



ARE CULTURAL, CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND TOURISM THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERIPHERAL AREAS? SPATIAL INSIGHTS FOR ITALIAN INNER AREAS

Andrea Porta

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UNIVERSITAT
ROVIRA I VIRGILI

Are Cultural, Creative Industries and Tourism the ultimate solution for the development of peripheral areas?

Spatial insights for Italian Inner Areas

ANDREA PORTA



DOCTORAL THESIS
2024

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
ARE CULTURAL, CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND TOURISM THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PERIPHERAL AREAS? SPATIAL INSIGHTS FOR ITALIAN INNER AREAS
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**Are Cultural, Creative Industries and Tourism the ultimate
solution for the development of peripheral areas?
Spatial insights for Italian Inner Areas**

PhD Dissertation

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA i VIRGILI

2024

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OF PERIPHERAL AREAS? SPATIAL INSIGHTS FOR ITALIAN INNER AREAS
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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

FAIG CONSTAR que aquest treball, titulat "Are Cultural, Creative Industries and Tourism the ultimate solution for the development of peripheral areas? Spatial insights for Italian Inner Areas", que presenta Andrea Porta per a l'obtenció del títol de Doctor, ha estat realitzat sota la meva direcció al Departament de Geografia d'aquesta universitat.

HAGO CONSTAR que el presente trabajo, titulado "Are Cultural, Creative Industries and Tourism the ultimate solution for the development of peripheral areas? Spatial insights for Italian Inner Areas", que presenta Andrea Porta para la obtención del título de Doctor, ha sido realizado bajo mi dirección en el Departamento de Geografía de esta universidad.

I STATE that the present study, entitled "Are Cultural, Creative Industries and Tourism the ultimate solution for the development of peripheral areas? Spatial insights for Italian Inner Areas", presented by Andrea Porta for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of Geography of this university.

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Acknowledgements

The elaboration of this thesis has been a long challenging journey, for which I need to thank a lot of people.

Starting from the academic side of the experience, I want to thank my supervisor Josep-Maria Arauzo-Carod, for his patience and competence in supporting and guiding me through the ups and downs of the research; and my Co-supervisor Giovanna Segre, which encouraged me in starting the PhD and in sticking to the right academic path.

I want to thank all the professors and researchers with which I had the opportunity to discuss in the last years, in particular Giampaolo Vitali of IRCrES CNR for introducing me to the data on Italian establishments; Antonio Paolo Russo and the Faculty of Tourism and Geography of the URV, for the opportunities related to the doctoral program; and, it goes without saying, the members of the evaluation committee and the external reviewers of my thesis, for their interest and dedication.

I would have done nothing without a connection with the world of culture and the organisations working in it, so I would like to thank Paola Borrione and Alessio Re of Fondazione Santagata, as well as Martha Friel of IULM University for accompanying me in developing my research and professional skills.

Then I want to thank my friends-colleagues E, G, O for the years of projects, anxiety, and joy.

I sure cannot forget my dearest fellows scattered all over Italy and Europe, sometimes far but actually close: with them I started dreaming of the new communities and life paths that motivated me and my research.

I thank my family, for defining who I am today and providing me with strong roots; and, finally, my wife for letting me stay by her side in this difficult world.

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Research outputs

Publications

The **Chapter 2 of this thesis** was published in April 2024, as **book chapter**, in:

Porta A., Segre G., Arauzo-Carod J.M., (2024) The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas: first insights from regions' specialization in cultural and creative industries. In Lazzeretti L. et al. (ed), *Clusters in Times of Uncertainty. Japanese and European Perspectives*, pp. 240-262, Edward Elgar Publisher. ISBN 978 103531 575 8

In July 2022 an initial version of the same chapter was published as **working paper** in:

Porta A., Arauzo-Carod JM., Segre G., (2022) The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas: first insights from regions' specialization in Cultural and Creative Industries. In Bellucci M., Capone F. (ed), *WORKING PAPERS BUSINESS. A series on Accounting, Finance, Management, Marketing and Organizational Studies*, N. 4/2022, Università degli studi di Firenze, DISEI. <https://www.disei.unifi.it/vp-132-working-papers-business.html>

In September 2022 a portion of the contents included in **Chapter 1 of this thesis** was published as **book chapter** in:

Segre G., Borrione P., Porta A., (2022) Cultural Economics and Good Living. in Fantini M. et al. (ed), *Buon Vivere (Good Living) as Relationship Economy*, pp 97-114, Il Mulino, Percorsi economia, Bologna. ISBN 978 88 15 29828 7

The Chapter 3 of this thesis is under revision in an International Journal

Conferences and presentations

Conferences participation and presentations

XLV International Conference on Regional Science (Castellon de la Plana, 2019)
Participation

60th European Regional Science Association Congress (online, 2021)
Presentation: Cultural, creative industries and tourism as an appropriate tool for the development of inner peripheral areas

61st European Regional Science Association Congress (online, 2022)
Presentation: Spatial Distribution of Cultural and Creative Industries in Italian inner peripheries

XLIII AISRE - Associazione Italiana Scienze Regionali Congress (Milano, 2022)

Presentation: The profile of Cultural and Creative Industries in the inner peripheries of Italian Regions: a descriptive analysis

Vth Conference Rethinking Clusters (online, 2022)

Presentation: Cultural and Creative Industries in the inner peripheries of Italian Regions: Specialization and policies

Workshops participation and presentations

Young researchers session of the XLV International Conference on Regional Science (Castellon de la Plana, 2019)

Presentation of the thesis' intermediate result: An evaluation approach for sustainable economic development potential of inner areas

VII Doctoral days of the PhD Program in Tourism and Leisure (online, 2021)

Participation

VIII Doctoral days of the PhD Program in Tourism and Leisure (Vila-Seca, 2022)

Participation

Tenth EWACE - European Workshop on Applied Cultural Economics (Torino, 2022)

Participation

Workshop Rethinking culture and Creativity (Torino, 2023)

Presentation of the thesis' intermediate results: Cultural and Creative Industries specialisation in Italian Inner Areas. Spatial evidence on the complementarity and substitution with tourism

IX Doctoral Days of the PhD Program in Tourism and Leisure (Vila-seca, 2023)

Presentation of the thesis' intermediate results: Cultural and Creative Industries specialisation in Italian Inner Areas. Spatial evidence on the complementarity and substitution with tourism

Mobility

During the elaboration of this thesis, I collaborated with *IULM University*, Milano, Italy

14/12/2021 – 31/12/2021, extended from 01/11/2023 – 01/03/2023

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02/01/2024 – 31/12/2024

Supervision: Paola Borrione

Introduction and summary of the thesis

Thesis summary

This thesis aims to investigate the actual contribution of Cultural, Creative industries (CCIs) and Tourism in the development of peripheral areas, focusing on the case of Italian Inner Areas.

The starting point and motivation of this research work is the growing interest in peripheral areas and its link with culture and tourism, result of three main connected dynamics: specific policies at the European and national level, like the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI, 2014), aimed at bridging the economic development and services gap between urban centres and inner peripheral areas; the depopulation dynamics that are characterising these areas in the last 50 years and the need to understand how to invert this trend; the attention on the quality of life and sustainability offered by rural areas and peripheries emerged during the Covid19 pandemic, with the related questioning of urbanisation in response to the risk of crowding and the need of greener and high quality living spaces. These dynamics have in common a strong relation with cultural and natural resources considered as capital for local sustainable economic development for the first; possible strategic field to attract new inhabitants, creating development occasions, for the second; precondition and driver of a good living environment for the third.

Riding and interpreting this wave, the main recipe applied so far by policymakers and administrators has been to naively plan tourism development, combined with culture or sustainability, considering it the ultimate solution for the underdevelopment and depopulation problems of peripheral areas.

The fact is that, while the literature demonstrated the positive contribution of Cultural and Creative industries in promoting innovation and growth, especially in urban contexts, but also in marginal ones, a growing number of studies is criticising the role of tourism as sustainable development driver, pointing out its potentially negative influence for peripheral areas, underlying the need of place based and place sensitive policies. Moreover, the combination of the two sectors, and if it is positive or negative for peripheral areas, apart from the field of cultural tourism (which considers culture as heritage and not industry), and limited case studies at the local level, it is yet to be comprehensively analysed and investigated.

This research work contributes in bridging that gap, adopting a spatial economic perspective, investigating the distribution of establishments working in these sectors, their differences, and determinants. The final aim is to provide useful insights for the elaboration of effective policies and projects in peripheral territories.

Adopting an empirical approach, first, the perimeter of Cultural, Creative industries and Tourism is defined, as well as what an inner peripheral area is, focusing on the case of the Italian National Strategy of Inner Areas, being a policy unicum in the European framework. Then the assessment of the spatial distribution of the industries is conducted, highlighting their specialisation in the Inner and Central Areas of the Country, as identified by the SNAI, at the municipalities and regional scale. Finally, CCIs and Tourism industries are compared, analysing the determinants and motivations of their specialisation, depicting a clear image of their spatial distribution and location profiles, focusing on the differences between Inner and Central Areas.

From a methodological point of view, starting from the 2018 ASIA dataset on Italian establishments (managed by the National Statistical Institute and provided by IRCrES CNR) and the territorial classification of municipalities introduced in 2014 by the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion through the SNAI policy, a relational database including the sectors of interest is created, selected through the ATECO classification of economic activities. Then the specialisation in CCIs, Tourism and their sub sectors is calculated, using location quotients at the municipal, regional, and SNAI territorial classifications scale; and a spatial exploratory analysis is performed, mapping the data and applying Local Indicators of Spatial Autocorrelation to assess neighbouring effects. Finally, to analyse the specialisation determinants and differential role of Inner Areas, having selected a set of geographical social and economic control variables, the Spatial DURBIN econometric model is applied.

The results show that CCIs and Tourism are characterised by completely opposite location profiles, suggesting the non-complementarity of the two industries: CCIs are mainly concentrated in Central Areas, especially in northern and middle Italy, in line with other urban dependent industries; while Tourism is mostly concentrated in Inner Areas, following the structural advantages and characteristics of the territories (i.e. coastal areas, historical villages, mountains).

Summarising, although the current policies and plans in the framework of the SNAI easily connect culture and tourism in the promotion of new development trajectories for Inner Areas, it is clear that these two sectors actually do not coexist from a spatial econometric point of view, risking of exacerbating the adverse effects of tourism in the centre-periphery dynamic.

The thesis' results open then to the need of exploring alternative policy solutions, adopting a tailored place-aware approach, where the effective integration of CCIs in the current tourism oriented scenario could be a virtuous alternative for the future of Inner Areas, in a strong sustainable development perspective.

However, further research is needed to overcome the limitations of this thesis and deepen its insights. In particular, the observation of more than one single year, to understand the dynamics in a longer time frame, along with the inclusion of non-commercial touristic activities and non-profit cultural organizations (both excluded from the establishment's dataset), and, finally, the analysis of case studies at the local level, would be appropriate, to deepen the location and strategic choices also from a social and qualitative perspective.

Motivation

"I'm going to leave it all behind and run a mountain hut."

"I'm gonna go back to my home village, renovate my grandparents' house and live there at a slow pace."

"This lost village has an amazing potential... It just needs a renovation, some fancy light, local food, slow tourism activities... We'll live quietly, outside these stressing market dynamics".

Those words were said while wandering around small mountain settlements in Italy with my friends. It was 2011. They were just some silly thoughts, at first, far nearer to a dream than to reality – a utopic vision, let's say. But, as the years went passing by, and as I gained actual experiences in the real world, those words never ceased to resonate in my head; they started, instead, to sound much more real than I thought. That's why the urge to deepen those ideas, to verify their feasibility and turn them into reality, grew up inside me.

Why do we associate health, well-being, and that general feeling of away-from-everyday life-obligations to the rural mountain landscapes? Why do we see in a comeback to a simpler lifestyle, defined by such values as culture and natural preservation, a solution to our modern-day society? And, most of all, how can actual economic incomes be provided from a project like this, relying on its touristic potential?

To answer these questions, it's necessary to take a step back and take a look at my own personal background and at the territorial peculiarities of those said areas, object of this thesis, matching them with those trends currently dealing with them.

Both social and academic experience, with the following joining the job market, were of capital importance for me. I attended Political Sciences between 2011 and 2013, with the idea of finding alternatives to the current economic development model, as well as learning the fundamentals of the main socio-political dynamics that configured Europe at the time. To that, until 2015, a specialisation in Economy of Culture and Territory followed, with me studying' the connection between economic dynamics and both cultural and natural resources. I came in touch with different social realities that too were aiming for a rediscover of the potentiality of the marginal areas with a high cultural and natural value. In 2018 I became a researcher in

Fondazione Santagata, with the responsibility to support both cultural organizations and places of great cultural and historical interest, and to draft for them development plans, which often meant operate with competences from different fields of expertise, from market to tourism.

Along with my academic studies, my social life and my personal acquaintances played a huge part. Friends with a similar vision but different, and various competences – agriculture, art, sport, social studies – became part of my life. People linked by a specific view, that valued quality of life and personal relationships more than economical profit.

While at first, I saw peripheral areas as a relaxation spot, those people helped me to see them as an object of studies, and as the beginning of a new project.

In order to define those territories, or, more correctly, to explain what they meant to me, (a formal definition will be given in the next chapters), some key concepts can be useful. I am talking about territories with a high natural and landscape value – such as mountains, inland hills (my thoughts go to Valle Tanaro in Piemonte, Valle Argentina in Liguria, and also the Calabrian Pre-Sila in the province of Catanzaro where my roots lie). Places full of forests and wild paths where connections, both physical and digital, with the rest of the world, are limited. Places that are living proof of a culture, a know-how that forged them physically, and symbolically, that one can consider abandoned if it wasn't for some tenacious and resilient individuals that still live there.

Worn-out villages perched on the side of a hill, slowly decaying, frozen in a dusty and long forgotten past and yet sources of inspiration for new ways of conceiving sense of community and sharing, agriculture and culture. Those places are perceived as completely antithetical to the modern world, on its road towards factories, urbanization, migration, economic boom – reasons themselves of the decaying of the reality they incarnate. Two parallel worlds that rarely communicate with each other, except for the casual trip or hike, or family reunion. Peripheral areas are often guarded by individuals or organisations that in the eyes of the newest generations are perceived as heroic, almost legendary: old people that came back in their home villages, or outsider and radical youngsters in search of an alternative lifestyle.

The crucial element in this unorthodox premise, that will be deepened in the following dissertation, is that I consider these areas "spaces of possibilities," to quote an expression taken from the literature relative to the urban regeneration (Kagan, Hauerwaas, Holz, & Wedler, 2018).

Spaces in which I see the opportunity to fill an emptiness caused by depopulation (Viazzo & Zanini, 2014); opportunity that can be taken without the big economic risks implied in the same initiative, if taken in the current urban context (in marginal areas buildings are at better prices, spaces are huge, time seems to run differently).

My belief is that the cultural heritage of those areas (knowledges, local products and buildings) can be the starting point for the creation, with a little creativity and innovation, of a new meaning and development trajectory, where the territory would be the object, the culture and creativity the tool, and tourism the vehicle with which to ensure a sustainable economic income. And all of that while keeping quality of life as a priority, and maybe serving as a model and a source of inspiration for others to create new communities and repopulate similar areas as well.

In those villages, besides, seemingly frozen in time, where nature won its space back, the concept of "sustainability" has a much more tangible meaning: given the uncanny situation humankind finds himself nowadays, (it should be self-evident, but I would like to point out Copernicus' data on the current climatic crisis¹), I believe these areas can be an opportunity to test sustainable development models (that includes environmental, social and economic elements).

A confirm to my beliefs comes from the awareness that me and my friends are not the only ones with such ideas. A significant amount of research projects and investigation studies about peripheral areas flourished in Italy in the past decades, some of which with a specific focus on those same marginal territories that we set as the object of this dissertation, such as the

¹ <https://atlas.climate.copernicus.eu/atlas> (Accessed April 2024)

Associazione Dislivelli di Torino² or the Società dei Territorialisti³, followed in the next years by Riabitare l'Italia⁴.

In about the same years (2012/2014) the Italian government, under the impulse of the Minister Fabrizio Barca (Barca, 2009), whose academic background lies in our same research field, becomes aware of the huge potential of that portion of national territory and, with a scientific analysis of the situation (I will extensively develop this aspect in the next chapters), he got to define those peripheral places, categorized them, and then launched the SNAI (*Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne*), with the same aim as ours: to promote the territories and their repopulation using cultural and environmental elements as main sources.

This raised a new interest among people, mostly from neo-graduates like us, in the recovering of these areas: grants, projects, funds were launched, new ideas (of different relevance) popped out, statements were made by public administrations, and different related motions were put in agenda.

The sides of the equation were almost always the same, though differently combined with each other: old villages, local culture and products, landscape, drawing of new inhabitants or digital nomads, and of course, most of all, tourism (in all its declinations: outdoor, sport, sustainable, cultural, agrotourism).

So, me and my friends didn't have such an original idea after all.

Then, in 2020, COVID pandemic came. Suddenly, we all experienced back the value of wide and uncontaminated spaces of nature, thought of a getaway from the urban world, and revalued priorities in our lives (Salvatore, 2020). Once the virus steps back, from the cities someone moves into these small villages (a minority), and someone else (the majority) rediscover those areas as touristic attractions⁵.

The expression "Sustainable tourism and culture may save Italian marginal areas" becomes then a must-say for majors, local administration's board members and business owners;

² <https://www.dislivelli.eu/blog/> (Accessed April 2024)

³ <https://www.societadeiterritorialisti.it/> (Accessed April 2024)

⁴ https://riabitarelitalia.net/RIABITARE_LITALIA/ (Accessed April 2024)

⁵ <https://www.enit.it/it/estate-2022-25-milioni-gli-italiani-che-vanno-in-vacanza-uno-sucunque-sceglie-lopen-air> (Accessed April 2024)

funded projects - not only by SNAI - base their development strategy on re-evaluation of the cultural heritage and tourism (Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021; Lezzi, 2018).

Tourism and culture become the common remedy for the abandonment syndrome of marginal and Inner Areas.

Ten years has passed since me and my friends did fantasize about lost villages, and still here we are at square one. No one of us fulfilled their dreams - we didn't move in a rural community, we did not renovate a lost village. But we go on with our research and our jobs. We're asking ourselves why we still didn't come up with anything yet. Sure, our life took turns that totally changed our plans. But maybe it's because we're not entirely sure that adding up lost villages to culture and tourism actually equals life quality, environmental sustainability and economic development.

Given the popularity of this recipe, and given the experience and knowledge we gained, we started asking ourselves if this recipe actually meets the identity of those places (Basile & Cavallo, 2020; Sabatini, 2023), if it actually could generate a repopulation and a recovery of the spaces, and, in the end, if it really could be sustainable.

We sense that, if the main goal is still quality of life and environmental sustainability with no compromises, maybe a factor in the equation was in the way: the stuffing of the marginal areas with reception activities and, in general, tourism services does really generate a development that benefits those areas in terms of sustainability? And, are we sure culture and creativity can be an active part of all this?

This is the motivation of my doctoral experience: my aim is to put together all the pieces of the puzzle and try to solve at least some of the doubts.

From now on I change language and move to academics.

Objectives of the thesis

The starting point of this research work is the great attention given to the combination of culture and tourism as ultimate solutions for solving the problems of peripheral areas in European countries, and in Italy especially, in the framework of the pilot projects financed by the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI).

Considering the scientific literature in the field, as detailed in the following chapters, considering research focusing on both CCIs and Tourism, it is possible to find works deepening individual case studies at the regional and local level, in particular in the qualitative analysis domain, but there is limited research focusing on the national level, adopting quantitative economic methods at a detailed scale. That's the gap I'll dive in.

The general objective of the thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the actual role of Cultural, Creative and Tourism industries in the development of Inner Areas by investigating the spatial distribution of the establishments in the two sectors.

In order to better develop the research agenda connected to the main objective, we divided it in **three specific objectives**:

1. **Assessing the spatial distribution of Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs)**, highlighting their specialisation, comparing the Inner and Central Areas of the Country as identified by the SNAI in Italy;
2. **Assessing the spatial distribution of Tourism Industries**, highlighting their specialisation, comparing the inner and Central Areas of the Country as identified by the SNAI in Italy;
3. **Identifying the differences between the spatial distribution and specialisation of CCIs and Tourism, and what explain them.**

The aim of this work is to contribute to the debate on the current development trajectories of Italian Inner Areas, offering to policy makers a different point of view on the potential role of culture and tourism, based on quantitative, spatial and economic analysis, at the regional and municipalities scale.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured following the logical and empirical approach of the research work we conducted to reach our general objective.

It is divided into five chapters, three of them, Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, drafted in order to stand as three independents but connected papers, answering to the three specific objectives of the research work.

The **first chapter** includes the theoretical and methodological background of the thesis, as well as the description of datasets used for the analysis. It addresses the concept of peripherality (1.1) introducing the approach we adopted in this work, and our case study, the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (1.2). Then we describe the object of our dissertation: Tourism and its relationship with Culture (1.3).

In paragraph 1.4 we provide the description of the data used to conduct our spatial and econometric analysis, explaining how we combined them in a database and the methodologies we used for the analysis (1.5).

The **second chapter** is dedicated to the spatial distribution of Cultural and Creative industries establishments, focusing on Italian Regions and the differences between inner and Central Areas.

The **third chapter**, starting from the conclusions of the previous one, addresses the spatial distribution and specialisation of tourism establishments at the same territorial scale, comparing the results with CCIs, highlighting different patterns and characteristics.

The **fourth chapter** includes the final results of our empirical approach, merging the two previous analyses, using econometric methodologies, to investigate the determinants and differential role of Inner Areas in the spatial distribution and specialisation of CCIs and tourism.

The **final chapter** contains a summary of the achievement of the three specific objectives of the thesis (5.1), the general comments and policy implications of the research work (5.2), introducing the limitations of the analysis and possible further investigations to be conducted starting from this thesis (5.3).

CHAPTER 1

Background, data and methodologies

In this chapter the main concepts and theoretical background of this research work are included. In particular the concept of Inner Areas is introduced, followed by the application in the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas.

Then the main academic literature and approaches considered in the thesis, focusing on the role of tourism and culture in the development of Inner Areas is presented.

Finally, the dataset used for the analysis is described, and the main methodologies applied in the research are introduced, following the steps of analysis.

1.1 Define Inner Areas

This research work departs from the concept of peripheral areas, sometimes addressed as marginal or remote, adding to the expression the term *inner* (internal), following the Italian expression *Aree Interne*.

As well explained in the ESPON PROFECY project (Profecy, 2017), the two words “Inner” and “Periphery” do not seem to fit together, rather they contradict each other; how can a locality be both “on the edge” and “inner”?

The expression Inner Areas is used to merge the concept of peripherality (measured as geographical distance from the centres) with the necessity of considering other dimensions, internal to a given territory. It describes then the peripheral areas *within* specific countries, taking into account their specificities, and characteristics going beyond the simple geographical distance from the main cities; considering, for example, unbalanced development dynamics, lack of infrastructures, lack or distance from basic services like health and school’s systems, emerged or structurally embedded in the socio economic history of a given country or region.

It moreover characterises the topic and distinguishes from the general literature related to peripheral areas (related to the urban, i.e. city peripheries; or regional context, i.e. European peripheries, underdeveloped countries).

Before further clarifying the definition, boundaries and characters adopted in this research it is useful to explore the literature regarding this concept, which is very fuzzy and has different dimensions.

Generally speaking, peripheral areas are defined on the basis of a center – periphery relation, commonly considered areas (the scale is not yet considered) characterised by negative connotations of backwardness, associated with images of shrinking regions with a limited access to public basic services (hospitals, education..), economic underdevelopment, out-migration of young, well educated people and an ageing or marginalized population.

Typically these areas are connected and associated to rural, nature, mountains, places considered idyllic and perfect for tourism (Hall, Harrison, Weaver, & Wall, 2013; Kauppila, Saarinen, & Leinonen, 2009; Pezzi & Urso, 2016; Salvatore, Chiodo, & Fantini, 2018).

Quoting (Görmar & Lang, 2019, 487): “These images build a sharp contrast to cities, which are predominantly considered to be “places of connectivity, creativity and innovation (Florida, 2005) and treated as growth engines attracting young, creative and successful entrepreneurs, accumulating jobs, knowledge, capital and power (...). These ideas indicate that, when talking about peripheral regions, simplified dichotomies are often prevailing (e.g. rural–urban, periphery–center, shrinking or declining–growing, backward–innovative, conservative–progressive, passive–active), consequently leading to a discursive construction of non-urban regions as peripheries (...) Hence, to maintain the positive core of an urban culture, peripheral regions are portrayed as the flip side of progressive and modern city life”.

Trying to put some order in the concepts, peripheral areas, also indicated as remote, marginal, or inner (this last expression comes from the Italian approach, Italian Strategy for Inner Areas, 2014), can be defined, starting from the work of Pezzi and Urso (2016) and Copus et al. (2017), considering four main approaches, connected one another, all characterised by a different, and sometimes opposite, point of view on the topic, capable of creating a useful synthesis (Pezzi & Urso, 2016): Geographical approach, Anthropological approach, Political economical approach, and Peripheralization approach (sociological approach).

Geographical approach

The more intuitive approach in the definition of peripheral areas, uses the concept of distance, starting from Euclidean space: areas located far from the center, the cities, difficult to be reached.

In geography a periphery is typically static and given on the basis of its physical characters, as contained in the etymology of the word, quoting Kuhn (Kühn, 2015, p. 368): “The term “periphery” stems from the field of mathematics and has, since antiquity, been associated with the perimeter of a circle (Latin: *peripheria*; Greek: *periphēria*). (...) From the beginning of the twentieth century, the term periphery was adopted in geography, and later also sociology and other disciplines, to denote “radius” or “fringe”. “Peripheral” became a synonym for “situated on the fringe”. Peripheries were defined as outskirts, determined by their distance to a centre —the greater the distance from the centre, the more peripheral the location. This understanding of a periphery emanates from “pre-given spaces”, which have social implications. In large part, the concept is applied in geography and spatial planning to sparsely populated rural regions, border regions or the suburban fringes of cities. Excluded are larger cities because within this notion cities are defined as centres. The concept of “periphery” as a remote location implies nearly static conditions for actors because distances to centres and population densities are hard to change in a short period”.

Hall et al. in the paper titled “Vanishing Peripheries: does Tourism consume Places?” (Hall et al., 2013), insist on the fact that peripherality, also in geographical terms is relative: “where the periphery is depends on where you stand” (Hall et al., 2013, p. 72).

As Pezzi and Urso highlight (2016, p. 7), Hall affirms the centrality of distance in the definition of peripherality, not considered only in Euclidean terms, but also figuratively as opposed to the characteristics of urbanised areas. Therefore, periphery is often associated with words like rural or wilderness, which symbolise this kind of alterity. Consequently, peripheral areas seem to have a set of common characteristics (i.e. geographic remoteness, weak economies, out-migration, high state intervention, lack of control over decision-making processes, high aesthetic values, etc.) that are both the cause and the result of their remote character.

This approach, specially due to its methodological implications in the definition of indicators capable of individuate peripherality (i.e distance from main cities, access to transports, access to services..) is the one adopted by the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (2014), as well as European Commission guidelines and ESPON Profecy project (2017).

Anthropological approach

In order to deepen the definition of peripheral areas, it is necessary to enlarge the view to the anthropological field, introducing the related word “remote” or “remoteness” which, according to Harms et al. (2014) can help us to better understand the field: “the idea of the remote can be detached from its geographical moorings and understood not simply as a spatial concept, but as a relativistic social construct. Remoteness is not so much a place as a way of being.”(Harms et al., 2014, p. 362).

Much of the current anthropological debate on remoteness originated from an essay by Edwin Ardener, which was first published in 1987 and re-edited in 2012. In this work, the author maintains that in a historical Western/European perspective, remoteness can be understood only in relation to Central Areas, consider remoteness not as the result of the co-existence of particular characteristics, but rather as form of relation with a dominant area that is only expressed through more or less distance.

Starting from the conclusions of his research, Ardener stated: “The lesson of remote areas is that this is a condition not related to periphery, but to the fact that certain peripheries are by definition not properly linked to the dominant zone. They are perceptions from the dominant zone, not part of its codified experience. Not all purely geographical peripheries are in this condition, and it is not restricted to peripheries”(Ardener, 2012, 532).

In his work Ardener defined the main characters of remote areas, starting from the fact that they are “event-rich”, or “event-dense”, while central/dominant areas are “event-poor”:

“In the social space, not everything that happens is an event. Much of what passes has for the participants an automaton-like quality. Events are defined within the space by a certain quality which, to avoid a special terminology, we may for the moment call significance. (...)

These areas delicately teeter on the edge of perpetual innovation. This feature is both internal and external. Thus, remoteness is a specification, and a perception, from elsewhere, from an outside standpoint; but from inside the people have their own perceptions — if you like, a counter specification of the dominant, or defining space, working in the opposite direction.

(...) It will be recalled that all individuals are potentially singularities in a social space through their (only intermittently exercised) power of self-definition. Since remote areas are singularities in the total or wider space, all singularities there are reinforced”(Ardener, 2012, p 531).

So due to their characteristics in remote areas innovation is more visible, more effective, while in dominant Central Areas every action need a great evidence to emerge as a singularity.

This concept will be recalled in the next paragraphs, introducing in this sense a deep difference between the static, negative definition of peripheral given by geographical approach (and economic), and approaches taking in consideration cultural and social factors.

Political Economy approach

The political economy approach defines peripheral areas on the basis of two fundamental dynamics: power and economic development, both related to the urban-rural / core-margin dichotomy.

It is an enlargement of the geographical approach, considering peripheries as static spaces, resulted from political and economic dynamics.

As Kuhn (Kühn, 2015, p. 376) stated: “The relation of centre and periphery is less a spatial fact than a social configuration resting on unequal power relations and leading to uneven spatial development. It is characterized by power in the centre and powerlessness at the periphery.”

This approach can be explained starting from two classics of the development literature, albeit not directly designed considering inner areas: Friedmann, with the “Theory of polarized development” (Friedmann, 1973), and Wallerstein with the “Dependency theory” (Wallerstein, 1974).

The latter, analysing power dynamics, could be applied to peripheral areas, making a parallelism with the “underdevelopment” of regions and countries within the capitalist world economy. This underdevelopment is caused, according to the author, by a power asymmetry, resulted from the domination (in a neo colonial view) imposed by the centres to the peripheries. Following them, peripheral states are seen as dependent on the politics of centres and disadvantaged by an unequal exchange in trade between low-value resources and high-value goods. According to Wallerstein, the capitalist world economy is divided into three layers: cores/centres, semi-peripheries and peripheries. Centres are politically strong states with high productivity of higher value goods. Peripheries are politically weak states with a basic level of production. Semi-peripheries are states between these poles stabilizing the system by balancing the opposites (Kühn, 2015).

Shifting from power to economy, growth processes in the centres are linked to shrinking processes in the peripheries via the interregional mobility of people, goods and capital, but also knowledge. John Friedmann’s “Theory of polarized development” (Friedmann, 1973) differentiates between “core regions” and “peripheral regions”. Core regions are the centres of technological, economic and social innovation. Peripheral regions are all other areas. Cores and peripheries constitute a spatial system centred on the poles of intense innovation and weak innovation. Friedmann argues that the polarized development of centres and peripheries is the outcome of self-reinforcing dynamics. He differentiates between domination effects (the extraction of resources from peripheries), information effects (the higher density of information in the centres), psychological effects (the higher density of interaction in the centres), modernization effects (more liberal values, attitudes and institutions in the centres), coupling effects (innovations create new markets in centres) and production effects (cost reduction through innovations in the centres). Through combining a consideration of economic and political factors, this theory represents a complex approach to apprehending the emergence of peripheries (Copus, 2001), although not to be read in a static, unchangeable way: is it still true that innovation only take place in core/urban areas?

Peripheralization/social approach

“That is a law of remote areas, the basic paradox, for that is how you know you are in one” (Ardener, 2012, p. 523). With this effective quote from Ardener, I introduce the fourth approach, which defines the peripheries as a process, in a sociological point of view.

The work of three main authors is considered: Kühn M. with the paper “Peripheralization: Theoretical Concepts Explaining Socio-Spatial Inequalities” (Kühn, 2015), Herrschel T. “Regional development, peripheralisation and marginalisation - and the role of governance” (Herrschel, 2011, 2012), Naumann, M. and Fischer-Tahir, A. “Peripheralisation: The Making of Spatial Dependencies and Social Injustice” (2013).

This approach, although different from the ones above described, is developed starting from the statement that peripheries are not to be considered static but resulted and object of a dynamic process.

According to Kuhn (Kühn, 2015) while periphery in the geographical, economic and political approaches are defined as: “pre-given spaces—with social implications” (fringes, edges, outskirts, borders), so static and almost unchangeable, given their remote location and distance to centres; shifting the attention to the process, the peripheralization, the production of peripheries, they can be defined as: “Social relations—with spatial implications” so resulted from a dynamic process (Political, Economic, Social, Communicative), changeable based on the actor networks.

Peripheries, according to Herrschel (2011; 2012) are produced as a result of unbalanced (power) relationships and more or less unintended marginalization processes due to side effects of political interventions. The question of power is a vital one from a governance perspective: processes of peripheralization are indeed directly linked to exclusion from networks and from political power in decision-making.

The dynamic processes through which peripheries actually emerge become the focus. This may include political, social, economic or communicative processes, considering proximity not only in spatial dimension but also social and organizational (Boshma, 2005).

All this shows that processes of peripheralization must be considered not only in relation to centralization, they exist on and between different spatial scales. Another important

difference is: the conditions for actors seem changeable. The role of a periphery within a socio-spatial system may change, therefore actor networks matter. Apart from spatial inequalities, centres and peripheries are also determined by temporal inequalities. “Peripheries do not have to remain peripheries forever” (Kühn, 2015, p. 369).

Synthesis: a multidimensional approach

The fact is that there is not a single type of inner periphery. They are very individual hybrids, each created by a unique history, multiple factors/processes, and context-related elements. Thus a key to understanding inner peripheries as a specific territorial phenomenon is to realise that, location is not the sole explanatory factor. Distance to regional centres, agglomerations of population or economic activity, as well as access to services, may contribute to inner peripherality, but do not fully account for it (PROFECY, 2017).

Table 1. Synthesis of the approaches

Approach	Keywords
Geographical	Space Scale Distance to core Distance to services Delimitation Accessibility Rurality
Anthropological	Community perception Quality of life Event - richness

	Innovation Culture
Political economy	Power Development history Economic activities Proximity: agglomeration Poles Dependency Lack of innovation
Peripheralization/social	Networks Proximity: social relations Marginalization Dynamic processes Socio – spatial system Governance

Source: own elaboration from Pezzi and Urso (2016) and Copus et al. (2017)

Starting from the table above, which synthetizes the main key words of each approach, it is possible to design a multidimensional definition of inner peripheral areas (see also Kuhn, 2015).

The idea is that each territory can be considered peripheral or inner on the basis of one of these dimensions, or a combination of some.

The most effective definition of an inner peripheral area, useful for the next chapters of this work, takes into account all the approaches, considering some corner stones:

- *Distance and space*
- *Culture*
- *Social networks*
- *Proximity*
- *Development*
- *Innovation.*

In general, it is fundamental, as stated by Kuhn, not to consider inner peripheral areas as static spaces, defined by exogenous processes and unchangeable. The focus are the development possibilities (in terms of history and future potentiality): Inner peripheral areas can become centres.

It is useful to consider the possibility of a reterritorialization of these territories, quoting the process introduced by Raffestin (2012), which lays in the emerging innovations taking place in inner peripheries: the lack of innovation defines inner peripheral areas, but the singularities (as stated by Ardener) and single innovations taking place there, can guide and anticipate their future development.

1.2 The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas

The case study and territorial classification of Inner Areas considered as case study in this thesis is the one systematised in the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas - SNAI⁶ launched in 2012 by the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion and the Ministries responsible for the coordination of EU funds, in a context of place-based policies recognition and promotion at the European level (Barca, 2009; Barca, Mccann, & Rodríguez-Pose, 2012; Servillo, Russo, Barbera, & Carrosio, 2016).

The first institutionalised definition of Italian Inner Areas can be found in the document "Methods and objectives for the effective use of EU funds 2014-2020" (Barca, 2012)⁷, in which are defined and quantified as about three-fifths of the Italian territory, with a little less than a quarter of the population: it is that part of Italy that is "distant from centres of agglomeration and services and with unstable development trajectories but at the same time endowed with resources that Central Areas lack, "wrinkled", with demographic problems but at the same time strongly polycentric and with high potential for attraction". In this context, the SNAI defines Inner Areas as "those areas that are significantly distant from the centres of supply of essential services (education, health and mobility), rich in important environmental and cultural resources and strongly diversified by nature and as a result of processes of anthropisation"⁸.

⁶ see the institutional website: <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/> (Accessed April 2024)

⁷ The document 'Methods and Objectives for the Effective Use of the 2014-2020 Community Funds' was prepared by the Ministry for Territorial Cohesion, in agreement with the Ministers of Labour and Social Policies and of Agriculture, Food and Forestry Policies, and transmitted to the system of Regions by Minister Barca's note n. MCT 3387 of 27 December 2012. The document proposes methodological innovations with respect to the current programming, three strategic programming options (southern Italy, Inner Areas and cities) and operational hypotheses for each of the 11 thematic objectives relating to structural funds for the 2014-2020 period. The document can be downloaded at the following link: <https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeAttachment.php/L/IT/D/4%252Fe%252Fb%252FD.a1a6c84e6360aeb60fe6/P/BLOB%3AID%3D10538/E/pdf> (Accessed April 2024)

⁸ This definition is included in the technical document "Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance" Attached to the 2014-2020 strategy see: https://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/890263/strategia_nazionale_aree_interne.pdf/d10fc111-65c0-4acd-b253-63efae626b19 (Accessed April 2024)

Inner Areas are characterised by the following parameters:

- a. they are significantly distant from the main centres of supply of essential services (education, health and mobility);
- b. they have important environmental resources (water resources, agricultural systems, forests, natural and human landscapes), and cultural resources (archaeological heritage, historical settlements, abbeys, small museums, craft centres...);
- c. are a profoundly diversified territory, the result of the dynamics of the various and differentiated natural systems and of the peculiar and secular processes of anthropisation.

The Strategy highlights the marginalisation process that, since the Second World War, has gradually affected a significant part of the peripheral areas in Italy, causing a decrease in population, a reduction in employment and land use, a decreasing local supply of public and private services, and social costs that affect the whole country, such as those determined by hydro-geological instability and the degradation of the cultural and landscape heritage. A large part of these areas coincides with mountain and rural territories, characterised by a historical disadvantage compared to urban areas, as they are far from services, depopulated and with few job opportunities.

Starting from this overall picture, SNAI, by making territorial diversity a national distinguishing feature, attempts to overcome the dichotomies urban-rural, centre-periphery, mountain-plain, and considers Inner Areas as a new subject and actor for strategic development, moving from being excluded and disadvantaged territories to laboratories of sustainable development. In relation to the entire national territory, these areas are interpreted as resources, an element of support and complement to the country's development. SNAI is based primarily on the definition of policies for the activation of latent or unused territorial capital, which includes: natural and cultural capital, the social energy of the local population and potential residents, the productive systems (agricultural, tourist and manufacturing), know-how.

The identification of the Inner Areas starts from a polycentric consideration of the Italian territory, i.e. a territory characterised by a network of municipalities or aggregations of

municipalities (service supply centres) around which gravitate areas characterised by different levels of spatial peripherality.

The methodology adopted by the strategy consists of two main phases:

1. Identification of the poles and belt (centres), according to criteria of capacity to offer essential services (education, health services, public transport);
2. Classification of the remaining municipalities into 3 categories:
 - intermediate areas (comprising between 17% and 15% of the population),
 - peripheral areas (where between 9% and 8% of the population lives)
 - ultra-peripheral areas.

The final mapping is therefore mainly influenced by two factors: the criteria with which to select the centres offering services and the choice of distance thresholds to measure the degree of peripherality of the various areas. In this regard, the classification of the municipalities was obtained on the basis of an accessibility indicator calculated in terms of minutes of travel time from the nearest pole.

The resulting categories are calculated using the second and third quartiles of the distribution of the index of distance in minutes to the nearest pole, equal to approximately 20 and 40 minutes. A third category, over 75 minutes, equal to the 95th percentile, was then created to identify the ultra-peripheral territories.

Table 2. Territorial classification adopted by the SNAI

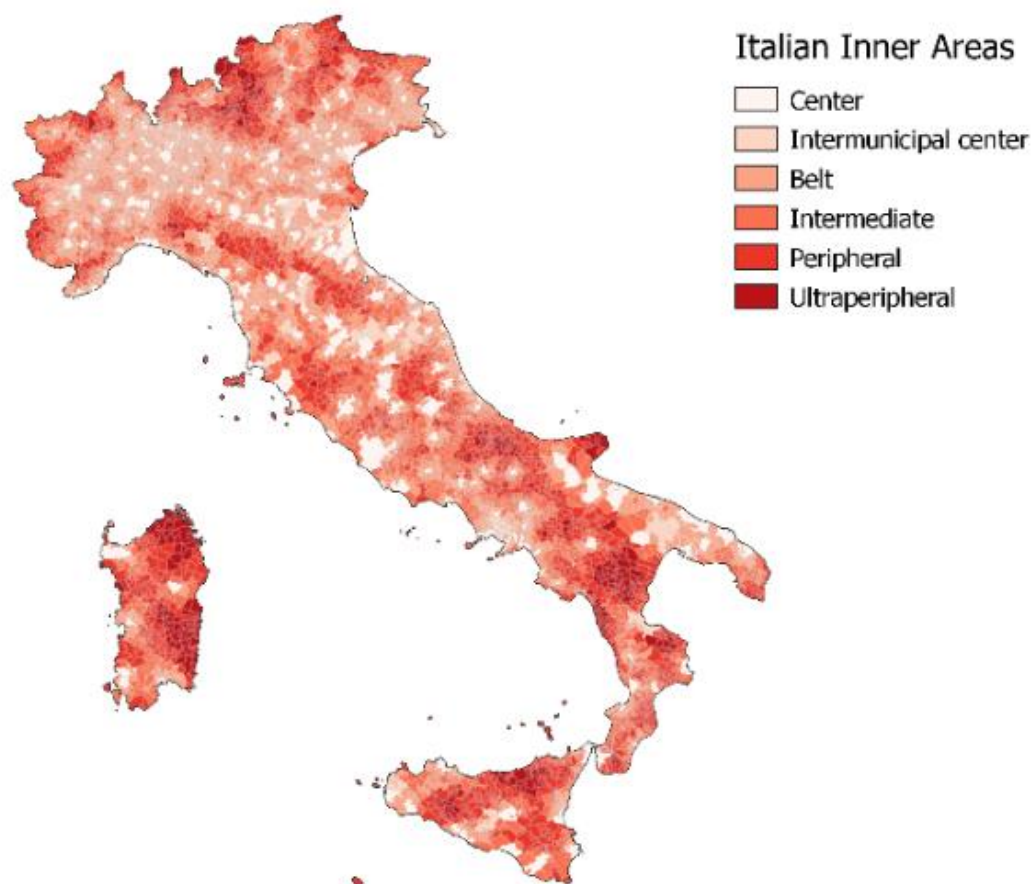
Macro classification	Micro classification
Centres	A - Pole
	B - Intermunicipal pole
	C - Belt
Inner Areas	D - Intermediate (20min from services)
	E - Peripheral (40min from services)
	F - Ultra peripheral (75min and more from services)

Source: SNAI

The Inner Areas identified in 2014, resulting from the sum of intermediate, peripheral and ultra-peripheral areas, represent about 53% of the Italian municipalities (4.261), with 23% of the population residing in a portion of the territory that exceeds 60% of the total.

Within this classification, a further selection of 72 "project areas" took place for the policy cycle 2014 - 2020, comprising 1077 municipalities, 2,072,718 inhabitants, covering a total of 51,366 square kilometres or 16.7% of the national territory.⁹

Figure 1. Italian municipalities classification according to the SNAI



Source: own elaboration on ISTAT and SNAI data (2018)

The project areas were entrusted the possibility to develop a place-based strategy and planning, and 37 of them were then funded and monitored by the Ministry, according to the selection and evaluation performed by the individual Regions.

⁹ see <https://www.agenziacoessione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/> (Accessed April 2024)

In 2023 the overall SNAI criteria and municipalities classification was updated to the 2020¹⁰ situation, and the 2021 – 2027 policy cycle¹¹ was launched, including a total of 124 Project Areas (considering the new ones and the 2014 ones), directly involving 1,904 municipalities with a population of 4,570,731 inhabitants.

The financed strategies and projects, with the funds so far allocated by the Italian governments in the cycles 2014-2020 and 2021-2027, are monitored, and updated data is available on the Cohesion Agency channels¹², although it is not yet possible to evaluate the actual impacts on the Areas and the problems they should solve.

Nevertheless, as a policy, although subjected to modifications due to political fluctuations and successive governments, the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas, with its place-based approach, stands as a unicum in the EU context (Servillo, Russo, Barbera, & Carrosio, 2016).

This do not mean that Inner Areas exist only in Italy. The PROFECY project - Processes, Features and Cycles of Inner Peripheries in Europe (2017) – analysed European countries, applying criteria as the ones used for the SNAI, including: Higher travel time to Regional Centres (delineation 1), Lower economic potential interstitial areas (delineation 2), Areas of poor access to SGIs (delineation 3) and Depleting areas (delineation 4).

The resulting map shows that other countries other than Italy (i.e. Spain, France, Poland, Germany) are characterised by Inner Areas, although with different conditions and causes of peripherality.

In this sense Italy could function as a pilot, opening, with the necessary and needed adjustments and the academic contribution of this research work, especially considering the place-based approach of the policy (Servillo, Russo, Barbera, & Carrosio, 2016), to new applications in the framework of the EU Cohesion Policy¹³.

¹⁰ <https://politichecoesione.governo.it/it/politica-di-coesione/strategie-tematiche-e-territoriali/strategie-territoriali/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne-snai/le-aree-interne-2021-2027/mappa-aree-interne-2020/> (accessed April 2024)

¹¹ <https://politichecoesione.governo.it/it/politica-di-coesione/strategie-tematiche-e-territoriali/strategie-territoriali/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne-snai/le-aree-interne-2021-2027/> (accessed April 2024)

¹² <https://opencoesione.gov.it/it/dati/strategie/AI/> (accessed April 2024)

¹³ EU Cohesion Policy in non-urban areas
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/652210/IPOL_STU\(2020\)652210_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/652210/IPOL_STU(2020)652210_EN.pdf) (accessed April 2024)

1.3 Tourism and Culture as development drivers for Inner areas

The controversial relationship between tourism and the development of inner and peripheral areas has been a highly debated topic in academic literature in recent decades. Taking into account various domains, from tourism planning, to regional development and discourse analysis, most studies portray tourism as a potentially positive driver for the development of marginalised territories and communities, although launching some caveats on the necessity of place-based planning and community engagement (Andreoli et al., 2018; Barca et al., 2014; Brouder, 2012; Salvatore et al., 2018), particularly emphasising the need for sustainable and regenerative tourism practices (Cave & Dredge, 2020; Bellato et al., 2022), in destination planning (Moscardo, 2005), and in tourism management (Weaver, 2018).

Emerging literature also addresses the negative side and risks generated by tourism in such areas, as the commodification of places or the threat of a tourist 'monoculture', both in the international (Bohlin et al., 2016; Hall et al, 2013), and Italian context (Bronzini et al., 2022; Cocco et al., 2020; Cotella and Brovarone, 2022; Matarazzo, 2023; Di Gioia & Dematteis, 2020; Sabatini 2023).

This is especially considered in the sustainable tourism domain, where the specificities of marginal and Inner Areas as structurally attractive natural/idyllic landscapes, on one hand, and fragile territories, on the other hand, are investigated with respect to tourism pressure and destination planning (Kauppila et al., 2009; Kuščer, Mihalič, & Pechlaner, 2017; Saarinen, Rogerson, & Hall, 2017).

However, a vast body of literature addressing the relationship between culture and tourism in the context of peripheral areas development, focusing in particular on economic aspects at the local level, is still missing. Nevertheless, part of the literature is dealing with specific aspects of the broader topic, focusing for example on creativity in peripheral areas (De la Barre, 2012), intersectoriality (Della Lucia and Segre, 2017), cultural and creative tourism (García-Delgado et al., 2020; Gato et al., 2020; Gibson, 2010; Petrei et al., 2019).

Various scholars highlighted attempts of peripheral areas to counteract their marginality status by developing new transport and communication infrastructures and networks, aiming

at the same time to increase their competitiveness in the tourism market (Hall et al., 2013; Jewell et al., 2013). Hall et al. (2013) consider tourism as one of the main economic policy responses and the perceived solution to the negative implications of peripherality in those areas that are characterised by relatively simple economies and by a little production of high value products and services. They also add that, in this context, several attempts have been made to improve the connectivity of peripheral destinations to urban centres, although this can make sometimes local tourism businesses increasingly dependent on external agents and changes. Development strategies, both at the EU and Italian levels (ESPON, 2012; Barca, Casavola & Lucatelli, 2014) have been trying to reverse the marginalisation and depopulation trends and to promote resilience practices in peripheral areas (Pezzi & Urso, 2016).

In the context of Italian Inner Areas, Sabatini (2023) conducted an analysis of the SNAI guidelines to explore how tourism attractiveness is addressed. It results that, in order to start regeneration paths, Inner Areas need to capitalise on their unique qualities, aligning with the growing demand for specificity from consumers and cities: "on one side are poles of production, speed and concentration, and on the other are margins that, if they are to redeem themselves from abandonment, must be places of clear identity, uncritical beauty, guaranteed quality and authentic experience. Territories that too often aspire to preserve themselves as escape dimensions, thinking of their energy, environmental and heritage resources more in terms of tourist consumption than of endogenous local development" (Sabatini, 2023, p.19).

Barca et al. (2014) further emphasise the importance of focusing development projects on specific resources belonging to peripheral areas, such as lifestyle, food, and nature. Additionally, Andreoli et al. (2018) state that Inner Areas have the potential to become tourist destinations by offering authentic experiences, community engagement, and immersion in nature and traditions. They add that "it is necessary to tell original and distinctive stories about places, to establish a relationship between residents and visitors, to pay new attention to the needs of the public through targeted promotional and marketing initiatives" (Ivi, p.11). Salvatore et al. (2018), drawing on the Italian context and the SNAI classification, discuss a 'tourism transition' in rural Inner Areas, intended as a shift from a condition of dependency of rural areas on urban centres to the symbolic consumption of rural lifestyle, with remoteness becoming then a distinctive factor and rural lifestyles as heritage experiences (Sabatini, 2023).

According to the authors, fostering the 'tourism transition' in Inner Areas requires a focus on critical factors such as innovation, territorial governance, stakeholder collaboration, networking and policy making. Tourism is thus seen as a socio-economic driver of change in rural Inner Areas. Weaver (2017) defines the 'creative periphery syndrome' as the multiple incongruencies featuring some peripheral areas, referring in particular to tropical islands. The latter, despite their economic and geographical marginality, can become 'core' from the tourism and experience potential point of view.

Sabatini (2023) also explores the potential of attracting stable human capital to Inner Areas - local or foreign young populations – to be retained and employed especially in cooperative forms in a variety of activities, including tourism. Even in places lacking effective tourism development, Weaver (2017) argues that a sustainable tourism strategy should address the issues featuring those places, providing durable employment opportunities and tourism-related economic benefits. Brouder (2012) supports this notion by suggesting that rural areas own latent social capital, and that some 'creative outposts' can even thrive thanks to the catalyst action of tourism for local sustainable development. Based on the analysis of SNAI guidelines, Sabatini (2023) concludes that Inner Areas are strongly connected to tourism attractiveness. Peripherality and remoteness are seen not only as a limit but also as a potentiality. Tourism development is considered as a strategic objective for these areas, capable of fostering the growth of local economies and populations. The development of tourism in Inner Areas is conceived as a process aimed at enhancing the quality of life in these territories, bolstering their identity, and increasing their appeal to visitors and potential residents.

On the other side, some authors also consider the negative aspects of tourism development in Inner Areas, along with the related threats. Cotella and Brovarone (2022) question the effectiveness of tourism as a standalone solution in strategies aimed at revitalising remote rural areas. Even though the authors recognise tourism as a driver of rural development, leveraging natural and cultural assets to attract visitors, they also highlight that even though tourism can bring economic benefits, it does not fully address the structural challenges underlying rural marginalisation.

Matarazzo (2023) argues that the SNAI and PNRR approach, identifying sustainable tourism as a potential development driver for Inner Areas, conceals several weaknesses. Firstly, the risk of tourist 'monocultures', which stand for the excessive dependency of an area from a single economic activity (in this case, tourism), making such activity more vulnerable to potential crises in the sector. The author emphasises the need to focus on multiple sectors simultaneously, while also stressing the importance of involving the local community in decision-making and development processes.

An illustrative case in this sense, as reported by Di Gioia and Dematteis (2020), is the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the mountainous areas of Piemonte and Valle d'Aosta regions, whose economies are mono-sectorial, relying heavily on winter mass tourism. This example demonstrates how local economies that are highly specialised in the tourism sector are vulnerable and not sustainable, highlighting the need to integrate tourism with other economic sectors to make local economies more resilient and less dependent on one single economic activity.

Another weakness highlighted by Matarazzo (2023) is the risk generated by the external management of territorial resources, that could lead to a loss of control and benefits for local communities. Furthermore, she expresses concern about the cultural impoverishment of local communities, as the promotion of tourism may lead to a standardisation in the cultural offer and to the loss of authenticity of places. Another worrying trend, according to Matarazzo, is the growth of tourist infrastructures that is not accompanied by an increase in the local population. This phenomenon could indicate a 'touristification' of places that does not result in the desired demographic inversion, but rather in the commodification of territories and to the local communities' loss of identity. This vision is confirmed in the analysis conducted by Salvatore Chiodo, & Fantini (2018), demonstrating the direct relation between the growing numbers of short stay tourism accommodations and the depopulation in the most marginal Italian municipalities: in the last years, while the number of b&b and short stay rentals grew in ultra peripheral areas, the population continued its decrease, creating doubts on the actual contribution of tourism in reversing the marginalisation process.

Hall et al. (2013) also caution against the neoliberal approach to conservation, which seeks to valorise nature by attributing it economic value and subjecting it to market processes, contributing to the commodification of peripheral places.

Cocco et al. (2020) emphasise the importance of addressing the needs of both the 'new destination' and the tourism industry. They warn against idealising remote destinations and advocate for a balanced approach that considers the interests of both subjects.

Moreover, Bohlin et al. (2016) delve into the actual contribution of tourism and associated policies to the reduction of disparities between different areas. They conclude that, despite the availability of funding in specific regions for tourism development, the growth potential in rural areas is limited due to the concentration of tourism in urban centres. Efforts to boost rural tourism seem to have little effect on the industry overall, leading to a geographic concentration of the tourism industry.

Therefore, the potential for sustainable rural tourism growth appears less feasible than commonly presumed, with higher risks associated with real estate investment in peripheral regions. In this regard, Bronzini et al. (2022) suggest that tourism policies, in order to foster a sustainable and geographically balanced development, should consider the different effects of tourism among different areas and potential congestion costs in the areas that are already strongly specialised in tourism. The authors also acknowledge that the potential economic development benefits of tourism are more pronounced in less developed areas, particularly in the southern Italian regions.

Despite the recognised role of culture, in particular cultural heritage, in the sustainable tourism strategies, there is very little literature examining the interplay between tourism and culture in the development of inner and peripheral areas, apart from the cultural and creative tourism discourse.

García-Delgado et al. (2020) highlight the strategic advantage that cultural heritage presents in driving local development opportunities through tourism. Petrei et al. (2019) considers culture and tourism as a winning combination for an effective growth path, while Gato et al. (2020) explore the opportunities offered by creative tourism in the regeneration of peripheral areas.

García-Delgado et al. (2020) caution that the abundance of heritage in certain areas can also escalate conservation costs, underscoring the critical role of the social, political, and institutional context in shaping heritage management and valorisation strategies. In line with this, Petrei et al. (2019) underscore the pivotal role of institutions and regional policies in shaping the tourism landscape, particularly in areas where cultural resources are underused. They argue for the need to include, both in heritage conservation and in tourism strategies, other alternative economic activities to ensure long-term sustainability in tourism-dependent regions. Gato et al. (2020) explore the potential of creative tourism in revitalising peripheral areas through placemaking strategies, stressing the importance of community involvement in co-shaping their own places. However, they remark the lack of studies regarding the economic and social impacts of creative tourism in such contexts.

Echoing Gibson's (2010) observations on the opportunities arising from remoteness and resource scarcity, that reported successful examples of creative industries in remote communities, García-Delgado et al. (2020) emphasise the need for further research on how individual case studies contribute to a comprehensive understanding of creativity in remote areas, thereby advocating for a more holistic discourse beyond isolated cases.

Della Lucia and Segre (2017) address the intersection of culture-led local development and industrial districts, aiming to contribute to the debate of the role of cultural and creative industries and tourism in the local sustainable development. The study identifies traditional and innovative development paths, recalling the emergence of a creative atmosphere. In a similar view, Salvatore et al. (2018) and Petrei et al. (2019) state tourism transition in rural areas represents a revitalisation opportunity for sustainable development, especially when coupled with cultural initiatives.

However, despite various studies highlight certain specific aspects of the relationship between culture and tourism in the development of Inner Areas, comprehensive analyses considering the entire context are still missing.

In light of these identified gaps, in particular, the thesis endeavors to delve deeper into the intricate relationship between tourism and culture, in the sustainable development of peripheral areas, starting from economic analysis, thereby contributing to a more holistic understanding of all potential scenarios.

When we consider “culture” in its economic potential, in fact, we move from the rooted consideration as “cultural Heritage” (especially in the tourism related literature, as presented above), and we refer to it as Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs), including then an economic and market dimension.

In the last decades Culture and Creativity are increasingly viewed as two relevant sources for the economic and social development (OECD, 2021). Although their definition is still debated, at the European (Boix et al. 2016; Sánchez, 2015; Higgs, Cunningham, & Bakhshi, 2008) and Italian level (Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015) , especially having to select specific sectors and boundaries (Dellisanti, 2023).

At the urban level it is widely analysed the positive impact of CCIs on innovation, development and quality of life (see for example Boix et al., 2016; Coll-Martínez, Moreno-Monroy, & Arauzo-Carod, 2019; Florida, 2005;), while studies targeting specifically inner and peripheral areas, although confirming the sectors’ positive impact through creative economy and innovation (Collins & Cunningham, 2017; de la Barre, 2012; Fitjar & Rodríguez-Pose, 2011), culture led strategies (Lysgård, 2016), and CCIs (see the initial research work focusing on Italy by Crociata A. , Pinate A. C., 2024), are less developed, and that is another gap to be partially filled.

Following Bertacchini and Santagata (Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011), on the one hand, there is growing awareness of the economic value generated by cultural and creative industries and their potential for growth as compared to other sectors of the economy (Florida, 2005; Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011; Scott, 1997). On the other hand, it is increasingly recognized how cultural capital and the concentration of talent and creative activities may generate new opportunities for development (Innocenti & Lazzeretti, 2019), where economic growth is combined with the social quality (Boix Domenech, De Miguel Molina, & Rausell Köster, 2022; Borre et al. 2023) and the production of cultural value (Throsby, 2010) .

Spatial agglomeration and specialisation in cultural and creative industries – and the strong interconnections they can develop within economies and societies – are then key conditions for value generation and innovation in local development (Scott, 2006).

Having clarified and acquired that: what happens if we specifically consider Tourism and extensively combine it with CCIs, as the SNAI policy suggests for Italy and Inner Areas in general?

The blurred boundaries of the sector, on one hand, and the complex and unresolved issue of Tourism's impact on economy and development, especially in the context of peripheral areas, as highlighted in the previous paragraphs, on the other hand, do not permit to affirm, at this stage, if the positive impact is still, more, or less true having combined the two sectors. The academic community has not in fact tackled and solved the issue so far.

In this thesis, we contribute in making a step forward, starting the process from a spatial economic perspective.

1.4 Datasets and database configuration

Considering the objective of analysing the role of CCIs and Tourism in the development of peripheral areas, focusing on the Italian case, the data we selected and used for the empirical research had to cover two main domains: the firms/establishments/professionals working in the sectors of interest and the correct geographical scale and spatial classification of the Italian territory.

In this paragraph we then include a description of the datasets we used and how we merged them in a database capable of serving the scopes of our research work.

ASIA dataset

For the analysis of firms/establishments/professionals we used the ASIA dataset¹⁴, managed by ISTAT (the Italian National Statistical Institute) and provided by IRCrES CNR¹⁵ (the Research Institute on Sustainable Economic Growth of the National Research Council of Italy). The year of reference is 2018, considering then the situation before the COVID 19 pandemic started in 2020.

The main unit of analysis included in the dataset is the establishment (local unit, *Unità Locale* in Italian), the register was in fact created based on European Council Regulation No 2816/93 on Community coordination in drawing up business registers for statistical purposes. The scope of observation of the Asia Local Unit Register covers all industrial, commercial and business and household service activities. The definition of local unit adopted corresponds to a firm or part of a firm located in a topographically identified place. It includes single or multi-localised firms, that carries out its activities in one or several locations, each of which constitutes a local unit/establishment. The number of establishments included in the 2018 dataset is: 4,829,555.

The specific variables of the local units included in the register are: location of the local unit/establishment, which allows the exact identification of the local unit on the territory at

¹⁴ <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/234627> (Accessed April 2024)

¹⁵ <https://www.irces.cnr.it/> (Accessed April 2024)

the municipality level (NUTS 4¹⁶, identified with the statistical code); employees of the local unit; economic activity of the local unit, according to the Ateco 2007 5 digit classification¹⁷ (national classification of the economics activities, following the standard NACE Eurostat).

SNAI dataset

For the geographical scale and spatial analysis, we used the public dataset attached to the National Strategy for Inner Areas¹⁸, which classified the Italian municipalities according to the criteria described in the previous paragraph dedicated to the SNAI.

The dataset refers to the year 2014 and includes, for each municipality (the total number at the time was 8,092): the statistical code of reference of the Region (NUTS 2), the statistical code of reference of the Province (NUTS 3), the statistical code of reference of the municipality (NUTS 4), the macro classification according to the SNAI (Inner Area or Centre), the micro classification according to the SNAI (A – Pole, B - Intermunicipal pole, C – Belt, D – Intermediate, E – Peripheral, F – Ultra Peripheral), the name of the municipality, the population of the municipality at the time of the 2011 census and the surface area (Km2). Moreover, it includes all the information demonstrating the process of classification (services, depopulation, infrastructures...) which we didn't use for this thesis.

Other datasets

To complete the analysis, especially considering the control variables needed for the econometric methodologies applied in chapter 4, we accessed other specific datasets.

- The geographical atlas of Italian municipalities by ISTAT¹⁹, including for each municipality: shapefiles of the surface, Altitude (meters), dummies for coastal areas, and islands, urbanization level.

¹⁶ Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics (Eurostat)

¹⁷ Here the full table of ATECO Classification and NACE correspondence

<https://www.istat.it/it/files//2022/03/Corrispondenza-Ateco-2022-vs-NACE-Rev.-2.xlsx> (accessed April 2024)

¹⁸ <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/la-selezione-delle-aree/> (accessed April 2024)

¹⁹ <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/156224> (accessed April 2024)

- The 2011 census data by ISTAT²⁰, including for each municipality: n. of establishments, n. of employees, n. taxpayers, total income, resident population at the Census date of 09/10/2011, number of beds in touristic establishments.
- The data on the protected heritage (buildings and goods) by the Ministry of culture²¹, including for each municipality the number of protected historical and cultural heritage.

Database configuration

In order to facilitate and conduct the analysis we created a relational database (Harrington, 2016) using SQL open-source clients called SQuirreL and SQLite. In particular, to effectively connect the datasets described above, we used as key for the queries the statistical code linked with each municipality.

In the process of creation of the database some major discrepancies between the municipalities included in the establishments dataset (year 2018) and the municipalities considered in SNAI classification and census (respectively year 2014 and year 2011) were discovered. Several municipalities were in fact subject of modifications in the years dividing the three datasets (change of name, change of surface, elimination, merging with another), we had then to update and harmonise them to the establishment's year of reference (2018), following the conversion tables of ISTAT²².

Moreover, we created a specific table including only the establishments operating in the sectors of interest (CCIs, and Tourism, and their sub sectors, as described in the next chapters), in order to facilitate the analysis.

Summarizing, the database includes the following datasets, organised in different tables having in common as key the statistical code of municipalities.

²⁰ <https://www.istat.it/it/censimenti-permanenti/censimenti-precedenti/popolazione-e-abitazioni/popolazione-2011> (accessed April 2024)

²¹ <http://vincoliinrete.beniculturali.it/VincoliInRete/vir/utente/login> (accessed April 2024)

²² <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/6789> (accessed April 2024)

Table 3. Database tables and variables

Tables included in the database	Variables	Source
Establishments 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Location, municipality level; - N. employees; - economic sector and subsector (Ateco 2007) 	ASIA ISTAT, IRcRES
CCIs and Tourism establishments 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Location, municipality level; - N. employees; - economic sector and subsector (Ateco 2007) 	ASIA ISTAT, IRcRES
Municipalities classification according to the SNAI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - code of reference of the Region, - code of reference of the Province, - macro classification according to the SNAI, - micro classification according to the SNAI - name and code of the municipality 	ISTAT (municipality updated to 2018)
Control variables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - code of reference of the municipality - shapefiles of the surface, - Altitude (meters), - dummies for coastal areas, and islands - urbanization level - n. of establishments 2011, - n. of employees 2011, - n. taxpayers 2011, - total income 2011, - resident population 2011 - number of beds in touristic establishments 2011 - number of protected heritage 2011 	ISTAT, MIC (municipality updated to 2018)

1.5 Methodologies

Moving on to the description of the methodologies we applied for the analysis of the datasets presented in the previous paragraph, for every chapter, building on the same database and same scale of analysis, we followed an empirical approach: we started with basic descriptive statistics concentrating firstly on the two sectors of interest, and we gradually arrived at econometric methods to investigate their relation.

The main steps of analysis presented in the next chapters can be summarised as follows:

1. quantitative analysis of the datasets, database creation, **aggregation and description of the data** (chapter 2 and 3), to understand the starting point and measure our field of research.
2. elaboration and observation of **location quotients** for the sectors of interest (chapter 2 and 3), to investigate their concentration at the various scale of analysis (Della Lucia & Segre, 2017; Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015);
3. **exploratory spatial analysis and mapping** (chapter 2, 3 and 4), to integrate the geographical dimension and observe the spatial distribution (Boix, Lazzeretti, Capone, De Propriis, & Sánchez, 2012;);
4. **spatial autocorrelation** (chapter 4), to go beyond observation and investigate the presence of clusters and neighbouring effects (Bertacchini & Borrione, 2013);
5. **spatial econometrics** (chapter 4), to investigate the determinants of the differences between CCIs and Tourism location and the differential role of Inner Areas (Arauzo-Carod, Liviano-Solis, & Manjón-Antolín, 2010).

In the first step we created the database as explained in the previous paragraph, then we performed the queries needed to understand the field of analysis: total number of establishments for the territorial scales and sectors of interest (CCIs, Tourism, Inner Areas, Centres and their classifications).

On the basis of the tables created in the first step, we then chose to calculate the Location Quotients, following a consolidated approach in the field of Cultural and Creative Industries (see for example Bertacchini & Borrione, 2013; Boix et al., 2016; Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015).

In particular, at the various scales of analysis, we calculated the Location Quotients as follows:

$$LQ_{ij} = \left(\frac{E_{ij}/E_j}{E_i/E} \right)$$

Where:

i refers to the industry (CCIs, Tourism, subsectors..) and j refers to the territorial scale (region, municipality, Inner or Central Areas..); E_{ij} is the number of establishments or employees for the specific industry in a given scale, E_j is the total number of establishments or employees in a given municipality, E_i is the number of establishments or employees for the specific industry at the national level and E is the total number of establishments at the national level. According to this index, the territorial scale is specialised in a given industry if $LQ_{ij} > 1$, which means that the relative share of that industry at the given territory is larger than the national share.

The use of Location Quotients, although offering a very transparent and effective way to observe the industrial specialisation, faces some possible bias, as explained in the literature (Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015; Pominova, Gabe, & Crawley, 2022), in particular if we apply the equation to small territorial units, as municipalities, suffering the risk of not taking into account the absolute number and size of the local industrial system and the subsequent volatility, granularity of the results (Bertacchini & Borrione, 2013).

Among the various possible solution for the problem, we chose to test the robustness of the results regarding LQs using alternative subsamples of municipalities instead of using all of them (Pominova et al., 2022). Concretely, to avoid that for small municipalities the value of the LQ is biased by the small size of local economy we have calculated them again using a

threshold of 500 and 1,000 inhabitants (i.e., considering only municipalities larger than these thresholds), and the LQs provide similar effects, suggesting that municipality size does not drive our main results and that they are robust, especially considering that we are not focusing on investigate industrial clusters but on the role of Inner Areas and Centres.

Starting from the LQs results we then used QGIS software to map them, merging the shapefiles of Italy with the municipalities classification of SNAI included in the database, in order to perform a spatial exploratory analysis.

To account for the spatial dependence of the economic activities related to CCIs and tourism, we then chose to investigate the spatial autocorrelation of the LQs, using the LISA tool (Local Indicators of Spatial Autocorrelation, following Bertacchini & Borrione, 2013).

Firstly, we defined the spatial range of these interactions, i.e., whether local specialisation in these activities related to, or dependant on, local specialisation in neighbouring areas. In this regard, we used a row-standardised spatial-neighbour matrix (W) to identify municipalities considered as neighbours. In order to do that, although various approaches (Getis & Aldstadt, 2004; J. P. LeSage, 2004) can be used (e.g., distance-based, inverse distances or k-nearest neighbours, among others), we considered that in order to account for huge spatial heterogeneities among Italian municipalities (in terms of surface), the 10 closest ones should be taken as neighbours (by this way all municipalities have the same number of neighbours, although they will be located at different distances). Then, once W is identified, we can calculate whether the independent variables are spatially connected by calculating a global measure of spatial autocorrelation, the Moran's I (Moran, 1948). This statistic ranges from -1 (dispersion) to 1 (autocorrelation), whilst values close to 0 indicate a random and non-spatial distribution. Concretely, it means that specialisation levels are similar across neighbour municipalities, suggesting that there are common competitive attributes in neighbour areas (i.e., larger than municipalities) that explain local specialisation strategies, which are not solely attributable to decisions taken exclusively inside municipality borders.

Having discovered clear spatial effects and relations in our data, we looked at econometrics methods to investigate the determinants.

The aim of the analysis is to create and estimate a linear additive econometric specification of the form:

$$y = X\beta + \varepsilon$$

where y is the dependent variable in each equation (specialisation in CCIs and in tourism activities, respectively), X is a matrix containing all independent variables plus an intercept, and ε is the error term.

We performed an exploratory analysis, starting with standard Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (the most widely used method for fitting linear statistical models), but the fact that all variables (both dependent and independent) have some degree of spatial dependence renders this estimation inappropriate, since the assumption of non-dependence between cross-sectional observations is not satisfied.

Following empirical findings in the location literature (see Arauzo-Carod, Liviano-Solis, & Manjón-Antolín, 2010 for a detailed review), we then tested the standard spatial models, in particular the Spatial Autoregressive Model (SAR), considering spatially endogenous interactions, and the Spatial Error Model (SEM), considering spatial interactions in the error, and finally we applied the Spatial Durbin Model (SDM), that considers them jointly, with the following specification:

$$y = \rho W y + X \beta + W X \theta + \varepsilon$$

where: y is the dependent variable, ρ represents the autoregressive scalar parameter, W is a neighbours spatial weight matrix; X is a matrix of independent variables, and β is a vector of parameter estimates (intercept); θ is a vector of spatial spillover parameters and, finally, ε is a vector of normally distributed disturbances (errors).

This model has gained in popularity since it solves the old debate about whether to use a SAR or a SEM model. Scholars as Lesage and Pace (2009) advocate models that include both a spatially lagged dependent variable and spatially lagged independent variables. It should also be noted that θ cannot be interpreted as revealing anything about the causal effect of spatial lags on the dependent variable since the spatial lags are simply being used to control for

spatial correlation in the error term (Gibbons & Overman, 2012). Additionally, as suggested by Elhorst (2010, p. 10), SDM “produces unbiased coefficient estimates also if the true data-generation process is a spatial lag or a spatial error model. Another strength is that it does not impose prior restrictions on the magnitude of potential spatial spillover effects. In contrast to other spatial regression specifications, these spillover effects can be global or local and be different for different independent variables”.

1.6 References

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CHAPTER 2

The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas: first insights from regions' specialisation in cultural and creative industries

This chapter was published as Working Paper in July 2022 in the University of Florence series: *WORKING PAPERS – BUSINESS, A series on Accounting, Finance, Management, Marketing and Organizational Studies*, curated by Marco Bellucci e Francesco Capone.
(<https://www.disei.unifi.it/vp-132-working-papers-business.html>)

Working Paper N. 4/2022 *The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas: first insights from regions' specialisation in Cultural and Creative Industries.*

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It was then revised and published in April 2024 in the book: *Clusters in Times of Uncertainty. Japanese and European Perspectives*. Edward Elgar Publishing, ISBN: 978 1 03531 575 8

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Chapter 13 (pp 240 – 261) *The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas: first insights from regions' specialisation in cultural and creative industries*

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2.1 Introduction

In recent years, culture, creativity and heritage, and their connection with tourism, are commonly seen as a development panacea, especially at the local administration level. In this sense, several local development policies have targeted solely tourism activities aiming at transforming them into magnets driving local growth (Bronzini, Ciani, & Montaruli, 2022; Petrei, Cavallo, & Santoro, 2020). When considering peripheral areas, this tendency is driven to excess, and becomes an idealistic solution to complex and rooted problems (Collins & Cunningham, 2017). Albeit the cultural dimension of territorial policies is still relatively unexplored (see for example OECD, 2018), there is an increasing awareness that cultural and landscape assets, even in peripheral areas, must be increasingly included in local administrations and communities' agendas and systemically connected to other territorial resources. This vision marks a shift toward better integrated policies, in direct relation with territories and societies, enhancing the existing potential but also fostering innovation, supporting the production of original cultural resources and cultural values, and activating new local value chains (Lysgård, 2016; Sacco & Segre, 2009).

In the Italian context, on which this chapter is focused, it is furthermore urgent to address the historically rooted unequal level of economic development (e.g., North vs South, mountains vs plain). Within this context, the Italian government in 2013 launched the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI), openly declaring the aim of enhancing the cultural resources of the (lagged) peripheries²³ to foster economic growth and social cohesion. The desired development process described by the SNAI policy intervention needs a deeper understanding of the territorial distribution of the main sectors involved, those of the cultural and creative industries, the so called CCIs.

The aim of the chapter is to contribute at building new knowledge on the geographical distribution and specialisation of CCIs, highlighting their location, comparing the inner and Central Areas of the Country as identified by the SNAI.

²³ Through the chapter Inner Areas and peripheral areas are used as synonyms.

Being the strategy explicitly place-based, to assess the distribution of cultural sectors at the local level we apply a territorial approach, connecting and updating (using a very detailed dataset about firms in these industries) the statistical data on CCI establishments and employees and the spatial classification of the Italian territory introduced by the SNAI in 2014²⁴. As regions (NUTS 2) are responsible for applying the SNAI at the local level, the analysis is conducted at the regional scale, using data the municipality level (NUTS 4).

The analysis refers to the well-established literature on culture-based local development and applies in particular the cultural districts perspective. The key factors considered crucial to foster local development, when cultural activities and industries are involved, relay on the close interaction between (1) cultural activities and assets and (2) non-cultural production chains, by means of institutional, social and economic networks (see Della Lucia & Segre, 2017; Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011). The results of the analysis are presented highlighting the concentration in the distribution of CCI establishments and employees in the Inner Areas confronted to the ones in the Centres.

The first part of the chapter introduces the SNAI and the role given to culture within the strategy; the second part presents the data included in the analysis, the way in which they are organized and the methods applied; the third and fourth parts include the results of measuring and mapping the CCI in Inner Areas of the Italian Regions. In the final part, the main conclusions are sketched, and further research lines and policy implications are discussed.

²⁴ See the institutional website: <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/> (Accessed April 2024)

2.2 The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas and the role of culture

The definition and territorial classification of Inner Areas adopted in this chapter is the one systematised in the SNAI (for a broader definition of Inner Areas see Pezzi & Urso, 2016) launched in 2014, in the Italian context, by the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion and the Ministries responsible for the coordination of EU funds, in a context of European place-based policies (Barca, 2009; Barca, McCann & Rodríguez-Pose, 2012; Servillo et al., 2016).

The first institutionalised definition of Italian Inner Areas can be found in the document “Methods and objectives for the effective use of EU funds 2014-2020” (Barca, 2012)²⁵, in which these areas are defined and quantified as about three-fifths of the Italian territory, with a little less than a quarter of the population. Concretely, these areas are defined as the part of Italy that is *“distant from centres of agglomeration and services and with unstable development trajectories but at the same time endowed with resources that Central Areas lack, “wrinkled”, with demographic problems but at the same time strongly polycentric and with high potential for attraction”* (Barca, 2012, p.12). In this sense, the SNAI defines Inner Areas with the following parameters²⁶:

- a) they are far away from the main centres of supply of essential services (education, health and mobility);
- b) they have important environmental resources (e.g., water resources, agricultural systems, forests, and natural and human landscapes) and cultural resources (e.g., archaeological heritage, historical settlements, abbeys, small museums, and craft centres);

²⁵ The document 'Methods and Objectives for the Effective Use of the 2014-2020 Community Funds' was prepared by the Ministry for Territorial Cohesion, in agreement with the Ministers of Labour and Social Policies and of Agriculture, Food and Forestry Policies, and transmitted to the system of Regions by Minister Barca's note n. MCT 3387 of 27 December 2012. The document can be downloaded at the following link:<https://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeAttachment.php/L/IT/D/4%252Fe%252Fb%252FD.a1a6c84e6360aeb60fe6/P/BLOB%3AID%3D10538/E/pdf> (Accessed April 2024)

²⁶ This definition is included in the technical document “Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance” attached to the 2014-2020 strategy, see https://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/890263/strategia_nazionale_aree_interne.pdf/d10fc111-65c0-4acd-b253-63efae626b19 (Accessed April 2024)

- c) they are a profoundly diversified territory, result of the dynamics of the various and differentiated natural systems and of the peculiar and secular processes of anthropization.

The SNAI highlights the marginalization process that, since the Second World War, has gradually affected a significant part of the Italian peripheral areas, causing a decrease in i) population, ii) employment, iii) land use for economic purposes and iv) local supply of public and private services, as well as social costs affecting the whole country (such as those determined by hydro-geological instability and the degradation of the cultural and landscape heritage). A large part of these areas coincides with mountainous and rural territories, characterized by a historical disadvantage compared to urban areas, as they are far away from services, lack large urban areas and have fewer labour market opportunities (for an European overview see Rodríguez-Pose, 2018).

Starting from this overall picture, the SNAI, by considering territorial diversity as national distinguishing feature, attempts to overcome existing territorial dichotomies (i.e., urban vs. rural, centre vs. periphery, and mountain vs. plain), and considers Inner Areas as a new subject and actor for strategic development, moving from being excluded and disadvantaged territories to laboratories of sustainable development. In relation to the entire national territory, these areas are interpreted as resources, an element of support and complement to the country's development (Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne, 2014, p.14). The SNAI is based primarily on the definition of policies for the activation of latent or unused territorial capital, which includes natural and cultural capital, the social energy of the local population and potential residents, productive systems, and local know-how.

The spatial identification of the Inner Areas departs from a polycentric consideration of Italy, a country characterised by a network of municipalities or aggregations of municipalities (service supply centres) around which areas characterized by different levels of spatial peripherality gravitate. According to this spatial structure, the territorial classification adopted by the strategy consists of two main phases:

1. Identification of the poles, intermunicipal poles and belt (these three categories are considered the centre), according to criteria of capacity to offer essential services (education, health services, public transport);
2. Identification of the remaining municipalities (Inner Areas) in three categories: intermediate areas, peripheral areas, ultra-peripheral areas.

The final spatial classification (applied to the territorial context of 2014 in terms of local units in Italy) is therefore mainly influenced by two factors: i) the criteria used for the selection of the essential services; ii) the choice of the distance thresholds to measure the degree of peripherality of municipalities. In this regard, the classification of the municipalities was obtained on the basis of an indicator of accessibility calculated in terms of minutes of travel time from the nearest pole according to the existing transport infrastructures (for a critical view see Vendemmia, Pucci, & Beria, 2021).

In this sense, the resulting categories are calculated using the second and third quartiles of the distribution of the index of distance in minutes to the nearest pole, equal to approximately 20 and 40 minutes. A third category, over 75 minutes, equal to the 95th percentile, was then created to identify the ultra-peripheral territories.

The Inner Areas identified, resulting from the sum of intermediate, peripheral and ultra-peripheral areas, represent about 53% of the Italian municipalities (4.261), with 23% of the population residing in a portion of the territory that exceeds 60% of the total. In order to proceed with the pilot application of the strategy, a further selection of 72 "project areas" took place within this classification, comprising 1077 municipalities, 2,072,718 inhabitants, covering a total of 51,366 square kilometres or 16.7% of the national territory.²⁷ These areas, with the guidance of the regions, elaborated partnership projects and development strategies at the local level, having access, for the implementation phase, to the funds allocated by the strategy.

²⁷ For the list of the 72 areas see: <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/> (Accessed April 2024)

The SNAI, although still ongoing and without evidence of its efficacy so far, marks a shift from a welfare-type policy to a place-based policy, based on the potential of the high value resources (e.g., cultural ones) that characterise the areas and that constitute a vulnerable but precious heritage to activate local development processes. Indeed, the place-based approach aims at rebalancing the territory, working on social exclusion and under-use of local resources and, regardless of the Strategy's impact on cohesion policies, the tested logic has had an important influence at national and international level (Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021).

Taking into account that today there is a spread of studies and research on the valorisation of the cultural and creative potential of rural areas as places where it is possible to experiment with a new idea of quality of life and social cohesion (see, for instance, De la Barre, 2012; Lysgård, 2016; Weaver, 2018; Collins & Cunningham, 2017), the SNAI constitutes in this perspective a laboratory of sustainable development, which, at list in theory, works through a bottom-up planning, centred on culture, people and communities, supported by a planned and transformative political vision of the territory (Punziano & Urso, 2016). But how is this transferred in the Strategy? What is the actual role of culture in rural (lagged) areas?

Observing the application of the Strategy, according to the 2020 report of the Italian Agency for territorial Cohesion²⁸ (Lezzi, 2020) a total amount of 1,167.13 million € have been allocated for Inner Areas (658 million for the Southern Italy and 508 for the Northern). Considering the distribution of these funds among the different sectors of intervention of the SNAI, two main categories were considered: services (which have received 44% of funds, as shown in Table 4) and local development (which have received 56% of funds, as shown in Table 5). Within those, the two most covered sectors are Mobility/Transport, with 22% of the total amount, and Nature, Culture and Tourism, with the 18%.

²⁸ The report is available at the following link:
https://www.agenziacoessione.gov.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Relazione-CIPSS-2020_finale.pdf
(Accessed April 2024)

Table 4. Funds allocated by the SNAI to the Services sectors

Sector - Services	Euro (million)	Percentage of total funds
Mobility/Transport	255.19 €	22%
Health	137.50 €	12%
School	116.68 €	10%
Total Services	509.37 €	44%

Source: Italian Agency for Territorial Cohesion, 2020

As Table 4 shows, most of funds allocated to services relate to the Mobility sector and correspond to the interventions aimed at roads' renovation as established in some Strategies of areas belonging to less developed Regions.

Table 5. Funds allocated by the SNAI to the Local Development sectors

Sector – Local Development	Euro (million)	Percentage total funds
Nature, Culture and Tourism	208.14 €	18%
Agriculture	106.69 €	9%
Firms	89.99 €	8%
Energy	88.63 €	8%
Digital services and infrastructures	62.66 €	5%
Territory disaster risk reduction	27.73 €	2%
Forests	31.34 €	3%
Jobs and competences	24.33 €	2%
Efficiency of the Public Administration	18.25 €	2%
Total Local Development	657.76 €	56%

Source: Italian Agency for Territorial Cohesion, 2020

As for local development funds, an important share is allocated to “Nature, Culture and Tourism” sector, being that this is the one most directly related to development. Concretely, this includes the valorisation of the natural and cultural heritage, having as indicator of result *"Increase the number of tourists and visitors to the area's cultural and natural heritage"* (p. 25), limiting the measured and expected impacts to the tourism sector.

According to the application of the strategy so far, culture, as a development driver, seems mostly related to tourism, considering mainly the attractive function of cultural heritage, and not the broader added value of cultural sectors in fostering innovation, as widely demonstrated in the literature, especially at the urban level (see for example Boix et al., 2016; Coll-Martínez, Moreno-Monroy, & Arauzo-Carod, 2019). This role of culture, only partially aligned with the initial aim of the SNAI, is attributed to culture not by the central State, which allocated most of the resources needed for the services, but by regions and local administrations, which are directly responsible of the strategies.

As Cotella and Vitale Brovarone highlight (2021), regions play a central role in the institutional set-up of the SNAI and its development process varies strongly from one region to another, due to an heterogeneous set of factors (e.g., the willingness to be involved, the planning capacity, the "culture" of horizontal cooperation, etc.). It is therefore interesting to investigate the actual cultural economic fabric and the resources of the Inner Areas of the regions, considering the funds allocated and the tourism-centred role given to culture.

Although in Italy there is a reasonable amount of research focusing on CCIs at the national level (see, for instance, Symbola (2021) ²⁹annual report), at the local level for Inner Areas (see Battino & Lampreu, 2017 for Sardinia; Scrofani & Petino, 2019 for Sicily; Meini & Di Felice, 2017; Vitale, 2018 for Molise), and using local labour systems (see Crociata A. , Pinate A. C., 2024), there is limited empirical evidence at the regional level focusing on a geographical and sectorial overview of CCIs establishments in Inner Areas, using data related to municipalities. Consequently, this is the gap we are contributing to fill with this chapter.

²⁹ "Io sono cultura 2021": <https://www.symbola.net/ricerca/io-sono-cultura-2021/> (Accessed April 2024)

2.3 Data and methods

In order to describe the actual profile of cultural sectors in the regions and related Inner Areas, we followed six methodological steps:

1. Definition of the sectorial perimeter of the CCIs to be considered.
2. Selection of the data on CCIs establishments and employees.
3. Selection of the data and definition of the spatial perimeter, according to the classification of Italian municipalities adopted by the SNAI.
4. Creation of a relational database merging the data of steps 2 and 3.
5. Data analysis at the regional (NUTS 2), municipal (NUTS 4) and CCIs level.
6. Mapping of the data.

We started with the definition of the most representative cultural industries (step 1), using the Italian mercantile register and the classification of a firm according to five-digit ATECO code (Italian version of standard NACE codes). The CCIs sectors classification we adopt in this chapter integrates the Italian model of the economy of culture introduced by Walter Santagata (Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011) articulated in three pillars and twelve sectors: a. cultural heritage (museums, architecture, performing arts, contemporary arts and photography), b. material culture (fashion, wine and food, design and craft), c. media and new media (movies, TV and radio, printing, software, advertising).

The three-pillar model is constructed according to cultural output and cultural and creative input approaches as the concentric circles model (Throsby, 2000), taking into account Italian specificities, namely considering the network of economic and social relations both between the different institutional actors and economic subjects within a single local supply chain and between the different industries that make up the macro sector of cultural and creative activities (see Lazzeretti & Capone, 2015 and Sacco & Segre, 2009, for additional details).

Given the necessity of having clear boundaries for the CCIs, although in the Italian context food and tourism are strictly related with culture and included in the country level analysis proposed by Santagata, we decided to limit the overview to the core cultural sectors commonly included at the International level (Boix, Capone, De Propris, Lazzeretti, & Sanchez,

2016), excluding activities such as food production, restaurants, travel agencies and accommodations.

This decision was made with the aim of drafting a clear picture of the establishments located in inner peripheries, following the general specificities effectively defined by Collins and Cunningham (Collins & Cunningham, 2017), for two main reasons: i) the establishments included in the food sector, and related ATECO codes, are fuzzy and not always clearly linked with culture, especially considering local resources (for example: can a Pizza restaurant located in the mountains of Trentino Alto Adige be considered a cultural establishment as it is in Naples?), and ii) having in mind the limited number of establishments located in inner peripheries, the inclusion of food and tourism activities could have created some bias in the results.

According with previous strategy, we proceeded then in the deconstruction of the three pillars model, focusing on the cultural core, considering the focus on peripheral areas, and we finally selected the following five macro sectors: Cultural Heritage; Performing arts; Fashion; Design and craft; Media and new media.

As for the data selection on CCIs (step 2), the main source of this work is the dataset on Italian firms and establishments managed by IRCrES-CNR. The dataset contains detailed information (at the establishment level) on firms and establishments' location; sectors of activity (ATECO code); establishments' structure and typology; number and structure of work force for each establishment. We are using the 2018 dataset, which corresponds to the pre Covid 19 pandemic situation, and contains data on a total number of 4.829.555 active establishments in Italy, 511.591 of which are included in the selected CCIs sectors.

The spatial perimeter (step 3), according to the classification of Italian municipalities adopted by the SNAI, was defined using the data available on the Italian Cohesion Agency website³⁰ and merged, using QGIS software, with the shapefiles of Italian municipalities available on the ISTAT (Italian national statistics institute) website. Some major discrepancies between the

³⁰ <https://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/la-selezione-delle-aree/> (accessed in 01/2022)

municipalities included in the shapefile, the establishments' dataset (2018) and the municipalities considered in the SNAI classification (2014) were identified. Due to the four years gap between the datasets several municipalities were in fact subject of change (e.g., change of name, change of surface, elimination, merging with another, etc.). This problem was solved using QGIS, through the conversion tables of the ISTAT municipalities classification database, and the map of Inner Areas was updated to the list of municipalities of the year 2018.

In order to facilitate and conduct the analysis we then created a relational database of the Italian establishments (step 4), using SQL open source clients called Squirrel and SQLite (Harrington, 2016), including the following tables:

- I. spatial location (municipality level) of the establishments according to the territorial classification of Italian municipalities adopted by the SNAI (source: own elaboration on ISTAT and SNAI 2014);
- II. Identification data at the establishment level (source: IRCRES 2018);
- III. structure data at the establishment level (source: IRCRES 2018);
- IV. selected CCI sectors and subsectors (source: ATECO classification, own elaboration).

The analysis (step 5) was aimed at drafting a description and a picture of the CCIs structure, number and location at the regional level. Firstly, the aggregated numbers were calculated at the regional level (centre and Inner Areas), in order to give a first measure of the field. Specialisation indexes (Location Quotients) ³¹ were then applied to the different sectors,

³¹ Specialisation indexes (location quotients) were calculated following the function:

$$S_{ji} = (E_{ij} / E_j) / (E_i / E) > 1$$

i = CCI sector

j = municipality (or other territorial scale)

E_{ij} = number of establishments (or employees) of the sector i in the space j

E_j = total number of establishments (or employees) in the space j

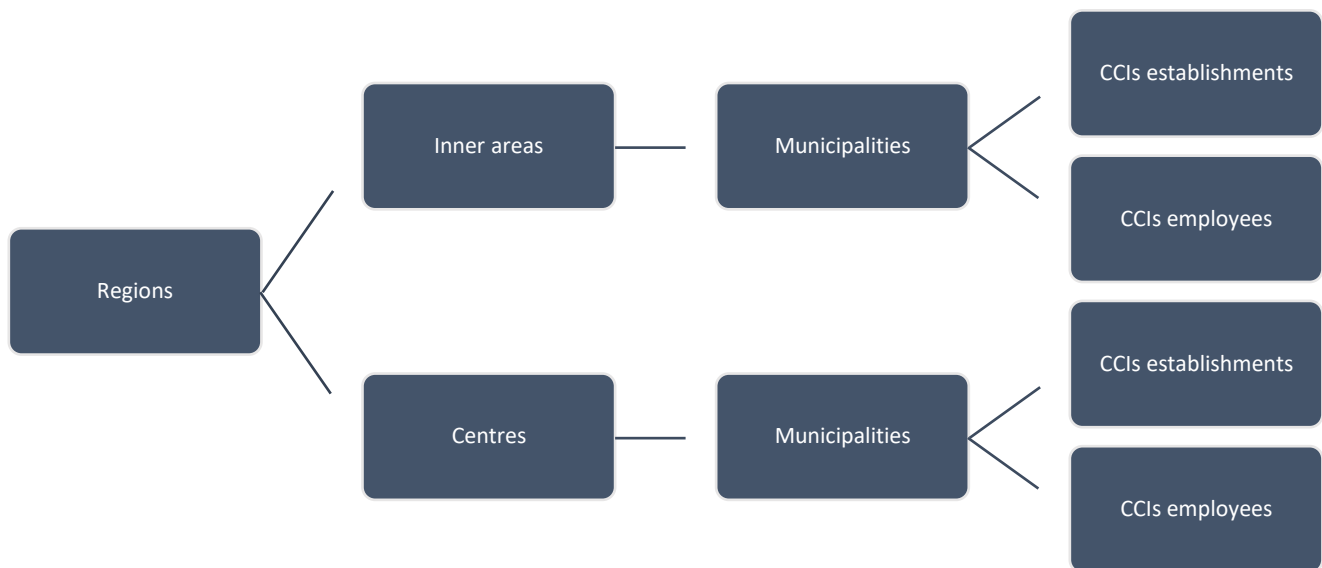
E_i = total number of establishments (or employees) in the sector i

E = total number of establishments (or employees) in Italy

The municipality/other scale specialises in a sector when the index is higher than one.

considering establishments and employees, at the various scales (see Figure 2). Finally, the data were spatially located and mapped using QGIS open-source software (step 6).

Figure 2. Scales of analysis



2.4 Measuring CCIs in Inner Areas

Cultural and creative industries' size of establishments and employment

A first insight into CCIs at the Italian level shows that they constitute 10% of the total number of establishments in Italy (511,591), and that they are located mainly in Central Areas (87% of them, that correspond to 443,569 establishments) rather than in Inner Areas (13% of establishments - 67,995). As for their relative weights, CCIs account for 11.3% of establishments in Central Areas and 7.6% in Inner Areas. A focus on the regional level shows a clear difference in the location of CCIs in Northern, Middle and Southern Italy, with the latter hosting a small portion of the Italian CCIs.

Still, these are small differences considering the percentage of CCIs located in Inner Areas, being Southern Italy characterised by higher conditions of peripherality. In this regard, the region with the highest percentage of CCIs (considering the total and the establishments located in centres) is Lombardy, followed by Lazio and Tuscany (driven by the main cities Milan, Rome and Florence). Considering CCIs establishments located in the Inner Areas of the regions, the highest percentage of the total is located in Lazio, followed by Veneto and Lombardy.

Table 6. CCIs establishments in Italian Regions by territorial position (2018)

Regions	Number		% Total		% Total		
	of CCIs		industries		CCIs		
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	
North	Piedmont	33,921	2,776	10.6%	7.4%	7.6%	4.1%
	Aosta Valley	849	310	10.9%	7.1%	0.2%	0.5%
	Lombardy	105,471	6,766	12.8%	8.5%	23.8%	10.0%
	Trentino Alto Adige	6,589	3,594	12.4%	8.7%	1.5%	5.3%
	Veneto	41,746	6,903	11.7%	9.2%	9.4%	10.2%
	Friuli Venezia Giulia	8,958	1,108	11.2%	9.1%	2.0%	1.6%
	Liguria	11,387	608	9.0%	6.0%	2.6%	0.9%
	Emilia Romagna	39,531	3,172	11.0%	7.6%	8.9%	4.7%
M .. Tuscany	47,208	3,560	14.9%	9.6%	10.6%	5.2%	

	Umbria	6,294	1,682	11.3%	9.9%	1.4%	2.5%	
	Marche	13,377	1,996	11.2%	10.4%	3.0%	2.9%	
	Lazio	47,528	8,091	12.5%	8.1%	10.7%	11.9%	
South	Abruzzo	7,511	2,688	10.2%	8.0%	1.7%	4.0%	
	Molise	993	854	9.3%	7.1%	0.2%	1.3%	
	Campania	28,417	3,749	8.7%	6.7%	6.4%	5.5%	
	Apulia	17,550	5,284	8.5%	7.5%	4.0%	7.8%	
	Basilicata	1,444	1,781	11.3%	6.9%	0.3%	2.6%	
	Calabria	4,785	3,227	7.8%	5.7%	1.1%	4.7%	
	Sicily	14,194	6,429	7.8%	5.7%	3.2%	9.5%	
	Sardinia	5,843	3,417	9.8%	6.2%	1.3%	5.0%	
		Total (Italy)	443,596	67,995	11.3%	7.6%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Own elaboration on ASIA data

The picture slightly changes considering employees in CCIIs at the Italian level, as they constitute around 8% of the total number of employees in Italy (14,623,370). Specifically, 11.7% of CCIIs employees are located in Inner Areas and 88,2% in central ones, constituting respectively 6.1% and 8.5% of the total number of employees. These findings confirm that Central Areas host a higher share of workforce than inner ones, although this percentage is lower when dealing with establishments.

At the regional level, there is a clear difference in the number of CCIIs employees in Northern, Middle and Southern Italy, with the latter hosting a small portion of the Italian CCIIs employees. In this sense, the region with the highest percentage of CCIIs employees (in relative terms) is Tuscany, followed by Marche and Veneto. If we look at the distribution of the total CCIIs employees, then the highest percentage is in Lombardy, followed by Tuscany and Veneto: it is interesting to highlight that both Lombardy and Tuscany are characterised by the presence of large cities like Milan and Florence, attracting employees, while in Veneto there is a presence of mid-sized cities. In some regions the percentage of CCIIs employees on the total number of employees is higher in Inner Areas than in centre, as in the case of Marche and Apulia.

This can be explained by the weight of the fashion sector in the first, and cultural heritage in the second, as described in the next paragraph. Considering the percentage of the total

number of CCI employees, in some regions it is higher in Inner Areas than in central ones (e.g., Veneto in Northern Italy, and whole Southern Italy, except Campania and Molise). This suggests that in Inner Areas employees are less specialised and more distributed among regions, small cities and sectors than in the centre, where the role played by metropolitan cities like Milan and Florence is evident.

Table 7. CCIs employment in Italian Regions by territorial position (2018)

	Regions	Employees		% Total		% CCIs	
		in CCIs		employees		employees	
		Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
North	Piedmont	10,6274.36	8,363.42	8.4%	6.9%	8.6%	5.1%
	Aosta Valley	1,475.80	465.91	5.6%	3.2%	0.1%	0.3%
	Lombardy	308,488.96	19,697.55	9.0%	6.9%	24.9%	12.0%
	Trentino Alto Adige	17,567.65	7,600.27	7.8%	4.8%	1.4%	4.6%
	Veneto	141,301.50	27,674.74	9.6%	9.3%	11.4%	16.8%
	Friuli Venezia Giulia	21,852.68	2,263.35	6.6%	5.1%	1.8%	1.4%
	Liguria	20,422.69	1,088.97	4.7%	3.5%	1.6%	0.7%
	Emilia Romagna	102,954.10	5,739.12	6.9%	4.1%	8.3%	3.5%
Middle	Tuscany	166,517.74	11,555.33	15.1%	10.2%	13.4%	7.0%
	Umbria	18,481.86	4,349.39	9.4%	8.6%	1.5%	2.6%
	Marche	51,064.37	9,784.52	12.0%	15.2%	4.1%	5.9%
	Lazio	106,594.79	14,037.02	7.9%	4.6%	8.6%	8.5%
South	Abruzzo	17,610.49	6,795.32	7.6%	5.9%	1.4%	4.1%
	Molise	1,663.92	1,405.63	5.3%	4.3%	0.1%	0.9%
	Campania	70,680.90	6,490.17	7.1%	4.7%	5.7%	3.9%
	Apulia	42,642.75	14,496.20	6.5%	8.1%	3.4%	8.8%
	Basilicata	3,322.68	2,560.75	7.3%	3.3%	0.3%	1.6%
	Calabria	7,506.84	4,746.24	4.4%	3.9%	0.6%	2.9%
	Sicily	24,071.77	10,468.06	4.5%	3.9%	1.9%	6.4%
	Sardinia	9,122.22	5,175.90	4.8%	3.6%	0.7%	3.1%
	Total (Italy)	1,239,618.07	164,757.86	8.5%	6.1%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Own elaboration on ASIA data

CCIs fundamental sectors breakdown

Observing the considered CCIs sectors (see Table 8) and their percentage within the total number of CCIs, cultural heritage establishments are the most numerous (30.5% in centre, 35.2% in Inner Areas), followed by Media and New media (22.8% in centre, 20.7% in Inner Areas), Performing arts (21.6% in centre, 18.6% in Inner Areas), Design and Crafts (15.1% in centre, 16.2% in Inner Areas) and Fashion (10% in centre, 9.3% in Inner Areas).

The large number of establishments in the cultural heritage sector, especially in Inner Areas, is due to the high number of professionals, like architects, which due to the specificities of the sector and business organization are characterized by one person companies, counting then as one establishment according to the Italian legislation and in our database.

If we consider the regional context, the difference between Northern, Middle and Southern Italy is evident. In the South, the majority of establishments are in the cultural heritage sector (up to 51% in Inner Areas of Basilicata), while the fashion one is underrepresented. This is an industry with a particular location profile across regions, as in Tuscany it weights the 28% of CCIs establishments in centre, and in Marche is 31% of the CCIs located in Inner Areas, doubling the percentage related to the centre of the same region. Apparently, it is more represented than in the centre, in the Inner Areas of Veneto, Lombardy, and almost any other region (with smaller numbers).

Table 8. CCIs establishments in Italian Regions by sector (2018)

Region	Design and Craft		Media and New Media		Fashion		Cultural Heritage		Performing Arts	
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
Piedmont	18.3%	17.1%	23.8%	21.3%	5.4%	7.1%	31.2%	34.1%	21.3%	20.4%
Aosta V.	13.8%	15.2%	21.3%	25.5%	3.1%	5.2%	41.1%	37.4%	20.7%	16.8%
Lombardy	15.2%	17.0%	24.5%	18.6%	6.9%	12.1%	27.3%	31.3%	26.1%	20.9%
Tr. Alto A.	13.5%	20.6%	25.2%	20.1%	1.9%	3.0%	37.8%	35.2%	21.7%	21.1%
Veneto	20.0%	18.7%	20.3%	16.7%	11.1%	17.5%	29.8%	28.3%	18.9%	18.7%
Friuli V. G.	18.2%	19.1%	24.6%	22.8%	2.8%	4.2%	31.0%	26.6%	23.4%	27.2%
Liguria	13.2%	16.0%	23.8%	22.0%	2.9%	3.0%	37.7%	35.9%	22.5%	23.2%

	Emilia	14.3%	17.3%	22.9%	20.4%	10.0%	8.2%	29.2%	27.7%	23.6%	26.4%
	Rom.										
	Tuscany	17.3%	24.0%	16.1%	18.3%	28.2%	14.2%	23.0%	24.1%	15.4%	19.5%
Middle	Umbria	16.7%	16.2%	22.0%	19.2%	13.8%	17.5%	30.2%	28.0%	17.3%	19.0%
	Marche	19.5%	16.7%	19.7%	14.3%	15.7%	31.6%	29.0%	24.0%	16.0%	13.4%
	Lazio	9.5%	12.5%	27.0%	25.0%	2.6%	3.5%	32.7%	34.5%	28.3%	24.5%
	Abruzzo	11.6%	13.8%	20.7%	19.3%	13.1%	8.1%	38.4%	43.0%	16.1%	15.7%
	Molise	13.5%	14.5%	22.4%	17.3%	4.7%	7.8%	45.1%	46.4%	14.3%	13.9%
	Campania	12.9%	11.5%	21.8%	20.9%	15.4%	10.4%	33.1%	42.5%	17.0%	14.7%
South	Apulia	13.3%	17.1%	23.0%	21.3%	12.5%	12.5%	35.5%	36.0%	15.6%	13.1%
	Basilicata	14.1%	9.5%	25.5%	19.4%	1.9%	5.2%	40.8%	51.4%	17.7%	14.4%
	Calabria	11.2%	13.0%	25.9%	23.2%	3.6%	4.5%	44.1%	46.2%	15.3%	13.2%
	Sicily	12.3%	15.6%	25.8%	23.6%	2.5%	4.1%	41.0%	42.3%	18.5%	14.3%
	Sardinia	11.5%	16.9%	22.7%	22.2%	2.3%	3.6%	43.7%	38.9%	19.8%	18.4%
	Total	15.1%	16.2%	22.8%	20.7%	10.0%	9.3%	30.5%	35.2%	21.6%	18.6%
	(Italy)										

Source: Own elaboration on ASIA data.

The picture slightly changes when analysing employees working in the CCIs sectors (see Table 9). As for the Central Areas, the Media and new media employees are the most numerous (31%), followed by Fashion (25.8%), Design and crafts (16.7%), Cultural heritage (15.6%) and Performing arts (10.7), while in Inner Areas the employees working in Fashion (35.4%) are the most numerous, followed by Design and crafts (20%), Cultural heritage (17.6%), Media and new media (17.4%) and Performing arts (9.6%).

Table 9. CCI employment in Italian Regions by sector (2018)

	Region	Design		Media and		Fashion		Cultural		Performing	
		and Craft		New Media				Heritage		Arts	
		Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
North	Piedmont	21.5%	13.0%	36.2%	16.8%	16.2%	49.0%	16.2%	13.1%	9.9%	8.1%
	Aosta V.	11.1%	12.6%	41.0%	40.5%	2.2%	4.5%	30.3%	28.5%	15.4%	13.8%
	Lombardy	15.3%	19.3%	39.6%	12.8%	19.3%	46.0%	13.6%	12.9%	12.3%	9.1%
	Tr. Alto A.	13.1%	23.1%	50.7%	21.0%	4.5%	17.0%	20.3%	24.2%	11.4%	14.6%
	Veneto	23.6%	26.4%	23.5%	10.7%	32.3%	47.8%	12.9%	8.5%	7.8%	6.6%
	Friuli V. G.	34.7%	23.8%	30.9%	27.9%	5.3%	13.2%	16.5%	17.7%	12.5%	17.4%
	Liguria	12.4%	15.1%	37.4%	29.4%	3.3%	2.5%	29.7%	39.8%	17.1%	13.3%
	Emilia Rom.	15.4%	19.6%	31.8%	23.1%	24.8%	22.7%	14.9%	17.8%	13.0%	16.8%
Middle	Tuscany	18.0%	28.5%	12.5%	10.3%	52.9%	44.6%	10.5%	8.9%	6.0%	7.7%
	Umbria	18.4%	23.4%	23.0%	14.9%	33.8%	39.4%	16.3%	13.0%	8.6%	9.3%
	Marche	22.8%	18.4%	18.0%	5.8%	40.3%	67.2%	13.1%	5.3%	5.9%	3.3%
	Lazio	7.2%	13.4%	51.1%	36.2%	4.2%	10.1%	21.2%	23.6%	16.3%	16.6%
South	Abruzzo	12.8%	11.7%	24.8%	15.2%	33.6%	46.3%	19.9%	19.1%	8.9%	7.6%
	Molise	17.9%	13.2%	36.2%	14.6%	6.1%	31.7%	30.4%	30.2%	9.4%	10.3%
	Campania	10.3%	12.3%	22.8%	21.7%	40.8%	27.2%	15.7%	26.4%	10.5%	12.3%
	Apulia	15.6%	24.7%	26.0%	13.5%	32.3%	41.5%	17.4%	14.9%	8.7%	5.5%
	Basilicata	33.1%	10.9%	33.3%	18.9%	1.6%	13.2%	21.0%	44.0%	11.0%	13.1%
	Calabria	11.8%	15.5%	38.2%	28.4%	5.0%	9.8%	33.4%	35.8%	11.6%	10.4%
	Sicily	12.4%	17.4%	35.9%	24.4%	3.2%	15.0%	35.1%	33.0%	13.5%	10.2%
	Sardinia	10.1%	18.4%	33.2%	23.7%	3.2%	5.8%	36.7%	37.0%	16.8%	15.2%
	Total (Italy)	16.7%	20.0%	31.2%	17.4%	25.8%	35.4%	15.6%	17.6%	10.7%	9.6%

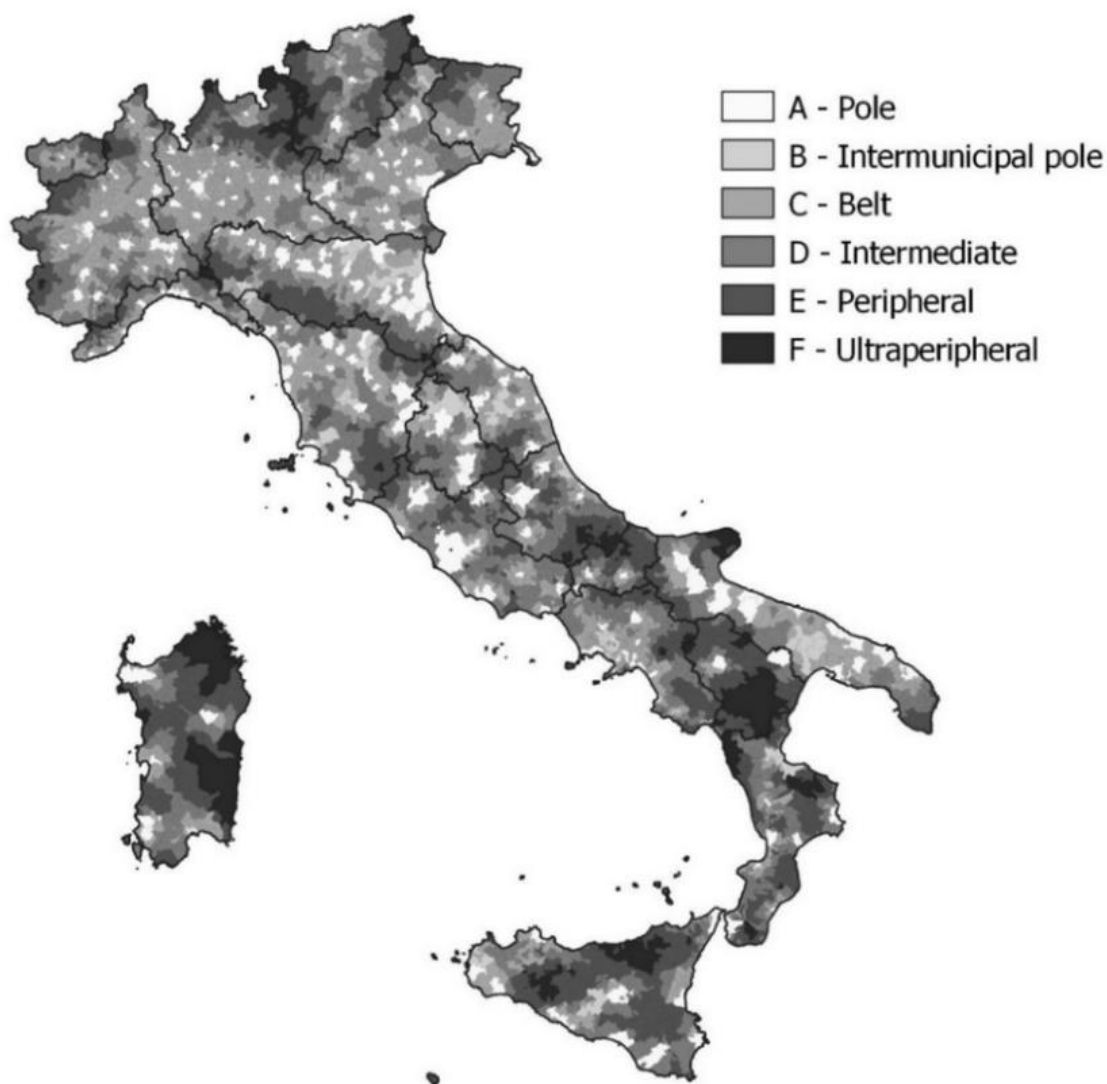
Source: Own elaboration on ASIA data

Previous differences can be explained considering the mean number of employees, with the fashion sector being characterized by larger numbers (up to 20 for one establishment). Conversely, sectors as Cultural heritage and Performing arts are mostly represented by individual professionals, as highlighted in the previous paragraph.

2.5 Mapping CCIs specialisation in Inner Areas

Moving to the mapping of the data, as specified in the previous paragraphs, the first step was the spatial representation of the SNAI territorial classification, updated to 2018, the reference year of the data included in the database. In this sense, Figure 3 illustrates the spatial distribution of the different typologies of municipalities, showing that ultraperipheral areas are agglomerated mainly in Southern areas, such as Sicily, Sardinia and Basilicata.

Figure 3. SNAI municipalities classification updated at 2018



Source: Own elaboration on data by SNAI and ISTAT.

Cultural and creative industries specialisation

Starting with the average specialisation in CCIs establishments, considering the classification of the municipalities at the national level, it is possible to affirm that Centres, in particular the biggest municipalities (Poles), tend to be more specialised than Inner Areas.

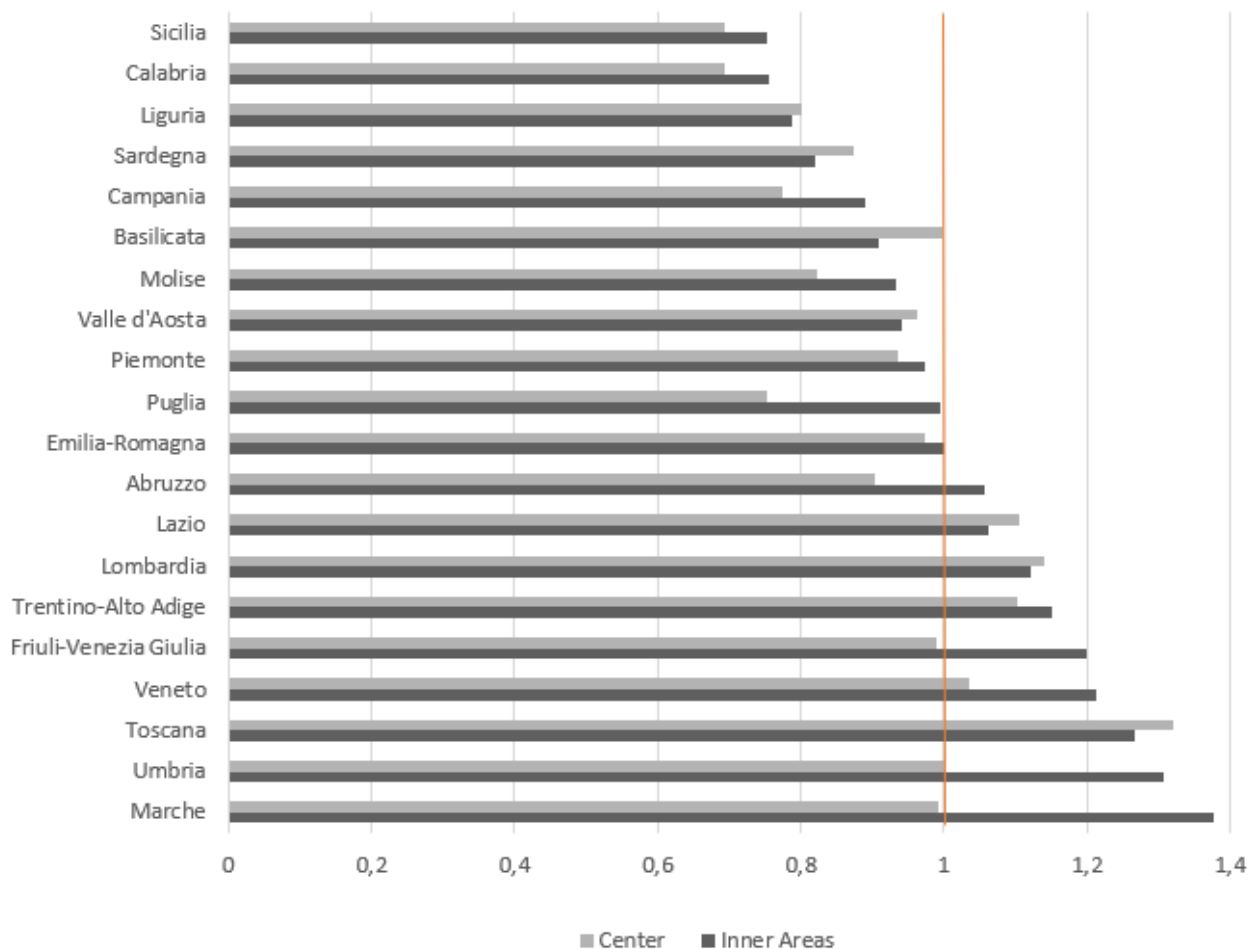
Table 10. Average specialisation in CCIs establishments by SNAI municipalities classification (2018)

Municipalities classification	CCIs specialisation
CENTRES	1,065200677
A - Pole	1,172804533
B - Intermunicipal pole	0,908404155
C - Belt	0,947119924
INNER AREAS	0,71568954
D - Intermediate	0,760151086
E - Peripheral	0,644003777
F - Ultraperipheral	0,547686497

Source: Own elaboration on Istat data

Moving to the scale of interest of this chapter, in terms of regional specialisation in CCIs establishments the most important ones are Lazio, Marche, Umbria, Abruzzo, Tuscany, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Veneto, Lombardy and Trentino Alto Adige, all of them belonging to Northern and Central Italy. As Figure 4 illustrates, there are regions such as Abruzzo, Umbria, Marche and Friuli Venezia Giulia where Inner Areas are specialised whilst centres are not. A first insight about this pattern suggests that a role is played by the fact that in these regions there is a large number of small or medium sized cities, not having the attracting role of metropolitan areas as Milan or Rome.

Figure 4. Regions' specialisation in CCI establishments (2018)



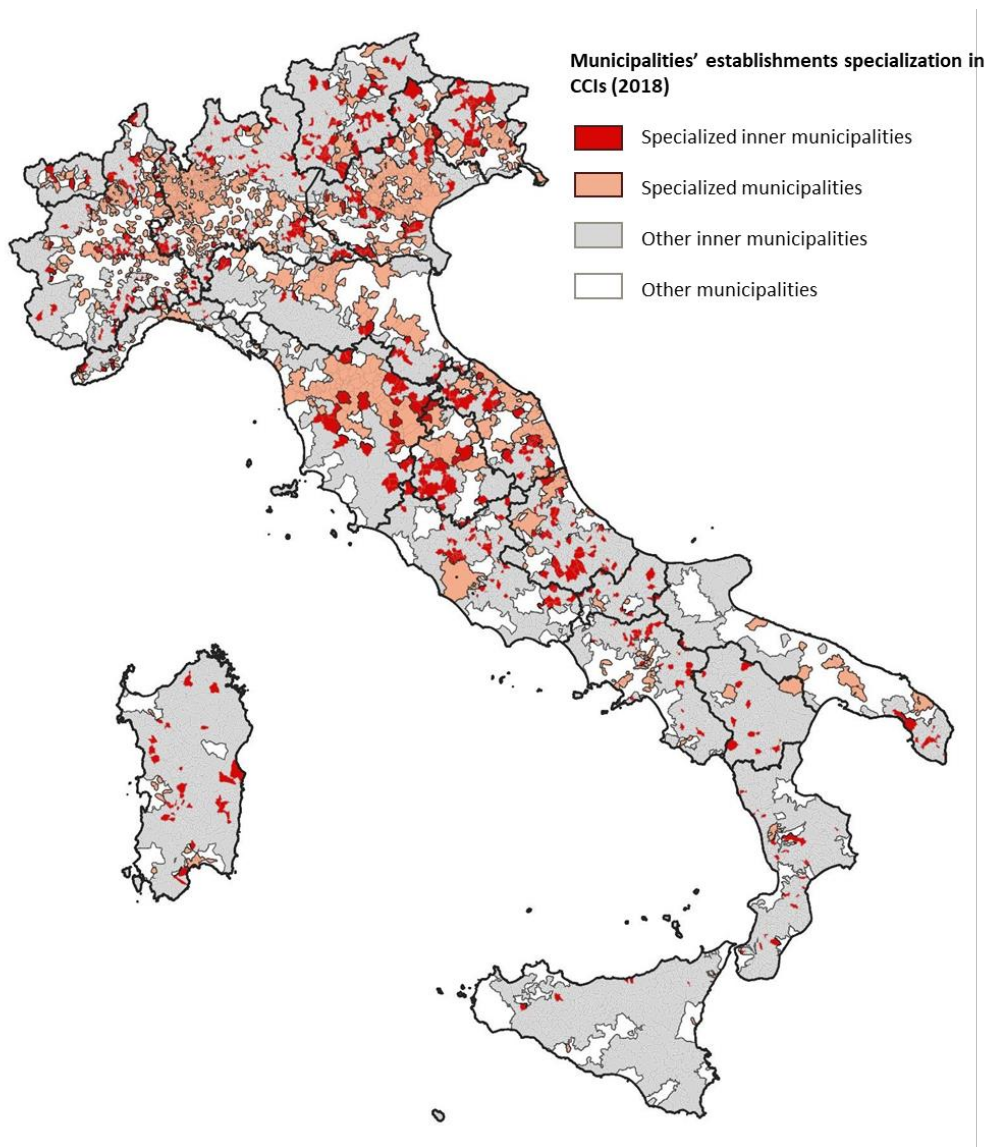
Source: Own elaboration on Istat data

In order to better understand the previous patterns, (see Figure 5) the specialisation levels and the Inner Areas are presented together. From the figure we can notice how the municipalities specialised in CCIs (at the establishments' level) are mostly located in Northern and Middle Italy, especially around the main cities such as Milan, Rome³², Turin, Florence and Venice. It is also interesting to notice that there are some concentrations of specialised

³² Looking at Rome there is a direct shift from centre (the metropolitan area) to Inner Areas (some of the neighbouring municipalities). This can be explained by the mobility and transportation difficulties in accessing the Capital.

municipalities which follow the spatial distribution already measured by the literature on Italian industrial and cultural district, confirming the strength of our data and methods. The same spatial concentration is not visible in the Inner Areas, where the specialised municipalities are more and more scattered moving from North to South.

Figure 5. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in CCIs (2018)

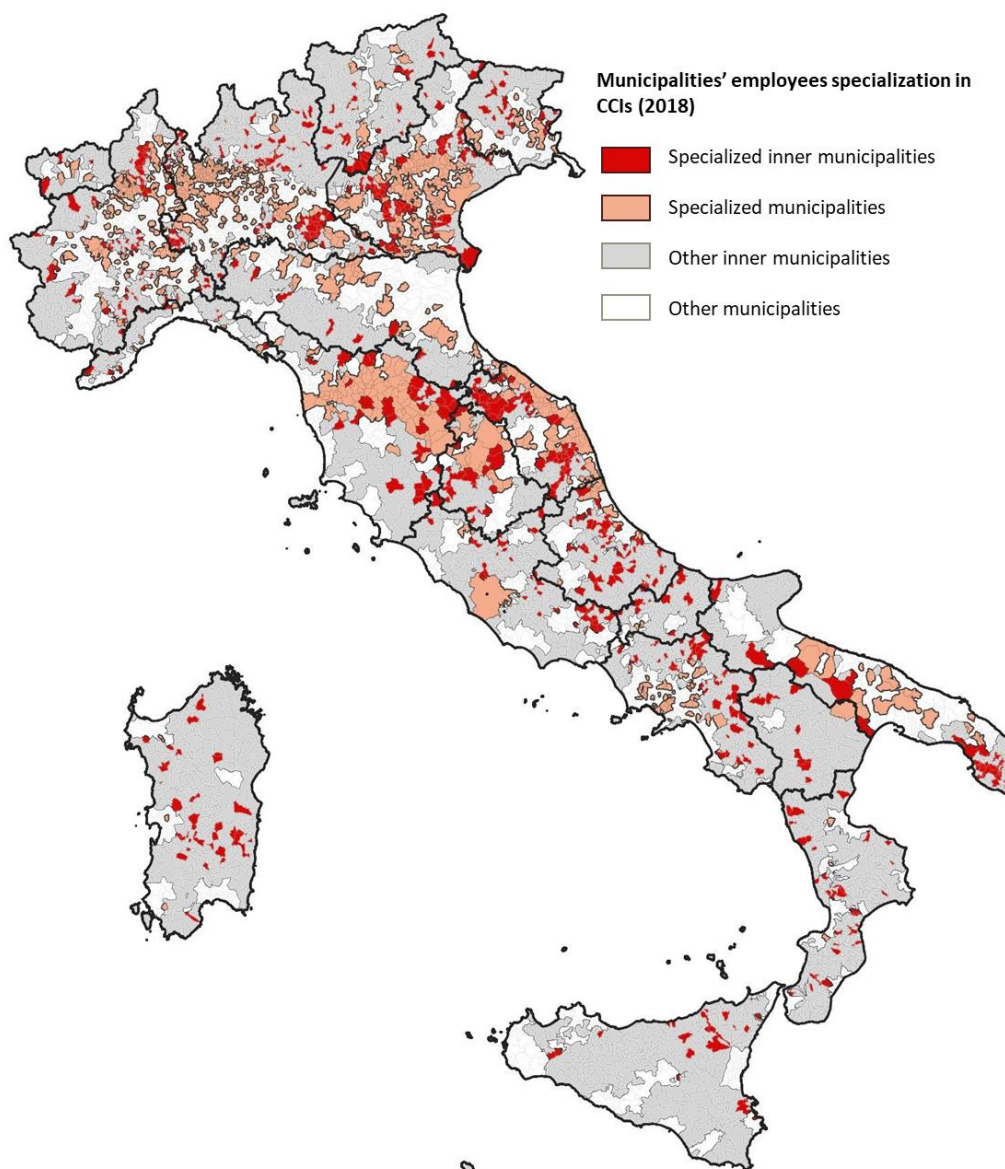


Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT data

We have calculated the same specialisation index of the employees working in CCIs sectors and the results are aligned with the ones of the establishments. The main difference is that, at regional level, Apulia is the only one in the South specialised in CCIs employees. Considering the specialised municipalities on the map (see Figure 6), it is noticeable that they are more

scattered than the previous one, although following the same pattern. Considering Inner Areas, there are slightly more specialised municipalities, especially in Southern areas, with limited concentration in Apulia, Campania and Sicily, whilst they are more scattered than the same analysis for the establishments in the Northern areas. Indeed, the specialisation in CCI of middle Italy is confirmed and even more evident.

Figure 6. Municipalities' employees' specialisation on CCIs (2018)



Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT data

CCIs sectors specialisation

Moving to the analysis at the CCIs sectors level, we used the specialisation index to identify the municipalities and areas where the considered industries are more represented than at the national level. In doing so, we considered establishments (Figure 7) and employees (Figure 8), including the Inner Areas layer. The analysis shows some interesting results, especially considering the spatial distribution of each sector.

Figure 7. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in CCIs sectors (2018)

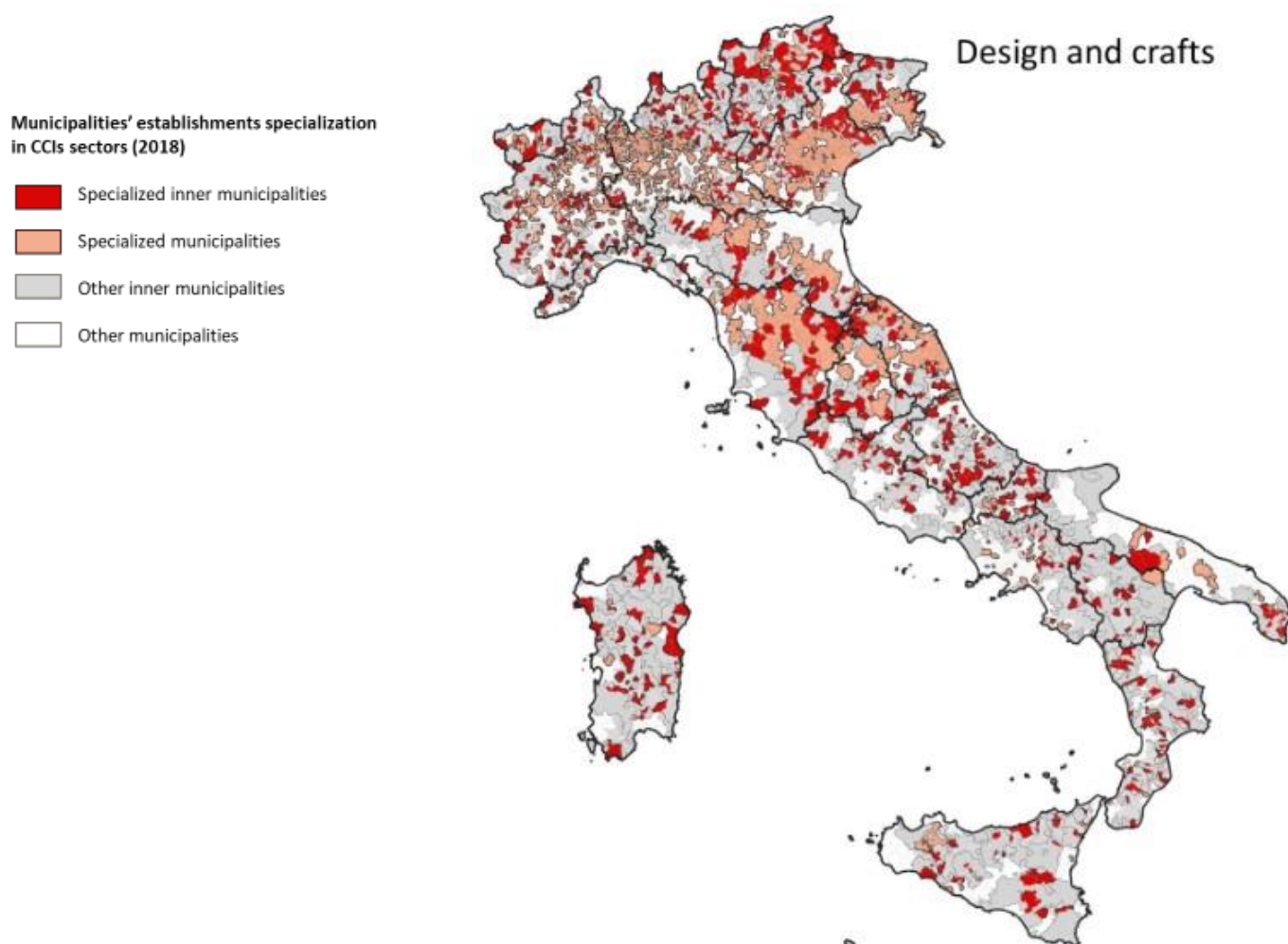
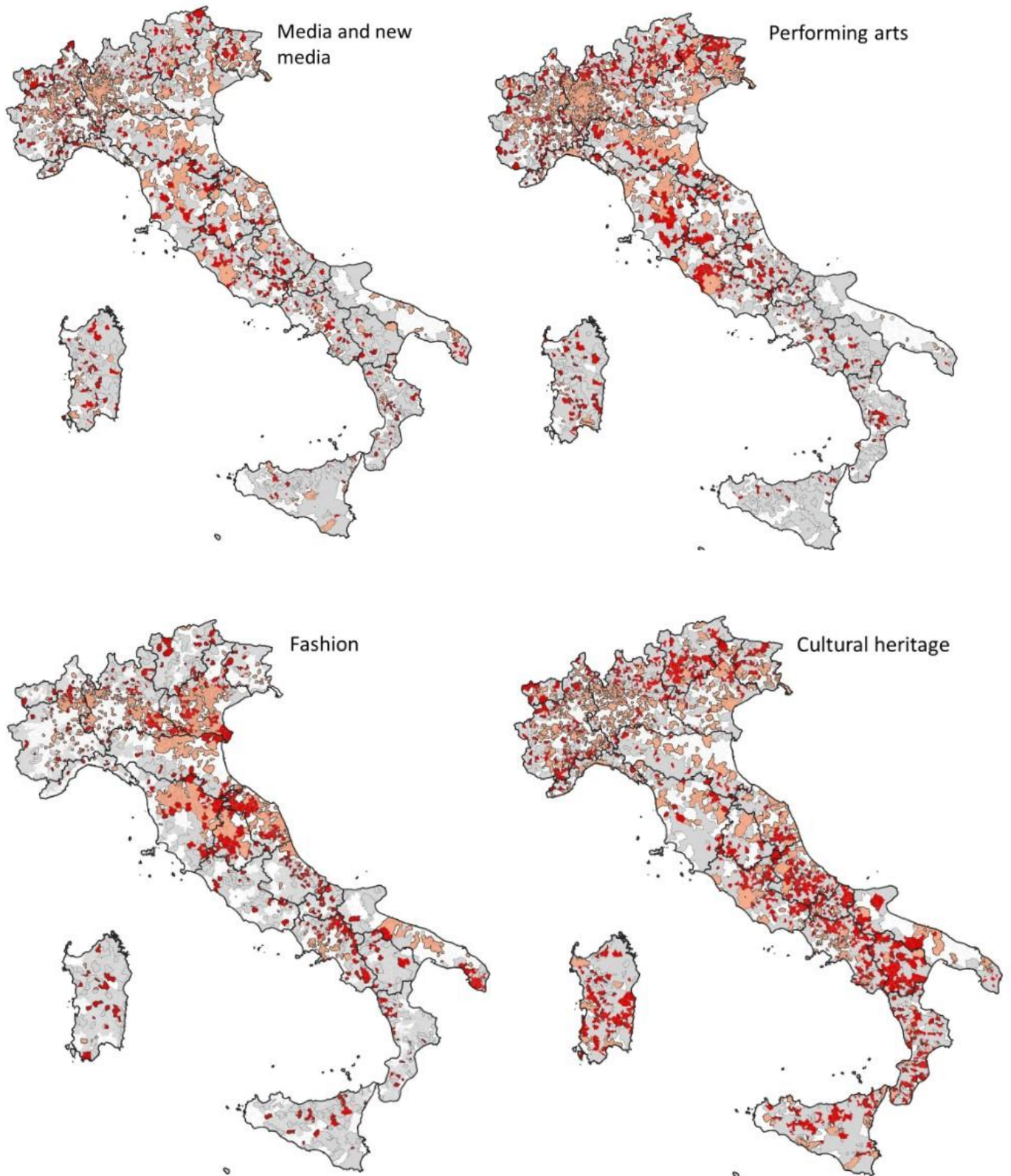


Figure 8. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in CCI sectors (2018) – cont.



Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT data

Some preliminary considerations can be drawn for each sector as follows.

Performing arts: we notice that, considering both establishments and employees, municipalities are concentrated around the main cities of Northern and Middle Italy (Milan, Rome, Florence, Venice, etc.). If we look at Inner Areas, we can observe a lot of specialised municipalities are scattered from North to South (even in mountain areas where this pattern is not expected), underlining a location choice that deserves further research. This is especially evident regarding the index applied to employees' specialisation.

Media and New media: As expected, the sector is characterized by a lower number of specialised municipalities in Inner Areas, as the industry is traditionally urban based. The only evident concentration refers to the establishments' specialisation around Milan, whilst there are few specialised municipalities when measuring at employment level.

Cultural heritage: This is the sector with the highest number of specialised municipalities in Southern Italy and Inner Areas, more than in the Northern and Middle regions, both for establishments and employees. This outcome can be explained by the relative weight of the sector in areas characterized by lower numbers in CCIs industries, but probably also by the importance of this sector, strictly linked to the built heritage, with a high number of professionals and one person companies (architects in particular), as it is possible to notice observing the map showing the specialisation in the number of employees.

Fashion: This is the sector where the concentration of specialised municipalities is more evident. As already noticed in previous paragraphs, it is recognisable the historically rooted industrial districts in Middle and Northern Italy (Veneto, Tuscany, Emilia Romagna and Marche in particular), but also in Apulia (more evident when considering employees). Considering Inner Areas, apart from the municipalities around the main concentrations in Central and Northern Italy, there is also a scattered pattern of municipalities in Southern Italy, worthy of further research.

Design and crafts: There is a concentration of specialised municipalities (noticeably at the establishments level) in this sector, particularly in Middle and North Eastern Italy, being crafts

historically linked with an agglomeration tendency. Despite this, unlike in the fashion sector, we can see both in employees and establishments that there are some specialised municipalities in Inner Areas, especially in the Alps (Northern Italy) and Apennines mountains (Middle and Southern Italy), probably due to the strong link of crafts with the natural and cultural resources of these areas.

Figure 9. Municipalities' employees' specialisation in CCI sectors (2018)

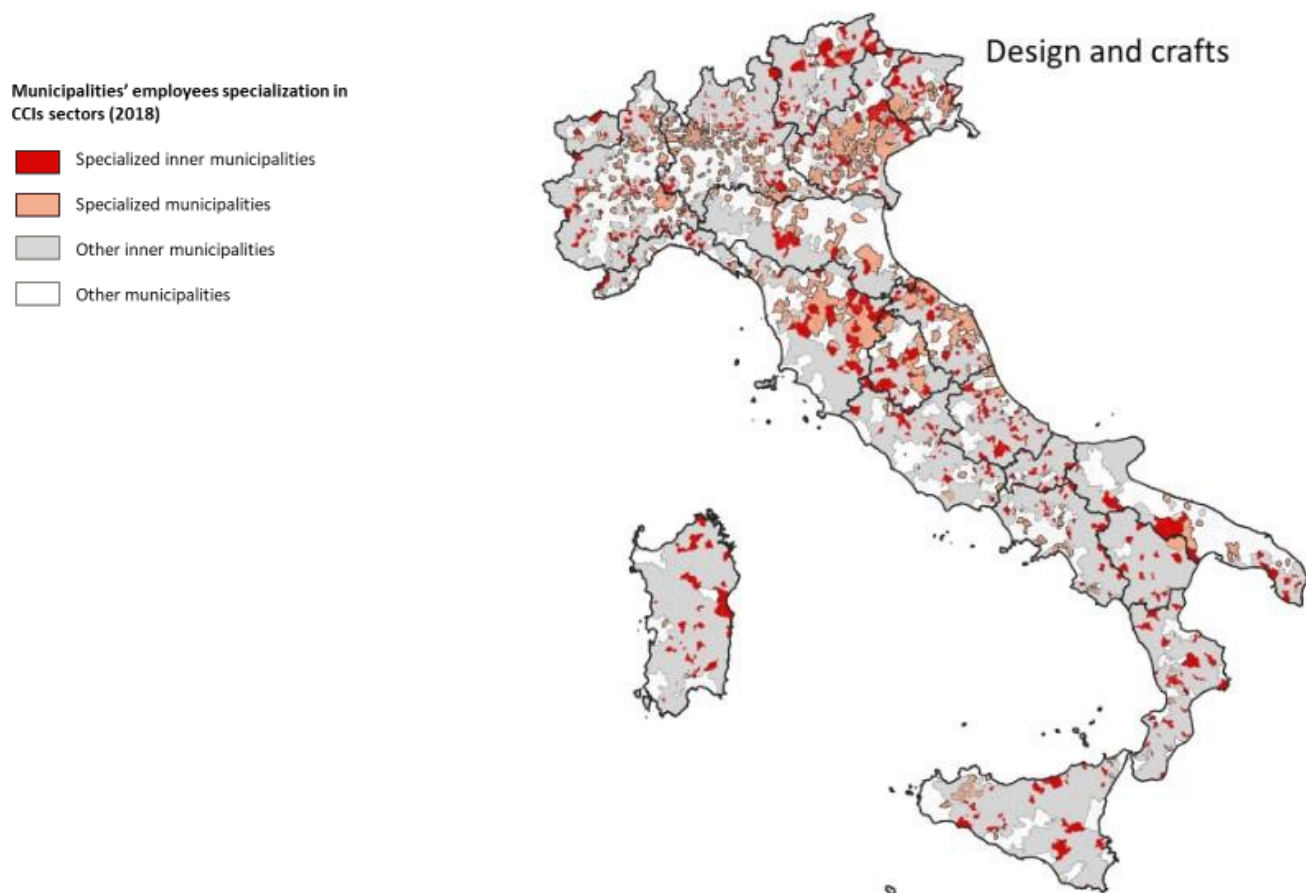
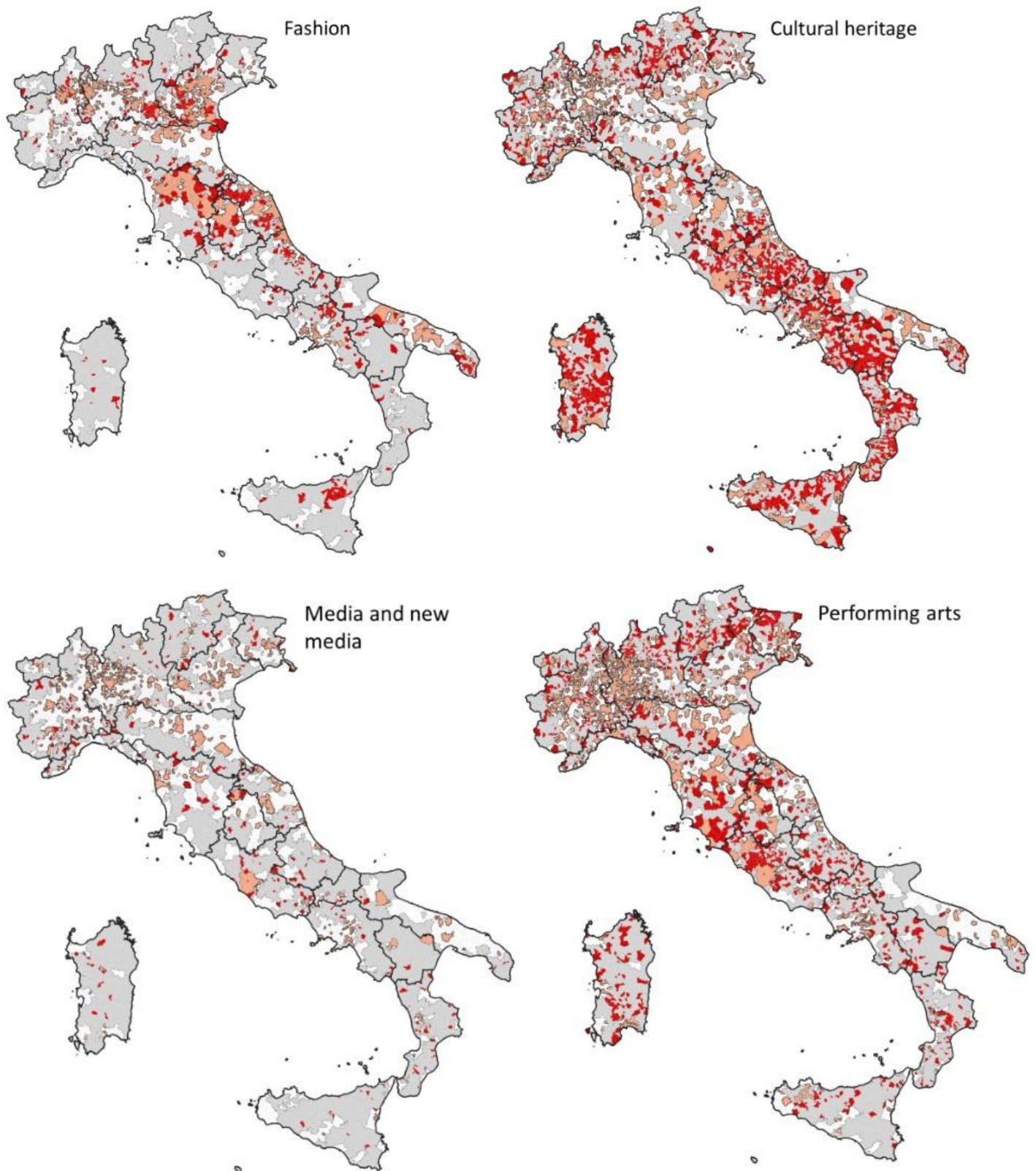


Figure 10. Municipalities' employees' specialisation in CCI sectors (2018) – cont.



Source: Own elaboration on Asia and ISTAT data

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter analysed the CCIs establishments' and employees' specialisation in the Inner Areas of Italian regions, contributing to the existing literature with a sectorial and geographical overview based on the overall policy and on the first results of the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas.

The creation of an original database bridging the data on the CCIs with the territorial classification according to the SNAI contributes to the existing literature showing that CCIs play an important role in some of the Italian inner peripheries and that are spatially distributed following specific patterns different for each considered sector.

Observing the distribution of CCIs and their specialisations across Italian regions and municipalities the rooted difference between North, Middle and South of Italy, as well as the widely recognisable cultural and industrial districts characterizing Italian economic development is confirmed.

Considering the scope of our work, the overall picture drafted in the chapter raises the question of the actual alignment of the SNAI with the cultural economic fabric of the territories. On the one hand it is evident that a difference exists in the distribution of CCIs in Inner Areas and Centres, being the latter generally more specialised. On the other hand, the economic dimension of culture is so far treated by the SNAI mainly in relation with tourism, leaving the strategic decisions to regions and local administrations. The spatial pattern of CCIs in different sectors should be taken into account by specific policies targeted at the local level, promoting specific cultural and creative activities according to their actual presence and territorial vocation, and not in general.

There are, however, limitations. Since we focused on 2018, both for CCIs data and territorial classification, our conclusions are based only on a single year (even though 2018 was the most recent dataset available at the moment of the analysis). Furthermore, the following programme of the SNAI was launched in March 2022, with a classification of the included areas updated in 2020. Nevertheless, although we refer to a single year the database is rich

enough to get a complete picture of the spatial distribution of CCI across Centres and Inner Areas.

Some issues beyond the scope of this work are left for further analysis. Firstly, this chapter does not consider the correlations both among the different CCI sectors and the different areas classified in the SNAI. Observing the spatial distribution of establishments, employees, and the specialised municipalities, for a wide-ranging understanding of the economic role of culture and creativity in the inner peripheries, further research on local indicators of spatial autocorrelation could be necessary. Secondly, considering the strict relation between culture and tourism declared in the strategy (and crucial for the Italian development), tourism sectors could be taken into account and analysed, especially in its intersection with CCI. Thirdly, having shown the importance of territorial specificities in the definition and application of the SNAI, it would be appropriate to deepen the analysis of the results and projects developed in the pilot areas, especially for the evaluation of the actual results and possible improvements of the strategy in future years.

2.7 Appendix

Table 11. CCI sectors considered and related 5-digit ATECO codes

CCI sectors	5 Digit ATECO 2007
Design and Crafts	13921; 13930; 13991; 13992; 13999; 16291; 16293; 16294; 23192; 23410; 23490; 23702; 25991; 31012; 31020; 31092; 31093; 31099; 32121; 32122; 32130; 32200; 47792; 47794; 74101; 74102; 74109; 95240; 95250; 95290
Fashion	13100; 13200; 13910; 13962; 14110; 14131; 14132; 14140; 14191; 14192; 14200; 14310; 14390; 15110; 15120; 15201
Cultural Heritage	71110; 71121; 71122; 85520; 85591; 90030; 91010; 91020; 91030; 91040; 94992
Media and new media	18110; 18120; 18130; 18140; 18200; 47610; 47621; 58110; 58130; 58140; 58190; 58210; 58290; 59110; 59120; 59130; 59140; 60100; 60200; 62010; 63910; 73110; 74201; 82992
Performing arts	90030; 47630; 59201; 74909; 79901; 90010; 90020; 90040

Source: Own elaboration on ISTAT.

Table 12. CCIs Sectors and sub sectors (2018)

Sectors and sub sectors	Inner Areas		Italy	
	tot est	%tot	Tot est	%tot
Design and Craft	11037	16.23%	77890	15.23%
Altre attività dei disegnatori grafici	1849	16.75%	15792	20.3%
Altre attività di design	354	3.21%	4159	5.3%
Attività di design di moda e design industriale	723	6.55%	8172	10.5%
Case d'asta al dettaglio (escluse aste via internet)	20	0.18%	297	0.4%
Commercio al dettaglio di mobili usati e oggetti di antiquariato	199	1.80%	1476	1.9%
Confezionamento di biancheria da letto, da tavola e per l'arredamento	385	3.49%	2248	2.9%
Fabbricazione di divani	428	3.88%	2345	3.0%
Fabbricazione di altri mobili	230	2.08%	1213	1.6%
Fabbricazione di altri prodotti in ceramica	70	0.63%	202	0.3%
Fabbricazione di altri prodotti vari in legno (esclusi i mobili)	671	6.08%	1918	2.5%
Fabbricazione di articoli in paglia e materiali da intreccio	26	0.24%	102	0.1%
Fabbricazione di bigiotteria e articoli simili nca	226	2.05%	1682	2.2%
Fabbricazione di feltro e articoli tessili diversi	12	0.11%	74	0.1%
Fabbricazione di mobili per cucina	209	1.89%	915	1.2%
Fabbricazione di mobili per uffici e negozi	277	2.51%	2068	2.7%
Fabbricazione di oggetti di gioielleria ed oreficeria in metalli preziosi o rivestiti di metalli preziosi	1406	12.74%	11802	15.2%
Fabbricazione di prodotti in ceramica per usi domestici e ornamentali	561	5.08%	1900	2.4%
Fabbricazione di ricami	171	1.55%	1090	1.4%
Fabbricazione di sedie	47	0.43%	387	0.5%
Fabbricazione di stoviglie, pentolame, vasellame, attrezzi da cucina e altri accessori casalinghi non elettrici, articoli metallici per l'arredamento di stanze da bagno	91	0.82%	407	0.5%
Fabbricazione di strumenti musicali, compresi parti e accessori	93	0.84%	761	1.0%
Fabbricazione di tappeti e moquette	29	0.26%	130	0.2%
Fabbricazione di tulle, pizzi e merletti	22	0.20%	113	0.1%
Laboratori di cornici	307	2.78%	1780	2.3%
Lavorazione artistica del marmo e di altre pietre affini, lavori in mosaico	627	5.68%	1997	2.6%
Lavorazione di pietre preziose e semipreziose per gioielleria e per uso industriale	74	0.67%	810	1.0%
Lavorazione di vetro a mano e a soffio artistico	146	1.32%	1290	1.7%
Riparazione di mobili e di oggetti di arredamento	711	6.44%	4177	5.4%
Riparazione di orologi e di gioielli	170	1.54%	1541	2.0%
Riparazione di strumenti musicali	903	8.18%	7042	9.0%
Media and New Media	14074	20.70%	115286	22.53%
Agenzie di distribuzione di libri, giornali e riviste	21	0.15%	289	0.3%
Altra stampa	2004	14.24%	12043	10.4%
Altre attività editoriali	53	0.38%	714	0.6%
Attività dei giornalisti indipendenti-Altre creazioni artistiche e letterarie	1638	11.64%	14329	12.4%
Attività delle agenzie di stampa	38	0.27%	611	0.5%

Attività di distribuzione cinematografica, di video e di programmi televisivi	8	0.06%	260	0.2%
Attività di fotoreporter-Altre attività di riprese fotografiche	2045	14.53%	12685	11.0%
Attività di post-produzione cinematografica, di video e di programmi televisivi	88	0.63%	1142	1.0%
Attività di produzione cinematografica, di video e di programmi televisivi	334	2.37%	4598	4.0%
Attività di proiezione cinematografica	164	1.17%	889	0.8%
Commercio al dettaglio di giornali, riviste e periodici	2270	16.13%	12307	10.7%
Commercio al dettaglio di libri nuovi in esercizi specializzati	547	3.89%	3904	3.4%
Edizione di altri software a pacchetto (esclusi giochi per computer)	25	0.18%	293	0.3%
Edizione di libri	175	1.24%	2122	1.8%
Edizione di quotidiani	28	0.20%	558	0.5%
Edizione di riviste e periodici	134	0.95%	1949	1.7%
Ideazione di campagne pubblicitarie	1735	12.33%	16898	14.7%
Lavorazioni preliminari alla stampa e ai media	196	1.39%	2141	1.9%
Legatoria e servizi connessi	78	0.55%	1133	1.0%
Produzione di software non connesso all'edizione	2224	15.80%	24521	21.3%
Programmazione e trasmissioni televisive	92	0.65%	834	0.7%
Riproduzione di supporti registrati	24	0.17%	220	0.2%
Trasmissioni radiofoniche	153	1.09%	798	0.7%
Stampa di giornali			48	0.0%
Fashion	6343	9.33%	50563	9.88%
Confezione di abbigliamento in pelle e similpelle	74	1.17%	829	1.6%
Confezione di articoli in pelliccia	64	1.01%	824	1.6%
Confezione di camicie, T-shirt, corsetteria e altra biancheria intima	291	4.59%	1963	3.9%
Confezione in serie di abbigliamento esterno	1736	27.37%	15013	29.7%
Confezioni varie e accessori per l'abbigliamento	672	10.59%	5267	10.4%
Fabbricazione di altri articoli da viaggio, borse e simili, pelletteria e selleria	445	7.02%	5992	11.9%
Fabbricazione di altri articoli tessili tecnici ed industriali	201	3.17%	1267	2.5%
Fabbricazione di articoli di calzetteria in maglia	336	5.30%	715	1.4%
Fabbricazione di calzature	398	6.27%	3987	7.9%
Fabbricazione di calzature realizzate in materiale tessile senza soles applicate	172	2.71%	1177	2.3%
Fabbricazione di pullover, cardigan ed altri articoli simili a maglia	361	5.69%	2409	4.8%
Fabbricazione di tessuti a maglia	104	1.64%	826	1.6%
Preparazione e concia del cuoio e pelle; preparazione e tintura di pellicce	496	7.82%	2117	4.2%
Preparazione e filatura di fibre tessili	189	2.98%	1635	3.2%
Sartoria e confezione su misura di abbigliamento esterno	611	9.63%	4646	9.2%
Tessitura	193	3.04%	1896	3.7%
Cultural heritage	23902	35.15%	159314	31.14%
Altra formazione culturale	293	1.23%	2805	1.76%
Attività degli orti botanici, dei giardini zoologici e delle riserve naturali	42	0.18%	131	0.08%
Attività degli studi di architettura	8844	37.00%	65113	40.87%
Attività degli studi di ingegneria	11779	49.28%	66236	41.58%
Attività di biblioteche ed archivi	70	0.29%	474	0.30%

Attività di conservazione e restauro di opere d'arte	1638	6.85%	14329	8.99%
Attività di musei	65	0.27%	257	0.16%
Gestione di luoghi e monumenti storici e attrazioni simili	93	0.39%	249	0.16%
Servizi di progettazione di ingegneria integrata	1077	4.51%	9719	6.10%
Universit? popolare	1	0.00%	1	0.00%
Performing arts	12639	18.59%	108538	21.22%
Agenzie ed agenti o procuratori per lo spettacolo e lo sport	9254	73.22%	78778	72.58%
Altre creazioni artistiche e letterarie	1638	12.96%	14329	13.20%
Attività nel campo della recitazione	1150	9.10%	11460	10.56%
Commercio al dettaglio di registrazioni musicali e video in esercizi specializzati	76	0.60%	602	0.55%
Edizione di registrazioni sonore	73	0.58%	942	0.87%
Gestione di teatri, sale da concerto e altre strutture artistiche	28	0.22%	347	0.32%
Servizi di biglietteria per eventi teatrali, sportivi ed altri eventi ricreativi e d'intrattenimento	420	3.32%	2080	1.92%
Total	67995		511591	

Source: Own elaboration on ISTAT

Table 13. Establishments' specialisation in CCI sectors (2018)

Region	Design and Craft		Media and New Media		Fashion		Cultural heritage		Performing arts		CCIs	
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
Piemonte	1.1406	1.0295	0.9766	1.0007	0.5046	0.7452	0.9583	0.9448	0.9223	1.0690	0.9369	0.9746
Valle d'Aosta	0.8807	0.8788	0.8999	1.1584	0.2959	0.5206	1.2969	1.0016	0.9235	0.8491	0.9631	0.9409
Lombardia	1.1479	1.1725	1.2220	1.0083	0.7923	1.4577	1.0171	0.9989	1.3765	1.2618	1.1388	1.1207
Trentino Alto Adige	0.9885	1.4594	1.2163	1.1197	0.2099	0.3672	1.3643	1.1520	1.1057	1.3054	1.1029	1.1505
Veneto	1.3730	1.3995	0.9187	0.9802	1.1500	2.2805	1.0088	0.9783	0.9019	1.2211	1.0341	1.2137
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1.1961	1.4125	1.0665	1.3219	0.2759	0.5449	1.0041	0.9076	1.0724	1.7513	0.9894	1.1983
Liguria	0.6999	0.7732	0.8342	0.8377	0.2301	0.2497	0.9889	0.8024	0.8355	0.9815	0.8013	0.7867
Emilia Romagna	0.9247	1.0677	0.9765	0.9850	0.9793	0.8749	0.9298	0.7879	1.0616	1.4189	0.9731	1.0028
Toscana	1.5123	1.8685	0.9348	1.1183	3.7344	1.9248	0.9954	0.8668	0.9420	1.3275	1.3210	1.2658
Umbria	1.1079	1.3064	0.9622	1.2121	1.3801	2.4564	0.9903	1.0408	0.8024	1.3372	0.9999	1.3065
Marche	1.2872	1.4197	0.8561	0.9533	1.5656	4.6596	0.9442	0.9402	0.7360	0.9911	0.9927	1.3772
Lazio	0.6949	0.8206	1.3079	1.2832	0.2840	0.3943	1.1829	1.0444	1.4481	1.3992	1.1056	1.0628
Abruzzo	0.6974	0.9004	0.8215	0.9870	1.1920	0.9139	1.1370	1.2920	0.6744	0.8940	0.9042	1.0560
Molise	0.7363	0.8342	0.8057	0.7808	0.3904	0.7843	1.2152	1.2302	0.5439	0.6991	0.8222	0.9326
Campania	0.6595	0.6306	0.7379	0.8995	1.1920	0.9928	0.8377	1.0769	0.6064	0.7027	0.7734	0.8903
Puglia	0.6622	1.0466	0.7585	1.0252	0.9436	1.3270	0.8746	1.0184	0.5434	0.7004	0.7514	0.9941
Basilicata	0.9360	0.5352	1.1152	0.8542	0.1873	0.5094	1.3341	1.3301	0.8188	0.7065	0.9984	0.9101
Calabria	0.5147	0.6024	0.7852	0.8454	0.2468	0.3611	1.0007	0.9923	0.4886	0.5361	0.6924	0.7549
Sicilia	0.5644	0.7233	0.7826	0.8582	0.1703	0.3322	0.9289	0.9055	0.5927	0.5782	0.6923	0.7518
Sardegna	0.6653	0.8550	0.8683	0.8793	0.1978	0.3166	1.2511	0.9071	0.8003	0.8138	0.8730	0.8205

Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT data

In green the specialised regions

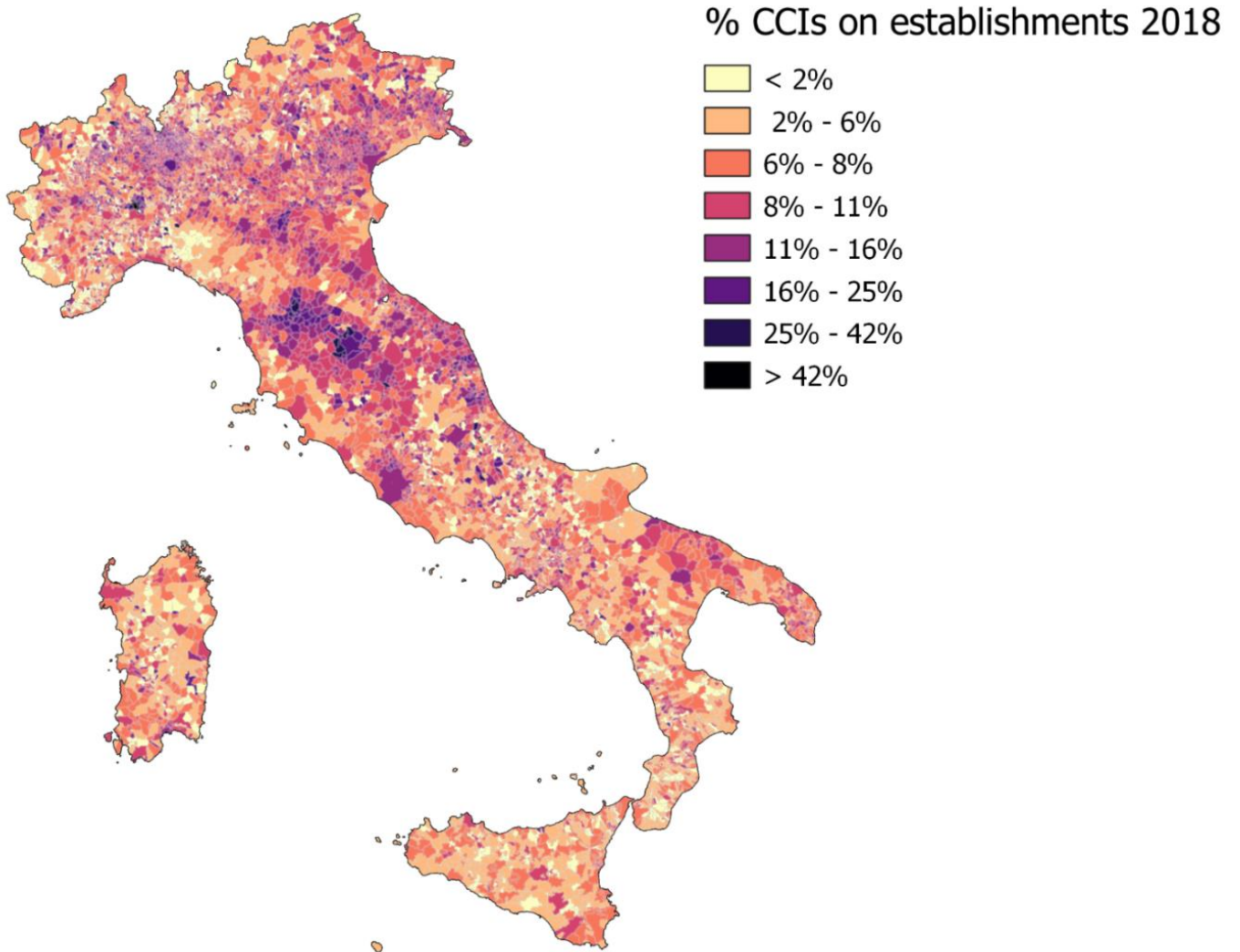
Table 14. Employees' specialisation in CCIs (2018)

Region	Design and Craft		Media and New Media		Fashion		Cultural heritage		Performing arts		CCIs	
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
Piemonte	1.277609	0.73354	1.15013	1.090315	0.622788	1.566377	1.029671	0.837431	0.918606	0.949353	0.991715	1.129028
Valle d'Aosta	0.440872	0.330916	0.870528	1.222664	0.056085	0.067252	1.28259	0.847734	0.958153	0.754157	0.662216	0.524466
Lombardia	0.968899	1.091647	1.339934	0.833643	0.790208	1.473761	0.918247	0.829945	1.21835	1.067739	1.05725	1.133474
Trentino Alto Adige	0.721594	0.903976	1.490817	0.947375	0.161836	0.375823	1.19643	1.074555	0.979905	1.190911	0.918868	0.782468
Veneto	1.604191	2.027528	0.854856	0.942789	1.419973	2.078697	0.936288	0.740904	0.829682	1.04735	1.135824	1.536093
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1.611156	0.995497	0.76617	1.343242	0.160179	0.311328	0.820192	0.839397	0.910335	1.513237	0.7744	0.836359
Liguria	0.411363	0.434443	0.661803	0.975855	0.071421	0.040892	1.051402	1.303476	0.886081	0.799711	0.552302	0.577684
Emilia Romagna	0.75276	0.651087	0.832777	0.884651	0.785276	0.429025	0.779285	0.674607	0.999553	1.166102	0.816573	0.666858
Toscana	1.922402	2.393425	0.714711	0.992651	3.645094	2.118255	1.196827	0.852875	1.005945	1.342039	1.779283	1.680106
Umbria	1.222069	1.642524	0.815761	1.208145	1.452536	1.569105	1.158198	1.037126	0.891356	1.368313	1.109523	1.40802
Marche	1.936553	2.298382	0.814125	0.839823	2.209163	4.754515	1.18532	0.745719	0.780325	0.871189	1.416	2.502289
Lazio	0.401387	0.506432	1.520446	1.578954	0.150154	0.216852	1.261138	1.016284	1.42168	1.309244	0.928866	0.757518
Abruzzo	0.685178	0.570913	0.711419	0.854262	1.165282	1.275738	1.140738	1.056219	0.745536	0.772953	0.894946	0.974275
Molise	0.675473	0.468082	0.728379	0.598879	0.14845	0.636698	1.223121	1.218874	0.557174	0.762354	0.628812	0.711031
Campania	0.514882	0.473632	0.609418	0.959574	1.318354	0.592327	0.836204	1.152646	0.818601	0.980278	0.834447	0.768432
Puglia	0.714432	1.634007	0.638282	1.025602	0.958127	1.55491	0.854601	1.119182	0.62767	0.753968	0.766241	1.324942
Basilicata	1.717957	0.292891	0.921571	0.585472	0.053733	0.201686	1.162168	1.345287	0.889533	0.731632	0.864438	0.539151
Calabria	0.370626	0.496173	0.640971	1.045889	0.101911	0.177387	1.120941	1.299956	0.572747	0.689541	0.524356	0.639255
Sicilia	0.390928	0.556396	0.606812	0.895508	0.064587	0.271857	1.183498	1.195594	0.666125	0.676271	0.527158	0.638912
Sardegna	0.342084	0.536671	0.603643	0.795771	0.069489	0.095447	1.334737	1.226096	0.895061	0.926206	0.567301	0.58468

Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and Istat data

In green the specialised regions

Figure 11. Percentage of CCIs on total number of municipalities' establishments (2018)



Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and Istat

2.8 References

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CHAPTER 3

Mapping Tourism and Cultural Creative industries specialisation in Italy: a centre - periphery comparison

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3.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the findings and conclusions of the previous one. We depart from three main strictly connected elements, two deriving directly from the results of our work focusing on the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI), and one linked with contemporary socio economical dynamics.

The first, is that municipalities specialised in CCIs tends to be located more in centres than in Inner Areas, following the rooted differences between northern, middle and southern Regions in Italy, questioning their potential as development and innovation drivers for Inner Areas.

The second, is the fact that in the SNAI Culture and Tourism are treated, at least in the financial allocations of the regional strategies, as a single and unified chapter (Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021; Porta, Arauzo-Carod, & Segre, 2024), opening to the need of exploring if there is an actual alignment of this choice and policy tendency with the spatial distribution of the two sectors.

The third element is the fact that tourism industry and tourists are more and more interested in Inner Areas (Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, 2022; Ianioglo & Rissanen, 2020). This tendency, especially considering Italy, but also Europe in general, is on one hand a reaction to the Covid 19 pandemic (Salvatore, 2020), due to the lockdown period people look with different eyes to green, open, not crowded spaces; on the other hand, almost for the same reason, but adding an hint of wilderness and apparent connection with nature characterising peripheral areas, it is strictly connected to the rhetoric on sustainability and sustainable tourism (Kuščer, Mihalič, & Pechlaner, 2017; Saarinen, Rogerson, & Hall, 2017;).

If this trend is in some ways filling a physical and economic gap in the abandoned villages and territories subject to the SNAI, it is more and more risking (if not already done) to create an unbalanced relationship between these areas and the urban contexts, for which they are becoming leisure appendices, not leading to their actual development or repopulation, but transforming them in something else, as spaces of exception and escape (Bohlin, Brandt, & Elbe, 2022; Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, 2022;). This dynamic could activate an exogenous and detrimental process, going in the exact opposite direction of the initial purpose of a place-based and place-centred policy like the SNAI (Basile & Cavallo, 2020; Sabatini, 2023).

Culture, and CCIs, if actually included in the public projects and strategies, could play an important role in limiting and countering this tendency, facilitating community development and innovation, following the consolidated literature depicting their role in urban contexts in particular (see for example Florida, 2005; OECD, 2018, 2021), but also in peripheral areas (Collins & Cunningham, 2017).

Planning the development of Inner Areas, starting from the community and its cultural dimension, before opening to tourism and leisure activities, could be the key to actually fill the gap and void characterising those areas (Basile & Cavallo, 2020; R. Salvatore 2018; Viazzo & Zanini, 2014).

For this reason, in order to draft a clear strategy or evaluate the current situation, it is important to understand the spatial distribution and dimension of the industries working in the two sectors. Having already measured and assessed the characteristics of Cultural and Creative Industries (Porta, Segre & Arauzo-Carod, 2024), the aim of this chapter is then to focus on Tourism.

Our research questions are: What's the spatial distribution of Tourism industry in Italy? Which are the differences between Inner and Central Areas of the Country? And, are there similarities with the CCIs distribution and specialisation?

The first objective is then to understand the spatial distribution and specialisation of tourism sectors, focusing on the territorial classification proposed in Italy by the SNAI, applying the methodologies and empirical approach used for CCIs in the previous chapter.

The second objective is to compare the results of the territorial specialisation of the two industries.

Our **hypothesis**, following the discourse presented in the previous paragraphs, is that **tourism and Cultural and Creative industries follow different paths in terms of spatial distribution and specialisation: Tourism takes place in structurally advantaged territories (i.e coastlands historic cities and mountains), while CCIs are urban-dependent.**

In the first part of the chapter, we introduce the theoretical background and current discourse on the role of tourism in the development of peripheral areas. In the second part we describe the empirical approach, data and methodologies adopted to reach our objectives. In the third part we present the results of the analysis, focusing first on the dimensions and distribution of tourism sectors, followed by the comparison with CCIs specialisation.

In the fourth and last part we present the main conclusions of the research, as well as limitations and further analysis needed.

3.2 The role of tourism in peripheral areas

The role of tourism as an economic development driver is not so clear from an academic perspective: it is clear that there is a relation between tourism and economic growth in general (Pablo-romero & Molina, 2013), but not how it happens, at which territorial scale and timeframe (Fonseca, 2019; Kostakis, 2020).

Considering our focus on peripheral and Inner Areas, this scientific uncertainty emerges more and more. On one hand, we have a vast production of studies, depicting tourism as a possible enabling development factor, especially at the local level, although depending on thorough planning and a place-based perspective (Brouder, 2012; Moscardo, 2005;).

On the other hand, there's a critical approach to tourism, considered as a threat in the context of peripheral areas, especially in the urban supremacy dynamic emerging in the last decades (Hall et al., 2013), in the policy (Cotella, Vitale Brovarone, 2022), and planning dimension (Kauppila et al., 2009).

The main envisaged risks are associated with the commodification of places (Bohlin, Brandt, & Elbe, 2016; Chaperon & Bramwell, 2013), or the threat of a touristic 'monoculture' (Bronzini, Ciani, & Montaruli, 2022). This is especially considered in the sustainable tourism domain, where the specificities of marginal and Inner Areas as structurally attractive natural/idyllic landscapes, and fragile territories, are investigated with respect to tourism pressure and destination planning (Kauppila et al., 2009; Kuščer et al., 2017; Saarinen et al., 2017).

Considering our case study, Italy and the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas, few studies have addressed tourism focusing on territories subject to the strategy. In particular, they did it from a discourse analysis and policy point of view, underlaying the simplistic tourism centered rhetoric emerging from the projects at the local level (Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, 2022; Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021; Sabatini, 2023), from a demographic and statistical point of view, providing evidence on the inverse relation between the growth of short stay accommodations activities and population in the most peripheral areas (R. Salvatore et al.,

2018); from a sustainable development and community perspective, affirming the importance of endogenous processes in reverting the marginalization processes (Basile & Cavallo, 2020); and considering the economic growth connected to the industry development in general, demonstrating the stagnation and adverse effects of tourism specialisation and monoculture (Bronzini et al., 2022; Gioia & Dematteis, 2020).

Our approach, in line with the need of avoiding a taken for granted vision of tourism as a solution, builds on this scientific literature and contributes through the introduction of a spatial economic and intersectoral perspective.

3.3 Data and methodology

Following the empirical approach adopted in the previous chapter focused on CCIs (Porta, Segre, & Arauzo-Carod 2024), in order to describe the dimension and spatial distribution of Tourism sectors we applied six methodological steps, plus one related to the comparison of the two industries of interest.

- I. Definition of the sectorial perimeter of the Tourism sectors to be considered.
- II. Selection of the data on Tourism establishments.
- III. Selection of the data and definition of the spatial perimeter, according to the classification of Italian municipalities adopted by the SNAI.
- IV. Creation of a relational database merging the data of steps II, III and the data collected for CCIs.
- V. Data analysis at the regional (NUTS 2), municipal (NUTS 4) and industry level.
- VI. Mapping of the data.
- VII. Comparison of the data on CCIs and Tourism.

In order to define Tourism industries in Italy and select the data (step I and II) we focused on the formal classification proposed by ISTAT through the ATECO Classification³³ of economic activities, including two macro subsectors: Accommodations (divided in Hotels and Extra-hotels), and Services (all the services explicitly connected to tourism (i.e. tour operators, guides, leisure activities...)).

In this classification, and in the connected ASIA establishments dataset (for the description see chapter 1) are included only those activities considered commercial (with a VAT number) and are excluded all the informal and secondary activities (so the great part of accommodations and services provided through web platforms like Airbnb).

This could create possible biases, which we dealt with, considering our focuses on Inner Areas and their specificities.

³³ <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/17888> (Accessed April 2024)

The national regulation in Italy, in fact, do not account in a clear way for non-professional and non-commercial accommodations and services, leaving to the single Regions the choice of where drawing a clear line between what is considered an enterprise or not, according to various criteria (i.e number of nights per year, type of structure, services...). This normative void opens, on one hand, to a difficulty in gather high quality data on the sector, and, on the other hand, to the contemporary debate on the negative impacts of short term and informal rentals (for a critical overview see for example Bei & Celata, 2023), which goes beyond the scope of this research work.

Considering our focus on Inner Areas and their small local economies, but also the necessity of having the same dataset used for CCIs (in that case as well all the informal activities are excluded), to overcome the possible biases, at this stage we decided to include only the establishments formally classified in the ATECO five digit activities belonging to tourism sector, being a clear proxy of tourism investments and presence in the territory of interest. According to official data, formal Tourism establishments are in fact still hosting the majority of tourists coming in Italy, and representing the great part of the industry in terms of investments and related production chains; nevertheless we need to be aware of the current uncertainty in terms of data collection and submerge economy in the field³⁴.

We then included fourteen five digit codes of the ATECO classification, dividing them in two subsectors, Accommodations and Services, each with seven codes, as detailed in the following table.

Unlike CCIs, where there is an everlasting debate on which ATECO code to include or exclude (see previous chapter), for Tourism the choice was made clear by the ISTAT classification itself: in Accommodations we included all the hotels and extra hotels activities (formally recognised in the classification); while in Services, we considered the support activities, operating in the tourism industry. In this last sector a possible overlapping with CCIs could happen in the entertainment and leisure activities (code 93299 Other entertainment and leisure activities) but having checked the micro data and characteristics of the establishments operating in the

³⁴ See the Italian National Research Center report on Tourism industry
https://www.cnr.it/sites/default/files/public/media/attivita/editoria/CNR_XXVI_Rapporto_aggiornato.pdf
(accessed April 2024).

sector, we included them in tourism, being strictly connected to the events and animation offer.

Table 15. ATECO codes of the Tourism sectors and subsectors considered

Accommodations (ATECO codes and activities)

- 55100 Hotels
- 55201 Touristic villages
- 55202 Hostels
- 55204 Seaside and mountain houses
- 55205 Rooms for short stays, holiday homes and flats, bed and breakfast, residences
- 55300 Campings and camping areas
- 55902 Flats and homes with other services

Services (ATECO codes and activities)

- 79110 Travel Agencies
- 79120 Tour operators
 - Other reservation services and tourist assistance activities not performed by travel
- 799019 agencies
- 79902 Tour guides and assistants
- 84124 Regulation of the bodies in charge of recreational, cultural and social services
- 84138 Regulation of tourism affairs and services
- 93299 Other entertainment and leisure activities

Source: Own elaboration on ISTAT

A different logic was followed concerning food and beverages sectors, which were excluded from the dataset: clearly these activities are part of the tourism offer, but again it is impossible to draw a clear line between what's cultural food, what's touristic food and what's just food, using as unit of analysis the establishment (a similar discourse was followed in the previous chapter).

To check the robustness of our choice, we selected the ATECO codes and establishments related to the food industry and its spatial distribution from our dataset (including 13 five digit ATECO codes, restaurants and bars, artisanal food production establishments, wineries..³⁵),

³⁵ The ATECO codes related to food industry considered are: 10130 Produzione di prodotti a base di carne (salumifici), 10711 Produzione di prodotti di panetteria freschi, 10712 Produzione di pasticceria fresca, 10730 Produzione di paste alimentari, di cuscus e di prodotti farinacei simili, 11021 Produzione di vini da tavola, 11022 Produzione di vino spumante e altri vini speciali, 11050 Produzione di birra, 56101 Ristorazione con somministrazione, 56102 Ristorazione senza somministrazione con preparazione di cibi da asporto, 56103 Gelaterie e pasticcerie, 56104 Gelaterie e pasticcerie ambulanti, 56210 Catering per eventi, banqueting, 56300 Bar e altri esercizi simili senza cucina.

and in 2018 they accounted for around 7% of the total number of establishments in Italy, being more than 344,000 units in total, more than 50,000 restaurants and bars alone.

Including them in our analysis would create a lot of possible biases, presenting a clear overlapping between our two industries of interest. While treating food as a separate sector would go beyond the scope of our research work, needing a whole different approach (i.e. considering agricultural industry, soil use..). For these reasons we then decided to leave them to further (interesting) research.

Moving to the definition of the spatial perimeter of analysis (step III), in parallel with the previous chapter, we followed the classification of Italian municipalities proposed by the SNAI, including three scales of interest:

- The macro classification dividing Italian municipalities between centres and Inner Areas;
- The classification in six sub categories according to the level of peripherality, Pole, Intermunicipal Pole, Belt, Intermediate, Peripheral, Ultraperipheral (see Chapter 1 for the criteria);
- Regions (NUTS 2), being responsible of the financial allocation of the SNAI (see Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021; Crociata A. , Pinate A. C., 2024; Porta et al., 2024);
- Municipalities (NUTS 4), in order to map the data at the smallest scale possible.

As for the database creation (step IV), we integrated the one used for the chapter dedicated to CCIs, adding a table dedicated to the ATECO codes of the sectors included in Tourism industry.

In the analysis (step V) we measured the structure, number and location of the establishments in the sectors included in Tourism industry, at the various scale of analysis (municipal, regional; SNAI classification level).

The selected unit of analysis is the establishment, and not the employees, because of the need of measuring the actual presence on the territory, especially considering tourism industry and its work force specificities (Marco-Lajara et al. 2014; Lazzeretti & Capone, 2008).

Specialisation indexes (Location Quotients) were then applied to the different sectors, at the same scales, then the data were spatially located and mapped using QGIS open-source software (step VI).

To perform the last step of analysis and observe the differences between CCIs and Tourism at the municipality level (step VII), we created a dummy variable (a binary value of 0 or 1 to indicate the absence or presence of a given condition) for:

- municipalities with high levels of specialisation (location quotient higher than 1) in only one of the two main sectors of interest (CCIs and Tourism);
- municipalities with high levels of specialisation in both the sectors;
- municipalities specialised in neither sector.

The dummy variables, for every category and combination of specialisation, permitted to map and discuss the spatial distribution and differences between the sectors, having mapped them applying the SNAI classification layer and identifying then specialised Inner municipalities, specialised municipalities (Central), other Inner municipalities, other municipalities.

3.4 Measuring Tourism establishments in Inner Areas

Tourism establishments in Italy, considering the enterprises with a VAT number (as explained in the previous paragraph), are 82,850 (year 2018), and they account for the 1.7% of the total number of establishments at the national level.

If we consider the classification proposed by the SNAI, Tourism establishments constitute 1,4% of the total number of establishments in Centres and 2,9% of the total in Inner Areas, indicating a higher relative presence in the latter.

Moving to our scale of interest, considering the policy level, considering the figures in table 16, the Regions having a higher percentage of tourism establishments on the total, both for centres and Inner Areas, are Valle d'Aosta (2.6% for Centre and 10.4% for Inner Areas) and Trentino Alto Adige (4.2% for centres and 12.6% for Inner Areas) in northern Italy, with Toscana (2.3% for Centres and 5.3% for Inner Areas) in middle Italy. If we consider the same percentage only for Inner Areas, a percentage higher than the one related to the whole Country is evident in Liguria (5.5%) and Friuli Venezia Giulia (3.4%) in the north, in Umbria (3.7%) in middle Italy, and in Campania (3.7%) in the south. The other regions are aligned with the data at the Country level.

These percentages on the total number of establishments indicate, on one hand, Regions characterised by a small territory with a high quality of the landscape and touristic offer: mountain and ski tourism in Valle d'Aosta and Trentino Alto Adige, seaside for Liguria and Campania, cultural and food tourism for Toscana and Umbria; on the other hand, a high relative presence in Inner Areas, driven by the same natural advantage.

Considering the percentage per Region on the total number of Tourism establishments in Italy: the Region hosting the largest number of Tourism activities in Centres (so mainly in urban contexts) is Lazio (14.9%), followed by Toscana (12.9%) and Lombardia (11.4%), reflecting the presence of the cities of Rome, Florence and Milan. Following the same logic, is possible to notice a high percentage in Centres also for Emilia Romagna, Veneto and Campania, driven by Bologna, Venice and Naples.

If we look at the percentage on the total number of Tourism establishments in Inner Areas: the Region hosting the largest number is Trentino Alto Adige (19.8%), driven by the mountain and ski tourism industry. Other Regions characterised by hosting a high portion of Tourism establishments in Inner Areas, although with smaller percentages, are Sicilia, Campania and Puglia in the south, with their consolidated touristic attractiveness; Toscana in middle Italy, Veneto and Lombardia in the North.

Table 16. Percentage of Tourism establishments in Italian Regions (2018)

Regions	Percentage of the total number of Tourism establishments in Italy		Percentage of tourism on the total number of other establishments in the Region	
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
Piemonte	4.8%	2.9%	0.9%	2.0%
Valle d'Aosta	0.4%	1.7%	2.6%	10.4%
Lombardia	11.4%	7.1%	0.8%	2.3%
Trentino Alto Adige	3.9%	19.8%	4.2%	12.6%
Veneto	8.1%	7.6%	1.3%	2.6%
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1.3%	1.6%	0.9%	3.4%
Liguria	4.2%	2.2%	1.9%	5.5%
Emilia Romagna	10.4%	1.9%	1.6%	1.2%
Toscana	12.9%	7.5%	2.3%	5.3%
Umbria	1.7%	2.4%	1.7%	3.7%
Marche	2.9%	1.1%	1.4%	1.5%
Lazio	14.9%	5.7%	2.2%	1.5%
Abruzzo	1.7%	2.5%	1.3%	1.9%
Molise	0.2%	0.7%	0.8%	1.6%
Campania	7.6%	7.8%	1.3%	3.7%
Puglia	4.8%	7.5%	1.3%	2.8%
Basilicata	0.5%	1.4%	2.3%	1.4%
Calabria	1.6%	3.5%	1.5%	1.6%
Sicilia	5.3%	9.5%	1.7%	2.2%
Sardegna	1.3%	5.8%	1.2%	2.8%

Source: Own elaboration on data provided by Ircres CNR

Considering the sectors composing Tourism industry, see table 17: Accommodations establishments, so hotels and extra hotels activities, are 58,619 (70% of the total in Tourism) and Services, so support activities and tour operators, 24,231 (30%). 62% of the total number of Accommodations are located in Centres, 38% in Inner Areas, indicating a relative high

presence in the latter. Services are differently distributed, with 84% in Centres and 16% in Inner Areas, suggesting that their market is strictly urban based.

Going beyond the data and making some initial evaluations: it is possible to affirm that a relevant part of Services seems to be purchased in cities and then consumed in Inner Areas. In other words, considering that Services are composed by tour operators, booking services and other activities that support tourism consumption (as tour guides or leisure activities), the fact that they are especially located in Centres (i.e. large urban areas), means that people buy their holidays experiences there, and then consume it in the areas where Accommodations are especially located. The intuition here is that Inner Areas are then mainly spaces of Touristic consumption.

If we look at the Regions, the difference between the number of accommodations in Centres and Inner Areas is more evident in northern Regions, less in southern Regions, where the portion of territory classified as Inner Area is higher.

Table 17. Tourism sectors establishments in Italian Regions (2018)

Regions	Establishments 2018		Accommodation		Services		Tourism	
	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner	Centre	Inner
Piemonte	320,943	37,581	1,411	636	1,334	122	2,745	758
Valle d'Aosta	7,815	4,347	171	438	29	16	200	454
Lombardia	821,008	79,658	3,176	1,608	3,293	250	6,469	1,858
Trentino Alto Adige	52,961	41,217	2,038	5,032	176	155	2,214	5,187
Veneto	357,869	75,043	2,793	1,694	1,809	286	4,602	1,980
Friuli Venezia Giulia	80,259	12,200	443	383	319	30	762	413
Liguria	125,983	10,197	1,797	534	602	31	2,399	565
Emilia Romagna	360,130	41,871	4,508	375	1,389	128	5,897	503
Toscana	316,812	37,108	5,185	1,708	2,107	254	7,292	1,962
Umbria	55,803	16,986	684	543	274	92	958	635
Marche	119,457	19,123	1,191	253	446	39	1,637	292
Lazio	381,084	100,447	4,936	887	3,506	601	8,442	1,488
Abruzzo	73,635	33,584	699	522	288	122	987	644
Molise	10,706	12,082	53	159	35	30	88	189
Campania	325,730	55,559	2,499	1,766	1,813	266	4,312	2,032
Puglia	207,055	70,133	1,767	1,664	942	287	2,709	1,951
Basilicata	12,821	25,820	182	264	110	91	292	355
Calabria	61,260	56,399	643	719	265	191	908	910
Sicilia	181,761	112,827	1,765	1,837	1,258	639	3,023	2,476
Sardegna	59,331	54,950	443	1,213	297	309	740	1,522
Italy	3,932,423	897,132	36,384	22,235	20,292	3,939	56,676	26,174

Source: Own elaboration on data provided by Ircres CNR

Changing the scale of analysis and moving to the classification proposed by the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (Municipalities classified from A – Pole to F – Ultraperipheral), it is possible to better understand the distribution of Tourism sectors according to the different levels of peripherality.

All the observations made through the data on Regions and the general numbers are confirmed. In fact, the percentage of Tourism on the total number of establishments grows moving from Centres to Inner Areas: from 1.6% for Poles, to 5.2% in Ultraperipheral areas.

If we consider the percentage on the total number of Tourism establishments it is clear that this tendency is driven by the Accommodations: their percentage is 60.9% in Poles and grows, reaching 90.8%, in Ultraperipheral areas, indicating that tourism industry in Inner Areas is mainly constituted by hotels and extra hotels activities. Services follow the opposite tendency, confirming the evaluation on their urban dependence, made in the previous paragraphs.

Introducing the data on Cultural and Creative industries, to start the process of answering our second research question and objective, we observe that, in general, CCIs follow a completely opposite tendency compared to Tourism industry. Their relative presence on the total number of establishments, in fact, decreases moving from Pole to Ultraperipheral areas (from 12.4% to 5.8%).

Although in absolute terms, observing Ultraperipheral areas in particular, the percentage on the total number of establishments is aligned with the one related to tourism (5.8% for CCIs, 5.2% for Tourism), suggesting a similar location in that area; we need to take into account the relative weight of the industries in the whole Country (10.6% of the total number of establishments are CCIs, while 1.7% are included in the Tourism Industry).

Considering the CCIs sectors in table 18, it is interesting to notice that they generally follow the industry distribution visible at the Country level (similar percentages in all the territorial classifications), except for the Cultural Heritage sector, which represent 43.6% of the total number of CCIs in Ultraperipheral areas, probably driven by the highest presence of professionals working on the built heritage, as discussed in the previous chapter (Porta, Segre & Arauzo-Carod, 2024).

Table 18. CCIs and Tourism sectors percentages in SNAI territorial classifications (2018)

	Centres	A - Pole	B - Intermu- nicipal Pole	C - Belt	Inner Areas	D - Intermedi- ate	E - Periferiph- eral	F - Ultraperip- heral	Italy
% CCIs on tot Est.	11.3%	12.4%	9.6%	10.0%	7.6%	8.1%	6.8%	5.8%	10.6%
Design and Craft	15.1%	13.3%	17.6%	17.6%	16.2%	16.7%	15.2%	15.4%	15.2%
Media	22.8%	24.6%	22.2%	20.0%	20.7%	20.6%	21.0%	21.2%	22.5%
Fashion	10.0%	6.9%	10.7%	14.8%	9.3%	10.3%	7.4%	4.3%	9.9%
Cultural heritage	30.5%	32.3%	29.4%	27.9%	35.2%	33.4%	38.7%	43.6%	31.1%
Performing arts	21.6%	22.9%	20.1%	19.8%	18.6%	19.1%	17.7%	15.6%	21.2%
% Tourism on tot. Est.	1.4%	1.6%	1.3%	1.3%	2.9%	2.2%	4.1%	5.2%	1.7%
Accommodations	64.2%	60.9%	63.5%	69.6%	85.0%	81.2%	88.3%	90.6%	70.8%
Services	35.8%	39.1%	36.5%	30.4%	15.0%	18.8%	11.7%	9.4%	29.2%

Source: Own elaboration on data provided by Ircres CNR

3.5 Mapping Tourism and CCIs specialisation

Moving to the next step of analysis, taking into account the relative weight of the industries at the Country level, we calculated the specialisation indexes, through the location quotients, at the various scales of analysis.

Starting from the specialisation in Tourism sectors, at the Regional scale, in general it is mainly driven by the structural characteristics and advantages of the territories (i.e. the geographical, historical and natural characteristics of the areas which are attractive for the tourism demand).

In fact, while analysing the same location quotients results for CCIs (Porta, Segre & Arazuo-Carod, 2024) we can affirm that their distribution across Italian Regions is mainly driven by economic or rooted development dynamics (i.e. concentration in northern and middle Italy around the main cities or in the rooted cultural districts); for Tourism the location choices depend mainly from other factors as landscape, presence of cultural landmarks, seaside or mountains.

Observing table 19 it is interesting to notice how the highest levels of specialisation in Tourism are connected to Valle d'Aosta and Trentino Alto Adige, with their consolidated mountain tourism chains.

The other specialised Regions are Liguria, in northern Italy, driven by the historically rooted seaside industry and the cultural/natural landscapes of the eastern part of the Region (where Cinque terre park is located); Toscana, Umbria and Lazio in middle Italy, driven by cultural tourism in particular; the isles of Sicilia and Sardegna, driven by their seaside and landscapes.

It is interesting to notice that southern Regions like Puglia, Campania, Calabria and Basilicata, having a clear structural advantage in terms of offer, are not specialised, presenting however high indexes (higher than 0.9). This result is probably linked with the relative high presence of non-professional Accommodations and Services and the territorial concentration of the industries.

Considering the SNAI classification, southern Regions show higher specialisation indexes in Centres for Accommodations in Sicilia, Puglia, Basilicata, and Calabria, confirming the

concentration of the industry around the main cities (i.e. Palermo in Sicilia, Bari and Lecce in Puglia, Matera in Basilicata, Tropea in Calabria...); higher specialisation indexes in Inner Areas of Campania both for Tourism in general and Accommodations, probably driven by the Amalfi coast and the islands.

Table 19. Regions' specialisation in Tourism sectors (2018)

Regions	Accommodation			Services			Tourism		
	Region	Centre	Inner	Region	Centre	Inner	Region	Centre	Inner
Piemonte	0.47	0.48	0.68	0.81	0.81	0.74	0.57	0.59	0.69
Valle d'Aosta	4.13	2.36	4.07	0.74	0.72	0.84	3.13	1.78	3.58
Lombardia	0.44	0.42	0.81	0.78	0.78	0.71	0.54	0.55	0.80
Trentino Alto Adige	6.18	4.16	4.93	0.70	0.64	0.86	4.58	2.90	4.31
Veneto	0.85	0.84	0.91	0.96	0.98	0.87	0.89	0.89	0.90
Friuli Venezia Giulia	0.74	0.60	1.27	0.75	0.77	0.56	0.74	0.66	1.16
Liguria	1.41	1.54	2.11	0.93	0.93	0.69	1.27	1.32	1.90
Emilia Romagna	1.00	1.35	0.36	0.75	0.75	0.70	0.93	1.14	0.41
Toscana	1.60	1.77	1.86	1.33	1.29	1.56	1.52	1.60	1.81
Umbria	1.39	1.32	1.29	1.00	0.95	1.23	1.28	1.19	1.28
Marche	0.86	1.08	0.53	0.70	0.72	0.46	0.81	0.95	0.52
Lazio	1.00	1.40	0.36	1.70	1.78	1.36	1.20	1.54	0.51
Abruzzo	0.94	1.03	0.63	0.76	0.76	0.83	0.89	0.93	0.66
Molise	0.77	0.54	0.53	0.57	0.63	0.57	0.71	0.57	0.54
Campania	0.92	0.83	1.28	1.09	1.08	1.09	0.97	0.92	1.25
Puglia	1.02	0.92	0.96	0.88	0.88	0.93	0.98	0.91	0.95
Basilicata	0.95	1.53	0.41	1.04	1.66	0.80	0.98	1.58	0.47
Calabria	0.95	1.13	0.51	0.77	0.84	0.77	0.90	1.03	0.55
Sicilia	1.01	1.05	0.66	1.28	1.34	1.29	1.09	1.15	0.75
Sardegna	1.19	0.81	0.89	1.06	0.97	1.28	1.15	0.87	0.95

Source: Own elaboration on data provided by Ircres CNR

Note: in green are indicated the specialised areas (LQ > 1)

Moving to the SNAI classification scale of analysis at the Country level, presented in table 20, and the comparison with CCIs sectors specialisation, it is possible to draw some general considerations, avoiding the biases deriving from the structural/natural differences of the Regions.

Considering specialisation in Tourism, all Inner Areas classifications show a location quotient higher than one, growing with the level of peripherality (1.3 for intermediate areas, 3.02 for

ultraperipheral areas). This result is clearly driven by Accommodations (2.04 for intermediate areas, 3.86 for ultraperipheral).

If we look at Centres, we cannot affirm that there is a specialisation in Tourism; even in Poles, despite the presence of cities like Milan, Rome or Florence, where the specialisation would be expected taking into account their attractivity.

Considering Services, the results are the opposite, aligned with the ones of CCIs: showing specialisation in Centres, in particular in Poles, and not in Inner Areas, confirming the initial evaluation on being urban dependent (i.e tour operators are located in cities where they have a larger potential market).

Table 20. CCIs and Tourism sectors specialisation in SNAI territorial classifications (2018)

	Centres	A - Pole	B - Intermunicipal Pole	C - Belt	Inner Areas	D - Intermediate	E - Peripheral	F - Ultraperipheral
CCIs	1.06	1.17	0.91	0.95	0.72	0.76	0.64	0.55
Design and Craft	1.05	1.03	1.05	1.09	0.76	0.83	0.64	0.55
Media	1.08	1.28	0.89	0.84	0.66	0.69	0.60	0.51
Fashion	1.07	0.82	0.99	1.42	0.68	0.79	0.48	0.24
Cultural heritage	1.04	1.22	0.86	0.85	0.81	0.81	0.80	0.77
Performing arts	1.09	1.27	0.86	0.88	0.63	0.68	0.54	0.40
Tourism	0.84	0.92	0.75	0.74	1.70	1.30	2.38	3.02
Accommodations	0.76	0.80	0.68	0.73	2.04	1.49	2.97	3.86
Services	1.03	1.24	0.94	0.77	0.88	0.84	0.95	0.97

Source: Own elaboration on data provided by Ircres CNR

Note: in green are indicated the specialised areas (LQ > 1)

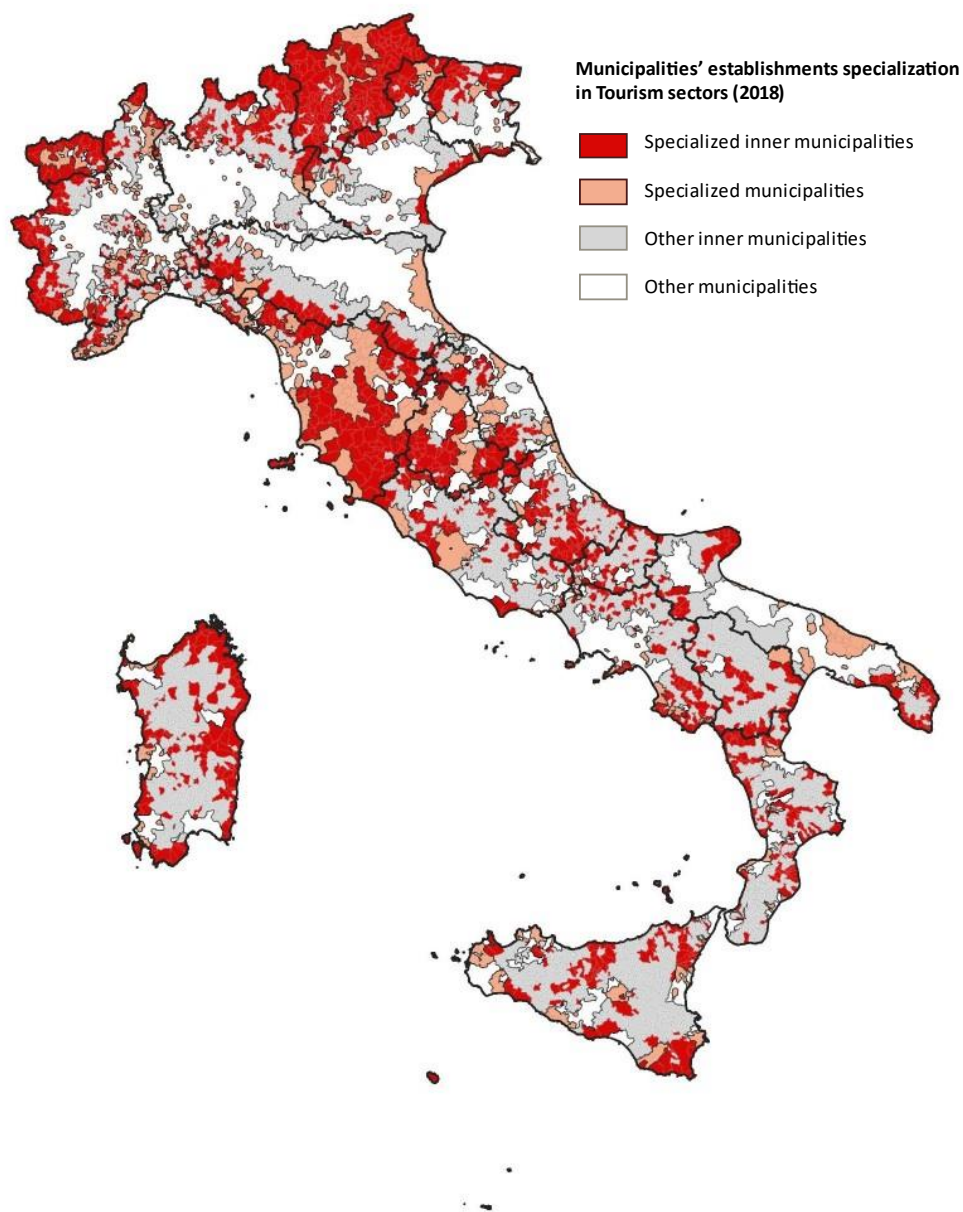
Cultural and Creative Industries show location quotients higher than one in Centres, in particular in Poles, generally confirming their urban dependence. These results are the same for all the five CCIs sectors.

To Summarise, considering table 20, we observe that, where there are high specialisation indexes in CCIs, there are not in Tourism. Confirming our hypothesis.

In order to deepen the understanding of the data, we applied the location quotients at the municipality level for each sector, creating a dummy for specialised municipalities, and

mapped them using QGIs, having added the layer of the SNAI (Inner Areas and Centres). Considering the overall alignment of the results at the sectorial level, we compared the two industries of interest (CCIs and Tourism).

Figure 12. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in Tourism (2018)



Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT

First of all, it is interesting to see the map showing the municipalities' specialisation in Tourism and in the two sectors composing it. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of municipalities with Tourism location quotients higher than one are Inner Areas (68% of the total number of specialised municipalities) and are located mainly in territories characterised by a clear structural advantage. It is in particular evident for the coastal areas of Sardegna, Puglia and Sicilia in southern Italy, Veneto in the north, but also for the Alps and Apennines mountains, reflecting the data related to Trentino Alto Adige and Valle d'Aosta. Similar results are evident for middle Italy, with the almost total specialisation of the municipalities in Toscana and the ones around Rome.

Observing the map showing the municipalities' specialisation in Accommodations, we can notice almost identical patterns.

Figure 13. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in Accommodations and services (2018)

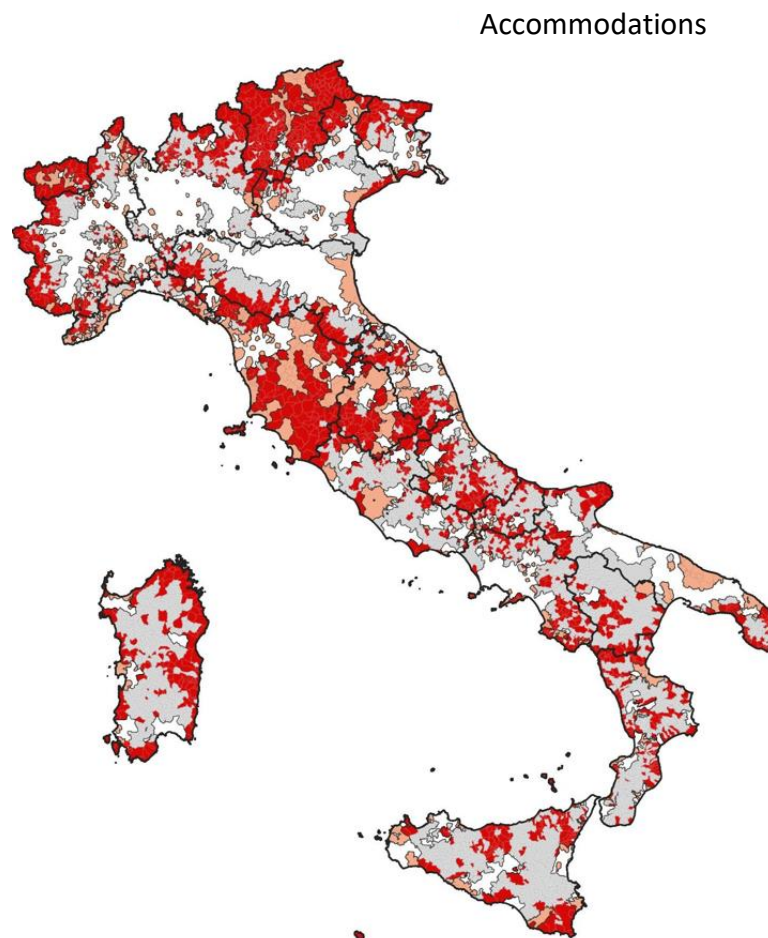
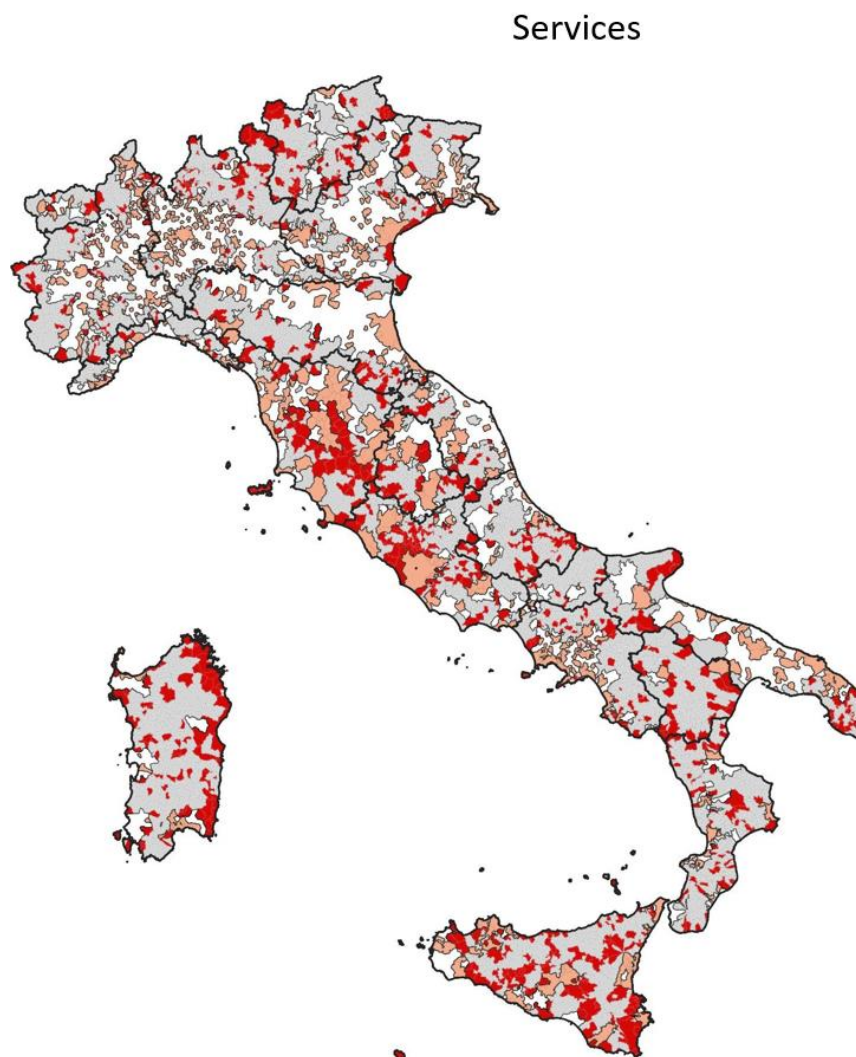


Figure 14. Municipalities' establishments specialisation in Accommodations and Services (2018) – cont.



Source: own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT

While, if we look at Services, they are more scattered and distributed between central and Inner Areas, confirming the evaluations elaborated in the previous paragraphs. In particular we notice some specialised central municipalities located in industrial areas (total white coloured in the Tourism or Accommodations maps) as the Padana plain in northern Italy, between Piemonte, Lombardia, Emilia Romagna and Veneto, demonstrating the location of Services in places where people live, work, and (most of all) plan their holidays.

demonstrating the location of Services in places where people live, work, and (most of all) plan their holidays.

Moving to the spatial exploration, useful to compare CCIs and Tourism specialisation at the municipality scale, considering Central and Inner Areas, in the next we provided the maps showing:

- A. Municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation (location quotient higher than one) both in CCIs and Tourism;
- B. Municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation in CCIs and not in Tourism;
- C. Municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation in Tourism and not in CCIs;
- D. Municipalities characterised by low levels of specialisation in both CCIs and Tourism.

Figure 15. Comparison of municipalities' establishments specialisation (2018)

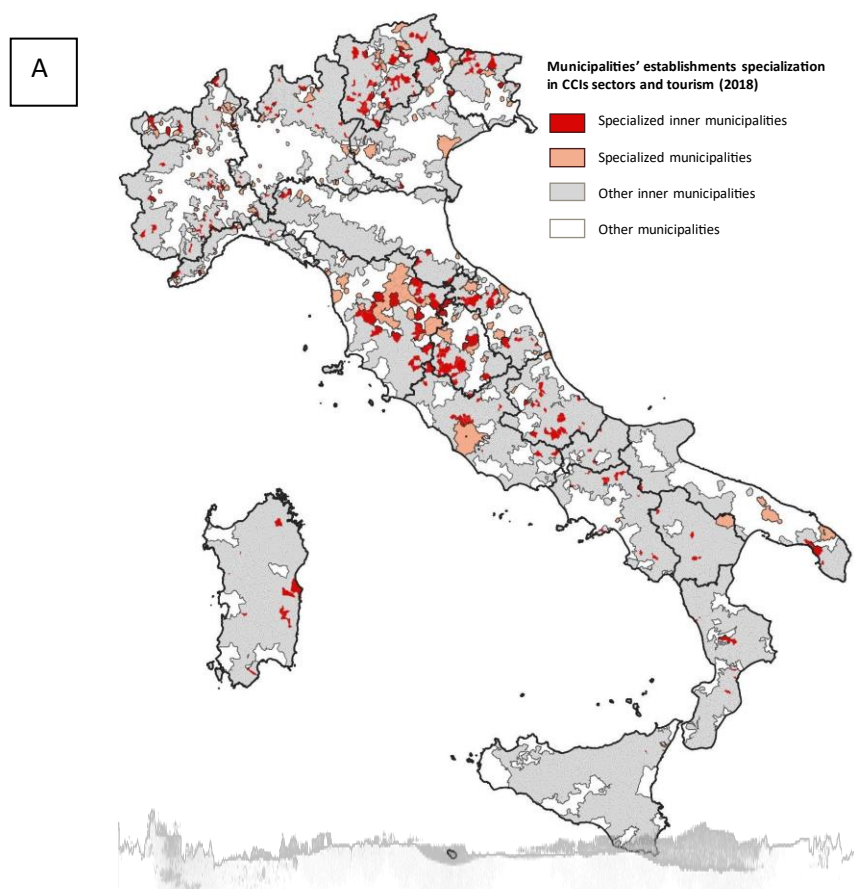


Figure 16. Comparison of municipalities' establishments specialisation (2018) – cont.

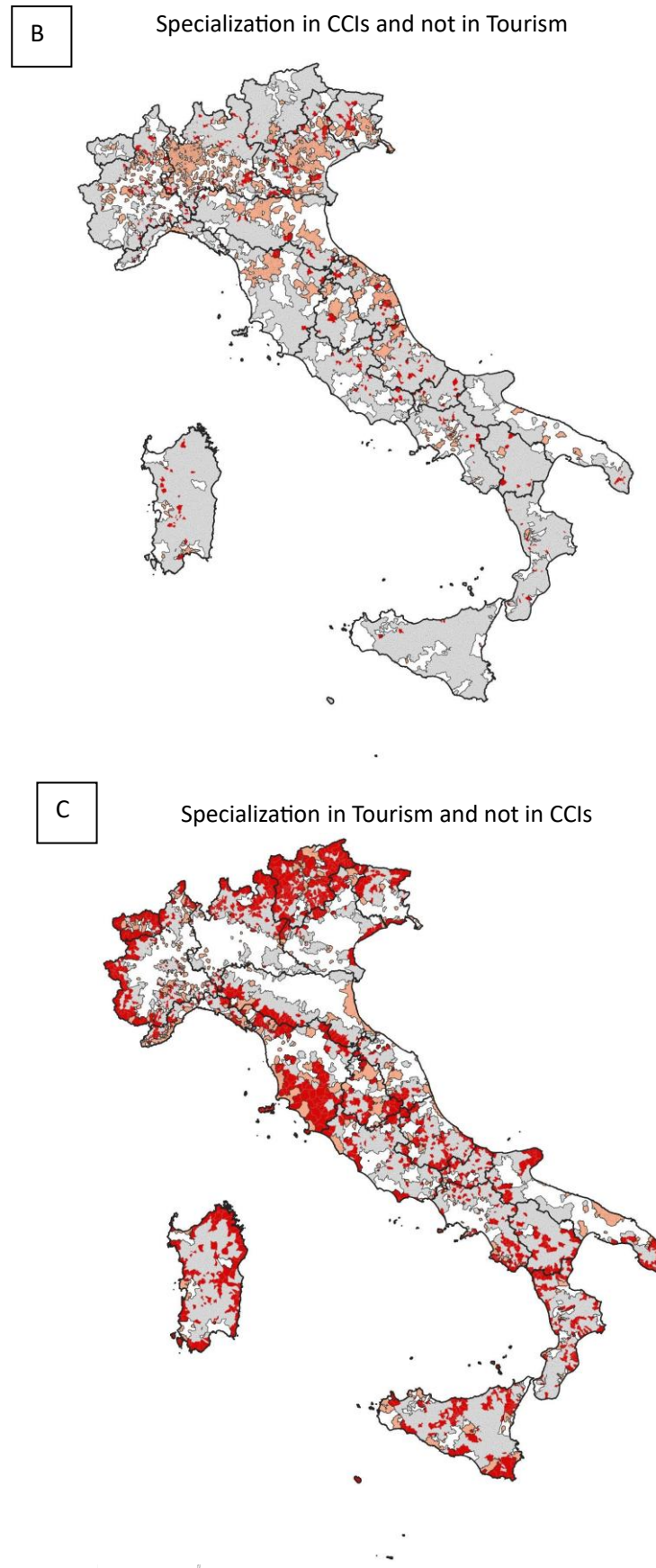
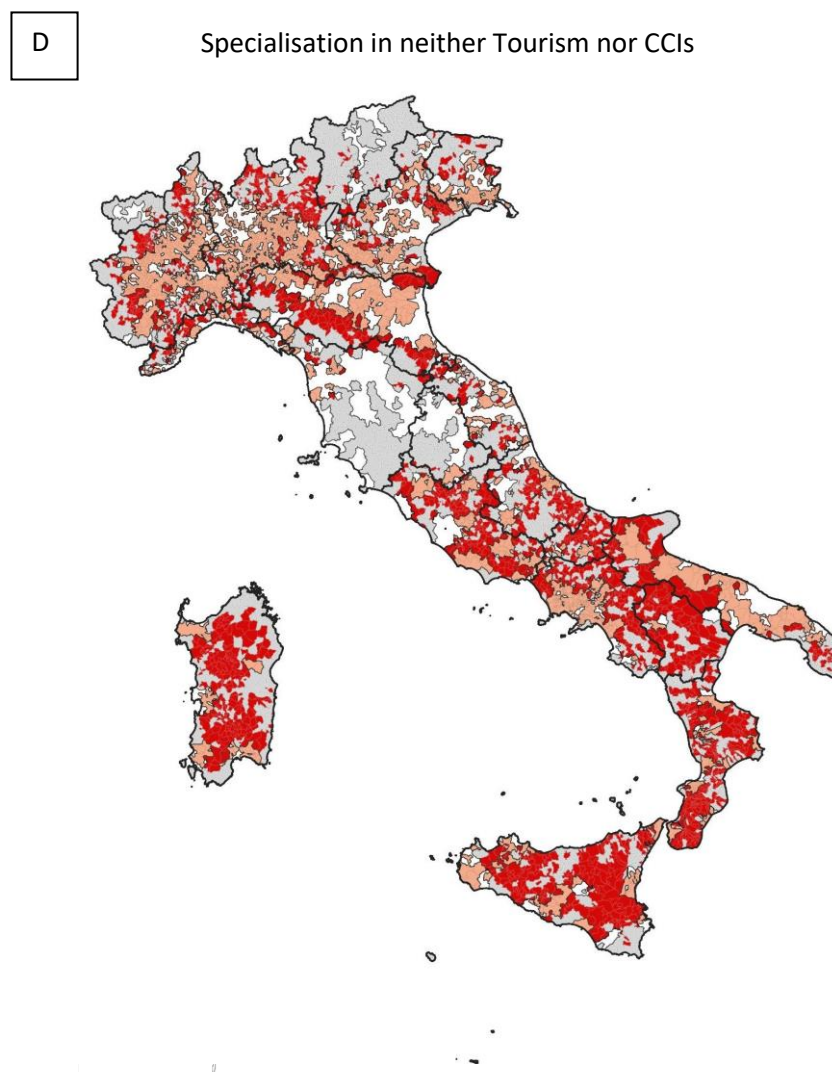


Figure 17. Comparison of municipalities' establishments specialisation (2018) – cont.



Source: Own elaboration on ASIA and ISTAT data

In map A we can notice that the Municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation both in CCIs and Tourism are very rare and scattered, demonstrating the absence of clear common characters between the two sectors. We observe some sort of agglomeration only in Middle Italy, in Toscana and Umbria in particular, and in north-east, following the high levels of specialisation both in Tourism and CCIs.

Map B shows that municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation in CCIs and not in Tourism are located most of all in Central Areas outside the main touristic flows, like the

Padana Plain with its industrial districts, or the area of Prato in Toscana with its fashion district (see Becattini, 2002), confirming different location patterns of the two sectors.

Our empirical observation is underlined in Map C, indicating that municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation in Tourism and not in CCIs are mostly in Inner Areas, concentrating in the valleys of the Alps, the Appennini, in middle Italy, and along the coasts in southern Italy, although more scattered, and the islands.

The Central Areas where it is recognisable a clear specialisation in Tourism and not CCIs, are the consolidated seaside touristic areas of Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Toscana, and Puglia.

The Municipalities characterised by low levels of specialisation in both CCIs and Tourism (Map D) represent the majority of the total and cover the great part of southern Italy (mainly Inner Areas showing rooted development problems) and north western Italy (the Italian manufacturing industrial hotspot), following the evaluations made in the previous paragraphs and Italian economic development history.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter analysed the spatial distribution of Tourism sectors in Italy, comparing them with Cultural and Creative Industries, focusing on the territorial classification proposed by the National Strategy for Inner Areas.

From a methodological point of view, the database proposed in the previous work (Porta, Segre, & Arauzo-Carod 2024) was integrated with the data on Tourism sectors (Accommodations and Services) and location quotients were calculated and mapped, in order to compare the specialisation of the industries of interest at the Regional and municipal scale, applying the layer of the SNAI territorial classifications (Pole, Intermunicipal pole, Belt, Intermediate, Peripheral, Ultraperipheral).

The results showed that, on one hand, Tourism specialisation is driven by the structural and natural characteristics of the territories (i.e. coastlands, mountains, natural landscapes, historic villages), which leads to the fact that the great part (around 70%) of Italian municipalities specialised in Tourism are classified as Inner Areas. This result is in particular influenced by the Accommodations sector, where municipalities specialisation grows with the growing level of territorial peripherality; while Services, considering the characteristics of the connected activities, are urban dependent.

Cultural and Creative industries, on the other hand, follow completely opposite specialisation and spatial patterns: Central Areas have higher location quotients than Inner ones, and in general if a municipality shows high specialisation in Tourism, does not in CCIs.

This empirical evidences launch a warning, which constitute the main outcome and contribution of this chapter: according to the Tourism establishments' spatial distribution and specialisation, in particular, Inner Areas are clearly exploited as territories of consumption rather than production and repopulation, creating then a threat of worsening the peripheralisation process, and not the other way round.

Considering the two sub sectors and their distribution compared to CCIs, the high specialisation of Inner municipalities in Accommodation establishments (which are the great part of Tourism Industry) and the contextual specialisation in Tourism Services of urban areas,

aligned with the one of CCIs, suggest that, on one hand the touristic experiences are bought in cities and consumed in Inner Areas, and, on the other hand, CCIs produce and sell in Centres. So, there is not a direct relationship between the two industries of interest, apart from an alignment on the production and market space, which configures Inner Areas as passive territories of escape, and Centres the places where cultural and touristic products are created and sold.

These results, although not being conclusive and needing further investigation, contribute to the literature on Tourism and Culture based local development showing initial insights on the (non?) complementarity of the two industries.

Moreover, on the policy side, some questions could be raised in relation to the SNAI and its current investments. If Inner Areas are already Tourism oriented and specialised, we wonder if it is correct to insist on investing in this industry. Especially considering the structural and territorial characteristics of these territories, it is yet to be demonstrated if Tourism actually drives development and repopulation, the declared objectives of the Strategy, or if it is strictly exploiting the attractiveness and resources of that areas as venting space for city dwellers (Bohlin, Brandt, & Elbe, 2016; Bohlin et al., 2022), as our results suggests.

CCIs, although explicitly indicated as a solution for the future of Inner Areas, apparently are not yet included in the strategies at the local level, apart from the cultural and creative tourism domain, which is something completely different and, at the end of the day, still part of the Tourism industry.

Nevertheless, they could play a positive role in the equation, in guaranteeing a community and place-based development, as envisaged by the SNAI, but it is important then to understand their location and specialisation specificities, completely different (at least from our initial results) from those of Tourism, and how to cope with them.

For these reasons our research work opens and requires further investigation on the determinants and motivations of the different specialisation of these two industries, in order to understand where and how to facilitate a virtuous relationship, contributing to the refinement of the policy level.

There are clearly some limitations on our data and methods: firstly, as already mentioned, our dataset includes only professional accommodations and services, leaving behind the numerous activities working in the field as secondary enterprises mediated by the well-known (and criticised) web platforms. Secondly, we focus on only one year (2018), while an historical sequencing could be interesting.

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CHAPTER 4

Cultural and Creative Industries specialisation in Italian Inner Areas. Spatial evidence on the complementarity and substitution with tourism

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4.1 Introduction

Territory, culture, and development are interconnected aspects that influence and shape one another. Understanding their spatial interrelationships is critical for comprehending the dynamics of economies and societies, and their challenges and opportunities for sustainable and inclusive development. Geographic features, such as climate, accessibility, natural resources, and historical events influence cultural traditions, art and craft local production, and artistic expressions of both tangible and intangible types. Interior regions face different challenges than do coastal ones; similarly for rural and mountain areas as compared to urban settlements.

A positive role is envisaged for culture as an engine of economic development through cultural and creative industries (CCIs). It has been widely demonstrated by the growing literature, published after the seminal research by KEA (2006), that CCIs are key factors for economic growth both in industrialised and economically successful regions (Boix Domenech, De Miguel Molina, & Rausell Köster, 2022; Innocenti & Lazzeretti, 2019; OECD, 2021; Rivas, Cappellano, Call, & Agreement, 2020) and in marginalised and less developed territories (Collins & Cunningham, 2017; de la Barre, 2012; Fitjar & Rodríguez-Pose, 2011; Lysgård, 2016). The specialisation in the culture and creative economy is based on the capacity to attract talent (Florida, 2005) and create innovation (Scott, 1997), thus favouring the location of economic activities (Coll-Martínez & Arauzo-Carod, 2017).

As a driver for economic development, another sector widely targeted is tourism. In particular, creative tourism creates important opportunities (Richards, 2020), with creative spatial

clusters that bring together creative producers and artisans and provide fruitful creative environments for tourism consumption (Lénia Marques, 2014). Besides entertainment and sports activities, tourism consumption is motivated by visits to historical and natural sites, archaeological ruins and religious monuments, traditional villages and historic centres, and by participation in cultural events like music concerts, dance and theatre performances, and local celebrations. For many travellers, the purpose is a deeper understanding and appreciation of the traditions, values, and ways of life of different cultures. The integration between the tourism industry and the creative economy is therefore considered a strategic factor generating positive links among producers, consumers, and places (OECD, 2018). In the non-urban, remote and marginal areas, often rich in cultural and natural heritage but also suffering from problems such as an ageing population, out-migration, poor skills, and low incomes, tourism is increasingly considered by policymakers to be a promising and significant driver for sustainable development.

The actual contribution of tourism to supporting local development is, however, a field that needs further study and whose results are being debated (Fonseca, 2019; Kostakis, 2020; Liu, Nijkamp, & Lin, 2017; Pablo-romero & Molina, 2013). Whether it is good or not for places, especially considering the urban/periphery dynamic (Bohlin, Brandt, & Elbe, 2016; Bohlin, 2022; Brouder, 2012; Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, 2022; Hall 2013,) has not been resolved. In recent years, great concern has arisen in terms of environmental sustainability, territorial carrying capacity and real improvements in the communities' quality of life, orienting the policy debate at the national and international levels towards the research for new and more sustainable strategies.

The over-tourism phenomenon, due to the concentration of tourist flows in a few heritage locations in the main tourist destinations, is increasingly emerging as a significant problem. The scarcity of alternative tourism destinations and valuable proximity trips contribute to reinforcing the concern. It is recognised, conversely, that tourists are seeking authenticity and experience when visiting a place, and that tourism and creativity are strongly connected concepts (Richards, 2020). Cultural and creative sectors are significant territorial assets to be integrated into the tourism value chain in both the most, and the less, developed tourism destinations.

In Italy, tourism is an important economic sector, which before the Covid-19 pandemic accounted for more than 5% of GDP and 6% of employment in the country (Banca d'Italia, 2019), thus having a twofold dimension. In those major Italian cities, famous throughout the world for their cultural heritage, tourism is often characterised by unsustainable over-tourism path leading to huge crowding-out effects on many services and productive sectors (Bei & Celata, 2023). Here, we are referring not only to cities such as Venice, Florence, Rome but also many others (for example, of the 58 sites on the UNESCO World Heritage list, around 45 are cities).³⁶

A similar hardly sustainable development path is affecting seaside and mountain destinations, such as parts of the Sicily coast and the Dolomiti mountains (located in the Alps in Northern Italy). In other areas, characterised by scarcity of natural, artistic, and economic resources, tourism is still a desired and desirable engine for development. Italy simultaneously faces excessive pressure in the most famous cultural and natural destinations and the abandonment of a high portion of the territory located in non-urban areas where access to essential public services is relatively poor, production activities are rare and GDP per capita is lower than average. Here, the population is ageing, the youth unemployment rate is high, and therefore migration appears to be the best - and sometimes only - option. In both circumstances, the interaction between tourism and the CCIs sector, which accounts for 6% of GDP (Symbola, 2022), can be a key factor for local economic growth and a solution for reducing the mono-touristic specialisation of the economy in the most touristic areas and for sustaining the less developed ones.

Nonetheless, in Italy several local development policies have targeted solely tourism activities, treating culture and creativity as passive factors (Bronzini et al., 2022; Petrei et al., 2020). When considering remote and peripheral areas, this tendency is driven to excess, and the vision of tourism as a development panacea risk is becoming a naïve solution to complex and rooted problems. The effectiveness of promoting these areas as tourist destinations focusing on their cultural and natural resources, riding the wave of sustainability and the contemporary

³⁶ See <https://www.unesco.it/italianellunesco/detail/188> (Accessed April 2024)

attention to the quality of life, is a critical issue still under investigation (Bohlin et al., 2022; Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, 2022; Sabatini & Mariani, 2023; R. Salvatore et al., 2018).

Within this context, this chapter aims to contribute to the understanding of the role of CCIs and tourism in local development by investigating the differences in the spatial distribution of the firms in the two sectors. The specialisation and localisation of the firms are observed considering the establishments at the level of some 8,000 municipalities and the difference between the central and remote peripheral areas. Our hypothesis is that, from a spatial point of view, CCIs and tourism are not complementary industries, they exclude each other because of the crowding-out effect of tourism and the internal competition for the production factors. In particular, given the scarcity of resources, population, and infrastructure, when cultural and natural heritage are combined with rurality, then remote and marginal areas tend to host tourism establishments and exclude CCI sectors.

CCIs are expected to follow different spatial patterns, be more aligned with other industrial sectors, and be strictly linked with urban areas. To comprehensively examine the issue, in Section 2 of the chapter we further present the case of the Italian remote and marginal areas, and in Section 3 we describe the empirical strategy applied to the analysis of CCIs and tourism spatial distribution. Section 4 illustrates the results of the local specialisation, the spatial autocorrelation, and the econometric analysis applying the Spatial Durbin Model testing the effects caused by being a non-urban, remote, and marginal peripheral area. Section 5 concludes the chapter by providing comments for the better tuning of the current and future policies targeting CCIs and tourism as a development driver.

4.2 Culture, creativity, and tourism in Italian inner peripheral areas

The introduction of the concept of non-urban, remote, and marginal peripheral areas is essential to fully analyse the spatial distribution of CCIs. Adding to this concept the term inner (internal), we can explicitly refer our analysis to the Italian expression “Aree Interne”. According to the EU-funded ESPON PROFECY Project framework,³⁷ the definition of inner introduces an essential term which has to be used separately from the periphery concept. This expression is used to merge the concept of peripherality (measured as the geographical distance from the centres) with other relevant dimensions within a country. The general literature dealing with peripheral areas typically relates to the urban fabric (i.e., city peripheries) or the regional conditions (i.e., European peripheries and developing countries), and it is based on a centre-periphery relation.

Peripheral areas are commonly considered areas characterised by negative connotations of backwardness, associated with images of shrinking regions with limited access to essential public services (hospitals and education), poorly developed economies, out-migration of young and well-educated people, and ageing or marginalized populations. With this vision, however, a sharp simplification in the discourse about peripheral areas is conveyed. The tendency to consider and define them through dichotomies (rural-urban, periphery-centre, shrinking-growing, backwards-innovative, conservative-progressive, passive-active), led to the construction of “non-urban regions” (Görmar & Lang, 2019, p. 487) where cities are the only source of innovation, connectivity, and creativity capable of attracting the innovating creative classes (Florida, 2005). As peripheral areas are usually associated with interesting rural and mountainous natural dimensions, they are considered idyllic and perfect for tourism (Hall et al., 2013; Kauppila et al., 2009; R. Salvatore et al., 2018)

Our research differs from this trend and embraces a composite definition of inner peripheral areas. Following Pezzi and Urso (2016) and Copus, Mantino, & Noguera (2017), we combine four main interrelated approaches: the geographical approach, the political economical

³⁷ See <https://www.espon.eu/inner-peripheries> (Accessed April 2024)

approach, the anthropological approach, and the sociological approach known as peripheralization.

The most intuitive approach in the definition of peripheral areas is the geographical one, which uses the concept of distance, starting from Euclidean space: areas located far from the centre, and the cities, difficult to reach, with limited access to services.

The political economy approach defines peripheral areas based on two fundamental dynamics: power and economic development. Both related to the urban-rural / core-margin dichotomy, it considers peripheries as static spaces “characterized by power in the centre and powerlessness at the periphery” (Kühn, 2015 p. 376).

The anthropological approach introduced the related word “remote” which, according to Harms et al. (2014) can help to better understand the field, detaching from the geographic dimension and considering it also as a social construct. However, remote areas can be understood only as opposite to a dominant zone (Ardener, 2012).

Due to their characteristics, in remote areas innovation is more visible, and more effective, whilst in dominant Central Areas, every action needs much evidence to be considered singular. Remote areas are then places where innovation is every day about to happen, a space of possibilities, in opposition to the dominant (urban) zone. The fourth approach defines the peripheries as a process. According to (Kühn, 2015)hn (2015, p. 369), while periphery in the geographical, economic and political approaches is defined as “pre-given spaces - with social implications”, so static and almost unchangeable given their remote location and distance to centres, shifting the attention to the process (peripheralization), they can be defined as “social relations-with spatial implications” resulting from a dynamic process (political, economic, social, cultural, communicative) and is changeable based on the actor networks. Taking into account the core of this approach, then peripheries are not to be considered static, but results and objects of a dynamic process; a periphery is not unchangeable.

Considering cultural, and creative activities and tourism in those areas is an exercise of particular interest. Culture, creativity and tourism can be key ingredients for innovation and development within and outside the areas, introducing in this sense a deep difference

between the static, negative definition of “peripheral”. Inner Areas should be analysed as the result of specific processes and causes of peripherality (which do include geographical characteristics, distance from centres, demography, economics and access to basic services), but to which the analysis cannot be limited. In our view, a crucial component, with both economic and social implications, is culture, a sector capable of connecting different sectors, capturing the historical and artistic heritage of places, nourishing the existent creativity embedded in the inhabitants, and representing future development occasions.

That is why, moving from this explanation to the core of the research, and following Author, we argue that the assessment of cultural and creative industries and tourism spatial distribution and agglomeration could be an effective way to detect the development possibilities and dynamics of territories, being a way to revert the peripheralization process of Inner Areas, consolidating and describing a new approach to sustainable development and communities.

Our case study is based on the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI), launched in Italy in 2014 as an innovative (at least in the European context) policy aiming at facing and solving the rooted development disparity within the country. The SNAI classifies all the Italian municipalities³⁸ and considers a set of precise criteria for peripherality (i.e., distance from services, depopulation dynamics, and socio-economic structure of the local communities) according to which the national territory can be divided into two main categories: Centres and Inner Areas, each of them composed by three subcategories, respectively Pole, Intermunicipal pole, Belt, and Intermediate, Peripheral, Ultraperipheral. As shown in Table 21, Inner Areas constitute a significant portion of the Italian territory and communities covering around 50% of municipalities and 60% of the total surface, and hosting 23% of the population, although this has continuously decreased over recent decades.

³⁸ See <https://politichecoesione.governo.it/it/strategie-tematiche-e-territoriali/strategie-territoriali/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne-snai/le-aree-interne-2021-2027/lavori-preparatori-snai-2021-2027/mappa-aree-interne-2020/> (Accessed April 2024)

Table 21. Centres and Inner Areas overview of the Italian features

	N. Municipalities	% Municipalities distribution	Surface Km2	% Surface distribution	Population*	% Population distribution	Migratory balance*
Centres	4,069	51%	124,527	41%	45,803,352	77%	42,650
<i>Pole</i>	182	2%	24,455	8%	20,470,301	35%	30,349
<i>Intermunicipal</i>	59	1%	3,728	1%	1,576,586	3%	421
<i>Belt</i>	3,828	48%	96,344	32%	23,756,465	40%	11,880
Inner Areas	3,834	49%	177,541	59%	13,432,861	23%	-22,191
<i>Intermediate</i>	1,928	24%	75,838	25%	8,059,454	14%	-6,868
<i>Peripheral</i>	1,524	19%	79,394	26%	4,653,355	8%	-12,912
<i>Ultrapерipheral</i>	382	5%	22,310	7%	720,052	1%	-2,411
Italy	7,903	100%	302,068	100%	59,236,213	100%	20,459

Note: *data refers to 2020

Source: Authors' elaboration from Istat (2022)³⁹

With a view to reverting the peripheralization process of these territories, transforming them into constructive occasions for the country, the government allocated considerable financial resources for the promotion of development projects in 72 pilot areas (Porta et al., 2024), most of them dedicated to tourism and culture (Brandano, 2020; Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2021; Crociata A. , Pinate A. C., 2024). Even if is not yet possible to argue about the efficacy of the policy, we can highlight that the ongoing tendency within the SNAI is the application of the tourism rhetoric which considers the sector as an easy solution for every development problem in marginalized territories, while ignoring local specificities and potential.

This approach, on the contrary, risks further aggravating the peripheralization process, transforming Italian Inner Areas into spaces of exclusion, fully dependent on urban centres (Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2022). According to Sabatini (2023, p. 19) *“On one side are poles of production, speed and concentration, and on the other are margins that, if they are to redeem themselves from abandonment, must be places of clear identity, uncritical beauty, guaranteed quality and authentic experience. Territories that too often aspire to preserve themselves as dimensions of escape, thinking of their energy, environmental and heritage resources more in terms of tourist consumption than of endogenous local development”*.

³⁹ See the dataset: <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/273176> (Accessed April 2024)

In this perspective, the role of CCIs, currently being considered by the SNAI as just a passive factor for completing an authentic and fancy touristic experience, could be crucial in guaranteeing that the development process creates rooted endogenous socio-economic occasions for local communities. That is why, going back to the objective of this chapter, to possibly contribute to the overall efficacy of the SNAI, it is necessary to investigate and assess the current distribution and different locations of CCIs and tourism activities.

4.3 Empirical strategy

Data

Building upon explorative research (Porta et al., 2024), to establish the sectorial boundaries for CCIs we relied on the 2018 dataset managed by IRCRES-CNR on Italian establishments categorized according to the standardized five-digit ATECO classification. The CCIs classification framework adopted in our study encompasses three main sectors, grouping subsectors following Walter Santagata's three-pillar model of the cultural economy (Santagata, 2009). By adopting this comprehensive selection, we are able to capture the unique characteristics of the Italian context and provide a broader understanding of the macro sector of cultural and creative activities, as highlighted by previous studies (Boix, Capone, De Propriis, Lazzeretti, & Sanchez, 2016; Sacco & Segre, 2009).

In order to ensure clarity in our analysis, we focused on cultural sectors that are internationally recognized, excluding food-related activities, although part of the CCIs considered important in the Italian context (Santagata & Bertacchini, 2011), to address the potential ambiguity surrounding the cultural connections of food establishments and avoid biases that could arise. Nevertheless we chose to avoid the adoption of the industry classification provided by Eurostat's (2018) taxonomy, following Throsby's concentric circles (Throsby, 2000): this choice was motivated by the need to include the material culture (crafts, fashion, creative products in non-creative industries) without risking to underestimate their presence, considering the focus in traditionally rooted marginal areas.

Consequently, for CCIs, we focus on five subsectors⁴⁰, namely Cultural Heritage, Performing Arts, Fashion, Design and Crafts, and Media and New Media. Regarding the tourism sector,

⁴⁰ ATECO codes, Design: 13921; 13930; 13991; 13992; 13999; 16291; 16293; 16294; 23192; 23410; 23490; 23702; 25991; 31012; 31020; 31092; 31093; 31099; 32121; 32122; 32130; 32200; 47792; 47794; 74101; 74102; 74109; 95240; 95250; 95290. Fashion: 13100; 13200; 13910; 13962; 14110; 14131; 14132; 14140; 14191; 14192; 14200; 14310; 14390; 15110; 15120; 15201. Cultural Heritage: 71110; 71121; 71122; 85520; 85591; 90030; 91010; 91020; 91030; 91040; 94992. Media and New Media: 18110; 18120; 18130; 18140; 18200; 47610; 47621; 58110; 58130; 58140; 58190; 58210; 58290; 59110; 59120; 59130; 59140; 60100; 60200; 62010; 63910; 73110; 74201; 82992
Performing Arts: 90030; 47630; 59201; 74909; 79901; 90010; 90020; 90040.

which presented a simpler categorization due to its distinct economic activities, we included two main subsectors, Accommodations and Tourism Services.⁴¹

As previously mentioned, the spatial boundaries for our study were determined using the classification of Italian municipalities introduced by the SNAI in 2014. However, we encountered disparities among the datasets due to changes in municipality names, surface areas, and other modifications that occurred between 2014 and 2018. To address these discrepancies, we integrated data from the Italian Cohesion Agency website⁴² and the Italian National Statistics Institute (ISTAT) shapefiles using QGIS software.

Additionally, we utilised conversion tables provided by the ISTAT municipalities classification database to ensure proper alignment with the list of municipalities for 2018. This process allowed us to construct a relational database (Harrington, 2016) of Italian establishments, employing open-source SQL clients, SQuirreL and SQLite. Summing up, the database consists of primary tables that capture territorial classification of municipalities included in the SNAI, establishment-level data, and the 5-digit ATECO selected CCI and tourism sectors and subsectors.

Variables and estimation

There are two dependent variables: the location quotient of CCI and the location quotient of the tourism sector (T), both calculated at the municipality level. These location quotients (LQ_{ij}) have been calculated for all the 7,904 Italian municipalities for 2018 as follows:

$$LQ_{ij} = \left(\frac{E_{ij}/E_j}{E_i/E} \right)$$

⁴¹ ATECO codes, Tourism: 55100; 55201; 55202; 55204; 55205; 55300; 55902; 79110; 79120; 79901; 79902; 84124; 84138; 93299.

⁴² <https://www.agenziacoessione.gov.it/strategia-nazionale-aree-interne/la-selezione-delle-aree/> (Accessed April 2024)

where i refers to the industry (CCIs or T) and j refers to the municipality; E_{ij} is the number of establishments for the specific industry in a given municipality, E_j is the total number of establishments in a given municipality, E_i is the number of establishments for the specific industry at the national level and E is the total number of establishments at the national level. According to this index, the municipality is specialised in a given industry if $LQ_{ij} > 1$, which means that the relative share of that industry at the given municipality is larger than the national share.

Table 22 shows the number and percentage of municipalities specialised (or not) in CCIs and tourism according to different combinations and following territorial classifications of centres and Inner Areas. At the national level, around half of Italian municipalities are specialised in CCIs or tourism, with a slightly larger percentage for the latter, while a small number (6% of the total) specialised in both. Inner Areas, in particular the most peripheral municipalities, tend to specialise in tourism (40%) and not in CCIs (16%), while centres are the opposite.

Table 22. Location quotients in Centres and Inner Areas (2018)

	N.	%	N.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	N. Spec.	% Spec.	N. Spec.	% Spec.	Spec. in CCI, not T	Spec. CCI not T	Spec. T, not CCI	Spec. T, not CCI	Spec. in CCI and T	Not Spec. T and CCI	% Not Spec. T and CCI	% Spec. CCI and T
Centres	1,259	33%	744	19%	1,063	28%	548	14%	196	2,033	53%	5%
<i>Pole</i>	96	44%	49	23%	79	36%	32	15%	17	89	41%	8%
<i>Intermunicipal</i>	40	33%	32	26%	32	26%	24	20%	8	58	48%	7%
<i>Belt</i>	1123	32%	663	19%	952	27%	492	14%	171	1,886	54%	5%
Inner Areas	639	16%	1,615	40%	394	10%	1,370	34%	245	2,055	51%	6%
<i>Intermediate</i>	451	20%	799	35%	292	13%	640	28%	159	1,202	52%	7%
<i>Peripheral</i>	167	11%	680	46%	91	6%	604	41%	76	708	48%	5%
<i>Ultraperipheral</i>	21	7%	136	47%	11	4%	126	43%	10	145	50%	3%
Italy	1,898	24%	2,359	30%	1,457	18%	1,918	24%	441	4,088	52%	6%

Source: Authors' calculations

Overall, in Italy in 2018 the number of firms in the various CCIs sectors accounted for 10% of the total number of establishments (Author). In order to econometrically analyse what is behind local specialisation in CCIs and tourism, we assume that it is explained by a

combination of economic, cultural, social, and geographical factors (see similar exercises by Bohlin et al., 2022; Boix Domenech et al., 2022; Innocenti & Lazzeretti, 2019).

The exploratory variables are included in four vectors (namely Geography, Agglomeration economies, Culture, and Tourism) in addition to the main variable of interest of this chapter, which is the dummy variable for Inner Areas. Some of these variables (i.e., geography and inner) do not have a time dimension and, for the others, the reference year is 2011. Regarding the aforementioned vectors, agglomeration economy variables include the number of establishments (Establishments), the number of establishments squared (Establishments²), the density of establishments (Establishments_den) and the mean size of establishments (Establishments_size).⁴³ Geographical variables include the altitude of the municipality (Altitude), a dummy indicating whether the municipality is close to the seaside (Coast) and a dummy indicating whether the municipality is an island (Island). Culture variables include the number of protected buildings and cultural assets (Heritage), its ratio to population (Heritage_pop) and surface area of the municipality (Heritage_den). Tourism variables include the number of beds in tourism establishments (Beds), its ratio to population (Beds_pop) and the surface of the municipality (Beds_den).

As for the expected effects, Geographical variables aim to capture territorial attractiveness that may increase tourism activities; agglomeration economies variables target territorial efficiency due to agglomeration of firms and individuals and are expected to positively impact over both CCIs and tourism activities; CCIs variables are hypothesized to have a positive effect over CCIs specialisation as imply the existence of amenities that may attract such activities; and, similarly, Tourism variables are expected to increase specialisation in tourism.

Notice that we provide one specification for the specialisation in each activity (i.e., CCIs and tourism), that these are very similar but have slight differences aiming to control for the particularities of each industry (i.e., vectors of CCIs and tourism) and that give the cross-section nature of the data (i.e., specialisation data is provided only for 2018) we cannot estimate the effect of specialisation of tourism over CCIs and vice-versa.

⁴³ Establishments included in this dataset belong to all economic activities.

Table 23 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables used. For each variable, the mean, the standard deviation, and the Moran's I statistic are provided. It should be noted that all variables show a positive and statistically significant Moran's I statistic, which indicates that spatial effects are quite relevant.

Table 23. Variables descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Moran's I
Inner	0.514	0.500	0	1	0.636
Geography					
Altitude	354.686	296.295	0	2035	0.740
Coast	0.147	0.355	0	1	0,682
Island	0.100	0.301	0	1	0.819
Agglomeration economies					
Establishments	608.223	4164.159	1	259,600	0.021
Establishments^2	1.77e+07	8.61e+08	0	6.74e+10	0.000
Establishments_den	21.969	46.268	0	1026.666	0.541
Establishments_size	2.921	1.502	0	17.750	0.000
Population_den	300.328	637.302	0.920	12224.410	0.685
Income_pc	11.676.090	2990.070	0	33.183.400	0.796
Ratio_jobs/pop	0.228	0.293	0	10.502	0.079
Culture					
Heritage	368.668	2791.662	0	126581	0.015
Heritage_den	9.219	48.445	0	3142.620	0.089
Heritage_rel	0.081	0.221	0	7.242	0.349
Tourism					
Beds	617.389	3586.174	0	183762	0.114
Beds_den	18.255	94.531	0	3991.812	0.194
Beds_rel	0.146	0.481	0	9.725	0.313

Source: Authors' calculations

The aim of the analysis is to create and estimate a linear additive econometric specification of the form:

$$y = X\beta + \varepsilon$$

where y is the dependent variable in each equation (specialisation in CCIs and in tourism activities, respectively), X is a matrix containing all independent variables plus an intercept, and ε is the error term. The fact that all variables (both dependent and independent) have some degree of spatial dependence renders the OLS estimation inappropriate, since the assumption of non-dependence between cross-sectional observations is not satisfied. Therefore, spatial econometric methods and models are needed if these spatial issues are to be tackled. Among them, instead of the standard spatial models such as the Spatial Autoregressive Model (SAR) and the Spatial Error Model (SEM), we will consider the Spatial Durbin Model (SDM) with the following specification:

$$y = \rho W y + X \beta + W X \vartheta + \varepsilon$$

This model has gained in popularity since it solves the old debate about whether to use a SAR or a SEM model. Scholars like Lesage and Pace (2009) advocate models that include both a spatially lagged dependent variable and spatially lagged independent variables. It should also be noted that ϑ cannot be interpreted as revealing anything about the causal effect of spatial lags on the dependent variable since the spatial lags are simply being used to control for spatial correlation in the error term (Gibbons & Overman, 2012).

Additionally, as suggested by Elhorst (2010, p. 10), SDM “produces unbiased coefficient estimates also if the true data-generation process is a spatial lag or a spatial error model. Another strength is that it does not impose prior restrictions on the magnitude of potential spatial spillover effects. In contrast to other spatial regression specifications, these spillover effects can be global or local and be different for different independent variables”.

Overall, the empirical analysis and results include a spatial exploratory analysis intended to identify spatial patterns regarding local specialisation on CCIs and tourism, and an econometric analysis to identify the determinants of the calculated specialisation patterns.

4.4 Results

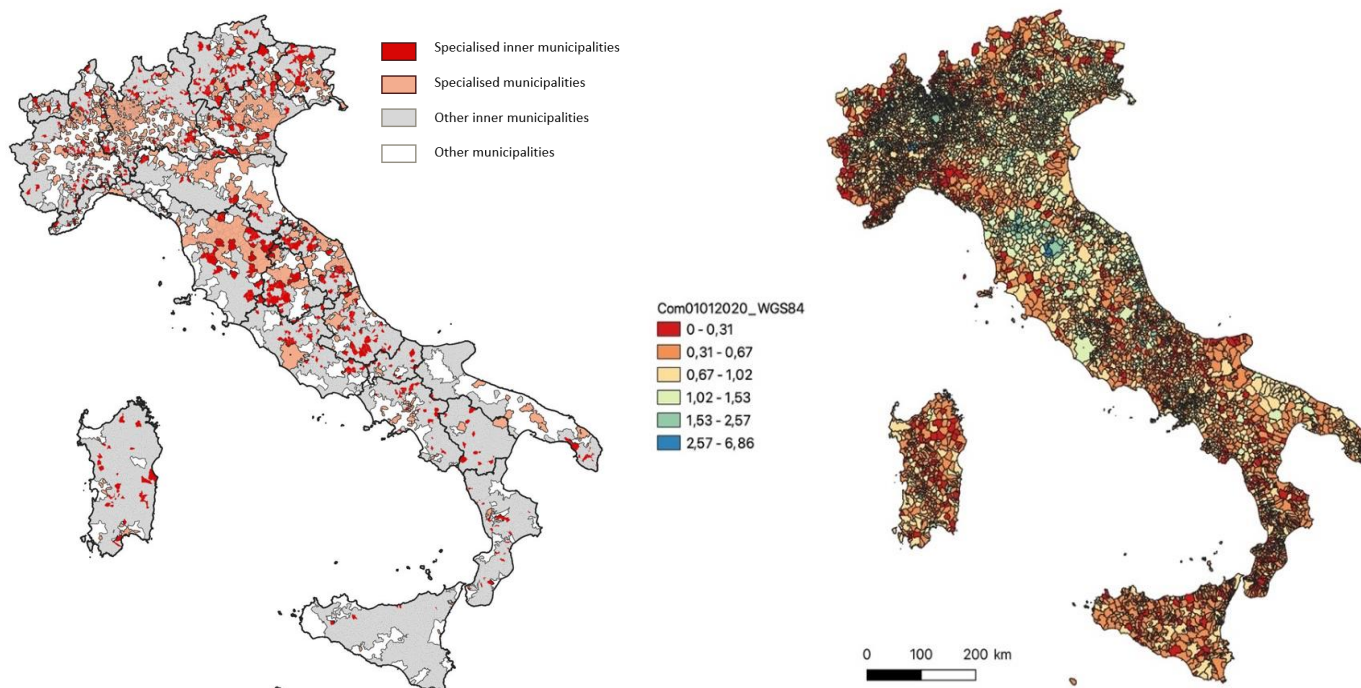
The spatial exploratory analysis results

A first examination into location patterns of CCIs and tourism firms shows a very different pattern for both activities. Concretely, Figure 13 shows on the left-hand side a typology of municipalities distinguishing them according to two dimensions (specialised vs. non-specialised, inner vs. non-inner), and at the right-hand side the detailed data on industry specialisation for both CCIs (1.a) and tourism (1.b). In this sense, specialisation in CCIs is stronger in Central (i.e., Tuscany, Umbria and Marche) and Northern regions (i.e., Veneto, Alto Adige and Friuli Venezia Giulia) since most specialised municipalities are centres rather than Inner Areas.

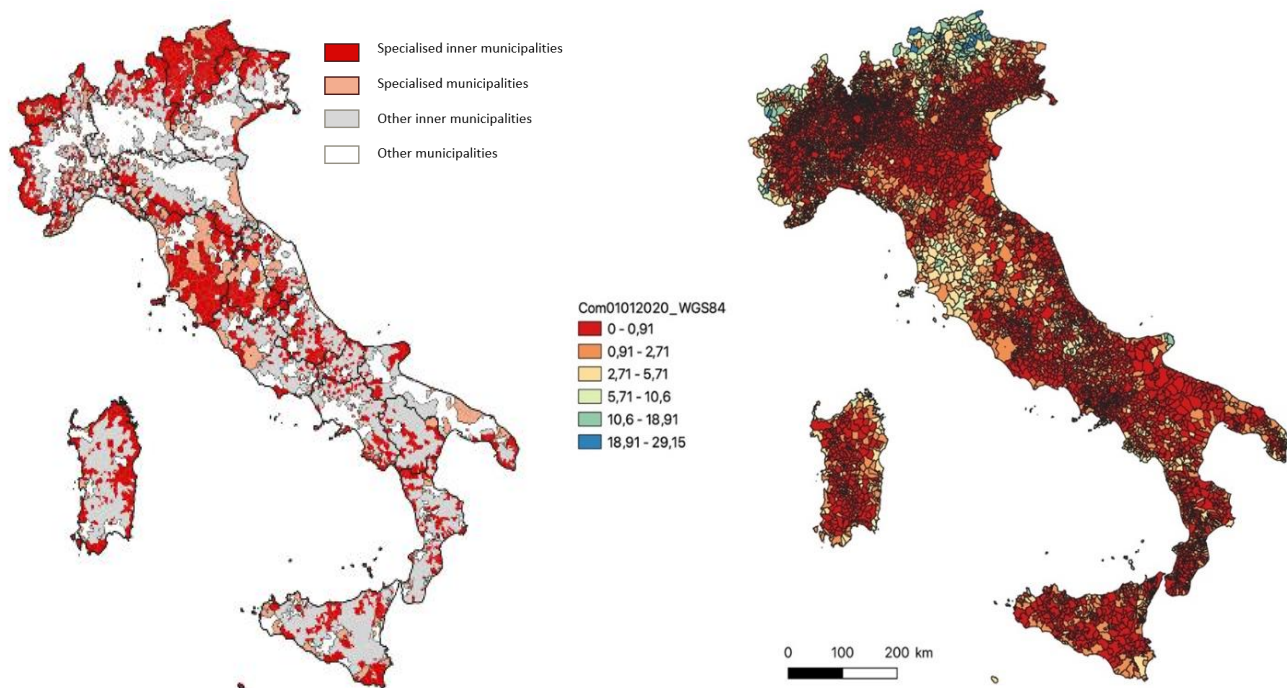
As for tourism activities, the profile is absolutely different and specialised areas distribute for all the country, correspond mainly to inner municipalities, and are especially important in the border areas of Piemonte and Lombardy, include the majority of municipalities in Valle d'Aosta and Alto Adige, almost all seaside municipalities from Sardinia and a relevant number of them in Tuscany and Umbria. Overall, whilst specialisation in CCIs is spatially scattered for tourism (although these activities are relevant only in some parts of Italy), there is a cluster pattern suggesting some common territorial characteristics pushing wide areas to specialise in tourism activities.

Figure 18. Location Quotient for CCI and tourism (in Inner Areas and in general)

1.a CCI



1.b Tourism



Source: Author's own elaboration

In order to account for the spatial dependence of economic activities related to CCIs and tourism we need to define the spatial range of these interactions, i.e., whether local specialisation in these activities related to, or dependant on, local specialisation in neighbouring areas. In this regard, we use a row-standardised spatial-neighbour matrix (W) to identify municipalities considered as neighbours.

In order to do that, although various approaches (Getis & Aldstadt, 2004; J. P. LeSage, 2004) can be used (e.g., distance-based, inverse distances or k-nearest neighbours, among others), we considered that in order to account for huge spatial heterogeneities among Italian municipalities (in terms of surface), the 10 closest ones should be taken as neighbours (by this way all municipalities have the same number of neighbours, although they will be located at different distances).⁴⁴ Then, once W is identified, we can calculate whether the independent variables are spatially connected by calculating a global measure of spatial autocorrelation, the Moran's I (Moran, 1948). This statistic ranges from -1 (dispersion) to 1 (autocorrelation), whilst values close to 0 indicate a random and non-spatial distribution. For this indicator, results show positive values both for specialisation in CCIs (0.273) and for specialisation in tourism (0.442), which implies that specialisation in these activities is spatially autocorrelated (mainly for tourism). Concretely, it means that specialisation levels are similar across neighbour municipalities, suggesting that there are common competitive attributes in neighbour areas (i.e., larger than municipalities) that explain local specialisation strategies, which are not solely attributable to decisions taken exclusively inside municipality borders.

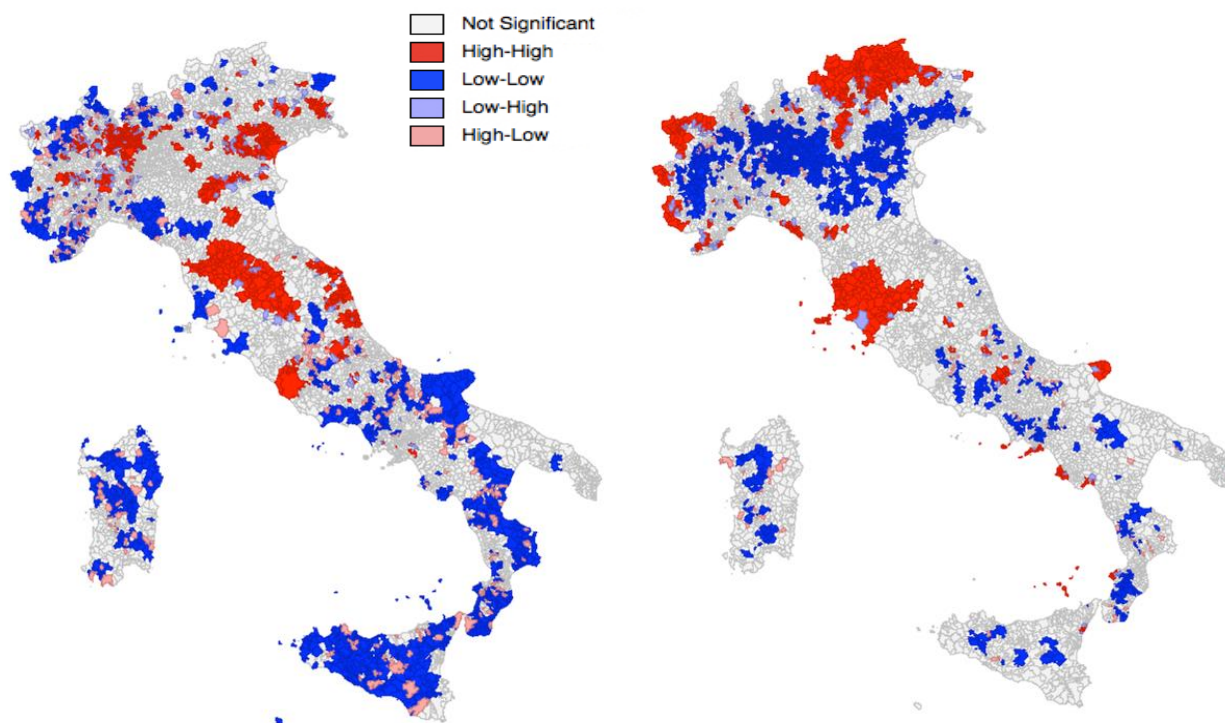
LISA results (Figure 14) help us to better understand these processes by focusing on a narrower scale and show that spatial autocorrelation at the local level is (slightly) more intense for CCIs activities (see Figure 14. 2.a) than for tourism (see Figure 14. 2.b), and that the spatial patterns of these local interactions differ considerably for both activities.

⁴⁴ Despite this choice, our results were quite robust to alternative formulations of W matrices.

Figure 19. Local Spatial Autocorrelation (LISA) for CCIs and tourism

2.a Specialisation in CCIs

2.b Specialisation in Tourism



Source: Author's own elaboration

On one hand, CCIs High-High spatial autocorrelation (dark red areas) exists almost exclusively in the upper half of Italy, especially in Toscana, Veneto, Marche and around Milan and Rome, whilst Low-Low areas (dark blue areas) are found in some parts of southern regions as Puglia, Basilicata and Calabria, and in most municipalities of Sicily, among others. High-High local spatial autocorrelation indicates that municipalities with a high specialisation in CCIs are surrounded by other municipalities with similarly high levels, whilst Low-Low local spatial autocorrelation indicates that municipalities with a low specialisation in CCIs are surrounded by other municipalities with similarly low levels.

On the other hand, for tourism the pattern is different as areas with significant spatial autocorrelation are found mainly in Northern Italy, where High-High autocorrelation is mainly in mountain areas, and Low-Low autocorrelation is found in some inland municipalities of Piedmont, Lombardy, and Veneto, traditionally characterised by a rooted manufacturing industrial presence. Finally, there is a clear High-High area that corresponds with the majority of municipalities of the Tuscany region.

The Spatial Durbin Model results

In this chapter, we focus on the particularities of Inner Areas, and we want to analyse whether, according to their characteristics, they may provide specific advantages for CCIs and tourism activities. Consequently, our variable of interest is the dummy (i.e., Inner) indicating whether a municipality is an inner area. In addition to that, and according to empirical findings in the location literature (see Author for a detailed review), we include as well two vectors for agglomeration economies and geography, and two particular vectors specific to each activity (i.e., protected heritage for CCIs and number of beds for tourism).

Table 24. Spatial Durbin Model for specialisation in CCIs and tourism

Variable	CCIs	Tourism
Inner	-0.036*** (0.011)	0.240*** (0.048)
Geographical		
Altitude	-1.438 x 10 ⁻⁴ *** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Coast	-0.068*** (0.014)	0.578*** (0.069)
Island	0.014 (0.014)	0.025 (0.068)
Agglomeration economies		
Establishments	6.700 x 10 ⁻⁶ * (0.000)	-1.520 x 10 ⁻⁵ (0.000)
Establishments^2	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Establishments_den	4.901 x 10 ⁻⁴ * (0.000)	-0.005*** (0.000)
Establishments_size	-0.006* (0.004)	-0.069*** (0.016)
Population_den	-3.800 x 10 ⁻⁶ (0.000)	2.630 x 10 ⁻⁴ *** (0.000)
Income_pc	2.480 x 10 ⁻⁵ *** (0.000)	8.670 x 10 ⁻⁵ *** (0.000)
Ratio_jobs/pop	-0.047** (0.019)	0.445*** (0.086)
CCIs		
Heritage	1.200 x 10 ⁻⁶ (0.000)	
Heritage_den	1.370 x 10 ⁻⁴ (0.000)	-4.038 x 10 ⁻⁴ (0.000)
Tourism		
Beds		6.290 x 10 ⁻⁵ *** (0.000)
Beds_den	-1.749 x 10 ⁻⁴ *** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)
W_SpeCCI	0.486***	

	(0.053)	
W_SpecTourism		0.717*** (0.027)
Lambda	-0.266*** (0.065)	-0.155*** (0.054)
Constant	0.188*** (0.035)	-1.200*** (0.116)

Source: author's estimates, standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 24 shows results for CCIs and tourism and, in both cases, being in an inner area has an important (although different) effect on local specialisation on CCIs (negative) and tourism (positive). That implies that structural characteristics of Inner Areas favour local specialisation in tourism in peripheral areas but restrict local specialisation in CCIs. This is a relevant finding showing that both activities (CCIs and tourism) are not currently competing for the same profile of locations (at least in Inner Areas), since the lagged ones (i.e., Inner Areas) are those mainly attracting tourism activities.

In terms of the geography vector, these results are confirmed by the opposite effect of altitude and coast variables, in view of tourism activities being boosted both close to sea-side areas (beach-oriented tourism) and at high altitudes (mountain-oriented tourism). The agglomeration economies' vector also provides interesting insights in terms of the profile of areas where CCIs and tourism activities are more relevant. In this sense, CCIs are favoured by a certain amount of economic density (in terms of number of establishments), but if this density is too high, then the effect becomes negative (i.e., this result suggests that CCIs are less prone to locate in big urban areas). On the contrary, tourism activities are negatively affected by the density of establishments. The profile of municipalities in terms of their focus on economic or residential activities (as proxied by the ratio jobs/population) also has a different effect in both industries, as higher values of the ratio between jobs and population are associated with higher values of the specialisation on tourism (CCIs). This result also points towards a different profile of areas in which to locate, as tourism activities are favoured by those more specialised in economic activities (i.e., those where there are more jobs, in relative terms, compared to residents), whilst CCIs activities are hindered in these areas.

Overall, these results indicate that Inner Areas favour specialisation in tourism activities but not in CCIs (although for the later the effect is less intense). This has several policy implications

as, in these lagged areas, CCIs are not broadly seen as potential drivers of growth of local economies, at least according to firms' location decisions. Consequently, the capabilities of CCIs as boosters of employment and economic growth are not being fully exploited in Inner Areas, a situation that suggests carrying out additional public efforts in these areas in order to fully exploit their economic opportunities, increase their attractiveness for CCIs investments, and better use public and private resources allocated to CCIs in these areas. Although the Italian methodology for the identification of Inner Areas is quite specific and international comparisons are cumbersome, recent empirical evidence concerning the entry decisions of CCIs in French departments (Author) suggests a similar trend, i.e., in terms of lower attractiveness of peripheral areas for CCIs.

The identification of barriers to CCIs in Inner Areas is far beyond the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, according to the empirical literature, it is widely accepted that CCIs generate relevant positive externalities (Sanchez-Serra, 2014), contribute to knowledge generation (Myerscough, 1998), attract firms (Arauzo-Carod et al., 2023; Coll-Martínez & Arauzo-Carod, 2017; Gutierrez-Posada, Kitsos, Nathan, & Nuccio, 2023) and enhance employment growth (Piergiovanni, Carree, & Santarelli, 2012), so it seems reasonable that policy makers design measures to lower these barriers by providing conditions that help to increase specialisation in CCIs in lagging areas suffering from low income levels and insufficient economic activities. Additionally, according to differences in location patterns of CCIs and tourism activities, a current challenge is to favour cooperation and coexistence between CCIs and tourism activities, in order to benefit from positive externalities generated across them and complementarities in terms of their products and services.

4.5 Conclusions

The introduction of the concept of Inner Areas is essential to analyse the spatial distribution of CCIs fully. It is important to focus on the particularities of Inner Areas to identify whether, according to their characteristics, they may provide specific advantages for CCIs as a potential driver for economic development to solve the rooted spatial disparities and depopulation dynamics that characterise those areas. However, at the policy level, the most applied treatment for the future of Inner Areas, which is probably the most intuitive too, is the promotion of these territories as touristic destinations, riding the wave of sustainability and the ongoing attention toward the quality of life and the search for meaningful experiences.

By analysing the differential role of these territories in the location of firms belonging to CCIs and tourism sectors, we provided empirical evidence from the Italian context offering insights into the challenges and opportunities of promoting economic development through culture in peripheral areas. The results suffer from some limitations to be addressed by further research, as the study focused on only one year and one country, and the different specificities of the CCIs were not thoroughly analysed at the sector level.

The chapter contributes to the literature on the spatial distribution of cultural and creative industries and tourism with two main results applied to the Italian context at the municipal level: it highlights the specificities of CCIs and tourism industries' location in inner peripheral areas and centres, and it explores the differences between CCIs and tourism location determinants.

The results showed that being in an Inner Area has an important effect on the local specialisation of CCIs and tourism, has a negative effect on the local specialisation of CCIs and a positive effect on the local specialisation of tourism. This implies that structural characteristics of Inner Areas favour local specialisation in tourism in peripheral areas but restrict local specialisation in CCIs. In other words, tourism and CCIs tends to exclude each other.

This result has important policy implications for the discourse on culture and tourism which considers them easily rooted together for territories development, confirming some critical intuitions provided by recent research in the field, launching a warning on the actual role of tourism (Bohlin et al., 2022; Cotella & Vitale Brovarone, 2022; Sabatini & Mariani, 2023; Salvatore, Chiodo, & Fantini, 2018).

From our analysis, the need to work on endogenous growth processes through the promotion of CCIs location emerges as part of a community-centred tourism development process, avoiding simple tourism recipes. Otherwise, Inner Areas risk becoming a space of exception just functional to cities. Places where people can escape from everyday life, but without an active local community and an autonomous economic texture, following an exogenous path not capable of promoting actual development and quality of life for people living there, ultimately failing the objective of repopulation and future sustainability.

Government intervention, as the SNAI is trying to do in Italy, should adopt tailored policies able to address the specificities of territories and maximise the potential interaction between the creative economy and tourism as two potentially - but not automatically - connected sectors, rather than simply attracting tourists and tourism activities. Taking advantage of the potentialities of Inner Areas, which are places where innovation is intrinsically capable of having visible and effective impacts (Ardener, 2012), the possibility of establishing a virtuous relation between culture, CCIs and tourism becomes crucial and allows the transformation of these areas into laboratories for sustainable development.

4.6 References

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusions and open questions

5.1 Objectives achievement

Starting from the research question, which deals with the consideration of culture and tourism as the ultimate solution and panacea for the development of peripheral and Inner Areas, the general objective of the thesis was to contribute to the understanding of the actual role of Cultural, Creative and Tourism industries in the development of Inner Areas by investigating the spatial distribution of the firms' establishments in the two sectors.

Through the analysis conducted in the three essays included in chapter two, three and four we contributed to the achievement of the general objective breaking it down into three specific objectives:

1. **Assessing the spatial distribution of Cultural Creative Industries**, highlighting their specialisation, comparing the Inner and Central Areas of the Country as identified by the SNAI in Italy (tackled in Chapter 2).
2. **Assessing the spatial distribution of Tourism Industries**, highlighting their specialisation, comparing the Inner and Central Areas of the Country as identified by the SNAI in Italy (tackled in Chapter 3).
3. **Identifying the differences between the spatial distribution and specialisation of CCIs and Tourism, and what explain them** (tackled in Chapter 3 and 4).

In the following paragraphs I am going to summarise the main results and considerations connected to the objectives.

1. *Assessing the spatial distribution of Cultural Creative Industries*

In the first paper (Chapter 2) we analysed the data on CCI establishments and employees focusing on Italian Regions (CCIs in general, Design and Craft, Media, Cultural Heritage, Performing Arts, Fashion), observing the differences between the Inner and Central Areas classified by the SNAI. The methodologies used to conduct the investigation, following the creation of a relational database merging the datasets of interest, were location quotients to assess the specialisation, and mapping of the sectors to observe it.

The results of the general distribution of CCIs and their specialisation across Italian Regions and municipalities confirmed the rooted development difference between North, Middle and South of Italy (being North and Middle characterised by a larger presence of specialised municipalities), as well as the widely recognisable cultural and industrial districts characterising Italian economic development.

It is evident that a difference between the distribution and specialisation of CCIs across Central and Inner Areas exists, being the first the most specialised, although showing some spatial patterns in Inner Areas as well, to be deepened with further analysis.

In particular, in addition to the general characteristics outlined above, considering the detail of the single CCIs sectors: Performing arts are as expected concentrated around the main cities, although showing some specialised municipalities scattered in Inner Areas of the whole Country; the Media sector is strictly urban based, with a concentration in Northern and Middle Italy; Cultural heritage is the most represented CCI sector in Inner Areas and Southern Italy, being linked to built heritage and individual professionals; Fashion is characterised by evident clusters, showing the well-known cultural districts of Middle Italy; finally, Design and Crafts show a concentration of specialised municipalities particularly in Middle and North Eastern Italy, with some specialised municipalities in Inner Areas, especially in the Alps (Northern Italy) and Apennines mountains (Middle and Southern Italy), probably due to the strong link of crafts with the natural and cultural resources of these areas.

Considering the scope of our work, starting from the Italian context, the overall picture drafted in the chapter raises the question of the actual alignment of the SNAI policy with the cultural economic fabric of the territories. In fact, taking into account the financial allocation in the topics of intervention of the SNAI at the Regional level, the economic dimension of culture is

treated only in direct relation with tourism. Moreover, their expenditure chapter is the most funded in order to promote the development of Inner Areas, without considering the industries and territories specificities, thus ignoring their actual needs and potential.

Broadening the focus, going beyond Italy, and contributing to the literature on the location of CCIs, on one hand, our results confirmed the consolidated evidence of these industries being predominantly urban based, although opening to further discussion and research on their specificities in connection with Inner and peripheral areas, suggesting the possible application of our empirical approach to other European Countries. On the other hand, considering the general matching of culture with tourism in inner and peripheral areas, it demands further research and deepening in assessing the actual spatial distribution and specialisation of the latter industry, and if it shares or not common characteristics with CCIs.

2. Assessing the spatial distribution of Tourism Industries

In the second paper (Chapter 3), building on the results of the previous one, we analysed the data on Tourism establishments, considering Accommodations and Services, highlighting their spatial distribution and specialisation, and comparing it with Cultural and Creative Industries. The methodology and the database creation followed the one used in the previous paper, while the scale of analysis considered not only Regions, but also the detailed territorial classification proposed by the SNAI in Italy at the municipality level (from Poles to Ultra peripheral Areas).

The results of the spatial distribution and specialisation of Tourism in general showed that it is mainly driven by the structural and natural characteristics of the territories. The most specialised Italian Regions are the ones hosting mountains and coastal areas, characterised by a rooted touristic attractiveness, as Trentino Alto Adige and Valle d'Aosta for mountains or Sardegna and Liguria for the coasts, as well as historic and cultural attractions, as Toscana in Middle Italy.

If we consider Inner Areas, they host around 70% of the total number of Tourism specialised municipalities in Italy: the specialisation index grows with the growing levels of peripherality, with Ultra peripheral areas being the most specialised in tourism. This result is driven by the

Accommodations sector (the most numerous), while Services (including for example tour operators) follows an opposite spatial pattern, demonstrating to be urban dependent.

Comparing these results with the ones of Cultural and Creative Industries, we can observe that they are completely different: Central Areas have higher location quotients than Inner ones, and in general if a municipality shows high specialisation in Tourism, does not in CCIs. Going further, thanks to the mapping of the specialisation dummy of CCIs and Tourism, we can affirm that Italian municipalities characterised by high levels of specialisation both in CCIs and Tourism are very rare and scattered, demonstrating the absence of clear common characters between the two sectors. In fact, municipalities with high levels of specialisation in CCIs and not in Tourism are located mostly in Central Areas characterised by the rooted presence of industrial clusters, while municipalities with high levels of specialisation in Tourism and not in CCIs are mostly in Inner Areas, following the tendency described above.

Again, on one hand, our results contribute to the preliminary evaluation of the SNAI and its investments. In particular, given the fact that Inner Areas represent (at least from a spatial point of view) the great part of Italian tourism industry, it is not clear if it is a good strategy to strengthen their specialisation in the sector. On the other hand, our empirical approach, through quantitative economic and spatial data, fuels the international questioning of tourism as actual promoter of place-based development and repopulation in peripheral areas.

These evidences, starting from our application in the Italian context, launch in fact a warning to other European Countries sharing similar economic and regional development structures (i.e. the ones investigated through the ESPON PROFECY project⁴⁵). The opposite spatial distribution of the two industries, combined with the intuition that touristic experiences are bought in cities and consumed in Inner Areas, suggest that the latter, although hosting a great relative number of tourism establishments, are mostly places of consumption, rather than of production; confirming the urban supremacy threat and the connected risk of worsening the peripheralisation process of those territories, underlined by the international literature in the field.

⁴⁵ <https://www.espon.eu/inner-peripheries> (Accessed April 2024)

Adding Cultural and Creative Industries to the development equation could be useful to limit the adverse effects of Tourism in inner and peripheral areas, promoting innovation at the local level, but then it is important to further investigate and explain the motivations of such an opposite spatial distribution of the firms' establishments operating in the two sectors.

3. Identifying the differences between the spatial distribution and specialisation of CCIs and Tourism, and what explain them

In the third paper (Chapter 4), following our empirical approach, we further investigated the spatial distribution and specialisation of Tourism and CCIs, observing the differences and their motivations, focusing on the differential role of Inner Areas and their specificities in the location of establishments belonging to the sectors of interest. From a methodological point of view, we started from the location quotients calculated in the previous papers, we performed a spatial exploratory analysis mapping the data at the municipal level and applied local indicators of spatial autocorrelation. In order to econometrically analyse what is behind local specialisation in CCIs and tourism, we then selected a combination of control variables: Geographical variables, to capture territorial attractiveness that may increase tourism activities; Agglomeration economies variables targeting territorial efficiency due to agglomeration of firms and individuals; CCIs variables hypothesized to have a positive effect over CCIs specialisation, as imply the existence of amenities that may attract such activities; and, similarly, Tourism variables expected to increase specialisation in tourism. We finally applied the Spatial Durbin Model (SDM) including the specialisation in CCIs or Tourism as dependent variables.

The results of the analysis confirmed the findings of the previous chapters: being in an Inner Area has an important effect on local specialisation on CCIs (negative) and tourism (positive). That implies that structural characteristics of Inner Areas favour local specialisation in tourism but restrict local specialisation in CCIs. This is a relevant finding showing that both sectors are not currently competing for the same profile of locations (in particular in Inner Areas), since the lagged ones are those mainly attracting tourism activities.

Going further and considering the control variables, they provided details confirming the different location profile of CCIs and Tourism in both geographical and economic variables.

Summarising, although the strategies and projects in the framework of the SNAI in Italy easily connect culture and tourism in the promotion of new development trajectories for Inner Areas, it is clear that they actually do not coexist, at least considering the establishments operating in those sectors.

The general application of our empirical approach provides a baseline for new research in the field and a clear starting point for policies and plans, aiming in reverting the peripheralization process of Inner and peripheral Areas, not only for Italy, but also for other similar contexts. We in fact demonstrated that, on one hand, the reiteration of the simple tourism recipe risks not being useful, because the establishment in the sector are already attracted by the structural characteristics and resources of the territories. On the other hand, the promotion and attraction of CCIs could be a solution, but then it's important to understand and draft new measures capable of taking into account their specificities and, more importantly, those of the communities of reference.

5.2 General considerations and policy implications

This thesis contributes to the debate on the current development trajectories of Inner and peripheral Areas, offering to academics and policy makers a different point of view on the potential role of culture and tourism in reverting the peripheralisation process. The analysis of the Italian context was conducted through spatial econometric and quantitative methodologies, focusing on firms' establishments, and their distribution in municipalities, categorised according to the territorial classification introduced by the National Strategy for Inner Areas.

The analysis led to evidence of significantly different locations patterns of Tourism and CCIs, suggesting the non-complementarity of the sectors and the differential role of Inner Areas in the municipalities specialisation. Moving beyond the strictly quantitative and economic boundaries, this paragraph intends to present some general considerations derived from the results of the empirical approach adopted in this work, for which further investigation and analysis shall be conducted in the future, also drawing from other academic disciplines and research methodologies.

To introduce the policy contribution of this thesis, delve into the topics at stake, and attempt to make sense of the Inner peripheral areas situation, as well as the potential role of tourism and culture, I would like to borrow the fancy metaphor of "traps" from the academic literature of regional development studies. This metaphor assumes various connotations, depending on the territorial scale under scrutiny. Nonetheless, as demonstrated by the criticalities identified from this work, the lagged areas are invested by a number of such traps, connected one another in a cause/effect/reaction dynamic.

Analysing the characteristics of "traps", I may firstly suggest to refer to the European and National scale, where peripheral areas within countries are subject to the "Regional development trap", recently introduced by Diemer, et al. (2022), indicating regions or countries where "the prosperity of its residents does not improve relative to its past performance and the prevailing economic conditions in national and European markets" (Diemer et al., 2022, p 490). In other words, Inner Areas are the expression and results of

territories struggling to maintain or regain an economic dynamism that characterised them in the past, risking the application of old or palliative solutions to new and complex problems.

This situation leads to a second typology trap, the one directly connected to marginality (Nisticò, 2019; Carrosio 2020), where the under-development and lack of basic services is both the cause and the result of the peripheralisation process of those territories, needing then innovative and specific policy interventions.

Both the “Regional development trap” and the “marginality” trap are exogenously-caused factors of structural nature, and contribute in determine the economic and demographic stagnation of Inner Areas. Based on those contributions, the key to climb out from the previous traps may entail to build a territorial strategy of differentiation for the local economy, thus avoiding to fall into the so called “staples trap” (Schmallegger & Carson, 2010), which indicates an economic configuration of a territory – in our case Inner Areas – highly centered on the export of primary resources (i.e. natural or noncomplex resources – that is why “staples”), that leads to a condition of dependence in relationship with the buyers (in our case Centres, urban areas); ultimately making Inner Areas heavily susceptible to changes and crisis, unless they manage to differentiate their industry and their markets.

As it was largely described in the previous chapters, this dynamic is clearly recognisable in the urban/rural, centre/periphery power and dependence relationship and it is one of the defining elements for peripheral and inner areas (Isaksen & Trippel, 2017; Kühn, 2015; Pezzi & Urso, 2016).

The most effective and accepted solution indicated so far in literature, to solve or avoid the above mentioned issues, has been the adoption of a place-based and place-sensitive approach in the policy making process (Barca, Mccann, & Rodríguez-Pose, 2012), a policy approach also embraced by the SNAI (at least in theory), that entails the consideration of the territories’ specificities at the smallest possible scale, giving space to local solutions. This potential solutions, though, exposes a territory to the risk of falling in another trap, the local one (Purcell, 2006), if this space is unconditional and not mediated (i.e. risking to incorporate only local perspectives biased by rooted and consolidated conditions of peripherality).

Finding themselves in an urban dependence, economic stagnation and depopulation situation, and looking for the most immediately impactful solution, peripheral and Inner Areas generally

turned to the tourism industry as the main ingredient for their trap-exit strategy; this tendency has been confirmed by the results emerged from the analysis presented at Chapter 3, showing the highest levels of tourism specialisation in Inner Areas. As Hall (2007, p. 24) stated: “If we can’t economically farm it, cut it, mine it or dam it, it may as well be turned into a tourist attraction (and/or national park)”. The problem is that, as effectively introduced by Schmallegger & Carson (2010), this is where inner and peripheral areas encountered the final trap, the tourism trap. Given the cultural and natural resources of those areas, attracting tourism seemed in fact the most obvious and feasible solution to reactivate the economies and repopulate the abandoned villages with a quick win, but, as for the “staples”, this strategy worsened the dependence on the Centres and their exogenous influence (Schmallegger & Carson, 2010; Brouder, 2012).

The results of the thesis confirmed this argument, in line with what Bohlin, Brandt, & Elbe (2016, 2022) and Hall, Harrison, Weaver, & Wall, (2013) expressed at the international level, and Bronzini, Ciani, & Montaruli (2022) and Cotella, G., Vitale Brovarone, (2022) at the Italian level. The intuition, following Sabatini (2023), is that, at the Inner Areas scale, the role of tourism is especially justified by a rhetoric dynamic, not actually connected to strong evidence. To continue investing on tourism development entails a risk of crystallisation or worsening of the peripheralisation process: it feeds on values strictly dependent on that situation (idyllic untouched landscapes, wilderness, tight roads, abandoned villages, grandmas making pasta...), and do not promote actual repopulation, or creation of economic activities and services that would slightly change the picture.

As the analysis showed, the specialisation in tourism establishments, although embraced by local administrators and operators, is, on the one hand, driven by the territorial natural and structural advantages, creating competition among similar localisation profiles (i.e. among mountain Inner Areas in attracting tourists), and, on the other hand, shaped by the interests and demand of potential tourists’, mainly coming from cities and Central Areas (Brouder, 2012).

Taking into account that what the tourism industry shapes in an Inner Area does not only impact the experiences and consumption of the tourists target, but also affects the lives of the local population, thus often creating biases, imposing changes and blurring the boundaries with products and services not initially intended for tourism purposes. The actual positive

effects of Inner Areas tourism for the local community development prove hard to demonstrate, while it is clear that it is functional to urban centres and their dynamics (Hall et al., 2013).

As data confirms, from a spatial point of view, a further related risk is the configuration of Inner Areas as spaces of exception: places dedicated to tourism consumption away from cities, shaped by cities, excluding community oriented activities and other economic sectors (as widely demonstrated in the urban context, see for example Bei & Celata, 2024), competing to attract large numbers of tourists, leaving on the territories nothing but their ecological footprint.

Given the policy aim of reverting the peripheralisation process, these risks may be addressed in two alternative, but not exclusive, directions.

The first option, as proposed by the sustainable tourism literature in particular (Kauppila, Saarinen, & Leinonen, 2009; Moscardo, 2005), would be to govern the problem, planning in an effective way Inner Areas as touristic destinations, capable of respecting and enhancing the values of local resources and communities, promoting endogenous processes to limit the centripetal forces of cities. The second option would be to make a step back, and take into account the history, needs, identities, actual characteristics of Inner Areas at the local level, focusing on their priorities in terms of community development; and then understand their economic and structural potential, to establish a positive dialogue with Centres (Basile & Cavallo, 2020).

In both options culture and CCIs could play an important role (Collins & Cunningham, 2017; Lysgård, 2016). Although, if on the one hand they have been included in strategies as the SNAI, and in the development recipe along with tourism; on the other hand, there has been a major misunderstanding problem, that needs to be addressed. Which “culture” would be capable of having a positive impact on facilitating innovation and development? At the risk of sounding provoking: are traditional buildings, churches, historic villages, tangible and intangible heritage expressions enough? Based on this extensive research experience, I would argue that Inner Areas would benefit from an understanding of culture as intrinsically shaped by the people and organisations in the Cultural and Creative Industries (Boix Domenech, De Miguel Molina, & Rausell Köster, 2022; Florida, 2005; OECD, 2021; Santagata, 2009).

Moreover, according to the analysis, the establishments operating in CCIs, generally, do not tend to locate in Inner Areas, on the contrary they are mainly, but not exclusively, distributed in Centres. This means that currently Tourism and CCIs don't generally share and compete for the same location profiles, although they potentially share some of the values and resources connected to cultural expressions, history, experience, as well as market (thinking about cultural or creative tourism in particular).

Considering this common, blurred, characters, as well as the CCIs structural relationship with sustainable development (Borre et al., 2023), than it becomes interesting to imagine their potential contribution to create a bridge between Central and Inner Areas, and to shape an innovative approach to re-territorialisation of peripheral areas (quoting Raffestin, 2012).

Including CCIs in planning their development paths and economies, along with tourism (which is already there), would potentially promote a market model capable of generating minor negative and higher positive impacts, both on local resources and local community level: tourism consumes places, culture consumes ideas, contents and cultural products, having at the same time a better chance in attracting inhabitants.

Obviously, this thesis does not aim to propose a magical and tout court solution, and these are just general insights that require further specification depending on which CCI sectors are potentially fitted for the area, and how/what they would produce. Yet, recalling the idea of event-richness and visible innovation introduced by Ardener (2012) and considering in particular the specificities and data of the most peripheral (Ultrapерipheral) areas elaborated through this thesis, this approach appears theoretically sound.

Shifting to the practical and project level, to take a clear path and effectively combine the territories with the right mix of industries, it is important to consider and explore three further, connected recommendations for shaping an impactful strategy for the development of CCIs in Inner Areas. The first recommendation would be to make the "limits" the core of the strategic agenda: "limits" intended in their physical, ecological and geographical dimensions (considering areas with peculiar characteristics as the ones addressed in this thesis), reflected in the resources that would be employed (economic, natural and cultural), in the human and social capital that would be mobilised and involved (limited in terms of expectations, aims, competences...). This would provide a clear and detailed understanding of

the context at the local level, adopting then a strong point of view on sustainable development, going beyond the rhetoric, and clearly setting the limits to the expected growth (Gibbs, Longhurst, & Braithwaite, 1998; Nilsen, 2010).

The second recommendation is to rethink the current de-peripheralisation model, leaving behind the “retrotopia” of marginal areas (quoting Bauman, 2017), along with the idea of recreating a mass repopulation, looking at a bright past of hard work. Inner Areas cannot function as, or become Central Areas, as cities cannot invade Inner Areas seeking for leisure and relax.

At the same time, the approach to Inner Areas as independent and isolated communities, following the wilderness and untouched nature discourse, needs to be avoided. It is fundamental to plan a close dialogue with urban areas. Adopting an integrated approach, high quality planning in cities could have a direct reflection on the quality of life in peripheral areas, shifting from territories to be consumed, to spaces to be lived and experienced.

The third recommendation goes back to the other objects of this thesis: establishments and firms in the Cultural, Creative and Tourism industries. Having a clearer understanding of the local context and its limits, it is then possible, on the project planning level, to shape the economy and the market, promoting the entry of firms and activities, according to their profile (localisation needs and sector specificities), the territorial characteristics, and resources.

Following the process proposed by Basile & Cavallo (2020), including an economic point of view, it is important to consolidate the community and its identity, before opening eventually (if it supports the local community) to the tourism industry. It is then useful to first attract or develop CCIs, avoiding a simplistic approach, considering the emergence of new cultural trends and the context strengths.

The current small numbers of people and establishments, as well as the structural and natural characters of Peripheral and Ultra Peripheral Areas, makes them perfect places for innovation and pilot experimentation in the domain of strong sustainability.

If in cities the current level of urbanisation and sedimentation makes it very difficult to imagine a radical change without facing degrowth or resistance, in peripheral areas it is on the contrary a matter of filling a void in the right way, making it relatively easier to approach, and then

possibly successfully replicate. Some good practices can already be witnessed in Italian Inner Areas (see for example Tantillo, 2023), it is a matter of recognition and thorough investigation.

Finally, from a policy perspective and recalling the metaphor of the “trap” from which this chapter started off, it appears relevant to avoid what could be called “the nice project trap”, a trap that the local strategies connected to the SNAI are suffering by optimistically replicating the tourism and culture model without questioning it. Recalling Barca’s intuition (2012), the point is to be place, but also people-aware.

To answer the doubts in starting the process and this research work, if everything is done in the right way, then, in the long run, maybe Inner Areas would not be saved by Centres, but the other way round.

5.3 Limitations and further research

The research work conducted to draft this thesis, on the one hand provided interesting contributions from a methodological and policy point of view, considering in particular the quantitative approach adopted in analysing Inner Areas through the lens of CCIs and Tourism establishments at the smallest scale possible; on the other hand it has some clear limitations, to be addressed with further research.

Starting from the time frame, during the 5 years duration of my part time doctoral programme some changes occurred. The establishments' ASIA dataset includes data from the year 2018 only, which was the most updated one, when I started the work in 2019/2020. This limited the observation to a given picture and not a dynamic one, and with the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemics (2020/2021), observing 2018 data allowed to assess a pre-crisis situation, but excluded the possibility to measure its impacts on Inner Areas.

Concerning the SNAI territorial classification, at the time when this investigation began, in 2019, the official data referring to SNAI territorial classification pertained to 2014. The map was autonomously updated to 2018, as explained in the methodology, but in 2022 a new official classification was launched, with slightly different data related to the year 2019. Therefore the classification used in the analysis, although following the official criteria, has some minor differences compared to the one officially updated the following year (differences relating to the classification of individual municipalities).

Moving to the industries of interest and their selection process, it is important to consider some limitations, linked with the use of the firms' establishments dataset and its boundaries, including only activities having a VAT number.

Considering CCIs, for the above-mentioned reason, the world of associations and third sector organisations operating in the sectors without having a profit or commercial aim, was not included. Considering tourism, using the same dataset, it was not possible to measure all the non-commercial accommodations and services, conducted as second occupation or totally outside the public control. These would have considerably changed the total numbers, although being strictly dependent on the single Regions' legislation and criteria, so difficult to

measure in a standardised way. Including only the commercial and professional ones, guaranteed to have a harmonised dataset, representing in any case the industry distribution.

This research, although stemming from a spatial economic and industry analysis, could be expanded following other perspectives. To further investigate the relationship between CCIs, Tourism and Inner Areas it would be interesting to consider some other dimensions such as the demand side of the equation: tourists and cultural market.

Moreover, including other academic domains and methodologies, a qualitative analysis of pilot areas and projects would be an effective way to confirm (or not) the final considerations, going in two research directions: on the one hand strategies and projects currently developing the tourism-oriented policies, on the other hand territories already considering the industries' mix and community-oriented policies.

Finally, our work concentrated on the case study of the Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas, but, considering the outcomes, it would be interesting to perform the same empirical approach and methodologies on other European peripheral areas, to verify possible common features and trends, as well as solutions to the marginalisation process. As underlined in the first chapter, in fact, the SNAI in Italy is a policy unicum, with its place-based approach, but other Countries, although with different economic development history and stratifications, share the presence of inner areas and the connected problems (i.e. Spain with its depopulated interior regions, or France with the polarisation of the territory around the main cities).

5.4 References

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ARE CULTURAL, CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND TOURISM THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
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Andrea Porta



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