

TURIN RELOADED: THE NEW, MANY SOULS OF A CITY

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The rapid transformations of the global economic scenario caused by the crisis of fordism and, in more recent times, by the effects of globalisation, open new challenges and opportunities for urban areas. In recent years, cities have been embedded within a highly competitive environment, and this contributed to shifting the focus of urban policies towards different, more entrepreneurial approaches (Mayer, 1994). Main urban actors increasingly share the belief that cities should position themselves (politically, economically, culturally) into the globalised scenario, through urban marketing operations and the promotion of an alluring 'image' to attract new investments and favour the (re-) location of economic activities.

THE SOUL OF A PLACE...

- > In general, the term 'image of the city' refers to the idea that surrounds and characterises a specific place (Vanolo, 2008, 2010). This is not only linked to visual elements, but also to material artefact (roads, monuments and buildings), as well as to immaterial symbolic aspects (such as the uses, routines, institutions and organisations that regulate the life of the inhabitants, the stereotypes concerning their attitudes, the descriptions in tourist guides etc.). Together these elements represents what could be commonly intended as the 'soul' of a place.
- > The symbolic construct of the image of the city presents two different faces. One dimension is internal, and refers to the image perceived and reproduced by the inhabitants of the city. The definition of individual and collective identities are in fact tightly tied to the consciousness originating from a specific geographic area and, similarly, from the awareness that one will also be identified in relation to the symbolisms linked to these areas (Lalli, 1992). This internal image has to be understood as a continuous process of a social construct, whereas present generations are influenced by symbolic heritages which they

contribute to contributing to re-shape while creating new ones as well.

The second dimension is external, referring to the perception and to the representation of the city by people and organisations extraneous to the life and symbols consumed inside the city. While internal images are usually well defined, external ones are often vague, abstract and simple. It is quite common, for example, to associate positive and negative values to unexplored or unfamiliar cities. The nature of these images is essentially cumulative, even when based on concrete foundations. As we are constantly bombarded by environmental information – not only through direct experiences, but above all through different media – the creation of our image of a city is based on a subjective selection and synthesis of these experiences, partly visual and partly related to different forms of knowledge. As soon as new knowledge is added, our image is tested, compared and elaborated again in a circular and cumulative process (Norberg-Schultz, 1979). According to Shields (1991), these (external) images are the result of continuous processes of over-simplification (reduction to one trait), stereotyping (amplification of one or more traits) and labelling (in which a place is deemed to be of a certain nature). This results in the production of a geography of place-myths. The creation of simplified images of relatively unknown places may be considered as a process involving the construction of 'collective geographies' that makes it possible to organise information, to formulate generalisations and expectations, and to direct our actions, such as the choice of tourists and economic investors. This is basically the reason behind the recent interest in image-building by many cities. The construction of positive and charming images is a fundamental tool of attracting global flows (tourism, investments) in order to promote local development.

In the collective imagination, Turin represents the archetype of the industrial fordist city, constituting a somehow uncomfortable heritage. However, it

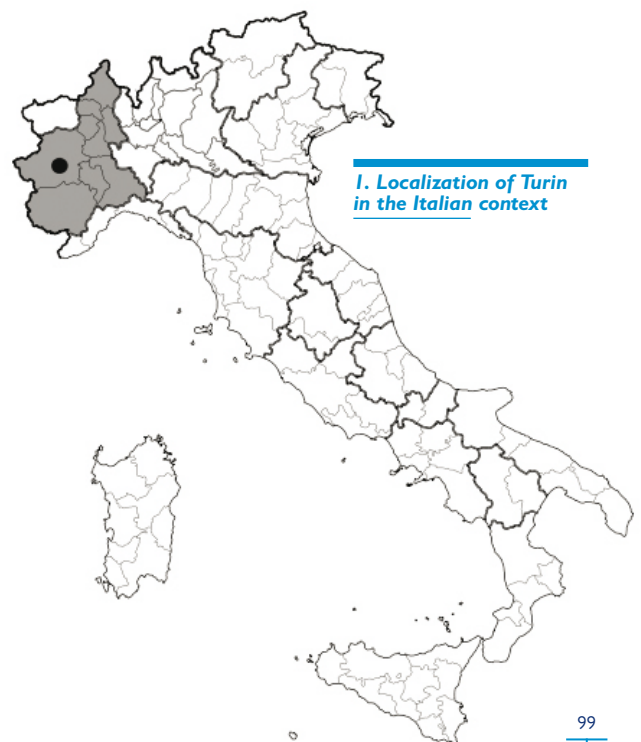
is evident that for a long time the city and its local actors have been heading towards more complex processes of promotion and reproduction of a different imaginary. The present contribution aims to read these processes in the light of the above discussion, in order to provide some considerations on the processes underlying the consolidation of the new, many souls of the city of Turin. Having briefly introduced the city, the paper examines its development as a one-company-town strongly influenced by the Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino (FIAT). The following section explores the different elements that characterised the development of the city in more recent years and allowed it to reshape its soul in different directions. The evolution of the image of the city is then dealt with more in detail, before a final section rounds off the contribution with some closing considerations on the future development of the city.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE CITY

- > Turin is located in the Piedmont region, in the north-western corner of Italy (Fig. 1). Despite its semi-peripheral position, its historic influence has been mainly directed towards the Italian peninsula, also due to the role played by the Savoy Kingdom in the process of reunification of the country. Nowadays, Turin is located just at the edge of the European core, as the latest studies place the city and its surroundings in a strategic position across the main structural frameworks of the European Union: the ‘blue banana’ that stretches from the London region to the North of Italy (Brunet, 1989); the ‘Latin arc’ starting from Catalunya, passing through Southern France and Northern Italy and extending to the routes leading to the East (*ibidem*), the ‘European Pentagon’ indicating the territories included within the five cities of London, Paris, Milan, Munich and Hamburg (Schon, 2000).
- > Turin is Italy’s fourth largest city, hosting a total population of 908.700 inhabitants (2010) and covering an area of some 130 square km. Its metropolitan area (as statistically defined) comprises 53 municipalities and counts some

1.748.000 inhabitants located in 1.127 square km (2010). As a result of suburbanisation, the overall population of the city has decreased in recent years, with an increase in the proportion of elderly people. In the last decade, there have also been important waves of immigration, from Eastern Europe and North African countries (Romania and Morocco above all), but also South America (Peru and Chile). The foreign population living in the city counts 115.800 inhabitants (13% of the population; 2009).

Turin has been known as a typical ‘one company town’ because of the presence of FIAT headquarters and its main factories. Despite major job losses due to restructuring in the 1980s, its economy is still strongly linked to the car and car component industries. Indeed, 30% of the sector’s national employment is concentrated in the area. Other important industrial sectors in the city include industrial automation, aeronautics and aerospace, satellite systems development, and information and communication technologies. The food and drinks industry (Ferrero, Martini & Rossi, Lavazza), textiles, insurance and banking (San Paolo Bank), design and publishing are also important. A relevant indicator of the effort to sustain innovation in the local economy is the presence of about 90 R&D centres, while Piedmont has the highest national share of private R&D spending. Unemployment rate has been decreasing since 1998, going from more than 10%, a much higher rate than the Piedmont and Northern average, to less than 8%.



TURIN AS A ONE-COMPANY-TOWN

- > The history of Turin's industrial vocation dates back to the 1870s. In 1865, just four years after Italy's reunification, Turin lost its role of national capital to Florence. This deprived the city of its political status, not to mention a significant proportion of its most dynamic inhabitants. This identity crisis forced the city to carve out a new image for itself to avoid economic collapse. A coalition of municipal leaders and local businessmen joined forces to conceive a new vision for development, where science and technology were intended to drive economic production. As a first step, city leaders organised the 1884 National Exhibition, which publicised the city's material and intellectual resources and introduced a positivist approach to development, rewarding scientific discovery and technological innovation. Public sector support proved a crucial factor in this economic turnaround. During the late 1870s and 1880s municipal authorities channelled funds into research, constructing a 'City of Science' campus and founding a University Consortium in 1878, to nourish links between the scientific community and the city's industrialists, and in so doing anticipating the necessary human capital requirements for industrial success.
- > Although city and regional authorities had laid the ground, local entrepreneurs and private banks were to prove critical to the growth of the nascent industries. In 1899 a group of thirty aristocrats and businessmen decided to capitalise on local engineering know-how by founding the Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino (FIAT – Italian Automobile Factory Turin). Other technological developments flourished too, driven by pioneering mechanical and engineering research in the city's universities. By 1911, the automotive sector employed a third of the city's expanding manufacturing workforce, and FIAT soon emerged as the leader in the field. By 1914, the company was producing half the cars in Italy as well as components for ships, airplanes, trucks and trains. Combining local engineering know-how with the fordist-taylorist principles of scientific management, FIAT expanded rapidly.

Municipal authorities continued to be keen sponsors of Turin's industrial expansion through a wide range of initiatives, including measures to reduce production costs, increase access to affordable electricity, improve the labour force's technical qualifications, and modernise communications and transportation. The benefits of this new industrial wealth, however, were not shared by all. The gap between the middle and working classes widened and the discontent within poorer neighbourhoods fostered the formation of the labour movement which dominated city life for much of the twentieth century.

The outbreak of World War I increased the demand for military equipment, leading to a rise of FIAT's workforce from 3,500 to 40,000, amounting to a quarter of all workers in the city. However, the slump in demand and massive lay-offs in the engineering and machinery sectors, characterising the immediate post-war period, resulted in a spate of strikes and factory occupations that were only quelled after the fascists took power in 1922. Urban population grew from almost 500,000 in 1921 to almost 700,000 by 1939, with FIAT employing a third of the industrial workforce. FIAT's founder Giovanni Agnelli developed a close relationship with Mussolini, taking the local tradition of cooperation between industrial and political leaders to a new level. Both had an interest in keeping Turin's sizeable working class in order, and the fascists granted FIAT significant independence in its affairs in exchange for de facto political support, and thereby overshadowing the city's municipal government.

Following the fall of Mussolini in 1943 and the multiple world war II bombing raids, food and energy shortages paralysed the city. Turin's civil authorities were ill-equipped to manage the crisis, and relied instead on FIAT. The latter worked to fill the vacuum left by the disintegration of fascism. It deployed its own social welfare system to provide for its employees and became a lifeline for Turin's citizens in the years immediately following the war, when FIAT's leadership cooperated with unions



2. Aerial view of FIAT Lingotto

source:
Winkler, 2007

to retain all of its 64,500 workers on full wages. During the post-war period, FIAT's paternalism extended to building housing estates, retirement homes for its workers and nursery schools for the children of its working mothers. The Italian government singled FIAT out as a key national driver of post-war economic growth, and gave the company an astonishing \$22 million (38%) of the \$58 million of Marshall Plan funds earmarked for the entire Italian engineering sector. FIAT's new Chief Executive Vittorio Valletta cultivated relationships with the major State-owned steel, oil and construction industries, and encouraged plans for the national motorway network, which he knew would boost private car ownership. Once again, FIAT's close political alliances helped reinforce the company's dominant position in the local and national economies.

- > Financial and political support, combined with the company's innovative business practices, led FIAT to spearhead Italy's post-war 'economic miracle'. Industrial output more than doubled between 1958 to 1963, fuelled by growing international trade that followed the establishment of the European Common Market in 1958. Italy's GDP grew by an annual average of 6,3% during this period, and the national automobile market expanded rapidly. FIAT took the decision to concentrate production in its Turin factories, and the city rapidly became Europe's most specialised region. By the late 1950s, industrial expansion was generating tens of thousands of new jobs per year, and the automobile sector represented roughly 80% of the city's industrial activity, with FIAT being responsible for 95% of Italy's total automobile production by the late 1960s. In the two decades between 1951 and 1971, it more than doubled its industrial workforce in Turin, from 47,700 to 115,000, took on an additional 30,000 white-collar workers and contracted a vast array of smaller firms to provide it with services and supplies. It pursued an aggressive policy of acquiring and absorbing most of its direct competitors, as well as companies in allied sectors such as marine and air transport.

1899	FIAT founded by Giovanni Agnelli
1900	First factory opens, employing 100 workers
1908	2,500 employees. FIAT opens a factory in the USA
1915-18	Expands capacity more than seven-fold due to wartime vehicles demand. Diversifies production
1920	Labour unrest, factory occupations
1923	Lingotto factory, Europe's largest, opens in Turin
1920s	Introduces employee health insurance, founds the local newspaper La Stampa, a school, holiday camps, numerous workers associations, and a bank promoting instalment plans for car purchases
1930	FIAT opens a factory in Spain
1930s	Great Depression bolsters FIAT's position as other industries sink
1933-43	Giovanni Agnelli is made a senator by Mussolini
1939	55,000 employees. Mirafiori factory opens in Turin. Beginning of mass production
1940s	During world war II and its aftermath, FIAT delivers aid to its employees in the form of clothing, shoes and fuel, and distributes 100,000 meals daily
1948	Damaged facilities rebuilt and new equipment purchased using Marshall Plan aid
1950	70,000 employees
1950s	Confrontations between FIAT and unions; FIAT leadership imposes discipline and modernisation.
1950s	Opens factories in South Africa, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Argentina and Mexico
1960	85,000 employees
1966	Gianni Agnelli (grandson of founder Giovanni) becomes president of FIAT
1960s	FIAT builds new factories in southern Italy and USSR. Embarks on new international joint ventures
1968-69	158,000 employees. Labour movement reaches apex. By 1969, 15 million hours had been lost through strikes
1973	Oil crisis begins FIAT's decline, prompting diversification and sale of shares (later bought back)
1980	FIAT launches major restructuring programme, lays off 23,000 workers
1990s	Company in crisis. Embarks on several joint ventures with international firms. Foreign competition floods the national market; FIAT targets emerging markets
1994	FIAT opens further plants in southern Italy; shifts most production there.
2002	Alliance with General Motors. Sheds 8,000 workers (more than 1/5 of its shrunken Italian workforce)
2005	General Motors alliance dissolved
2006	Signs lucrative new deals with Indian, Russian and Chinese companies
2009	Takes over the American car company Chrysler

3. Milestones in the history of FIAT

- > The success of Turin's industries had fuelled a further post-war population explosion, as economic migrants streamed into the city from Southern and Eastern Italy. Turin experienced the most extreme growth rates of any major Italian city during the post-war era. An average of 56.000 immigrants arrived in the city each year between 1954 and 1964, with the city population peaking at just over 1,2 million in 1975. The huge influx of economic migrants arriving in the city overwhelmed local authorities and the city's already fragile infrastructure. The working classes concentrated in the more peripheral areas surrounding the factories, with under-resourced municipal authorities adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude in tackling the chronic housing, health, transport and education problems in those over-saturated areas. They failed to implement an urban regulatory plan, thus allowing free rein to property developers. The result was spiralling rents and unregulated private construction of sub-standard housing with limited access to basic amenities. Workers' resentment of their living conditions and the poor quality of public services built up throughout the 1960s, was causing regular production stoppages in the factories. The first major strike of the labour movement came in 1969, when working-class activism combined with a growing student protest movement paralysed the local production system. The movement continued into the 1970s and 80s, as tensions mounted between industrialists and workers while FIAT's slow decline began.
- > By then, the city had become so economically and socially dependent on her major employer that Turin's crisis would inevitably mirror FIAT's. National political alliances helped FIAT to its dominant position in the city but, as globalisation and European integration advanced, these advantages were no longer able to protect the industrial giant from wider economic forces. The company ran aground and the city suffered. The local economy had become over-concentrated and other sectors atrophied. FIAT wielded such power for so long, and local politics in Turin was so emaciated, that the city was left fully exposed to the sudden decline of its dominant industry, with few coping strategies in place and few other sectors to cushion the blow.
- The global oil shock of 1973 brought Turin's economic miracle of the previous 20 years to a halt. After 1975, the city's population entered a steady decline, reflecting the downturn in the manufacturing industry (IRES, 2006). Nationally, Italian manufacturing faced the problems of over-reliance on imported oil, and an inflexible and highly unionised labour market. FIAT in particular was vulnerable because of its lack of investment in new equipment and research. The company began to shift production out of Turin in the 1980s amid bitter union protests, largely in order to capitalise on the State's financial incentives to invest in Southern Italy. In 1980, its worst year for lay-offs, FIAT cut 23.000 jobs in its Turin plants. During that decade Turin's metropolitan area lost roughly 100.000 industrial jobs, most of them based in the city itself (Maggi and Piperno, 1999). Over the 1990s, FIAT continued to reduce its workforce in the area, which shrank from 92.000 to 47.000 in the decade between 1986 and 1996 (Rosso, 2004). Over that period, FIAT was saved by a massive injection of State aid which allowed it to continue to dominate its largely protected domestic market. But in the 1990s, the company continued to move production away from the city. While in 1990 more than 60% of FIAT's total production was still taking place in its Turin plants, by 2002 it had fallen to less than 30% (Whitord and Enrietti, 2005). State-level trade protections were finally dismantled with the Single European Act of 1992, which flooded the Italian market with competition from foreign imports. The automotive giant that had once employed 140.000 people in the city now provided jobs for barely 30.000 (Symcox and Cardoza, 2006).
- In spite of these losses, FIAT's crisis was a gentle one. Two factors helped preventing it from devastating the regional economy: firstly, FIAT was allowed to

make systematic use of generous State benefits to laid-off workers, traditionally awarded in emergency situations, and secondly, the slow-burning nature of FIAT's decline gave its many local suppliers the necessary warning time to plan for diversification into new international markets, which they did with impressive efficiency (Whitford and Enrietti, 2005). However, the city's governments of the 1970s and 80s proved incapable of balancing the effect of industry-related market forces on the city with the necessary visioning and lacked regulatory strategies to mitigate their social effects. The city had no enforceable urban regulatory plan, services were overburdened, housing was overcrowded and unaffordable, and social and cultural tensions between immigrants and locals were simmering. In the end, the watershed tangente-politi corruption scandals that triggered the collapse of both national and local governments in 1992 paved the way for key political reforms, ushering in a new era of collective governance, which launched Turin's recovery process.

THE POST FORDIST TRANSITION

- > The end of fordism confronted the company and the city with a sudden shift from a quasi-single sector basis to a more complex one, in which the traditional local industry remained alongside new sectors, and the service and tertiary sectors grew considerably. The city has inherited major social and spatial issues as a result of the decreasing centrality of FIAT. These changes released resources and opportunities to exploit in order to reorient the development of the city into new directions. Since the end of the 1980s, Turin began a process of deliberation about its future identity, aiming at repositioning itself both nationally and internationally as a European regional capital.
- > Various factors made this phase of planning possible, foremost the growing role of cities as collective agents in the management of the local economy and urban transformations. The kick-off of this new period was the national reform which introduced directly elected mayors in 1993 (then

complemented by the Bassanini law in 1998 and by the subsequent reform of Chapter V of the Italian Constitution in 2001). Instead of being appointed indirectly by a council of elected politicians, mayors would henceforth be directly elected by their own constituents, substantially increasing their powers and allowing them to appoint their own executives. The effects of the reform were immediate and revolutionary. Mayors were given new political visibility and accountability and transparency suddenly came to characterise a system that had long been dominated by insider interests, marking the beginning of a new era of trust and cooperation in local urban politics (Le Galès, 2006). Individual cities started to launch strategies and put new forms of governance into place to structure the interplay of urban interests and to present a united front to the outside world, leading to the emergence of strong urban leadership.

Turin's first directly elected mayor was chosen in 1993, against the backdrop of national political scandals. Turin's citizens expressed their dissatisfaction and their desire for change, awarding the leadership to a non-politicised mayor strongly rooted in local priorities, the university professor Valentino Castellani (Rosso, 2004). Castellani quickly sized up the scale of the challenge facing Turin, recognising that the city was now operating in a new internationally competitive paradigm that required a very different style of management from that of the industrial era. He knew that the city administration would have neither the expertise, nor the resources to address this challenge alone, and therefore attempted to reunite a broad set of leading local figures from a range of spheres (public and private, cultural and economic, academic and entrepreneurial) around the mayor's table. The cultural legacy of Turin's long tradition of civic involvement, dating back to medieval times (Putnam, 1993) fostered local actors' willingness to get involved, and to make them explore the city's future prospects. Different ideas for the development and construction of a consensus

around visions for renewal began to arise at the end of the 1980s. The first big book fair, the Salone del Libro, took place in 1988, and in 1992, the FIAT building at Lingotto, traditionally the industrial heart of the city, was transformed into a centre for leisure, shopping, and innovative businesses.

- > Furthermore, Castellani made the municipal government more outward-looking, improving relationships with neighbouring municipalities, the Province, and the Region, actively involving them in the debate about Turin's future and creating a proactive climate of political collaboration that proved increasingly important in the years to come (Dente *et al.*, 2005). Similarly, the new administration developed strong international relations in terms of access to new learning through their EU city networking programmes, as well as to additional resources through EU urban renewal and socio-economic programmes.
- > With its strengthened and slimmed-down executive, the new mayor's administration pressed forward to promote recovery. Three moments in particular were strong and complementary

DRIVERS OF RECOVERY:

1. THE APPROVAL OF A NEW URBAN MASTERPLAN TO SET A FRESH REGULATORY AND ZONING FRAMEWORK FOR LAND USE IN THE CITY;

2. THE DRAFTING OF A STRATEGIC PLAN UNITING LEADING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ACTORS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY IN PUTTING IN PLACE A WIDER FRAMEWORK FOR EXISTING AND PLANNED RECOVERY PROJECTS AND

3. THE AWARD OF THE 2006 WINTER OLYMPICS THAT WOULD REPRESENTED THE WATERSHED FOR THE RENEWAL OF TURIN IMAGE.

- > Favoured by over 15 years of political continuity – under Castellani and his successor Segio Chiamparino – the smooth implementation of these projects and events enabled the city to

overcome the crisis and provided it with a new set of features and meanings that consolidates into the many souls of contemporary Turin.

URBAN MASTERPLAN (1995)

The *Piano Regolatore Generale* is the main urban planning document in Italy, allowing municipalities to regulate land use. Turin had not had an Urban Masterplan for over 45 years. The existing Urban Masterplan dated from 1959, and the ratification of a new one had been constantly deferred due to a lack of political consensus. The new administration approved the new Masterplan in 1995, as a way of achieving the physical regeneration of the city by re-zoning industrial land and thus encouraging private developers to revitalise these areas. Through the new Urban Masterplan the municipality set out a vision for the physical re-configuration of the fragmented industrial city which had developed around FIAT, transforming it into a better connected, denser post-industrial metropolis. To ensure the support and cooperation of the private and public sector bodies needed to deliver the transformation, the development of the plan was accompanied by extensive public relations work and consultation.

Historically, Turin's industrial areas and their adjacent working-class residential neighbourhoods bordered the main railway line which carves through the city from North to South, creating a major spatial divide. The decision was taken to realise an existing public project, funded by the State-owned railway company. It consisted of 'burying' this central railway line, thereby creating a fourfold increase in its capacity, and transforming the surface into a 12 km, six-lane arterial road into the city centre. The Masterplan cast this route as Turin's new 'Central Backbone' – Spina Centrale (Fig. 4), proposing the redevelopment of four major brownfield sites along its length (over 2,1 million square m) to create new mixed-use neighbourhoods. Half the land was designated for residential use, the other half for parks and commercial activities. The aim to link these derelict

4. Central Backbone and Underground Railway

source:
Officina Città di Turin



areas back into the urban fabric was complemented by another public transport project, Turin's first metro line, a fully automated 15 km route with 21 stations which was connecting the deprived ex-industrial areas in the North and South to the main transport network. Together these projects represented €2,45 billion of public and private investment, aiming to turn the rail corridor into a new strategic growth corridor. Interestingly, the Masterplan specifically left a certain flexibility in the designation of uses for the four Backbone redevelopment areas, preparing the ground for the forthcoming Strategic Plan to develop an overall vision for the city which would then 'fill in' the right strategic uses for these areas.

STRATEGIC PLAN (1998-2000)

> Turin's Strategic Plan is an integrated economic development document, which sets objectives relating to the future of the city's economy and aims to make the best possible use of available resources to achieve them (Kresl, 2007). The development of the Plan began in 1998, following the re-election of mayor Castellani. His administration was characterised by an unprecedented openness to new ideas and policy innovation, including learning from experiences of other cities through an active international networking programme. Inspired by the effectiveness of the strategic planning of other European cities (Barcelona in particular), Castellani launched the city's own effort in 1998, making Turin the first Italian city to debate a plan of this kind.

> The deliberation of the Strategic Plan was characterised by several features. Firstly, it was highly participative, involving as many as 57 leaders from economic, academic, cultural, social and political spheres, as well as hundreds of residents, in an iterative debate featuring dozens of workshops, conventions and seminars (Fig. 5). Secondly, it was strongly rooted in the city and its particular characteristics. As a basis of the Plan, the administration commissioned a thorough and candid assessment of the city's attributes in

the context of the global economy. This report, 'Towards the Plan', created an inventory of the city's attributes which the Plan would work out how to use and develop (Torino Internazionale, 1998). Thirdly, it was informal in style, encouraging the involvement of a wide range of bodies with different operating methods which would have resisted a formalised engagement.

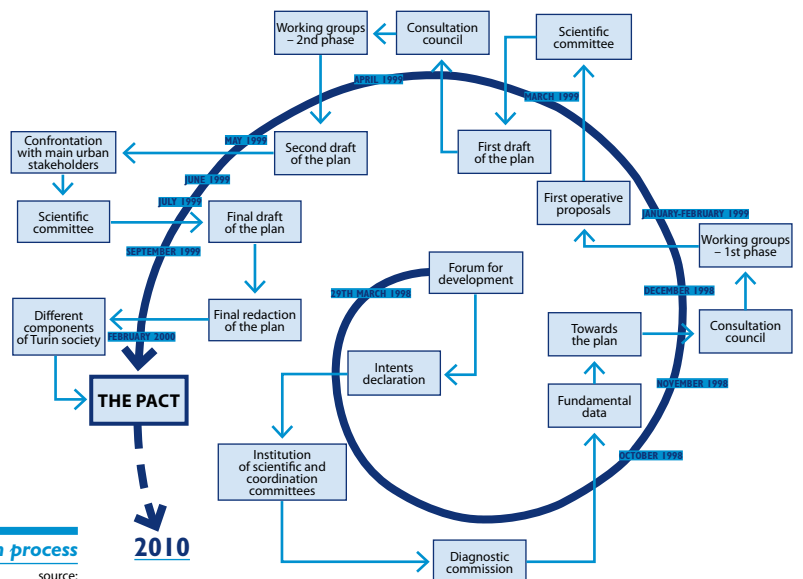
The Strategic Plan defined the vision of a desirable future for the city in **THREE COMPLEMENTARY AND EVOCATIVE IMAGES:**

- 1. TURIN THE EUROPEAN METROPOLIS,**
- 2. TURIN THE RESOURCEFUL CITY THAT HAS THE KNOW-HOW TO GET THINGS DONE, AND**
- 3. TURIN THE CITY THAT KNOWS HOW TO MAKE THE RIGHT CHOICES FOR AN INTELLIGENT FUTURE AND HIGH QUALITY OF LIFE.**

The deliberative process underlying the Plan was probably more important than the resulting document, according to many local actors. The close-knit network of local economic, social and political leaders which emerged as a result proved instrumental to the implementation of the Plan, due to its ability to identify and assemble both the necessary actors and the sources of funding for each project. Through this process, municipal decision-making was opened up to civil society, enabling the municipality to draw on the expertise and resources of a wide range of actors (Torino Internazionale, 2007).

5. The Strategic plan process

source: Torino Internazionale



- > The Strategic Plan as a whole had several other important functions (Winkler, 2007).
 - It laid down a 10-year 'road map' for the development of the city to which all actors could refer, directing the focus of projects on areas that would generate the most added value, maximising the synergies across projects, and reducing the risks of duplication or working at cross-purposes.
 - It kept long-term goals in view, helping to avert opportunistic decision-taking.
 - It established specific aims and a specific time-frame with 84 actions to be implemented by 2011.
 - It created new independent agencies entrusted with taking forward specific elements of the Plan, each funded by a range of public and private stakeholders.
 - It publicised the work already being done.
 - It flattened hierarchies and built relationships between institutions and actors in a city long characterised by an inward-looking, 'master-servant' paradigm.
 - Having a framework for all the city's projects helped attract resources from major funding bodies such as the EU, for whom a specific project link with a city-wide development plan was a key requirement.
 - Lastly, the Plan itself publicised the recovery projects already underway, and promoted Turin as a city working actively to promote itself.
- > The content of the Plan reflected the desire of Turin's leaders to reposition the city, both economically and as a metropolitan area. It aimed at finding ways of turning the inventory of attributes published in 'Towards the Plan' into economic assets in the context of a new vision for the city. The theme of 'internationalisation' was adopted to force the city to look outwards and consider its position in a changing global context. The debate which shaped the Strategic Plan began with a focus on the issue of tourism, and developed organically into a debate on the post- and neo-industrial future

of the city. This crystallised into two parallel but distinct approaches to make the best use of Turin's attributes, one building on Turin's industrial history, and the other breaking into a new future. Overall, the Strategic Plan pulled together both ideas and practical mechanisms for delivery of progress, backed by a broad political and business consensus and the potential resources to deliver it. Delivering involved two main strands: (1) a focus on research and innovation, and (2) outward-looking efforts.

RESEARCH AND INNOVATION

The debate leading to the Strategic Plan was originally focused on the promotion and 'internationalisation' of the city to attract visitors and consumers, but the administration soon realised that tourism would not be enough to regenerate the city's economy. The city began to reassess the positive value of the city's production system and see how its potential could best be exploited. The new advanced industrial development approach aimed to develop the city's economy by capitalising on Turin's specialised skills and assets, which grew out of the city's industrial expertise and the universities that have traditionally fed its industries.

Public funding for research in Italy was low by international standards, so Turin's strategy needed to actively seek out other sources of funding for the development of its key sectors. The assessment document 'Towards the Plan' identifies several sectors in which the city has competitive growth potential. The focus was on developing new institutions that co-locate academic and private sector research to encourage cross-fertilisation. A promotion agency helps to publicise the city and regional assets in specific sectors to attract inward investment. Alongside this, special support programmes have been designed to link hi-tech small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) to new overseas customers.

An inward investment agency, Invest in Turin and Piedmont (ITP), was created to 'market' the assets of the city and its region to potential investors

(despite the lack of any specific economic development mandate). Furthermore, following the recommendation of the document 'Toward the Plan' several initiatives in the ICT sector were undertaken. The Torino Wireless Foundation was created in 2001 to manage the development of a 'district' of ICT institutions in order to encourage cross-fertilisation between academic research and enterprises in the ICT sector. At the same time, the Politecnico University and the Compagnia San Paolo bank foundation funded the Mario Boella Institute for Higher Research, a laboratory for high-tech ICT research linking over 140 academic researchers with research teams from private companies, such as Accent, Motorola and ST Microelectronics. Alongside ICTs, 'green' technologies were recognised as a sector set to receive increased public funding, and for which private sector demand is growing fast. The Environment Park was funded by the municipality, the Region, the Province and the EU as a technology park dedicated to develop new environmental technologies, housing research laboratories. SMEs and start-ups focused on specific technologies (i.e. hydrogen energy) to encourage collaboration between research and business. Similar to the latter, the Virtual Reality Park has been created as a technology park aiming to promote and develop applied multimedia technologies. Finally, in order to promote and improve the quality of the city's higher education institutions, the Strategic Plan included proposals to create four new university buildings in new locations, and to double the size of the Politecnico university's campus through an ambitious expansion plan that ties in with the Central Backbone regeneration programme.

OUTWARD-LOOKING EFFORTS

> The first development strategy for Turin was based on a new outward-looking role for the city, promoting it as a centre of tourism, commerce, culture and sport. The idea of developing Turin as a tourist centre first emerged in the early 1990s, when many locals said that they could not imagine

their industrial city becoming an attractive tourist destination. The assessment document, 'Towards the Plan', confirms that with its rivers, Alps, baroque architecture, Savoy palaces, wine and 'slow food' culture, Turin and its region have unique assets for building a successful tourism industry. The Strategic Plan, highlighting the fact that *'the cultural industries will generate 20% of European employment growth'* (Torino Internazionale, 2000), singles out tourism as a central plank of economic revival. *'The external promotion of the city... and improvement of the city's image' as a means of attracting visitors are 'without a doubt one of the priorities of the [Plan]'* (Rosso, 2004).



The city founded a group of public-private agencies, many of which were focused on promoting Turin actively as an attractive destination for specific sectors and activities. In keeping with the Plan's aim to increase cooperation among municipalities in the metropolitan area, these agencies all operate at metropolitan level. Since the metropolitan area lacks a formal governing institution, informal means are seen as the best route to metropolitan-wide cooperation. A general-purpose agency was founded to promote tourism in the city and its region (Turismo Torino), alongside others aiming to attract specific types of visitors such as business people (the Convention Bureau) and film enthusiasts (the Film Commission).

Similarly, events were seen as a second important tool because of their dual function of attracting visitors and raising the profile of the city. Hosting events quickly became one of the key ways of attracting visitors and money into the city, while publicising its assets (Tab. 6).

NEW PUBLIC-PRIVATE AGENCIES EVENTS

Turismo Torino, Tourism Agency for Turin and Piedmont	Torino Book Fair (Salone del Libro, since 1988)
Invest in Turin and Piedmont (ITP)	Torino Film Festival (founded 1998, every two years)
Associazione Torino Internazionale (coordinating and monitoring delivery of the Strategic plan)	Taste Fair (Salone del Gusto) (founded in 1998, every two years), linked to Piedmont 'slow food' movement
Convention Bureau, for promoting convention activities	World Book Capital (2006)
Organising Committee for Winter Olympics (TOROC)	Winter Olympics (2006)
Territorial Pacts (six initiatives to involve multiple levels of government and the private sector in infrastructure and development projects)	Paralympics (2006) Winter University Games (2007)
Technological Parks (including the Environment Park and the Virtual Reality Multimedia Park)	International Architectural Congress (2008) World Design Capital (2008)
Torino Wireless Foundation, to promote ICT	150° Anniversary of Italy reunification (2011)

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- > One year into the Strategic Plan debate, the city was awarded the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. In the context of the Plan this was invaluable in focusing minds and setting a clear deadline for the completion of key projects, punctual delivery being a traditional problem in Italy. The success of the bid to host the 2006 Winter Olympics was widely seen by local actors as a strong endorsement of the metropolitan area's organisational capacity. The Olympics became the cornerstone of the Strategic Plan's tourism strategy, the single most important promotional event of the decade for the city.
- > The choice of Turin as the site of the Winter Olympics 2006 has given the city a unique opportunity of provincial and regional development. Local actors agree that the Games were a critical recovery-spurring event in several ways. (1) They promoted Turin's new 'post-industrial' image internationally and locally, both launching Turin as a tourist destination and transforming the mentalities of locals: prior to this event, local actors maintained that many residents could never have imagined Turin as a tourist destination; the Games brought residents together and gave them a new pride in their city. (2) The event's prestige and the global promotional opportunity it represented helped focus minds and attract the necessary funding to complete physical renewal projects within a fixed time-frame. (3) With minimal support from the national government, organising the Games became an exercise in local entrepreneurship that built public-private partnership capacity in the city.
- > Preparing for the Olympics also built significant local capacity for hosting further international events. Following its successful candidature at Seoul, Turin had further success in competing for other international events becoming joint World Capital of the Book in 2006 (with Rome), hosting the Winter University Games in 2007 and being nominated World Design Capital in 2008. In the same year, it hosted the World Congress of Architects (UIA), and in 2011 the city will celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Reunification of Italy.

Hosting these attractive large events confirmed and reinforced Turin's capacity to organise and to look ahead, a capacity that unites and renews the city's industrial tradition without denying its past. It is no accident that the cinema, arts, culture, and fashion that were born in Turin in the twentieth century only to move swiftly to other Italian cities are now experiencing a true renaissance. Turin's future is strongly influenced by existing conditions that have their roots in the city's industrial past. The de facto strategy created by a combination of various factors – participation, economic regeneration, urban transformation, social inclusion, and governance – also has an important role to play. Strategic thinking has allowed Turin to guide the transition from a traditional system (i.e. fordism) to a system of governance that renews and re-invents the city's industrial heritage in an innovative and technological way.

**TOWARDS A POST-FORDIST IMAGE:
THE NEW, MANY SOULS OF TURIN**

Every Turin citizen happening to travel around the world and being asked about his/her city has experienced how the words 'FIAT' and 'Juventus' are likely to enter the discussion soon, awakening all sort of thought associations, from the Agnelli family to the '500' car model etc. The image of Turin as Italian capital of car production is as simple as undeletable. In spite of experimenting several changes through time, it has remained the main functional reference of the geography of the town over the last hundred years. Whereas Turin is not anymore a fordist city, it remains an industrial city with manufacturing and production at the very centre of its economic and social life, counting for more than 34% of the employment (L'Eau Vive, Comitato Giorgio Rota, 2007). Similarly, the main stereotypes concerning inhabitants, historic events, economic specialisation and urban landscape connect Turin with industry, explaining why manufacturing continues to play an important role in the representation of the image of Turin in the mind of the people. In this context, instead of

refuting this image, it is more interesting to discuss how society and the local actors have reacted and faced this crisis of representation over the last 30 years, in the difficult attempt to substitute the hegemonic industrial image of the city with a set of more nuanced representations, all concurring to shape a polyhedric and multi-faceted post-modern soul for the city.

- > The first image-shaping processes undertaken in order to foster such a change date back to the early 1990s, with the emergence of a series of debates promoted by relevant local cultural actors, such as the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation, IRES Piemonte, the San Paolo Company etc. Those actors supported the production of an interesting set of geographic and spatial visions, that fuelled the discussion on the evolution of the image of the city of Turin. At least four scenarios are relevant here (Vanolo, 2010): MITO, i.e. the functional integration of Milan and Turin; GEMITO, a similar idea but also including the Genova area and therefore recalling the historic Italian 'industrial triangle'; the Meccatronic Plain, intended as a region of mechanical and electronic expertise not only linked to car production; Turin Technocity, referring to the idea of Knowledge, Communication and Technology cities very popular in the 1990s. It is important to underline the informal nature that characterised the debates behind those attempts, voluntarily developed by cultural actors and lacking any legitimisation from both the inhabitants and the political class. However, they planted the first seeds of a collective reflection on the changing image of the city, inspiring the adoption of future place-branding and visioning activities and emphasising for the first time a manufacturing vocations for the city other than FIAT.
- > When the massive industrial crisis of 1996 led to the spread of a shared negative feeling for any industrial identity (Bocca, 2002), innovative ideas of 'new' and 'high' technology started to spread as elements of transformation, renovation and modernisation of the urban economy (e.g. the music e-commerce initiative VITAMINIC and the

location of the R&D Motorola centre in Turin). At the same time, the brochure '*Torino, una città da scoprire*' (Turin, a city to be discovered), explicitly argued how the city was 'busy to convert old industrial areas into new services for the entire city', deeply denying its industrial history (Vanolo, 2010). The urgent need to promote the image of the city acquire additional vigour with the approval of the Masterplan and the Strategic Plan, that led to the institutionalisation of various initiatives, to a certain extent inspired by the debates developed during the previous years, at the regional development agency ITP (*Investimenti Torino e Piemonte*) and the Local Agencies for Tourism (ATL1, 2 and 3 – public-private consortia specialised in the promotion of different parts of the provincial territory). More importantly, the Strategic Plan opened a broad debate on the means of promotion of the city image within the European and global context after a century of FIAT hegemony.

In 2006, with the publication of the second Strategic Plan of the city (Torino Internazionale, 2006), the questions concerning new possible directions for the development of the city eventually found a univocal answer, with the document clearly defining the promotion of a 'knowledge-based economy' as the main aim of the city. In this light, and in order to collect full benefits from the Olympics, the city approved a specific communication plan, managed by an *ad hoc* office called Central Communication Service (CCS), aimed to shape a new 'visual identity' for the city and to renew its whole marketing apparatus (Martina, 2006). Despite promotional materials being also produced by other institutions, the CCS constituted the core of marketing activities in Turin, and institutionalised the process behind the production of the image of the city, which had been rather informal and scattered among different local actors until then. The main aim of the CCS is the production of marketing materials, both directly and through external advertisement agencies, and to promote the circulation of such materials in the national and international media.

The attempt to build a branding policy becomes evident in the explicit choice to refer to the city name as Torino, and not Turin, in all the material for international promotion, and to associate it to the slogan as the renowned **'Always on the move'**, to emphasise the ongoing changes (slogan promoted by the famous advertiser Armando Testa). Such a message, together with those produced after 2006, such as the Olympic **'Passion lives here'** and **'Torino sempre più bella'** were widely promoted through several kinds of media as well as on more than 7.000 posters and 3.000 flags located throughout the whole city.

- > As far as reshaping the contents of the urban image is concerned, an analysis of the main promotional materials and of recent municipal policy exposes the centrality of a typically post-fordist thematic (Vanolo, 2010). Most importantly, the celebration of the social vitality of the city is a diffuse theme, as expressed in the promotion material which is full of slogans such as *'a thousand opportunities of seeing friends, getting together, dancing, staying out late'* or *'people animate bars, winebars and clubs that propose live jazz music and fashion DJ-sets'*. It has to be mentioned how the creation of this image of urban vitality has been accompanied by an important process of spatial reorganisation and fragmentation, as several central areas of the city (the Roman Quadrilatero, the Murazzi River area, San Salvario, etc.) underwent intense processes of regeneration and gentrification, now hosting clubs and bars where once lower class people used to live. Notwithstanding this phenomenon, it is interesting to notice how these new lively areas of the city started to play a role in the collective imagination as core centres of the play-scape, not only at the local and regional level but for people of the whole nation (also thanks to the role played by some music bands such as Subsonica, Africa Unite, etc.). This is certainly a new phenomenon, as Turin's urban image has always been characterised by opposite trends, admitted by the promotional material itself, arguing that *'with the recent winter Olympics Turin said to the whole world, that although*

it is a shy and serious place – the city also loves to enjoy itself and to amuse and entertain its guests.'

In the meantime, the promotion of the cultural and artistic soul of Turin experienced unprecedented results. At present Turin counts a wide range of more than 40 museums, mostly located in the central area, and the city is now thinking about realising a central museum district, similar to those already in place in other European cities. Furthermore, theatres, contemporary art and classical music are present in Turin with activities of national and international importance. It is interesting to note how the subdivision between high and low culture that has been subject of recent considerations (Lash and Urry, 1994) is particularly present in Turin, possibly as a heritage of its fordist past. The city hosts an extremely lively high culture scene. At the same time it is characterised by the presence of a large number of events and manifestations that, despite being celebrated as cultural events, could be rather classified as entrepreneurial activities which associate local traditions and heritage with an entrepreneurial culture and, both of these with the new image of the city (as for instance the Chocolate Festival, the Book Fair and the Taste Exposition). Such operations have been undertaken systematically in recent years, mainly through co-branding interventions that aimed at the construction of symbols and links between geographic localisation, products and culture (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005).

An additional element that contributed very much to the consolidation of Turin's new identity(es) is the celebration of new urban spaces and high quality architecture, often as substitutes of industrial unused areas, as they fill the old hegemonic fordist image of the city with an heterogeneous set of new post fordist contents. The erection of buildings designed by star-architects is generally recognised as an effective way of improving the image of a city and to improve its attractive power for tourists and the creative class. Accordingly, in recent years several interventions have been created in the city under the supervision of famous architects, such

as Isozaki, Aulenti, Fuksas, etc, not to mention Renzo Piano's regeneration of FIAT Lingotto which transformed the building into a temple of post-fordist consumption (Vanolo, 2010).

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

- > In general, it is not possible to demonstrate scientifically the change of the image of a city, or the stratification of several images – or its souls. Perceptions, in particular when referring to such complex objects as urban areas, are multiple and multi-faceted, and the dimensions of change are innumerable, as well as the points of view and perspectives from where they can be observed and interpreted. However, it is undeniable that, during the last 30 years, the city of Turin experienced a transition from the hegemonic industrial image linked to the role of FIAT and to the fordist period towards something else. What the latter is and will be in the future is far from clear, as it doesn't take the shape of a single new hegemonic image, but rather configures itself as the juxtaposition of several elements and ideas, a heterogeneous set of 'new souls' for the city to recall the title of this contribution.
- > Turin tried to take on board several elements characterising the post-fordist rhetoric in order to underpin spatial transformations, image creation and narration. This happened through several attempts to celebrate the city as a place for art and culture, social interactions, events, consumption, prestigious architecture, and other symbols of post-fordist economies. However, far from turning its back on its historic industrial character, the city exploited its competencies to the utmost in promoting an evolutionary change rather than a break with historical continuity. The analysed elements show how all the described processes still bear a primeval heritage linked to Turin's cultural fordist heritage. In this context, Turin is definitely not a non-fordist city (Vanolo, 2010), it is rather the evolution of a fordist city that underwent a complex set of post-fordist, post-modern transformations, thereby incorporating

a number of elements which constitute as many continuities as discontinuities with the past.

Turin is still an industrial city. The 2009 FIAT-Chrysler agreement is there to testify this. It returns a manufacturing image to the front stage. This new image is full of optimism and trust in the future of a city once again at the heart of global car production networks. At a more subtle level it is possible to notice how many ideas which the municipality has promoted over the last decades in terms of material and immaterial policies have started to diversify this image, by building something new on, and with, the historic heritage of the city. The new image still places particular emphasis on production, albeit by converting it in new and innovative ways. From the point of view of urban policies, this consideration does not imply any negative connotation. It simply means that Turin is developing its own new image and identity through specific discourses and rhetorics whose outcomes are still far from being defined.