities of the CAE, have probably gained the most attention both nationally and internationally, having won a number of awards. This part of the slaughterhouse, facing the Campo Boario, was originally consisting out of an open portico, with characteristic cast iron pillars carrying a light roof. In order to transform this structure into a functional space for new uses, the authentic parts have been restored, and covered by a new construction in steel and glass (Cupelloni 2007:72).

7.3   Visions of the modern city

As described previously, the current development of the slaughterhouse towards creating a Città delle Arti, is part of an official project coordinated by the municipality of Rome, in order to construct a multi-functional centre of cultural and creative production, education and exhibition. In this chapter I wish to expand more on the various statements and visions expressed by the official actors in relation to their activities in the slaughterhouse, as well as general visions in contemporary city planning in Rome.

The reasoning behind locating this centre in Testaccio it is further said to be due to this neighbourhood already being popular among many groups in the city, and is described as the "young and beating heart of the capital"[12] by Umberto Croppi, assessor of cultural politics in the Municipality of Rome (Croppi 2010). He also stresses the late opening hours of the MACRO (16-24), as an important factor of attracting both the young people from Testaccio's nightlife, as well as the local inhabitants. This is also reflected in the description at MACRO

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[12] "cuore giovane e pulsante della capitale"

Testaccio's official website, where one can read that the museum is located in an area that is "…increasingly characterised by the richness of cultural manifestations and artistic events, particularly aimed towards a younger audience"[13]. Generally, there is a wish of creating an open atmosphere in the slaughterhouse complex, which should inspire people to "everyday meetings" with art and culture (Croppi 2010). The envisioned openness of the centre is also reflected by Mulazzani, who describes the current developments as a rationalization of the previous (unofficial) use of the buildings, and an opportunity to make the slaughterhouse available for Rome's citizens (Mulazzani 2010:14). This is perhaps mostly operationalized today through the activities of the CAE, who are working on a non-profit basis, and provides free, or low-cost activities, attracting people to the area. Recent examples of activities arranged on a relatively regular basis are a food truck-festival, a farmer's market, car boot sales and a short-film festival. Looking at who seem to be intended to use the new complex, there is a certain tendency of favouring the younger audience, both the university students of Roma Tre, and the users of the nearby bars and nightclubs. Although a cultural centre is providing greater access to the former slaughterhouse to anyone who might be in the area, this young audience is for the most part not actually living in this area of Rome.

  The official actors that are part of the contemporary development are all described as forces having a positive effect on the area, such as the presence of two institutions of higher education that are providing the presence of students in the area, and CAE as promoting tools for sustainable lifestyles. Something that is mentioned rather in passing are the earlier unofficial activities, described here in the previous chapter. Villagio Globale and Ararat are two actors who supposedly have been granted permanent positions on the premises of the slaughterhouse, now on a legal basis. Voices from their representatives are remarkably absent from the official plans and presentations that I have been able to consult. As they now are part of the official and more properly structured project for the slaughterhouse, their status as official actors should also have been strengthened somewhat, which does not seem to be quite the case at present. The in-between period of the slaughterhouse is furthermore described mostly as a time of illegal use and material decay. Only briefly mentioned are the activities carried out by Stalker, and by the various organizations that have inhabited the area throughout a period of nearly thirty years. Stefania Pistone in *Roma: Memorie della Città Industriale* says after having described some of the activities of the aforementioned period, that:

"As every place left by itself, without any control, there is not a lack of unpleasant episodes, development of illegal activities and sometimes dangerous situations, which have undermined the aspirations of the place and of those living there."[14] (Pistone 2007:68)

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[13] "…sempre più si è caratterizzata per la ricchezza di manifestazioni culturali ed eventi artistici rivolti in particolare ad un pubblico giovane."

[14] "Come ogni luogo lasciato a se stesso, senza nessun controllo, non sono mancati gli episodi spiacevoli, la nascita di clandestinità e situazioni spesso pericolose che hanno minato l'aspirazione del luogo e di chi lo abitava"

It is not quite evident what kind of dangerous situations that this quote is referring to, given the description of the aforementioned development at the site. Rather, the ambiguous attitude previously accounted for seem to appear once more, presenting a situation which is in need of a serious intervention.

As previously mentioned, a goal in the new city plan is to change the perspective from the historic centre, and instead expand the identity of Rome into the historic city (Ostilio Rossi 2008:401). Both history and identity are concepts frequently that are frequently mentioned in the visions of the future Rome, where an image of a more complex historical city is being put forward, as a:

"…city to be discovered and interpreted by alternating different contextual scales, following outstanding signs of urban importance that run across places and historical periods that may be distant in time but proximate in space" (Gasparrini 2001: 240)

By applying the novel concept of the historical city, the municipality of Rome wants to attempt to combine the strategies of conservation and urban transformation, and finding ways of integrating the urban heritage in the general fabric of the city. The exact manner in which the urban heritage should be interpreted and valorised is not explicitly mentioned, more than through quite vague formulations such as "integrated methods" and the need to implement various strategies on a case-by-case basis (Gasparrini 2001:239-240). Local identities expressed through heritage and knowledge of the local community is furthermore being promoted (Gasparrini 2001:239-240).

To conclude, the most important and most commonly mentioned aspect of the current plans seem to be to open the slaughterhouse complex, and make it more available to the local community as well as the inhabitants of Rome in general. This would be reflected in the various new uses of the buildings, as well as the physical restructuring of the area.

7.4   Whose Città delle Arti?

Outlined in this chapter are the most recent developments of the regeneration process of the slaughterhouse, as well as the connection to the more overarching strategies in general urban development in Rome. In relation to the general urban development, the slaughterhouse complex once again takes on the role of a model of contemporary strategies of regeneration. The creative and innovative aspects of the new Città delle Arti are highlighted, as well as the opportunity of granting a wider access to the premises of the historical building. Although the historical and aesthetic values of the complex still are appreciated as ways of creating local significance and enhancing local identity, I am interpreting the vision of modernity and innovation as prioritized themes in the future use of the slaughterhouse. While using an historical building, can be seen as a way of valorising the past of this specific place, many of the actual activities taking place here, such as the farmer's markets and outdoor concerts, are of a rather international nature which one can find in many major cities worldwide. The notion of the creative city is also being spread in a relatively global context, connecting the development in Testaccio to a broader scale. The expectations of

this project are clearly reflecting some of the central concepts developed by Richard Florida, in regards to the rise of the "creative city". A clear effort is being made to reinterpret an industrial place into a cultural centre, which potentially has the power of also attracting innovative people by its originality and history. The new "creative centres" are being described by Florida as:

"…the economic winners of our age. Not only do they have high concentrations of creative-class people, they have high concentrations of creative economic outcomes, in the form of innovations and high-tech industry growth." (Florida 2003:8)

As the most recent interventions in the slaughterhouse are the first actual developments to be carried out within the Ostiense-Marconi plan, one might assume that these might come to be influential on the future developments of the entire area as a cultural centre. Furthermore, it is explicitly stated in the PRG that the above mentioned project is intended to be a sort of laboratory of urban planning, and a way of developing innovative strategies to regenerate the city.

As mentioned previously in this study, cultural centres establishing in former industrial buildings is a phenomenon that is expanding on a European and global scale. The establishment of this type of activities are in this sense contributing to globalisation on one hand, but also to a local connecting through the reuse of an historical building complex. The use of these buildings can also be interpreted as an ambition of creating a more authentic experience for members of the creative class, as Zukin (2010:228) says:

"…the cultural tastes of authenticity that take spatial form in loft living, hipster neighbourhoods, and the new Harlem Renaissance but also support farmers' markets, community gardens, and the Latino food vendors of Red Hook."

On that same notion, Zukin also states that in contemporary cities' ambition for creative branding and cultural development also lies the risk of the completely opposite effect, that the authentic becomes the fabricated and mass-produced (Zukin 2010:231). Zukin is discussing the concept of authenticity in relation to the regeneration of the city core, specifically that of New York. While the restoration of the slaughterhouse can be interpreted as a wish of returning to a more authentic state, can the food truck festival and community garden in the Campo Boario be thought of as the same expression of authenticity? These activities might seem typical of small-scale city life, but not even the most enthusiastic nostalgic can claim these events to be representative of the past of this place. Rather, it seems as though the idea of an urban authenticity has come to be transferred to places formerly outside of the common city life.

Although some of the former unofficial actors at the slaughterhouse have been granted a permanent place in the new Città delle Arti, their role seem to be significantly downplayed in the current developments and the official plans. If mentioned, they are referenced to as part of the unstructured past of the place, and very briefly described. They are also often described in connection to the material decay of the slaughterhouse, if not completely ignored when instead describing the entire complex as completely abandoned. The lack of information concerning the unofficial actors might be due to the entire project not being

finished at present, and their place in the new cultural centre might not be completely defined at this moment. Quite remarkable though, is the disproportion of cases when the more established official actors are mentioned in connection to these plans, in relation to the unofficial ones. When visiting the slaughterhouse at present, it is also difficult to recognise the presence of Ararat and Villagio Globale at the site. No signs or information is available concerning their activities, and the buildings that they are occupying, quite worn down and covered with graffiti, are a strong contrast to the meticulously restored buildings that the official actors are using. At present it might be too early to draw any final conclusions of the division of power between the various actors involved in the project, but looking at the current situation the presence, and influence of the early unofficial actors at the site seem to be largely ignored.

7.4.1 Transforming materiality

Looking more in detail at the various interventions and restorations that have been carried out so far, several common points can be clearly discerned. A common respect for the original structure, materials and aesthetics is a general feature. The architect of the original building, Gioacchino Ersoch, previously not viewed as a very spectacular representative of architecture to his time, is now appreciated to the degree that his innovative manner of working is inspiring the contemporary architects (Cupelloni 2007:70). The most intact part of the pavilions is as described, the facades, which bear very few traces of any contemporary interventions. The details in the interiors having been preserved in their entirety are fewer, but are generally described as important testimonies of the industrial past, and not just superficial traces of history (Mulazzani 2010:20). Another significant detail to note is that despite the ambition of restoring the buildings to an original state, certain details in iron have been allowed to keep their worn look and their patina, which cannot be interpreted as being for anything other than aesthetic purposes. Storm, in her dissertation *Hope and Rust: Reinterpreting the industrial place in the late 20th century*, discusses how the concept of authenticity have become increasingly important in the aestheticization of the industrial place. An aspect of the slaughterhouse being valorised as an important piece of cultural heritage also includes the increased importance of the authentic material of the building being preserved, as a central concept of Western heritage politics (Storm 2008:139). The exteriors of the buildings in the slaughterhouse complex are to a high degree being restored to an "authentic" state, while the interiors are only showing selected details as reminders of the industrial past. These interior's unique past and aesthetics, and the difference to the modernist "white cube" as an exhibition space, is also expected to provoke and inspire to new artistic expressions (Cupelloni 2007:71).

The contemporary reuse of the early 20th century industrial site as an exhibition space, with the particular potential of inspiring artistic expressions or creating new manners in which the place can be interpreted, is a widely spread phenomenon today. Examples include both the nearby Centrale Montemartini, a former power plant that has become the exhibition space for a part of the collection belonging to the Capitoline Museums, or Röda Sten in Gothenburg, where a contemporary art gallery has come to be housed in a former boiler

house. In both cases, the encounters between history and present are highlighted, as providing the visitor with an experience that exceeds the ordinary museum visit.

As the Città delle Arti-project is currently in progress, the visual contrasts are quite obvious when visiting the site today. The newly restored buildings with their clean facades stand out against those dirty, and graffiti-covered buildings that still remain. Even the part of the Campo Boario still used by Ararat is clearly not part of the structured restorations that can be observed in the other buildings. Furthermore, a fence is separating this part of the area from the surrounding open space. Visually speaking, this section of the Campo Boario is not included in the rest of the Città delle Arti at present, as it is not exhibiting the same cohesive appearance as the rest of the complex.

To conclude, the contemporary interventions can be seen as the final realization of the visions of historians such as Simonetta Lux of the 1970s', by properly valorising the physical heritage of the industrial developments of the Risorgimento. The aesthetic and technical aspects of the complex that were once established as of central importance for its conservation are now being restored and safeguarded as representative for the building and its history. There seem here to be a general agreement of the decision to bring back the original appearance of the buildings to a large extent, although their uses have changed considerably. A last issue that I would like to address is how the newly restored parts of the slaughterhouse make up an apparent contrast to the unrestored (or not restored in the same manner) buildings that are still being used. Whether or not it is only a matter of time before these parts of the complex become renovated in the same manner is a question I have not been able to answer. Still, it is worth noting the quite dramatic contrasts in the complex that this represents.

Fig. 8 Interior of *La Pelanda* with preserved industrial details

Fig. 9 View from the Campo Boario with the gazometro in the background

Fig. 10 Preserved industrial detail on exterior

Fig. 11 Exterior of the slaughterhouse awaiting restoration

8.   Strategies of cultural regeneration

In the previous chapters, I have outlined the process of how a project of cultural regeneration has come to be. The process described naturally has features unique to this case and its specific context. In Testaccio the development of a structured regeneration of the industrial heritage has gone through many different phases, and faced various issues concerning its conservation and future use. Through a complex of process involving a number of various actors with different resources of power, a vision of creating an innovative and creative centre has developed. Despite the unique features in Testaccio, many cases of creative and cultural centres are being established on former industrial sites in most of Europe's bigger cities. The prerequisites, challenges and strategies can differ depending on the local context, as well as the actors involved in the process of regeneration. In this chapter I wish to present another case of cultural regeneration, with a slightly different outcome than the recent developments in Testaccio.

8.1   The case of the Mediaspree-project
The Mediaspree is a major redevelopment project situated by the waterfront of the river Spree in Berlin, by the former west-east border and close to the neighbourhoods of Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg. Formerly the site of various industries, this vast area of 1.8 square metres has been abandoned since the unification of Germany. A large portion of the built environment in this area is dating from the early 20th century, and was previously used for various types of industrial production and by trading companies. During the last years of the 20th century, the buildings of this abandoned site began to be used for nightclubs and various other cultural activities (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:333). The spontaneous reuse of this area eventually came to transform its identity, and it began to be viewed as an alternative and trendy location. Due to these positive connotations of the Spree area, larger companies also began to recognise a value in the image that had its origins in the young and alternative subcultures of Berlin. In the early 2000s' major media enterprises such as MTV and Universal Music had established here, and the area became a mix of media-centre and a major club scene (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:330).
        In 2002, the Mediaspree-project was first initiated as a private initiative bringing a number of actors together representing a number of interests, primarily of the real estate sector, that were to carry out the ambitious redevelopments with the support of the public sphere (Ahlfeldt 2010:2). Besides the already established actors at the Spree waterfront, the additional conversion of former industrial buildings and the clearing of empty plots for new construction were envisioned. These redevelopments would allow for investments in the area in order for new hotels, offices and media centres to establish. According to Scharenberg & Bader (2010), the Mediaspree actively used the image of the authentic and creative area that had been previously established and incorporated it in their own promotion of the project. As Colomb (2012) has showed, the expressions of alternative culture born in these places have been frequently used in the marketing of Berlin as a "creative city". Through

a sort of paradoxical process, the Mediaspree project wanted to appropriate the radical image of the area, while removing the actors that had been responsible for this development.

   This project, which would have a major impact on the existing built fabric, an entirely alter a large part of the waterfront on either side of the Spree, soon came to be challenged by the counter-movement "Mediaspree Versenken" (Sink the Mediaspree). The group had its base in the club scene and the alternative movements of the area, but has also gained support among various organisations and left-wing groups, and is today a recognised actor in the development of the Spree-area (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:332). In opposition against the Mediaspree, this group arranged manifestations and events that attracted a large number of people. The various protests against the Mediaspree have had a major affect on the project and have at least partially halted the large alterations of the area. Furthermore, an important effect of these protests has been the expansion of the debate about urban planning and large-scale regeneration projects in Berlin, proposing alternatives based in the local community (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:332). A crucial factor for their success has been the alternative propositions put forward as a counter-weight to the previous project, and a strong common goal to work towards (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:332-333). Another aspect of this development for the involved actors is the de-radicalisation of the protest movement, as they gain more ground and become more influential, they might loose some of the political strength that they had from the beginning.

8.2   Bottom-up strategies

The process of regenerating the industrial place is often one involving a number of different, and sometimes conflicting, interests. These various interests and the actors representing them can become crucial in determining the manner in which the place in question is shaped. Although there are cases where official and structured plans for a site's regeneration and safeguarding have been laid out and operationalized at an early stage, many examples of the opposite process can also be seen. When an industrial site has been abandoned, one can in many cases witness a spontaneous use of the vast and often centrally located spaces that these buildings offer. Although this might involve an abusive relationship to the built environment, the actors occupying the spaces can also be providing services and activities that the area is lacking. The previously described centri sociali in Italy, and the Villagio Globale in Testaccio, are examples of such social centres that make use of the available buildings in the area, as well as the broadly spread TransEuropeHalles network, that is aiding the organisation of cultural centres on a European scale. Centri Sociali and the TransHalles-centres alike, are mainly based in grass root and non-profit organisations, working on a voluntary basis to gain official recognition for their activities. The spontaneous reuse of the industrial heritage is also often involving a degree of political activism, with more or less clear visions of the future.

   The Mediaspree-project, and the following protests, is illustrating some important points. Firstly, the appropriation of a "hip" image established by unofficial actors by the actors with a stronger position of power, and secondly,

the institutionalisation and de-radicalisation of the unofficial actors after having carried out a successful protest-movement. While the various social centres mentioned above might have to fight for their proper recognition and the possibility of establishment, the Mediaspree case rather shows the capacity of these unofficial actors to organise against a common threat. The fact that creative or cultural activities often have come to be seen as the "storm troops of gentrification" (Evans 2006:198) but what I find all the more interesting is the role that is taken by these cultural actors in the process of regeneration. Often being those who "discover" the potential of an underused place, can they continue to play an important part in a more structured an official regeneration plan?

The current developments in Testaccio have neither entailed the vast restructurings as in the case of the Mediaspree, nor involved the same proportions of private and commercial actors. Although perhaps not as obvious as in Berlin, I believe that the developments prior to the structured plans of the Città delle Arti in Testaccio, were crucial to the manner in which they are portraying their activities. An apparent difference to the developments in Berlin is the lack of a united voice and a vision of the unofficial actors in the slaughterhouse today. When faced with the common threat of eviction, the unofficial actors in Berlin came to represent a resource of power, one that is not apparent in Testaccio today. I believe that this unequal power relation is a key aspect in the regeneration process of the former slaughterhouse, which will be further addressed in the following chapters.

9.   Discursive regeneration

The aim of this study has been to analyse and describe a contemporary process of cultural regeneration of the post-industrial place. What I have wanted to trace in the previous chapters are the general developments in the regeneration process of the slaughterhouse, one that have been active, and undergone several phases since the 1960s. During this period in time, there have also been a number of various actors involved in this process in different ways. These actors are representing different interests and relations to the place, interests that sometimes might be intertwined, and sometimes in conflict with each other. Furthermore, the creation of various discourses of the place's use and its future can be reflected in the way in which these actors have come to interact with the post-industrial place.

　　　To further analyse this process I have identified a number of phases in the regeneration of the post-industrial place, which are represented by different discourses of place. Discourse should be understood here as it has been developed as a concept by Michel Foucault, as a way in which statements of various kinds establishes an accepted idea of how a certain phenomenon can be described in a normative manner (Olshammar 2002:143). Discourses can include both the manner in which one actually speaks of a phenomenon, but it can also be referring to an academic sphere in which knowledge is being created and re-created. In this case study these discourses are vital as they are responsible for the process of reinterpretation of an industrial place as a contemporary cultural centre. Within the context of this study, I am including several ways of interaction with the place, activities, physical restructurings and descriptions, in the construction of a place-specific discourse.

　　　The first pre-requisite of any regeneration of the built fabric is the availability of underused buildings that can be considered a resource in the envisioned image of the place. Having that in mind, the very first phase of the regeneration process in the case study was the safeguarding and historisation of the slaughterhouse, pointing it out as an important testimony of the past and a resource of the future. The establishment of industrial heritage in the mid-20th century has been well covered by a number of authors (see for example Alzén 1996), and will not be further expanded upon in this context. It is important though to note that the initial debate on the slaughterhouse's future would to some extent also have an effect on the subsequent developments at the site.

9.1   The ambiguous place
The initial phase that I have identified is based on an ambiguous discourse of place. To identify and analyse this phase I have been inspired by the concept of the "permanent-provisional state" developed by Gabriella Olshammar (2002). This concept can according to Olshammar be used as a conceptual tool for describing an ambiguous urban situation and place, as well as a form of re-use of an industrial area (Olshammar 2002:12). Within the concept of the permanent-provisional state is the belief that this is a state created and sustained by the various relations and discourses of the area, and the way in which these are

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carriers of power of shaping the image and ideas of that place. When establishing a permanent-provisional state, certain actors are actively reinforcing a stigma connected to the site by confirming various negative conceptions about the place. An important aspect of the permanent-provisional state is the idea of a kind of urban disorder, as a place where the normative conceptions of an urban place cannot be applied. The conception of this urban disorder is based upon statements of the place as being in a state of both aesthetic and social unrest (Olshammar 2002:165-169). In the case study used by Olshammar to develop this concept, the former industrial area that she is examining is conceived as a sort of "non-place" lacking any real architectural values of the existing built fabric, and the activities taking place there as non-place specific and provisional to their character. By doing so, the actors that have the power of constructing a dominant and stigmatising discourse connected to the place, also has the power of carrying out their plans and visions.

9.1.1   A permanent-provisional state?
Looking back at the situation in Testaccio during the 1980s, this was a period during which a number of regeneration plans and visions of the future were put forward, but very few actual interventions were carried out. The most structured regeneration plan of 1987 is reflecting a view of an area with a number of problems. In this plan, traditional crafts are encouraged, as they are strengthening the area's brand, while car mechanics and similar activities does not have any value for enhancing the heritage of the neighbourhood and might as well be located elsewhere in the city (Murgia & Salanitro 1986:58). Whether or not these activities were useful for the local community or not is not further discussed, and a wish is rather expressed that this area should be "liberated" and be brought back to a broader public use (Murgia & Salanitro 1986:58). In this instance, the material conditions as well as the activities at the site are both portrayed as problematic, and as halting the regeneration of the area. The removal of such activities would allow the historical references to strengthen as well as the future image of the neighbourhood to be realised.

This can be interpreted as a strategy of stigmatisation, and making the area appear more problematic than it might actually have been. In the plans from the 1980s, the poor material standard and the "everyday activities" are openly portrayed as the obstacles of regenerating the area. The problems of Testaccio during this period, with actual high numbers of criminal activity and many inhabitants leaving the neighbourhood, can hardly be blamed on the illegally built sheds and car mechanics that had come to establish in quite a limited part of the area. This brings me to the interpretation that this is a case of where a problematic situation has been constructed, rather than a real correlation between the materiality at the site and the issues that are conceived there. Considering the stigmatisation of the activities at the site, and certain parts of the built environment, Testaccio can be said to be a case of a permanent-provisional state. Furthermore, there were no actors carrying any particular potential of organisation and power in this context, which could have provided an alternative outlook of the situation. Thus the general stigmatisation of the area, already established through descriptions such as located in a "historical periphery", are

easily strengthening this image.

9.1.2 Ambiguity and potential
Another aspect of the permanent-provisional state is the ambiguous relationship to the place. This is perhaps the dominant theme of the discourse on the place of Testaccio during this early phase in the regeneration process. In this case it is primarily from the recognised historical and aesthetic values present in the neighbourhood that these ambiguous views seem to be originating. Particularly the former slaughterhouse complex is an object for this type of descriptions.

On one hand, there is a clear understanding and expression of the values inherent in these buildings, while their current state on the other hand, is deemed as unsuitable, dirty and even dangerous. It was simultaneously the most "new york-esque" place of Rome, but at the same time an uncomfortable location in need of restoration. A certain ambiguity can be seen as an inherent part of any official plan of urban regeneration as a condition of the need of said plan, but the ambiguity during this period also permeates the various other descriptions of the area. As described by Anna Vos in 1992;

 "Nevertheless Testaccio, with its trendy bars and discos, which create their own special ambiance in the shadow of the hill, and with its bad reputation and dilapidated state, nowadays attracts certain groups of Romans, if only for a short visit." (Vos 1992:59-60)

The attraction of the site for "certain groups" does not seem to be reason enough to valorise the area in its current state, but rather it needs structured interventions to attain its full potential. One and the same actor was mainly responsible for expressing these ambiguous depictions of the area, namely the municipality of Rome, through their various representatives. At this point in time, the voices of the less powerful actors in Testaccio were rarely heard, making the establishment of a dominant discourse of the place as problematic quite unchallenged.

Although the concept of the permanent-provisional state is useful in defining this particular phase of the process, the future potential of the place that is continuously expressed cannot quite be included in this definition. The widely recognised architectural values of slaughterhouse, and the classical heritage of the area make it difficult to define this as the kind of everyday-area that the permanent-provisional state is describing. As stated by Olshammar in her case study of the Gustaf Dahlén area, the built environment is described as lacking the proper qualities to merit its valorisation and future safeguarding (Olshammar 2002:173-174). Since the initial process of historisation in Testaccio, the value of the slaughterhouse and the historical built environment of the neighbourhood as a resource of reuse and regeneration. Although in order to reuse the built heritage, it needs to be part of an overarching plan, cleaned up and have carefully assigned new uses. Furthermore, vast additions were planned to the existing built fabric, which were envisioned to not only strengthen local identity, but also connect the area to the rest of the historical centre of Rome. Perhaps this can be interpreted as a strategy of breaking the historical periphery that Testaccio seemed to have been stuck in?

In any case, the same need of structuring the real or imagined disorder of

the area is also noted by Olshammar. An interesting aspect that she mentions is that the need of planners to envision the potential of a place beyond the present situation, has mainly to do with the lack of practical knowledge and first-hand experience with the site in question (Olshammar 2002:178). That is to say, it is difficult even for professionals seeing past the negative presuppositions connected to a dirty or messy surface. To truly be able to appreciate the potential in the already existing situation, a more thorough understanding is needed and could possibly give a deeper understanding to the specific circumstances of the place when developing plans for its future.

Having these ideas in mind, Testaccio as an ambiguous place, on the border of being in a permanent-provisional state, would remain in to the 1990s as none of the suggested interventions were carried out. Instead, this development would lead forward to what I have identified as a parallel discourse being established, and with that, a new phase in the process of regeneration.

9.2 An alternative place
The second phase of the regeneration process is what I haven chosen to call the alternative place. As illustrated in the previous section, the dominant discourse of place had established an ambiguous and stigmatised image of the area, making the issue of its regeneration all the more relevant. In the absence of a structured regeneration of the area, I would argue that this discourse would continue to be dominant during the 1990s and early 2000s. Perhaps even more so due to the disinterest and lack of attention towards the area from an official perspective. Connecting this dominant discourse once more to the permanent-provisional state, it would be in the interest of the official actors and planners that this image of the area remains, as to keep it available for future regeneration projects. What I want to describe here is how an alternative discourse is beginning to develop during this period, establishing an option to the normative conceptions connected to the neighbourhood, and the slaughterhouse in particular. As seen in the precious phase, there were no alternative to the dominant discourse of place, and the various activities in the slaughterhouse at this point had no common voice or goal that they could raise against the official actors. I would like to expand upon how the introduction of a few new unofficial actors with a clearly political approach came to represent a resource of power.

9.2.1 Organisation and power
What I would like to further examine here is how the stigmatised and forgotten place can function as a breeding ground for culture and art. To begin with, the people that came to use the abandoned slaughterhouse did so mainly due to the need for finding a liveable space in the city. Although Testaccio as a whole was slowly going through a period of regeneration during this period, the premises of the slaughterhouse still remained as a non-place, largely characterised by its bad reputation and decaying material standard (Ranaldi 2014). The groups that settled there were as marginalised as the location itself, consisting initially of refugees and the Roma-Kalderashi camp, and had very few resources of actual power. The premises of the slaughterhouse came to function as a refuge in the urban landscape, where the material disorder gave room for social practices that

also existed out of the norm. Even when actors representing different interests and ways of interacting with the place exist during the same period in time, the power of defining the place – creating the dominant discourse, usually lies with the actor who has the most formal resources of power. Although the permanent-provisional state is constructed through a stigmatising discourse of place, its position outside of the urban norm is providing a different freedom for groups who do not fit into normative urban practices.

According to Doreen Massey, places are inherently constructed through "constantly shifting articulations of social relations through time" (Massey 1995:188). This particularly illustrates the importance of social practices in the construction, or reinterpretation of a place. Although the aforementioned groups had very scarce resources of formal power, I would claim that another discourse of place did develop during this period. A crucial factor in this process was the interventions of Stalker and Villagio Globale. Lacking the resources of the official actors of regeneration, they developed alternative strategies of interacting with and interpreting the place. In particular, the social relations between the actors inhabiting the site, and their relation to society became a focus of the artistic interventions that they worked through. Instead of seeing the site from afar and developing regeneration projects on paper, on-site strategies were created originating from a genuine interest in enhancing and exploring the present qualities of the place.

Olshammar describes the "everyday place" and the "lived space" in her dissertation, drawing inspiration from Henri Lefebvre's theories of space (Olshammar 2002:155-160; Lefebvre 1991:38-41). The everyday place is perceived mostly through social practices and experiences in direct relation to the physical space. In her study of the Gustaf Dalén area, the organisation of the everyday place was largely made invisible, and disregarded through concerns of the perceived disorder of the place. Olshammar further describes how the present actors in the area were not able to develop a common goal and discourse that would be able to challenge the dominant view of the place. The stigmatised and problematic discourse that had been established weakened the possibilities of these actors to defend their interests and gain a position of power in promoting an alternative discourse (Olshammar 2002:180).

In Testaccio, I would argue that the relationship, and furthermore the discourse of place, that was established during this period should be defined as an alternative place rather than an everyday place, despite these places having many features in common. The combination of unofficial actors, consisting of both marginalised groups and those with the means of political organisation, created the tools for gaining a more visible position in relation to the dominant discourse of the place. Massey also expands on the political aspects of place making, saying that:

"...whichever view comes to be dominant, and by whatever means its hegemony is assured, the particular characterisation of that envelope of space-time, that place, which it proposes is only maintained by the exercise of power relations in some form." (Massey 1995:189-190)

Through the artistic interventions of Stalker among others, the dominance of the

stigmatising discourse was challenged, as this became a strategy through which the existing values in the place and its social relations could be made visible in an effective manner. While the other existing actors at the site, such as the Roma-Kalderashi camp, could find a refuge in this site they were lacking the tools and resources of organisation to organise and promote their own interpretation and discourse of place. The various artistic interventions that were carried out had an impact far beyond facilitating the relationships and situation within the slaughterhouse, as they also raised question on migration, borders, and on who has got the right to transform the urban space. In this sense, these interventions had the function of not only highlighting the values of the "non-place", but could also put this place in relation to a greater global context. The strategies developed during this period were also based on the aforementioned practical knowledge and interaction with the place, which as Olshammar also states, can provide deeper insights on the potential present values and provide the basis of further organisation and the creation of opposing discursive images (Olshammar 2002:163). On their projects in the Campo Boario, Stalker states that:

"We had to change our usual point of view and look at the world as an inhabitant of that particular space, share the illegal conditions of occupants of the space itself, take on ourselves daily responsibilities, comprehend and observe the equilibrium, the rules and the visions. We realised and recognised, from the inside, the ability of the space and its inhabitants to self-organise itself avoiding this way its own explosion." (Stalker 2007:3)

Clearly illustrated through this quote is that the work carried out by Stalker started out through a deep understanding, and immersion into this context and the social practices taking place there. Turning back to Olshammar once more, she states that the lived space also can become a highly political place, carrying the potential of change.

"From a marginalised position, strategies can be developed [in this space] if there is an awareness of how dominance, exploitation, subjugation, reproduction and production are expressed in a concrete sense."[15] (Olshammar 2002:161).

In this context, Stalker could represent a mediator, having the position of developing tools of expressing the uncertain place. Furthermore, while they were not part of the marginalised groups themselves, their strategies involved attempting to gain a deep knowledge of the reality of their lived space. Their political background can also be seen as an aspect of them helping to construct the discourse of the alternative place.

As Stalker and Villagio Globale had relatively strong positions of power in relation to most of the other unofficial actors, I would claim that they managed to create an alternative discourse of place, at least to a limited extent. The various expressions of art that they produced during a number of years became widely spread in the art world, and were exhibited in various locations internationally.

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[15] "Från en marginaliserad position kan strategier utarbetas om där finns en medvetenhet om hur dominans, exploatering, betvinganden, reproduktion och produktion konkret tar sig uttryck."

In this sense, they managed to break the permanent-provisional state that the area at least partly had been a part of, and were able to promote an opposing image to the dominant discourse. Although they managed to create a common vision and creative strategies to redefine the place, their presence slowly disappears from the premises of the slaughterhouse in the early 2000s, presumably due to practical reasons – and due to the more structured projects of the municipality of Rome.

Although this phase has similarities to the permanent-provisional state, I would claim that the provisional and stigmatised discourse of the place rather allowed new ways of interacting with this place to develop. This alternative discourse of place had its strongest phase until the early 2000s, when official actors started drawing up more structured plans for the area's regeneration. What I would like to focus on in the next section is the importance of an alternative discourse in shaping the present image of the place, and how the project of the Città delle Arti developed in relation to the unofficial actors.

10.   Constructing the creative place

In this chapter I wish to expand upon the present situation in Testaccio, and the currently ongoing project of reusing the former slaughterhouse as a Città delle Arti. In the previous chapter the two initial phases of regeneration were drawn out discursively, namely through the construction of the *ambiguous place* and *the alternative place.* In the final phase of this process we reach the third discourse of what I have chosen to call the creative place. Although places are continuously being constructed and reconstructed through social practices, the current phase is involving a rather more structured strategy for reinterpreting the place, and providing it with a new image or brand. Rather than discussing the construction of identities in this context, creating a place brand has much more to do with the aesthetics and easily interpreted signs (Zukin 2010:231).

Looking at the current project, and the various official actors involved in the creation of the Città delle Arti, two themes can be discerned. The first is the concern with the industrial past and the aesthetics of the buildings of the slaughterhouse, and the second is the creative and innovative potential of the entire complex.

10.1   Industrial aesthetics

The first theme is expressed through both the restoration of the buildings of the slaughterhouse and the various descriptions of the site, where one can observe a return to the values dominating the preservation debate of the 1960s and 1970s. In the physical restructurings of the buildings, today obsolete and superfluous elements dating back from the industrial production are preserved and restored to their original condition in some parts, while rust and traces of decay in other parts have been stabilised and brought out. Specifically concerning the aesthetisation of the industrial place, Anna Storm states that:

"...chosen features such as raw interior surfaces, large windows, high ceilings, proximity to water and consequently also nature have very much been the same, irrespective of geographical location or kind of new use." (Storm 2008:150)

This statement both indicates a globalization and a commodification of the industrial heritage, as certain details rather are being interpreted as the aesthetics of the contemporary reuse of industrial buildings for new and trendy uses (Storm 2008:145-150). With this interpretation, the recent restorations of the slaughterhouse are to a large extent conforming to a widely spread discourse of the reuse of the industrial place today, where certain details are being selected as of specific value to the contemporary image of the place. These can function as symbols, shaping the contemporary understanding and interpretation of this place. According to Sara McDowell:

"The visual features of the cultural landscape such as public buildings, monuments, plaques, plinths, graffiti, and street names, which find tangible representation in the landscapes around us, map selective interpretations of the past and present onto public places. As such, they articulate heritage and can be read as icons of identity and spatializations of history." (McDowell 2008:40)

This highlights the importance of the interplay between the actual physical restructurings to bring out certain features, as well as the written descriptions and visions, when constructing a strong discursive image of place. Scholars such as Sharon Zukin and Anna Storm has both further investigated the reinterpretation of the industrial place, and its new connotations to authenticity and quality rather than the perhaps more negative historical aspects of the place (Zukin 2010:231, Storm 2008:148). The widely distributed image of the industrial aesthetics is one that the interventions in the slaughterhouse complex is connected to, might according to Zukin, contribute to the opposite image that most seem to strive for, that is the undermining of the authentic character that gives the buildings their value (Zukin 2010:231). In Testaccio, one can also witness a slight change in the attitude towards the industrial buildings, if considering how the regeneration plans were designed. When drawing out the plans for the "Città della Scienza e della Tecnica" in the 1980s, while a certain respect for the original built fabric existed, the additional buildings would have given the complex an entirely new appearance. Thus, the general shift in the attitude towards the industrial building can be seen in the most recent development, where the buildings are not only safeguarded, but also widely appreciated for their aesthetic properties.

As the industrial buildings in Testaccio had not only been closed for industrial production, but also abandoned and used in a number of ways during many years, the controlling and aesthetisation of the industrial place would in this case concern not only an uncomfortable industrial past, but also the various uses that the complex had gone through during nearly 30 years. Not only need the memory of the industrial past become manageable, the more recent events that have taken place at the site need also to be neutralized. This strategy makes the industrial heritage safe, and the materiality of the place comfortable to adapt to new uses without having to expose the contemporary visitor to the unpleasant history of the site. A discursive image of the place is created both through the actual restorations, but also through the way of describing these interventions as a way of saving the buildings from years of decay. Storm compares the contemporary appreciation of industrial aesthetics with the process of constructing heritage, as certain details are selected to communicate the significant values (Storm 2008:150). Developing this thought further, the discursive establishment of place also involves the selection of histories and values to support a specific understanding in the present of said place, a selection that inevitably conceals other possible interpretations. As Massey explains:

"The identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant."(Massey 1995:186)

The dominant history in the discursive creation of place is in this case the idea of the heritage of industrialization and the aesthetic aspects of industrial reuse including an adaptation to a general appreciation of an industrial image. When the uncomfortable aspects of the industrial past are being downplayed, new

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associations of authenticity and uniqueness can be enhanced to better promote the post-industrial place (Storm 2008:160). The discursive image of cultural development, and of adaptive reuse becomes particularly clear when visiting the site today. Particularly when considering the apparent contrasts to other, unrestored buildings on the site. As Ararat and Villagio Globale are hardly mentioned through the official plans of the site, one interpretation could be that the buildings where the unofficial actors are still situated are consciously kept in a poor material state. This would exclude not only the buildings, but also those using them, as they could be understood as responsible for the low material standard.

10.2   Appropriating innovation

The material interventions and restorations of the slaughterhouse represent one aspect of the regeneration and reinterpretation of the place. Another aspect is the establishment of an image of creativity and innovation. As previously discussed, certain aspects of the industrial heritage are being selected and reinterpreted as domesticated version of the past. The process of selection naturally involves that other aspects and potential values of the place are being obscured. Gabriella Olshammar describes how the potential value of the urban fabric is downplayed by it being described in a negative manner, or entirely ignored in official statements and descriptions of an area (Olshammar 2002:173-174). This strategy gives room for actors to create a dominant vision of the future place, as this would provide values beyond the present situation, rather than in the available resources and through the already existing and active actors at the place (Olshammar 2002:178).

In the case of Testaccio, and the discursive construction of the Città delle Arti, the actors involved in the current project are on paper consisting of the new official groups, as well as the previously existing, and unofficial groups at the site. Reading the official statements on the project and the recent restructurings at the area, one can observe the focus on the industrial past on the one hand, and the focus on the young and innovative future on the other. The activities at the former slaughterhouse are presented as connected to the generally young and trendy ambiance of the area, expressed both through the nightlife and the presence of the University of Roma Tre and the Accademia di Belle Arti. Long gone are the concerns expressed during the 1980s, and the ambiguity of the place as only being attractive to "certain groups" among the Romans. The formerly problematic attitude towards the material standard has changed with the restorations, where the place at present is even interpreted as inspiring unique artistic expressions. The current activities and restructurings in the former slaughterhouse are further described as having established in a building that had been "abandoned" and awaiting regeneration for many years. In this sense, the current project can be interpreted as a way of saving the historical site, whose value is being continuously reinforced. The fact that many of the buildings of the complex had been in continuous use, and the structured artistic interventions of Stalker among others are only mentioned in passing, and are not described as having much influence on the current activities taking place at the site. Only once are the current plans described as a way of structuring the

activities of the unofficial actors (Mulazzani 2010:14).

The rhetoric used by the official actors when describing the current activities at the site can be interpreted as a way of obscuring the role of the unofficial actors in the slaughterhouse. The act of obscuring and downplaying the value of one group of actors or the material standard of the built environment is according to Olshammar a way of creating the boundaries for the image or brand that the area is envisioned to assume in the future (Olshammar 2002:179). Constructing the image of the Città delle Arti as a place of creativity and innovation does not include the promotion of the radical politics and refugee camps that were previously occupying large parts of the space. Although some of the unofficial actors are supposedly still allowed to stay at the site, they are largely invisible in the official presentations as well as physically on location. While never outright blaming unofficial actors for the problems or the poor material standard of the slaughterhouse, they are often mentioned in connection to the description of the extensive decay of the buildings. If not consciously trying to make these actors seem problematic, their role in the regeneration process is at this stage being continuously downplayed.

I would claim that, although their role is being largely obscured at present, the activities and presence of the unofficial actors at the slaughterhouse have been an important factor for the construction of the creative place in Testaccio. Actors such as Villagio Globale and Stalker realised the potential of the slaughterhouse at an early stage to create both place-specific artistic interventions and various events with a political and social approach. Furthermore, they were both organisations that strongly appealed to the younger audience that the Città delle Arti claims to want to attract to the area. In the following section I will compare the development in Testaccio to the Mediaspree project, to further discuss the way in which the alternative discourse of place becomes appropriated or institutionalised in the making of the creative city.

10.3   Italy vs. Germany

The Mediaspree project and the Città delle Arti are exhibiting common points of interest, as well as certain obvious differences. In both cases, the area in question had come to be known as a centre for alternative culture, one that eventually came to have a major influence even on city planning and more powerful actors. In Berlin this was expressed mainly through an established sub-cultural nightclub scene, while Testaccio represented a more eclectic mix of public events, refugee camps and art. An important difference between the two cases is the organisation of the official regeneration projects. In Berlin, the Mediaspree is mainly consisting of private actors in the media sector (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:328), while the Città delle Arti is governed by the municipality of Rome, an consists of a combination of private and public actors.

The unofficial actors began to organise against the Mediaspree project when it became apparent that the existence of the present activities in the area had become threatened, and that the establishment of major media actors would entail a further gentrification of the area (Scharenberg & Bader 2010:332, Ahlfeldt 2010:2). Organising against a common threat, the unofficial actors could

claim resources of power and a visibility that they previously lacked. The situation in Berlin is an apparent case of successful urban resistance, with a clearly defined threat and a common goal. In Testaccio there has not been the same kind of radical restructurings or private interests involved in the regeneration of the area. Instead, the current project seems to have evolved around the previous, unofficial actors, who have been allowed to remain on the site. In the absence of a sudden and radical intervention in the area, the unofficial actors simply seem to have been included in the overarching plan of regeneration. There were not any radical contestations of the right to the place as the municipality of Rome, as the owner of the slaughterhouse complex, has granted at least Ararat and Villagio Globale a rather permanent place in the new cultural centre, although their presence is comparatively invisible in relation to the official actors.

By the inclusion of the unofficial actors in the current regeneration project in the slaughterhouse, I would argue that the Città delle Arti were able to also integrate the creative and innovative image that these previous actors had established. Thus, an important aspect of the regeneration process and the discursive regeneration of the place included the domestication of the unofficial forces that had been in the avant-garde of discovering the creative potential of the area. Even though their role in the regeneration process is rarely mentioned or recognised in the official rhetoric of the place, the discursive place that previously had been established seem to have had a significant influence on the shape that the current project has taken. While the discourse on the creative city has become a global phenomenon, as shown in the Berlin case, the Città delle Arti can also connect to a local place discourse and integrate it into a broader context.

Fig. 12 People queuing for a recent exhibition at *La Pelanda*

11. Results and discussion

11.1 Competing discourses

This study started out with the purpose of analysing and describing the process of cultural regeneration of a post-industrial area. The complexity of this process was quite clear to begin with, as it involves a number of actors, social processes and various interests shaping the outcome of the process. The regeneration process in Testaccio has been particularly long, allowing for a number of different actors and activities to take place at the site – particularly in the abandoned slaughterhouse. The discursive construction of the place, as described above, illustrates the competing interests, uses and interpretations connected to the specific site. Although consisting of a number of various actors, the municipality of Rome has throughout the entire process guided the dominant group of actors. This official actor has had the power of constructing a discourse coinciding with the promotion of their specific projects at the site. The existence of a parallel discourse of place is largely being obscured through the lack of recognition of other unofficial actors having a more experimental and politically influenced approach to the regeneration and recognition of the area.

When studying the cultural regeneration of post-industrial places, the reinterpretation of the area involves other aspects than the statements and management of the industrial past. Storm (2008), has among others described how the uncomfortable memories of the industrial past need to be domesticated in order for the industrial place to become reinterpreted and transformed for new uses. Although the connection to the past becomes highly selective, Storm states that this process also involves positive aspects of a democratisation and increased access to the industrial heritage to the contemporary user. A similar development can be observed in contemporary Testaccio, where the industrial past is being reinterpreted as a backdrop for creativity and cultural activities intended to attract a young audience to the slaughterhouse. The experience that the new audience has of industrial heritage is rather through the adaptive reuse of the material heritage, than through any first hand experience of the industrial conditions. The symbolic and historical value of these buildings becomes more central, as they are being described as monuments of the past.

As the case of the Mediaspree project has shown, the image of the creative city that these marginalised, but creative groups, has the potential of creating is attractive also to large and prestigious regeneration projects. In Testaccio, the development of the current cultural centre has not resulted in the vast changes that the Mediaspree threatened to do, but has nevertheless integrated the already present young and innovative image into the discourse of the creative place. In the same way as the industrial heritage is being selectively presented to suit the new uses of the place, the radical heritage that these groups represent need to be domesticated in order to be used in the promotion of the future place. The previous disorder and the difficultly defined nature of the urban place in the slaughterhouse are at present being organised and restructured in the development of the creative city. An apparent example of the appropriation of the alternative discourse is the occurrence of new murals that having been added to the walls of the CAE, while previous graffiti and street art to a high degree has

been removed. In order to be integrated into the new image of the cultural centre, the visual expressions of the alternative groups have to be modified. In the same way as certain industrial features are being selected as representative of an industrial image, the elements representing alternative groups need to go through a process of selection and a partial reinterpretation. When having been stripped of their political or radical connotations, they can be included into an official discourse of place.

Another issue that is being illustrated through this case is the question of who has got the right to inhabit the urban place. The unofficial actors illegally occupying the area did so mainly because of practical reasons, their organisation and presence came to introduce new values and possibilities in the place. While often being portrayed as problematic or abusive towards the built heritage, and included in a stigmatising discourse of place, the unofficial, or even illegal actors have a potential of interacting with the place in ways beyond those established in normative urban planning. Gabriella Olshammar speaks of the "the lived space as a potential of change" claiming that the social practices in a place can prove to be an important factor of power in the process of reinterpreting places, also including marginalised groups (Olshammar 2002:161). The everyday meetings and interactions with the place produce a different knowledge of the present values of the site, and have the potential of enhancing and interpreting the place to promote different interests than the official. The ambiguous place, or the permanent-provisional state, has in this case been successfully challenged, although this had to a large degree also led to the displacement of many of the marginalised groups previously occupying this space.

To conclude, a number of questions were initially posed to guide this examination, and have been answered throughout the study. Concerning the main actors of the regeneration process, these have been defined as official or unofficial, dependent of their resources of power. Their way of interacting with, and transforming the place illustrates that the unofficial actors had a very direct, hands-on approach, and a close relationship to the site. The official actors on the other hand have more of a top-down relationship to the place, adopting some of the superficial elements of the previous groups by a selective appropriation. This also reflects the general image of their relationship, or lack thereof. The statements and descriptions given by the various actors are rarely suggesting the possibility of cooperation and discussion. Although a stigmatised image was created concerning the values of the place when occupied by the unofficial actors, I would like to suggest that this was an important part of creating the pre-requisites for the present development. With this in mind, a possible consequence of the current projects is that the marginalised groups previously inhabiting the space no longer have access to the area as it has transformed into a Città delle Arti.

11.2   Conclusive discussion

Although the specific case having been studied here are showing certain unique features, the process of regeneration does connect to a broader discussion of contemporary heritage management and the regeneration of cities. As previously discussed, the cultural regeneration and branding of cities is becoming

increasingly common at present. The expectations of this development are often high, as it does not only regenerate the affected area, but it can also position the city in a broader context and make it increasingly attractive on a global scale. But, as Sharon Zukin points out:

"The result, though, when all cities pursue the same modern, creative image is not authenticity: it is an overbearing sameness, not too different- in a global view- from the 'great blight of dullness' that Jacobs despised" (Zukin 2010:231)

The creative brand of cities is thus risking to be overexposed, which would deprive it of much of its value of attracting development and innovation. Although the local anchoring and industrial heritage is being presented as connected to a site-specific identity, the way in which it is being physically presented has many common features to similar cases on a European scale.

Considering these risks, there is an apparent need for urban planning and regeneration to be innovative themselves, rather than relying on the tried methods of creative city branding. Perhaps there are alternatives available to counteract the "great blight of dullness" that cities worldwide are at risk to be part of, in the locally based grass-root organisations developing new ways of interacting with the urban fabric. While certain activities that seem to be inspired by the previous situation at the site have remained in Testaccio, such as manifestations to aid refugees and immigrants, the general image of the new centre is coinciding with the established discourse on the creative place. If one wants to be able to expand or transform this discourse, new strategies need to be applied.

While the methods and interventions by Stalker among others perhaps need to become more structured and formalised to properly function in a larger context, the involved actors needs to gain a better understanding for the already present qualities at the site. The creative city-discourse often involves the reinforcement of a rhetoric concerning openness and democratisation of place. To some extent, these statements are correct, as they in fact provide activities and services that are necessary and popular to many among the city's inhabitants. These positive effects have also been noticed by Storm (2008) among others, as the creative discourse can provide access to previously closed or abandoned sites. In Testaccio I believe that the site has in fact become more accessible to the broad public, but the marginalised groups who previously inhabited the site does not conform to the general discourse of the future place. In order to truly create an inclusive and innovative place, more voices, visions and interpretations of place need to be taken into consideration. Rather than assimilating the alternative actors and discourse that already exists, they could be included in a more democratic manner. Hopefully, as the development in Testaccio is continuously being reshaped, and as a few of the unofficial actors at least formally are part of the creative centre, they might claim a more important place in the future of the slaughterhouse. The industrial heritage can have the potential of creating unique urban places, and it is still possible for the Mattatoio of Testaccio to once more become an emblematic case of urban regeneration.

12. Summary

At present, the obsolete industrial heritage of many European cities is being transformed and viewed as a resource of new uses. This phenomenon has coincided with the development of the "creative city", where cultural and creative activities are being increasingly seen as beneficial to promote a positive and innovative image of a city, as well as for stimulating economic growth. The buildings of former industrial sites have come to represent not only available spaces for these activities, but are also being appreciated for their aesthetic properties, despite a sometimes problematic past. Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyse and describe the process of cultural regeneration in a former industrial area. To do so, a number of questions concerning the various actors involved in this process, their activities at the site, and their relations, have been posed. The area in question is the former industrial, and working class neighbourhood of Testaccio in Rome, where the today obsolete slaughterhouse complex has recently been the object of cultural regeneration.

Previous research from a number of disciplines has examined the reinterpretation of urban places and industrial heritage, and the discursive establishment of various places. These results have showed that the construction of the urban place involves a selective process of certain elements of the past in order to conform to the expectations and visions at present. Although the industrial place is being examined through a number of different approaches today, there is still a need for a more thorough examination of the affects and process of cultural regeneration of said place – which is the context where this study is positioned.

The theoretic framework related to this study is mostly based upon the connection of the creation of urban places and the construction of heritage. An important base is the assumption that places are inherently constructed through social relations and various ways of interacting with the physical space as well as its past. Doreen Massey (1995), also points towards the aspect of power that this process is involving. The urban place can furthermore be an object of visual consumption through the use of various symbols, relating to the past of the place (Urry 1995, McDowell 2008). Closely connected to the question of the construction of place is how this relates to a place identity. An important aspect of the selective creation of places is how this can strengthen the identity at present. Within the context of this study, identity is rather represented by an image, or brand, a more superficial concept but also one that shares many common features with the concept of identity.

The methodological approach is based on an analysis of various discourses of place. Laurajane Smith, in *Uses of Heritage* (2006), explains how a normative view of heritage is created through an authorised heritage discourse, which is obscuring possible alternative discourses and values, thus establishing heritage as largely being defined by a few conditions selected through expert judgements. By identifying the various actors involved in the process of regeneration, different discourses and interpretation of place can be traced. Furthermore, the application of Gabriella Olshammar's concept of the permanent provisional state on the situation of the case study is aiding the analysis. The

permanent provisional state can be used in order to describe and better define a place that is lacking normative urban values. To better understand the process of regeneration, this concept is also being applied on the chosen case study. Following the presentation of this theoretical and methodological framework, a more thorough background of the connection between industrial heritage, cultural regeneration and the recent paradigm shift in urban conservation is drawn out. The appreciation and safeguarding of industrial heritage has coincided with common interests of urban planning and conservation, where the adaptive reuse of urban heritage is being increasingly applied as a way of safeguarding the heritage of the site. The empirical material is consisting out of various descriptions and plans of regeneration of the area, as well as observations at the site at present, and the physical restructuring that have taken place there.

Chapter three concerns the historic background of Testaccio, ranging from its use as a trading centre during antiquity, to the industrial development of the late 19th century and the Risorgimento, ending with the closing of the slaughterhouse in 1975, and the following debate of its future. From the late 1970s and onwards, a number of different uses of the complex have been put forward through more or less structured plans, but very few interventions were actually carried out. This would cause the area to more or less enter into a permanent-provisional state. In the absence of official uses, the slaughterhouse complex came to house various marginalised groups, which I have chosen to call unofficial actors. Mostly consisting of refugees, these unofficial actors became more organised through the interventions of the centro sociale Villagio Globale, and a group of architects called Stalker. By means of a number of artistic interventions at the site they attempted to better define the area and appreciate its present values. Although relatively successful, these interventions are hardly visible in today development of the official project of a Città delle Arti, coordinated by the municipality of Rome. This centre is part of the official urban plans of Rome and is envisioned to become a creative and innovative area of the future capital.

To be able to put these activities various actors into a broader context, a comparison is being made to the similar case of the Mediaspree-project in Berlin. In this case, an abandoned industrial area had been reused by various unofficial actors in order to house nightclubs and various cultural activities. The trendy image that these actors established caused more powerful, private actors to attempt to create a vast media centre in the area. When facing this common threat, these unofficial actors succeeded in halting the project through widely spread protests and manifestations. In Testaccio, the unofficial actors were rather assimilated into the official projects, and never came to organise in a structured way to claim their position.

Analysing the process of regeneration of the slaughterhouse, three phases have been identified, coinciding with the discursive construction of places. These are the ambiguous place, the alternative place, and the creative place. The first two phases are overlapping in time, stretching from the late 1970s until the early 2000s. The ambiguous place is related to the permanent-provisional state, as the area was both stigmatised, but simultaneously attractive, creating an ambiguous

attitude towards its urban values. When Stalker and Villagio Globale created various strategies of attempting do define this urban space during the 1990s, these specific circumstances developed the alternative place. The third place is the present one, where the place is being redefined as a backdrop for creativity, culture and innovation- and thus it is being defined as the creative place.

The present situation involved the selective appreciation of the industrial past and its aesthetic elements, as well as it is obscuring the developments and interventions carried out during previous phases. Certain features belonging to the alternative place are also being selected and appropriated, although in a more domesticated manner suiting the present development. Even though the previous phases of development have had a strong influence on the shaping of the present situation, this is largely being obscured today. Although claiming to create an area with a greater openness and inclusion, the current development might exclude certain groups from the site. To conclude, this study is illustrating not only the international trend of cultural regeneration, but it also raises questions of who has got the right to transform and inhabit the urban space.

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Images

Fig. 1-3, 5-7, by Google Maps and author

Fig. 2, 4, 8-11, by author