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Events and temporary uses in the historic urban landscape: Lucca Comics & Games between localized interactions and a worlding project ecology.

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By
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## Relevant publications, presentations and projects

Marzo, D., Tonga Uriarte, Y. and Catoni, M. L. *Spatial and sociomaterial interaction between an organized event and related informal practices: the case of temporary shops at Lucca Comics & Games.* In: 33rd EGOS Colloquium, July 6-8, 2017, Copenhagen (Conference paper - unpublished).

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#### **Abstract**

This research addresses the space-based and multi-layered interactions between a festival, its hosting city, and the communities of "stable" and "temporary" inhabitants.

The analysed case, Lucca Comics and Games, is currently the largest European gathering dedicated to fantasy culture in terms of the attendance. It takes place since 1966 in the Tuscan town of Lucca, a historically preserved and 'atmospherically' qualified urban landscape. The investigation of the relations between the event and this particular setting moves from an exploration of multiple temporalities; short-term, long-term and cyclical interactions are analysed in the framework of a processual understanding of the city landscape. In this context, the attempt to preserve the historic elements as "stable" urban structures coexists with the introduction of temporary but cyclical changes, which challenge the very notions of "integrity" and "authenticity" of heritage sites.

The case study is situated within the world-spread geography of comic conventions: a complex project ecology in which the interaction among the participants operates both at a distance and through moments of temporary co-presence, represented by the events themselves.

The research is structured as a qualitative and empirical investigation on an emergent social, economic and spatial practice. In order to cover these multiple dimensions of the phenomenon, it takes advantage of a combination of methods: direct observation, bibliographic and archival research, media coverage, semi structured interviews and structured questionnaires were adopted during a long observation phase.

The main contributions of the research lie on the one side in the multilayered and concept-based approach to the "event", investigated as a point of dialogue between diverse disciplines; moreover, the thesis contributes in opening the definition of *festivalscape* towards a broader understanding of urban landscapes, in their historical and processual structuration.

### Introduction

#### Presentation and aims

In the last decades, the research on urban space registered an increasing interest on temporality as a dimension of the social-geographic analysis. While events, festivals and temporary-uses of the public spaces became tangible manifestations of more dynamic and adaptive urbanism, the investigation of these phenomena opened new fields for interdisciplinary research. If temporary and project-based activities have found a place within management and organization studies, the spatial patterns of these short-term, unstable and sometimes unplanned practices are still underrepresented in the field of urban studies. The idea of 'stable uses' and the top-down approach, which are traditionally embodied in the instruments of city planning, appear inadequate in representing these uncertain, negotiated and often improvised practices.

This distance between a well-established image of the city and the proliferation of temporary settings becomes particularly relevant in the context of historic urban landscapes (UNESCO 2011; Bandarin & van Oers 2012). When festivals, art fairs, pop-up museums and exhibitions are staged in a site where transformations usually cover a long timespan, the overlapping of multiple temporalities takes place. Two apparently opposite tendencies meet: on the one side, 'Heritagisation' phenomenon (Macdonald 2013) leads towards the crystallisation and musealisation of many historic urban landscapes (Koolhaas 2014); on the other side, the proliferation of meanwhile phenomena, which has been described as Festivalisation (Häußermann) & Siebel 1993; Richards 2007; van Elderen 1997) or eventification (Jakob 2012), introduces short-term and often cyclical changes. The two increasing trends towards Heritagisation and Festivalisation are only apparently diverging: despite the differences in the objects of interest, in the timing and the organization, they both foster the transformation of urban spaces into selective landscapes of consumption (Zukin 1995,

This research approaches the time-space relations between temporary events and historic urban landscapes by analysing a large-scale comics-convention staged in a preserved city centre. The analysed empirical case, Lucca Comics & Games, is currently the most significant European event dedicated to fantasy culture in terms of the attendance.

It takes place since 1966 in the Tuscan town of Lucca, a historically preserved and 'atmospherically' qualified urban landscape. Across more than 50 years of temporary but cyclical presence in the city, this event went through multiple and profound transformations in its nature and organization. From a small gathering of scholars and professionals, aiming at the recognition of the social and pedagogical value of the comics among the "institutionalised" media, it progressively turned into a large-scale event, involving multiple aspects of an emergent fantasy culture.

These transformations are analysed within a world spread "ecology" (Grabher 2002; 2004; Grabher & Ibert 2012) related to the comics, which encompasses multiple patterns of production, consumption and diverse cultural statuses. Comics inspire multi-layered and often diverging forms of cultural and commercial events: if some comic conventions (or Comic-Con) are large-scale showcases for pop and fantasy culture, other meetings address niche audiences and advocate a specific un-conventional character. Among these diverse forms, the research approaches the American convention, the European salon and in the Japanese *doujinshi* gathering as the more representatives for the analysed case (see Chapter 4).

Against this background, Lucca Comics & Games is introduced in Chapter 5 as a multifaceted phenomenon, which involves a broad diversity of actors and organizational practices; as such, it establishes short-term, long-term and cyclical interactions both with its immediate surroundings and with a world-spread network of related events. In the latest editions, usually organised across five days, the estimated audience reached up to 500.000 visitors. Among these, more than a half had purchased a ticket for the access to the thematic pavilions situated within the historic centre of the city; others attended free related exhibitions or enjoyed parallel forms of popular entertainment such as street bands, flash mobs, light shows in the evening, promotional and commercial initiatives or cosplay performances. The whole city, which generally counts around 90.000 inhabitants, undergoes transformation that touches its image, its atmosphere but also its everyday life.

Among the multiple aspects that characterise this *festivalscape*<sup>1</sup> (Lee et al. 2008), the research focuses on the spatial dimension: it analyses the material and social interactions between the festival and the urban

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term is used by Lee et al. (2008) to represent the general atmosphere experienced by the public during the event, drawing from a previous definition of servicescapes in the field of marketing (Bitner 1992). In Chapter 2 we will point out the multiple factors involved in the definition of such festivalscapes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The history of the Leipzig Trade Fair go2s back to the Middle Ages and its relevance as

setting, addressing the temporary occupation of the public space and the long-term transformations in the city landscape. A specific section (Chapter 6) is dedicated to the informal practice of the temporary shops, a phenomenon that originated outside but in concurrence with the official event, and encountered a growing involvement from the commercial activities in the city. While Lucca Comics & Games has recently accomplished a process of institutionalisation within the city's administrative structure, also reassembling previous divergences between competing organizations, these unplanned practices challenge the local strategies at the level of local governance and heritage preservation. For this reason, the temporary shops represent a significant case among the various connections linking the short-term event's dynamics and the long-term economic and organizational changes that the city centre is undergoing. In this sense, both the organised and the informal spatial strategies are examples of the mutable nature of the urban landscape, which is understood in this context as process-based. This not only means that the physical space of the city cannot be assumed as an immutable object, because it is continuously reshaped by the interactions among humans, artefacts, personal and professional relations (Latour 1987; 2005); it also means that the concept of preservation remains an illusory ambition if understood as the safeguard of the cities' physical structures in their "authentic" integrity (Bandarin & van Oers 2012). On the contrary, in this processual understanding of the urban landscape, cities are always the results of overlapping events, by which the social and economic dynamics introduce factors of change and adaptation in the urban forms and values.

While the Historic Urban Landscape approach, promoted by UNESCO, already recognised the importance of the social, cultural and economic processes in the urban living space, many preservation policies at a local level still pursue a static and top-down model of conservation, focussed on architectural monuments and groups of buildings.

The research provides an empirical case, in which the blurring of the boundaries between public and private spaces, the multiplication of uses and overlapping of temporalities challenge the traditional urban regulations and call for new organizational and interpretative models. To this aim, the research perspective is opened towards an interdisciplinary exploration, based on an inductive and fieldwork-based approach and on a parallel review of literature from multiple disciplinary fields.

In the domain of management and organization studies, the case can be situated within the emergent literature on Field Configuring Events

(Lampel & Mayer 2008; Lange 2014; Gibson & Bathelt 2014; Henn and Bathelt 2015): this stream of research conceives events as mechanisms of institutional change that lack temporal continuity but contribute in shaping technological artefacts, markets and regulatory frameworks. Temporary projects such as festivals, fairs and tradeshows, professional gatherings or contests are described as arenas in which people from diverse organizations share information, construct networks, transact business, and set the standard of a specific industry or cultural field. In these contexts, the space-time relations are both shaped by moments of temporary co-presence (the event), but also by mediated connections operating at a distance. The framework of project ecologies (Grabher 2002) provides fruitful analytical tools to interpret these latent and not geographically fixed networks of actors and objects.

By taking advantage of this interdisciplinary toolbox, the research is structured as a qualitative case study analysis. First, it explores how the described temporary practice interacts with the social and physical space; secondly, it investigates the cause-effect relations that link the temporary phenomenon to the spatial and socio-material environment, inducing long-term economic, spatial and organizational changes in the city.

### Research questions and main contributions

An investigation of the spatially embedded interactions taking place during these events opens up to theoretical and methodological questions: How to reconnect the localized events to a broader network of dispersed interactions, operating across multiple time geographies? What kinds of relations take place among the activities and the chosen settings and which unintended connections are generated when new arrangements and juxtapositions take place? How do temporary users select their locations and how do the permanent users (public or private agents) react? How to evaluate the effects at multiple scales of these temporary, cyclical or long-term relations?

And, furthermore: what is the impact of the two analysed trends, the one towards Festivalisation and the one towards Heritagisation, on contemporary urban landscapes? What kind of control is performed at the administrative level with respect to Heritage preservation in the context of large-scale events?

Being the object of study a relatively recent phenomenon, a combination of methods aims at providing a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of the causes and effects linking these spatial and sociomaterial interactions: direct observation of human actions and flows in the physical space, analysis of archival records and media coverage of journals and social networks, netnographic explorations, semistructured interviews and questionnaires. Graphic elaborations of the collected data, such as photographs, time-space maps and diagrams, also contribute to this interdisciplinary investigation.

The analysis is conducted as a qualitative case study, thus contributing in filling an empirical gap in the research on the spatial and material aspects of organising (Boxenbaum et al. 2018). The originality of the research lies in the multi-layered analysis of the spatial interactions between the permanent 'setting' and these temporary activities; "event" and "landscape" represent key concepts of convergence among diverse disciplines, such as geography, architecture and urban studies, organization and networks studies. From a methodological perspective, the research takes advantage of a combination of methods from these diverse fields. The review of the literature also follows an interdisciplinary approach: rather than focussing on selected disciplinary fields, some key concepts are identified and explored across diverse streams of literature. This approach is resumed in the chapters 1 and 2.

Being the research object still underrepresented in the literature, the interest on comic-conventions as an emerging cultural and commercial phenomenon with spatial and geographic effects presents further elements of originality.

### Chapters' disposition

The present dissertation is structured in two main parts.

The first part (Chapters 1-3) of the research presents the theoretical framework, reviews the explored literature and describes the methodological approach.

In Chapter 1, some working definitions of "event" are proposed, illustrating the relevance of this concept as a boundary crossing research object. Insights from economic and social geography, organization studies, science and technology studies (mainly Actor-Network Theory) and also architecture and urban theory are presented. Expanding the field of organization studies, the theorisation of temporary events and Field Configuring Events are introduced,

together with their contextualisation in spatial and social terms as project ecologies. A brief account is also provided on temporary uses and events in the urban setting, highlighting the processes of evolution of these practices from informal tactics (De Certeau 1990) to institutionalised policies.

Chapter 2 is focussed on the spatial effects of the encounter between diverse temporalities and the urban space. The two main contemporary trends towards Heritagisation and Festivalisation are introduced and discussed on the background of a processual understanding of the urban landscape. These apparently opposed trends, one leading towards the musealisation of the urban spaces and the other introducing rapid changes in this same landscape, may otherwise be considered as two diverse manifestations of a same "spectacularisation" of built heritage and public spaces, within the expanding realm of the "experience economy" (Jakob 2012; Pine & Gilmore 1999). The UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape approach is then presented as an example of the difficult negotiation between these trends and a sustainable understanding of preservation.

In the light of the concepts introduced in the previous chapters, Chapter 3 describes the research design, introduces the main research questions and motivates the selection of the case study; also, the adopted methodologies are illustrated in this section.

The second part (chapters 4-6) covers the empirical part of the research. Chapter 4 starts with an overview on the comics as "the spatial medium par excellence" (Dittmer 2014, 69) and analyses the multiple geographies associated to this medium. The focus is then shifted on the perspective of the "media in space": the phenomenon of comic-conventions is introduced as a consequence of the progressive transformations in the spaces of production, distribution and consumption related to the comics as a cultural product. Three main areas and three diverse models of comics-conventions are explored in their historical evolution: the North American model, the European "Salons" and the Japanese manga, anime and doujinshi gatherings. As an outcome of a netnographic exploration (Kozinets 2010) of the comicconventions as project ecologies, a contemporary "worlding geography" (Roy & Ong 2011) of the comics is traced in its time-spatial patterns.

From this broad perspective, the thesis proceeds by introducing the main case study. Chapter 5 provides a description of the spatial setting of Lucca Comics & Games (LC&G) and underlines its distinctive character as an example of "historic urban landscape" (UNESCO 2011). The history of the event is then reconstructed from its first edition in

Lucca in 1966, with a particular focus on the spatial devices put in place across the years and on the interaction with the existing structure of the city. This historical account illustrates the evolution of the event from a small gathering of professionals in the field of comics towards an urban phenomenon, which is currently positioned among the main conventions in the world dedicated to fantasy and transmedial culture (Salkovitz 2012; Harvey 2015). The relations between this event and its location are analysed with a specific focus on the dynamic interactions with the city's built heritage.

As a case "embedded" within the main case (Yin 2003, 44), the phenomenon of the temporary shops is discussed in Chapter 6. The practice observed in Lucca is compared to other temporary retail formats and then explored in its peculiarities. Also in this case, the research focuses mainly on the spatial and socio-material relations between these shops and the permanent setting of the city centre. The temporary shops are analysed as a network of "informal" (Sassen 1994) temporary organization situated between the limited time of the event and the long timeframe of the urban transformations.

The research outcomes are resumed in Chapter 7, together with an account of the main limitation and issues encountered. Some indication on possible directions for further research is also provided.

Two appendices integrate the present dissertation: the first resumes in a "work in progress" database the main data collected on the current comic conventions across diverse countries; the second appendix includes the questionnaire submitted to the "temporary shopkeepers" in Lucca during the fieldwork in 2016, together with a sample of the answers provided.

### Chapter 1

## Events, 'in-between' use and temporary use

#### Events as boundary crossing research objects

During the last decades, temporary phenomena such as festivals, fairs and cultural events became the object of a growing field of research as an increasing trend in contemporary cities.

Nevertheless, fairs and festivals are not a new social phenomenon: a broad body of literature investigates their significance and their role within different societies and cultures. Historically, festivals and trade fairs have always played an important economic function as elements of interruption in the circle of everyday exchanges (Braudel 1992, 82). It is possible to identify some persistent characters that still recur in the present-day fairs (Moeran & Pedersen 2011, 4). As an example, most of these events are still situated in time and space according to a cyclical structure (Power & Jansson, 2008) just like in the past, when their geographic and chronological distribution accommodated the movements of merchants and goods. Thanks to contemporary communications and transports, the horizon of these events is larger than in the past and reaches a world scale; nonetheless, in multiple fields it is still possible to observe a cyclical distribution, based on a strong network of social and commercial relations, sometimes historically rooted.

With respect to the spatial relations between these events and their hosting cities, there are examples of fairs that have been incorporated within an existing town and overlapped to it, like Leipzig Trade Fair² or – more recently – documenta³ in Kassel. In other cases⁴, the fairs were situated outside the city centres and represented a temporary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The history of the Leipzig Trade Fair goes back to the Middle Ages and its relevance as "a marketplace for all Europe" oriented the construction of some parts of the city (Allix 1922)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> documenta is an exhibition of contemporary art which dates back to 1855 and takes place every five years in Kassel, Germany. The presented artworks are usually *site-specific* and contribute in changing the perception of the urban landscape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Allix (1922) reports the historical examples of the Nizhny Novgorod in Russia or Lyon in France, where the fairs were arranged on the opposite side of the existing rivers with respect to the city centre.

extension of the town. Sometimes these events move across time from the edge to the centre or backwards (Lena 2012). These overlapping geographies – a permanent and a temporary one – have been described by Moeran and Pedersen as a "temporary township, superimposed at intervals upon a permanent town or city, which in important, though not regularly defined, social and symbolic ways contributes to the global needs of a particular industry and those who work therein" (2011, 8). This definition rephrased a formulation proposed by André Allix (1922, 568), which also encompassed the concept of parasitism. With this term the author pointed at the occupation of a town and the exploitation of its site and facilities. The difference with respect to the biological metaphor is that the parasite in this case is frequently chosen and "invited" by the hosting town, to take advantage of its economic and social impact. In fact, leading to the interaction between stable and itinerant inhabitants, temporary townships involve a multiplicity of effects. Beyond the main economic purpose, fairs and festivals share a symbolic function that makes them also sites of celebration and popular entertainment. By interrupting the circle of everyday activities in the city, they introduce a stage of transition similar to the one introduced by others liminoid events, such as carnivals, games or sport tournaments.

The anthropologist Victor Turner introduced the term liminoid (1974) in order to describe the transitional experience of modern "rituals" such as sports, games or art-related phenomena. In the traditional rite of passage (Van Gennep 1909), present in diverse forms in any society, a first phase of separation demarcates sacred space and time from secular space and time; the following liminal phase is an area of transition and ambiguity, a threshold where the social or cultural statuses of the participants are re-structured by the rite itself; finally, in the phase of "re-aggregation" or "incorporation" the subjects achieve a new and relatively stable position in the society. In liminoid phenomena, mostly characterizing modern societies, this ritual-like passage is not necessarily collective and integrated into a total society, but mostly optional, fragmentary, and experimental in character. Furthermore, "the liminoid is more like a commodity - indeed, often is a commodity, which one selects and pays for - than the liminal, which elicits loyalty and is bound up with one's membership or desired membership in some highly corporate group. One works at the liminal, one plays with the liminoid" (Turner 1974, 86).

"Playing" with liminoid events is not merely an individual pastime; in his lifelong investigation on the social functions of play, mimicry and carnivals, the French sociologist and anthropologist Roger Caillois (1913-1978) provided some insights on how "games that are among the most personal in nature or intent, lend themselves, in certain circumstances, to developments and refinements that bring them close to institutionalization" (2001, 39). Caillois' research built critically on the earlier work by the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga (1872-1945), who in his book Homo Ludens (1938) defined play as follows: "we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life as being "not serious," but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means" (Huizinga 1950, 13). According to Caillois, even if effectively grasping multiple aspects in the essence of play and clarifying its role in all culture, this definition is "at the same time too broad and too narrow" (2010, 4). In his work, he refined and expanded its scope by introducing a distinction between play activities and the "sacramental" and institutional functions of masks, costumes, disguise and mystery as a whole. Furthermore, the understanding of play as a "no-profit" activity was also criticized in the light of the numerous existing games of chance and, more generally, for the multiple examples of games that turned from solitary pastimes to competitive and even spectacular social contests. Under certain conditions, games exceed the domain of play and evolve "a bureaucracy, a complex apparatus, and a specialized, hierarchical personality" (Caillois 2010, 40). These institutional forms, integrated into social life, often produce public contests and ceremonies (2010, 54), whose economic and competitive purposes overreach the social ones.

This commodified status of modern rituals, can be considered a distinctive character of these temporary phenomena in contemporary societies, together with the "institutional takeover" (Di Méo 2005), the "level of professionalization of the event organization process and the instrumental use of events to achieve wider policy ends" (Richards & Palmer 2010, 35).

According to Getz (2010), beside a 'classical' anthropological-sociological discourse on their roles, meanings and impacts in society and culture, large-scale events such as festivals, fairs and sport competitions feed at least other two fields of research: the field of

tourism studies, which mainly addresses festivals as tools in economic development and place-promotion; also, the field of management usually focuses on their production and marketing.

Beside these mentioned fields, scholars in organization studies and socioeconomic geographers are dedicating an increasing interest to events and temporary projects, calling them into questions the notions of proximity and distance, local and global, continuity and intermittence in the transformation of production, distribution and consumption spaces. From the perspective of urban studies, temporary events open up questions related to the use of public spaces and to the transformation of socio-material aspects in the cities.

As a whole, for their boundary-crossing features, events provide a fertile field of investigation to the growing stream of research addressing spatial-temporal patterns by the means of interdisciplinary analysis.

#### Working definitions

If the concept of 'event' generally states a temporally and spatially situated activity or organization, this term acquired different shades of meaning according to the field of study, leading to multiple interpretations. For the scope of the present research, we will mainly focus on the event's spatial and material implications, resuming some common aspects and differences between diverse interpretations.

The relation to a 'localized' context is a main shared premise. Even if 'event' usually indicates a volatile occurrence or chance, its situated tangible manifestation is rooted in the etymology of the term: stemming from Latin *eventus*, past participle stem of *evenire*, event is what "comes out, happens, results" (ex- "out" + venire "to come").

It's useful to introduce a main distinction between events involving the human presence and non-anthropocentric events. Some scholars in the field of human geography have proposed the definition of 'geo-events', in order to overcome the primacy of an 'anthropocentric correlation' between objects and to argue that 'events are already localized within objects themselves' (Shaw 2012, 616). According to this notion, the transformation of a world, or "constellation of objects", would result from a shift in the relations between them: hurricanes or meteor's collisions are events as much as historical revolutions, as they represent

the visible result of a process of replacing, reshaping and reshuffling of objects.

This definition of geo-events draws on the theories about *affective* and non-representational geographies: the term *affect*, in this context, does not imply a personal feeling, but indicates an encounter in which bodies, not necessarily human, experiment their capability to act<sup>5</sup>.

Nevertheless, if the necessity to explore 'more than human' domains is the basis of these disciplinary approaches, the presence or absence of the human subject marks a significant difference. By describing non-representational theory as 'the geography of what happens' Nigel Thrift (2008, 2) presents a threefold perspective for his work, which finds in the human subject a necessary condition of existence: a first social and cultural goal highlights the necessity to re-centre the ordinary, the everyday, the 'superfluous' as objects of study and, by doing so, to counteract a tendency towards over-theorization in the social sciences; a second 'diagnostic' goal tests the constantly changing boundaries of human experience, whose sensorium is increasingly expanded's; the third goal is a political contribution for the invention of new 'everyday' forms of democracy, stimulated by the exploration of a 'cooperative-cum-experimental sensibility' (Thrift 2008, 4).

Among the main poststructuralist lines of thought that emerged in human geography in the late 1980s, non-representational theory shares some assumptions with another conceptual approach that builds on a similar understanding of "event", namely Actor-Network Theory (ANT).

This approach emerged precisely as an interpretative tool to explain successive associations between non-social objects and social entities (Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005, 106). Bruno Latour demonstrated that accidental events and unexpected circumstances are part of almost any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This notion of *affect* draws from Gilles Deleuze's writings, that registered a widespread influence in geography for the spatial implications of concepts like rhizomes, multiplicities, immanence and difference. More specifically, a definition of *affect/affection* is offered by Brian Massumi in his translation of "A thousand plateaus" (1987). "L'*affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*), is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act. L'*affection* (Spinoza's *affectio*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body (with body taken in its broadest possible sense to include "mental" or ideal bodies)"(Deleuze & Guattari 1987, xvi).

<sup>6</sup> One example of this blurring contours is the so-defined 'cyborg urbanization', conceptualizing urban infrastructures as a series of interconnecting life-support systems that link the human body to vast technological networks (Gandy, 2005, 28); the figure of the 'cyborg' displaces the concreteness of the material locations, makes visible the intangible 'informatics of domination', allowing for a rethinking of these structures (Shields, 2006, 211).

scientific discovery, and – by extension - of any human activity: even the scientific laboratory is not a neutral and sanitized space, but a place of everyday life, in which a "mass of events is not easily reconciled with the solidity of the final achievements" (Latour et al. 1986, 251). But the notion of 'actor-network' proposed by Latour doesn't seek to overcome the 'human' perspective from the analysis of events. It involves a "dislocation of the action [...] that is not a coherent, controlled, well-rounded, and clean-edged affair. By definition, action is dislocated. Action is borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, translated. If an actor is said to be an actornetwork, it is first of all to underline that it represents the major source of uncertainty about the origin of action" (Latour, 2005, 46). According to Latour, action is events-based because of the multiple uncertainties about the roles of the analyst and the actor, because of the impossibility to define clearly who is acting and who is the spectator: a dilemma that goes back to the origins of the institution of the theatre and that was analysed in depth by Erving Goffman (1956) in his formulations about a stage and a backstage region of behaviours and relations in our performed reality.

Therefore, even if ANT postulates an 'overtaking' of the action, which is taken up by and shared with others, it doesn't entail the annihilation of the human nor, on the opposite side, the conclusion that there is a 'force' (structure, culture, field) acting as a whole and social in itself (Latour, 2005, 46).

A similar emphasis on the socio-material associations between human and non-human elements is present in the conceptualisation of "assemblage". This view also shares with ANT a topological and relational understanding of space, in which action may happen at a distance and as a function of the intensity of the relations between the actors.

The use of the word "assemblage" in geography and urban studies originates from the translation of "agencement" in the English version of the work by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari "A Thousand Plateaus" (1987). In this book, the assemblage is introduced as a dense and intersexual concept, sometimes close to the preceding notion of rhizome. It can be described as the "increase in the dimensions of a multiplicity that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 8).

From then, the concept of assemblage has been used in diverse contexts and not always in continuity with this original apparatus, until reaching a "polysemic" status: "an idea, an analytic, a descriptive lens,

or an orientation" (McFarlane 2011, 206).

In combination with ANT, assemblages have been proposed as instruments for an "alternative ontology for the city" (Farias & Bender 2010, 13), based on the three core principles of "in-hereness", enactment and multiplicity. This broad use of the term received critiques, especially for its "ontological" ambition and "naïve objectivism" (Brenner et al. 2011). Other critiques addressed the risk of a slide into particularism (Peck 2015, 175); more precisely, by "focusing on the description of kaleidoscopic combinations of discrete contingencies at the expense of underlying structures and processes" (Scott & Storper 2015, 11) assemblage thinking and ANT may escape to the political dimensions of human agency (Brenner et al. 2011, 236).

At the same time, the empirical and methodological implications of assemblages opened for potential "conjunctions, disjunctions, crossfertilisations" with ANT (Müller & Schurr 2016), especially in its latest formulations. If ANT's methodological toolbox can provide assemblage thinking with a more sensitive understanding of spatialities, assemblages can introduce in ANT a more structured account on affect and desire as forces driving the creation of the assemblages themselves. Both these views can find a common ground in the centrality of the event. Müller and Schurr (2016) also highlight how in the late 1990s ANT evolved from the idea of networks towards a more fluid space of relations, also involving virtualities. This "post-ANT" formulation provides multiple clues to investigate the multi-layered nature of the built environment – as object, as project, as event – and its time-geographical relations (Schwanen, 2007).

An example of ANT-based investigation on virtual and tangible relations in the urban space is "Paris: ville invisible" (Latour & Herment 2006), a photographic book and online resource in which the city is dynamically presented along four dimensions: traversing, proportioning, distributing and allowing. Drawing from this dynamic approach and from the ANT's vocabulary, we can define the built environment as an encounter between immutable mobiles (Latour 1987) and mutable immobiles (Guggenheim 2009). According to Bruno Latour (1987, 226), "immutable mobiles are objects that are stabilized as technologies to perform the same actions in different locations", while the notion of "mutable immobiles" was proposed by the sociologist Michael Guggenheim in the following terms: "Buildings as mutable immobiles do quite the opposite. First, occupying a fixed location being immobile - exposes them to many different user groups. [...] Second, as singulars, buildings cannot be standardized, but like biological organisms, each one has its own form. The singularity of a building links its local stability and its openness to users and makes it changeable: parts that were once considered to be necessary for the whole to operate are exchanged, disposed or simply ignored in interactions. Rather than being an immutable and stable technology across contexts, buildings are unstable and mutable" (2009, 166).

Following an ANT-inspired notion of event, conceived as a mediation moment that generates traceable associations, also a branch of research on space and architecture emerged. This notion of mediation would replace the traditional rupture between the idea (the project) and its physical realization in space (the built environment) by introducing a broader understanding of a "lived" environment: in this event-space, both material objects and human being are enrolled as *agents* in a collective activity. According to this view, architecture is not a static object but a *moving project*, "never at rest" (Latour & Yaneva, 2008): even when realized, a building remains a contested territory, a *boundary object*: "simultaneously concrete and abstract, specific and general, conventionalized and customized [...] often internally heterogeneous" (Star and Griesemer, 1989, 408).

The reuse of "urban ruins" (Göbel, 2015) is one of the many examples of establishing event-based relations with "buildings-on-the-move", urban environments that reveal an 'atmospheric' character, able to engage the attention of different users, to mix together or separate people, to concentrate or separate flows of actors in space-time.

The notion of architectural and urban "atmosphere" as the multisensory experience of a place was described by Juhani Pallasmaa as "an exchange between the material or existent properties of the place and our immaterial realm of projection and imagination" (Borch 2014, 20). The concept of "atmosphere" is also central to the work of the architect Peter Zumthor: while describing spaces and buildings affecting his personal poetics of architecture (2006), the main focus is on the material presence, on the sounds and temperature of buildings and on their capability to act as "surrounding" objects.

The notion of *hapticity* indicates precisely this multisensory perceptual integration and suggests "a pivotal role of tactile-based (i.e., generally non-visually based) perception and imagery in the architectural experience" (Papale et al. 2016).

The theoretical work by the architect Bernard Tschumi is also focussed on the concept of 'architecture as event': this formulation was developed as an attempt to deal with the twofold nature of this discipline, resumed in metaphoric terms as the paradox of the *pyramid* 

and the *labyrinth* (Tschumi 1975). The pyramid represents architecture as an "artistic supplement": architecture is whatever in a building does not point to utility, its semantic expansion and its space of representation. By referring to meanings outside itself, the architectural object becomes "pure language" (Tschumi 1975, 221), and architecture "an endless manipulation of the grammar and the syntax of architectural signs" (Tafuri 1974, 149)8.

In opposition, the labyrinth represents the act of making distinct and experiencing space. It presupposes a personal and immediate experience. But, from inside the labyrinth no overview is possible to provide a clue about how to get out. So, "the paradox is not about the impossibility of perceiving both architectural concept and real space at the same time, but about the impossibility of questioning the real nature of space and at the same time making or experiencing a real space. [...] The concept of a dog doesn't bark; the concept of space is not in space" (Tschumi 1975).

According to Tschumi, the solution to the paradox can be found in the imaginary (in the sense of imagination-driven) blending of the architectural rule and the haptic experience of space, in a similar way as how human beings experience pleasure: part of his architectural research was dedicated to the association of a given spatial type with alien and unintended activities, an experiment that he defined crossprogramming, transprogramming, disprogramming (Fig. 1).

The result is the definition of architecture as event-space, where the distinction between concept and percept, container and action is denied: "architecture is not simply about space and form, but also

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Tschumi is referring here to the Hegelian classification of arts, in which architecture precedes sculpture, painting, music and poetry in both conceptual and historic terms. As "architecture is seen to be the art coming first in the existence of art in the world", then a confrontation with the beginning and the essential nature of art arises: architecture is directly confronted with the heavy matter, inherently non-spiritual. Between "the aim of seeking an enclosure" and the building as a "fulfilment of this aim", to define architecture "we will have to look around for buildings which stand there independently in themselves, as it were like works of sculpture, and which carry their meaning in themselves and not in some external aim and need" (Hegel 1975, 630-633).

<sup>8</sup> With these words Manfredo Tafuri described the ironic use of "quatation" in the work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> With these words Manfredo Tafuri described the ironic use of "quotation" in the work of James Stirling, in the attempt to write an "archaeology of the present". In this essay on architecture and obsession, "L'architecture dans le boudoir", Tafuri traces a parallel with the obsessive rigorous writings of de Sade. The work of Aldo Rossi provides further fundamental examples of architecture as universe of selected signs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Among the multiple intellectual sources that inspired Tschumi's view on architecture, post-structuralism represents a main stream. Beside the acknowledged intellectual exchange with Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, who also actively contributed in Tschumi's project for "Parc de la Villette" (Derrida 1986), it is possible to retrace some theoretic connections between Tschumi's essay "Architecture and its double" (1978) and Jacques Lacan's definition of "The Mirror Stage" (Spiller 2018, 20).

about event, action, and what happens in space" (Tschumi, 1994). This plural mode of experiencing and practicing space is so rooted in Tschumi's assumptions that he arrived to the proposition "that the future of architecture lies in the construction of events." (Tschumi 1993, 93).

Tschumi's research undermines the traditional disciplinary assumptions of architecture: events and movements imaginable in a building are as relevant to the definition of architectural space as conventional drawings. Including the event in the experience of architecture means embracing the unplanned, including violent, impassionate or irrational activities. "By pointing to the inadequacies of architectural systems, the drawings [of The Manhattan Transcripts project] are not only an attack on the rules of architecture, but an assertion that there is no pure space; that activity necessarily and unregrettably violates architectural purity" (Tschumi et al. 1994).

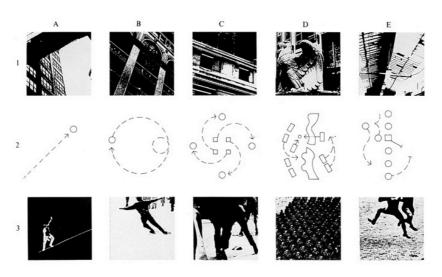


Fig.1 – Bertnard Tschumi, The Manhattan Transcripts, 1976-1981. Source: <a href="http://www.tschumi.com/projects/18/">http://www.tschumi.com/projects/18/</a>, accessed on July 18th 2018.

In defining architecture as an event-space, the work of Tschumi brings the dimension of time among the tools for understanding and designing spaces. Furthermore, this approach opens up to possible intersections with other research fields.

#### **Temporary organizations and Field Configuring Events**

Some guiding principles from ANT studies also inspired an event-based and processual understanding of spatialized relations in organizational life. According to this view, organizations are characterized by the connecting of events, whose spatio-temporal nature is understood as relational: space is created by the relationships between interacting entities when an event manifests itself in a certain setting. Temporality is conceived as the place occupied by the event in an overall order of other events. In this sense, "central to an event-based interpretation of organizational life is the idea that space resides in events, rather than events existing in space, just as time is in the events, rather than events being in time. [...] In this way events provide historicity to organizational life" (Hernes 2014, 61).

Time, task, team and transition are the traditional categories according to which the research on temporary organizing developed. The "4Ts" framework proposed by Lundin and Soderholm (1995) guided the first observations and research questions for developing a theory of the temporary organization, where action has a leading role. In opposition to general theories of the firm, based upon the dominance of decisionmaking, the authors claimed that "the implicit assumption that decisions "cause" action and that decisions occur before actions has been called in question, and it has been shown that actions may not in fact be a consequence of decisions" (1995, 438). Given that temporary organizations are almost always motivated by a need to achieve immediate goals, actions may in some cases precede decisions and solutions may be implemented before problematizing the causes. In the framework of this "action-based entrepreneurialism", transformation is perceived as necessary and desirable: by emphasizing transition, temporary organizations overcome the inertia that often characterizes permanent organizations (1995, 443).

For this reason, in the literature the verb "organizing" is often preferred to the noun "organization", to underline a process-oriented perspective (Fortwengel et al., 2017). In temporary organizations change is endemic and organizational behaviour is conceived as a flow, since this processes cannot be decomposed into single independent 'variables'.

Projects represent a main form of temporary organizing, which often escape normative theories on management and planning: they are not homogeneous, but embrace a range of variables and establish diverse relations to 'parent-organization'. As temporary organizations, projects have a termination point determined ex-ante: therefore, time becomes a main element of control with respect to the interaction and coordination mechanisms among the different actors involved (Burke & Morley 2016).

Events such as fairs and festivals represent a particular case of projectbased organizing. If we assume that main function of a festival is to renew periodically the cultural life-stream of a community (Falassi 1987, 3) and enrich it with new energies, then innovation and creativity are at the basis of its organization. At the same time, these temporary and sometimes recurring projects need to establish stable relations with a permanent context in order to support their organizations, their short-term objectives but also their possibility to be replicated in the future. For this reason, festivals can be considered as paradoxical examples of organizational creativity (Fortwengel et al., 2017). Stability and change represent then a duality and not as a dualism (Farjoun 2010), since innovation and creativity require a stable structure, defined habits and socio-economic norms in order to develop. These projects aren't only embedded in organizations, industries, and regions, but they also foster the creation of networks among diverse organizations (DeFillippi & Sydow, 2016). These networks can be based on a single or multiple interorganizational projects.

In this framework, events can be "once in a while" projects, resulting from the temporary organization of a limited number of actors, or – in the case of gatherings that repeat themselves over time – they can be considered as project-based outcomes of stable organizations, operating in the context of a long term institutional maintenance (Tonga Uriarte et al. 2018b).

The literature on Field Configuring Events (FCE) provides a framework that describes the production and re-production of events as a result of network-based interactions with a "structuring" potential (Giddens 1979). FCE are "temporary social organizations such as tradeshows, professional gatherings, technology contests, and business ceremonies that encapsulate and shape the development of professions, technologies, markets, and industries" (Lampel & Mayer 2008, 1026). In this framework, fields are defined as agglomerations of individuals, groups, and organizations that regularly meet and establish competitive and collaborative interactions. In the evolution of a field and in correspondence to critical thresholds, these interactions generate some structural features, which reinforce the field permanence in time

and space (Giddens 1979). At the same time, the involved actors develop the awareness of the field's "identity" and recognize themselves as members. This structural and cognitive configuration is inscribed into a general process of institutional legitimization of the field, which is not necessarily linear but also shaped by temporary and intermitted circumstances (Meyer et al., 2005). Thus, FCE can be conceived as mechanisms of institutional change that lack temporal continuity but contribute in shaping technological artefacts, markets and regulatory frameworks (Lampel & Mayer 2008, 1028). They are arenas in which people from diverse organizations share information, construct networks, transact business, and set the standard of a specific industry or cultural field.

Being sites where actors from diverse professional, organizational and geographical backgrounds assemble together, FCE necessitate one *location* as a first defining characteristic<sup>10</sup> (Lampel & Mayer 2008, 1027). FCE become then an analytical framework to explore "how temporary spatial proximity is orchestrated, steered and personalized as well as materialized in a particular region or city" (Lange 2014). Therefore, the research on FCE links together some common lines of thinking coming from the fields of organization studies, management and economic geography (Lange et al. 2014). At the same time, if we conceive space as a social construction and processual reproduction (Löw 2008), events are not only sites for field configuration but also sites for field reproduction. This is particularly relevant in the case of specialised conferences, where the outcomes depend on the diverse goals, needs and experiences of the participants and are in some cases unpredictable; thanks to mechanisms of knowledge circulation and sharing within communities, events of this kind enable an on-going and gradual field reproduction rather than a discontinuous field configuration (Henn and Bathelt 2015). The processes of knowledge creation and circulation across different festivals and trade fairs follow a pattern that is generally cyclical but not necessarily continuous: these events can be also conceived as temporary clusters (Power & Jansson 2008) situated between a discontinuous configuration of a field and a continuous circulation of the related knowledge (Gibson & Bathelt 2014).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Lampel and Mayer (2008) enumerate six defining characteristics of FCE. The following ones are: a limited duration; the presence of unstructured opportunities for face-to-face social interaction; the inclusion of ceremonial and dramaturgical activities; the exchange of information and collective sense-making; the generation of social and reputational resources.

#### Project ecologies and temporary proximities

In a review on the literature dealing with temporary organizational forms, Bakker (2010) underlined how the debate had evolved from the earlier 4T-framework towards a "contextual" approach (Grabher 2002). This step was meant to register a growing interest in the embeddedness of these organizations within a specific social context, which provides legitimation and expertise. This contextual perspective investigates the linkages between the temporary organization and its external environment, at two different levels: on one side, the analysis focuses on the relations between the temporary organization and the permanent structure sustaining it (in most of the cases, the project-based firm); beyond that, a second level relates the temporary organization to the wider surrounding context.

The 'embeddedness' of temporary organizations in this broader environment has been mainly explored within the framework of *project ecologies*. These organizational and physical spaces unfold from "the interdependencies between a particular project and the firms, personal relations, localities and corporate networks from which these projects mobilize essential sources" (Grabher 2002, 258). The term ecology then indicates the networks and institutions that play an active role in shaping the practice of temporary collaboration; it includes a diversity of social and communicative logics, organizational identities and professional ethos (Grabher 2004).

In a project ecology the production of knowledge and innovation extends beyond the main organization or firm, but involves diverse communities, other organizations, latent and manifest networks, stabilizing institutions and, in general, the relational space that unfolds around project-driven economic and social practices. Within this space, "epistemic" communities (Grabber 2004) are often organized around a specific project, involving specialized participants - such as clients, suppliers or corporate groups - who are committed to enhance a specific set of related knowledge. On this first social layer, the team, the main organization and the epistemic community are mainly focused on the project task. On a second social layer, a broader "awareness space" is constituted by the interactions between community, sociality, connectivity, and their physical and material characteristics. At this level, learning is more accidental and the actors are not necessarily focussed on the specific project, but their interactions evolve through a multiplicity of networking practices. Chapter 4 provides an example of these particular forms of organizations, with the case of the worldspread ecology of comic conventions.

Within this framework, not only the event as a temporary organization, but all the actors involved in its project ecology can be considered as active spatial entities (Schmidt et al., 2014), since they establish physical relations (temporary or long term) with a specific site.

Events are also part of a more generalized change in work organizations and innovation processes, increasingly leading towards dynamic and temporary configurations, which call into question the traditional opposition between "far" and "close" and between "presence" and "absence". From an organizational perspective, Rallet and Torre (2009) described three modes of temporary spatial proximity for knowledge creation and sharing. These forms of geographic proximity take place in different "interface sites" (2009, 16). Firstly, places that host gatherings such as trade fares, conferences, festivals or exhibitions are identified as transitory sites. Secondly, many firms integrate Internet-based communication with periodical meetings among the members of different branches collaborating in a project: in places specifically dedicated to facilitating interaction, such as platform teams, the actors who are normally physically distant coordinate diverse phases of their work. Thirdly, there are common meeting places, where the face-to-face interaction is part of the ordinary work routines.

This analysis of diverse forms of temporary geographic proximity demonstrates how face-to-face relations represent a significant part of the work organization within a firm and, despite the growing presence of Internet based communication, still play direct and indirect roles in knowledge transmission (Müller & Stewart 2016). If events, festival and fairs are recognized as emblematical sites for intense face-to-face interactions from an organizational perspective, the location patters and the material characteristics of these sites still need further investigation (Schmidt et al., 2014). Differentiated and nuanced conceptualizations of space and spatial perception in the occurrence of events and temporary proximities would integrate the research on field configuring events with a more detailed analysis of material and sociomaterial aspects of organizing.

Urban spaces and temporary use: from informal practices to institutionalized policies

Beside the described *liminoid events*, other forms of transitory use characterize contemporary urban spaces.

The term 'temporary use' is now widespread in the field of urban studies<sup>11</sup> as a way of identifying an informal, experimental practice, an "activity outside the ordinary functioning of real estate markets" (Patti and Polyak 2015, 123).

Informality is understood in this context as referred to "those incomegenerating activities occurring outside the state's regulatory framework that have analogs within that framework" (Sassen 1994, 2289); these activities are considered as an inevitable and "necessary outgrowth of advanced capitalism. [As such], rather than treat its components as isolated deviations from the norm, policymakers should recognize that a new norm has developed; rather than attempt to make this new norm fit the regulations developed decades ago, they should develop new regulations to fit this norm." (1994, 2291).

These temporary uses have a longer duration with respect to events and are normally not recurrent. The temporary use is often a "secondary or provisional, a stand-in or substitute for the preferred permanent option" (Németh and Langhorst 2014, 144). Similarly to events, temporary use can be considered as a form of dynamic, flexible or adaptive urbanism. Both these practices introduce a "heterochronology" (Foucault, 1986) in the urban space: they create places for play and experimentation outside the stable uses and spatial relations.

Urban planning traditionally encountered resistances in approaching temporary phenomena, for a prevailing modernist legacy conceiving change in terms of "the imagined future embodied in the narratives of its master plans" (Holston 1999, 156). The temporariness of "what actually happens in the cities" (Oswalt et al. 2013, 118) but also "what buildings do" as technological artefacts¹² (Gieryn 2002) challenges the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Among the first contributions on the topic, the research "Urban Catalyst" focused on informal urban practices in the city of Berlin after the reunification and compared them to other European examples. (Oswalt 2013). The research project TUTUR - Temporary Use as a Tool for Urban Regeneration (http://tutur.eu/) focused on the possibilities to start regeneration actions in the city through the re-use of vacant spaces, public and private ones. The research on the "Temporary City" (Bishop and Williams 2012) provides further examples of the increasing blurring of ownership and functions in the public space.

space. <sup>12</sup> Gieryn (2002) proposes an investigation on buildings as technological artefacts or machines, following a framework inspired by Science and Technology Studies and ANT. Buildings are simultaneously the consequence and structural cause of social practices (2002, 41), which act in three main phases. "Heterogeneous design" is the phase in which the artefact is structured by material and social interests, together with the definition of its potential users. "Black boxing" is the closure phase, in which the machine performs its function and no interest is given to its internal workings or to diverse possible uses.

top-down approach that informs most of the current urban regulations. The loosened events' structure and the "empty spaces" for improvisation (Hatch 2007) expand the gap between the practices of proximity and distance, the planning of spatialized power relations and the imagined experiences within the urban space (Taylor & Spicer 2007).

In this sense, temporary uses have been related to the notion of "tactics", in contraposition to traditional urban planning as a "strategic" force (Arlt 2013, 81). Michel de Certeau highlighted how strategies may be defined as power relations based on the existence of a bounded space, separated from the external space by a regime of property (1980, 59). As such, strategies may take advantage of a "panoptical" vision on this bounded space, and – from there – allow the control over time. On the contrary, tactics are characterized by the absence of control over space, but by the ability to "work with what is there", in a specific moment in time. As an "art of the weak", tactics is usually engaged in a single project at a time, and, as such, it's able to "exploit favourable opportunities, to play with events, to manipulate the strategies and convert them to new functions" (Arlt 2013, 83). In this sense, bottom-up practices in the use of public spaces embrace this tactical approach.

Despite the resistance of the traditional "strategic" instruments, in the last decade some European countries started to include the notion of temporary use<sup>13</sup> in their regulations on urban planning and landscape. Because of the implementation through minimal intervention and the general reversibility, temporary use is often presented as one of the possible policies for regeneration, mainly in transitional urban areas (Oswalt et al. 2013). This "improvised" practice, often originated as a reaction to the rigid top-down approach of traditional planning practices, is encountering a growing interest from local administration. Germany provides multiple examples of temporary uses (Zwischennutzungen) that developed from a realm of alternative lifestyles to a strategically embedded planning procedure (Honeck 2017). This institutionalization process led in some cases to the

"Interpretative flexibility" is the phase in which these artefacts become available for later reconfiguration or destruction.

The configuration of destruction. The struction of the series of case studies in the framework of the research "Experimenteller Wohnungs- und Städtebau" (BMVBS 2006). At a regional level NRW issued a regulation entitled "Temporary Use as an integral part of modern land management" (Dransfeld 2008).

introduction of this dynamic, flexible or adaptive urbanism among the 'best practices' for preservation<sup>14</sup>.

Planned events have also become tools by which city-makers impact on the citizens' embodied and affective experience of the urban space, and on their ways of acting upon the city. Through the staging of an ephemeral material dispositive, urban planners can modulate affects, guide attention and produce alignment with a specific political project (Ernwein & Matthey 2018). In this sense, temporary uses and events are never completely ephemeral or reversible, but introduce changes in the urban socio-material settings.

In the regeneration of urban spaces through events or temporary uses, the transitory character of these practices meets the long-term dimension of cities' development. In the following chapter, we will discuss how the encounter among diverse temporalities within the urban space is part of a multifaceted understanding of cities as processual landscapes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> An interesting German case is the Tuchfabrik in Bautzen, an 'unwanted historical monument' presented as a best practice of regeneration through temporary use in a publication by the German ministry for urban development in 2006 and then destroyed in 2014 to restore the natural expansion area for the river Spree. (BMVBS 2006)

# **Chapter 2**

# **Urban landscapes between Heritagisation** and Festivalisation

#### Short term, long term and cyclical interactions

In the previous chapter, we introduced the notions of project ecologies as spread, intermittent and sometimes latent associations, unfolding around single or multiple temporary organizations. These associations are embedded in a specific relational space and unfold "a complex geography, which explicitly is not reduced to local clusters but also extends to more distanced individuals and organizations or a-spatial institutions" (Grabher & Ibert 2012, 176). Then, the analysis of the spatial relations between the event's ecology and its material presence in a localized context necessarily calls into question the notions of distance and proximity and the duration in time of such interactions. A same project can develop across diverse locations and put together epistemic communities from diverse contexts (see Chapter 1).

We can therefore consider project ecologies as one example among the multiple processes of socio-spatial transformation and agglomeration that are part of a coming-into-being planetary urbanization<sup>15</sup> (Lefebvre 1970). This idea does not entail the dissolution of cities into placeless global flows, but the recognition of a multiplicity of agglomeration processes beyond the city, "in diverse morphological forms and spatial configurations, from large-scale urban regions, polycentric metropolitan territories and linear urban corridors to inter-urban networks and worldwide urban hierarchies" (Brenner 2014, 19).

Considering cities as one among the diverse forms that urbanization can take, we introduce the concept of "urban landscape" as an inclusive notion that provides and account of the multiplicity of spatial contexts taking part in a project ecology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> According to Lefebvre, the evidences of an on-going process towards a complete urbanization were already present in the 1960s, in the fragmentation of traditional cities and creation of megalopolis, in the extension towards remote areas of logistical, commercial and tourist infrastructures or in the destruction of agrarian communities. Once exceeded a critical threshold, such processes would lead to the interweaving of a planetary uneven mesh of urban fabric as instrument of a world-spread capitalist system.

Following a line of thought that characterised Torsten Hägerstrand's research on time-geography (1995), the term "landscape" is used here in its processual understanding: "a territory with its total filling of material and immaterial entities – human bodies and minds, animals, artefacts, words and other entities – that constitute the conditions for action; [...] a configuration of contacts between countless existents with their own biographies of encounters" (Schwanen 2007, 10). For the accomplishment of a project, understood in time-geography as any purposeful cluster of acts<sup>16</sup>, it is necessary to generate space within a landscape, by creating "pockets of local order" within its elements. Ordering is in this view always a temporary act, aiming at allowing the encounter between a project and a landscape, in a specific time-space setting.

Within these settings, individual or collective biographies can be tracked as life paths in time-space. By examining these biographies and paths, it would be possible to understand the principles of social behaviours in time and space. Given the finite resources in terms of time and the presence of spatial distances between diverse activities, these behaviours encounter some "coupling constraints" (Fig. 2).

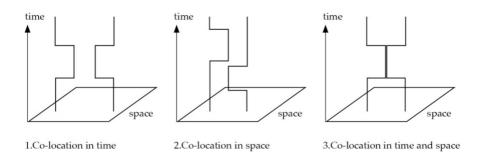


Fig. 2 – Examples of coupling constraints in time-geography: co-location. (Scheme by the author)

In order to accomplish a specific project, the time-space paths of diverse actors need to intersect themselves: this coupling activity poses constraints to the time-space path of each actor. According to Hager strand, these boundary conditions or constraints are partially fixed and partially fluctuating and unforeseeable. They are determined by the

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 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  In time-geography, projects involve individuals and items for the completion of an intention-inspired and goal-oriented behaviour; in comparison to ANT, this definition maintains an implicit human centredness (Schwanen 2007, 15).

juxtaposition of intellectual capabilities, social institutions and the physical existence of humans, living beings and technologies (Hägerstrand 1995, 92).

This approach received critics for its lack of representation of the meaning assigned to places and time, and for the underrepresentation of the hegemonic relations between different social projects (Harvey 1990, 212). Nevertheless, time-space diagrams provide a useful tool to record and track the movement of actors and objects in time and space. In this sense, by comparing Hägerstrand's time-geography with Actors-Network Theory's assumptions (see Chapter 1) it is possible to detect some parallels and differences. There are diverging points in the positioning of human and non-human beings and in the valuation of their capabilities to act, but - especially in the latest formulations of these approaches – it is possible to establish a common ground, where concepts from one field may enrich the other (Schwanen 2007, 15). In fact, these approaches address space, time and materiality as intricately related, both are process-oriented and performative, and both have a topological view of space.

By conceptualising the time-space links between a cyclical event's project ecology and its landscape, it is possible to describe three main levels of interactions. The following scheme (Fig. 3) resumes these time-space relations, and set them within the influence of two main current social and economic trends: festivalisation and heritagisation. After a brief focus on these three main levels of interaction, the present chapter will provide an account on these cultural and economic trends.



Fig. 3 - Multi-layered temporalities and diverse level of interaction during a cyclical temporary event (Graphic by the author).

The first level of interaction can be described as the "short-term" one. As a temporary organization, the event has an institutionalized beginning and ending; it includes improvisation, since it necessarily faces unpredictable factors, such as the weather or unforeseen variations in the number of visitors; it represents a moment of temporary proximity (see Chapter 1) for all the actors involved. At this level, the event includes moments of "organized anarchies" (Bathelt & Gibson 2015), in which random and unorganized interactions take place<sup>17</sup>.

Among the "long-term" interactions we can consider the level of the everyday life in the city and the inhabitants' perception of the event: after its termination, the event "survives" in the tangible and intangible memories associated to its presence in a landscape, sometimes producing changes in the biographies (Hägerstrand 1995) of the participating actors. Moreover, considered project ecologies as relational spaces providing "personal, organizational and institutional resources for performing projects" (Grabher & Ibert 2011, 176), they also "might serve as a memory for the accumulation of these resources" (329). In this sense, project-related knowledge is embodied in the network of actors and is reproduced in a long-term timespan.

On the institutional level, the city planning policies and regulations also establish a long-term interaction with the event: such normative instruments may integrate modifications as a response to localized criticalities or potentialities, or vice-versa the event can resent from limitations as a consequence of changing regulations. Permanent structures such as conference centres or fair grounds might also be erected in order to ease the organization of successive temporary events, thus introducing long-term physical modifications.

These changes challenge the established image of the site and its conservation. Heritage preservation represents a significant example in the case of the present research: being hereby the "hosting" landscape an historically preserved city centre, the event invests material but also symbolic elements and may contribute in a long-term shifting of the values attributed to the urban heritage (see Chapter 5).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The model of "organized anarchies", proposed by Bathelt and Gibson (2015) to describe some characters of trade fairs, can be defined by three main properties. The first is an unclear prioritization among individual and collective goals for participating in the fair, defined as *problematic preferences*. The second property, *unclear technologies*, refers to the empirical and unsystematic approach for the selection of the technologies to meet these goals, often based on trial-and-error experiences. The last property, *fluid participation*, refers to the variety of activities and interests of the participants, whose attendance to the various sections of the event overcome the organizational boundaries.

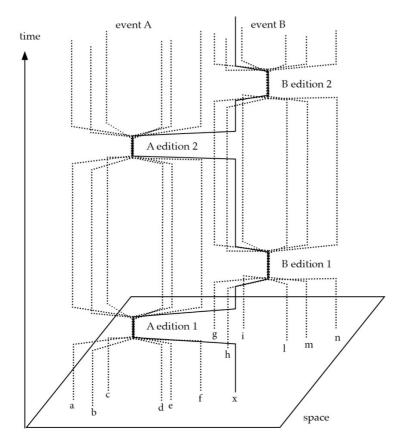


Fig. 4 - A cyclical event in the time-geography system of representation. The event A and the event B belong to a same ecology, and are situated in time and space in order to accommodate themselves in a given set of constraints. The co-location in time of the participants is limited to the event's duration, but it is possible to take part in both the events, as in the case of the participant "x". (Scheme by the author).

The involvement of the specific project into a broader ecology generates cyclical dynamics. In the present research, the positioning of the analysed festival within a world-spread ecology (see Chapter 4) not only generate links among diverse and distanced landscapes, but also has small-scale effects on each of them. In this case, being the event rescheduled every year in the same hosting location, the transformation of the urban landscape involves a cyclical reproduction of social and material interactions, such as the definition of one or multiple 'urban stages', the implementation of security measures, circulation and accessibility plans, garbage collection services and so

on. Beside the measures adopted by the local authorities, also private initiatives, side-events and bottom-up spatial practices are stimulated by this cyclical recurrence (see Chapter 6). In the absence of the event, latent networks (Starkey et al. 2000; Sydow 2009) are established among the epistemic communities involved in the same event's ecology: the distanced connections among the participants become the basis for the organization of the next moment of co-presence (Fig. 4).

As anticipated in Chapter 1, the cyclical nature of the event generates a continuous circulation of knowledge within the field, which is not only configured but also constantly reproduced (Gibson & Bathelt 2014). In this sense, temporary events inscribe themselves into mutable but long lasting structures of actors and institutions.

As such, these ecologies are confronted with other long-term phenomena that characterise the contemporary urban landscapes. Two main tendencies appear to be particularly relevant for the object of the present research: while "eventification" (Jakob 2012) and "festivalisation" define an increase in the number of meanwhile phenomena in the urban space, thus stimulating change at the level of its spatial configurations, "heritagisation" rather counteracts change, to preserve an ideal image of the same space. Nevertheless, we will discuss how these trends are only apparently opposed.

#### **Festivalisation**

The exponential growth in the number of large-scale events led some scholars to define the concepts of "festivalised politics" (Häußermann & Siebel, 1993) and "festivalised" spaces (Richards, 2007). According to van Elderen, "festivalisation" involves "the (temporary) transformation of the town into a specific symbolic space, in which the utilisation of the public domain [...] is under the spell of a particular cultural consumption pattern" (1997, 126). More precisely, this model of consumption can be described as "experience economy", a system of urban and economic policies that emphasise the promotion of experiences (Jakob 2012; Pine & Gilmore 1999). In this view, the event's venue or hosting site becomes a product that can be specifically designed to stimulate entertainment (Getz 2007, 174).

If events take advantage of stimulating locations, also the possibility to attract large-scale festivals often generates competitive and interreferential dynamics (Ong 2011) among various cities. In the case analysed by the present research, the specific nature of the event – which can be situated within the very broad area of "cultural and

creative industries" – stimulates the participation of diverse communities, with various levels of involvement. Beside the companies operating in the global market of entertainment, publishing and gaming, also communities of amateurs and artists in the field of fantasy culture are often actively involved. In Chapter 4 the case of "Unconventional" gatherings is presented as opposed to the leading role of some main actors in the mainstream model of comics and games convention. In these cases, local resources and individual contributions are activated to establish "site-specific" events, rooted in a particular social context but still part of a world-spread geography of conventions inspired by similar cultural references.

For their diffusion at a planetary scale and their capability to involve local dynamics into a global horizon of inter-referenced models of events, we will adopt the definition of "worlding" practices (Roy and Ong 2011), or emergent processes able to shape new social and spatial configurations.

The notion of "worlding" has been adopted in multiple disciplines with diverse connotations. The activation of the noun "world" as a verb was firstly used by Martin Heidegger in his conceptualization of "thinging things", or things "being in the world". But the concept is also largely present in the Marxist theorization of a unified logic, namely the bourgeois mode of production, shaping the world after its own image.

In the last decades the term was mainly associated to the spreading discourse on globalization, drawing some distinctions; in fact, some scholars argue that the word "global" often results in a static contraposition between local and global forces. On the contrary, the concept of worlding would be more fruitful to describe "lateralizing microprocesses that remap power by opening up new channels or reconfigure new social universes" (Roy & Ong 2011, 12).

Following Aihwa Ong's formulation, if we consider cities of all dimension and localization as mutable and networked systems, "then worlding practices are those activities that gather in some outside elements and dispatch others back into the world" (Roy & Ong 2011, 12). By adopting this definition, we are not ignoring that many festivals have become sites of cyclical re-localization for post-Fordist systems of global industrialization (Brenner 1998). Many of these events are arranged in global circuits of mediated and connected market relations; they are timed and arranged cyclically (see Chapter 4), in order to continuously renew and reproduce innovations over time (Power & Jansson 2008) under the control of few main dominating actors. At the

same time, for the capability of activating local communities and generating innovative modes of use of public and private spaces in diverse urban landscapes, such events maintain a "worlding" potential that transcend the dualism local/global.

At the level of the urban policies, major events can become instruments of an "indirect planning strategy, whereby a city makes use of what is essentially an external project to push its own development forward" (Siebel 2015, 88). Such externalisation of projects in the form of bigevents takes advantage of accelerated dynamics in consensus building: under the pressure induced by the deadlines, larger political coalitions are able to enforce particular interests, sometimes bypassing the regular channels of public participation.

At the same time, the difficulties in estimating the positive or negative impact of these initiatives may also lead to overrunning the available resources. Thus, given the economic and political risks that these projects usually entail, the potential revenue is not always the most important motivation behind events' planning. The increasing popularity of mega-events can be explained also by their capability to "bring heterogeneous interests together in places where no viable majorities are otherwise available due to the erosion of the public realm, dwindling financial options, and the structural problems of urban areas" (Siebel 2015, 94).

If this "festivalisation of the urban politics" (Häußermann & Siebel 1993) is mostly present in the case of world-scale events, such as EXPOs, Olympic Games, and other sports competitions, also events at a smaller scale may convey similar dynamics. Events and festival usually encourage spatial and temporal selectivity, producing an "oasis effect" (Siebel 2015, 91): not only the financial and human resources, but also the communication media and the political attention tend to focus on the temporary activity, leaving beside other urban debates and everyday issues. They contribute in creating successful urban "images", which represent a fundamental tool in stimulating tourism, economic investments and in raising the cities' attractiveness for new inhabitants.

The term "festivalscape" has been proposed precisely to represent the general atmosphere experienced by the event's attendees, and to assess how the quality of this image impacts on their satisfaction (Lee et al. 2008). This definition is based on the assumption that the physical surroundings strongly affect consumers' and workers' behaviour, and draws from a previous formalisation of "servicescapes" in the field of

marketing (Yoon et al. 2010; Bitner 1992). The atmospheric and environmental qualities of a festival scape represent the main object of investigation, for which diverse dimensions of analysis are proposed (Lee et al. 2008): program content, staff service, facilities' availability and quality, food, souvenirs, convenience, and information availability. This model of analysis focuses on the perception of intrinsic and extrinsic cues in the event's environment, from the haptic and material qualities of the physical space to intangible qualities such as brands' reputation. If studies of this kind may provide insights on the visitors' emotional experience in the context of a single festival, the positioning of this event within a broader ecology receives little attention. But, given the multiplicity of relations that each event establishes with its own ecology and with the hosting landscape, we suggest that the visitors' satisfaction and loyalty may also be determined by external factors: the identification with a community participating in the project ecology or the comparison and competition with similar festivals may be also a motivation for the "loyalty" to a specific event.

Environmental characteristics are active elements in shaping the visitors' experience, both when they are specifically designed for the temporary event and when they pertain to the permanent features of the hosting site. Environmental psychology plays a significant role within the field of Event Studies, not only in the analysis of the "affordances" or "constraints" of a venue that qualify an event's experiences, but also for the behavioural responses that this environment stimulates among the visitors (Getz 2007, 65).

Therefore, this research suggests an extension in the understanding of "festivalscapes", to include the broader environment offered by the "stable" urban landscape, in which the event takes place.

# Heritagisation and sustainable preservation: a founding paradox

The atmospheric and environmental quality of the setting may play a significant part in the success of an event. At the same time, some events have become indissolubly bound to a specific landscape, especially the ones that pertain to a distinctive cultural domain and are rooted back in the history. Some of them have been defined as "intangible cultural heritage" following a recent general broadening of the concept of heritage at an international level.

In fact, in the last decades, the term 'cultural heritage' itself has considerably changed its meaning, partially owing to various

instruments developed by UNESCO18 to promote the extension of its scope and nature towards immaterial assets.

For the purposes of the "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", its scope includes "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (Art 2.1). According to this view, not only intangible cultural heritage should promote cultural diversity and sustainable development among communities, but is also profoundly related to tangible material cultural assets.

Rituals and festivals are considered part of this heritage: various carnivals are currently represented in the list, together with market fairs 19 and multiple religious and folkloristic festivals all over the world. Some of these are also listed as "in Need of Urgent Safeguarding": as an example, the traditional horse-riding game in the Republic of Azerbaijan, Chovgan, has weakened "due to a loss of interest among the youth, combined with urbanization and migration, leading to a shortage of players, trainers and Karabakh horses"20; the State Party is therefore encouraged by UNESCO to involve all the communities concerned, in order to ensure the long-term viability of this intangible cultural heritage.

The multiple examples of intangible cultural heritage "in danger" highlight the paradoxical tensions inherent to a safeguarding instrument that addresses mutable social practices or ephemeral events.

A similar intrinsic paradox lies behind the modern idea of urban conservation. The representation of history and the collective memories associated to a place are confronted by the continuous changes in the inhabiting communities and social structures. In this sense, urban

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The main instrument is the "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage", adopted by UNESCO in October 2003 after the 32<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the General Conference in Paris. This document had been preceded by the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (1989), the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), and the Istanbul Declaration of 2002 adopted by the Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture. (https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention, accessed on July 14<sup>th</sup> 2018).

19 One example is the annual winter fair and livestock market at Sint-Lievens-Houtem

<sup>(</sup>Begium).

20 Chovqan, a traditional Karabakh horse-riding game in the Republic of Azerbaijan, was

20 Chovqan, a traditional Karabakh horse-riding game in the Republic of Azerbaijan, was inscribed in 2013 (8.COM) on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (<u>www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/decisions/8.COM/7.A.1</u>, accessed on March 1st 2017)

conservation has been described as a category of utopian thinking among the multiple urban utopias diffused during the twentieth century (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012, vii): if understood as the safeguard of the physical structures in the city in their "authentic" integrity, the concept of preservation remains an illusory ambition. Nevertheless, this ambition is still present in many urban regulations and preservation policies, in which the monumental value of the urban heritage appears as the main object of conservation.

The tendency towards the proliferation of "heritage" is spread today as much as the multiplication of events and festivals, to the point that a provocative definition such as "overtaking preservation" (Koolhaas 2014) has been formulated. The phenomenon is also referred to as Heritagisation or Musealisation, and invests material and immaterial objects. Sharon Macdonald (2013) resumes a range of theoretical perspectives that help to understand the diffusion of these cultural trends. A first account on the diffusion of museums and heritage sites in the second half of the 20th century was offered by the German philosophers Joachim Ritter (1963) and, later, Herman Lübbe (1982): according to these authors, this phenomenon was a result of a changing sensibility towards time, which "squeezed" the present in a continuous acceleration and disconnected it from the past and the future. The sense of past values vanishing stimulated the protection of heritage as a compensation for the erosion of tradition. "Musealisation, thus, can be seen as a form of temporal anchoring in the face of loss of tradition and unsettlement brought about by the increased tempo of technological and related change" (Macdonald 2013, 128).

In these terms, the trend towards the musealisation of historic but also contemporary urban landscapes would seem in opposition to the eventification trend: if musealisation represents an attempt to slow down the pace of change of contemporary everyday life, then events and festivals offer an opposite perception of time, stimulating change and ephemeral experiences.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> A very influencing and provocative statement was presented at the Venice biennale in 2010, with the exhibition Cronocaos curated by OMA / Rem Koolhaas: [...] The area of the world declared immutable through various regimes of preservation is growing exponentially. A huge section of our world (about 12%) is now off-limits, submitted to regimes we don't know, have not thought through, cannot influence. At its moment of surreptitious apotheosis, preservation does not quite know what to do with its new empire. As the scale and importance of preservation escalates each year, the absence of a theory and the lack of interest invested in this seemingly remote domain become dangerous. [...] The current moment has almost no idea how to negotiate the co- existence of radical change and radical stasis that is our future. (Koolhaas 2014).

But this is not the only aspect behind the proliferation of heritage. With the slightly different term of *museumification* - and hinting at the idea of *mummification* - Jean Baudrillard (1983) described the phenomenon as 'the agony of the real'; the creation of replicas in museums and theme parks, or the crystallisation of historically thematised townscapes would represent a consequence of the distinction's collapse between the authentic and the simulated. According to the German cultural studies scholar Andreas Huyssen (1995), this multiplication of museums and heritage sites is not opposed to modernisation, but precisely a substantial part of it. Then, this "hypertrophy of memory" (Huyssen 2003) belongs to the present and is part of the already mentioned experiential mode of consumption (Jakob 2012; Pine & Gilmore 1999). "Heritage industry" strategies often take advantage from "the marketing of safe pasts of stable social relations in the face of industrial decline and increased social unrest"<sup>22</sup> (Macdonald 2013, 140).

As a whole, the expansion of heritage is over-determined (Macdonald 2013, 140), and more than one theorisation may co-exist. If we limit the scope of this brief review at the level of built heritage, it's nonetheless important to underline a founding paradox: the dialectic relation between the living nature of built heritage and the aims of the related preserving practices is an intrinsic aspect of the very first definitions of "historic monument" themselves. If the constant tension between change and stability applies to any object that meets the definition of heritage, the case of the built environment generates further questions; not only the constantly changing social context that inhabit it enhances the impulse towards mutation, but also the three definitions of "figure mémoriale", "figure historique" and "figure historiale" (Choay 2007, 134) are intrinsically dialectical.

This classification, proposed by Françoise Choay, moves from a first clear-cut distinction, that we owe to Alois Riegl (Riegl 1903), between the notions of "monument" and "historic monument". The "monument" is a deliberated creation (<code>gewollte</code>), whose role is established <code>a priori</code>, while the "historic monument" is not defined as such from the beginning (<code>ungewollte</code>), but <code>a posteriori</code> and as a result of an historicized process of selection and values attribution.

The memorial value ("figure mémoriale") is related to this

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  The "heritage industry" thesis was formulated in relation to the heritage boom in Britain during the 1980s (Macdonald 2013, 140).

unintentional significance of built heritage as a fading trace of the past, as in the case of the quasi-poetic value of "The stones of Venice" described by John Ruskin<sup>23</sup>. In this sense, the signs of decay and the fascination for ruins ('ruinophlia') testify to the passing of time on the surface of these objects, and any human intervention altering this flow would be considered as a struggle against the laws of nature.

The "figure historique" finds a privileged expression in the work of Camillo Sitte<sup>24</sup>, where built heritage acquires a propaedeutic role: the city is a monument and a document, we can learn from its spatial configuration and find there the permanence of some principles. Those principles are not a copy or imitation of the past, but the tools through which architects and urban planners can answer to the requests posed by contemporary societies. Similarly, Viollet-le-Duc was searching in the past "those immutable principles that resist through the centuries" (Choay 2007, 139). The city's musealisation process becomes a consequence of this pedagogic-propaedeutic function: transformed into an historical object, the city looses its historicity. After the Second World War and as a reaction to the "tabula rasa" ideology issued from CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne), this musealisation process has determined the increasing attention on built heritage and inspired the legal regimes on preservation.

The "figure historiale" is presented by Choay as a synthesis of the first two, and is traced back to the theory and practice of Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1943): despite the alternate fortune of his work, due to his engagement with the fascist regime, Giovannoni's research has been recently re-considered for his early attention to the urban environment and for the notion of 'ambiente artistico' as the aesthetic appearance of the monumental complex as a whole, independently from the exact chronology of the interventions on its structure (Zucconi 2014). The three main principles founding Giovannoni's theory on conservation were: the *plan* as a fundamental instrument of integration of all the fragments into a unique frame; the context (ambiente) and the impossibility of interpreting a single building extrapolated from it; the relations of scale and morphology as the primary object of preservation. It is interesting to notice that, already in 1931, Giovannoni expressed the awareness of an increasingly fundamental role of communication systems in his book "Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova", by entitling a

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 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  John Ruskin published the first edition of his three-volume treatise on Venetian art and architecture from 1851 to 1853.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  "Der Städtebau nach seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen", published in 1889 (Sitte 1988).

chapter "La città come organismo cinematico" (The city as a cinematic organism): even if Giovannoni's theory does not fully answer to the open problem of the "hypertrophy" of memory in the city space, this focus on the relational level and on mutations in the urban landscapes has been for long underestimated.

Françoise Choay has compared the "inflation" or "syndrome patrimoniale" to the definition of narcissism in the work of Freud and, later, Lacan (Choay 2007, 189): a necessary but temporary phase of human development, which turns into fetishism if prolonged over time. The function of heritage would become then a defense towards anxieties of the present, a moment of suspension and contemplation of an illusory reflection of real objects - depurated from differences, heterogeneities and fractures – in a very precarious equilibrium with psychosis: Narcissus dies because of the impossibility of perceiving and forgetting himself at the same time.

Choay's suggestion on a possible way of circumventing this paradox is centred on the notion of a "hand-to-hand" mediation between bodies: the human body as able to move, touch, experience the environment, and the body of the city as a field to be crossed and perceived. At the same time, the conservation of heritage *per se* may be replaced by a preservation of praxis<sup>25</sup>, of the human abilities to recreate and replace it (Choy 2007, 198).

#### Urban heritage as a processual landscape

Despite the persistence of a static interpretation of conservation in many local policies, which pursue a top-down model mainly focussed on architectural monuments and groups of buildings, the recognition of the dynamic nature of cities has progressively found a place in the international debate. The "Historic Urban Landscape" approach, promoted by UNESCO, moves from the recognition of the importance of social, cultural and economic processes in the urban living space. The UNESCO's General Conference adopted the "Recommendation on

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  An example can be found in non–European interpretations of heritage, such as the Japanese notion of Shinmei-Zukuri (simplicity and antiquity) at the Shrines of Ise: the sacred temple is rebuilt exactly in the same manner every 20 years, as part of the Shinto beliefs of death and renewal of nature; only the style is preserved (Francesco Dal Co, "Del restauro". Closing lecture of the conference "Identità dell'Architettura Italiana, XIII", Università degli studi di Firenze, December  $10^{\rm th}$ - $11^{\rm th}$  2016.)

the Historic Urban Landscape" on 10 November 2011 (UNESCO 2011). Its approach is described as "holistic", since it integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development (UNESCO 2013). The Recommendation explicitly acknowledge the necessity to update the existing policies: "the shift from an emphasis on architectural monuments primarily towards a broader recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values, should be matched by a drive to adapt the existing policies and to create new tools to address this vision" (Clause 4).

Underlying this approach, there is an overall concern upon the sustainability of preservation policies. "Heritage was long absent from the mainstream sustainable development debate despite its crucial importance to societies and the wide acknowledgment of its great potential to contribute to social, economic and environmental goals"26. After a long process of research, cooperation and negotiation (Bandarin & van Oers 2012, 81) a "Policy on the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention" was finally adopted by the 20th General Assembly of the States Parties on 19 November 2015. In this context, sustainability means to apply "a long-term perspective to all processes of decisionmaking within World Heritage properties, with a view to fostering intergenerational equity, justice, and a world fit for present and future generations" (Clause 7). The Convention approaches three main dimensions of sustainable development, namely environmental sustainability, inclusive social development and inclusive economic development, together with the fostering of peace and security.

This approach towards a "sustainable heritage" shares many inspiring principles and purposes with the Historic Urban Landscape approach. The recognition that over the past decades a "paradigm shift for heritage places" <sup>27</sup> has occurred is now shared by nearly all the international organization dealing with heritage sites.

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has also highlighted that "we now live in what has been termed the urban

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> https://whc.unesco.org/en/sustainabledevelopment/, accessed on July 18<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The President of ICOMOS, Gustavo Araoz, argued that this shift had occurred, due to 'the evolution of the role that heritage plays in society, the appropriation of heritage by communities and the growing acceptance of heritage as a public commodity with economic value from which profit can be derived [which] have brought about deep changes in the way that the government and the public sector perceive and use their heritage resources'. Position paper issued to the ICOMOS Executive Council meeting in Malta, October 2009 (Bandarin & van Oers 2012, 199).

century, one in which the sustainability and resilience of cities and towns will be key. [...] Cultural heritage and urban sustainability are inseparable"<sup>28</sup>.

The role of historic urban areas as witnesses of traditional urban cultures and not only as historical documents is clearly stated. At the same time, we have briefly described how, under the influence of phenomena like eventification and musealisation, these very cultures are constantly in the search of new balances between stability and change. If this dialectical relation is probably part of any urban culture and can hardly be recomposed within a single definition or regulation, the important step-forward in the Historic Urban Landscape approach lies in its processual nature.

Going back to a time-geography based description of landscape, the individual and collective biographies of human beings and objects constitute the main backbone of these processes. "As a consequence of the impossibility of taking time off, we ought to try to understand what the unbroken persistence of beings from birth to death means to their mutual relations and to the ways things change in the aggregate. The advantage of viewing a landscape in this way is that we discover a fibrosity which binds the past and the future together and reveals relationships which the pure spatial cross-section is unable to capture. We see how neighbourhoods overlap – not only sideways but simultaneously through time" (Hägerstrand 1995, 94).

This research offers an investigation through this "fibrosity" by unpacking these multi-layered space-time interactions, and operating at the encounter between a temporary event and an historic urban landscape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Statement by ICOMOS on the Adoption of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, adopted during the UN summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda in New York on 25 September 2015. (https://www.icomos.org/en/focus/un-sustainable-development-goals/4372-statement-by-icomos-on-the-adoption-of-the-un-sustainable-development-goals, accessed on July 18<sup>th</sup> 2018)

# Chapter 3

# Research design and methodology

#### Case study selection: why study a Comic & Games convention?

In the previous chapters we focused on the role of events and festivals within a growing interdisciplinary stream of research addressing spatial-temporal patterns. Being these phenomena multifaceted, a study on their social meaning and impact, the effects on tourism, their management and marketing in city-branding processes calls for a more general investigation on the transformations that they introduce in the spaces of production, distribution and consumption. Within this framework, comics inspire diverse, multi-layered and often diverging forms of cultural and commercial events: from large-scale conventions (or Comic-Con) that become showcases for pop and fantasy culture, to smaller "un-conventional" meetings that address niche audiences and encourage the emergence of subcultures (see Chapter 4). In each of these cases, different spaces, technologies and artefacts become the object of diverse socio-material relations.

Comics and games can be considered as fundamental components of a broader "transmedial culture" (Harvey 2015; Salkowitz 2012). Transmediality operates by systematically dispersing across multiple media the elements of fictional narratives, for the purpose of creating an integrated and coordinated experience of entertainment. In this process, "a story might be introduced in a film, expanded through television, novels, and comics, and its world might be explored through game play or experienced as an amusement park attraction. Each franchise entry needs to be self-contained so you don't need to have seen the film to enjoy the game, and vice versa. Any given product is a point of entry into the franchise as a whole" (Jenkins 2008, 97–98). For this reason, an investigation on comics and games becomes also a "point of entry" to approach a world-spread emerging cultural and commercial structure.

Comic conventions often become key sites where transmedia commercial strategies unfold. By gradually diffusing diverse materials such as products, news, promotional items and web-based messages, the entertainment industries stimulate "various types of audience conversations, rewarding and building particularly strong ties with a property's most ardent fans while inspiring others to be even more active in seeking and sharing new information" (Jenkins et al. 2013, 143). As an example, many television series present their products at comic conventions as a cornerstone of their promotional efforts<sup>29</sup>.

As part of a world-spreading trend towards festivalisation (see Chapter 2), events and festivals dedicated to fantasy culture and its transmedial convergences across movies, games, comics and literature are growing in number. Some specific elements result particularly interesting for the present research, which aims at exploring the event's multi-layered space-time interactions at the encounter with the urban landscape.

First, such a typology of festivals embodies a combination of artistic and commercial aspects, together with an orientation towards alternative lifestyle narratives, which becomes particularly interesting if compared with the broad diversity of the cultural and urban landscapes that it touches. Phenomena like *cosplay* (see Chapter 4), fictional re-enactments, happenings and other performative manifestations establish a powerful interaction with the physical elements of the sites in which they take place.

Secondly, the field of studies on comics has long been shaped by practitioners (Brienza 2016, 14). As such, work practices and patterns in the comics' production may result particularly interesting for the studies addressing creative processes and the conditions under which creativity can be socially organized. These processes are often structured as project ecologies and involve events and moments of temporary co-presence. In the following chapter we will briefly reconstruct how comics and games are part of a complex industry, which alternates in its evolution and sometimes combines centralized and concentrated structures with dispersed and "neoartisanal" modes of production (Norcliffe & Rendace 2003).

As a consequence of this complexity, comics and games are characterised by multiple geographies and involve moments of localized clustering - such as the conventions – as part of this distinctive pattern of production and consumption.

Furthermore, "Media convergence" (Jenkins 2008) is also responsible for a growing participatory culture and a blurring of the boundaries between fans, creators, producers and consumers (Brienza 2016, 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Jenkins et al. (2013, 143) provide the example of television series such as *Heroes* and films such as *Paranormal Activity* (2007), *District 9* (2009), *Kick-Ass* (2010), and *Scott Pilgrim vs. the World* (2010), which were presented at San Diego Comic-Con as a key strategy in their promotion, with varying degrees of success.

"Epistemic communities" are created by the interaction between the creative process and the product's commercialization; these communities are often Internet-based and interact at a distance, between the network and the social imaginary; fan gatherings, conventions and festivals represent the most important moments of temporary co-presence for these communities.

Lastly, the combination of different spatialities and temporalities in the context of comic conventions represents a still under-investigated field and, as such, calls for new methodological challenges.

In order to respond to the "how" and "why" research questions (see Introduction), we designed an empirical research structured around a main case study. Among the events dedicated to comics, games and fantasy culture, Lucca Comics & Games (LC&G) presents some peculiar characters due to the coexistence of a perfectly preserved historic urban landscape and a large-scale festival. Thus, this empirical case provides abundant material for an analysis of the temporal coevolution of a specific project ecology and one of its "hosting" localities.

The choice of investigating a single case was motivated by multiple rationales (Yin 2003, 42): first, the selected case presents elements of *uniqueness* in the scale of the event and in the extreme peculiarity of the location; second, as a consequence of this uniqueness, the case is *revelatory* about emergent dynamics that may result less manifest in other cases; third, the case is approached from a *longitudinal* perspective, in which the analysis is conducted across multiple points in time.

Being the field of study relatively recent and given the scarceness of similar interdisciplinary studies on events' sociomaterial patterns in space-time<sup>30</sup>, the research presents an experimental and "revelatory" nature (Yin 2003, 42). Therefore, the investigation was conducted mainly on the basis of qualitative data. Quantitative data were also collected and analysed, in order to support the qualitative observations with more structured empirical evidences.

Within the selected case study, a closer focus has been placed on the specific phenomenon of the temporary shops that operate during LC&G (see Chapter 6), which is presented as an "embedded" case (Yin

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The studies by Maria Gravari-Barbas and Vincent Veschambre (2005) on the comics festival in Angoulême and by Jennifer C. Lena (2011) on the Fan Fair festival in Nashville represent relevant exceptions.

2003, 44). These temporary uses of private spaces inside the historic city centre of Lucca generate tensions at two levels: with the permanent urban setting on one side, and with the temporary organization of the event on the other.

This section of the research was conducted in collaboration with the research unit LYNX at IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca. In particular, the investigation on the impact of the temporary shops in the urban landscape was conducted as a "side project" within the framework of the research "Direct & Indirect Impacts of Lucca Comics & Games"<sup>31</sup>.

The transcriptions of the interviews with the representatives of the public municipal bodies quoted in Chapter 6 were kindly shared by the Yesim Tonga Uriarte and Rafael Brundo Uriarte. These interviews included questions on the meaning of LC&G for the city in terms of communication and collaborations among diverse organizations and with respect to its impact at various scales.

The outcomes of this broader research project (Tonga Uriarte 2016, Tonga Uriarte et al. 2017; 2018a; 2018b) provided further information for the analysis of the case study, especially in relation to the event's audience motivations and experience.

As a backbone behind all the phases of the research, the review of the literature covered multiple disciplinary fields. The main sources and key concepts that were analysed are summarised in Chapters 1 and 2.

#### Used methods and combination

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The research combined an uninterrupted investigation of bibliographic resources and review of the literature with phases of fieldwork, desktop research and archival research. The work was structured on a longitudinal timeframe, covering the editions of the festival from 2015 to 2017. We adopted combined research methods, to relate different information levels and to offer a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of the phenomenon<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Research team (2015-2016): project coordinator dr. Yeşim Tonga Uriarte; project supervisor prof. Maria Luisa Catoni; research collaborator: Tiziano Antognozzi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> According to Geertz, "thick" ethnographic description has three main characteristics: "it is interpretive; what it is interpretive of is the flow of social discourse; and the interpreting involved consists in trying to rescue the "said" of such discourse from its

The following table summarizes the methodological approach, which is detailed in the present section.

Method	Data collection	Data analysis	Limitations	Strategies
Direct observation	Fieldwork notes, photographs, sketches on social interaction and physical environment.	Comparative analysis, pattern matching.	Selectivity (uncovered areas).	Longitudinal observation, integration with other methods.
Semi- structured interviews	Municipal employees, organizers, temporary retailers.	Lists of topics, keywords analysis, tables.	Third persons' explanations, individual bias.	Integrate with bibliographic research.
Interviews	Live interviews with representatives of local public institutions (transcriptions shared by Yesim Tonga Uriarte and Rafael Brundo Uriarte).	Keywords analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis.	Third persons' explanations, individual bias.	Critical analysis, comparative analysis.
Questionnaire	32 questions (temporary retailers).	Tables and charts.	Time constraints.	Paper-based and emailed form.
Archival research	Entries in the municipal archive.	Graphs and networks.	Lack of a systematic recording system.	Integration with direct observations.
Media coverage	Online keyword research in articles (web- and paper- based) covering LC&G's history.	Historical and contextual analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis.	Time consuming, not all source easily available.	Use of web-based archives and digitalized materials, focus on relevant dates.
Bibliographic research	Monographic books on comic conventions, LC&G archive, articles in specialized journals.	Chronology matrix, historical and contextual analysis.	Emerging field of study.	Comparison with other similar events at an international scale.
Netnography	Online keyword research in blogs, forums and social- media related to transmedial fantasy culture.	Database of current comics and games conventions (Appendix 1).	Number of events growing and changing across time.	Set a limited timeframe.

Table 1 - Summary of the methodological approach

perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms. [...] But there is, in addition, a fourth characteristic of such description [...]: it is microscopic. [...] ...The anthropologist characteristically approaches broader interpretations and more abstract analyses from the direction of exceedingly extended acquaintances with extremely small matters" (1973, 20-21).

During the fieldwork (LC&G editions 2015 and 2016), the main used methods were direct observation, semi-structured interviews and structured questionnaires. Also, archival research took place in the local libraries and municipal offices, while a bibliographic and "netnographic" investigation (Kozinets 2010) was conducted across the whole duration of the research.

Direct observation took place in Lucca during the 2015 and 2016 editions: field notes and photographs were taken by walking through the whole city centre, before, during and after the event. At this phase, the main focus was placed on perceptual elements such as paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks (Lynch 1960), and relations such as assemble/disperse, integrate/segregate, invite/repel and open/close (Gehl 1971).

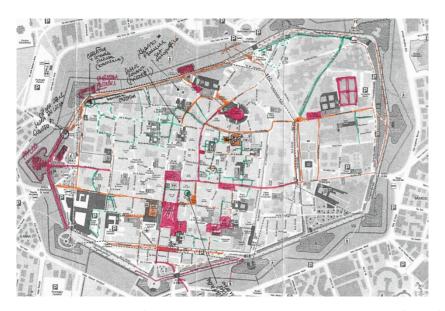


Fig. 5 – Fieldwork notes from the edition 2015: the streets with the stronger flows of visitors are marked in red (sketch by the author).

During the 2015 edition, the streets with stronger flows of visitors were sketched on a map (Fig. 5), together with the position and the arrangement of the commercial activities that had undergone major changes. In this phase, the relevance of the temporary shops' phenomenon in terms of diffusion and presence in the local debate

motivated the choice of including it in the research as an "embedded" case.

In this sense, the research design was "recursive" and not rigidly set a priori: together with the on-going review of the literature, the fieldwork experience stimulated changes in the structure of the study, alternating inductive and deductive phases.

An example of this recursive approach is the structuration of the interviews. This phase started with semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with 8 shop owners during the 2015 edition, while observing the main features of the spaces, the products sold and the actors' behaviours. These interviews were conducted in the form of brief conversations on the organization of the shop, its planning in time and space and the main motivations behind this particular entrepreneurial practice.

This first step helped in formulating a series of 32 questions (see Appendix 2), which were submitted in the form of structured questionnaires during the 2016 edition, to integrate the qualitative observation conducted on the phenomenon of the temporary shops (see Chapter 6).

The questions were organized in different sections (see Appendix 2): after the data collection related to the commercial activity, a "how" section investigated the organizing process; a "why" section explored its main reasons; a "where/when" section resumed the location selection process; a "who" section collected information on the main actors involved; finally, a "which results" section focussed on the shopkeepers' expectations. Each section included both multiple choice and open-ended questions, in order to collect any possible additional note from the interviewees.

The archival research was mainly conducted in the municipal business administration office (SUAP, Sportello Unico Attività Produttive) and focussed on the case of the temporary shops (Chapter 6). The SUAP office databases provided records about the authorization requests presented by the owners of the stores and by the subletting shopkeepers, in the years 2013-2016. This data collection process included a level of uncertainty, given the absence of a systematic and unique recording system for the temporary shops in the municipal archives. Thanks to the combination with direct observation, it was possible to verify and integrate the collected data and to achieve an adequate level of reliability beyond this first limitation.

Also, semi-structured interviews with the municipal employees in charge of the shops' authorizations provided more information on the regulations and the main issues related to the current norms. The research also covered the main local and national regulations in terms of temporary events and heritage preservation. The data analysis provided further insights on how the civic administration has been trying to govern, organize and control such temporary uses of public commercial and non-commercial spaces, with respect to security and heritage preservation issues.

A second limitation of the research in the municipal archive for commercial activities came from the impossibility to organize the fieldwork on the basis of the records, because these were updated until the very beginning of the event: since the authorization procedure (according to the national law on commercial activities) is immediately effective, the shops are allowed to submit the request on the same day in which they start to occupy the commercial premise (see Chapter 6). This represents a critical issue both for the municipal control over the activities and, from the research perspective, for the possibility to map the shops in advance.

However, the research took advantage of the cyclical nature of its object of study: on the basis of the observation conducted during the 2015 edition, it was possible to formulate hypothesis and to structure the fieldwork for 2016. This long-term observation of a very short but cyclical event provides a deeper understanding of the changings occurring in its spatial organization.

Furthermore, to provide an historical account of the Lucca Comics & Games evolution during its more than 50 years of "temporary presence" in the city, other archival materials were analysed. Bibliographic research and media coverage across multiple years provided useful information, together with the archives of the organising institutions. Also, an analysis of the reports issued by LC&G and, later, Lucca Crea provided data on the latest editions (from 2012), including numbers, results, organizational structure, program and locations of the event in the city.

Many materials are available on-line, in the website of the event and of its previous editions, but also in forums, blogs and specialised online-magazines. The maps of the most recent editions (from 2002) are available online and were overlapped to realise a space-time map of the event (see Chapter 5).

This bibliographic approach was then integrated with a "netnographic" exploration of blogs, social media, and fans' websites dedicated to comic conventions. Netnography can be described as a "specialized form of ethnography adapted to the unique computer-mediated contingencies of today's social worlds" (Kozinets 2010, 1). Given the essential presence of virtual communication within the comics and games fandom, a netnographic investigation of these communities and their main meetings is a useful tool to understand a new form of social space. It is a space where "real life" is inextricably blended with an "on-line" social life. This methodology was mainly used for the creation of the events' database (see Appendix 1) and for the reconstruction of the comics and games geography (Chapter 4).

#### Data collection and analysis

The netnographic research was mainly conducted to explore the worlding ecology of comic conventions. For this purpose, the data collection started from the exploration of some conventions' websites. Nearly all these gatherings have at least a dedicated web-page or, in case of multiple conventions organized by a same company, it is possible to find a list of the events on the company's main website<sup>33</sup>. Furthermore, the fans' communities curate numerous specialized and freely accessible websites, providing detailed calendars of the upcoming meetings. Many comics and games events also have partners or "twinned" conventions listed on their websites, from which it is possible to collect further information.

Within the framework of this research, we use the term "comic convention" in the broadest sense. The condition under which we included an event in the analysis was its presence in the explored databases, websites and bibliography, and the mention of comic books or manga among the featured activities: Comic-Con, Fantasy convention, Alternative Press Festival, Expo, Anime-Marathon, Book market, Salon, Trade fair, Doujinshi, Convention, Small-Press Expo, Wizard World are some of the encountered definitions<sup>34</sup>. Despite the frequent convergence with comics and games communities, numerous

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> As an example, one of the world's largest event organiser, Reed Exibitions, currently coordinates comics and games events in the United States, in Australia, in France, in the UK, in Austria, in South Korea, in Singapore and in South Africa (list available on <a href="https://www.reedexpo.com">www.reedexpo.com</a> accessed on March 26<sup>th</sup> 2018)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Events' names and descriptions from on-line databases: www.comic-soon.com, www.europecomics.com, animecons.com, animexx.onlinewelten.com, www.upcomingcons.com et al.

events and conventions dedicated to Japanese culture were not included in the scope of this research, unless if *manga* and *anime* represented a main section within them.

In order to analyse the current distribution and dimension of comics and games events, the data collection was conducted on these websites for a timeframe of one year (mid 2016 - mid 2017, see Appendix 1). In fact, one of the main obstacles in this data-collection process is the constantly growing number of new events, and the possibility for some of them to disappear or to skip one edition in case of scarce success. Therefore, setting a period of one year was a necessary restriction.

The numerous blogs and databases curated by the comics and games fandom offer the possibility to compare and verify the information collected. Public opinions on past events and related images are also easily accessible.

The second main obstacle is the availability of information in English. The research covered also some Italian, German, French websites and a limited number of webpages from the Latin America events; however, Asian countries are currently among the most active promoters of new events and only the main among these provide English information. Smaller gatherings result scarcely accessible to an international community, due to the lack of translation.

Nonetheless, the data collection led to the creation of a database (Appendix 1) that includes 209 comic conventions across the world. Some of the entries include multiple editions of events organized by a same organization in diverse cities, leading to a total number of 227 analysed conventions. For each of them, the timing and locations during the year have been researched, together with a brief description, the foundation year and the number of visitors in the latest editions.

Some elements of Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak & Meyer 2001) have been used to investigate how diverse social groupings expressed specific meanings and values related to these practices: the description of "conventional" and "un-conventional" meetings, or the identification of the multiple identities that coexist within diverse comics related gatherings (see Chapter 4) took advantage of these qualitative data.

At the level of the fieldwork, the data collection for the "embedded" case of the temporary shops combined direct observation with the archival research in the municipal database. The data from these two sources were compared to verify and integrate the information provided by the retailers.

Direct observation allowed to include in the fieldwork the temporary commercial activities that didn't need or missed to request public authorization<sup>35</sup>; at the same time, thanks to the records in the municipal databases, other activities that escaped to direct observation because of their small size or because of time constraints were included in the study. Furthermore, the SUAP archive provided information on two previous editions (2013 and 2014) that had not been covered by the direct observation.

Lastly, the investigation in the municipal archive offered the opportunity to broaden the observation to other not-temporary entrepreneurial activities that started during the days of the event, taking advantage from the increased number of potential customers<sup>36</sup>. In 2013 only four shops had asked the permission for temporary activities. In 2014 the number grew to 14, in 2015 to 38 and in 2016 the accepted requests were 55. These data are not completely reliable to estimate the exact dimensions of the phenomenon, since at the beginning many shops opened without permission, as reported by many articles in the local press. Nevertheless, they provide an account of the phenomenon's expansion in time and space.

The collection of data from the questionnaires helped in overcoming this limitation and to achieve a quantitative description on this spatial practice. Given the timing of the fieldwork, which was conducted across the 5-days event and during the shops' opening hours, only a few shopkeepers agreed on filling in the questionnaires at once. Some of them completed the questions in the evening and returned back the form during the following days or by email. The fieldwork covered a sample of 55 commercial activities within the city centre, among a total estimated number of 71. In the case of shops grouped together to share a same space<sup>37</sup>, we aimed at interviewing each retailer individually; even if some vendors refused to take part in the research, we collected 27 questionnaires, thus reaching half of the 55 directly observed shops. Among the 27 interviewees, 7 had the permanent seat of their activity in Lucca or in Tuscany, 16 in other Italian regions (among which 2 were on-line shops) and 4 abroad. As for the products sold, 23 were non-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Two shops that had significantly changed the selection and the display of their products were included in the sample, even if in these cases the retailers didn't change. <sup>36</sup> An example is provided by a job agency that opened in Lucca a few days before the event and in proximity to the city walls; a recruitment day was organized during LC&G,

with the explicitly declared purpose of meeting the public of the event.

37 Among the shopkeepers interviewed in 2016, many shared a commercial premise, in order to split the costs and ease the authorization procedure.

food and 4 were food shops, even if some among the non-food shops were also selling Japanese snacks (see Chapter 6).

The answers to the questionnaire were analysed by the means of a table and described by the means of tables and chart.

Furthermore, the location of each shop was mapped across time (different editions of the event) and was linked to the provenance of the temporary shopkeepers, showing some recurrent patterns (see Chapter 6). The qualitative data obtained through direct observation helped in understanding more in detail the diverse organizational processes activated by each temporary shop, combining the quantitative data from the archive with a qualitative analysis of each space.

This multi-method approach provided various levels of information, to reach an accurate description of the analysed case and to offer first answers to the 'how' and 'why' research questions. The findings were aggregated by an inductive and multi-level process, with the aim of offering an empirically grounded description of a widely unexplored phenomenon.

# Chapter 4

# The project ecology of comic events: notes on a geography of the comics

# A "spatial medium par excellence"

A complete review on the origins and evolution of "one of the most popular and pervasive media forms of our increasingly visual age" (Varnum & Gibbons 2001, ix) would exceed the aim and the scope of the present research. Nonetheless, a brief reconstruction of the genesis and evolution of the "comic book" or "graphic novel" as a format is necessary to understand the multifaceted relation that this narrative medium establishes with its surrounding cultural and material space. According to Jason Dittmer "comics may be understood as the spatial medium par excellence" (2014, 69) since they produce and encompass multiple geographies. The relations between the internal space of the comic-world and the external context can be resumed in a four-steps representation. This scheme (Fig. 6) presents a four-part taxonomy of the medium suggested by Paul Adams (2010), and explores diverse interactions among the dyads space/place and content/context.

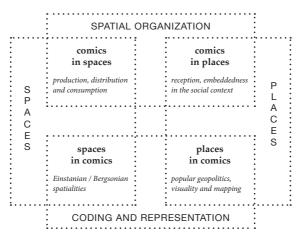


Fig. 6 - Quadrant diagram indicating the four-steps relations between spaces, places and the comics as a medium (reworked from Adams 2010 and Dittmer 2014).

Instead of considering these concepts as dichotomies, Adams takes advantage from a heterarchic view of the relations connecting them, "whereby something might be contained but also at the same time be a container" (Adams 2010, 50). Rather then a set of four quadrants, the diagram is conceived as a field: the corners are described by the already mentioned dyads space/place and content/context; the centre of the diagram is an area open to investigations: "what is implied here is to recognize localized and non-localized emergent events of differential relations actualized as temporary – often mobile – 'sites' in which the social unfolds" (Adams 2010, 49).

The *comics-in-spaces* perspective focuses on the capability of this medium to generate and reconfigure different spaces of production, distribution and consumption. If we consider space as relational, communication media - together with flows of capital and resources - can be seen as technologies shaping different power geometries and different geographies (Castells 2004).

The comics industry itself generated specific spaces of production, diffusion and consumption. As an example, the changes in the US comics market led to the emergence and continuous modification of a veritable chain of production. Its components were assembled differently in different historical moments: we will discuss later the development from the so-called bullpen model (an assembly-line based production system) to a scattered organization, based on the coordination of delocalized actors. In a parallel way, the distribution channel saw a transition from a more generic retail system (comics sold in newsstands) to the diffusion of specialized stores (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003).

Comics can be considered also as circulating objects: these *immutable mobiles* (Latour 1987, 2005) generate diverse interactions when located in different sites. A *comics-in-places* perspective would then focus on the reception of the medium by different audiences and on its "embeddedness" in diverse specific social contexts. If in the United States comics have been for longer a 'denigrated medium', mainly because of the association with the superhero-genre, the Franco-Belgian *bandes dessinées* were acknowledged as "ninth art"<sup>38</sup>. Starting from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> In 1964 the French film scholar Claude Beylie proposed to embrace the comics medium as art, in his article "La Bande dessinée est-elle un art?" published in *Lettres et Médecins*. Following the canonization of cinematography as seventh art, proposed in the early 1920s by the Italian film critic Ricciotto Canudo, Beylie attributed the ninth place to

1990s, the worldwide diffusion of Japanese *manga* introduced a new stream of comics' production, which was variously received in different countries. Together with the growing interest in the Japanese comic production, some new social phenomena appeared, such as *cosplay*<sup>39</sup>: the performative approach to this medium brings it closer to other communication media, such as music or public art and, in general, transmedia culture. As such, comics come to a dynamic interaction with the audience's environment, and establish a strong connection with the lived experience of a place.

At the same time, place is extensively represented and narrated within graphic narrative, thanks to the juxtaposition of the visual dimension to the textual one. The analysis of *place-in-comics* fed a stream of research on popular geopolitics within comics, meaning by this the analysis of the circulation of place-related narratives through everyday life (Dittmer 2014, 69). Among the object of these studies, we find investigations on the ideas of power, authority and legitimacy connecting American "national superheroes" to their readers, or the manifestations of a Eurocentric view within some Franco-Belgian traditional *bandes dessinées* (Dunnett 2009).

Cartographers and geographers also addressed their interest to maps and representations of place within the comics: not only maps are often featured in comics, but comics are also frequently displayed on maps to represent actions or changes across a distance in time.

Finally, Dittmer resumes *space-in-comics* by illustrating the two different space-time relations that co-exist in graphic narrative. He describes the first form of spatiality as Einsteinian, since it presumes interlinks of time and space on the page: the shift from a panel to the other refers to a displacement in time. The disposition of panels takes into account the reader's relation with the physical page-object, so that in countries where reading occurs from right to left, the panels and the content's distribution often follow this visual habit.

At the same time, a multitude of possible relationships can be established among the process of reading, the material form of the page

<sup>39</sup> Cosplay is a practice originated within the Japanese comics subculture, consisting of dressing up as popular fictional characters.

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comics, considering radio-television as the eighth one. The definition was reaffirmed in 1971 with the book-manifesto "Pour un neuvième art, la bande dessinée" by Francis Lacassin, president of CELEG (Centre d'étude des littératures d'expression graphique) and teacher of a course on history and aesthetics of comics at the Sorbonne University (Guilbert 2011, Groensteen 2012).

and the visual content, being these elements all intertwined. Therefore, the spatiality of the comics can also be qualified as Bergsonian, in the sense that it doesn't run only in one direction: it depends topologically<sup>40</sup> on the reader's ability to establish relations between the panels, or among various comics of a same series. This topological reading doesn't need "semiotic clues" in the panels, but is actualized by the act of reading itself (Dittmer 2014, 79).

If any form of visual art is open to these forms of reading, the variety of formats, the countless possible layouts of panels on the page and also the maximum mobility of the comics books themselves open up to a multitude of associations. The authors can play with these two intertwined forms of spatiality, leading the reader through a directed and oriented narrative or leaving open possibilities for recombination. In general, sequential art can be considered a complex juxtaposition of images, which requires "learned" readers.

For the purpose of the present research, this chapter will focus mainly on the aspects related to the media in place and space. The following sections will briefly address the origins of the comic book industry, its main traditions and regions of diffusion, to introduce the emergence of the comic book convention (or comic-con) as an effect of general but also industry-specific transformations in the spaces of production, distribution and consumption.

It is useful to underline some characteristics of this "spatial medium" before approaching its origins and diffusions. Although not all the scholars agree on this definition<sup>41</sup>, comics can be considered as a hybrid art, meaning this a combination and integration of technologies and techniques associated with earlier forms, such as drawing, caricature, prose storytelling and printmaking (Meskin and Cook, 2012, 21). The results of these combinations are more than the sum of their parts, and rely on cultural conventions: according to the different comic traditions (e.g. the American western and superheroes, the Franco-Belgian bandes dessinées, the Japanese manga) the visual and symbolic value of comics change.

It becomes then almost impossible (Groensteen 2009, 12) to formulate a clear-cut definition of comics and establish a precise origin of this form of art, an attempt that in many cases leads back to ancient sequential

 $<sup>^{40}</sup>$  The idea of topological spatiality in comics is strongly connected to the notion of assemblage in a network (Dittmer 2014, 80), or "the science of proximities and ongoing or interrupted transformations" (Serres and Latour 1995, 102): the human-actor elaborates a relation between space and time as a result of this on-going recombination.  $^{41}$  A discussion on the issue of "hybridity" in comics can be found in Miodrag, 2015.

paintings (McCloud 1993). Even by limiting the scope to the graphic narrative that followed the mid-nineteenth century innovative experimentations by Rodolphe Töpffer<sup>42</sup>, considered one of the main "fathers" of the comic strips (Kunzle 1990, 2007), a high level of variability remains. As in the case of other media, there are no effective and universal criteria to define a comic: the author can be single or multiple; the proportion of writing and drawing can change, to the point of reaching graphic comics without text; the story can be single or structured as a series of episodes; the medium can be printed or virtual, and doesn't necessarily have to be a mass-medium; neither the style of the framings or the distribution on the page can be assumed as general criteria. According to Groensteen (2009), comics can be considered as a system founded on the common denominator (and only necessary condition) of iconic solidarity: this condition is defined as the interdependency of "images that, participating in a series, present the double characteristic of being separated [...] and which are plastically and semantically over-determined by the fact of their coexistence in praesentia." (2009,18). This definition acknowledges on the one side the plasticity of the medium, able to include diverse forms of narration, but also emphasizes the solidity of the system that keeps them all together. Similar difficulties can be stated in defining other forms of modern art, such as cinema, which led many scholars to turn from an object-based perspective to the notion of "field" (Odin 1990, 57), meaning by this the investigation of the variable social uses of the medium in space and time.

In the case of comics, some steps can be documented in the history of their production, diffusion and consumption. Following Meskin and Cook's outline (2012, 23) we can consider the newspaper strip as the earliest of these "milestones": more precisely, the first relevant examples of comic strips can be found in British magazines from 1867 and in American newspapers from 1895, with the character of "Yellow Kid"<sup>43</sup>.

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copyright struggle with the New York Journal, when the author signed a contract with the

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<sup>42</sup> Rodolphe Töpffer (1799 –1846) was a Swiss teacher, author, painter, cartoonist, and

caricaturist. His illustrated books have been considered as the earliest European comics. <sup>43</sup> Already in 1867, the British humour-magazine *Judy* hah published comic strips with the recurring character of *Ally Sloper*, authored by Charles H. Ross. From 1884 to 1923, the picaresque adventures of this fictional character were the object of the homonymous weekly paper *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday* (Bailey 1983). The so-called *Yellow Kid* was one of the characters in the strip *Hogan's Alley* by Richard Outcault, appeared in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* in 1895. Given the immediate success of the comic, the Yellow Kid became the object of children and adults merchandising and the subject of a

A second fundamental step in the diffusion of comics was the publication of the first comic books in the early 1930s, initially conceived as collections of strips previously published on newspapers. New Fun: The Big Comic Magazine #1, published in 1935 by the American National Allied publications, is recalled as the first comic book that published entirely original materials (Saraceni 2003). Other two elements should be taken into account in this phase of the comics' diffusion. First, a shift from a public of adults to younger readers: this trend, that had already started with "junior" sections included in comic magazine for adults44, gained progressively an editorial autonomy in Britain and in the US during the 1920s. Second, a standardization in the publishing format, that allowed for a decrease in the prices of the books: the 7 ½ by 10 ½ inches, sixty-four pages format was first implemented for booklets given as promotional items<sup>45</sup>. Once realized the success of the new format, a series called Famous Funnies was edited and sold in newsstands on monthly bases.

The opening towards the young public, the standardization of the format and the consequent decrease in the costs, together with a renewed interest in the publication of original materials, were the conditions that opened the field for the advent of the superhero genre. The almost simultaneous creation of the characters of Superman in 1938 (in *Action Comics #1*, by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster) and Batman in 1939 (in *Detective Comics #27*, by Bob Kane and Bill Finger) opened the field for the so-called *Golden Age* of comics (Meskin and Cook's 2012, 23).

Between 1935 and 1955, the genre comics knew its stronger growth, thanks to the superhero's diffusion but also to Walt Disney's characters and films. At the end of the 1940s, crime and horror stories also received significant appreciation among the readers: as violence was increasingly featured in the panels, part of the public opinion started to manifest concerns on its possible effects on young readers. The anticomics campaigns in the United States<sup>46</sup> and in Britain (Saraceni 2003, 2) together with the creation of the Comics Code Authority (CCA) in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> An example was the British *Puck Junior*, published since 1904 within *Puck*, a magazine for adults.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The format resulted by folding a tabloid section in half and was published by the Eastern Colour Printing co. as a promotional gift for the clients of the company Proctor and Gamble (Gifford 2004, 375).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The Seduction of the Innocent, a book by Frederic Wertham published in the United States 1954, purported the growth of juvenile delinquency with the increasing sales of comic books (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 250).

 $1954^{47}$  as a form of self-censorship (Palmer 2016, 241; Norcliffe & Rendace 2003, 250) testify of the importance that this genre had acquired.

It is during this *Golden Age* that the system of production, distribution and consumption of comic books in the North American market reached a first standardized form.

# From the 'bullpen model' to a dispersed system: emergence of the comic book convention in North America

In an article published in Economic Geography, Glenn Norcliffe and Oliviero Rendace traced a "New Geography of Comic Book Production" (2003). The example of comics is chosen by the authors as representative of a "dispersed" geography of cultural production, not clustered in metropolitan environments. As "neoartisanal production method", they define a flexible organization, in which comic book artists nowadays can work both as independent publishers and on contract for major editors. This distanced mode of production is the result of a long process; its roots date back to the *Golden Age* of the comics.

From the late 30s to the early 80s, comics were mostly produced according to a Fordist system, the so-called "bullpen model"; the term "bullpen" was used to indicate an enclosed working space, usually a single room, where the artists and editors were grouped together. In baseball, the bullpen is the area where relief pitchers warm up before entering a game, ant the term is also used to indicate an open office workspace, populated with desks but no separating walls.

The first comic book bullpen was established by Will Eisner and Jerry Iger in 1937 (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 251; Heintjes 1992), but probably the most famous one has been the so-called Marvel Bullpen. From 1965 to 2001, the editorial team of Marvel Comics used to communicate with their readers through a page named "Marvel Bullpen Bulletins"; the pictures and sketches published on that page provided an idea of the atmosphere within the bullpen-space (Fig. 7).

al. 2013, 49).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> After the publication of Wertham's book *The Seduction of the Innocent* and hearings conducted by the US Senate Judiciary Committee, the comic industry decided for a self-policing act in order to avoid possible governmental regulation. This restriction contributed to the definition of the American comic's public as a young audience (Palmer 2016, 241), and to the temporary disappearance of horror and crime comics (Gabilliet et



Fig. 7 - Marvel Comics Offices, 387 Park Avenue South, Manhattan, rendered by Bob Camp for "Marvel Age #7", 1983.

Still in the 1980s, Marvel's editor-in-chief Jim Shooter described the working space as "a big room where all the artists and writers sat together...[...] These days, most comics artists and writers prefer to work in their own studios, but, still, here at Marvel, we have a big room, a production bullpen, where all of our art/production people work doing our paste-ups, lettering corrections, art corrections, and such — and even though the editorial folks are bunched in small offices off to the sides we still refer to the whole shebang as the Marvel Bullpen. It's a tradition dating back to the days when we actually were a one-room operation!".48

The division of labour in the bullpen followed a rigid sequence; the storyline was first elaborated by the writer and then turned into pictures by the penciler; afterwards, the inker interpreted the penciler's drawings by defining black and white areas; the blank spaces were lastly filled by the colorist and the letterer. The editor supervised each stage of the production, approving the work or demanding changes when needed.

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 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 48}$  Marvel "Bullpen Bulletin" dated May 1982, text by Jim Shooter.

Until the early 1980s, when the main publishing houses were located in New York and Los Angeles, the production chain of most comic books followed the rigid sequence of the bullpen model. The comic book created through this assembly-line process was a collaborative product, often oriented towards the commercial priorities rather than towards the author's individual creativity (Duncan and Smith 2013, 88). The diagram proposed by Norcliffe and Rendace (Fig. 8) illustrates the functioning of the model and the overlapping of the space of socialization (the "bullpen" space) with the corporate entity. The comic book as a product was created in a defined physical space, with the direct interaction of a team.

These social and productive spaces were mostly situated in metropolitan areas: the concentrated creative process needed to take place in an urbanized environment, easily reachable by all the actors involved.

The American comic market during this phase can be considered as an oligopoly (Duncan and Smith 2013, 90), where the two major publishers were Marvel Comics and DC Comics – both originally located in New York City.

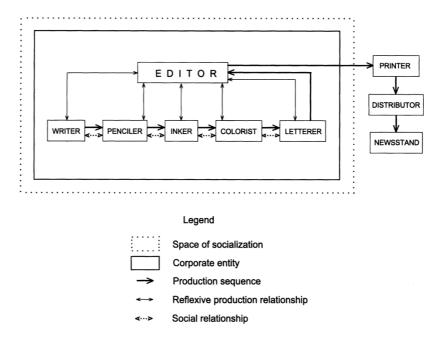


Fig. 8 - The bullpen model (pre-1990). Source: Norcliffe & Rendace 2003, 252.

In the mid 1990s, this model knew a crisis. The reasons of the crisis were only partially due to the emergence of new forms of entertainment; on the contrary, the major publishing houses took advantage of new media and technologies and managed to work in concert with movies and videogames producers. It was the dawn of the transmedial convergences that characterize the contemporary production in the field of fantasy culture (see Chapter 3).

A main process that resulted in the disaggregation of the "bullpen" model dates back to the so-called "Silver Age" of the American comics, which followed the already mentioned Comics Code Authority. After the institution in 1954 of this form of censorship, the major publishers in the US comic market concentrated their production on the superhero genre, limiting the innovation in the sector. Outside the boundaries of the CCA, a stream of independent underground comic books emerged; these comix, where the final "x" refers to the fact of being banned (X-rated) by the Authority, were produced clandestinely and sold through informal decentralized networks. Underground comix became not only vectors of some 60s protests movements and means of expression for diverse countercultures, but contributed to a first decentralization of the spaces of production and distribution (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 250).

A second relevant factor is related to the comics' audience; starting from the 1960s, the collectors market knew a strong growth. In order to fulfil the expectation of this segment of public, many publishers started to hire designers or to employ professional graphic techniques in order to improve the quality of the comic book covers (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 250). Some characters were associated to prominent illustrators, implementing a form of "star system" (Gabilliet 2013, 53).

The collectors' market fostered the competition among the publishing houses; the difficulties in balancing the quantity and the quality of the products, and in allocating respectively the resources, led to the rise and fall of some main companies: Marvel itself went bankrupt in 1996. The inflation of the collector's market and the specialization in the sector eliminated casual buyers. Comics started to be sold more and more in dedicated shops, where a whole market related to the comic subculture emerged: action figures and toys representing the comics' characters, role playing games, original artworks and other merchandises. The opening of a diversified market can be considered as a retailers' attempt to overcome the increasing risks related to a new direct sales system; since the return to the publishers of the unsold

copies wasn't anymore accepted49, the retailers had to take more responsibilities for the choice and the quality of the products to be sold. Many comics' shops started to organize event and meetings, often promoting local authors or new comic book issues. These gatherings were organized on weekly basis inside the shops or on monthly basis in the form of "comic jams" (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 259) hosting small groups of authors. This intermittent and periodical interaction characterized not only the relation between the comic authors and their "fandom"; the comic industry itself started to organise its production on a different model, based on temporary interactions. Thanks to the adoption of new technologies, it was possible to unpack the assemblyline production model into tasks to be subcontracted; freelance workers could collaborate on a same comic without meeting face-to-face, but only through remote communication systems (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 252). The bullpen evolved into a distanced model of virtual copresence (Torre 2008, 876): actors are localized in different places but still capable of collaborating in real time. Artists working with their own equipment from their own offices or homes are able to interact at a global scale with each other, thus significantly reducing the costs for the publishing companies. In this way, a project ecology was established around the production of comics books and magazines.

Despite the advantages of this distanced mode of production for many forms of industries, the research on temporary clusters and temporary geographical proximity (see Chapter 1) demonstrated how physical interaction remains essential, even if in a temporary form. Comic conventions can be considered as "the premier event in the comic book industry, [...] central to the survival of the comic book industry itself" (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 259).

The proposed scheme (Fig. 9) features the comic book convention as the main space of socialization in the distanced model: not a physical space, but a temporary event, during which editors, senior managers and subcontractors can meet and discuss possible collaborations, evaluate new technologies and software, or analyse cultural trends. The comic book convention is also the place where independent authors try to market their products to a larger public, or to meet possible editors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> During the emergence and Golden Age phases, the distribution of comic books was operated by newsstands. Similarly to what happened with the newspapers, the unsold copies were destroyed and the cover returned to the publisher, who paid to the newsstand a percentage on the sellings. Therefore, the risks on the comics' distribution were mostly absorbed by the publishers themselves. During the early 70s, the disappearance of small retail outlets produced a collapse in the system and the main publishers turned to a direct-market distribution (Duncan and Smith 2013, 93).

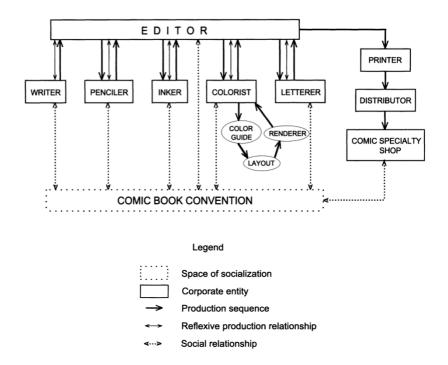


Fig. 9 - Distanced Model (post-1990): emergence of the Comic Convention. Source: Norcliffe & Rendace 2003, 253.

# The first European "Comic Salons": institutionalizing the comic medium.

If the comic convention (often Comic-Con) emerged in North America mainly as a trade fair for a specific kind of market, other traditions merged into this form of socio-cultural event.

In Europe, the first two comics-related events were the "salons" held in Lucca (Italy) and Agoulême (France).

The first connection between the city of Lucca and the international world of comics dates back to September 1966. After a first edition in Bordighera one year before, the "Salone Internazionale dei Comics" moved to the Tuscan town, enjoying local and national support<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> The decision to organise the second edition of the Salone in the town of Lucca was the result of the collaboration among the chief of the provincial office for tourism Fidia

Organised by the "Archivio Internazionale della Stampa a Fumetti" (International Archive for Comics), the event proposed cultural activities such as exhibitions and international roundtables on comic books, together with a market section for collectors; among the participants there were academics and experts in the fields of social anthropology, linguistics, psychologists and pedagogues (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 25). Beside the experts taking part to debates and roundtables, the public of the event was mainly composed by collectors, usually wealthy and specialized; occasional visitors were mainly attracted by the temporary exhibitions in the city bulwarks (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 51). The disruptive character of the event for the Lucchese community was often ironically represented as the arrival of flying superheroes over a sleepy Renaissance town (see Chapter 5).

The involvement of scholars and experts lend an academic character to the event, which was even the object of contestation in 1968; some authors claimed for a less pedagogic approach to comics, which had to be "rescued" from the universities<sup>51</sup>. The purpose of analysing the phenomenon of comics under a scientific lens was clear from the first edition in Bordighera, when the International roundtables were organized on three main themes: comics and arts, comics and society, comics and social sciences<sup>52</sup>.

A second relevant statement that was clear from the event's foundation was the aspiration to become a benchmark on a worldwide scale. The event in Bordighera aimed at creating an International Association of Research Centres on Comics endorsed by UNESCO, which had recently for the first time acknowledged the cultural relevance of this medium<sup>53</sup>. With the relocation in Lucca, the Tuscan town planned to become a permanent seat for the event that had quickly gained international relevance in the field. The participating foreign countries were: the United States, France, Belgium, West Germany, Spain and Brazil. The development of this event in its spatial connections to its particular location will be the object of the following chapter.

Arata, the major Giovanni Martinelli, and the main organisers of the first convention in Bordighera: the Istituto di Scienze delle Comunicazioni di Massa (Institute for Mass Communication Studies) and the Istituto di Pedagogia (Institute for Pedagogy) of Rome University (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 22).

Nencini F. "Basta con il fumetto universitario", L'Europeo, 28/11/1968, quoted in Bono

<sup>53</sup> Calisi, R. "Editoriale", 1° Salone Internazionale Dei Comics - Bordighera, 1965 (retrieved from: www.immaginecentrostudi.org, accessed on February 26<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>&</sup>amp; Gaspa (2006, 37)

Salone Internazionale Dei Comics - Bordighera, 1965

Calisi, R. "Editoriale", 1° Salone Internazionale Dei Comics - Bordighera, 1965

<sup>(</sup>retrieved from: www.immaginecentrostudi.org, accessed on February 26<sup>th</sup> 2018).

Similar circumstances to the ones verified in Lucca led to the creation of another main European comic convention, the "Salon international de la bande dessinée d'Agoulême". In this small town, located in central western France, the first Salon was organized in 1974, after the success of the exhibition "Dix millions d'images: l'âge d'or de la BD", in 1972. Despite being installed with little resources inside an unused aisle of the Municipal Museum, the exhibition curated by the journalist and writer Claude Moliterni achieved an unexpected public resonance. Claude Moliterni was also an active participant in the Lucchese "Salone internazionale dei comics", collaborating in the exhibitions, roundtables and, in some editions, also in the direction committee and jurv<sup>54</sup>.

The choice of a museum for an exhibition on comics was part of a double process of institutionalization: on the one side of the medium as a form of art, and on the other of the festival itself as an instrument for cities' cultural politics (Lesage 2013). According to the museum director, Robert Guichard, "to host this exhibition should not seem heretical, unless we consider the museum as a dusty sanctuary, closed towards the world and towards what is happening there" <sup>75</sup>.

Despite the absence of previous connections relating the city to comics culture<sup>56</sup>, the success of the initiative led the municipality to establish a yearly meeting. According to Francis Groux, who was city counsellor and main promoter of the new event, the Salone in Lucca was considered the model to be followed; together with the colleague Jean Markidan, in 1973 he even paid a visit to the Tuscan event, which was receiving an extraordinary success <sup>57</sup>. The name of the initiative organized by Groux, Markidan and Moliterni, "Salon international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême", shadowed the "Salone internazionale dei comics" in Lucca. The date – the last weekend of January – was set in order to avoid concurrence with the Italian event, occurring at the end of October (Veschambre 2002,9).

The first edition covered three days and reached 10.000 visitors, a number that redoubled the second year (Lesage 2013, 256).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Source: www.immaginecentrostudi.org, accessed on March 01st 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "J'ai toujours été fasciné par les bandes dessinées", interview with Robert Guichard, La Charente Libre, November 18<sup>th</sup> 1972, 24, quoted in Lesage 2013, 254. Translation by the author.

Moliterni. The following step for the institutionalization of this form of culture in the city was the appointment by the new major of Francis Groux as a delegate in the municipal commission for culture (Lesage 2013, 254).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Delcroix, O. "Festival d'Angoulême, de Tintin à Titeuf", Le Figaro, 31/01/2013 (retrieved from: <a href="https://www.lefigaro.fr">www.lefigaro.fr</a>, accessed on February 27<sup>th</sup> 2018)

Like the one in Lucca, the French event was the result of the encounter of a growing group of comics' experts and enthusiasts with a municipal administration willing to invest resources in the cultural field. The event in Lucca had set a "European trend", and Angoulême competed with it. « Same jury, same organization, almost same authors: the first salon is a carbon copy of the old Tuscan sister. With a shade: the popular success » (Cannet 1993, 11)58. If the Salon in Lucca received critiques for being too "academic", the one in Angoulême was soon accused of being too similar to a market fair<sup>59</sup>: these critiques testify to the permanent tension between the cultural and the popular dimensions of this kind of events.

The location of the first edition in three public buildings, representative of the local political power and culture - the Municipal Museum, the Theatre and the Hotel de Ville - contributed to the legitimation of the genre comics (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005, 291). From then, the Salon always took place within the city centre of Angoulême, filling unused spaces or temporary location, like tents or inflatable structures<sup>60</sup>. The experience of the festival in the city is still today characterised by proximity and density (Lesage 2013, 258). The small size of the city centre, which counts around 50.000 inhabitants, can be considered among the causes of success, since it emphasizes the exceptional presence of the festival's structures; the manifestation of a temporary event appears more noticeable in a small and ancient city centre than in a large town (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005, 290).

During the years, the Salon experimented the convergence with other arts, like music and sounds ("L'espace sonore de la bande dessinée", 8th edition, 1981), cinema (mainly during the 15th edition "Bande et Cine" in 1988) and even sport, with the establishment of a football team composed by professionals from the comic field in 1981<sup>61</sup>.

From the 1980s, the city also started a politics of professionalization of the festival, focusing on the comics as a main engine for the urban

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> « Même jury, même organization, presque même dessinateurs: le premier salon est

une copie-conforme de la grande sœur toscane. Avec une certaine nuance : la réussite populaire » (translation by the author). Quotation retrieved from Lesage (2013, 256).

59 « ...malgré tout le talent, tout le sourire des dessinateurs, ce deuxième Salon apparut souvent comme un marché, une foire ». Guyon J., « Pour la première fois le public se mettra à table avec les dessinateurs », La Charente Libre, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1976. Quotation retrieved from Lesage (2013, 256).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The inflatable structure - the so-called "bulle" - appeared from the third edition and constituted another similarity to the Lucchese model (Veschambre 2002,9).

<sup>61 &</sup>quot;L'Histoire du Festival. Edition par edition" (retrieved from: www.bdangouleme.com, accessed on February 27<sup>th</sup> 2018)

cultural economy. As an example, in 1983, the "Centre National de la Bande Dessinée" was inaugurated in the city; it was a project with national relevance, whose localization in Angoulême was determined by the presence of the temporary event.

Under the motto "la ville qui vit en ses images" ("the city that lives in its images") Angoulême started a process of pérennisation that became even more tangible in the 1990s with street-art interventions dedicated to comics culture, such as painted walls, statues, and graphic panels (Veschambre 2002). The event maintained the definition of "Salon" until 1996, when the name was changed into "Festival international de la Bande Dessinée d'Angoulême". Similarly to the event's evolution in Lucca (see Chapter 5), the change in the name from "Salon" to "Festival" was part of a more general transition from a specialized gathering focussing on the comics as an artistic medium with social and cultural relevance, towards a multi-layered convention addressing a larger audience and multiple commercial partners.

After the "pioneering" examples of Lucca and Angoulême, new festivals joined the European panorama during the 1980s, defining a "glorified ghetto" (Booker 2014, 1023): Barcelona (since 1982), Erlangen (since 1984), Durbuy (1984-1998), Fumetto (since 1992), BD Sierre in Switzerland (1984), UK Comic Art Convention in London (1985-1997) and Amadora International Comics Festival in Portugal (since 1989). All these experiences knew alternate moments of success and crises, due to the difficulties in managing local and national power dynamics, concurrence of other cultural events or tensions between innovative transformative forces and established political or economic structures. Nonetheless, it is possible to recognize recurrent features and actors, like the described connections between Lucca and Angoulême, shedding light on a common purpose, animating these first European conventions; the aim of institutionalizing the comic medium as ninth art, together with its related community of professional and amateurs as a related "art world" (Becker 1982).

When asked about the choice of the name "Salon" for the first comics festival in Erlangen (Germany, 1984), the founder Karl Manfred Fischer confirmed the aim to convey the idea that this medium could be "Salonfähig", meaning by this "socially acceptable and respectable" or, literally, "qualified for being in a Salon". In other words, we can understand the choice of the name as an endeavour to affirm the artistic value of comics. Two other purposes are deliberately stated. First, to base the festival in the tradition of Lucca and Angoulême:

«...the name "International Comic Salon Erlangen" seemed the most suitable [...] because it also put us in a row with Angoulême and Lucca». Second, to address an international audience: «We wanted to create not only a forum for the German, Austrian and Swiss comic scene, but also to make Erlangen a meeting place for the entire comic world every two years»<sup>62</sup>.

Starting from the 1980s, the European panorama saw the emergence of new comic festivals, testifying on the one side an increased popularity of graphic novels and a stronger attention from the media; at the same time, the growing production of academic research and the opening of comics museums across Europe (Brussels, Angoulême, Groningen, Lucca) can be considered evidences of an increased recognition of comics as artistic works (Booker 2014, 1023).

#### Japanese manga and doujinshi culture

A third fundamental area of influence for a contemporary geography of the comics is Japan.

As in the case of European and American comics, it's difficult to trace back to the origin of Japanese *manga*<sup>63</sup>; it is possible to recognize "ancestors" in ancient religious scrolls, or in satirical drawings such as the nineteenth-century woodblocks by the artist Katsushika Hokusai<sup>64</sup>. Excluding these earlier experiences, a first veritable "*manga*-industry"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> "Bei der Suche nach einem Namen für das Festival dachten wir an das Comic-Festival im französischen Angoulème, das es seit 1974 schon gab, und das noch länger existierende Festival im italienischen Lucca. Von den verschiedenen Vorschlägen, die wir diskutierten, schien mir sowie den anderen Gesprächsteilnehmern die Bezeichnung «Internationaler Comic-Salon Erlangen» dann die geeignetste, weil wir uns damit auch mit Angoulème und Lucca in eine Reihe stellten. Das war zunächst vermessen, der damit verbundene Anspruch wurde aber bald – nicht, was die Größe, doch was die qualitative Bedeutung angeht – von uns eingelöst. Wir wollten ja nicht nur ein Forum für die deutsche, österreichische und Schweizer Comicszene schaffen, sondern Erlangen alle zwei Jahre auch zu einem Treffpunkt der ganzen Comicwelt machen" Clemens Heydenreich, "30 Jahre Internationaler Comic-Salon in Erlangen, Ein Interview mit Karl Manfred Fischer", Comic! Jahrbuch 2015 (Retrieved from <a href="www.comic-i.com/aaa-icom/docs/ipj\_2015/ipj\_2015\_05.html">www.comic-i.com/aaa-icom/docs/ipj\_2015/ipj\_2015\_05.html</a>, accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup> 2017. English translation by the author).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> In the Japanese pictographic writing, the word *manga* is composed by the kanji *man*, meaning "rambling, proliferating, wonderingly or unconsciously" and *ga*, meaning "creating borders, or dividing an area into smaller parts". (Power 2009, 10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) authored a series of sketches representing humans, animals and plants, populating scenes of everyday and supernatural life. For their satirical and ludic function, *Hokusai Manga* books, partially posthumously published, are considered among the ancestors of modern Japanese comics (Power 2009, 10).

developed in the 1920s and was primarily oriented towards the young public. *Manga* reached the mass audience in the 1950s, when they became a main element among children's readings, also easily available in libraries (Sabin 1996, 227).

The first *manga* magazines featured adventure and sport stories (*shonen*) or romance, mainly addressing young girls (*shoji*); the 1960s saw the advent of science fiction and robot stories as a main genre. Animated film and TV series (*anime*) started to support this success, creating a strong link between *manga* and moving images; being the production of *anime* more expensive, many stories originated in *manga* and - in case of success - were then transformed into cinema or television products (Sabin 1996, 230).

Versatility is one among the main features of the Japanese comic market, after its size (Briel 2011, 187); nowadays manga and anime target a large audience, diverse in age, gender and cultural backgrounds. Many children born in the 1950s continued to read different series of manga while growing up. Furthermore, manga protagonists - unlike American comics' superheroes - are often ordinary people, displaying everyday life situations. The content of some series includes special educational knowledge, and manga are sometimes used as pedagogical tools in multiple fields, from foreign languages to food and technologies (Ito & Crutcher 2013). Therefore, in Japan, the critique of being a "childish" genre - attached to comics in many Western societies - is not diffused.

Nowadays, the umbrella of "animation industry" covers a very broad range of products, from television and media for domestic use to merchandising and licenses for *anime*-themed products, among which *pachinko* flippers and slot machines. As a whole, the Japanese animation industry is recording a positive growth; the current "anime boom" - the fourth - significantly exceeds the previous peak, reached in the mid 2000s. The highest growth is registered in the overseas exportation, mainly towards the United States and China.<sup>65</sup>

In fact, during the 1980s, Japanese *manga* started to generate a considerable impact on the European and American culture. *Manga's* diffusion in these countries faces some technical and cultural obstacles; in addition to the costs of translation, the pages often need to be mirrored to match the left-to-right reading order. Many onomatopoeia

 $<sup>^{65}</sup>$  "Anime Industry Report 2016" by "The Association of Japanese Animations. Retrieved from: aja.gr.jp/english/japan-anime-data, accessed on March  $5^{\rm th}$  2018.

and facial expressions can be differently interpreted and sometimes even the pacing and rhythm of the narration is slower and more fragmented than in the American and European adventure stories (Sabin 1996, 230). Still today, these differences require a challenging work of selection and adaptation. Nonetheless, the success of the first titles that were carefully chosen and imported in the United States<sup>66</sup> and Europe – mainly in France and Italy (Pellitteri 2010) - opened the field for the worldwide diffusion of *manga*.

Through the circulation of *manga* and *anime*, an assemblage of cultural models, aesthetic codes and social practices identified as "Japanese" became known in Europe and America. According to Marco Pellitteri these cultural models can be analysed through three main figures: the "machine", or the technological construction of androids, anthropomorphic robot and cyborgs; the "infant", or a youth indifferent to maturity; the "mutation" or a switch in the characters' theme and aesthetics (2010, 7).

These models also have consequences from a socio-spatial point of view. Within the frame of the "comics in place" perspective, the practice of *cosplay* can be considered a socio-spatial "mutation"; it consists of dressing up as characters from popular *manga*, *anime*, TV series or video games, and posing in a recognizable display. *Cosplay*, a combination of the words *costume* and *play*, is very diffused among the followers of the so-called *otaku* culture (the *manga*, *anime* and games fandom). The practice started in the 80s and became the object of a World Cosplay Summit (WCS), firstly held in Nagoya in 2003; the summit includes contests on TV, parades in various cities, and photo shooting. From 2006 the summit received support from the Japanese government, and became part of a "Visit Japan" Campaign to promote tourism (Ito & Crutcher 2013, 47).

The impact of this "theatrical" practice on the urban environment is particularly evident in the case of Harajuku, the Tokyo district surrounding the homonymous station; from the mid 1990s, this area became a permanent stage for constantly changing fashion subcultures, among which *cosplay* meetings.

In the last decade, the practice of *cosplay* developed from roleplaying activities into a ritualized static form, comparable to "tableaux vivants"

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The translation of series lil

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The translation of series like *Lone Wolf and Cub* by Goseki Kojima (1987) or *Akira* by Katsushiro Otomo (1988) opened the *manga* world to American audiences. Even if the market for *manga* grew slowly at the beginning, already in the 2000s it was the fastest growing segment of comic book publishing, with an estimated sale of \$210 million (year 2007) in the United States alone (Duncan & Smith 2013, 82; Sabin 1996, 230).

(Domsch 2014, 127). In order to transform the flat hyper-reality of the paper characters into a three-dimensional living figure, cosplayers elaborate sophisticated handcrafted dresses, oversized accessories, coloured wigs and hats. By embodying a fictional character in the real world, they contribute to the creation of a performed reality. This theatrical process takes place in a 'symbiotic' relation with spectators; among them, photographers have a ritualized participatory and performative role. Cosplayers themselves often take photographs of each other. The ritual consists of a first approach, when the photographer asks for the permission to take a picture; if the *cosplayer* agrees, he starts to perform a series of characteristic poses, while the photographer shoots one or several pictures. At the end, the cosplayer and the photographer thank each other and, in some contexts, the photographer will later give prints of the images to the cosplayer (Domsch 2014, 136). Being the choice of the setting a relevant element of this 'formalized' ritual, comic conventions often include "cosplay squares"67 or specific locations, in order to facilitate interaction and provide adequate 'backgrounds' to the *cosplayers*' poses.

Cosplay is not the only socio-spatial product of the manga phenomenon and, more generally, of the *otaku* world. If this practice is characterized by temporariness and performativity, the cultural model embodied in the three figures of the "machine", the "infant", and the "mutation" also produces long lasting effects. A striking case is the one of Akihabara: this little district in Tokyo was known from the 50s as "electric town", for an unprecedented concentration of electronics stores. Starting from the mid 1990s, with the boom of personal computers and videogames, Akihabara turned into what has been defined a Personapolis, or a place in which "a 'Community of interest' has taken an urban form" (Morikawa 2008). The shop windows' colours, the decorations and the characters along the streets depict a manga urban landscape, a tangible enactment of a pop and fantasy universe. According to the architect Kaichiro Morikawa, it is the concentration of otaku personality the element that has given to Akihabara its distinguishable streetscape: filled with anime and manga

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> In the case of Tokyo Comiket, *cosplayers* are requested to reach the event in plain clothes and wear their costumes in specific dressing rooms. In smaller conventions, *cosplayers* reach the location wearing the costumes, thus interacting along the way with the ordinary social and urban context.

icons, introverted and "opaque", like a teenage bedroom inside-out<sup>68</sup>, Akihabara is a place in which "taste and personality are becoming a geographical phenomenon" (Morikawa 2008).

The culture of *doujinshi* is another key element to understand the spatial relevance of the Japanese comics culture. The term *doujinshi* is composed by the words *doujin* (group of associated persons) and *shi* (journal, publication), and is used to indicate a self-published noncommercial magazine. *Manga* represent a large section of the *doujinshi* production; the authors are mainly amateurs or, in some cases, professional artists working outside the established industry. Facilitated by the absence of restrictions from the official production and selling chains, a large part of *doujinshi* contains sexually explicit material, addressing an adult audience.

Doujinshi culture is one of the main motors of Tokyo Comiket, the largest comics meeting in the world in terms of number of visitors. More precisely, Comiket (or Comic-Market) defines itself as a *doujinshi* exhibition marketplace, or "a "space" operated cooperatively through the involvement of all participants [...] that functions to expand the possibilities of self expression, where the aim is to accept creators of *doujinshi* and all other types of creative endeavours and maintain continuity"<sup>69</sup>.

Comiket started in December 1975 at the Toranomon district in Tokyo, hosting 32 *doujinshi* circles<sup>70</sup> and around 700 attendees. In 2013 Comixet had multiplied by one thousand these numbers, with 35.000 participating circles and 590.000 attendees. The event is currently estimated as the largest comics-related gathering in the world. It is organized and administered by the volunteer-based organization Comic Market Committee<sup>71</sup> and is hosted twice a year in the Tokyo International Exhibition Center, known as Tokyo Big Sight. A separate

 $<sup>^{68}</sup>$  The exhibition "Otaku; persona = space = city" at the Architecture Biennale in Venezia in 2004, curated by Morikawa, presented a re-inversion of Akihabara inside the Japanese pavilion, reflecting on the urban transformative potential of a distinctive taste and personality, such as the Otaku one.

personality, such as the *Otaku* one.

<sup>69</sup> A resume entitled "Comic Market's Ideals and Vision" is available on the web-site of the event: <a href="https://www.comiket.co.jp/info-c/IdealsAndVision.html">www.comiket.co.jp/info-c/IdealsAndVision.html</a> (accessed on May 8th 2017)

<sup>70</sup> A *doujinshi* circle is a group of creators of self-published magazines, which may even

consist of a single artist.

The Being volunteer-based, the Comic Market Committee does not maintain a legal entity. Comiket Inc. was established in order to negotiate with public agencies, sign contracts, maintain an administration offices and support the Committee for activities that require a legal entity.

area of the event's venue is provided for corporate industries' booths, but most of the participants are independent "underground" creators or doujinka. The entrance to the Comic Market is free, as in smaller doujinshi gatherings, and the cost of a booth is relatively economic for the circles; as the requests exceeds the available space, a lottery is conducted in order to assign the places<sup>72</sup>.

Nowadays doujin culture embraces a multiplicity of media, from traditional printed publications to digital content distributed through various networks; even self-expressions that require a physical presence - such as *cosplay* – are considered part of *doujinshi* culture. For this reason, Comiket's nature constantly changes, depending on the participants' diverse forms of expression; transformation is considered a value, in order to allow the event's perpetuation in the future.

The "spatial" relevance of Comiket is stated among its main values: the event aims at developing doujinshi culture "as a space where works are distributed, as a space where mutual interaction can take place, and as a space where many individuals develop their talents".73

A "fan-to fan pedagogy" (Ruh 2009, 378), fostered by these interactions, is fundamental in maintaining and updating the competences among the manga fandom, in Japan and overseas. Many how-to manuals have been published and many manga readers also draw their own comics.

The worldwide spreading of the creative-cultural phenomenon of Japanese comics can be considered as a consequence of this "do-ityourself-oriented sense of fandom, in which every consumer of manga is potentially also a producer" (Malone 2011, 227). Many doujinshi series are based on the reinterpretation of the stories from mainstream manga, or on the further elaboration of secondary characters. In this sense, doujinshi contribute to multiple results: they foster the popularity of official manga; they provide a potential springboard for unprofessional artists into the specialized market (Malone 2011, 228); they contribute to the worldwide diffusion of this cultural model.

accessed on March 8th 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "What is Comic Market? A presentation by the Comic Market Committee" Updated January 2014 (Retrieved from: <a href="www.comiket.co.jp/info-a/WhatIsEng201401.pdf">www.comiket.co.jp/info-a/WhatIsEng201401.pdf</a>,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Comic Market's Ideals and Vision" (Retrieved from: <a href="www.comiket.co.jp/info-"www.co.jp/info-"w c/IdealsAndVision.html, accessed on May 8th 2017)

#### Mapping the comics: a netnography of a "worlding" phenomenon

The brief examination of the American, European and Japanese patterns of comics-related gatherings provides an insight into the multiplicity and diversity of the cultural models that such events may convey. However, in all the analysed contexts, different dynamics led to the appearance and proliferation of comic conventions as moments of temporary copresence within an increasingly dispersed system.

With respect to the models of production, we can identify a first "pioneering" phase, in which the comics emerged as experimentations or individual works of art in the context of other more established media: newspapers, magazines and illustrated books in the European and American case, artistic prints in the case of the Japanese "protocomics". The 20th century marked the beginning of an "emancipation process" of this medium, which in the following decades fed the growth of a specialized industry in all the analysed geographic areas. From the 1960s, and increasingly during the 1970s, comic conventions emerged as a consequence of different dynamics in the diverse analysed areas: from the point of view of the production system, this was partially the result of an increasingly distanced industry, in which the specialized professionals searched for moments of temporary copresence to develop a network of collaborators. We discussed this dynamic in the American context, since it represented a main motivation for the emergence of conventions there (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003).

If we analyse the same path from the perspective of the comics' reception from the public, we register a progressive involvement of the "consumers", from simple readers to members of specialized communities. From a stage of stronger segmentation (children/adults, male/female readers), the public evolved into a more complex community, in which multiple cultural and commercial interests are involved and where, in many cases, the comics become part of an overall lifestyle choice. In the previous section we presented the example of Otaku as an emergent lifestyle related to the manga and anime world, together with practices like cosplay and doujinshi, also related to the world-spreading diffusion of Japanese comics. We may also consider the current anime and manga fan culture as embedded in a broader "geek subcultural cluster, also comprised of further fan cultures and subcultures organized around science fiction, fantasy, role-playing games, miniature wargaming, board games, US and European comics, collectible card games, computer games, and so on" (Brienza 2016, 289). These subcultures are at the same time distinct and connected through the transmedial convergences (Harvey 2015) that increasingly spread across multiple media (see Chapter 3). In the comic conventions, this heterogeneous but usually "learned" public finds a moment of encounter with its specific fan community and discovers new directions to expand its interests.

Also, conventions have an impact on the "cultural status" of these media. We described how, in the European case, the first Salons contributed in the legitimisation of comics as a form of art (Guilbert 2011). This process gained momentum in the 1990s, with the recognition of graphic novels at an international level.

Correspondingly, we also analysed how in some cases the comic "Salons" contributed in changing the cultural status of their hosting cities: an example in the process of festival-stabilization in the urban structure of Angoulême (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005).

These social and economic dynamics are often intertwined and also affect multiple media, being comic conventions increasingly merged with other forms of cultural or commercial events, such as book fairs, fan or gaming meetings, historical re-enactments or music shows.

For this reason, it is difficult to provide a univocal definition. Nowadays comic conventions represent a diverse and multi-layered form of cultural and commercial event: in some cases, they aim at embracing a very broad range of media and "transmedial" activities, under the main umbrella-definition of "pop" or "fantasy" culture; other conventions tend to specialize into niche sectors, pursuing very specific aims and claiming clear-cut identities.

In order to investigate the multiplicity of social and spatial configurations associated to the comics and games gatherings, the present study mapped a sample of events, by the means of a bibliographic and web-based archival research. In some cases, also a netnographic approach was adopted (see Chapter 3), to analyse the main characters of some events and their relations to specific fandoms by the means of the attendees' records in blogs or social media. Despite the methodological limitations due to the constantly growing number of new events and to the linguistic difficulties in covering all the interested countries, it was possible to realize a database of 209 comic conventions across the world (see Appendix 1). Some of the entries include events in multiple cities grouped under a same organization, leading to a total number of 227 analysed events. Together with the data on the location and timing, we registered the most significant statements by the organizers or relevant opinions by the attendees, to

grasp some information on the specific positioning and "atmosphere" of each event within a broader world-spread ecology.

To this aim, we necessarily had to attempt a working and definition of comic convention, based on the empirical investigation of the recurring patterns among diverse events.

We already mentioned the collectors' market among the main attractions for the attendees. Some small gatherings are still focussed on this activity as a primary purpose<sup>74</sup>.

During the years, gaming and games-related awards have increasingly contributed to the success of these events, which in many cases adopted a change in their name to include the "games" section (the example of Lucca Comics will be presented in Chapter 5) and expanded their scope to the broader domain of "fantasy culture".

This extension involved the participation of the main firms and commercial partners: the interaction with the main creators and players in the entertainment industry is for many fans one of the main reasons for attending. Almost all the analysed conventions present a guest-list for each edition, sometimes in accordance with the main theme proposed; some conventions are even organized in partnership with "true pop-culture icons"<sup>75</sup>, whose name is associated with the event itself.

During each event, the best publications and creators within some established categories are awarded<sup>76</sup>. Some awards are voted on by professionals and others by fans.

The "Artists' Alley", present in almost any convention, is a space where amateurs and professional artists can present their work, draw sketches and sign autographs. There, fans can purchase merchandise and works on commission. The "Dealers Den" is another frequently featured space where collectors and fans can buy books, magazines or merchandize, including rare issues or special editions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> In Italy, Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes small-scale events in multiple city addressing a public of comics and music LP collectors (<a href="http://kolosseo.com/chi-siamo-2/">http://kolosseo.com/chi-siamo-2/</a>, accessed on October 14<sup>th</sup> 2018).

The Stan Lee's L.A. Comic Con in Los Angeles is an example of multi-media pop

The Stan Lee's L.A. Comic Con in Los Angeles is an example of multi-media pop culture convention centred on the figure of a comic "icon". Inaugurated in 2011 under the name of Comikaze Expo, with the beginning of the partnership with Stan Lee, creator of Spider-Man and many others Marvel superheroes, the event was renamed and rebranded (source: <a href="https://www.stanleeslacomicon.com/about">www.stanleeslacomicon.com/about</a>, accessed on April 10<sup>th</sup> 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> As an example, Comic-Con International in San Diego is the home of the Will Eisner Comic Industry Awards, defined as "the comic book world's version of the Oscars" (<a href="https://www.comic-con.org/awards/awards">www.comic-con.org/awards/awards</a> accessed on March 29th 2018).

Previews for professionals or Pro-Con are also often scheduled; on some days or on limited areas the attendance is restricted to the professional operating in the industry: editors, managers and subcontractors can meet and discuss new technologies, social and cultural trends, regulatory issues and production schedules (Norcliffe and Rendace 2003, 259).

In the last two decades, *cosplay* reached a broad diffusion in multiple events in various countries, introducing a "performative turn" into the world of convention. *Cosplay* can be considered as one among the diverse "transmedial extensions" (Harvey 2015, 182) that populate fantastic storyworlds and materialize in comics conventions: handcrafted costumes and objects, unofficial or user-generated contents and products that expand the domain of the fictional world and merge into a real event, situated in time and space.

Some gatherings maintained a stronger connection with the comics work as an art form: they often include mentoring activities, aiming at encouraging young authors or helping amateurs to develop their skills. Community-building is at the core of many non profit gatherings: as an example, the East Coast Black Age of Comics Convention (ECBACC), beside the aim of cultivating "images of Black super-powered characters" and serving "as a nexus, conduit and catalyst for Black people comic book creators, their colleague and fans", also propose itself "as a replicable model for community-based comic book conventions".

Some "unconventional" gatherings are also focused on supporting niche comics industries, promoting independent artists and self-publishers: The Alternative Press Expo (APE), running from 1994, is among the most famous conventions of this kind in the USA. Its creator, Dan Vado, stated: "I started the APE because I felt that there was a need for a convention where the artists doing interesting work can display and promote themselves without having to drown out a 50 million watt display by some huge publisher. In it's essence, the APE is about the work and the people who do it and not about how cool your booth is." <sup>778</sup>

The following statements provide examples of differences in the conventional or un-conventional nature of two events.

78 Matt Osterberg (1996). A Q&A with Slave Labor President, Dan Vado. (Retrieved from:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> ECBACC statement: What is The East Coast Black Age of Convention? (source: <a href="http://ecbacc.com/wordpress3/about/">http://ecbacc.com/wordpress3/about/</a>, accessed on April 10<sup>th</sup> 2017).

#### When describing the New York Comic Con, its organisers claim that:

New York Comic Con is the East Coast's biggest and most exciting popular culture convention. Our Show Floor plays host to the latest and greatest in comics, graphic novels, anime, manga, video games, toys, movies and television<sup>79</sup>.

#### As for Toronto Comic Arts Festival, the aim is the opposite:

Wait, so what is the festival? Is it like a comic convention or anime convention? No. No. it is not.

So what is it then?

The Toronto Comic Arts Festival is a unique comics event, patterned after comics festivals like Angouleme, Harlem, and the Small Press Expo. It is a week of comicsrelated events, including readings, presentations, panel discussions, gallery shows, and a large exhibition area featuring publishers and comic authors and artists. We like to describe it as 'unconventional'.80

While describing their event as "unconventional", the organizers of the Toronto Comics Arts Festival also precise that the location is not suitable for cosplay performances, being the festival held in the public library<sup>81</sup>.

Despite the presence of recurrent patterns and similar activities, the diverse nature of these events would require a more detailed analysis, which exceeds the aim of this research. However, all these events can be defined as moments of organized temporary proximity between the professionals operating in the field of comics production or in other industries that are related to the comics through transmedial convergences, the communities of fans and collectors, and a localized cultural context, situated in time and space.

Following this working definition, we included in the database only those events, which had at least a section dedicated to comics or graphic narrative. We didn't include numerous events exclusively dedicated to Japanese culture, or – in other cases - to specific movies or TV-series, even if they often include similar activities to the one featured by comics conventions.

If we plot on a map the location of these main current comics and games events (Fig. 10), the "worlding" dimension of the phenomenon is clearly represented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> http://www.newyorkcomiccon.com, accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup> 2017. http://www.torontocomics.com/, accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup> 2017.

<sup>81</sup> www.torontocomics.com/about-tcaf/f-a-q/, accessed on April 10th 2017.



Fig. 10 - Map of the analysed comics and games events (2016 - 2017, see Appendix 1). Map realised by the author using the "Google MyMaps" application.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the notion of "worlding" is adopted in this context to represent an emergent system of diverse and dynamic spatializing practices that "mix and match different components" (Roy & Ong 2011, 12) and produce a continual change in their topography. In this sense, we aim at underlining how this system is more than a global flux of cultural and economic "mobilities" (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006): in many cases, the relation between the hosting cities and the events is not only a spatial, infrastructural and institutional "mooring", but also a possibility to "anchor" the event to long-lasting processes operating in the territory. We already mentioned, among the "un-conventional" conventions, the case of the East Coast Black Age of Comics Convention (ECBACC), which aims at community-building; another example is represented by the Denver Comic Con, an event produced by the charitable organization Pop Culture Classroom82, which operates in multiple projects in the field of education by improving student's learning experience through the use of the comics as a medium.

In the Italian context, some events are focussed on the enhancement and promotion of the hosting site in terms of historical and architectural values: as an example, the Sicilian Arcadia Comics & Games takes place in the castle of Donnafugata and is organized by a volounteer-based association that donates 50% of its revenues to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> See Appendix 1 (https://popcultureclassroom.org/, accessed on October 14<sup>th</sup> 2018).

protection and restoration of built heritage, starting from the event's location.

Among the "un-conventional" and "worlding" ones, the experiences of some events in the European and Mediterranean area is also worthy of mention for a strong focus on reality in the comics world: Periscopage<sup>83</sup> in Rennes (France), Komikaze Rimini and Ravenna (Italy)84 offered reportages, workshop and discussions on emergent political and social themes, establishing a network between other similar events.

Despite these examples of events that take advantage of a global perspective to mobilize local resources, the broader panorama of comics conventions is mainly populated by large-scale fairs, timed and arranged cyclically within global circuits of market relations (Power & Jansson 2008), where few main players set the pace.

As an example, the North American Wizard World, Inc. produces pop culture conventions dedicated to graphic novels, comic books, movies, TV shows, gaming, technology, toys and social networking; each month, an event is organized in a different city, in order to fulfil a yearly schedule85. Wizard World started its activity in the 1990s as a publishing company, and then expanded its business into trade conventions. In 1997, Wizard World acquired one of the pioneering events in North America, the 1972 founded Chicago Comic and Nostalgia Convention; under the new administration, the convention became the second-largest in the USA, after San Diego's one. From 2010, the resonance of the event was challenged by a second convention, the Chicago Comic & Entertainment Expo (C2E2) organised by Reed Exhibitions. This made Chicago a "battleground" for a global competition between two leading entertainment companies, opening a challenge over the very nature of such kind of event<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> http://www.bodoi.info/periscopages-la-bd-independante-tient-ses-assises-a-rennes/, accessed on October 14th 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>85</sup> For the year 2018, the events are planned in Portland, Philadelphia, Des Moines, Columbus, Boise, Winston-Salem, Chicago, Tulsa, Austin, Sacramento, Springfield, Montgomery and Madison (https://wizardworld.com/comiccon accessed on March 28th 2018).

86 On the magazine Chicago Reader, the reporter Deanna Isaacs commented the

competition between the two companies as follows: "Aficionados and dealers I've talked with suggest that this is a fight over the very nature of a comic-book convention, triggered by the encroachment of a broader nerd culture that embraces pro wrestlers and TV kitsch to the detriment of the art form the purists love. Or maybe it's just business as usual, with an entrenched operator under attack from a powerful upstart." (Isaacs, D. "Clash on the Comic Cons", April 15th 2010, available online at: https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/c2e2-chicago-comic-con-wizard-world-

The comic-convention calendar currently covers the whole year. Already at the origin of this phenomenon and at a European scale, events like the Festival in Angoulême or Erlangen set their dates in order to avoid competition with the already existing event in Lucca. Nowadays the cyclical character is even more remarkable, given the presence of large companies that operate at an international level.

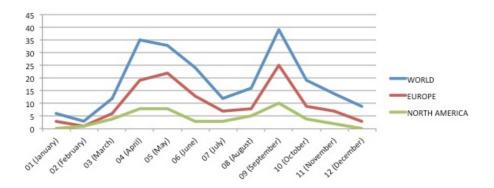


Fig. 11 - Distribution of the analysed comics and games events across the year, mid 2016 mid 2017. The y-axis indicates the number of events per each month (see Appendix 1). Graph by the author.

The distribution (Fig. 11) of the analysed events across the timeframe of one year (mid 2016 - mid 2017) shows how the highest frequency of comics festivals is in spring (April – May) and autumn (September-October), to avoid the overlapping with the main summer and winter holidays. Except from a limited number of events scheduled from December to February, we registered a considerable number of gatherings in every month.

While competition plays a fundamental role in the market of comic conventions, other inter-referencing practices are also brought into play; some conventions are modelled on the pattern of other ones, in order to "catch up" with pace-setting trends or to fill in the gaps in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>chicago-comic-and-entertainment-expo/Content?oid=1661210</u>, accessed on March 28<sup>th</sup> 2018).

existing socio-spatial map. An example of "franchised" comic convention is Tokyo Comic-Con, modelled after San Diego Comic-Con, one of the oldest and most visited one in the United States; Tokyo Comic-Con is also closely related to the "Silicon Valley Comic Con", organized by Steve Wozniak, one of the co-founders of Apple Inc., and Stan Lee, chairman of Marvel publishing company and creator of superheroes such as "Spiderman" or "X-Men". In 2016, these same organizers launched the event in Tokyo, as "a festival celebrating Japanese and American pop culture, while keeping its genetic "American" style foundation"87. The intent of exporting the American model in a territory dominated by anime and manga is clearly stated. During a short interview, Stan Lee replied as follows to the request of his impression on the Tokyo event, compared to the original Comic-Con in the United States: "This is exactly the same. If I don't think about this being Tokyo, I'd make the mistake of thinking I was back in San Diego. I think that Tokyo Comic-Con looks set to become as big as the original Comic-Con in the future".88

The globalization of "geek" culture is a spreading phenomenon: the last decade saw the emergence of Comic-Cons in Moscow <sup>89</sup>, in Bucharest<sup>90</sup>, in India<sup>91</sup>, in Dubai<sup>92</sup> and in many other locations around the world.

Table 2 resumes the world leading conventions in 2016, in term of number of visitors. As shown in the table, two among the main events are held in Brazil: the one in São Paulo, the Comic Con Experience (CCXP) is shaped after the globally spreading model of profit-oriented pop and "geek" culture convention; the Festival Internacional de Quadrinhos de Belo Horizonte (FIQ-BH), on the contrary, is a free-entrance event dedicated exclusively to printed comics and realized in collaboration with local cultural organizations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Excerpt from the convention's presentation on the official webpage (http://tokyocomiccon.jp/english/whatscc.html, accessed on March 29<sup>th</sup> 2018)

http://en.rocketnews24.com/2016/12/03/stan-lee-impresses-audiences-in-japan-at-tokyo-comic-con/ (accessed on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> http://comicconrussia.com/, accessed on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> East European Comic Con (EECC) is a pop-culture dedicated event, first organized by NGO Kesenai in 2013 and shaped after Comic Con San Diego International. Official language is English. (<a href="https://www.comic-con.ro/">www.comic-con.ro/</a> accessed on April 144<sup>th</sup> 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Comic Con India (CCI) was started in 2011 with an inaugural show in Delhi. Over the years it expanded to 5 cities: Delhi, Mumbai, Bengaluru, Hyderabad, and Pune, attracting over 200.000 visitors cumulatively. In 2014, CCI entered into a joint venture with Reed Exhibitions (www.comicconindia.com, accessed on March 30<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>92</sup> www.mefcc.com, accessed on March 30th 2018.

Numbers of visitors in 2016 (single edition)

ranking	1	2	3	4	2	9	7	8	6	10
name of the event	Comiket	Lucca Comics II & Games	Festival International de la Bande Dessinée	Romics	Comic Con Experience CCXP	New York Comic Con	Comic-Con Russia	Festival Internacional de Quadrinhos	MCM London Comic Con	San Diego Comic Convention
city	Tokyo	Lucca	Angoulême	Rome	São Paulo	New York	Moscow	Belo Horizonte	London	San Diego
total number of										
visitors	550000	400000	200000	200000	196000	180000	162112	148000	133156	130000
paying visitors	0	271208	unknown	unknown	196000	180000	162112	0	133156	130000
number of days	3	5	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	4
Visitors per day	183333	80000	20000	20000	49000	45000	40528	29600	44385	32500
Editions per year	2	1	1	2	-	1	1	biannual	2	1
Price 1 day*	free event	€ 18,00	€ 16,00	€ 12,00	€ 66,00	€ 42,00	unknown	free event	€ 30,00	€ 60,00
Price Full Event	free event	€ 58,00	€ 33,00	€ 26,00	€ 218,00	unknown	unknown	free event	€ 60,00	unknown

\* Full price, without reductions. In the case of variable prices on different days, the average price was considered. All currencies were converted in Euro according to May 2017 rate.

(1) www.animenewsnetwork.com/daily-briefs/2016-12-31/comic-market-91-attracts-550000-attendees-across-3-days/.110518

(2) www.luccacomicsandgames.com/fileadmin/documents/press/Lucca\_Comics\_and\_Games\_chiude\_e\_da\_appuntamento\_al\_prossimo\_anno.pdf

(4) aprile2016.romics.it/it/contenuto/romics-un-altro-grande-successo (3) www.bdangouleme.com/446,angouleme-cite-des-festivals

(5) https://omelete.uol.com.br/

(6) www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/trade-shows-events/article/71733-new-york-comic-con-hits-record-attendance-of-180-000.html

(8) http://revistagaileu.globo.com/Revista/Common/0,EMI345300-17770,00-FESTIVAL+INTERNACIONAL+DE+QLADRINHOS+COMECA+EM+BELO+HORIZONTE.html (9) www.wharf.co.uk/news/local-news/mcm-london-comic-con-celebrates-11407836 (10) https://www.comic-con.org/about (7) www.slideshare.net/maxmaslov/comic-con-russia-2016-english

Table 1 – The 10 mostly visited comic-conventions in the world (see Appendix 1).

When approaching the phenomenon of comics-related events, it is important to keep together all the analysed and intertwined dimensions: comic conventions as examples of cyclical clusters in a capital-driven global circuit; comic "salons" as places for the institutionalization of graphic art as a medium; *doujinshi* gatherings as spatialized manifestations of individual-selves in the material expression of a virtual community.

For this reason, the notion of "worlding" appears more suitable to represent a phenomenon that variously engage the relationship between a cultural-creative medium, an active community, a set of diverse locations and the global market.

As anticipated with the examples of Angoulême "la ville qui vit en ses images" or the Japanese "personapolis" of Akihabara, the relationship between the comic convention and the hosting location is a mutable process of interchange, which also contributes in defining the event's nature. In the following chapter this process will be further analysed, expanding the case study of Lucca Comics and Games.

## Chapter 5

# Lucca Comics & Games: spatial interactions between a historic city centre and a temporary event

#### The city as a stage: the historic centre of Lucca

The intertwining of urban spaces and spaces of comics can be analysed according to the multiple spatial dimensions of this medium, as discussed in Chapter 3. The present chapter focuses on these interactions in the case of the oldest European comics "Salone", staged in the Tuscan town of Lucca. The analysis will start from a descriptive account of the location and of its peculiar features in relation to the event. Then the investigation will move to the event's organization and historical development, until reaching an inclusive and "urban" dimension within the aforementioned distinctive setting. In the light of this descriptive excursus, the analytical lens will focus on the relations and tensions between stability and change in the encounter of the city landscape and the event's "temporary township" (see Chapter 1).

Despite the multiple and profound transformations in the organization and in the nature of this event, it is possible to trace an uninterrupted *fil-rouge* linking the comics world and the city for more than 50 years. In the present years the event has reached a large-scale impact and is considered the second in the world in terms of the number of visitors, after Tokyo Comiket. In fact, Lucca Comics & Games (LC&G) reached in the latest editions more than 500.000 attendees, during a timeframe of usually 4-5 days per year <sup>93</sup>. The comparison with a resident population of around 90.000 inhabitants provides a quick insight on the scale of the event (Fig.12).

 $<sup>^{93}</sup>$  The "gold" edition in 2016, celebrating 50 years of presence in the city, lasted 5 days. Since then, the event spanned over 5 days.



Fig. 12: Graphic representation of the proportions between the stable resident population of Lucca and the event's attendees (Graphic by the author).

Lucca city centre, a rare case of almost entirely preserved town from the Italian Middle Age and Renaissance, provides a unique urban landscape as the festival-location. Two main spatial features characterize its historic centre: the number of differently shaped squares and open spaces and the presence of an imposing system of surrounding walls and bulwarks. These elements play a fundamental role in shaping the event, defining a distinctive "urban stage".

The system of "plaza groupings" (Sitte 1994) is in large part the result of the religious relevance of the city, which dates from the Middle Age. Thanks to the city location along the ancient via Frangigena and to the presence of the renowned sacred relic of Volto Santo, the number of pilgrims crossing Lucca during their way to Rome contributed to the development of an urban system characterized by a cluster of churches and cloisters. A system of squares, courtyards and urban open spaces corresponds to these religious buildings, enhancing the monumental presence of the facades. Anfiteatro also represent a very particular example of urban "void", located in the northern part of the city centre. An elliptical ring of buildings, following the trace of the former roman amphitheatre, bound the square.

The alternate presence of this system of monumentally defined open spaces and a dense urban fabric contributes to the perception of the city centre as a space of proximity, where the visual axes are interrupted by non linear paths and where the experience of the city proceeds at a walking pace.

The intimate spatial experience of the city centre is reinforced by the massive presence of the surrounding city walls. From the moment of their construction, the walls represented the main feature of the city of

Lucca; still nowadays this perfectly preserved monumental asset is immediately identified with the image of the historic town centre and contributes to its architectural value. A symbolic value is also associated to the gigantic appearance of the walls, which attribute an appearance of 'protection' and 'noblesse' to the whole urban formation (Martinelli 2010).

The construction of the fortifications formally began in 1544, but already from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century an "Offizio delle Fortificazioni" had been created, in order to plan and coordinate this ambitious defensive system<sup>94</sup>. Because of the complexity of the project and the discontinuous allocation of economic resources <sup>95</sup>, the construction took nearly 150 years; for this reason, there are variations in the shape the eleven bulwarks, equally spaced along a circuit of approximately 4 kilometres. The resulting irregular polygon (Fig. 13) is determined by geometric and ballistic parameters and by the inclusion of previously existing walls into the fortified system (Marconi 1978, 257).



Fig. 13: Lucca's city walls, aerial view from the southwest (source: www.luccalive.com)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The urge to update the defensive system was due to the introduction of new fire weapons, against which the medieval walls resulted too thin and tall; also, a strong impulse towards the reinforcement of the fortifications came from the defeat of Pisa (initially supported by Lucca in its rebellion) against the Florentine army in 1509 (Martinelli 2010).

<sup>(</sup>Martinelli 2010).

The main problem that the city had to face was the acquisition of the terrain and the destruction of any existing building or tree around the borders, which generated strong controversies among private owners and other powers in town, such as the religious one. (Marconi 1978).

As is the case of many other towns, the presence of such an extensive and imposing system was a symbol of the economic and organizational power of the city, and succeeded in preventing any attack. In any case, after the completion of the circuit in 1650, this kind of defensive system was already obsolete. Nonetheless, a public use of the walls as a green "urban promenade" consolidated in the following centuries, as proven by a decree issued in 1819 by Maria Luisa di Borbone to protect the existing trees, or the transformation of the Casermetta on the bulwark of Santa Maria into a coffee house in 1840 (Giusti 2005). In 1870, Comune di Lucca acquired the walls with the aim to preserve as much as possible the integrity of this monument and its relevance for the local community. Despite the economic difficulties to maintain such an extensive – and 'empty' – structure, the local authority succeeded in preserving the 'image' of the walls: only three city doors were opened in the original curtains since the completion of the construction.

The Lucchese bulwarks are triangularly shaped and host vaulted chambers of various size. The underground passageways leading to these chambers are mostly still accessible and represent the main pedestrian paths leading inside and outside the city walls. By walking through these corridors, it is possible to appreciate the massive presence of the Lucchese fortification and experiment a particular "atmosphere" the shadowy and empty spaces resonate with the steps, while the sounds coming from outside are muffled; the sunlight filters through the embrasures and the air is humid and dense. The haptic experience of this space (Pallasmaa 2000), offered to all the visitors walking towards the centre of Lucca, produces a particular perception of this urban "edge" (Lynch 1960, 100); Lucca's city walls are not only a continuous boundary where visual attention is dynamically perceived powerfully concentrated, but also a environment. The possibility to span around and above the whole circuit or to walk inside and across the bulwarks offers a multifaceted experience of this transitional space, between the old centre and the external expansion of the city.

This feature also became part of "temporary experiences" in the framework of various events, which benefits from the enclosed and intimate atmosphere as a distinctive element. Starting from the 1960s, numerous events were hosted along the walls and inside the bulwarks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> As anticipated in Chapter 1, architectural atmospheres can be understood as multisensory experiences of a place where an exchange between its material properties and our immaterial imagination occurs. "Atmospheres" and, in the French definition, "ambiances" as perceptual and aesthetic categories are the object of an increasing research interest (Griffero 2017).

Some temporary exhibitions and performances were specifically designed in order to enhance the atmospheric qualities of the dungeon-like spaces of the bulwarks. As an example, in 1996, the newly restored spaces of Baluardo San Paolino hosted two main temporary exhibitions that pioneered the research on interactive and responsive environments; the works "Totale della battaglia" and "Museo virtuale delle mura della città", designed by the collective Studio Azzurro<sup>97</sup>, focused on the relations body / moving images / theatre, involving the visitors in experimental performances based on early digital media.

Beside the temporary uses, the complex management of this structure called for a stable institutional support. During the second half of the  $20^{\rm th}$  century, two main organizations were established in order to manage and promote a public use of the urban walls.

In 1962 the mayor Giovanni Martinelli founded the Ciscu (Centro Internazionale per lo studio delle Cerchia Urbane), an institution in charge of raising awareness on the cultural value of the city walls and promoting related activities. By hosting a section of the first "Salone internazionale dei comics" (1966) in the San Regolo bulwark, the city administration aimed at developing new possible uses for these spaces (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 22).

From 1999, another organization operates for a more integrated management of the city walls; "Opera delle Mura" combines the preservation of this monumental asset with the maintenance of the public green areas, the organization of events, the possibility to rent some spaces to third subjects, the promotion of research.

Following the widespread trend towards festivalisation and eventification of urban cultural politics (see Chapter 3), the city of Lucca currently organizes numerous initiatives that cover a yearly calendar: most of these events take place within the city centre, along or above the walls. Despite the organizational complexity that this requires, from the accessibility for the visitors and the suppliers to the protection of the monuments and the maintenance of the green areas, from the acoustic interference with the inhabitants' activities to the security services, the success of initiatives such as "Lucca Summer Festival" Pestival of Murabilia Confirms the increasing power of attraction of the city as a stage for cultural festivals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Conference "Scena e doppia scena, Studio Azzurro e il teatro", Dec 21<sup>st</sup> 2015, Lucca, Casa del Boia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> From 1998 the Festival offers a program of pop and rock music concerts of international relevance. The ending concert of the 2017 edition, staging the band Rolling

### From Salone Internazionale dei Comics to Lucca Comics & Games: 50 years of 'temporary presence'

As anticipated in Chapter 4, Lucca was chosen in 1966 as the location for the second "Salone Internazionale dei Comics". The first edition of this event had been launched one year before in Bordighera<sup>101</sup> (Liguria), where also a "Salone Internazionale dell'Umorismo" 102 was already held. The initiative had been organized under the direction of Romano Calisi and Luigi Volpicelli from the Pedagogy Department of the University in Rome, were an international archive of comics (Archivio Internazionale della Stampa a Fumetti) had also been instituted, within the Centre for Mass Communication Sociology.

The choice to move the event to the Tuscan town was the result of the collaboration among multiple actors. The chief of the Lucchese provincial tourism office Fidia Arata had firstly met the members of the organizing University departments 103 in Rome, at a conference on tourism. Lucca's mayor Giovanni Martinelli aimed at promoting the city as a touristic destination, being its power of attraction not yet established in these years 104. For this reason, the municipality was willing to provide economic resources, which were not anymore

Stones, was attended by 56.000 fans and was coordinated by Comune di Lucca with a specific "Rolling-Stones Plan" (<u>www.comune.lucca.it/Piano\_Rolling\_Stones</u>, accessed on May 7<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>99</sup> Together with other events dedicated to music, theatre and journalism, in 2017 Lucca Film Festival was included in the project "Lucca Live Experience", which combines the offer with touristic

(www.luccaexperience.com/LuccaLiveExperience.pdf, accessed on May 7<sup>th</sup> 2018). 100 Murabilia is a gardening exhibition that takes place in September along the city walls. It has reached in 2017 its 17<sup>th</sup> edition (https://www.murabilia.com/ accessed on May 7<sup>th</sup> 2018).

2018).

<sup>101</sup> The first Salone took place in 1965, from February 21<sup>st</sup> to March 2<sup>nd</sup>. The event took advantage of the collaboration of Comics Clubs and the French Centre d'Etude des Littératures d'Expression Graphique, and was supported by the local municipality and tourism office. (www.immaginecentrostudi.org/, accessed on April 16th 2018).

(www.saloneumorismo.com/it/storia/, accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup> 2018).

103 "Col salone internazionale dei comics Lucca centro d'irradiazione mondiale", La Nazione Sera, September 19th 1966, in Bono & Gaspa (2006, 22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Salone dell'Umorismo started in 1947 as an exhibition of humoristic sketches and stories; the main founder, the journalist Cesare Perfetto, aimed at differentiating Bordighera from others touristic destinations, where the events were mainly focussed on beauty contests; the Salone took place until 1999 and reached an international relevance

A member of the organizing committee, Rinaldo Traini, underlines the mayor's willingness to qualify the historical assets of the city, with a special attention on the walls. "Tanto per ricordare il Salone", afNews.info, July 30<sup>th</sup> 2007, retrieved from: <a href="https://www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone">www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone</a>, accessed on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018.

available in Bordighera<sup>105</sup>. For the organisers, Lucca represented not only a prestigious setting in terms of historic and cultural heritage, but also a strategic location in the centre of Italy, more accessible than the previous one. In the editorial for the 7<sup>th</sup> edition of the Salone, in 1971, the director Rinaldo Traini described Lucca as an ideal town for comics ("città ideale dei comics"), an attribute that consolidated itself edition after edition<sup>106</sup>. The first motivation was the geographical location and the available connections, being the city also very close to Pisa airport. As a second reason, Traini underlined that Lucca had been spared by the recent experiences of bad urbanism that affected other Italian towns; thanks to its "human dimension", and to its historical heritage, the international participants could find an oasis of relax and the Salone could take place in a "focused and concentrated but also calm and friendly atmosphere" 107. This perception of the city as an "authentic" environment is a fil-rouge that spanned over the years to reach the present days, when the comic book writer and producer Frank Miller states: "Your city is magical. Nobody seems to have ruined it"108.

To understand how this distinctiveness of Lucca developed and became a trendsetter in the field, it is useful to follow the relation between the event and its location across the years.

A first phase (1966-1971) can be described as "pioneering", in which a "niche" but emergent event took advantage of a positive synergy with the local administrative structures and started to explore some available locations.

For the first edition, the event was set up within the city centre, in the spaces of Teatro del Giglio (roundtable on comics) and inside the San Regolo bulwark (exhibition). The image of the city appeared on the

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$  According to Claudio Bertieri, also among the organizers of the Salone, after the success of the first edition the municipality of Bordighera was asked to increase the funding, but the request was refused (Interview by Luca Raffaelli, https://fumettologicamente.wordpress.com/tag/romano-calisi/, accessed on April 23rd,

<sup>2018).

106</sup> The long-lasting relation between the city and the Salone was the result of a fortunate and unexpected encounter. After the first edition in Bordighera, the organizers had first considered the idea of replicating the Salone as an itinerating event (Rinaldo Traini, interviewed by Riccardo Corbò "50 anni di fumetto a Lucca", Rai TG3 29/07/2016, retrieved from: <a href="http://www.rai.it/dl/RaiTV/programmi/media/ContentItem-a6a5903a-af19-4d90-9473-9e0277ab2579.html">http://www.rai.it/dl/RaiTV/programmi/media/ContentItem-a6a5903a-af19-4d90-9473-9e0277ab2579.html</a> accessed on April 30th 2018).

107 Rinaldo Traini, "Lucca, città ideale dei comics", Editoriale 7° Salone Internazionale di Comics (retrieved from: <a href="http://www.immaginecentrostudi.org">www.immaginecentrostudi.org</a>, accessed on April 25<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Interview with LC&G organizers on the occasion of the Gold Edition 2016, retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vz31f9gAx70, accessed on October 14th

invitation cards and promotional materials (Fig. 14); on a red background, the shape of the blank "balloon" containing the informative texts followed the outline of an ideal walled town. The same logo appeared on the invitations for an exhibition held in Rome the following year, presenting the awarded drawings of the competition "Per un nuovo personaggio a fumetti" (Fig. 15); the walled city's image appeared to be so powerfully associated to the Salone that the visual link "followed" related initiatives also in different cities.

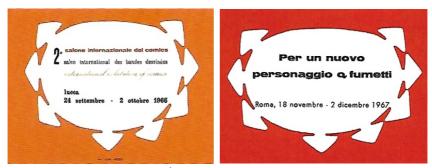
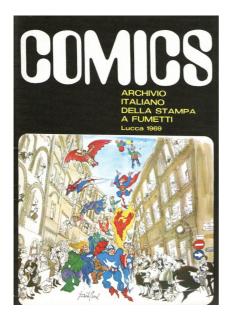
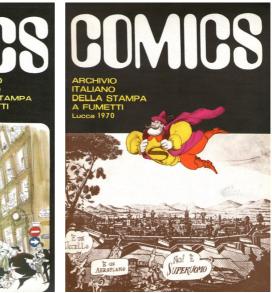


Fig. 14 - Invitation card to the  $2^{nd}$  Salone internazionale dei comics, Salon international des bandes dessinées, International exhibition of comics (Lucca, September  $2^{4h}$  – October  $2^{nd}$  1966). Figure 15 - Invitation to the exhibition "Per un nuovo personaggio a fumetti" (Rome, November  $18^{4h}$  – December  $2^{nd}$  1967). Source: Bono & Gaspa 2006.

The invitation to the 4° Salone (1968) showed an even more detailed image of the city: Lucca was not simply represented as an idealized outline, but with its real city plan. Also for the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> editions, the posters of the event and the cover of the magazine "Comics"<sup>109</sup> presented two urban views. In the first one, a street in the city centre appeared invaded by a carnivalesque group of superheroes and comics' characters (Fig. 16). For the 1970 edition, Lucca is depicted from a bird's-eye view, imitating an 18<sup>th</sup> century drawing; an "Italianised" superhero is flying above the walled town, while some local villagers raise an incredulous look (Fig. 17). Both these images suggest the idea of an innocuous "assault" to the town operated by the event.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> The magazine "Comics" was firstly edited in 1965, as a catalogue of the international exhibition in Bordighera. In the same year, the first issue of "Linus" also appeared in Italy. This magazine merged some classic American comics with the unedited works of some Italian artists and presented the comic-medium as a true art form; the authors and the background of the strips were the object of articles and interviews, while an open debate on the reader's mail page frequently touched themes of social and political relevance. Comics and Linus represented the first Italian magazines approaching comics with a critical and scientific interest.





Figs. 16, 17 - Covers of the magazine "Comics" showing the posters of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> editions of the Salone in Lucca (Design by David Pascal).

The clash between the quiet and static landscape of Lucca and the dynamic and multifaceted imaginaries related to this international gathering became even more striking in 1972, when the so called "balloon" appeared. Until then, the event had found its spaces within existing buildings, such as Teatro del Giglio and some of the bulwarks (San Regolo, San Paolino). From the 8<sup>th</sup> edition, the Salone moved outside and colonized the public space of Napoleone square, thanks to a 770 m² inflatable structure designed by the architectural bureau Arcoquattro<sup>110</sup> (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 60), financed by the municipality of Lucca. The local press ironically described the balloon as a "monster" or an UFO<sup>111</sup>, criticizing the futuristic shape; on the other hand, the success in terms of visitors and young public was also achieved thanks to the power of attraction of this new structure (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 61). In the decades of international architectural experiments with

 $<sup>^{110}</sup>$  The designers of the balloon where also directly involved in the organization of the Salone. Mario Gomboli, architect and founding member of Arcoquattro, was also a comic author and, from the 1990s, chief editor of the famous Italian series Diabolik.

<sup>111 &</sup>quot;Un mostro per la mostra", La Nazione, October 25th 1972.

inflatable "bubbles", moving homes and post atomic living-capsules<sup>112</sup>, the comics gathering offered to a small town like Lucca the opportunity to experiment a new spatial device<sup>113</sup>.



Fig. 18: Piazza Napoleone with the Comics' balloon, November 1978 (Source: Archivio Fotografico Lucchese, CPR744).

The balloon was destined to the commercial booths that were previously hosted in the entrance of Teatro del Giglio and, in 1971, also on the upper floors of the same theatre<sup>114</sup>. In this sense, the expansion of the Salone was both an opening towards the large public and towards the comics market, offering 50 stalls to the exhibitors. The urge of including a larger public in the event was partially a consequence of the protests raised during the 1968 edition in the context of the international students' protest movement, when some participants accused the organization for being "too academic"; but it was also an effect of the diffusion of similar initiatives in other Italian cities that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> The research on inflatables architectures became an international trend in the 1960s. The works by Buckminster Fuller on inflatable balloons and geodesic domes, and the projects by the British collective Archigram on light-weight moving capsules pioneered the research on new ways of inhabiting spaces (Frampton 2007, 280).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> In the following years the experience was imitated in Angoulême,

<sup>114</sup> Rinaldo Traini, "Tanto per ricordare il Salone", afNews.info, July 30<sup>th</sup> 2007, retrieved from: <a href="https://www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone">www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone</a>, accessed on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018.

had experimented slightly different forms. As an example, the successful event "Tre giornate del fumetto" in Genova was mainly oriented towards the young public, and explicitly aimed at marking a difference with respect to the Salone in Lucca, which had "an essentially critical character, studied the comics as a social and pedagogic phenomenon". 115





Fig. 19 - A stand in the balloon, October 1976 (Source: Archivio Fotografico Lucchese, CPR922).

Fig. 20 - Exhibition at Teatro del Giglio (Source: Archivio Fotografico Lucchese, CPR756).

The introduction of the "balloon" in Lucca was then the urban materialization of some changes that characterized the 8<sup>th</sup> edition. We will define this second phase (1972-1982) as "first colonisation". In fact, the Salone saw an enlargement in the public and participants but also an expansion in its scope: the 1972 edition included animated movies, with 3 days dedicated to a new "Salone internazionale del cinema di animazione" and 3 days for the traditional "Salone internazionale dei comics". If cartooning was already present in the previous years, this

 $<sup>^{115}</sup>$  Alfredo Barberis, "Fra «Snoopy» > e «Cocco Bill» > ", Il Corriere della Sera, September 9<sup>th</sup> 1971.

edition stated a deliberate step towards multimediality<sup>116</sup>. From 1975 the two sections (animated cartoons and comics) were merged in a 5 days event.

Until 1976 the spatial organization of the event followed the described pattern; the temporary exhibitions continued to be hosted in the bulwarks, namely the San Regolo and San Paolino ones; the conferences, roundtables and awards ceremonies in the Teatro del Giglio; the commercial comics' fair in the balloon. The economic effort was covered almost entirely by the Lucchese municipality (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 93).

In analysing the relationship between the event and the city, it is relevant to notice that from 1964 to 1992 the organizational committee of the Salone, Immagine Centro Studi, had seat in Rome. From 1964 to 1970, under the direction of Romano Calisi, the office was inside the University's department, while starting from the direction of Riccardo Traini in 1971, it moved to an autonomous seat<sup>117</sup>. Only from 1973, an organizational meeting in Lucca was established, the so-called "Lucchetta"118; the committee usually met at the beginning of the year to elaborate the program for the following edition. However, except from the Salone, this represented the single occasion of connection between the organizers and the local municipality. Despite the international relevance of the event and its public success, during these years the presence of the comics in Lucca was sporadic and unable to establish stronger connections with the territory; this lack of support from a broader institutional network and the lack of a "permanent trace" in the local and regional context was criticized by the director during the presentation of the 1976 edition (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 93). Furthermore, being the costs mainly covered by the Lucchese municipality, and having the dimension of the event constantly expanded during the years, some financial issues started to question the possibility for the city to sustain such an economic effort. For this reason, it was decided to organize the Salone every two years, in order

 $<sup>^{116}</sup>$  Rinaldo Traini, "Editoriale, 8° Salone internazionale dei comics e del cinema di animazione" (retrieved from:  $\underline{www.immaginecentrostudi.org}$  , accessed on April  $26^{th}$  2018).

<sup>2018). &</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Rinaldo Traini, "Tanto per ricordare il Salone", afNews.info, July 30<sup>th</sup> 2007, retrieved from: <a href="https://www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone">www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone</a>, accessed on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018.

The name, meaning "small Lucca", was chosen after that "Lucca" had become the general appellation for the Salone as a whole.

to concentrate more resources on each edition, maintaining at the same time a qualified program.

This biannual strategy proved to be successful for the following editions; the temporary pavilion in Piazza Napoleone enlarged every year, in order to host a growing number of participants in the commercial section. In 1980, the temporary pavilion – that had changed from the inflatable balloon into a circuslike tent – had redoubled the original capability, covering 7000 m² and hosting 100 booths. In 1982, the square hosted two separated tents, one dedicated to the commercial booths and the other to the exhibitions. In the meanwhile, the event had included illustration and graphic design, changing its name into "Salone Internazionale dei Comics, del Film di Animazione e dell'Illustrazione" (International Exhibition of Comics, Animated Films and Illustrations). Its worldwide resonance had inspired other similar events at an international scale, such as the French Salon in Angoulême (see Chapter 5).

The growth in the number of visitors and the enlargement of the needed surfaces started to raise concerns within the local administration; in 1984, after a negative assessment from the fireman and police offices, it was decided to move part of the event to the sports arena outside the city centre. The commercial booths and the collectors market resulted now decoupled from the conferences and roundtables that continued to take place in Teatro del Giglio. We define this phase as "decoupling" (1984-1986).

From an organizational but also spatial perspective, an important change took place in 1986, when a new autonomous association was established: the Ente Autonomo Max Massimino Garnier, entitled after the departed president of Immagine, was delegated of managing the Salone and organizing related initiatives. The relevant step forward in strengthening the relation with the city was that the Ente Garnier had a permanent seat within the historic centre, in the ancient Villa Bottini. With the foundation of this new institution, the archives and the materials related to the previous editions were transferred from Rome to Lucca, with the aim to establish the basis for a new permanent centre dedicated to the comics culture. We will define this phase as "institutionalisation" of the event (1990-1992).

Because of the organizational delay due to the multiple actors involved in the foundation of the new institution, the 1988 edition was cancelled,<sup>119</sup> but "Lucca Incontri '89" started a new 3-days format with a simplified cultural program<sup>120</sup>. The comics market (Mostra Mercato), also launched in 1989 and replicated in the following years, achieved a relevant success; due to the turnout at the sports arena<sup>121</sup>, from March 1992 it was decided to introduce an entrance ticket, transforming for the first time the open initiative into an event subject to admission charge; a new temporary tent was installed in front of the sports arena, in order to host the growing number of exhibitors.

These changings in the management of the event fed some tensions among the multiple actors involved in the organization; these tensions reflected the diverse origins of comics-related gatherings (see Chapter 4) that converged in Lucca: the original idea of a cultural and artistic Salone; the comics convention as a market oriented initiative; as for the influence of Japanese manga, their presence in Lucca started to appear significantly from the 1990s (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 157), even if in Italy the phenomenon had been preceded by animated series, which were in many cases considered as a threat for the Italian production<sup>122</sup>.

The 1990 and 1992 editions were the last ones of the "Salone Internazionale dei Comics, del Film d'Animazione e dell'Illustrazione". The presence of Walt Disney international in a devoted pavilion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Beside the founding organizations "Immagine-Centro di Studi Iconografici" from Rome and Comune di Lucca, also Camera di Commercio di Lucca, Azienda Provinciale per le attività Turistiche and Istituto per lo Studio e la diffusione del Cinema d'Animazione di Milano were members of the new managing institution (Rinaldo Traini, Editoriale Lucca 18, 1990, retrieved from: <a href="www.immaginecentrostudi.org">www.immaginecentrostudi.org</a>, accessed on April 28<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12d</sup> The commercial comics fair "Mostra Mercato" was organized during the spring in the sports arena, achieving a relevant success even without the power of attraction of the conferences, roundtables and prizes. Together with "Pallonerie" a show dedicated to comics and soccer ball - in the same year in which Italy was hosting the World Cup – Lucca Incontri and Mostra Mercato inaugurated the activities of Ente Autonomo Max Massimino Garnier and confirmed the potentiality of Lucca as a cultural centre dedicated to the comics (Rinaldo Traini, Editoriale Lucca 18, 1990, retrieved from: <a href="https://www.immaginecentrostudi.org">www.immaginecentrostudi.org</a>, accessed on April 28<sup>th</sup> 2018).

During Lucca Incontri '91, the sports arena was "assaulted" by the public and the gates were closed to regulate the accesses, with the intervention of the police (Oriano De Ranieri, "Migliaia di persone al Palazzetto: intervengono polizia e carabinieri" La Nazione, November 2<sup>nd</sup> 1991).

122 The booming phenomenon of Japanese animated series appeared in Italy at the end of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> The booming phenomenon of Japanese animated series appeared in Italy at the end of the 1970s. In an article appeared on Corriere della Sera in 1980, the comics author Bonvi criticized the Italian public television for not supporting the Italian authors, menaced by the diffusion of low-cost animated movies from Japan and Corea, offered by private television channels (Bonvi, "Achtung, Goldraken!", Corriere della Sera April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1980).

testified of the importance reached by the event, which hosted the Italian preview of the company's animated movies. Lucca '92 benefited of the strengthened participation of the local authorities and proposed a program spread in multiple locations: beside the traditional Mostra Mercato in the sports arena, the direction of the event and the debates took place in Villa Bottini, seat of the Ente Garnier. Teatro del Giglio was still used for movies projections, together with Cinema Centrale, while the exhibitions were spread in three Casermette along the walls and in various cultural and administrative buildings within the city centre 123. It was the largest edition since the beginning and the last organized with the support of Immagine Centro Studi.



Fig. 21 - 22<sup>nd</sup> edition of Salone dei Comics (1990), the booths inside the sports arena (Source: Archivio Fotografico Lucchese, GSR188).

In fact, despite the achieved realization of Ente Garnier, the economic support to the event was inadequate to satisfy the exigencies of such a broad initiative. Rinaldo Traini, secretary of Immagine Centro Studi and cultural director of Ente Garnier denounced some structural and organizational defects and, after the resignation of most of the board's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Camera di Commercio (Commerce Chamber), Palazzo della Provincia (province's seat) and the art centre Fondazione Ragghianti had also been chosen as exhibitions' sites.

members, the whole Immagine withdrew from Ente Garnier 124, maintaining the archives and the cultural memory of the Salone. The "divorce" between Immagine and Lucca, except from the sporadic collaboration in some exhibitions 125, lasted until 2016. In terms of presence of the event in the city, the local institutions managed to maintain a form of continuity. We will define this phase "crisis and reorganization" (1993-2005).

From 1993, while the Salone migrated in Rome and became part of a new event organized by Immagine (Expocartoon 1994), the Ente Garnier in Lucca replicated the initiative of Lucca Incontri: a simplified and shortened exhibition mainly structured around the Mostra Mercato. The autumn edition of this new format included Lucca Games, which opened the festival to a broader public: this rapidly expanding section proposed board games, miniatures, fantasy illustration, videogames and related tournaments<sup>126</sup>. During these years of transition, the event changed its name from Salone to "Mostra Mercato", to "Lucca Comics" and, from 1997, to "Lucca Comics & Games", revealing the increasing relevance of this recently introduced section.

## Towards an "urban phenomenon"

After the dissociation of Immagine, despite the first organizational difficulties 127 Ente Garnier managed to maintain continuity in the relation between the event and the city. If the commercial fair was held in the sports arena twice a year (according to the model inaugurated by Lucca Incontri), many cultural initiatives populated the city: some of the chosen locations were Villa Bottini (seat of the Ente Garnier<sup>128</sup>), Teatro del Giglio, Fondazione Ragghianti, Palazzo Sani, Palazzo

Lucca Games appeared in October 1993 after an idea of Renato Genovese, Beniamino

<sup>124</sup> Rinaldo Traini, "Tanto per ricordare il Salone", afNews.info, July 30th 2007, retrieved from: www.afnews.info/wordpress/2007/07/30/tanto-per-ricordare-il-salone, accessed on April 23rd 2018.

As an example, in 1999 Immagine collaborated in the exhibition dedicated to the Disney's author Floyd Gottfredson (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 226).

Sidoti, Cosimo Lorenzo Pacini and Amedeo Gigli (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 178).

127 In March 1994, the fair opened with 24 hours of delay, due to some missing authorizations required to comply with the safety standards. The gates of the sports arena and temporary pavilions were opened on the second day but the number of visitors allowed was limited. ("Sequestrato a Lucca il Salone dei Comics", La Repubblica, 19/03/1994).

<sup>128</sup> From 1997 the Ente Garnier moved to via della Cavallerizza.

Arnolfini, Palazzo Cenami but also the Church of San Cristoforo and the Anfiteatro square. The "double event" model was supported and promoted until the year 2000: the spring edition was usually more innovative and the autumn one more traditional, including the awards ceremony.

In 1998, the enlargement of the spring edition revealed logistic and economic deficiencies that ended up in the return to a single event per year (at the end of October) and in some organizational restructurings (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 216). In fact, from the year 2000, the management was assumed directly by the Comune di Lucca, that entrusted Renato Genovese, former director of Lucca Games, with the task of organizing the event. The direction team was strengthened in the following years, until the creation, in 2005, of Lucca Comics & Games srl (LC&G), a private limited company operating within the publicly owned Lucca Holding SpA <sup>129</sup>. By outsourcing the festival's management, the municipality successfully achieved the economic self-sustainability of the event, which is currently supported mainly by the exhibitors' rents, by sponsors and ticketing <sup>130</sup>.

The process that had started with the creation of LC&G srl evolved towards a more and more comprehensive management, with the aim to define a stable system of cultural activities around this temporary and cyclical event. The first fundamental step was the return of the festival into the city centre in 2006; on the occasion of the celebrations for the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the comics' presence in Lucca, the pavilions and the exhibition's areas covered a surface of around 15.000 m² inside the city walls <sup>131</sup>. This challenging project became possible thanks to the collaboration of multiple cultural and administrative institutions in town. Under the motto "more and more into the heart of the city" the "revolution" operated in this temporary geography aimed at including the city landscape, together with the permanent commercial activities, into the visitors' itinerary. At the same time, according to the director Renato Genovese, the "intimate and human-scaled city's structure" allowed for maintaining the "consistency and the concentrated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Lucca Holding is an organizational structure that manages and monitors the municipal investments and shareholdings, in particular the companies providing local public services. (www.luccaholdingspa.it/chi-siamo, accessed on June 17th 2017). <sup>130</sup> "Intervista esclusiva a Renato Genovese, direttore Lucca C&G", Anime Click, March 3<sup>rd</sup> 2015, retrieved from: <a href="https://www.animeclick.it/news/42337-intervista-esclusiva-arenato-genovese-direttore-lucca-cg-parte-1%25c2%25b0">https://www.animeclick.it/news/42337-intervista-esclusiva-arenato-genovese-direttore-lucca-cg-parte-1%25c2%25b0</a>, accessed on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018). <sup>131</sup> Press release "Una città conquistata dai fumetti. Lucca Comics & Games 2006:

<sup>131</sup> Press release "Una città conquistata dai fumetti. Lucca Comics & Games 2006: un'edizione straordinaria", (A city conquered by the comics: LC&G 2006, an extraordinary edition) retrieved from: http://lucca2006.luccacomicsandgames.com/06/xhtml/area\_stampa/doc/comunicato%2002%20-%2021072006.pdf, accessed on May 3rd, 2018.

logistics" of the event<sup>132</sup>. We will define the following phase as a "return" to the heart of the city (2006-2013).

Already during the years of Ente Garnier's direction, despite the economic problems, the city's participation in the event had been progressively reinforced. Initiatives such as "diffused" comics' exhibitions in the shops windows<sup>133</sup> or food tasting<sup>134</sup> started to be implemented from 1998. In the same year a *cosplay* contest was introduced, to award the best costumes presented by the fans: the first "pioneering" Italian groups of *cosplayers* had appeared from the mid 1990s, and the phenomenon was rapidly expanding.

All these initiatives led the basis for an increasing extension of the festival towards the commercial and social aspects of the life in the city. From a "niche" gathering attended by a specialized public, in its 50 years of existence the event had turned into an urban phenomenon; not only in terms of geographic extension, but also because the participants engage in a material and "bodily" relation with the event's space. The urban transformation is enacted at multiple levels, from the staging of public and private spaces to *cosplay* rituals, from public performances such as street bands<sup>135</sup> and flashmobs<sup>136</sup> to the display of commercial spaces (see Chapter 6); the event manifests itself in the transformation of the everyday socio-material and haptic relations between the inhabitants and the city (Ernwein & Matthey 2018).

Lucca Comics & Games (LC&G) is nowadays the biggest cultural and commercial convention in Europe dedicated to comic books, gaming and fantasy culture, second in the world after Tokyo's Comiket<sup>137</sup> in terms of number of visitors. In 2016, a record number of 271.208 paying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> "Sempre più nel cuore della città", press release for LC&G 2006 (retrieved from: <a href="http://lucca2006.luccacomicsandgames.com/06/xhtml/generali/cuore.asp">http://lucca2006.luccacomicsandgames.com/06/xhtml/generali/cuore.asp</a>, accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>133</sup> In 1998, around 120 shops in the city participated in a diffused exhibition on the Italian comic "Tex". The shop windows exhibited around 400 original panels illustrated by various authors ("Boom di adesioni alla iniziativa collegata alla rassegna dei Comics Mostra di Tex in 120 negozi", Il Tirreno, October 15<sup>th</sup> 1998).

<sup>134</sup> In autumn 1998 some restaurants participated in the initiative "Fumetti a tavola" that invited the participants to taste local traditional food (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 221).

<sup>135</sup> As an example, during the event the traditional street band Corpo Musicale "G. Puccini" – Gruppo Folkloristico "La Castellana" performs along the city centre disguised as Walt Disney's Beagle Boys, playing on the double meaning of the Italian word "banda", indicating both a group of musicans and a gang.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Cosplay and Steampunk groups or games production companies usually organize flashmobs, parades and live games along the streets of the city centre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Source: http://www.europecomics.com/events/ (accessed on February 15<sup>th</sup> 2017).

visitors<sup>138</sup> attended the special "Golden" edition celebrating the 50th anniversary of the event's presence in the city<sup>139</sup>. The total number, including paying and non-paying visitors, was estimated around 500.000 attendees. LC&G includes now six main thematic areas: Comics, Games, Japan, Junior&Family, Movie, Music & Cosplay. In 2016 these sections covered a total surface of 31.100 m² and spread over the whole historic centre, including temporary and permanent structures. We define this phase as the "urban experience" (2014-2017).



Fig. 22 - Map of the "gold" edition (2016). From: www.luccacomicsandgames.com.

Despite the aim of the organizers to reduce the temporary structures in favour of the use of permanent locations (Lucca Crea 2016, 24), the pavilions still host the largest part of the activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> The data from 2017 confirmed a positive result with 243.332 paying visitors, even if the record number registered in 2016 with the "Golden" edition was not exceeded (<a href="http://www.luccaindiretta.it/primo-piano/item/105756-lucca-comics-and-games-2017-stuma-il-record-venduti-oltre-243mila-biglietti-raffica-di-auto-multate-e-sequestri-anche-per-la-chiusura-del-festival.html. accessed on Iuly 26<sup>th</sup> 2018).

per-la-chiusura-del-festival.html, accessed on July 26<sup>th</sup> 2018).

139 "Lucca Comics & Games 2016. 271mila biglietti venduti in cinque giorni per oltre 500mila visitatori: è la Lucca Comics & Games dei record", retrieved from: www.luccacomicsandgames.com/it/2016/press/ accessed on May 9<sup>th</sup> 2018. In 2015 the ticketed visitors were 267.277, among which 218.409 paying (LC&G 2015); in 2014, 266.545 (LC&G 2014), among which 227.093 paying; in 2013, 217.646 (LC&G 2013). The sudden increase in the numbers during the 2014 edition led the organization to establish a limit of 80.000 tickets to be sold for each day.

These temporary structures present diverse dimensional and spatial features: from large pavilions to small tents, or branded pavilions.

The so-called "Padiglione Carducci" (Fig. 23), is described as the biggest in Italy<sup>140</sup>; it is located on the meadow along the south-western side of the walls, and hosts the largest part of the Games area (9.000 m<sup>2</sup>). The realization of this pavilion represents the longest phase of the mounting and dismantling works, since it requires the protection of the existing soil and the formation of a sustaining layer of compact gravel.



Fig. 23 - Padiglione Carducci under construction (LC&G 2015, photo by the author).

Other pavilions are scattered over the main squares or aligned in series of small tents, like the ones along the promenade over the city walls (Fig. 24), which in the last years were extended from one to three traits of the circuit.



Fig. 24 - Series of aligned small pavilions along the city walls (LC&G 2015, photo by the author).

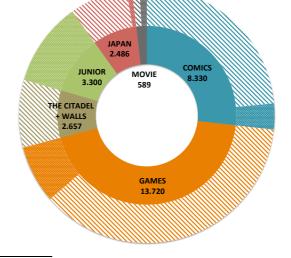
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Press release "Lucca Comics & Games: con l'inaugurazione delle mostre si apre l'edizione "GOLD" che celebra il cinquantenario", October 13<sup>th</sup> 2016. (<a href="https://www.comune.lucca.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/16309">www.comune.lucca.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/16309</a>, accessed on Mat 13<sup>th</sup> 2018).

If we compare the thematic areas in terms of surfaces, the Games' section is the more extended, followed by the Comics one. Both these sections are mainly hosted within temporary pavilions. Small and scattered pavilions characterize the so-called Citadel and the Walls, areas mostly dedicated to LARP (Live Action Role-Playing), fantasy and historic re-enactments. Many role-playing activities take place within the bulwarks, taking advantage of these unique locations.

The Junior area is entirely hosted within the Real Collegio Building, offering a more intimate and protected space to the children activities. From 2014, the relocation of the Japan section determined a significant extension of the event's area and the inclusion of the north-eastern part of the city. The so called "Japan Town" is currently distributed around the former San Francesco cloister and Giardino degli Osservanti, while the previous location - the "Japan Palace" - was concentrated within the building of Real Collegio in the northern part of the city centre, now hosting the Junior area. The relocation of the Japan section from the "Palace" to the "Town" was only possible because of a general urban reconfiguration of the same area, which was previously in large parts dismissed 141.

The Movie area is the less extended in terms of surface, and equally distributed in temporary and permanent locations.

Fig. 25: diagram showing the surfaces covered by each thematic section, during the edition 2016. The striped slices in the diagram represent the temporary structures, while the dotted ones indicate the areas hosted within existing buildings or permanent structures. (Graphic by the author, data source: Lucca Crea Srl P046)25: diagram showing the surfaces covered by each thematic section.



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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Japan Town is partially hosted within the former cloister of San Francesco, refurbished in 2013 and now hosting the IMT School Campus; partially in Giardino degli Osservanti, refurbished between 2001 and 2006.

Monographic pavilions are also dedicated to the main sponsors and exhibitors; this format, often adopted within the Movies section, is receiving a growing success from various commercial partners, especially from the videogames industry. These partners are progressively changing their exhibiting mode, evolving from "standard" spaces within multi-exhibitors pavilions, into "branded" monographic and experiential environments. In 2016, a series of pavilions dedicated to monographic partners from the videogames industry stretched along the east-west direction in the city centre, inaugurating a so-called "Videogames decumanus" (Lucca Crea 2016). The use of topographic references referring to the ancient roman structure of Lucca centre provides an interesting example of city staging itself through the event (Ernwein & Matthey, 2018). If the slowpaced construction of the city led to the creation of a consistent and stable "urban image", the new event-based identity represents an exercise of "re-foundation", where diverse and heterogeneous elements converge (Chaudoir 2007).



Fig. 26 - LC&G 2016, Map of the monographic areas and "Videogames decumanus" (Source: Lucca Crea 2016, 24, reworked by the author).

The evolution from multi-exhibitors pavilions towards monographic sections also involves the progressive establishment of visual references between some selected locations in the city and the brands that are cyclically staged in those sites. As an example, the Warner Bros company is hosted since 2013 in San Michele square, and Piazza

Anfiteatro is usually colonized by a single monographic pavilion dedicated to blockbuster movies, such as Star Wars or Fox productions.



Fig. 27 - Crowd towards some attractions of the area Movies: Warner Bros pavilion and Loggiato Pretorio (Photo by the author, 2015).



Fig. 28 - Piazza Anfiteatro before and during the event (Photo by the author, 2015).

Outside the sections that are subject to a ticket, the city offers a multiplicity of free events and exhibitions; a research conducted on the tourism impact of the event proved that many visitors are attracted by the event's "atmosphere" and nearly a half of them find a specific interest in Lucca as a location (Tonga Uriarte et al. 2018a). A large majority of the visitors takes part in the "ritual" of cosplay (see Chapter 4), performing comics and *anime* characters or taking pictures at other performers.

The physical space of the city becomes an active object of visual interactions and in some cases even a "space of the comics". As an example, during LC&G 2012 the videogames company Ubisoft reenacted a fictional a battle set from the videogame Assassin's Creed under the North side of the historic city walls. The area named "The Citadel" also hosts Live Action Role-Playing experiences in the bulwarks and along the walls, sometimes in partnership with other Lucchese associations, such as the traditional crossbow society<sup>142</sup>.

In this sense, the case of Lucca manifests a peculiar kind of 'festivalisation' (Richards & Palmer 2010, 27), if confronted with other events taking place in exhibition centres: while the city landscape is temporarily transformed into a space dominated by a specific cultural consumption pattern, its permanent features – such as the walls – also stimulate the visitors' haptic imagination by producing inspiring atmospheres (Göbel 2015, 10).

Independent events also represent an increasing element of attraction beside the "official" organization. As an example, the collective "Produzioni Sotterranee" organises the independent BORDA!Fest. In 2014 this "counter-event" occupied a dismissed building in the city centre and then, after an intervention from the police, a former market outside the walls. In 2015, the festival moved back inside the walls, re-using the dismissed central market. From 2016, after some negotiation with the municipality, BORDA!Fest took place inside the bulwark of San Martino, on the northern part of the city, and hosted more than a hundred independent exhibitors in  $2017^{143}$ 

If we look at the planned use of events as "strategies" for the government of the city this spontaneous counter-event pertains to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> In 2015, a public procedure conducted by Opera delle Mura assigned the concession of the former military spaces called Casermette to new users; in 2016, some among the Casermette hosted LC&G events.

143 Data available at https://bordafest.noblogs.org/about/ (accessed on May 9th 2018).

opposed field of "tactics" (see Chapter 1). Following the dialectical interpretation proposed by Michel de Certeau's (1980), tactics are actions aiming at generating ground for freedom in opposition to the strategic mobilization of resources towards a "private" aim. Since the use of public spaces as event venues involves "privatization" dynamics (Smith 2016), this field of "affective and embodied struggles" (Ernwein & Matthey 2018) is always part of the event's relation with its context and as such, it fosters the emergence of "counter-tactics" at multiple levels.

Even if in the case of LC&G the organizer is a publicly owned company operating within the municipality services, during the event diverse levels of restrictions are applied to spaces that are usually freely accessible. Many schools are usually closed<sup>144</sup> and the city centre is forbidden to cars and bicycles from 10 am to 7 pm, thus impacting on the daily schedule of the inhabitants' routines 145. During the last editions some of the pathways leading to the city centre were restricted to the ticketed visitors and security controls were operated at the entrances across the walls. Given the peculiar structure of the city and the narrow corridors leading through the walls, these restrictions are motivated by security measures; at the same time, they contribute in defining the whole city as a "festivalized" space by introducing a limitation to other potential uses.

The process that led to the transformation of a small and specialised gathering into an "urban phenomenon" is resumed in the following space-time map.

In the first phase (#1: 1966-1971) the Salone is a "niche" but emergent event with an "exploratory" character, which takes place in some permanent locations situated in the historic centre. We qualified this phase as "pioneering".

In the second phase (#2: 1972-1982), the event exploded in the city thanks to the temporary structures that were erected with a deliberate promoting and "astonishing" purpose. We defined this phase a "first colonisation" of the city centre. The colonisation proceeded until reaching a limit in terms of organisational and spatial constraints. In this "decoupling" phase (#3: 1984-1986), the event was split in two

 $<sup>^{144}</sup>$  The municipality usually orders the closure of the schools that are located on the main ways of access to the city centre during the days of the event. This is always scheduled to include one weekend and the public holiday on November  $1^{\rm st}$ , then the extraordinary school closure usually is limited to 2 or 3 days.

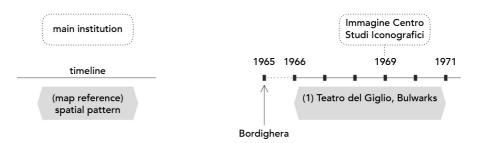
145 http://www.comune.lucca.it/LCeGH2017\_provvedimenti\_logistica (accessed on May

<sup>9&</sup>lt;sup>th</sup> 2018).

parts and started to colonise the area outside the city walls. As a consequence of this separation, the event went through a phase of "institutionalisation" (#4: 1990-1992), with the creation of Ente Garnier and the involvement of multiple institutions in the city centre. This process enhanced some latent tensions within the organisation and in the nature of the event, which was situated between a cultural-artistic festival and a commercial fair. After the "divorce" from the original creators of the project and the withdrawal of Immagine Centro Studi from Ente Garnier, the event went through a phase of "crisis and reorganisation" (#5: 1993-2005). With the "return" phase towards the city centre and the organizational restructuring that followed (#6: 2006-2013), the event started to expand across a significant part of the city centre. The booming of the festival in the city corresponded to a worlding growing interest in the field of comics and games, under the growing influence of Japanese culture. From 2014, with the expansion to the north-east area of the centre, LC&G reached its current dimension and inaugurated a phase of "urban experience" (#7: 2014-2017).

# Lucca and the comics: a space-time mapping

Changes in the name of the event, in the organizing institution, in the location and spatial pattern.



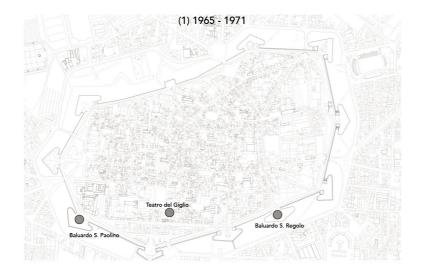
### Names of the event:

#### ■ Salone

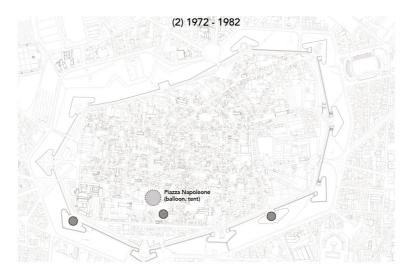
from 1965: Salone Internazionale dei Comics from 1972: Salone Internazionale dei Comics e del Cinema di Animazione from 1980: Salone Internazionale dei Comics,

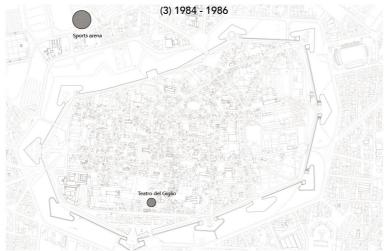
del Film di Animazione e dell'Illustrazione

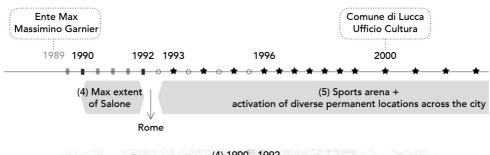
- Lucca Incontri or similar events
- o Mostra Mercato
- ★ Lucca Comics from 1996: Lucca Comics & Games

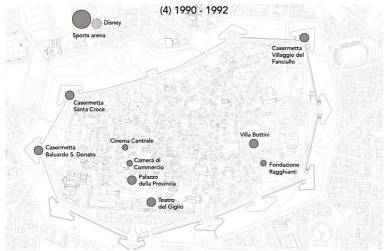


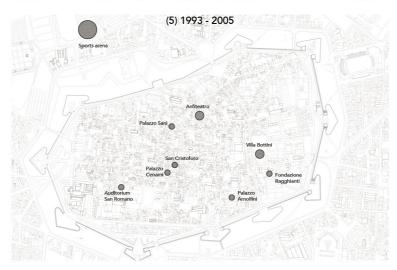


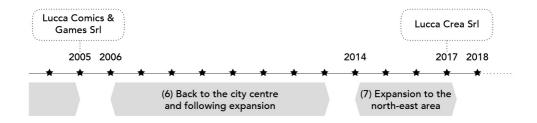


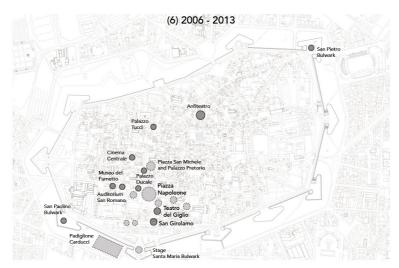


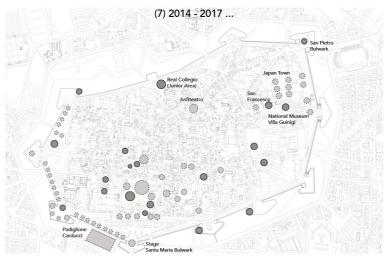












## Relations between the festivalized city and its stable landscape: spaces of permanence and heritage preservation.

The cyclical recurrence of LC&G operates the transformation of the urban landscape into a "festivalized space"; by producing new spatial references and traces of diverse duration, it becomes an element of the long-term history of the city development (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005). Even if temporary, its yearly recurrence generates multiple connections that rooted in the past, involving a strong relation with the urban built heritage, but are necessarily directed towards the future, influencing visions and projects over the city. In this sense, the three levels of temporality analysed in Chapter 2 (short-term, longterm, cyclical interactions) are clearly represented in this case.

The necessity to create a permanent institution that could extend across the whole year the positive effects of the event had been expressed from the years of the Salone Internazionale del Fumetto. If the Festival International de la Bande Dessinée led to the localization in Angoulême of the French comics centre and to the birth of a related cluster of permanent cultural and economic institutions 146, the case of Lucca registered a delay in this sense. While the event knew a successful and continuous growth in the last decade, transforming the city-centre in a protagonist setting, the desired process of "perpetuation" of its presence didn't achieve relevant results.

In 2016, during the celebrations for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the comics' presence in Lucca, Immagine Centro Studi donated to the municipality the archives, the documents and the rights related to the prizes (such as Yellow Kid, the "Oscar" of Comics), with the aim of preserving and developing this heritage in a dedicated museum<sup>147</sup>.

The project for a Museo del Fumetto (MUF) in Lucca was firstly presented in 2002, with the hypothesis of localizing it in the Cultural Centre Agorà, a former cloister in the history centre that currently hosts a civic library. The need for larger spaces moved the location towards Caserma Lorenzini, a former military building in a central location

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Thanks to the success of the Festival, in 1983 Angoulême was chosen by the French government to host the Centre National de la Bande Dessinée et de l'Image (CNBDI). An

developed around the Centre, together with other structures diffused in the city. (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005).

147 Presentation of Lucca Comics & Games 2016 "Gold. Lucca celebra i 50 anni di matrimonio fra la città e i Comics". Retrieved from: https://www.luccacomicsandgames.com/fileadmin/documents/16.07.21. LC G Presentazione edizione 2016.pdf, accessed on April 30th 2018.

close to Piazza Napoleone, where MUF opened in 2008. The project never really took off and in 2014 the municipality closed the museum, announcing the plan to integrate its management in the tasks of LC&G srl.

In fact, the publicly owned company was undergoing other restructurings: in 2015 it incorporated Lucca Fiere Srl, in charge of managing the city's convention centre<sup>148</sup>, and in February 2017 the whole company was transformed into Lucca Crea srl<sup>149</sup>. This new structure aimed at a wider mission: keeping LC&G as branding and "core business", Lucca Crea is expected to organise other cultural and creative events and to manage stable structures, such as the convention centre and the Museo del Fumetto. Nowadays the museum is still closed to the public, in the expectation of renovation works.

Other Italian cities in the meanwhile opened permanent exhibitions dedicated to comics, like WOW Spazio fumetto Milano, inaugurated in 2011, or Museo del Fumetto in Cosenza. In order to answer to the challenges launched by these similar initiatives, Comune di Lucca and Lucca Crea srl are currently restructuring the museum's project: "Lucca Expo Comics Museum" is now conceived as a "hub", a library/museum/cultural centre not simply open but "active throughout the year"<sup>150</sup>. The vision is very challenging since it includes the complete refurbishment of the former museum's seat and the extension of its spaces, to include some outdoor areas and an artists' residence. On the other hand, the project is now backed by the availability of funding from the Ministry - not disposed before - to integrate the Comune's budget, and by the return in Lucca of the Salone's archives. These two circumstances will support the museum's project with two fundamental elements: an institutional recognition at a national level and a consistent cultural identity based on the event's heritage. The presence of a single public institution governing both the temporary and the stable projects will help in preventing the competition for funding and visibility; in the case of Angoulême, the contraposition between the local private management of the festival

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Lucca Fiere Srl, another public initiative under Lucca Holding, was in charge of managing the convention centre close to the city centre, with a surface of around 7000 m².
149 "Lucca Crea – Oggetto sociale", retrieved from: www.luccacrea.it/lasocieta/oggetto-sociale accessed on June 17th 2017. Crea is the acronym of Cultura Relazione Eventi e Avvenimenti (Culture Relations Events and Happenings) but also a form of the verb "to create", in order to communicate the mission of a proactive city, avoiding any particular reference to a single event or task (Lucca Crea 2016, 13).
<sup>150</sup> The cost of the whole project, including the building refurbishment, is estimated over

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> The cost of the whole project, including the building refurbishment, is estimated over 7 millions euro. (press release Comune di Lucca e Lucca Crea srl "Dal MuF al Lucca Expo Comics Museum. Il nuovo viaggio verso un centro museale e creativo aperto tutto l'anno", retrieved from <a href="https://www.luccacrea.it">www.luccacrea.it</a>, accessed on May 9th 2018).

and the national control over the museum generated in many cases problematic tensions<sup>151</sup>.

In the case of Lucca, the success of recently introduced side-events such as the collectors' fair Collezionando<sup>152</sup>, at its third edition, can be considered as a positive result of the organizational merging of multiple associations within Lucca Crea srl. On the other hand the wished "perennisation" process (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005) is still latent: except from during the festival days, it is difficult to identify Lucca as a "city of the comics". Beside the museum's project, a "Walk of fame" is also under construction; every year the organizers of LC&G collect the handprints of the most famous authors or performers, in order to pave with these special tiles a section of the walls' promenade, which will be named "Via dei Comics"<sup>153</sup>.

All these initiatives will necessarily have effects on the city image, on its associated values and on the future cultural and urban policies. The festival's impact on the urban context invests material elements but also symbolic ones: relations between communities, artistic values associated with cultural and creative industries, city branding, but also a shift in the values attributed to urban heritage (Moeran & Pedersen 2011).

If festivals become in many cases mere instruments for generating economic value, to the point that the event's theme is often almost irrelevant (Richards & Palmer 2010, 29), the case of Lucca presents some exceptional features. On the one side, the distinctive urban setting became from the very beginning an active source of inspiration for the event, in term of image production and social interaction. The idea that staging a comics-related event in a historic and human-scaled setting would have taken advantage from the intimate and concentrated atmosphere of the city became a frequent pattern also for other similar initiatives. This is particularly interesting since the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Stefanelli M., "Lucca versus Angoulême", in "Fumettologicamente!" online resource available at <a href="https://fumettologicamente.wordpress.com/2013/03/19/lucca-versus-angouleme-2/">https://fumettologicamente.wordpress.com/2013/03/19/lucca-versus-angouleme-2/</a>, accessed on May 15<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>152</sup> Collezionando is a 2-days yearly event organized in Lucca's convention centre by

Lucca Crea srl and ANAFI (Associazione Nazionale Amici del Fumetto e dell'Illustrazione). (http://www.luccacollezionando.com/, accessed on May 14<sup>th</sup> 2018)

153 Press release for Lucca Comics & Games 2016 "Gold. Lucca celebra i 50 anni di

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Press release for Lucca Comics & Games 2016 "Gold. Lucca celebra i 50 anni di matrimonio fra la città e i Comics" (retrieved from https://www.luccacomicsandgames.com/fileadmin/documents/16.07.21.\_LC\_G\_\_Pres entazione\_edizione\_2016.pdf, accessed on May 14<sup>th</sup> 2018).

location of the Salone dei Comics in Lucca was unplanned at the origins; it was rather the result of a fortunate encounter among different actors and demands.

The role of Lucca as "trend-setter" was already analysed in relation to other "Salons", like the ones in Angoulême or Erlangen (chapter 4). But even in the present days, among the numerous comic conventions that are emerging in the Italian panorama, we find recurrent references to the historic value of the location as a positive contribution to the event. Among the examples, "Volterra Mistery & Fantasy" announces: "photographers and cosplayers coming from all Italy meet in our beautiful city, in order to capture pictures of their costumes staged in a unique environment, surrounded by an antique and picturesque charm as only the city of Volterra can provide"154. Mantova is also described as "the ideal city for a comics' fair. It's located between Lombardia and Emilia Romagna, it's a city full of artistic heritage and it also hosts the literature festival"155. The value of the "urban dimension" in improving the event's experience is stated also by Padova Be Comics: "the thematic areas will be located in different palaces or temporary structures across the historic centre, to bring about an "urban" dimension"156.

These statements describe a specific attention given by the organizers to the historical and urban value of the location, which is not necessarily an attribute of the "comics in space". On the contrary, in chapter 4 we examined cases from the Japanese and American tradition, in which the relation between the comics related gathering and the hosting location is indifferent or introverted.

In the case of Lucca, the event is "unbounded" since the whole context undergoes a transformation that touches its image but also its 'everyday life'. A broad participation from the citizenship manifests itself in the display of public and private spaces, and the attendees are involved in a socio-material interaction with the city even outside the official event's area (see also chapter 6).

In this context, the protection of built heritage becomes a critical issue: the lack of a national preservation policy in the context of temporary events calls for an integrated approach from governing institutions at multiple levels.

<sup>156</sup> Padova Be Comics, <u>www.becomics.it</u> (accessed on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2017, translation by the author).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Source: <a href="https://www.misteryefantasy.it/">www.misteryefantasy.it/</a> (accessed on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2017, translation by the author)

155 Source: Mantova Comics and Games (http://mantovacomics.it, accessed on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2017, translation by the author).

Given the historical and architectural uniqueness of Lucca's centre, the local government, in collaboration with the Province of Lucca, the Region Tuscany and the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities submitted the area to the UNESCO's tentative list for a potential nomination as World Heritage<sup>157</sup> site. The main motivations for Lucca's centre to be listed are the exhibiting of an important interchange of human values or developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design (criteria ii) and its being an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape illustrating significant stages in human history (criteria iv). From 2006, after this brief submission for the tentative list, the complete dossier for the nomination was never finalized; according to the director of the UNESCO Club in Lucca, a stronger collaboration among the governing bodies at multiple levels would be necessary, together with the participation of cultural institutions 158. In this sense, temporary events such as LC&G or Summer Festival wouldn't be considered as threats but as positive contributions in defining Lucca a "creative city" 159.

This approach follows a general tendency, shared by UNESCO, towards the increasing recognition and legitimization of the use of Heritage sites as events' locations. The very definition of 'Cultural Heritage' has considerably changed in the recent decades. According to UNESCO, "Intangible Cultural Heritage" involves an inclusive, representative and community-based approach to cultural heritage, which is conceived as "traditional, contemporary and living at the same time<sup>160</sup>" (see chapter 3).

At a local level, preservation restrictions are more focused on the material aspects related to the architectural definition of the urban spaces. The entire area bounded by the walls falls under two different laws, which are resumed in the regional landscape and territorial plan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> The Tentative List is the inventory of those properties, situated on its territory, which each UNESCO's State Party considers suitable for inclusion on the World Heritage List,

each UNESCO's State Party considers suitable for inclusion on the World Heritage List, according to the criteria of cultural or natural Outstanding Universal Value. Source: <a href="http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/340/">http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/340/</a> (accessed on February 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). 158 "Club Unesco: Nessuna candidatura per le Mura di Lucca", July 10<sup>th</sup> 2017 (<a href="http://www.luccaindiretta.it/cultura-e-spettacoli/item/97922-club-unesco-nessuna-candidatura-per-le-mura-di-lucca.html">http://www.luccaindiretta.it/cultura-e-spettacoli/item/97922-club-unesco-nessuna-candidatura-per-le-mura-di-lucca.html</a>, accessed on May 9<sup>th</sup> 2018). 159 In December 2015 Club UNESCO Lucca participated in the World Forum on Creative Cities in Hamamatsu (Japan), presenting the local festivals among its main cultural activities (http://www.clubunescolucca.it/cultura/accessed on May 9<sup>th</sup> 2018). 160 UNESCO: "White in Latencible Cultura/accessed on Participal Content of the Participal Content of the World Participal Content of t

<sup>160</sup> UNESCO, "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" Retrieved from: www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003, accessed on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2017.

(Piano di Indirizzo Territoriale<sup>161</sup>). These laws define Lucca's city centre as an environmental asset at different scales. One takes into account the city as an independent urban and architectural assemblage<sup>162</sup>. The second law addresses its territorial system, expressed by the historical continuity and the homogenous organization of human activities within a natural landscape of monumental relevance<sup>163</sup> (fortified villages, historic routes, religious artefacts, villas and rural courtyard houses). In this sense, not only the urban fabric, but also the visual axes reconnecting the city centre to its surroundings, the walls and the related green infrastructures are considered as key elements to be preserved; the increasing traffic, the recent commercial and productive infill in the immediate outskirts, but also advertising signs and banners are considered risk-elements to be limited.

With respect to these restrictions, events such as LC&G bring to the light the underrepresentation of the temporal dimension in the current preservation policies, being these focused on irreversible transformations. On the contrary, the case of LC&G demonstrates how even ephemeral transformations have the power to stimulate durable changes in the urban landscape.

Event legacy is often understood as a "discursive device" feeding much policy work on the residual long-term effect of staging a transient event (Smith 2016, 127). "Intangible legacies" are often emphasized in order to support the event's legitimization with the vision of the possible social and economic positive effects; "tangible legacies" are often considered detrimental for the protection of the environmental integrity of the site, especially if its heritage value is universally recognized.

Since 2013, LC&G edits a "Bilancio Sociale e di Sostenibilità" (Corporate social responsibility and sustainability report), which describes the strategies aiming at limiting the event's environmental impact on the territory. The main issues are represented by mobility and waste collection; in planning these activities, the coordination with other municipal offices are facilitated by the presence of a single organizational structure, namely Lucca Crea. Nowadays this public

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> The Regional Council approved the plan on March 27<sup>th</sup> 2015 as the main instrument for landscape preservation at a territorial level (<a href="http://www.regione.toscana.it/-/piano-di-indirizzo-territoriale-con-valenza-di-piano-paesaggistico">http://www.regione.toscana.it/-/piano-di-indirizzo-territoriale-con-valenza-di-piano-paesaggistico</a>, accessed on February 15<sup>th</sup> 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> D.M. 20/05/1957 G.U. 141 del 1957

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> D.M. 17/07/1985 G.U. 190 del 1985

institution is entirely self-sustained<sup>164</sup> and contributes in public services for the city by repaying the necessary infrastructural charges related to the event, such as the ones for waste collection or the taxes for the use of public areas.

The need to concentrate the logistic procedures within a specific "public office for temporary activities" was reported also by other researches analysing the sustainability of events in small city centres (ZEN 2014): the establishment of Lucca Crea Srl can be considered a fundamental step in this direction operated by the municipality of Lucca and can be recognized as a public governance success story (Tonga Uriarte et al. 2018a). At the same time, the management of permanent structures such as Polo Fiere and the future museum represents a challenge for an event-based institution: the creation on new events is conceived as a necessary resource in order to cover the costs of these permanent structures (Lucca Crea 2016, 16).

Furthermore, this organizational structure is challenged by side-activities, based on private initiatives that operate outside the areas dedicated to the event. The "urban" quality of LC&G invests sociomaterial interactions that fall outside the control of the organizing institution but, at the same time, contribute in supporting the event's success.

Among these interactions, the following chapter will investigate some particular practices involving the local commercial activities.

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Lucca Crea, "Bilancio di esercizio al 31/12/2016", retrieved from <a href="https://www.luccacrea.it/fileadmin/documents/bilanci/bilancio-e-nota-integrativa-2016.pdf">https://www.luccacrea.it/fileadmin/documents/bilanci/bilancio-e-nota-integrativa-2016.pdf</a>, accessed on May 14<sup>th</sup> 2018.

## Chapter 6

# Lucca Comics & Games: socio-material interactions in the practice of the temporary shops <sup>165</sup>

### Space, artefacts and social processes

The present chapter is structured as an "embedded case" within the study on the space-based interactions between the event of LC&G and the city landscape of Lucca. More precisely, the analysis focuses of an emergent independent practice situated outside the official event's area but in close proximity to it. As a response to the temporary "overcrowding" of the city centre, to the transformations in the accesses and in the logistic services, some shops stop their activity during the festival; others display a transformation in the commercial spaces, in the show windows, in the personnel and in the products to be sold. Many of them enact a commercial "tactic" that is currently receiving an increasing interest from the local media and the municipality, for its disruptive potential with respect to the event's organizational setting: the practice of the temporary shops.

We will start from the analysis of material based interactions in the context of this practice, following a socio-material perspective that represents an increasingly diffused approach across diverse disciplines, as outlined in Chapter 1. Not only visual artefacts but also material products are able to trigger a range of cognitive and emotional responses, thus conditioning the establishment and development of social relations. According to this perspective, material or visual objects are able to influence communication activities, community building and innovation (Boxenbaum et al. 2018, Leonardi et al. 2012).

The case of Lucca Comics & Games provides multiple empirical examples of material and sociomaterial interactions, affecting diverse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> The research presented in this chapter was the object of the paper "Spatial and sociomaterial interaction between an organized event and related informal practices: the case of temporary shops at Lucca Comics & Games", coauthored with Yeşim Tonga Uriarte and Maria Luisa Catoni, and discussed during the EGOS Colloquium 2017 in Copenhagen.

actors and organizing practices. These interconnections operate according to a multi-layered time-space pattern, as described in Chapter 2: short-term, long-term and cyclical dynamics are intertwined in linking together human actors, physical spaces, material artefacts and technologies.

At the short-term level of interaction, LC&G represents a moment of temporary proximity (see Chapter 1) for all the organizers and participants: as such, it involves last-minute or improvised strategies in order to cope with unavoidable and unpredictable factors, like changes in the weather or unforeseen fluctuations in the number of visitors<sup>166</sup>.

The level of long-term interactions involves the relations between the event and the development of the urban landscape, in terms of policies but also of material artefacts: in this case, the main areas of influence are the preservation of the urban image and heritage and the regulations on the commercial activities, as we will discuss in the present chapter. Also, the inhabitants' perception of the event and their participation in it generates long-term effects on the everyday life and activities in the city.

Lastly, the cyclical recurrence of the event stimulates the yearly improvement of the organizing structures from the side of the institutional authorities, but also the development of private "unofficial" initiatives related to it. Every edition leads to the creation or disruption of personal and professional connections among the event's participants: these inter-organizational ties between practitioners are dormant for the largest part of the year and can be described as "latent networks" (Sydow & Staber 2002; Maskell et al. 2004), routinely activated in order to accomplish a specific project related to the event.

Urban landscapes can be considered as sets of artefacts and technologies developed during long-term interactions of human and non-human actors, such as natural elements, physical constraints and processes of decay. Upon this materially heterogeneous landscape, the event brings a temporary overlap of a different set of spaces and objects, which are able to stimulate or hinder specific actions and lead to new spatial and organizational relations.

In particular, since the "return" of LC&G to the city centre (see Chapter 5), the whole city undergoes a temporary transformation that touches

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(LC&G 2015, 19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> As an example, the 2014 edition registered a boost in the number of visitors that challenged the planned accessibility to the site. Since 2015, a limit of 80.000 tickets per day was introduced. This measure determined a slight reduction in the number of tickets sold in 2015 but also a significant redistribution of the visits over the 4 opening days

its image but also its 'everyday life'. In this case, the spatial boundedness (Moeran & Pedersen 2011, 30) that typically characterizes fairs, tournament festivals or sport competitions can hardly be observed; on the contrary, the festival experience here involves the blurring of the boundaries between the temporary setting and the permanent cityscape. Also, a large majority of the citizens manifest their participation in the display of public and private spaces or in practices such as *cosplay*. In this sense, LC&G could also be described as an example of popular entertainment in which public performances take place: street bands<sup>167</sup>, flashmobs<sup>168</sup> and light shows in the evening, shop windows' settings and participants' costumes contribute to the creation of a carnivalesque atmosphere.

An "urban" event such as LC&G generates a social and economic impact not only for the directly involved partners, but also for the whole city. Among the activities, the commercial ones are significantly involved. In fact, shopping represents a main focus of interest for the event's attendees. If more than 60% of the ticketed visitors indicate the availability of commercial products among the most interesting aspects of LC&G (Tonga Uriarte at al. 2018a), a half of these visitors is also interested in activities taking place outside the official event's area.

In this context, temporary shops represent a particular commercial practice and a related organizational network, which originated as a side effect of LC&G's presence in the city. This 'informal' practice (Sassen 1994) operates on the borders of the organized event: the shops colonize existing commercial premises that are not part of the festival area. They appear as unofficial 'neighbours', which operate independently from the event's organization. At the same time, by interacting with the same audience, they influence the activities of the commercial partners inside and outside LC&G's pavilions. Given their spatial proximity, they constitute an interface between the stable uses in the city and the temporary event. For this reason, we will investigate the effects of this practice on the urban social and physical space, at multiple scales and timeframes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> As an example, during the event the traditional street band Corpo Musicale "G. Puccini" – Gruppo Folkloristico "La Castellana" performs along the city centre disguised as Walt Disney's Beagle Boys, playing on the double meaning of the Italian word "banda", indicating both a group of musicians and a gang.

<sup>&</sup>quot;banda", indicating both a group of musicians and a gang.

168 Cosplay and Steampunk groups or games production companies usually organize flashmobs, parades and live games along the streets of the city centre.

### Temporary retail models: a growing trend

Starting from 2013, among the multiple side-initiatives occurring during LC&G, a new phenomenon appeared: new shops opened during the event, in spaces usually inhabited by other commercial activities. These transitory activities received an increasing interest from the local press and from the municipal authorities. Even if they are locally defined as "temporary shops", it is useful to highlight some differences with respect to a more general understanding of the same term.

Being this retail model relatively recent, particularly in Italy, the research on it is currently emerging.

Together with other marketing tools as flagship stores, concept stores and pop-up stores, temporary shops mainly represent showcases for branded experiences: the term generally describes a single brand store opened for a limited timespan, designed to disappear or convert into something else (Zarantonello, 2009). These shops are often present in the context of highly representative locations or large-scale events.

Some scholars (Russo Spena et al. 2012; Pomodoro 2013) analysed a sample of single brand temporary shops in Italy, to investigate their role in co-creation of value for the firm. In these cases the shops are considered as innovative retailing patterns, able to foster multi-sensory experiences for consumers. Their very specific and 'intensified' spacetime setting aims at the co-optation of clients (Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2000) in order to co-create a set of brand-related values. In all these cases, the temporary stores are the result of complex marketing competences and skills, aiming at the promotion of commercial values related to one or more specific products and strongly evoking the brand in every aspect of their physical and communicative setting (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). In the temporary or pop-up store the two goals of improve the brand's communication and increase the selling find a sort of synthesis (Surchi 2011, 260). The store is conceived "not as a shop, but first of all as an event" (Pomodoro 2013, 344). According to some scholars, the main aim in this case is to produce demand rather than generate revenue (Ryu, 2011).

Other temporary shops emerged as a Foreign Operation Mode (FOM), starting from some pioneering experiences of 'guerrilla-stores' in 2004 (Picot-Coupey 2014). These "anti-concept concept stores" (Fortini

 $<sup>^{169}</sup>$  A first example is considered to be the opening of a store from the Japanese brand 'Comme des Garcons' in an empty former shop in  $^{\rm Berlin,\,in\,2004.}$ 

2004) are usually installed in raw urban spaces, sell merchandise drawn from current and past collections; these shops usually close after one year. This strategy of "guerrilla retailing" allows companies to explore new markets at low renting and advertising costs and to reduce inventory by recycling old merchandise. In this case, there is little intervention on the interior design of the existing space, which is chosen precisely because of its raw, 'atmospheric' and quasi-theatrical qualities.

Empirical evidences confirm the growing trend towards temporary commercial formats, responding to diverse market strategies. Since 2008, the Italian association Assotemporary 170 operates within the Chamber of Commerce (Confcommercio) in Milan to develop and transmit to its members a specific know how on technical and legislative issues related to temporary retail activities; it promotes contacts among the firms and suitable locations for the shops. Despite these evidences, currently there is no specific regulation in Italy to govern temporary shops at a national level. These alternative retail forms are controlled locally through the existing regulations on commercial activities. Therefore, differences from town to town are likely to occur; given the intrinsic mobility of this phenomenon, this appears to be a first problematic element, which is proven by the existence of the above-mentioned association and private mediators. These professional figures supply to the lack of specific knowledge and to fill the interpretative gap between worldwide operating firms and local regulations.

The analysis of the phenomenon of temporary shops in Lucca manifests some peculiarities and some point of connection with respect to these general features.

## Temporary shops during Lucca Comics & Games

During the 1990s, as a result of a deliberate aim to improve the city's participation in the Comics and Games event, private commercial spaces were also involved in public exhibitions. As an example, in 1998 around 120 shops in the city participated in a diffused exhibition

<sup>170</sup> www.assotemporary.it (accessed on June 12th 2018)

related to the Italian comic series "Tex"; the shop windows exhibited around 400 original panels illustrated by various authors<sup>171</sup>.

This participation was deliberately planned and supported by the organizers, with the aim to transform the success of the event into a positive commercial and economic result for the whole town.

Food-related experiences also represented a field of interaction between the event and the long-term activities in the city. From the early phases of the Salone, these emblematic examples of social and spatial interaction, based on the exchange of material products, evolved into more structured initiatives. Public food tasting started to be implemented from 1998, involving local restaurants in the promotion of traditional products (Bono & Gaspa 2006, 221). A radical shift in this trend appeared during the 2000s: the diffusion of *anime* and *manga* and the respective enlargement of the Japanese section in LC&G supported the diffusion of Japanese food tasting as part of the event experience. Since 2009, the Japan Palace area of LC&G (then grown into the Japan Town) hosted a section called ManGiappone<sup>172</sup>. Given the success of the initiative, many other shops in Lucca started to sell Japanese street food during the event (direct observation conducted in 2015 and 2016).

The introduction of new products, even if for a limited time during the year, overlaps to the local cultural habits: as an example, Japanese cup noodles are present during the event in many shops within the city centre, showing "ramen" banners and flags (Fig. 29).

 $<sup>^{171}</sup>$  "Boom di adesioni alla iniziativa collegata alla rassegna dei Comics Mostra di Tex in 120 negozi" Il Tirreno, October  $15^{\rm th}$  1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> The project's name plays with the Italian word "mangiare", meaning eating, and the Italian name of the Japanese country (Giappone), also hinting at the Manga genre.



Fig. 29 - Japanese street food in Lucca (temporary shops), during the LC&G edition 2015 (Photo by the author)

According to some shop owners, this practice resulted from an exclusive contract between the organizers and a main sponsor and the consequent prohibition for other retailers to sell cup noodles inside the official area of the event<sup>173</sup>. If during the 1990s the participation in the event of external private commercial initiatives was encouraged by the organizers, during the years this process encountered radical changes: after the growth of LC&G into a large scale event, private temporary initiative were often activated as a response to municipal or organizational restrictions, or negative results in the request for space inside the official area.

These changes in the local commercial activities represented a growing trend during the last editions of the event. From 2013, the local press and authorities highlighted the presence of numerous so-called "temporary shops" as a practice that started to attract a considerable number of visitors outside the official organization.

As described in Chapter 5, during LC&G the occurrence of nearly 500.000 attendees completely reshapes the material features of public spaces and the social relations taking place in a city centre usually populated by 90.000 inhabitants.

Because of the proximity to the event's spaces, private commercial premises are also involved in this transformation and enact diverse strategies. Some shops are closed during the festival duration; others

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 $<sup>^{173}\,\</sup>underline{\text{http://prontiallerese.blogspot.it/2014/10/lucca-ci-fa-gli-scherzetti.html}}$  (accessed on June  $20^{\text{th}}\,2017)$ 

are open and conduct their commercial activity like during the rest of the year; nonetheless, the majority of the shops display a transformation in the commercial spaces, in the show windows, in the personnel and in the products to be sold. These shops reshape the functions of public and private spaces outside the specific area of the festival. They contribute to redraw the image of the historic city centre and, because of that, they necessarily interact with the event even if they are totally independent from LC&G's organization. Furthermore, they challenge the restrictions applied by the municipality for the preservation of the historic 'setting', by showing banners, advertising materials or extending their space outside the shop window.

The direct observation conducted during the 2015 edition led to identify 5 kinds of situations, as shown in Fig. 30.

A few number of shops were closed (A), a category was less represented in the following year of observation, while other forms of temporary transformation had increased in number. Some of the shops operated a renewal in their shop-window (B), displaying objects related to the comics' culture or – in some cases – staging a thematic display. In 2015, it was possible to observe a few examples of shops that were hosting "temporary partners" within their spaces (C), while carrying on their usual commercial activities. The most frequent strategy among the "transformed" commercial premises is the complete substitution of the shop (D), with the temporary colonization of the space by a different activity. The analysis will focus on this category. Lastly, some new shops (E), especially operating in the food sector, opened in conjunction with the beginning of the event, to take advantage of the increased number of potential clients.

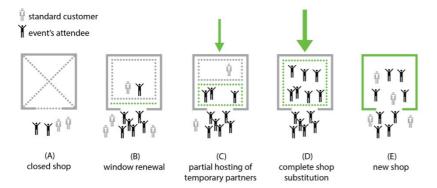


Fig. 30 - Scheme of the 5 identified shops' transformations in Lucca city centre (Graphic by the author)





Figs. 31, 32 - Examples of thematic windows' renewals: a light display inspired by Spiderman and a model inspired by the LC&G 2015 theme in a colour and hardware store (photos by the author, LC&G 2015).

In order to describe this emergent practice we qualitatively investigated the cause-effect relations that link the temporary phenomenon to the spatial and sociomaterial environment. In order to provide a "thick description" of the relations among diverse actors, organizing practices, spatial patterns and sociomaterial interactions, we took advantage of a mixed methodology (see Chapter 3). The direct observation campaigns in 2015 and 2016 were followed by semi-structured interviews and by the collection of more structured data by the means of a questionnaire, which was distributed in 2016 and filled in by a half of the 55 observed shops.

These data were crossed with the results of a query in the municipal archives (SUAP – Sportello Unico attività Produttive), thus matching qualitative observation with quantitative records.

According to the use, the shops were divided in two main categories: food and non-food. The 'food' category resumes both the shops selling ready meals and those including a cooking and preparation area. The 'non food' category includes mainly books and magazines, games and action figures but also services such as vehicle rentals.

## Development of spatial and social patterns

By plotting the shops' location on the basis of the event's maps from 2013 to 2016 (Fig. 33), it results a progressive expansion of the shops in the northeast direction, towards the most recent location of the Japanese *manga* and *anime* area. As discussed in Chapter 5, the relocation of the Japanese section from the "Palace" to the "Town" in

2014 represented a significant extension of the event's area towards the eastern part of the city. Starting from 2015, we registered a significant presence of temporary shops in this area, which was even reinforced in 2016.

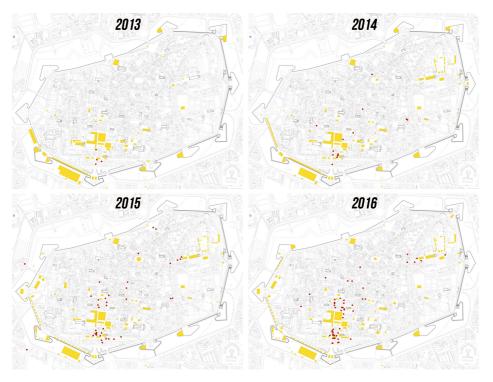


Fig. 33 - Extension of the temporary shops (red dots) in the years 2013-2016, confronted with the areas activated by the event in the city centre (graphic by the author).

It is interesting to notice that, while the relocation of the Japan town was only possible because of a general urban reconfiguration of the same area, also the commercial activities were involved in this change. By renting empty commercial premises to temporary shopkeepers, many owners gained immediate revenue from otherwise unused spaces, or tested new potential commercial activities.

In one case, an empty and unused shop was open as a public cloakroom (Figs. 34, 35): this improvised service allowed visitors and *cosplayers* to store their bags and clothes while experiencing the visit of the staged city.



Figs. 34, 35 - Empty commercial premise transformed in a public cloakroom and storage space for the visitors (2015). Detail of the instructions: "Cloakroom service,  $5 \in -$  The service allows you to store your items in a closed bag. We will not be responsible for any damage". (Photos by the author).

The number of directly observed shops doesn't always match the records from the municipal office. Therefore, despite the relevance of this information in providing an account of the shops' localization, we should acknowledge a limitation in representing the size of the phenomenon: if we consider the data collected in 2016, direct observation revealed the presence of 14 temporary shops that weren't recorded in the SUAP archive; 2 further observed temporary activities didn't need any authorization, since they operated within the terms of an existing long-term licence. We can estimate a total number of 71 temporary shops in 2016 (Table 3).

	a from 2016: number of temporary shops (TS) in the area within Lucca's levard and city walls
39	TS recorded both in SUAP's archives and by direct observation
16	TS recorded in SUAP's archives but not verified during the fieldwork*
14	TS directly observed but not recorded in SUAP's archives
2	TS directly observed and not needing the SUAP's authorization
71	Estimated total number of TS in 2016

Table 3 - Estimated number of temporary shops in the year 2016, as a result of the integration between the archival data and the directly observed shops.

<sup>\*</sup> Because of time constraints and, in some cases, because of the difficulties in distinguishing them from other "permanent" stores, some of the shops were not covered by the direct observation.

Year by year, some shops strengthened their organization by the means of 'informal' networks of contacts, allowing them to share the selling surfaces with other vendors or to rent more than one commercial premise.

In 2016, we registered the cases of one retailer, who had organised 5 different shops, selling similar products, within the city centre area, and 3 retailers who managed 3 stores each. In 2015, the maximum number of shops managed by a same vendor was 2, thus showing a growing organizational competence and higher economic investments in this activity from some small entrepreneurs.

Other retailers gathered together in order to share the rent of a single space: in 2016 we observed 3 cases of shops hosting 3 different vendors, thus recreating a small-scale model of fair pavilion inside private commercial premises. Since in 2015 we didn't observe this practice, it can be considered an evidence of a stronger demand for these spaces.

The records from the municipal archives also confirm the growing number of shops during the last LC&G editions (Table 4).

Year	Requests	Food ,	non food		Prover	nance	
1 Cai	Requests	Food	Non food	Lucca	Tuscany	Italy	World
2013	4	0	4	2	0	2	0
2014	14	1	13	7	0	5	2
2015	38	19	19	17	2	14	5
2016	55	5	50	7	3	34	11

Table 4: Number of requests for opening temporary shops in the years 2013-2016, data from the SUAP municipal archive in Lucca. Multiple applications forwarded by a same person or company (diverse shops in diverse locations) are considered as separated requests. See below for the details on food and non-food stores.

The table shows a relevant increase in the non-local and non-regional shops in 2016. The engagement of non-local actors can be explained by a progressive consolidation and expansion in the network of personal relations. Being this practice mainly based on previous knowledge of the locations and administrative procedures, local actors were at the beginning more actively involved. During the years local agencies and intermediaries (see chart 5) facilitated the access to external retailers.

In order to retrace the social relations behind this phenomenon, we connected the shops' location in Lucca to their provenance (Fig. 36); the maps shows how the shopkeepers coming from abroad initially preferred to set up their activities in the central areas, while the ones coming from Lucca started sooner to explore the north-eastern area.

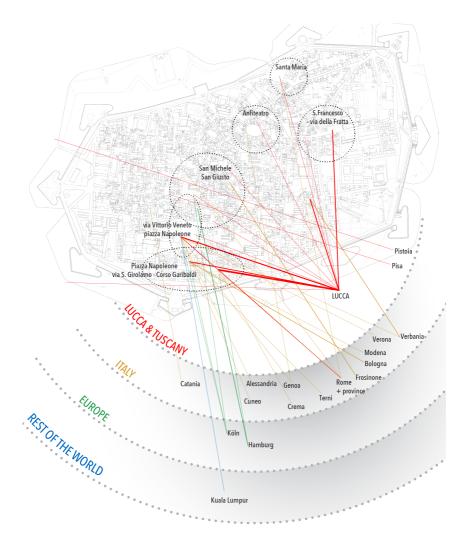


Fig. 36 - Graph showing the location of the temporary shops across the city centre, grouped with respect to the provenance of the retailers (years 2013-2015). The strongest edges represent repeated links between the nodes (provenance-location), in different years. Data from SUAP Office, Comune di Lucca.

The strong edges in the graph show the tendency by some shops to occupy the same location along different editions of the event. The existence of an efficient latent network of contacts among the local shops' owners and the incoming temporary retailers was confirmed by the surveys. The majority of the interviewed temporary shopkeepers

indicated the activation of previous contacts and getting in touch with the shops owners as the first phases in the organization of their activities. For others, the first step was the selection of the location, an activity that was facilitated by the previous knowledge of the city.

The majority of the interviewed shopkeepers (63%) defined the choice of the store location as "planned" rather than "improvised". Given the long history of the event and the particular location, many entrepreneurs willing to open a commercial space during LC&G had the opportunity to visit the city before, to attend other editions and to establish contact with local shop owners or intermediaries. Also, two thirds of the interviewees also participate in other events or festivals related to fantasy culture, in Italy and Europe. Therefore, a previous knowledge is diffused and shared, while the local connections with shop owners and intermediaries are often renewed year after year.

In this sense, the cyclical nature of the event and of similar events populating the same project ecology facilitates not only the establishment and strengthening of knowledge (Power 2008) and of personal and professional contacts, but also the detection of the most suitable locations.

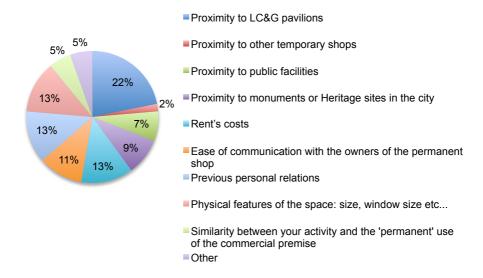


Chart 1 - Choice of the location: which main factors influenced the choice of the location for your temporary shop? (Up to 3 multiple choice answers).

The main factors influencing the choice of the locations (Chart 1) are the proximity to the LC&G pavilions, the rent's costs and the physical features of the space (size, window size), but also the previous personal contacts and the ease of communication with the owners of the permanent shops.

Even if the majority of these commercial premises are empty rooms with basic furniture (hooks or shelves), some shops pay a particular attention to the similarity between their activity and the 'permanent' use of the commercial premises: this happens mostly in the case of handmade products, such as costumes, jewels or 'magical' items like wooden wands or decorated books inspired by fantasy characters. In these cases, the temporary shopkeepers search for spaces that are suitable to enhance the hand-crafted features of their merchandise and to display the products appropriately: existing wooden furniture or small sized cabinets can lodge little precious objects better than large and empty retail spaces. On the contrary, the shops selling industrial products, such as *kawaii*<sup>174</sup> plush toys, usually prefer to exhibit a large quantity of items, fitting them more freely and indifferently in any kind of location: mostly clothes and accessories shops but also former bakeries, laundries or bike rentals.

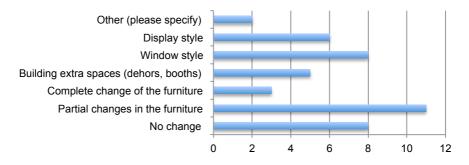


Chart 2 - Main changes operated in the shops' spaces

With respect to the changes operated in the spaces, we also registered different approaches (Chart 2); only a few shops operated major changes in the furniture, while many preferred not even to change the

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conventions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> The word *Kawaii* indicates the quality of "cuteness" in Japanese popular culture. *Kawaii* merchandise, mainly plush toys and accessories representing anime characters, represents a relevant part of the commercial items sold during comic and *cosplay* 

store sign, in order to avoid the necessary authorization procedure from the Landscape Commission<sup>175</sup>.

Therefore, if the general location of the shops is usually planned and carefully selected, the internal disposition of the furniture often admits a high degree of improvisation. In this sense, the material and spatial interaction between the environmental quality of the commercial premises and the items to be sold becomes an element of organizational relevance in setting up the shops.



Fig. 37 - A carefully planned interior design in a temporary shop selling handmade 'magic' items. (LC&G 2016, Photo by the author)

Fig. 38 - Improvised setting of kawaii plush toys in a bakery. (LC&G 2016, Photo by the author)

With respect to the general definition of "temporary shop", these analysed examples reveal at least two main peculiarities in the spatial configuration. First, the majority of the shops in Lucca are 'unbranded'. They usually sell generic products such as comics, action figures, merchandise or food. The quantity of these products is usually privileged with respect to their quality, despite the few exceptions observed in the case of handcrafted products. Secondly, the internal setting of the stores is not designed 'ad hoc', but is usually the result of the colonization of an existing space; the urban location is fundamental in order to establish an advantageous relation with the most visited

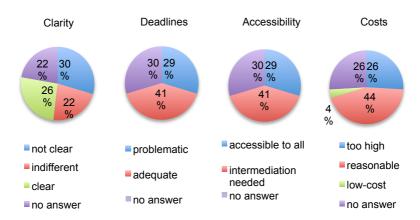
and DPR 31/2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> The Landscape Commission is an authority operating within the municipal administration, which is in charge of approving or rejecting the projects that have an impact on preserved areas. This authorization procedure may take up to 60 days in the case of streamlined procedures, or 120 days for the standard procedures (Dlgs 42/2004).

areas of the festival. On the contrary, the internal space is mostly improvised and not characterised by any distinctive features. In this sense, the experiential value that is often created within similar retail models is in this case "externalized" to the event itself.

The importance of the shop's location also overcomes the need to activate promotional strategies: only 6 among the interviewed shops declared to have start a promotional campaign before the event; 6 shops distributed promotional materials during the event and 12 interviewees didn't engage in any promotional activity.

The first phases of the organizing process are mostly unmediated; a minority of the interviewees (4 out of 27) collaborated with an agency for the research of the commercial premise; 7 shops took advantage of agencies or mediators for obtaining the municipal authorization. According to 40% of the interviewees mediation is needed in order to comply with the public regulations, which are considered as "unclear" by 30% of the interviewees (charts 3-6). In the questionnaires, a third of the temporary shopkeepers expressed the need and suggestion of a clearer and unified procedure, possibly with a single office in charge of all the issues related to the temporary event.



Charts 3, 4, 5, 6 - "What do you think about the city regulations regarding the temporary shops?" Questionnaires submitted in 2016, multiple-choice questions.

In fact, in the absence of a national law for temporary shops in Italy, these commercial activities are administrated at the municipal level and the permission procedure follows the same regulations for opening long-term shops. In case of activities lasting less than 30 days, the

retailer must register in the municipal office for commercial activities (SUAP) and report it to the tax collection agency; if the duration is more than 30 days, the activity should also be registered as a firm. At the municipal level, the registration in the office for commercial activities (SUAP) follows the SCIA <sup>176</sup> procedure (Segnalazione Ceritificata di Inizio Attività), a notification that is immediately effective.

For all the commercial activities, this notification must include the confirmation of a positive assessment from the municipal Landscape Commission. In fact, being the whole city centre of Lucca listed as architectural and landscape heritage, any external change in the buildings' façades - including store signs – needs this authorization. In case of incompleteness of this permission, the SUAP office has 60 days to suspend the activity or the on-going works.

Under a standard regime of activities, the limit of 60 days assures to the city administration sufficient time to evaluate any modification to the external aspect of the buildings and eventually reject it. The office can also ask for the restoration of the previous situation. During a short-term event, this control cannot be fully accomplished: if during the event a transformation is set up in contrast to the norms and then dismantled, no sanctioning possibility is envisaged (L 241/1990, Art. 19 c.3). In fact, this regulation allows temporary shops to submit their request even on the same day in which they start their activity.

This procedure proves to be effective in the case of long term and low impacting renovations, allowing the entrepreneurs to immediately start their activities while the municipal office reviews the submitted documents. In the case of short term events, it produces a multiplication of permits: before the event, a closing procedure for the long-term activity and an opening procedure for the temporary one are needed; after the event, a closing procedure for the temporary shop and one for the re-opening of the previous activity are required. As a consequence, the current regulation produces a paradoxical condition, in which the administration has no possibility to sanction those projects that were found to be detrimental for the 'decorum' of the historic centre, if already realized and dismantled.

In order to counteract this condition, the municipality produces ordinances year by year; from 2015 a deadline for food-shops was introduced, by the means of an ordinance that established a due date for the notification one month before the event. In 2017 all the

 $<sup>^{176}</sup>$  The national regulation on commercial activities is D.Lgs 114/98

temporary shops were required to submit their notification until mid September<sup>177</sup>.

The need to concentrate the authorization procedures within a single "public office for temporary activities" was reported also by other researchers analysing the sustainability of events in small city centres (ZEN 2014): the municipality of Lucca already operated in this sense in 2004, by establishing Lucca Crea as a publicly owned organizational structure in charge of the organization of multiple events, but also of the management of permanent structures (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the phenomenon of temporary shops eludes this organizational structure, by operating on the basis of private initiatives, outside the areas dedicated to the event and beyond the relations with the commercial partners, managed by Lucca Crea.

At the same time, given their spatial proximity, the shops become part of the "festivalscape" (Lee et al. 2008; Yoon et al. 2010) and feed a public debate that is differently perceived by the multiple actors involved. The local press tends to represent the phenomenon as an "invasion"<sup>178</sup>, in many cases de-qualifying the commercial offer of the city<sup>179</sup>. The LC&G organizers also contrast this expanding practice, denouncing a decrease in the tickets sold<sup>180</sup>; according to them, the possibility to find a large variety of commercial products outside the pavilions would discourage the visit to the official event.

The interviews with the public bodies and the representatives from the Lucchese Commerce Confederation revealed a stronger concern with respect to the quality of the temporary activities than with respect to their number.

It is useful to introduce a distinction between food and non-food shops (Table 4 and Fig. 39), since food shops were often considered to be more detrimental to the city image than the non-food ones.

We already anticipated how food tasting represents a significant contribution among the activities offered by LC&G: on the one side, the

http://iltirreno.gelocal.it/lucca/cronaca/2016/10/28/news/negozi-temporanei-lamappa-dell-invasione-1.14324622

http://www.lagazzettadilucca.it/economia-e-lavoro/2013/10/in-alcuni-casidequalificano-l-offerta-commerciale-e-l-immagine-della-citta/

<sup>180</sup> http://iltirreno.gelocal.it/lucca/cronaca/2016/10/26/news/l-allarme-dei-comics-i-temporary-store-stanno-uccidendo-la-manifestazione-1.14307943

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Comune di Lucca, 07/09/2017, "Lucca Comics and Games: tutti i Temporary Store devono presentare la Scia entro sabato 16 settembre" retrieved from: http://www.comune.lucca.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/17360 (accessed June 16th 2018).

promotion of traditional products is a source of revenues for the existing local commercial activities; on the other side, given the origin of the whole *otaku* culture (*anime*, *manga*, videogames) the exploration of Japanese food has become a relevant part of the event's experience. According to the interviewed members of "Confcommercio Lucca e Massa Carrara", the Confederation of Commercial Organizations, "if a visitor who comes to Lucca for the LC&G stops to have a meal in a place in which tradition (*tipicità*) is preserved, he will surely appreciate the Comics, but he will appreciate Lucca even more, since he enjoyed something more than the event. If he tastes a standard sandwich [...] he will never know how good the food in Lucca can be"<sup>181</sup>. In this sense, the material interactions taking place through food tasting or purchasing impact on the image of the city and on the local cultural

The prioritization of a "Lucchese identity", shared by the interviewed local authorities, testify to a general concern in keeping the event connected to the cultural and social life of the city.

In many cases, food-related activities are the objects of tensions between the diverse organizing structures: the permanent city administration, the event's organization and the "informal" network of local retailers and commercial partners. We already anticipated how, according to some shopkeepers, the diffusion of Japanese food outside the festival areas was the result of the prohibition to sell these same items inside. Food quality represents a main issue also at the level of municipal regulations. Following the new procedure introduced in 2015, the shops willing to sell food needed to request the public authorisation far in advance; this allowed the municipal office with more time to verify the compliance with the hygiene and security norms. This time constraint applied to a temporary and short-term practice caused the decrease in the number of food shops during the 2016 edition. While non-food and food shops were equally present in 2015, in 2016 the latter were almost disappeared, with only 5 cases observed out of 55. In this case, this diverse use of the same spaces across time was the result of a change at the regulatory level.

habits.

 $<sup>^{181}</sup>$  Transcription from the interview taken with interview with the President and the General Director of Confcommercio Lucca e Massa Carrara (Confederation of Commercial Organizations) on July 18th 2016. Translation by the author.

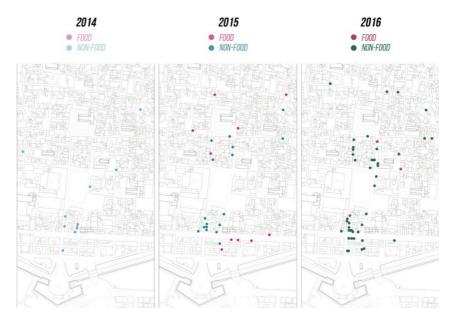


Fig. 39 - Distribution of food and non-food temporary shops in the areas of Piazza Napoleone, via Vittorio Veneto and Piazza San Michele (strongest concentration of temporary shops), in the years 2014-2016. Graphic by the author, data from SUAP office, Comune di Lucca.

In some cases, the limitations in the use of public spaces produced entrepreneurial innovation: some temporary activities emerged as a response to a negative process or restrictions in the public regulations, inducing long-term effects on the commercial life of the city.

As an example, in 2016 the interviewed owners of a bike rental service had extended their business to the food sector, in order to overcome a municipal prohibition: namely, the interruption of bike rental services during the event. By starting to sell Japanese cup noodles during LC&G, these vendors planned to turn to Tuscan food after the event, delivering to the tourists a combined offer of bike rental and traditional products (Fig. 40, 41).



Figs. 40, 41 - Bike rental service selling Japanese cup noodles during LC&G 2016 (photos by the author).

# Temporary shops as a temporary organization with social and spatial impact

In order to investigate the social and spatial impact of the analysed practice, we also focused on its cause-effect relations with respect to other organizations operating in the same space.

During the event, many changes in the city uses reshape the image of Lucca: traditional shops integrate their offer and modify their appearance in order to meet the interests of the 'temporary clients'; museums and cultural sites open their location to host special initiatives 182; independent editors organize free counter or "other"-events and exhibitions inhabiting unused spaces in the city (see Chapter 5). As a whole, the phenomenon is becoming more and more an "urban" experience. In this context, the phenomenon of temporary shops increased in dimensions but also in complexity.

If the local media posed a strong accent on the economic factors leading to open a selling point outside the festival area, the questionnaires registered diverse and sometimes multiple motivations: gaining profit still represents a third of the answers, but also the motivation to increase the brand visibility and the impossibility to rent a booth inside

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> As an example, in 2016, the National Museum of Villa Guinigi hosted the exhibition "L'attacco dei Giganti" (Attack on Titan), dedicated to the Japanese manga by Hajime Isayama. (http://www.luccamuseinazionali.it/it/news/%E2%80%9Clattacco-deigiganti%E2%80%9D-mostra-villa-guinigi accessed on June 9<sup>th</sup> 2017).

the official LC&G area are equally present (chart 7). We should also consider scouting and/or promotional activities, which were the leading motivations for one temporary shop organized by independent editors and one led by a fan association.



Chart 7 - Main motivations. Question #14: Why did you decide to open a temporary shop during LC&G?

We can group these not directly economic motivations under two main categories:

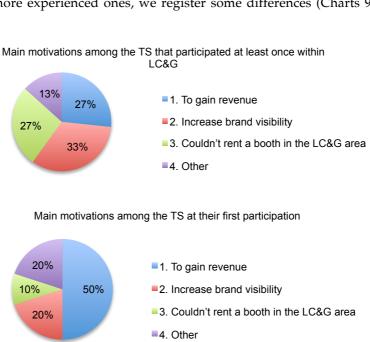
- 1. Organizational constraints. Given the numbers of requests for spaces within the area of LC&G, the interviewees lamented that the selection procedure operated by the organizing committee usually lasts many months. Because of this reason, some partners prefer to rent private spaces as temporary shops, and organize their tasks and schedules individually.
- 2. Spatial and material constraints. The dimensions of the exhibition area, the easier access to services for old or disabled collaborators, the possibility to personalize the shop with own furniture were other motivations that supported the choice of setting the commercial activity outside the official pavilions.

If we consider the past participation in the event (Chart 8), we also register a diverse range of answers: as shown in the chart, 10 temporary shops were present in Lucca for the first time, while the others had already attended the event, inside and outside the 'official' organization.



Chart 8 - Past participation.

If we compare the motivations of the "new" shops and the motivations of the more experienced ones, we register some differences (Charts 9, 10).



Charts 9, 10: main motivations with respect to past participation.

Among the shops at their first experience, the main motivation was profit (50%); the 'experienced' shops presented a broader range of motivations, including the interest in promoting the brand (33%), the already mentioned organizational and spatial constraints, among

which, in many cases, the impossibility to find a booth within the LC&G area (27%).

It is also interesting to notice that, when asked about their willingness to move inside the official LC&G area, a third of the interviewed shops organizers provided a negative answer; only 20% of them was willing to move inside the pavilions at any condition, while another third would consider this possibility under some condition (mainly, a shorter waiting time to receive a confirmation, a better location, more freedom in the arrangement of the spaces). The size of many booths inside the pavilions  $(3.0 \times 2.5 \text{ metres})$  is considered by many insufficient to exhibit their products.

In this sense, the temporary shops provide an empirical example of a temporary organization shaped by spatial and material constraints.

We can frame the phenomenon of temporary shops according to the 4T scheme proposed by Lundin & Söderholm (1995) for temporary organizations: time, task, team and transition represent the main basic concepts that can be used to delineate a demarcation between other organized settings and a temporary one.

In the case of the temporary shops at LC&G, we already described how time is a crucial variable. The very short duration also represents a main difference with respect to the general category of temporary retail models. Operating mostly inside spaces that are in use during the rest of the year and being their presence limited to a timeframe of 4-5 days, the setting and dismantling phases are extremely short. Usually, the whole process covers a single week. The event and the shops open and close simultaneously, even if they result from different organizational structures. Despite being hosted within permanent locations, the temporary shops' activity is very intense and comparable to the setting of a booth inside the trade fair. During the unstructured interviews conducted in 2015, the organising team of a temporary shop even reported to have slept within the space of the store, because of the costs and the unavailability of accommodation nearby. Thus, the commercial practices analysed in Lucca represent a very intensive form of temporary shops.

In terms of tasks, the cyclical nature of the shops' activity involves duplicity. The task is unique, since the circumstance is exceptional and the occasion appears once a year. At the same time, it is repetitive since these conditions are similar and predictable every year. This marks another difference from the general model of temporary shops, which are usually conceived as once-in-a-time experiences, or projects reiterated in diverse locations.

The phenomenon of temporary shops at LC&G also includes the interaction among different "teams", formed around the task or around some aspect of it. The smaller one can be identified at the level of the single shop: the permanent owner, the temporary host and, when present, a mediator are brought together by the common interest in the specific task. Both the permanent owner and the host have other "homes" before and after the temporary project (Lundin & Söderholm 1995, 442), which means that they are related to others organizational contexts. These small teams can also meet other teams, represented by other shops, and in some cases collaborate for the accomplishment of their tasks: as an example, we presented the cases of shops sharing a same commercial premise.

Lastly, if temporary organizations always emphasize transition, being them based on action and change, this concept is particularly relevant in the analysed case. We already discussed how the festival introduces changes in its urban context and how these transitions invest both material and symbolic elements (Moran & Pedersen 2011). Temporary shops represents a transitional practice linking together permanent actors operating in the social and economic space of the city and transitory "entrepreneurs" introducing diverse spatial and material configurations. These transformations are inscribed within long-term processes of urban transformation and variously embedded in the institutional context.

The organized temporary event of LC&G and the related but independent practice of the shops can be considered as 'formal' and 'informal' organizations, which take advantage of emerging networks and technologies embedded in daily life. Both are examples of new ways of working and new forms of leadership; temporary 'informal' partnerships/networks and new activities are established during the event, to overcome spatial limitations or take advantage of emerging networks and audiences.

Temporary shops then testify of a competition for space in which public and private actors are engaged. Being the city centre of Lucca a very dense urban environment, the availability of space in a profitable location represents a fundamental factor for the success of these temporary initiatives. For the same reason, such practices generate tensions at two levels: the shops interferes with the main organization of LC&G and its internal space planning, but also challenge the constraints applied by the municipality to preserve the historic urban fabric.

In order to overcome these restrictions, the shops operate according to an action-based entrepreneurialism (Lundin & Söderholm 1995) and time-based controls (Burke & Morley 2016). The emergence and consolidation of a latent network of contacts is the fundamental condition that allows the existence of this informal temporary organization. In this sense, temporary shops can be considered as parts of an action-based project ecology (Grabher 2002), operating in a relation of interdependence with the broader ecology of comic conventions, analysed in Chapter 4. In this informal and heterarchic organization, the economic relations are not only embedded in social relations but actively constructed with and through personal ties.

Materiality is at the basis of these temporary organizations, as commercial aspects play an increasingly significant role in the comics and games industry and because diverse artefacts mediate the spatial interaction with the urban context: existing buildings, temporary settings, costumes and objects. Some of the spaces and the artefacts are perceived as "permanent" (the physical urban landscape), others as "temporary". Following the Actor-Network Theory inspired approach introduced in Chapter 1, we could define temporary events such as LC&G as a temporary encounter between immutable mobiles (Latour 1987) and mutable immobiles (Guggenheim 2009). In the analysed example, we can conceptualize the objects of the event as immutable mobiles: comics, movies, games but also commercial products and food travel across countries and social groups, following the cyclical calendar of the related organized gatherings. The city centre of Lucca, its buildings, monuments but also commercial premises act as mutable immobiles: they are singulars and occupy a stable location but they are open to different uses in time.

Therefore, it is important to relate the practice of the temporary shops to a general change in the size and management of the commercial activities within the city centre. In the last decade the area within the walls registered a shift<sup>183</sup>: small traditional and family owned shops are more and more converted into larger franchised stores. The temporary shops then appear also as a possibility to "fill in" vacant commercial premises undergoing these transformations. The north-eastern part of Lucca's city centre provides an example of the contribution of multiple

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Report "Centro Commerciale Naturale Città di Lucca 2013", by Camera del Commercio di Lucca (http://www.starnet.unioncamere.it/Centro-Commerciale-Naturale-Citt-di-Lucca-2013\_7A14245B186C558 accessed on June 9th 2017)

temporalities in shaping the urban landscape: a long-term planning process of urban renovation and the temporary event, together with its concurring unplanned effects, contributed together in changing the physical and social character of a part of the city.



Figs. 42, 43, 44 - Diverse uses of a same commercial premise across two editions of LC&G: a temporary comics' shop (2015) and a plush toys' shop (2016). In between, the empty space after the dismantling of the shop in 2015: from the windows it's possible to see foldable beds (photos by the author).

Temporary shops share many characteristics with the transitory practices described as temporary uses in Chapter 1. They represent a provisional use in substitution of a permanent option and, as such, they can be considered as a form of adaptive urbanism. At the same time, they don't share the "experimental" character that makes temporary uses a place for reshaping spatial and social relation in the city landscape. They operate outside the ordinary functioning of the economic activities in the city and outside the organization of the event, but participate in a similar way to a same commercial logic based on the aestheticization of the urban landscape as an experiential mode of consumption (Zukin 1995, 81).

In this sense, practices such as the temporary shops establish a connection between the short-term dynamics of the event and the long-term economic and organizational changes that the city centre is undergoing.

## Conclusions

### Findings and contributions of the thesis

The thesis contributes in the understanding of the complexity of contemporary urban landscapes with an analysis of the localized interactions that link a large-scale event to its spatial setting.

The research is structured as an explorative account on an emergent phenomenon and takes advantage of the qualitative analysis of a single case study. As such, the main research questions are addressed to describe the object of study and its cause-effect relation with respect to its context.

In order to reconnect the analysed event, Lucca Comics & Games, to the broader network of comic conventions that populate an increasingly "worlding" geography, a database was elaborated (Appendix 1) on the basis of bibliographic and "netnographic" research (see Chapter 4). Through the analysis of this database it was possible to map in space and time this "worlding" geography of the comics and highlight the inter-referencing practices that operate in the system (Ong 2011).

As a result of the analysis, the networked relations among the diverse events across the world, the respective hosting sites and the related communities appear to be configured as a project ecology (Grabher 2002; 2004; Grabher & Ibert 2012), where knowledge is alternately shared over distance or during moments of temporary proximity. Thanks to the multiplication of the possibilities of interaction and collaboration by the means of technologic devices, in the last decades the industry of the comics – like other media - has radically changed its modes of production, distribution and consumption. However, temporary co-presence still plays a fundamental role, not only for the functioning of the aforementioned economic processes, but also for knowledge sharing among the involved "epistemic" communities (see Chapter 1).

The analysed conventions represent the main sites of temporary proximity for this cultural industry: there, the values that are related to the comics as a cultural product, as a communication medium and as a form of art are shared among the participants; also, during comic

conventions diverse urban setting are confronted with a festivalised "temporary township" that display recurring features. As such, at the encounter with diverse stable landscapes, these events present the "worlding" capability to "gather in some outside elements and dispatch others back into the world" (Roy & Ong 2011, 12). As an example, the diffusion of Japanese culture through *manga* and *anime* is part of this process: the database registered the presence of Japanese comics or practices like *cosplay* in almost any convention across the globe. In other cases, the presence of "un-conventional" forms of events that emerge as bottom-up practices on the background of the same cultural field (see Chapter 4) shed a light on the heterogeneous dynamics involved in the same project ecology.

In order to better grasp the complexity of these networked interactions, where local cultural patterns and globalizing forces are strongly intertwined, the emergent phenomenon of comic conventions was analysed at two scales.

At a "global" scale, the evolution and spread of this social, economic and cultural form was traced by analysing the phenomenon under three main lenses.

First, as the outcome of a distinct system of production, distribution and consumption (exemplified by the model of North American conventions) that increasingly relies on project based organizations. These organizations operate "temporarily" to accomplish localized projects (the conventions) but are structured as a broader ecology, in which other time-space dimension are at play: a cyclical and "intermittent" dimension, where the field is unceasingly re-produced and re-configured (Gibson & Bathelt 2014; Henn and Bathelt 2015), and where latent networks periodically emerge among actors operating at a distance (Starkey et al. 2000; Sydow 2009); a long-term and "continuous" dimension, in which the event is embedded in a more stable context of institutions and personal biographies, operating for its maintenance over time (Tonga 2018b).

Second, the analysed urban phenomenon also originated from the emergence of the comics as a new media and art form, struggling for recognition (as in the cases of the Europeans "Salons"). As such, the tensions between "conventional" and "un-conventional" events, described in Chapter 4, represent both the ambitions to take part into (or counteract) an expanding network of economic relations and the attempts, from each event, to recognize itself within (or reject) a specific cultural model.

Third, the enactment of these spatial practices is sided by a "performative" contribution from a community of fan, which takes diverse forms of tangible manifestations in the urban arena: from *cosplay* and flash mobs to role playing games, staged within ad hoc settings or existing "atmospherically" qualified sites (see Chapter 1).

In order to explore more closely these material interactions and investigate the space-time relations operating between the event and its localized context, the research moved to a "micro" scale: the tensions in the diverse and sometimes conflicting uses of the urban space are described and analysed in the specific case of the Lucca Comics & Games event.

The choice of the case study was determined by the possibility to analyse a particular form of localized setting: namely, a historically preserved city centre that becomes a "festivalised" space when activated by the event itself. Chapter 5 covered the historical development of the space-based relations between the event and the city, pointing out how the distinctive features of this location became an element of reference for other new events, in other regions or counties. As an example, in analysing the development of the festival in Angoulême and its perpetuation in durable urban structures, we mentioned how the small size of the city centre was acknowledged as a motivation for the success of this process (Gravari-Barbas & Veschambre 2005). In Lucca we found similar evidences, from the early statements from the organizers about the "intimate" space of the historic centre to the more recent guests' appreciation for a city that "nobody seems to have ruined" (see Chapter 5). This association of the comics to a historically qualified urban setting became not only a distinctive feature of these events, but also a trendsetter in the field. In Chapter 5 we presented various cases, within the panorama of Italian comics gatherings, where the historical and architectural value of the location is promoted as a positive contribution to the event.

From an ANT-inspired perspective, we can state that the stable city landscape *affects* the structuration of the event and its perception. At the same time, being them *mutable immobiles* (Guggenheim 2009), the durable elements of this landscape are reciprocally *affected* by the event's "temporary township" (Allix 1922, Moeran and Pedersen 2012). It is difficult to draw conclusions on the long-term effects of these interactions. However, drawing from the concept of *Personapolis* as a place in which "taste and personality are becoming a geographical phenomenon" (Morikawa 2008), we can describe the transformations induced by the event on the urban landscape as a "temporary

Personapolis". In the case of Lucca, the map of the event, which since 2014 covers almost the whole city centre, overlaps to its stable landscape: the accesses to the local transports are modified, diverse paths are suggested, new street names and definition for the existing locations are displayed (i.e. The Citadel, The Village, Japan Palace).

The circulation of material objects such as comic books, food, clothes, accessories related to the fictional imaginary and other *immutable mobiles* (Latour 1987) within the realm of this "temporary township" have an impact on the personal tastes and individual biographies that interact and *affect* the city space in the long term.

This mobilization of cultural patterns can be described as a flux of economic "mobilities" (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006) but also as an emergent "worlding" practice, being the event in many cases not simply "moored" but anchored to long lasting processes operating in the territory. These processes reciprocally impact on the event in a similar way in which the event has a long-lasting impact on the urban landscape. The specific relation to an historic site represents an example of mutual interaction between "more stable" and "more temporary" spatial patterns. In this sense, we adopted a processual definition of the urban landscape, conceived as a mutable and constantly re-negotiated object. The attempt to preserve its historic elements as "stable" urban structures appears as an "illusory ambition" (Bandarin & van Oers 2012).

In relation to this duality between stability and change in the festivalised space, the thesis contributes by opening the "narrow" definition of *festivalscapes* proposed by Lee et al. (2008) to a broader understanding of the urban landscape, in its historical and processual lines of evolution. Furthermore, the analysis of the *festivalscape* is opened to the whole ecology in which the event is embedded, involving other organizations, communities and spaces.

To this aim, the last part of the research was dedicated to the "embedded" case of the temporary shops, as an example of liminal and informal practice emerged outside but in proximity to the event's organization. In Chapter 6 we described how this indirect consequence of the official event has long-term effects on the commercial activities and on the urban regulations. The notion of "informality" is mobilized here to describe how these activities are analogues but different from the ones admitted by the traditional regulatory framework and how they represent an unavoidable outgrowth of capital based dynamics (Sassen 1994). As such, they challenge the existing regulations and call for the development of new urban policies. In the specific case of the

temporary shops, the phenomenon shows the limits of the current approach to the preservation of the "historic centre" in its material aspects, namely the facades. Practices like the analysed one would call for a more dynamic understanding of urban landscapes as processual and negotiated objects.

The case of the temporary shops provides an empirical example of a social and economic practice shaped by spatial and material constraints, and testifies to a competition for space in a very dense urban environment, in which public and private actors are engaged. The shops operate according to action-based entrepreneurialism and time-based controls and, despite their informal nature; they establish a relation of interdependence both with the organized event and with the broader ecology of comic conventions.

As such, temporary shops can be considered as an informal and heterarchic organization, in which the economic relations are not only embedded in social relations but actively constructed with and through personal ties. For this reason, despite their ephemeral presence, the temporary shops engage in long-term processes of urban transformation and represent a space of interface between stability and change in the city's processual landscape.

#### Limitations of the research and critical issues

The research was conducted on the basis of a strongly empirical and inductive approach, with the aim of providing a descriptive account of an emergent phenomenon. To this aim, theoretical references and methodologies from diverse fields were combined, following an interdisciplinary path. The choice of structuring the literature review around concepts rather than disciplines and to research a common ground across diverse fields (economic and social geography, architecture, organization studies and heritage studies) was motivated by the explorative nature of the research; at the same time, some of the mobilized concept may result in some parts as not thoroughly developed or referenced. The choice to investigate a single case was operated in order to counterbalance this limitation with a deeper contextual analysis.

From a methodological perspective, a main limitation of the study is the lack of availability of information regarding the conventions in many countries. The research of comic conventions at a world scale is emerging and at the present time there is no exhaustive database covering all the events. This is mainly due to a linguistic barrier, given that many events don't provide any translation of the main information within their websites. In the light of the increasing inter-referencing of practices across different countries and cultures, the research on this phenomenon would benefit from a more inclusive approach.

Furthermore, the database suffers from the lack of time-referenced information. In a first step, we attempted to cover also "defunct" comics conventions, but the complexity of the "heritage" of these events, their reconfigurations and displacements led to the choice of a limited timespan (one year) for the information collection. In many cases we included information on previous changes in the names, location and organization of some events, but the database as a whole registers a time-bounded situation. Considered the pace of change in this field and the constantly growing number of conventions in multiple geographic areas, new methodologies for data collection and recording would effectively contribute in the accuracy of the analysis.

At the present state, this research may be considered as a work-inprogress attempt to map a mutable practice, often "shuffling" across diverse cultural references and transmedial convergences.

#### **Future research**

As anticipated in the description of the research contributions, the analysis of emergent phenomena such as comic conventions and other forms of situated transmedial convergences (i.e. role-playing activities, steam punk gatherings) calls for an extended definition of "festivalscape". Precisely because of the broadening boundaries of "transmediality", the real features of diverse urban landscapes are becoming increasingly intertwined with fictional landscapes; the city space becomes a setting for the development of fantastic narratives or historical re-enactments, more or less accurate and not necessarily realistic. These intersections appear to be still underrepresented in the academic literature, where also a methodological challenge is opened: how to approach the convergence of fictional and real elements in the analysis of the urban festivalscapes? The present research offers a contribution in terms of interdisciplinary effort to approach the "event" from multiple perspectives, and opens a direction for future research in urban and social studies.

Furthermore, the spatialized practices that are enacted as localized material manifestations of project ecologies are also mostly unexplored. The topological understanding of space in the context of project networks represents a challenging research direction: how to map actions that happen at a distance and as a function of the intensity of personal relations, but still have effects on the use of public and private spaces? The research proposed some directions, building on the toolboxes of time-geography, Actor-Network Theory and assemblage theory and taking into account also the critiques that have been moved to these often particularistic approaches (see Chapter 1). At the same time, the possibilities of integrating these theoretical and methodological insights into a more systematic line of research would represent a precious contribution in the understanding of the processes affecting contemporary urban landscapes.

## **Appendices**

Appendix 1: Database of comics and games events

СІТУ	EVENT'S NAME EVENT	EVENT'S DESCRIPTION	FOUND. VISITORS YEAR (year)	/ISITORS (year)	WEBSITE (ORGANIZER)
Festival Festival International de la Focus on co Algiers Bande Dessinée le plus gran d'Alger, FIBDA	mic book industry. Focus id festival de la BD dans le	Focus on comic book industry. Focus on comics form Africa, but also international guests: le plus grand festival de la BD dans le monde arabe et en Afrique".	2008		http://bdalger.com/
Cairo EGYcon "for Anime F	for Anime Fans, Gamers & Comics readers in Egypt*	aders in Egypt"	2013	3200 (2016)	https://www.egycon.me/
Lagos Comic Connect Comic Book Africa medium and	Comic Books, Gaming, Theatre, Fashion Runw evert. "Uniting comic book makers, fans and I medium and export it to the rest of the world."	Comic Books, Gaming, Theatre, Fashion Runways, Cosplay, Music and Poetry into one event. "Uniting comic book makers, fans and lovers of Comic Books in Africa to boost the medium and export it to the rest of the world."			https://www.facebook.com/c omicconnectafrica/ (Comic Republic)
Dhaka Dop Culture convention Expo	for fans of comic books, fil.	convention for fans of comic books, film, TV, anime, and video games	2013		https://www.facebook.com/p g/dhakapopexpo/about/
Delhi Comics Fest India Started a	s Nagraj Janmotsav, Renamt	Started as Nagraj Janmotsav, Renamed to Comics Fest India in 2013	2008		http://www.comicsfestindia.c om/
Delni, Mumbai, Comic Con India "India's L Hyderabad	Main edition (annually) in Delhi, express e "India's ultimate pop-culture celebration"	Main edition (annually) in Delhi, express editions in Mumbai, Bangalore, Hyderabad. "India's ultimate pop-culture celebration"	2011		http://www.comicconindia.co m
Dōjinshi Tokyo Comiket Comiket possibilit to partici	Döjinshi (self-published non-commercial publication) e Comiked telemes tised is a 'space' with great freedon possibilities of self-expression. Thus Comiket aims to to participate and accepts all forms of self-expression	Döjinshi (self-published non-commercial publication) exhibition marketplace.  Confinet defines itself as a 'space' with great freedom for the purposes of expanding the possibilities or self-expression. Thus Comflet aims to accommodate anyone who wishes to participate and accepts all forms of self-expression.	1975	550000 (2016)	http://www.comiket.co.jp/info- c/IdealsAndVision.html
Tokyo Anime Japan Contents Expo	eated from the merger of the s Expo.	It was created from the merger of the Tokyo International Anime Fair with the Anime Contents Expo.	2014	145453 (2017)	https://www.anime- japan.jp/en/news/
Tokyo Comic Con	'i'me' Fraffierd' rip bis Cilulture' who was one of the co-four he two legends, which led to advocated he telds of "Toky, tion to 'Silicon Valley Comio lebrating, Japanese and Ame 'exple foundation. Unlike oth is sia place where everyone it to experience. The everyone it	"Starf tee, the 'Faffar' of pip: Civillar', emiconizine' at the fing of 'stechnology', Steve Woxinisk', and ada Wox. And owas one of the co-founders of Apple Inc. This triggered a chemistry between the two legends, which led to the 'Silicone Valley Comic Con' (USA). Meanwhile, both and advocated the tides of 'Thoy Comic Con' and this was where it all begant. L.I in close netation to 'Silicon Valley Comic Con' organized by Woz. Toky Comic Con is a featurd celebrating Japanese and American pop culture, while keeping its genetic American' style foundation. Unlike other existing comic, film, animation festivals or game shrows, this is a place where everyone can share and enjoy the revolutionary and eldest I]?	2016	42793 (2017)	http://tokyocomiccon.jp/engli sh/whatscc.html Chyo Comic Con - Stan Lee, Steve Woznak, Daniel Logan, Ryoma Takeuchi)
Comic Fiesta	Animation, comics and games (ACG) event.	went.	2002	45000 (2015)	http://comicfiesta.org/2016/
Dubai, Bahrain, IGN Convention Video ga Qatar, Abu (IGN Con)	Video games and pop culture event.		2013		http://www.ignconvention.co m/
KOMIKON or Brings to multiple Philippine Komiks aspiring Convention scope of	Brings together different comic book artists aspiring comic artists. Free exchange of ide scope of comics. Focus on Filipino comics.	Brings together different comic book artists/groups and publishers to the public and to aspiring comic artists. Free exchange of ideas, break down stereotypes, and broaden the scope of comics. Focus on Filipino comics.	2005		http://www.komikon.org/even t-info/
Manila Asia Pop Comic Organize Convention (APCC)	d by Universal Events & Enter	Organized by Universal Events & Entertainment, a subsidiary of the Al Ahii Holding Group	2015	35000 (2016)	https://asiapopcomicon.com/ manila/
Seoul, Tomic World Corea going global. The Busang language barrier.	to the internet and social me. bal. The strong visual aspect	"Thanks to the internet and social media, the once-regional comic culture is gradually Comic World Corea going global. The strong visual aspect of comics apparently helps in overcoming the language barrier."	1999		http://www.comicw.co.kr/

April	Asia	United Arab Emirates	Dubai	Middle East Film and Comic Con (MEFCC)	"Every year, we challenge ourselves to not only deliver a better event but also continue to supporte the development of regional talent, and to see local artists and entrepreneurs progress is rugely rewarding.	2012	50000 (2016)	:http://www.mefcc.com/
April	Europe	Belgium	Ghent	FACTS (Fantasy Anime Comics Toys Space)	Belgian Comic Con, the home of all things Fantasy, Animation, Comics, Toys, Sci-Fi, Games and Cosplay (hosted in Flanders Expo)	1993	30000	http://facts.be/
September	Europe	Finland	Helsinky	Helsinki Comics Festival	Largest comics event in Northern Europe. Free of charge. The programme consists of triverlews, lectures, discussions, exhibitions, wirkshops, pedfmanness, competitions, signings, street food and evening events. Comics Center (Sarjakuvakeskus in Finish) was founded in May 2008 to be an open cultural centre for comics and related art. It is situated in Heisnik! in the district of Arabamranta. It includes a gallery, cafe and comics shop and organises comics course for both beginners and professionals. Finish Comics Society was founded in orgunation with an international exhibition in Heisnik in 1971.	1979	20000	http://sarjakuvafesttvaailt.fi/in- english
January	Europe	France	Angoulême	Festival international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême	See Chapter 4.	1974	200000	http://www.bdangouleme.co m/
September	Europe	France	Lile	Lille Comic Festival	Main British and American comic books convention in the north of France.	2006		http://www.lillecomicsfestival. com/accueil/
May	Europe	Germany	Hannover	MCM Hannover Comic Con	See MCM London Comic Con			
October	Europe	Italy	Lucca	Lucca Comics & Games previously: Salone Internazionale del Comics	See Chapters 4 and 5.	1965 (Bordigh era) 1966 (Lucca)	271208 (paying) 400000 (2016)	http://www.luccacomicsandg ames.com/it/lcg/home/
April	Europe	ltaly	Етроіі	Ludicomix	The first edition took place in 2004 as "mostra-mercato del gioco e del fumetto". From the addedition, cosplayers standed to take part into the event.  From 2016 the event megada with "Ludicomix Bricks & Kids*, in the same year,  Associazione LUDICOMIX was founded to organize both the events. The event tales place in the historic city centre of Empoli, it includes the and ticketed areas.  From 2016 it includes after and includes after with the events are comisse music albums and games.  "una manifestazione come la nostra può servire anche a recuperare aree cittadine meno comosciute, a farte vivere ed a renderle placevolifosse solo per due giornilquesta è l'undicomix, un Ampliestazione come la nostra può servire anche a recuperare aree cittadine meno comosciute, a farte vivere ed a renderle placevolifosse solo per due giornilquesta è l'undicomix, un Ampliestazione teudico-fumentistico Amplicoci, l'an event like out array be of help in the inhabring some parts of the city that are unused, making them alive and friendly Even for two days! This is Ludicomix, an Unconventional Games and Comics-Dedicated Space)	2004	20000 paying (40000 in the city centre) (2016)	http://www.ludicomix.it/
multiple: April, October	Europe	Italy	Rome	Romics	Semiannual comic book, Animation, and gaming convention.	2001	200000 (2016)	http://www.romics.it/ (Fiera Roma s.r.l. Associazione ISI.urb)
March	Europe	Italy	Milano	Cartoomics	if il più grande evento del Nord Italia dedicato al mondo del furnetto, del gloco e dell'entertalment! (The largest event in Northern Italy dedicated to the world of comics, glames and entertalment).  More than 50,000 sq.m. exhibiting area, 450 exhibitors, 300 events, premieres, guests, fournments, cospiay, movies and home-video areas, Area Kids, Area Western, Area Horror, open air area.	1992	80000	www.cartoomics.it (Upmarket)

ennb	Europe	ltaly	Catania	Etna Comics	φ <u>΄</u>	2011	70000 (2016)	nttp://www.etnacomics.com/
February	Europe	Italy	Mantova	Mantova Comics & Games	"Manrova è la cirtà ideale per una fiera del funetto. Situata in Lombardia, ai confine con l'Emilia Romagna, dista pochi chilometri del "pazza" importanti come Bologna, Modena, Bremila Romagna, dista pochi chilometri del "pazza o l'ambardia del Gonzaga, della Casa del Mantegna, del Palazzo della Rajone, del Palazzo Ducale, di Palazzo Ta Manrova è inoltre la sede del celebre Festival della Leteratura, uno degli appuntamenti culturali dell'anno a livello nazionale." Il coated between Lombardia and Emilia (Manrova is the ideal city for a comissi stir its i coated between Lombardia and Emilia Fonnagna, it's acity fullo di artistic heritage and it also hosis the illerature festival.)	2006	25000 h	ntp://mantovacomics.it/
September	Europe	Italy	Palermo	Palermo Comic Corvention (Cospladya Comics & Games)	Popularization and the control season for the control of particular stands and particular stands and the control season for the control of particular stands and the control of the contro	2009 (2	n (2015)	www.cospladya.it www.palemocomicconventio n.it
September	Europe	Italy	Salerno	FantaExpo	Event dedicated to comics, animation, videogames and fantasy culture,  "unamores attivitá di diferenti tipologie e area a tema caratterizzanti nelle quali vivere  atmostere fantasiche. Parola d'ordine; intrattenimentol Dedicato soprattuto ai ragazzi, ma ,  che strizza l'occhio anche a bambini e famiglie. "funnerous activities and thematic areas  where it's possible to live fantasite atmospheres, Koyword: entertainment Dedicated  mostly to the young public, but also to children and families).	2012 8	8000 (2016) h	nttp://fantaexpo.it/
November	Europe	Italy	Cagliari	Giocomix	edicated to comics and di Cagliari; in 2011the event er sports arena.	2010 5	5000 a (2016) (4	http://www.giocomix.com/ott avaedizione (Associazione Culturale Mondi Sospesi)
	Europe	Italy	Arezzo	Mostra del DISCO e del FUMETTO	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collictions. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.			http://www.kolosseo.com/are zzo-disco/

n/e	and		n/e	Com	ay.c	
https://www.facebook.com/e vents/345738765623671/ (Blu Nautilus)	nttp://www.luccacollezionand o.com/ (Lucca Grea)		https://www.facebook.com/e verts/222684168189521/	http://www.varchicomics.com	http://www.pratocomicsplay.c om/ (associazione Culturale Più Prato)	(Associazione Calpurnia & Comic Service Roma)
2013		2016	2015			
"All'interno di grandissimi complessi fleristici, prendono vita le nostre Flere del Fumetto, poste ne cuore dei più importanti bacini economici taliani.". Lotter 12:000 metri quadrati di mostre mercato rivote interamente al fantastico mondo dei manga, anime, fumetti, connics, modellini, adrion figures, telefilin, chema di animazione, videogiochi, giochi, giochi datvolo, gioco libero, rofe lokinying games, i. Despiti nazionali dei internazionali appartenenti al mondo dei fumetto, del cinema, del cinema di animazione e dei cosplay. Tantissime aree tematiche dedicate a: Comics, Fantascienza, Steampunk, Fantasy, Set mosta esempue uniche."  (Our Flere del Fumetto take piace within the most important congress centres located in the main productive regions of laty! () more than 12:000 sp.m of commercial surface dedicated to the fantastic world of manga, anime, comics, models, action figures. TV series, animation movies, videogames, table games, roleplaying games [] national and cinemataonal guests from the world of comics, movies thematic areas dedicated to concerts and exhibitions).	The main aim is to offer a qualified market fair dedicated to comics and graphic art, together with a space for improve knowbedge on the medium, meet authors and professionals everyone who is involved in the Nimth Art as a personal passion and a cultural activity ("tuti coloro per i quali la Nona Arte è al centro delle attività personali e di we work for the development of comics in their artistic and historic values. (See also Orbate 5).	"festival fruito della passione per la nona arte ovverosia il "furnetto" na aperto arche al mondo dell'illustrazione e dell'intustrationimento in genere. Nasce per valorizzare il nostro territorio e gli artisti che in esso lavorano, con le braccia aperte e pronte ad ospitare antisti (if ama nazionale e internazionale provenient dia tutta fialia. "Festival dedicated to the territory and the local artists, but it is also open to guestis,	Il programma dell'evertro è stato pensato per gli appassionati di fumeriti, ma anche per chi ama l'oggettistica manga i games, i videogiochi, le miniature 3D, gli effetti scenografici ei candon di eliteri ed i oggiarea softair: quasi 4D metri quadin per divertirsi con il colore e con la mina.* (The event is organized for the connics fans but also for those who are passionated about manga merchandize, games, videogames, 3D miniatures, special effects and aminiated movies. There is also an area for softait games).	"Fiera del Fumetto e del Fantastico"	Comics and games event staged in the municipal cultural centre Officina Giovani. Organized with the support of the municipality.	Comic books fair, mainly dedicated to collectors and amateurs.
Cos-Mo Comics & Games Modena	Collezionando	Friûl Comics Fest	Abano Comix	Varchi Comics	Prato Comics + Play	Torrespaccata Comics
Modena	Lucca	Latisana (UD)	Abano Terme (PD)	Montevarchi (AR)	Prato	Roma
lta.y	Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy
Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe
January	February	March	March	March	March	March

March	Europe	Italy	Padova	Be Comics	Event partner of Venezia Comics.  State is straordinaria concice del centro di Padova tra palazzi storici e tensostrutture a costa ia straordinaria concice del centro di Padova tra palazzi storici e tensostrutture a costaria la straordinaria edizione di Be Comics I! Le aree ternatiche troveranno la loro dimensione differenti in maniera tale che l'evento assuma dimensioni c'ittadine". Un gruppo di giovaria natisti trasformeranno le normanissime ventre di alcuni escrizi commerciali in opere d'arte funettistica. Un raccordo che, tappa dopo tappa, animerà le strade e gli animi del passanti e, perché no, dei cilenti. Gil artisti [] sono abilismi fumettisti del TCBE - Tevesto Comics Book Festival. (It takes place in the city centismi, within laptorical venues and temprary structures. The thematic areas are spread in multiple sites in order to achieve an urban dimension. Some young artists, coming from Treviso Comics Book Festival, will transform the showindows of some shops into comics artivorke).	2017	http://www.becomics.it/ (Comme di Padova Settore Cultura, Turismo, Musei e Biblioteche in collaborazione con Arcadia Arte)
April	Europe	ltaly	Brescia	Mostra Mercato del fumetto	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collections. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge infatted to the instituty and the cultural values associated to these objects.		http://www.kolosseo.com/bre scia-comics/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)
April	Europe	ltaly	Castelnuovo del Garda (VR)	Gardaland in Cosplay	"Quale posto è migliore dei parco divertimenti numero Uno in Italia per accogliere i personaggi di fumetti e acrioni amimati" (18 there a better place than the main amusement personaggi di sont the comics and animated cartoons characters?)		http://www.thinkcomics.it/gar daland.php
April	Europe	Italy	Crema	Crema.Comix	Exhibitions, sketch area, Self Area, Stand, Steampunk, Games, Contests, Workshops. Organized in the Museo Civico.		www.cremacomics.it
April	Europe	ltaly	Godega di Sant'Urbano (TV)	Godega fumetti	umetto e a tutto ció che vi gravita intorno, il collezionismo , l'illustrazione, il cinema, la musica.	2007	http://www.godegafumetti.it/
April	Europe	Italy	Orvieto	Orvieto Comics	Comics and street art and festival. It takes place in Palazzo del Sette (historcal venue in the city centre) and includes exhibitions, roundtables with the authors, Artist Alley, cosplay contest, market area hosting multiple italian comics publishers.	2009	http://www.orvietocomics.it/ (associazione culturale "Lo Spazionauta")
April	Europe	Italy	Parma	Mostra Mercato del fumetto	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collectors. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.		http://www.kolosseo.com/par macomics/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)
April	Europe	Italy	Pescara	Pescara Comix & Games	Comics and games, cosplay, artist alley. Staged in a convention centre.		http://pescaracomix.wixsite.c om/home
April	Europe	Italy	Pescia	Pescia Fumetto e dintorni	Small annual meeting dedicated to illustrated publishing, organized by Sezione Comunale Avis di Pescia (association of blood donors) in collaboration with the cultural associations Tsubaki No Temple e Sorima Artiqua. The main purpose is to find new strategies to encourage the young public to give blood. Staged into the city centre, in concurrence with a flee market. It also includes a section dedicated to roleplaying games and a stage for concerts.	2014	http://pesciafumettoedintorni. simplestie.com/. (Sezione AllS di Pescia, Comune di Pescia).
April	Europe	Italy	Piacenza	Festival del Fumetto	e. The nd iors and all	2013	http://www.oraprocomics.it/q uarta-edizione-2017/ (Ora Pro Comics)
April	Europe	Italy	Sassari	Sassari Comics and Games	Competition. Il nostro obbiettivo è dimostrare che si può confinues a vocabre de Competition. Il nostro obbiettivo è dimostrare che si può confinuera a crescere e Competition. Il nostro obbiettivo è dimostrare che si può confinuare a crescere e Games and migliorare evento dopo evento e far si che la Sardegna abbia un evento degno delle più belle fiere italiane ed europee" (Our goal is to improve edition after edition and to demonstrate that Sardinia can host an event comparable to the most beautiful European most beautiful European	2013	http://www.sassaricosplay.it/ (associazione culturale Sassari Cosplay)

			#
	http://www.torinocomics.com/	(GL Events)	http://www.albissolacomics.it
	55.000 (1996)		
2013	1994		2012
Takes place in the city centre, within a former market area.	Comics fair originally located in the exhibition centre "Torino Esposizioni" and, from 2004, in Lingotto. It currently includes games, videogames and cosplay.	All'interno di grandissimi complessi fieristici, prendono vita le nostre Fiere del Fumetto, poste nel cuore dei pui importante bacini cocomici talani	Albissola Marina is an old maritime town, famous for ceramics but also contemporary art. The event is hosted within exhibiting spaces and atelier opened by local artists in the city centre.  *Albissola Comics e un insieme sensoriale e fisico di tratti, immagini, corp e parole, nel quade gli appassionati possono calaris senza l'assilo del flarta e della calca voiciante, gil autori sono in, nel loro spazi, a disposizione per due giorni con la loro arte e le proprie personalità; umani, tangibili, raggiungibili. Albissola Comics non è una fiera, è una festa, o megio: un festiva, com marcano gli chorni, non mancano di morana il mercalo del funetto di musica, ma soprattuto c'è il fumetto con la F maiuscola. [] da oggi non solo "Città della Ceramica" ma anche "Città del Fumetto".  Albissola comics is an haptic and physical environement full of traits, images, bodies and words, which can be explored by the visitors without the pressure of fine constraints andovernowing, the authors are there; in their spaces, available for two days. Albissola comics is not a fair, if a freast or - better -a festival: there are meetings, the collectors markets, editors, clubs and also music, but everything is centred on Fumetto, with capital From nowon Albissola is going to be not only the city of ceramics but also the city of
Sassari Cosplay	Torino Comics	Vicomix	Albissola Comics
Sassari	Torino	Vicenza	Albissola Marina (SV)
Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy
Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe
April	April	April	April

nttps://www.comicon.iV (cooperativa VisioNa)	http://www.nonsolocomics.it/ (Associazione Culturale Non 'Solo Comics, grounded in 2015)	https://www.facebook.com/ar tmaysound	nttp://www.kaltacomics.ft/	http://www.cosenzacomicsan dgames.it/
-1998 	2016	2007	2012	2017
Napoli CONICON e sopratutio una parola, uno stato d'animo: Passione" (Napoli Conicon is most of all a convept, a state ob being passion)  Comicon is most of all a convept, a state ob being passion  The first edition was organized by a group of young comics passionates that organized themselves in associated forms and opened a small store in the centre of Naples, which became a point of encounter of the comics outture in the city.  "	Fantasy (Comics shops, drawing lessons, cosplay contest, music, youtubers, magic and games), videogames (modem videogames, independent Software House and an interactive exploration in the history of videogames from the 1070s to the present day), movies (exhibition of cars from 1980s movies and TV series), skate and fun, model expo (models and LEGO bricks exhibitions, electric trains and boats), food (local products, lapanese foos, craft beer, streethood).  The exhibitions takes place in the congress area "La Cattedraler" (3000 sq m), close to the historic centre where an "incredible movida" will animate the evening ("è situato a 300 metri dal centro storico dove una stupefacente movida si sviluppa tra i numerosi locali e ristorant per passare una placevolé serait").	Artmaysound è dal 2007 l'evento che coniuga musica, fumetto, creatività e intrattenimento in un unico festival, che si svolge a maggio a Bolzano!	"An event for everyone" is a keyword for Katta Comics. "Socializane è sampre stata la parola d'ordine che ha aperto le porto dei sognio dei desident, de mitt e degli ent. Un mondo che sicuramente ciascuno di noi vuole riconoscere, un mondo di guistiza mondo che sicuramente ciascuno di noi vuole riconoscere, un mondo di guistiza el libertà () Il Katta Comics, partoritori un un attife rico al drate a storia, riconosciuta dell'Unesco partimonio mondiale dell'uneanità" (Socialize is the keyword to open the way to dreams and visions, myth and heros. A world tha everyone of us wishes to recognize, a world of peace and freedom I! Katta Comics is stagged in a dity with a relevant historic and artistic tradition, recognized by Unesco as World Heritage).	Tornerete indietro nel tempo e rivivrete quelle emozioni indescrivibili che, solitamente, si tende a mettere da parte quando si diventa adulti. Le nuove generazioni scopriramo la maga dei mitici Anni '80 e tutti ne rimaramo strabiliati! '(You will go back in time and experience again those emotions that you had to forget while growing up. New generations will discover the mago of the legentary 1980s and will be astonished!)
Napoli Comicon	Pistoia non solo Comics	Art May Sound	Kalta Comics	Cosenza ComiCS
Napoli	Pistoia	Bolzano	Caltagirone	Cosenza
Italy	Italy	ltaly	Italy	Italy
Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe
April	April	May	Мау	May

Foggia		uin d by ttion,	2015	http://www.festivaldeinerd.lt/ (Ass Festival del Nerd) https://sites.google.com/site/
Sirio Comics and Games		Comines, games and cosplay, it is organized by a local cultural association that aims at $2c$ involving local students in free workshops and cultural events.	2014	striocomics/ (associazione culturale Sirio)
Smack! Fiera del Fumetto di Genova	= 8 ≅ 8 g	8	2014	http://www.smackcomics.it/
La Spezia Comics & Games		Comics, videogames, modelling and cosplay.		http://www.laspeziacomicsan dgames.it/
Latina Comics Perugia Comics	ĭ # ĕ À	Comics, Cosplay and movies, patronage of Lazio Pegion. Feetval dedicated to national and international comics, building on the previous experience of Umbria Fumerto (1989-2000). Staged in the Rocca Paolina and supported by Umbria Region and the mulcipality of Perugia.		:http://www.latinacomics.it/ http://perugiacomics.it/
NaonisCon - Pordenone Games&Comics	It take rolepl more. Naoni gamir gadge	is place yearly in the exhibition area Fleira di Pordenone and hosts various events: aying games, boardgames, comics, collectables, anime, karaoke, cosplay and much scon is organized since 1997 by Club Inner Circle with the aim to promote smart gp. In 2004, the creation of PordenoneComics renew and integrated the fair with sis, action igues but also a space dedicated to authors and artists.	1997 (2004)	http://www.clubinnercircle.it/n aoniscon (Club Inner Circle)
Arcadia Comics&Games	en ce	It takes place in Castello di Donnafugata, Contrada Donnafugata and is organized by AssociazioneProgetto 37/38, an association that donates 50% of its revenues to the protection and restoration of bull heritage. The restoration started from the wort's site, the courtyards 37 and 38 in Castello di Donnafugata a palace that dates bach to the 18th certury. Anyone can contribute by donating or purchasing the tickets. The association is entirely composed by volounteers.		https://www.arcadiacomics.it/ (AssociazioneProgetto 37/38)
ARF! Festival di Storie, Segni e Disegni	핏 잘찿 5	Exhibitions, workshops, meeting with the professionals in the field of comics. A space to present independent projects, meet the authors, enjoy live performances. It includes a present independent projects, meet the authors, enjoy live performances. It includes a like Area with creative workshops, readings, books and games dedicated to children up to 12 years.		http://www.arfestival.it/
Rovigo Comics	<u>≅</u> ≅	n dedicated to the them "far galaxies". It promotes a "24 hour comics day", somics authors from various cities.	2012	http://www.rovigocomics.it/ (Associazione culturale Comic's Trip + Libreria del Fumetto Delta Comics COMICS)
Revolution Fantasy Festival	farisi≓i. ਜ	"Fiera del Fantastico" (Fantasy fair). "La splendida città di Saint Vincent si trasformerà nella capitale della magia e del mondo del fantastico la Fiera della Magia di Saint- Vincent si rivoluziona e trasformera l'Intera cittadina in un sogno ad occhi aperti per i  visitatori. ('the city of Saint Vincent will transform into the capital of magic and of the  manasy wordu. a living deam for the visitors).		http://www.revolutionfantasyf estival.com/it/
Teramo Comix	눈은	Free event dedicated to pop culture within the University Campus in Teramo. The motto is "Cultura pop a tutto tondo" (all-round pop culture).		http://www.teramocomix.it/
Aniene Comics	2	Local fair dedicated to comics, cosplay and middleage fantasy.	2015	https://www.facebook.com/a nienecomics
Vicenza fumetto	7 5 # E #	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promite the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collictions. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.		http://www.kolosseo.com/vic enza-fumetto/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)

Мау	Europe	Italy	Volterra (P.)	Volterra Mistery & Fantasy	Eveint dedicated to a public of any age, to passionates of comics, garnes of any kind, animated carbons, IV series and movies from the 1980s to the present day animated carbons, IV series and movies from the 1980s to the present day and the 1990s to the present day and the present day and an appuntamento nella nostra antica Città fotografi e cosplayers che volgiono immortalere i loro costumi in un ambiente unico, dal stacino antico e pittoresco, come solo Voltera riesce a dare, offinendo –nel raggio di poche centinala di metri – tutta la varietà di scenaria dattif ad ogni cosplay, dagli interni del lussuoso Palazzo Vili alle suggestive vie del centro, cal verde del Parco Fiumi al maestoso Palazzo del Priori, passando per i civitati più macostit per le vedute panoramiche dei in orde protecto capture pictures or their costurnes stagged in a unique environment, surrounded by an andque and pictureque charm as only the city of Volterar can provide. Within few hundreds of meters, scenarios suitable for any cosplay are offered; fron the luxurious Palazzo Vili to he suggestive city centre, from the green Parco Fiumi to the magnificent plazzzo del Priori, cossita pic horden closters and the panoramic views that enchant those who are not acquainted to these palaces.	2014	http://www.misteryefantasy.lt/
June	Europe	Italy	Santa Maria a Monte (PI)	Dracomics	Local fantasy festival of comics and games.		https://www.dracomics.it/
June	Europe	ltaly	Barberino di Mugello (FI)	Mugello Comics	opera (anche sulle vetrine dei a mostra-mercato con prodotti un'occasione per avvicinarsi ra d'uomo rispetto alle attre exhibitions, with artists at ob an occasion to really ri respect to others large-scale	2015	http://www.mugellocomics.it/ contatti/
Oune	Europe	Italy	Bari	BGeek	tro. ta!"" n and ng at ents.	2012	http://www.bgeek.iV (B-Geek s.r.l.)
June	Europe	Italy	Bari	WonderCon		2015	http://www.wondercon.it/
رلال	Europe	ltaly	Carignano (TO)	Carignano a Funetti	" perché non impersonare il proprio personaggio preferito fabbricandosi o comporando il costume de disbendolo in giro per la dittà durante questo eventol. Veni anche tu al carginancominacto deve fantasia e realtà si incontrano per dare vita a un evento che u al carginancominacto deve fantasia e realtà si incontrano per dare vita a un evento che un sicce adulti, ragazzi e bambini. Potrai trovare molta gente che come te si vestifa è diverterà; ma porta anche trovare funtatti, esstifi i manga, del buon cibo e tanto tanto divertimentoli evity dont e malody your favorite character by creating or buying a costume and showing it around the city during this eventi fantasy and reality encounter here to give life to an event for adults and children of any age you will find comics, manga, good food and much funi*.  Created by a group of young passionates with the support of local turistic associations, with the aim of "bringing new life in Carignano by merging the fantastic world and the real one", The event is staged in open-air location in the main streets and squares.	2013	http://www.carignanocomics.i t/ (associazione Progetto Cultura e Turismo Carignano Onlus)

سنتسن		June Europe Italy Ferrara Fecomics & Games Free event in the historic city centre
Lanciano nel Organized by a team of passionates, it aims at ptomoting the comics culture in the region. Furretto	Lanciano nel Fumetto	Lanciano nel Fumetto
Un Mare di Comics Summer comics festival in a maritime turistic destination. It includes the comics fair meetings, exhibitions, cosplay contest and concerts.	Un Mare di Comics	Un Mare di Comics
Comics City Comics, music, cosplay and street-food.	Comics City	
La sagra dei fumetti e cartoni animati		La sagra dei fumetti e cartoni animati
No commercial areas but is instead focused on exhibitions workshops, and discussions. Komikazen festival Komikazen pronoke the European and Mediterranean circle of artistic comics and internazionale del research, which also includes the following associations: Periscopages Association—internazionale del Rennes (Francia), Babel - Atene (Greece), Comica - London (LIK), Chili cum Carne - fumetto di realfa (Eubon (Portugal), Boom Festival - S. Petersburg (Russia), La Maison du Livre - Beinut (Lebanon).		Komikazen festival internazionale del fumetto di realtà
Comixpoli Comics, cartoons, games, cosplay and artists.		Comixpoli
Ventunesima edizione. Plimiticomix, la mostra-mercato del 2017, in una nuova veste, per deare più spazio a pubblico ed espositori. Un cambiamento verso la definizione della mostra "Più gande" dell'estate ifaliana. Con la sua unicità nell'orani od apertura dalle 17:00 alle 24:00, l'unica fiera del fumetto ad ingresso gratuito del belbaese. Certamente la Riminicomix prima, ed unica, ono la "ica" (X) finale, oggi imitata da molte iniziative analoghe che di diverso da attre non sembrano avere nulla. Questi i presupposti. Questi i luoghi divenuti ormai storici. Rimini Marina Centro alle spalle della Fontana dei Quatto Cavalli, in Piazza Federico Fellin. Davanti al Grand Hotel, di Felliniana memoria, vengono allestite le terascotrutture che avranno nuovi e sconvolgenti sviluppi. Seguireci come sempre.	202120022	Riminicomix
Forte Albertino (possibilità di campeggiare gratultamente all'interno del forte, il lagio è a completa disposizione per il bagni compueta disposizione per il bagni compueta disposizione per il bagni andi per la transferia di montrata la manifestazione sono numerosi e non si limitaro al solo funetta. Troveramno spazio anche il golori, u delagolori, i filma cambrano di montra giappomorane e ossigia, 3 macro ares: 1. L'area mercaro, la spina dorsale cultura giappomorane e ossigia, 3 macro ares: 1. L'area mercaro, la spina dorsale dell'evento, sarà composta da stand di vendita al dettaglio, che proporranno: fumetti, gadegia, action figure, videogloridi, golori da tavolo, carte, giocattidi, disegoni, tavoli, prodegia, action figure, videogloridi, indiati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona dell'avento. Sari alimitati possibilità ai visitatori di interagire in prima persona con l'avento. Sari ele evideoglochi, tra cui l'fia 16, Yu-Gi-Che Pulggic.	Vinadio Comics Festival	
"Benvenuti alia Festa dell'Unicorno, la manifestazione a carattere fantasy più grande Festa dell'Unicorno d'Italia." (Welcome to the Unicorn featival, the largest fantasy event in Italy)		Festa dell'Unicorno o
"In ineravigilioso centro storico di Albenga tornerà ad animarsi per una tre giorni di divertimento e magia tra casptaves, musica, colori, fumente de aspositori." (The maginicent historic centre of Albenga will be animated by three days of fun and magic among cosplayersm music, colors, comics and exhibitors).  Maginica anong cosplayersm music, colors, comics and exhibitors).  Caganized in coalebaque with Ludo Ergo Sum, Proxima – Associazione No Profit e Visual – Scucia di Arti Gratichie e Figurative.	Albengadreams	

Europe	Italy	Aosta	giocAosta	Festival of smart gaming.  Fun cantere collective dove tante passioni diverse si incontrano e si offrono a molte minglia di partecipanti" (if sa collective construction site where many diverse passions meet and are offered to thousands participants).  The games find their place in Chanoux square, in the centre of the city.	2009	http://www.glocaosta.lt/ (Aosta lacta Est)
Europe	ltaly	Crispiano (TA)	Crispiano Comix	Funnetti, esposizioni, cosplay, videogames, body parinting, giochi da tavolo, gadgets, musica e tanto altro: sono questi gli elementi caratterizzanti la terza edizione del Crispiano Comix, comar in Puglia uno degli appuntamenti più importanti nell'ambito dei fumetti e del mondo fantasy in genere.	2014	https://www.facebook.com/e :vents/1048491798579817/
Europe	ltaly	Falconara Marittima (AN)	Falcomics (Mostra Mercato del Fumetto di Falconara)	Fondo fumetistico comunale, acquisito circa 10 anni fa (in vista del poi non realizzato Museo del Fumetto) Museo del Fumetto) Daga la Scuola Internazionale di Comics a Jesi (fondata nel 1999) ha in carico lorganizzano ella storica fiera del fumetto di Falconara marittima, riscuotendo grande consenso di pubblico (www.falcomics.it).	1983	https://www.facebook.com/e vents/1126022287440737/
Europe	Italy	Pesaro	Pesaro Comics & Games	'Rocca Costanza Scena Aperta' si conclude con una proposta che ruota attorno al gioco, fumetto e cinema. Tre giorni di eventi, spettacoli, confreenze, mostre ed esposizioni con il tema, non casuale, "Adventures in Space". Perché il 2016 è un anno intriso di antalascioraza.	2013	https://www.facebook.com/e vents/1553820841611620/ (Darkest Nights, Comune di Pesaro, AMAT)
Europe	ltaly	Volta Mantovana (MN)	Volta Comics 'n Cosplay	"passione per il mondo del cosplay, anime, manga videogiochi e fantasy"	2013	http://www.voltacnc.it/
Europe	Italy	Alessandria	Alecomics	Event hosted in the Citadel of Alessandria, one of the main exampled of fortified structures in Europe. It aims at the promotion of comics and graphic art, providing as pace of amounter for collectors and amateurs. It includes the exhibitors spaces, the artists spaces, videogames and board games area, cosplayers performances. The organizer aim at the double goal of promoting comics and supporting the local economy through fairs, workshops and conventions.		http://www.alecomics.it/ :(Associazione AleComics)
Europe	ltaly	Biella	Fumettix	Comics, authors, cosplay and market in the sports palace.		https://www.facebook.com/F estival-del-Fumetto-Fumettix- :441776545956780/
Europe	ltaly	Cuneo	Cuneo Comics and Games	Comics, cartoons, games (roleplay, board games, cards), videogames, fantasy and science fiction, cosplay.  Caratheristic centro storico della città farà da teatro all'evento [] Uno spazio di oltre 1000m² in oui 'sistatori potramo ammirare sia i contenuti proposti dalla manifestazione che la beliezza della città. (The historic centre is the theatre for the event More than 5.000 sq m where the visitors can admire the event's contents but also the beaufful city).	2016	http://www.cuneocomicsand :games.it/
Europe	Italy	Foggia	Daunia Comics	Among the largest events in Southern Italy for comics, videogames, youtubers. Organized in the sports arena.		http://www.dauniacomics.it/
Europe	ltaly	Forlimpopoli (FC)	Comicspopoli Cosplay &Games	and games.	2014	http://www.comicspopoli.it/
Europe	Italy	Imperia	Imperia Sgrunt	Comics and graphic arts event.		http://www.imperiasgrunt.it/
Europe	ltaly	Lamezia Terme (CZ)	Lamezia Comics & Co.	Largest event in the region Campania for comics, games and cosplay.		http://www.lameziacomicsan dco.it/ (Associazione Culturale (ATTIVAMENTE)
Europe	ltaly	Рессе	Lecce Cosplay & Comics	Local event staged in the exhibition centre "Lecce Fiere".		:http://www.leccecosplayandc :omics.it/
Europe	Italy	Massa	Massa Comics & Games	Local fair dedicated to comics and games.		:http://www.massacomics.co :m/

http://www.kolosseo.com/mo dena-disco-e-fumetto/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)	http://www.kolosseo.com/pa via-comics/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)	http://sanremocomics.i/ (SANREMO COMICS)	http://sassaricomicsandgame s.it/	http://www.fumettiedintorni.it/	https://www.facebook.com/g enovacomics/ (Associazione Culturale TNT)	http://www.trevisocomicbook festival.it/	https://www.facebook.com/v arichina.bologna	https://www.facebook.com/C armaComics/	http://www.kolosseo.com/bol ogna-comics/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)	http://www.tifernocomics.co m/	http://www.tanagura.it/	associazione culturale K1995)	https://www.facebook.com/e vents/790672877705404/ (Blu Nautilus)	http://www.expofiere.net/cgi- bin/_exp/manifest.cgi?pk=56 5&c=8&t=7&back_tog=showfi
http://www.k dena-disco-e (Associazion KOLOSSEO)	http://www.k via-comics/ (Associazion KOLOSSEO)	http://sanr (SANREMC	http://sass s.it/	http://www	https://www.fe enovacomics/ (Associazione	http://www festival.it/	https://www.face arichina.bologna	https://www.f armaComics/	http://www.kc .ogna-comics/ (Associazione .KOLOSSEO)	http://www m/	http://www	(associazio K1995)	https://www.f vents/790672 (Blu Nautilus)	http://www bin/_exp/m 5&c=8&t=7
		2016				2003	2013					2015	2016	2015
Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promnet the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collctions. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music abuns. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collicions. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.	Samremo Art&Comics è una mostra con i gradi autori del fumetto e dell'illustrazione a del funcio taliano e internazionale una mostra mercato delle eccellenza ed inclazionismo e del funetto da utorica un contentore di divertimento per gli appassionati di cospilay, videogiochi, collezionismo di figurine, ecc. La posizione strategica della fascinosa attità furieraca consentria al pubblico rancese di proferi finalmente entrare in contatto con autori edesgnatori faliani molto conosciuti Otralpe.	Event organized in two squates: Plazza d'Italia hosts a stage for music and the cosplay monest, the market laif, the games area; Plazza Elmines dedicated to Saudria-Con, with encounters between the public and the authors of comics and books form diverse fields.	Local market fair dedicated to collectors of comics, LPs and CDs.	Genova Comics and Created on the model of the main events in Lucca and Milan Games	reviso Comic Book Dedicated to comics and graphic art, contamination with contemporary art, design, music. Festival It takes places within historical venues in the city centre.	Vari. China is a webzine on artistic comics and illustration, that organized yearly meetings:  "En piccolo contentione che contriber ou manche the anche un linguaggo" (it's a small container for a form of art that is also a language).	Local event with anime, manga, cosplay, videogames.	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collicitons. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.	Free event dedicated to artistic comics and new releases.	Local event addressing the fans of comics, manga, gaming, fantasy, science fiction and cosplay.	Comics and music LP fair.	Inaugurated in 2016 after the success of Milano Anime, Vicomix, CosMo, and other fairs of the same circuit (Blu Mautilus, see Vicomix or CosMo). Unline Comics and Games is also part of "Cosplay Sinergy", a cosplay competition that awards the best cosplayers with a free ting to London Comicon.	Bologna Fumetto & Hosted in the fair area together with "Mondo Elettronica" ("Electronic World" fair) and Games "Mondo Creativo" ("Creative World" fair), it includes cosplay, music, games and toys.
Modena Disco e Fumetto MODENA	Pavia Comics	Sanremo Art&Comics	Sassari Comics and Games	Mostra Mercato- Scambio Fumetti Dischi CD	Genova Comics and Games	Treviso Comic Book Festival	Vari.china Comics	Carmacomics	Mostra Mercato del FUMETTO	Tiferno Comics	San Donà Fumetto	La Via del Fumetto & Disco	Udine Comix and Games	Bologna Fumetto & Games
Modena	Pavia	Sanremo (IM)	Sassari	Scandicci (FI)	Sestri Ponente (GE)	Treviso	Varignana (BO)	Carmagnola (TO)	Bologna	Città di Castello (PG)	San Donà di Piave (VE)	Tortona (AL)	Odine	Bologna
Italy	Italy	Italy	ltaly	ltaly	ltaly	ltaly	Italy	ltaly	Italy	Italy	ltaly	ltaly	ltaly	Italy
Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe
September	September	September	September	September	September	September	September	September	October	October	October	October	October	November

드	_ ⊑ ;	BILBOLBUL - Festival Internazionale di Fumetto	Event edicated to artistic comics, emergent authors and convergences between comics and other media. It takes place in multiple locations across teh city centre (museums, galleries, libraries, bars), it pornotes multiple events and activities across the year, to overcome the temporary dimension of the event and become a long-lasting project.  First comics event in Milan. Partner of Italian Cosplay Contest.	2007	http://www.bilbolbul.net/ (Hamelin Associazione Culturale) http://www.fumettopoli.biz/ (AssociazioneCulturale
Aostra Mercato o	lostra Mercato (isco e del Fume	무유	9	J	Motofumetto) http://www.kolosseo.com/pa dova/ (Associazione Culturale Kolosseo)
Fumetti per Gioco	-umetti per Gioc		are are	2010	http://www.tumettpergioco.it/ (Trieste Diventi Gloco , associazione culturale) http://www.triestediventigioco org/programma/
Carrara Show	Carrara Show			2015	http://www.carrarashow.it/
Bassano Comix & Discomania	Bassano Comix & Discomania		Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activitivi of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collicitors. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.		http://www.kolosseo.com/ba ssano-del-grappa/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)
orlive Comics and Games	orlive Comics and Games	70	"All intern of grandissini compless if letistic, prendono vita le nostre Free de l'umetto, poste ne cuore del pui importanti bacni e accomeni talani. L. jotre 12.000 metri quadrati di mostre mercato rivotte interamente al fantastico mondo dei manga, amime, fumerti, comics, modellini, catofin di admazzione, videoglochi, giochi, gothi da tavolo, giocoli piero, role playing games. L. Jospit nazionali ed internazionali appartenenti al mondo del fumetto, del cinema di amimazione e dei cospiay. Tantisme aree ternaticho dedicate a: Comics, Fartascienza, Steampunk, Fantasy, Set fontive Comics and forgatici per l'ocospiayes, torne di videoglochi, tornel di carte collezionabili, concerti e mostre sempre uniche. Comerti es mostre sempre uniche. In cospiayes, come di videoglochi, tornel di carte collezionabili, concerti e mostre sempre uniche. Comerti es mostre sempre uniche. Comerti es mostre sempre uniche. All manga a, amine, comics, modes, action figures, TV series del Carteta del primetto adel pagames, indeplaying games i) national and international guests from the world of comics, movies, uthernatic areas dedicated to Comics, Science Fiction, Steampunk, Fantasy, Cospiay, videogames, games tournaments, music concerties and exhibitoris).		nttp://www.bhccipiace.it/forliv e (Blu Naufilus)
Venezia Comics (Venice Comic Art Fest joined Mestre Comics)	Venezia Comics Venice Comic Art est joined Mestre Comics)		ovement in its reputation (artists's personal exhibitions in bay events) and in the numbers of visitors, Venice Comic ics and grouded Venezia Comics in 2016. The event is wers 14,000 sq m.	2010 (Mestre Comics) 2016 (Venezia Comics)	http://www.veneziacomics.co inv/ (associazione culturale VeneziaComix, grounded in 2006 by (Capigatti and Tenderin)

2016 http://www.cavacon.if/	https://www.festivaldelfumett o.com/ (Comics Lombardia)	http://www.kolosseo.com/ver ona-disco/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)	https://www.facebook.com/M :lanoComics (Blu Nautilus)	http://www.amicidelfumetto.it / (ANAFI - Associazione Nazionale Amici del Fumetto e dell'illustrazione)	http://www.kolosseo.com/tori no-fumetto/ (Associazione Culturale KOLOSSEO)
Il Cavacon Comics & Games è una manifestazione dedicata a fumetti, cartoril animati, Toreglay, goch i evideogranes, un evento d'intratemiento lor ded 1201 parima Cava de Tinneni, ridente cittadina dei salernitano, con un doppio appuntamento annuale, la Winter Edition e la Summer Editioni Con dodici edizioni all'attivo e migliaia di visitatori, la fiera ha viantato ospiti di pregio come David Lloyd, Licia Troisi, Glorgio Vanni, Emanuela Pacotto, eviasppe Camuncoli, Bruno Brindisi e molti afin.	The event covers 15,000 sq. m. with the exhibitors pavillions (comics-manga-anime- gadgdst-action figures-cards-clothes). It also includes a videogmaes area with virtual reality experience, cospiay village, horror, stages and lessons, drawing cortest live, role game area, privitua (kawaii photomachines), food.	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collctions. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.	All interino di grandissimi compiessi ileristici, prendono vita le nostre Fiere del Fumetto, poste nel cuore dei pui importanti bacini economidi italiani. L.; Jutre 12 000 metri quadrati di moste mercato ivolte interamente al fartastico mondo dei manga, anime, fumetti, comorts, modellini, actori figures, telefilm, cinema di animazione, videogonich, glochi, glochi da tavolo, gloco libero, role playing gannes, L.; psptii nazionali ed internazionali appartementi al mondo del fumetto, del cinema, del cinema di animazione e dei cosplay. Tandisime aree ternatiche dedicate a: Comics, Fartascienza, Steampunk, Fartassy Set Tonggatici per la cosplay come are ternatiche dedicate a: Comics, Fartascienza, Steampunk, Fartassy Set Tonggatici per la cosplayes, tomei di videogonici, fumel di congess centres located in Her main productive regions of Italy I Imore than 12,000 sq.m of commercial surface dedicated to the fartastic world of manga, anime, comics, models, action igures, IV series, animation movies, videogames, table games, roleptalying games I) national and framentaniques ts from the world of comics, movies thematic areas dedicated to Comics, Science Fiction, Steampunk, Fartassy, Cosplay, videogames, games tournaments, games couraments.	Reggio è sede, de quasi 30 anni, della più grande mostra di 'Italia dei fumetto de collezione. In momento d'incontro (ormai largo, se non quasi unico) di domanda e offerta di pricodi lescoi, prezioti per ognuno in modo diverso, a seconda anche del significato e dei ricordi, delle emozioni che essi suscitano in utti gli amnanti, giovani o vecchi che siano, anegarlicamente o di esperienza collezionistica, di quella che Hugo Prat chiamava letteratura disegnata. Ecco perchè, ogni sei mesi circa, i collezionisti di fumetti da tutta talia calano in massa su Reggio Emilia! 	Associazione Culturale Kolosseo organizes conventions in collaboration with public and private institutions, in order to promote the activity of collecting comics and LP music albums. The aim is to provide an occasion for the collectors to find rare materials and improve their collicitons. These meetings also aim at promoting the diffusion of knowledge related to the history and the cultural values associated to these objects.
Cavacon	Festival del Fumetto	Mostra Mercato del disco e del fumetto	Milano Comics & Games (previously Milano Anme Expo)	Mostra Mercato del fumetto di Reggio Emilia	Mostra Mercato del FUMETTO
Cava die Tirreni (SA)	Milano - Novegro	Verona	Milano	Reggio Emilia	Torino
ltaly	Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy	Italy
Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe	Europe
multiple (01) January + June	multiple February + May	multiple April + October	multiple May + September	multiple: May, December	multiple: June, October

Łódź
Bucharest Con reface, TV series, SG-Fi and fantasy, Japanese culture, anime, manga, boardgames, fracting can game sand ast burn for least, erchmology. The idea for this convention came from the famous Comin Con. San Diego International. Official language is English.  Conic Con Farm the under 6 famous American States and Connect and the connect and
greatest from the words of movies, itelevision, toys, conflicts, anime, manga and video Moscow.  Comic-Con Russia games. Bringing the best of popular culture to Moscow, Comic Con Russia will open its Moscow.  Goods in October, to provide a chance to see hyper-hyped premieres, meet with your favorite celebrities, amazing cosplay and of course, lots of surprises and tons of loot for attendees!
g - Starcon T
"Perché un comics as San Marino?" cytalcuno avea glia fittu un tentativo in passatioMa senza passione non si può arrivare loritano! Abbiamo voluto questo comics fortemente perché questa antica Repubblica se lo meritaval Coi suoi paesaggi medievali, con la sua belazza mozzafiato, con le sue radici ben salde su un unico grande ideale; la LIBERTA!" Quale migliori posto quindi per colitivare e di croscere la nostra passione per il fumetto per San Marino Comics il cospilay per il games e per la musica?"  San Marino Comics il cospilay per il games e per la musica?"  Without passion you can't goo fari We wanted this comics event because this old Republic deserved it With its Middle-Age landscapes, its breathtaking beauty, its roots in the great ideal of freedom! Is there a better place to cultivate and let grow our passion for comics.
- :
Lugano Fiera del Fumetto Hosted in Palazzo dei Congressi (Fair area), includes comics, manga, gadgets, original Lugano drawings.
_ 5
"LSCC is the UK's biggest and most exciting comic convention. Our show floor plays host to the latest and greatest in comics, comic related memorabilia, superheroses and graphic novels, and all thinking geek. Our panels and autograph sessions give fans a chance to comic Convention interact with their avourite creators, and our exhibitors are second to none, showcasing items from Comics to Cosplay, from Original Art to Toys."
Edinburgh Comin Annual fan convention organised by Hero Connentions and run at the Edinburgh Annual fan convention organised by Hero Connentions and run and television Connentions and an elevision industries, and includes talks, displays and a prize cosplay competition.
Wiescham Wales Comic Con management company - Mercury Promotions (UK). Fans are also known management company - Mercury Promotions (UK). Fans are also known levent related the levent decisional for cospigal, where they can take part in an bi-ammual competition.
London Film and Film & Comic Con promises to bring you some of your favourite stars from TV,  Comic Con  autograph assistins and hundreds of stalls full of TV and Film memorabilia to browse.

April	North America	Canada	Calgary	Calgary Expo	The show originally began in 2006 as a comic book convention, before moving on in 2009 to include actors from television shows and movies (see also Edmonton Saskatoon)	2006	103500	https://calgarvexpo.com/
October	North America	Canada	Vancouver	Vancouver Halloween Parade & Expo	Festival of aris, performances, cospiay, comics, anime, films, costumes and makeup. The festival consists of an outdoor Parade in downtown Vancouver and an indoor Expo made of music and performing aris festival, aris exhibition and comic convention.  We present and produce dances, music, performances and visual arts in fantasy. The methods we use include adopting costumes and/or props to represent the objects not extrodis in the real life. Halloween is the festival of fantasy and we present and produce arts in fantasy for this celebration. The myth from diverse cultures, fartasy films, comics, anime and video games influence the arts in fantasy the most, and we want the public to develop intercultural understanding by engaging themselves with our artists at Vancouver Halloween Parade and Expo.	2014	,	http://www.vanhalloween.co m/ihc/event/vanhalloween/en- us/index.php?cpcode=
VluV	North America	Canada	Montreal	Montreal Comiccon		2006	60000 (2016)	http://www.montealcomicco n.com
April	North America	Canada	Winnipeg, Manitoba	Central Canada Comic Con	s, r	1994	48000 (2015)	http://www.c4con.com/
May	North America	Canada	Ottawa	Ottawa Comiccon		2012	42000 (2015)	http://www.ottawacomiccon. com/
September	North America	Canada	Edmonton	Edmonton Expo (spinoff of Calgary Expo)	d in and Y.	2012	30000	nttps://edmontonexpo.com/
Мау	North America	Canada	Toronto	TCAF Toronto Comic Arts Festival (see also The Beguiling)	s, s, on	2003	25000 (2016)	http://www.torontocomics.co http://www.beguilingbooksan dart.com/
September	North America	Canada	Saksatoon	Saksatoon Expo (spinoff of Calgary Expo)	The Saskatoon Comic & Entertainment Expo (McK. Saskatoon Expo or SaskExpo) is a two-day pop-culture convention held in annually each fall in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan a Prainfaland Park. Attandess can shop fors of vendors and exhibitors, check out panels and workshops, meet their favourite stars and creatiors, and celebrate what makes them geeky with thousands of other fans in cosplay. There is something for every fan at Saskatoon Expo.	2014	13000 (2015)	nttps://saskexpo.com/

).com/	http://comicontoronto.com/	www.saltakecomiccon.com (Dan Farr Productions)	nttp://www.newyorkcomiccon com/ (Reed POP, a division of Reed Exhibitions and Reed Elsevier)	http://www.wwoomics.com San Diego Comic Convention)
http://hal-con.com/	:http://comicc	u:		
8800 (2016)		120000 (2015) Fan Xperience 50000 (2016)	180000 (2016)	130000 (2016)
₩ ÷ c	2001	2013	2006	1970
are accurate to committee to instance to the accurate as a sur-up restriction to gern and need culture. We confinue to strive toward becoming part of the landscape of Halifax and work toward being Canada's best fan-un" comic con" style convention. Nova Scotia has a history of conventions, many existed from the late 70's through to the 90's. but then infortunately fell out of existence. In late 2008, the idea to revive having a science fiction and gaming convention came about. A group of keen individuals began work on putting together a new Hal-Con (2010), borrowing the name from a previous Halcon convention which existed years before.	Annual comic book and pop culture convention.	□, ¬ ○ ♀ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬ ¬	"the East Coast's biggest and most exciting popular culture convention. Our Show Floor plays host to the letsest and greatest in comics, graphic novels, anime, manag, video games, toys, movies and television. Our Panels and Autograph Sessions give Fars a chance to interact with their favorite Creators. Our screening rooms feature sneak peeks at diffinar and elevision stower months before they this big and small screens: New York Comic. On is the second largest pop culture convention in America and the only one that takes place in the comic book, publishing, media and ilcensing capital of the world — Gotham Cirly. It is held at the Javits Center in Midtown Marhattan and is affiliated with C2E2, Emerald City, Comico and Special Edition: NYC.	Mission Statement: Comic-Con International San Diego is a nonprofit educational corporation dedicated to creating awareness of, and appreciation for, comics and related popular artforms, primarily through the presentation of conventions and events that celebrate the historic and ongoing contribution of comics to art and culture.  WonderCon and APE, the Alternative Press Expo  Tomic-Con international: San Diego—also puts on WonderCon. From 1995 until 2014, Comic-Con also was in charge of APE, the Alternative Press Expo, in San Francisco (1902-2014) and San Jose (1995-2001).  It's become so large that many attractions have spilled out of the convention center and have taken over the surrounding area including Petco Park and a good portion of the Gassiamp Quarter, which has choked the sidewalks and walkways with comic-culture fans of all ages.
Hal-Con Sci-Fi, Fantasy & Comic Convention (Hal- Con)	Toronto ComiCon	Sat Lake Comic Com / annually atternate with FanXperience	New York Comic Con	San Diego Comic Con (previously San Diego's Golden State Comic-Con, Hen San Diego's West Coast Comic Convention)
Halifax	Toronto	Salt Lake City, Utah	New York City	San Diego
Can	Canada	NSA	USA	USA
North America	North America	North America	North America	North America
ā	March	September	October	٧inc

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inttp://popcultureclassroom.or g/denvercomiccon	https://phoenix.comicon.com/	http://megaconorlando.com/ (FAN EXPO HG)	http://www.stanleeslacomicc on.com/	http://www.emeraldcitycomic on.com/ (ReedPOP)
114500 (2016)	106096 (2016)	100000 (2016)	91000 (2016)	88000 (2016)
2010	2002	1993	2011	2003
Perp Culture Classroom was founded in 2010 as Comic Book Classroom, a Colorado charlable organization focused on enhancing and improving student's teaming experience through the use of comic book media. At the same time, the founders of Comic Book Classroom also created the Denver Comic Con event.  Classroom also created the Denver Comic Con event.  The Classroom program debuted in 2012 with the first version of its Storytelling Through Comics curriculum in local area schools, with the help of hundreds of volunteers and donations. The Classroom program gives educators fresh, innovative materials and training that use the power of pop culture to bring their dassorom to life. Their debut curriculum viders students learn about and develop their own board games based on a fropic of the reachers and community organizations. Game Onl is a play-based corriculum, where students learn about and develop their own board games based on a topic of the reachers choosing. The Literacy Education in Adult Deention (LEAD) with Comics program is for incarcerated adults, helping to improve their literacy and art skills using comics and graphic novels. And Colorul History is a free, bi-weekly onnic about diverse characters and events from Colorado's history that comes with a teacher guide. In 2014, the Comic Book Classroom Board of Directors voted to charge the name to Pop organization.	Proenty Comicon is a convention & expo that celebrates Fandom and pop culture. This start features include pop culture actors, too confic book witers & artists, programming, exhibitors, costuming, and more. Prepare to Celebrate your Fandom! Activities include competitions and trivial games, kids' activities, celebrity guest appearances, costume contrests, a masquared bell, and discussion panels where you can learn from and interact with local and national experts and enthusiasts on a whole host of topics.	"MegaCon Orlando is the South East's largest comics, sci-fi, horror anime, and gaming event, attracting over 100.000 fans each year across four ligh days.  Everyone is a fan of something, and MegaCon is a place to celebrate all things pop culture. Get an autograph or a photo with your favorite guest and get the inside scoop activities. But an usure part is out in our popular Sketch Duels, learn from our "How To" workshops, and stasts battle if out in our popular Sketch Duels, learn from our "How To" workshops, and take photos with your favorite costumed characters it is also a great place to buy a unique gift (or treat yourself) with over 400,000 square feet of shopping madness."  FAR EXPO HO is currently one of the largest entertainment convention groups in the world. It hosts over 300,000 fans amurally at FAN EXPO CANADA, FAN EXPO FEGINAL, FAN EXPO DEGINAL, FAN EXPO DEGINAL, FAN EXPO DALLAS, TOHONIO COMICON, DALLAS, FAN DAYS and MEGACON TAMPA BAY.	Start Les's L'A. Comic Con is Los Arigeles' first multi-media pop culture convention, held annually at the Los Angeles Convention Center. L.A. Comic Con assembles the most exciting and innovative in convict or dargers. Such that the Los Angeles Convention Con Los Angeles utimate pop-culture convention culture, making Start Les's L.A. Comic Con Los Angeles utimate pop-culture convention. Fartening with convince legend Start Lee Innivals and Evina Mistress of the Dark. L.A. Comic Con is the only pop-culture convention owned and operated by true pop-culture isons. Our unique panels, autograph sessions and photo-ops give fans once-in-a-lifetime opportunities to truly interact with their favorite creators and major players in the enterial minerial ricitary.	Emerald City Comicon is the premier comic book and pop culture convention in the Northwest, taking place in beautiful downtown Seattle, Washington. ReedPOP also runs New York Comic Con, C2E2, Star Wars Celebration, BookCon, the Penny Arcade Expo.
Denver Comic Con (DCC)	Phoenix Comicon	MegaCon	L.A. Comic Con (Stan Lee's L.A. Comic Con)	Emerald City Comicon (ECCC)
Denver	Phoenix, Ariz ona	Orlando	Los Angeles	Seattle
USA	USA	NSA	USA	USA
North America	North America	North America	North America	North America
Pune	May	May	October	March

con.org/	http://alamocitycomiccon.co m/	ntp://comic-con.org/wca	http://motorcitycomiccon.co m/ (Michael Goldman Convention Promoter)	nttp://motorcity.comiccon.co m/
http://dragoncon.org/				
77000	73000 (2014)	60000 (2016)	50000 (2015)	50000 (2015)
1987	2013	1987	1989	1989
Dragon Con is the internationally known pop culture convention held each Labor Day in Atlanta. Organized for fans, Dragon Con features more than about 3,500 hours of comics, film, television, costuming, art, music, and gaming over four days.	The primary goal of ACCC is to celebrate the artists who provide entertainment to the public via comics, movies, TV, gaming and cospial, We also aim to bring unique celebrities and attractions to the Alamo City, allowing attendees to take advantage of the "mega" comic con experience. Amm City Comic Con also gives back to the community by participating in many fundraising events throughout the year.	Comics Convention. The show was the brainchild of Bay Area confics retailer John Barrett I) The original show included all the classic confics connects convention features: an Exhibit Hall with dealers selling old and new comics and there items, programming, anime screenings, and games. In 2001, after the 15th event, then co-owners Mike Friedrich and Joe Field (another prominent Bay Area comic retailer) decided they could no longer devote the time needed to maintain the quality of the show they helped create. They contracted Comic-Con international in hopes that the organization could fold WorderCon into the and moved it from Oxaland to downtown San Francisco in 2003. Since 2012, the event —now called Comic-Con international Presents WonderCon Arabitim—has been move to Los Angeles. The Anaheim Convention Center. In 2016, WonderCon will move to Los Angeles is ilenally the sister show to Comic-Con International entry of the state show, including comics, movies, TV, animation, the Masquerade, and asspects of that show, including comics, movies, TV, animation, the Masquerade, and	Motor City Comic Con gathers over 250 comic book creations, writers and artists, and more than fifty actors from the television and move inclusive. Over a million comics for sade, plus collectible toys, anime, movies, pop culture crafts and gaming merchandise Irruly something for all fans of comics and pop culture. Michael Goldman, owner of Motor City Comics, staged the first Motor City Comic Con at the Deaborn Civic Center in 1989.	Motor City Comic Con gathers over £50 comic book creators, writers and artists, and more than fifty actors from the television and movie inclustry. Over a millian comics for sale, pilus collectible toys, aime, movies, pop culture carits and gaming merchandisel. The women was launched in 1890 by comic book retailer Michael Goldman, who owns Farmington Hills-based Motor City Comics.  The show was held at the Deadorn City Comics.  1994 to 2000 before moving to its current home.
Dragon Con (previously Dragon*Con and sometimes DragonCon)	San Antonio, Alamo City Comic Texas Con (ACCC)	WonderCon	Motor City Comic Con	Motor City Comic Con
Atlanta	San Antonio, Texas	Oakland, Los Angeles, Araheim, California	Novi, Michigan	Novi (Detroit)
USA	USA	NSA	USA	USA
September North America	North America	North America	North America	North America
September	May	March	Мау	Мау

Мау	North America	USA	Houston, Texas	Comicpalocza	The first Comicpalooza was first held July 19, 2008, in the lobby of the Alamo Drathouses Theater mick fay, Texas. It wasn't a como convention; it was a simple signing event set to coincide with the release of "The Dark Kriight." Comicpalooza was conceived as a means of helping local comic creators reach the media and the public. The event drew 500 people with no advertising and no promotion. It was apparent that the Houston was ready from a major comic convention.  The following year Comicpalooza was re-imagined as a two-day comic book festival set in a local mail []. In 2010 Comicpalooza re-invented itself yet again, this time housed at the idea of the Lin 2010 Comicpalooza re-invented itself yet again, this time housed at the idea of againg of all types. In 2016, Comicpalooza bridged a deeper pathership with the Greater Convention & Visitors Bureau. The show has become one of the largest conventions in Houston offering its 40,000 annual attendees more than 2,000 hours of programming and 1.1 million square feet of space featuring exhibits, panel discussions,	2008 (20	13800 https:// (2016) (Startlin	nttps://www.comicpalooza.co m/ (Startling Events, LLC)
September	North America	USA	Portland, Oregon	Rose City Comic Con (RCCC)	rent, Rose City Comic Con is produced locally with a purply went for everyone comics, comic reators, and the creative process. Rose attendees with access to gaming, sol-if, cosplay, anime, in. Our goal is to provide you with a rewarding, fun, and	2012 320	32000 http://r	nttp://rosecitycomiccon.com/
March	North America	USA	Dallas	Dallas Comic Con	with with servent cs and ent, omic KPO ballas	2002 200	20000 http://f/	ntp://fanexpodallas.com/ (Informa Canada Inc.)
November	North America	USA	Providence, Rhode Island	Rhode Island Comic Con	ss ning, n.	2012 (20	17000 http://w (2013) (Alterec (2013) LLC)	http://www.ricomiccon.com/ (Altered Reality Entertainment LLC)
September	North America	USA	Baltimore, MD	Baltimore Comic- Con	<u>.</u> 0 .0	2000 150	15000 http://b (2013) m/	http://baltimorecomiccon.co m/
April	North America	USA	New York City	MoCCA Arts Festival	The MoCCA Arts Festival is a 2-day multimedia event, Manihattan's largest independent comics, carbon and animation festival, drawing over 7,000 attendees each year. With 400 exhibiting artists (sclaplying their work, award-winning honorees speaking about their careers and artistic processes and other featured artists conducting workshops, lectures and film screenings, our Festival mission accelerates the advancement of the Society's broader mission to serve as Manhattan's singular cultural institution promoting all genres of illustration through exhibitions, programs and art education.	2002 70	https://w s.org/mo ( Museum 7000 Cartoon / Society o present) - museum)	shitps://www.society/illustrator socy/mocoa-arts-festival (Museum of Comic and Cartoon Art (2002-2012) Society of Illustrators (2013- present) - they acquired the museum)

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titp://interventioncon.com/ (Onezumi Events Inc.)	<b>-</b>	/cbm.com/	utp://backporchcomics.com/ ABOUTSHOW.htm Bob Corby/Back Porch Comics)
http://intervention.com (Onezumi Events Inc.)	(Wizard World)	http://www.nycbm.com/	http://backporchcomics ABOUTSHOW.htm (Bob Corby/Back Porch Comics)
900 h (2015)	2.	<u>.</u>	£ 4 # 0
2010		1996	5000
Hun by the same people who brought you the critically-acclaimed (Re)Generation Who Doctow Who Convention, Intervention is a "Dragon Con-style" Sci-Fi and Fantasy experience in the Mid-Atlantic area and proper control and "Convention" but the Cour name is the combination of the words "Internet" and "Convention" but the Significance is despert than that. The core mission of this event is to Intervene and Inspire everyone who participates. With us you can come meet the creators, actors, developers, and producers of your favorite works and also learn about the process of how it's all made. Our Creator's Track within the con is all about mentioning people into fandom industries and many of our guest participate as mentors. It's a 3 day fandom celebration with a heart toward helping the community.	Part of the Wizard World series of shows (Madison New Orleans, Portland, Cleveland, St. Louis, Ghostbusters Fan Fest, Philadelphia, Boise, Chicago, Columbus)	The Big Apple Comic Con is a New York City comic book convention, the longest-running comic book/science fiction/lartas/phrorto/pop culture convention in New York City. It was started by retailer Michael "Mike Carbo" Carbonaro in March 1996 in the basement of the Church of St. Paut the Aposite. During its heyday from 2001-2008, the Big Apple Comic Con offen featured multiple shows per year, with a large three-day "national" convention held in November, usually held at the Penn Plaza Pavilion. The show was owned by Wizard Enfertainment from 2009 to 2013, but is now back in the hands of Carbonaro. Though it primarily focuses on comic books, the convention features a large range of pop culture elements, such as professional wrestling, science fiction/fantasy, film/television, animation, and and the large in the properties of the properties and fantasy novels.	SPACE is about the comics and the creators with no distractions. I've always felt a great creative buzz during the show."  In 1988, Bob Corby put together the first Oh, ComicsI an annual anthology title and sold it at the Mid-Ohio Con in Columbus. In 1985 Dave Sim announced his 'Spirits of Indendents' tour. The very first one was here in Columbus. The following year though the Spirits show disappeared he continued exhibiting at regular conventions. But all of the sudden, all of the regular conventions became "Pop-Culture" conventions in an attempt to bring more people though the door. The rate result is that the small press folks seemed to be selling less. At that point Bob decided to bring the 'Spirits' show back. Without Dave's involvement, Bob didit teel that he should continue with the Spirits name so he came up with the Small Press and Alternative Comics Expo or SPACE.  Involvement, Bob didit teel that he should continue with the Spirits name so he came up with the Small Press and Alternative Comics Expo or SPACE.  You never know what you'll find at S.P.A.C.E. A new favorite. An old one. Multiple genres represented, People knot just do milhocomics. The show has creators just starring out. As well as creators who have been working on their craft for quite some time. Pro amateur the common thread is they're all creating their word things.
Intervention	Wizard World	Big Apple Comic Con	Small Press and Alternative Comics Expo (SPACE)
Rockville, Maryland	New Orleans	New York Gity	Columbus, Ohio
USA	NSA	NSA	VSU V
North America	North America	North America	North America
September	February	March	March

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http://svcomiccon.com/ (Gseve Wozniak Stan Lee)	http://www.c2e2.com/ (ReedPOP)	http://starfestdenver.com/ (Fan produced, Stephen and (KathE Walker))	http://mtac.net/
2016	2010	1977	1999
Silicon Valley Comic Con brings together America's two greatest superheroes: Pop Culture and Technology. Presented by Steve Wozniak and featuring top celebrities, comics, independent artists, cosplay, video games, consumer electronics, music and apps. Silicon Valley Comic Con is where entertainment and our electronic worlds intersect.  Silicon Valley Comic There are loss of frans like me in San Fransicson and the Valley, and I'm accided that now we'll have a Comic Con with our very own flavor. Wozniak wrote on the event's site. "When I was growing up, it was hard to be a geek. It definitely wasn't cool, and that wasn't easy, I'm happy things have changed because now people are able to be proud of being geeks and being different. Silicon Valley Comic Con will be an event where fans of all kinds can celebrate the Age of the Geek."	The Chicago Comic & Entertainment Expo - also known as C2E2 - is a comic book and poor ulture convenition spanning the latest and greatest from the world of comics, movies, prelevision, tooks, anime, manga and video games. From a Show Floor packed with hundreds of Exhibitors and Artist Alley members, to Panels, Autograph Sessions and screening nooms featuring sneak peeks at upcomming films and television shows, C2E2 gives Fans a chance to interact with their favorite Creators and Celebrities and delivers a weekend of pop culture and landom in downfown Chicago.	Starfest is actually a collection of Festivals. Over the convention's 30+ years, we've combined many special interests into one big media event. We wanted to make sure that the unique fandoms that we were combining were still being served individually. We felt that the best way to do that would be to have programming, and in many cases, entitie from sedicated to each of those singular interests.  It is the individual Fest events at Starfest that make our convention unique. Starfest isn't a run of the mill science fiction convention or comic con.  Antfest Our convention Art Show Confest Revents take place at the Crowne Plaza Hotel Whof est Everything Dr Who HorrorFest Guests! Panels! Authors! Be Afraid – Be Very Afraid! WignorFest These guys love to party! MediaFest Lights-Cameras-Action! Cosplayers here's your chance to be Shiny! RobofFest Lange life-stard robots and plando-op. GameFest Coused on Board Games. Role Playing and Miniatures. ScienceFest Real science from scientists	Mark is an annual convention that produces events related to Anime. Marga, and relevant Popular Arts, providing enthusiasts and the public at large with a forum for patronage and education thereof. Established in 1999, MTAC has been steedily growing annual event Magaci in Nashville, Inensesse.  Magaci in Nashville, Inensesse.  Magaci in Nashville, Inensesse.  Magor Events: Cosplag Contest, Ramen Eating Contest, Anime Music Video Contest, Electronic Dance, Lolifa Tea Party, Otaku Ball, Risque Cosplay Contest, J-Fashion Show, Lip-Sync Contest, The majority of NMTAC at the properties are brown Middle Tensesses and the read-to-female ratio. The majority of our attendess are from Middle Tensesses and the read to the state, with a still sizable portion coming from across the country, MTAC is a Nashville-based community effort built around celebrating and educating about Japanese MTAC also gives up to being Music City's Anime Con by hosting top-notch musical shows with talent both local and foreign. MTAC also gives back to the community which hosts it it year.
Silicon Valley Comic Con	Chicago Comic & Entertainment Expo (C2E2)	Starfest Denver (previously Starcon + Starfest)	Middle Temessee Anime Convention
San Jose, California	Chicago	Denver	Nashville, Tennessee
USA	USA	<b>∀</b> SD	USA
North America	North America	North America	North America
April	April	April	April

Fowwoods Resort Casino, Connecticut Monroeville, Pennsylvania North Carolina Fichtburg,	North America USA North America USA North America USA
Philadelphia Fowwoods Resort Casino. Connecticut Monroeville, Pennsylvania Charlotte, North Carolina Fichtburg,	

August	North America	USA	Boston	Boston Comic Con	Produced by Informa as part of their Fan Expo line. Primarily focused on comic books, the Boston Comic Con convention also features media guests from film and television, cosplayers, an art auction, a tabletop/CCG/RPG gaming room, and an annual costume contest.	 http://bostoncomiccon.com/
August	North America	USA	Ohicago	Wizard World Chicago Comic Con (Chicago Comicon)	It was founded in 1972 as Nostalgia 72, Chicago Comic Con, and later as the Chicago Connic and Nostalgia down-which, by a local dealer (and schol teacher) named hancy Warner. Acquired by Wuzad Enterlamment in 1997 womed by Gareb Shamus, who'd started his comics-industry empire with Wizard magazine in 1991. Under Shamus, who'd started his comics-industry empire with Wizard magazine in 1991. Under Shamus, attendance more than doubled, and Chinago's became the second-algrest comics convention in North America, after San Diego Comin-Con International. But in recent years, as Wizard added conventions in 11 other cities, some local dealers became disenchanted.  Shamus says Wizard's multi-city expansion made some schedule adjustments necessary and denies that CZE2 is a competitor. They're a local comic-book show," he says. "We're a North American four for pop culture, it doesn't affect our business. He maintains that last year's Rosemont convention was the best and largest they've had, with attendance of about 70,000.	http://wizardworld.com/index. php/comiccon/chicago
August	North America	USA	Columbus, Ohio	Wizard World Ohio Comic Con (formerly Mid-Ohio Con)	Though it primarily focuses on comic books, the convention features a large range of pop culture elements, such as professional wrestling, science fiction/fantasy, illin/felevision, animation, anime, manga, toys, collectible card games, video games, webcomics, and fantasy novels. Given Pittsburgh's connection to George A. Fornero's zonible abocalyables films (with Romero's Zampie).  [1980]  [Mail, horror fans are also welcomed at the convention to meet and greet with the film's actors that regularly attend.	 http://wizardworld.com/comi coon/columbus (acquired by Wizard Entertainment in 2010)
August	North America	USA	Monroeville, Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh Comicon	The Pittsburgh Cominoon is a comic book convention held in Momoeville, Permsylvania, United States. It was founded in 1994 by Michael and Penee George. It is traditionally a three-day event (Friedsy through Sunday) and features at fan-friendly experience that allows three-day event (Friedsy through Sunday) and features a fan-friendly experience that allows. Though in timitanty fourcases on comic books, the convention features a large range of pop outtre elements, such as professional wrestling, science fiction/fantasy, film/television. Though it primarily focuses on comic books, the convention features y alimy television, fantasy novels. Given Pittsburgh's connection to George A. Romard's zombie apocalypse films (with Romero's Dawn of the Dead being filmed in the Momorwille Mall), horror fans are also welcomed at the convention to meet and greet with the film's actions that regularly attend.	Oomics World (1994–2014) Wizard World (2015)
August	North America	USA	Pensacola, Florida	Pensacola Comic Convention	Convention for fans of science fiction, horror, fantasy, gaming, anime, costuming, fan films, and indie films.	http://www.pensacolacomicc on.com/ (Pensacola Comic Convention LLC.)
September	North America	NSA	Austin, Texas	STAPLE! The Independent Media Expo		 http://www.staple-austin.org/ (Chris Nicholas/Austin Books)
September	North America	USA	Bethesda, Maryland	Small Press Expo	The annual SPX comics and graphic arts festival presents the best and brightest established creators in independent comics. In addition to the opportunity for public exposure and potential revent estivations are setablished to network with publishers and prominent creators, providing unique opportunities for the comion artisk whith publishers and prominent creators, providing unique opportunities for the comion artisk whith the statestim on policy and open access between attendees, exhibitors and volunteers. SPX is unique amongst the various comic book exhibitions, ast it does not allowed to exhibit.  SPX is closely associated with the Comic Book Legal Defense Fund (CBLDF).	http://www.smallpressexpo.c om/ (SPX: The Small Press Expo)

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http://www.alternativepressex po.com/	http://memphiscfc.com/	intps://www.comicbooksdalla s.com/		http://www.supanova.com.au /	http://www.ozcomiccon.com/	https://www.armageddonexp o.com/
						Auckland show: 70000 All shows: 130000 (2015)
1994	2010	2011		2002	2012	1995
The Alternative Press Expo (APE) is a convention dedicated to independent, small and self-publishers as well as artists of all sorts.  Dan's dao: I started the APE because I felt that there was a need for a convention where the artists often interesting work can display and promote themselves without having to drown out a 50 million watt display by some huge publisher.	"awesome geekery", A three day celebration of super heroes, science fiction, and fantasy.	North Texas Comic Book Shows produces a quarterly Dallas comic book show that is a throwback to the early days of confic conventions. Our conflict coin in Dallas is a great way from the meet national comic books and the more instituted comic books. The more instituted is a comic book and state and the large selection of comic books at every event. You will find comic books from the Golden and Silver Ages to current Modern Comics. Thousands and thousands of comic books are every sevent. You will find comic books from the Golden and Silver Ages to current Modern Comics. Thousands and thousands of comic books are available at the Dallas comic book stylow. Pricing stats at ast little as \$1.  If you are a Dallas area Cosplayer then you will love our Cosplay contest at 2 pm on Saturday. A Ingrillight of our comic convention in Dallas is the contest where Cosplayers are encouraged to act out their characters for a chance at a top prize of \$100. Get out your best Cosplay and head to the Dallas comic book show in Fair Park!  There is also a wide selection of toys, action figures, and comic collectibles at our comic cons. There is also a wide selection of toys, action figures, and comic collectibles at our comic or one. There is also a wide selection of toys, action figures, and comic collectibles at our comic cons. There is also a dhance that you will independ a farth shows. This tale than ground offers a variety of comic related at and locally produced onthic book. The somethine in the local artist alley to find out more.	Comics, fantasy and science fiction.	Suparova Comic-Con & Gaming Expo has been the welcoming home of Australia's pop- culture fandom since 2000, a place where fars in stayled by timingainary works emmanting from comics, sch-fi, fantasy, anime, gaming, nostalgia and literature have been able to come together to celebrate. A place to rejoice in cosplay ("cos"tume role-"play) in expressing your irrane gelex, your irrane child.  Australia syour irrane gelex, your irrane child.  At the very heart of it though is the opportunity Supanova provides to aspiring talent, artists and creators as a local national platform to showcase their work to an adoing public that erjoy and enthusiastically embrace newly invented worlds. Where our community of fans are at the ready to jump on for another adventure in helping cataputt projects towards the stars!  It's that passion for the next great adventure that beats at the very core of what Supanova Cominc-Con & Gaming is all about so jump aboard and whether you're seven or seventy, it's going to be a blast!	Oz Comic Con is a multi-genre entertainment and comic convention that has been running since 2012 and is a local franchise of New York Comic-Con.	Heid in Auckland since 1995, Wellington since 2001 and Christchurch/Melbourne since 2007, Amagedoon has a long history of events, evolved from a comic and trading card event in 1985 to showcase computer and video gaming, animation, and consumer electronics, alongside comics, wrestling, merchandise and a growing creative community in New Zealand. The convention hosts celebrity guests from popular movies. TV shows and computer games, who give panels, met and greet the public and provide a different atmosphere at each event.
APE (The Alternative Press Expo)	Memphis Comic and Fantasy Convention	Dallas	Melbourne	Supanova Pop Culture Expo	Oz Comic Con	Amageddon
San Jose	Memphis	North Texas Comic Book Show	Australian Movie & Comic Expo	Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide and the Gold Coast	Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney	, > Q @
USA	USA	NSA	Australia	Australia	Australia	New Zealand
North America	North America	North America	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania
September	November	multiple January, April, North America July, October	03 (April)	multiple: April (2 cities), June (2 cities), November (2 cities)	multiple: June (4 cities), September	multiple: March, June, October

:http://www.santoscomicexpo .com.br/noticias		2012	Aims at covering the lack of representation of comics as the ninth art in the terlitory, and the need for appreciation of artists and professionals involved in the creation of comics.	Santos Comic Expo	Santos	Brazil	South America	October
http://www.bienaldequadrinh os.com.br/		2011	Event dedicated to historical comics, promoted by the Brazilian Ministry for Culture.	Bienal de quadrinhos de Curitiba	Ouritiba	Brazil	September South America	September
https://comicconrs.wordpres s.com/inicio/		2010	Consolidada como a maior e mais tradicional convenção de quadrinhos e cultura pop do Rio Grande do Sul, a Comicioco MS segue o modelo dos demais eventos do género com uma ampla estrutura que oferce dois palcos com programação simultánea de painéis, workshops e outras atividades, convidados nacionais e internacionais, artists alley com mais de 50 artistas independentes, espaço de expositores com estandes de lojas, editoras e livrainsá, áreas de lazer e alimentação, desfiles cosplay, exposições, espaços lemátros, sessões de autógrafos e muito mais.	Comiccon RS	Canoas (Porto Alegre)	Brazil	South America	August
:http://www.ugrafest.com.br/		2011	Comics and independent publishing.	UGRA Fest	São Paulo	Brazil	South America	July
			Comic Con Experience Convention partner of CCXP Sao Paulo, staged in siverse locations across North-Eastern (CCX) Tour Nordes Brazil (touring event).		various (tour)	Brazil	South America	April
http://www.flq.pbh.gov.br/	148000 (2011)	1999	In 2011 surpassed visitors to events like Comic-Con in San Diego and was considered the biggest comic convention in America.	Festival Internacional de Quadrinhos	Belo Horizonte	Brazil	South America	Мау
http://www.ccxp.com.br/ (Omelete Group, Chiaroscuro Studios e Piziitoys)	196000 (2016)	2014	Multi-genre entertainment and comic convention, based on San Diego Comic-Con. It features contents about comics, TV series, movies, video games, literature and internet.	Comic Con Experience (CCXP)	São Paulo	Brazil	December South America	December

Appendix 2: Temporary shops' questionnaire: format and sample of answers

In	formation on the commercial activity
1.	Location of the temporary shop:
2.	Name of the company:
3.	Main activities and/or main products of the company:
4.	Foundation year:
5.	Permanent location of the company or branch: (city, country)
	(for multi-sited companies) Headquarters: (city, country)
Н	ow?
6.	How do you plan, organize and arrange your temporary shop in Lucca?
	Please select and order chronologically the following tasks according to the activities needed to organize your temporary shop (put numbers in the boxes):
	Activate previous contacts
	Access and participation to on-line forum
	Get in touch with the permanent owner
	☐ Select the location
	☐ Find a mediator-intermediary
	☐ Select the products
	Organize the shop space
	☐ Hire additional personnel for the temporary shop
	☐ Search for an accommodation in Lucca
	☐ Transport the materials
	Other:
	Other:
7.	What changes did you operate to the existing space in order to adapt it to your exigencies?  □ No change
	☐ Partial changes in the furniture
	☐ Complete change of the furniture
	☐ Building extra spaces (dehors, booths) ☐ Window style
	□ Display style
	☐ Other (please specify)

	By word of mouth	Facebook	Twitter	Email groups	News- letter	Journals, magazines	Flyers	Other (please specify)
Find contacts								□
Explore the location								□
Select the products								□
Publicize the temp. shop								□
Keep contact with clients								□
Other:								□
Other:								<b></b>
9. In which ways does y	our temp	orary strate	egy differ	from your p	permane	nt commerci	al activit	y?
Management:								
☐ Same staff (no. of people:	)		ra staff hii . of peopl	red in your le:)	city	□ Extra star (no. of pe		n/around Lucca )
☐ Same tasks		□ Dif	ferent tasl	ks (please s	pecify):_			
<ul> <li>On-going activity in permanent seat du</li> </ul>	-		activity ir manent s	your eat during	LC&G		,	ivities in your during LC&G
Products' selection/ sa	ales strate	egy:						
☐ Wider products' va	riety	□Na	rrower sel	ection		☐ Exclusive	selectio	on for LC&G
☐ New products		□ Old	d stock sal	e		☐ Items cre	eated for	LC&G
☐ Food (including pre	eparation)	) 🗆 Foo	od (only se	erving)		□ No food		
□ Self-selected produ	icts			ected with		of intermedia	aries	
Promotion strategy:								
☐ Promotion of the te shop starting befor		□ On	ly during	LC&G		□ No prom		rategy at all for op
☐ Promotion of the te permanent seat (i.e		•			romotion anent sea	for the temp at	oorary sh	nop in the
10. What are the main co	onstraints	or problen	ns that yo	u encounte	er while p	lanning your	activity	as a temporary

11	. What do you think	about the city regulation	ons regarding the tempo	rary shops?	
	Clarity:	□ not clear	□ indifferent	□ clear	
	Deadlines:	□ problematic	□ adequate		
	Accessibility:	□ accessible to all	□ professional interm	nediation is neede	ed
	Costs:	☐ too high	□ reasonable	□ low-cost	
	Other:				
12	. In which ways do y	you think the city regula	tions could be improved	l?	
13	. Which media platf	forms do you use for the	e promotion of your pern	nanent and temp	orary activities?
				Temporary shop	Permanent activity
	Printed media (ne	wspapers, magazines et	c.)		
	Online media (onl	ine magazines, newspap	oers, blogs, websites)		
	TV				
	Billboards				
	Official website				
	Facebook				
	Twitter				
	Youtube				
	Instagram				
	In-store promotion	n (posters, brochures, fly	yers)		
	Conventions and	events			
	Other – Please spe	ecify:			
w	hy ?				
14	. Why did you decid	de to open a temporary	shop during LC&G?		
	☐ To gain revenu				
	☐ Increase brand	•			
		booth in the LC&G are	a		
	☐ Other:				
15	. Did you participat	e in LC&G in the past?			
		omous participation out	i area, number of edition tside the LC&G area, nur		

	f you participated before, High rents for the comm					
	☐ Size of the available boo			a pavilloris		
	☐ Problems with the logist			ne event		
	<ul><li>☐ More visibility outside the</li></ul>		duning ti	ic event		
	☐ Higher sales outside the					
	<ul><li>☐ Possibility to choose a b</li></ul>		outsido t	an I C&G area		
	☐ Constraints due to LC&(☐ Other:		please s	респу:		
ı	J Other	•				
17. I	f you participated before,	did you notice	changes	in the city of Lucca w	rith respect to the follo	wing aspects?
	City image:	☐ Always the		☐ Improved	□ Worse	5 1
	Services, facilities:	☐ Always the		☐ Improved	□ Worse	
	_C&G organization:	☐ Always the		☐ Improved	□ Worse	
	edd organization.	□ Aways the	301110	_ improved	□ Worse	
18. I	Do you think that the prese	ence of the tem	porary sl	nops in Lucca is prod	ucing long-term chang	es:
	in the image of the city?		☐ Ye		Why?	
	in the identity of LC&G?		□ Ye		Why?	
	in the citizens participation	on to LC&G?	☐ Ye		Why?	
	in the public of LC&G?		☐ Ye		Why?	
	in the commercial partne	ore of LC&G2	□ Ye		Why?	
	Other significant changes:				,	
	Would you consider, for the conditions?	e next edition,	the poss	ibility to move inside	the LC&G area and, if	so, on which
[	☐ No ☐ Yes, at any	condition	☐ Ye	s, at the following co	ndition(s):	
				□ lower prices	for the exhibition space	e
				☐ shorter wait	ing time to receive a c	onfirmation
				□ better locat	ion:	
				□ more freed	om in the arrangement	of the space
				□ other:		
Wh	ere / When ?					
20. \	Which main factors influence	ced the choice	of the lo	cation for your tempo	orary shop (please sele	ct max 3)
	☐ Proximity to LC&G pavil					
	☐ Proximity to other temp					
	☐ Proximity to public facili					)
	☐ Proximity to monuments	•				,
	☐ Rent's costs	o or rioritage of		orey (wane, enarence	, main squaresm,	
	☐ Ease of communication	with the owner	s of the	permanent shop		
	☐ Previous personal relation		5 01 010	samunone snop		
	☐ Physical features of the		dow size	a etc		
	☐ Frigsical leatures of the second s				mercial premise	
	Other:		Perma	.st ase of the colli	Sidi promise	
ı						

21.	How would ☐ Planned Why?		selection of the location for provised	or your shop?	
22.	Which ones	among the fol	lowing information are kno	wn to you before your arriva	l in Lucca?
			Known 1 month before	Known 3 months before	Unknown before
	Map of LC8	kG's pavilions			
	Location of accesses to				
	Location of services (for points)	the main od areas, info		0	
	Location of temporary s				
23.	Are you loa □ Loan	ning or sub-loa □ Sub-loan	ning the commercial prem	ise?	
24.		consider the poere?	ossibility to open a perman	ent selling point in Lucca?	
25.		f Lucca provide tion for your ac	•	mporary shops during LC&G,	, would you consider it a
	☐ Yes, whe	ere?		□ No	
26.	Are there of	ther events/fes	tivals that you participate i	n?	
		ase specify whi pation in these	ch events:	🗆 No	
		e official pavili		ps outside the pavilions	
	How does L	.C&G compare	to these events?		
Wł	10?				
27.	☐ Yes, for t☐ Yes, for t☐ Yes, for t☐ Yes, for t☐	the research of the authorization the personnel s	the commercial premise on procedure selection (please specify):	oviders to set up your tempor	rary shop in Lucca?
	If yes:		mpanies / agencies / local pompanies / agencies / local		

, ,			
Age:			
Education:			
Profession:			
Target communities:			
29. Do you have any targeted commercial strategy in regard to LC&G au	ıdience?		
□ No □ Yes, please specify:			
30. Do you observe the LC&C audience as a community during the year	? (apart from	the festival c	duration)
□ No □ Yes, how?			
Which results?			
31. What is your expectation regarding the <u>financial returns</u> and total an LC&G as a temporary shop?	nount of reve	nues of your	participation in
32. Do you anticipate any significant <u>non-financial returns</u> for your con participation in LC&G? Please indicate the priority (you can choose n			ılting from you
	Not Relevant	Relevant	Very relevant
☐ Networking and new opportunities			
☐ Knowledge about the sector			
☐ Knowledge about your target audience			
☐ Raising brand visibility and value			
☐ Integration & strengthening the relation with the target community			
☐ Other – Please specify:			
Other			
Do you have any other points you wish to make?			
Thank you!			
This survey is conducted for research purposes, within the framework of Lucca Comics & Games" by the LYNX Research Center at IMT School fo			

28. Can you define your target audience?

shared with other researchers.

For any information please contact: Dania Marzo, e

coordinator: Dr. Yeşim Tonga Uriarte; project supervisor: Prof. Maria Luisa Catoni; PhD student conducting the case study: Dania Marzo). The information in this study will be used only for research purposes and in ways that will not reveal any personal data. You will not be identified in any publication from this study or in any data files

## Questionario – Temporary Shops @ LC&G

→ □ Altro (specificare).....

Info	ormazioni sull'attività commerciale
1.	Ubicazione del temporary shop:
	Nome della ditta: .
3.	Attività e/o prodotti principali commercializzati: GADGET - FIGURE - KATANE
4.	Anno di fondazione: 2015
5.	Sede permanente della ditta o del settore attivo come temporary shop: (città, paese) ALBANLLL (
	(per ditte con più sedi)  Sede centrale: (città, paese)
Co	me?
6.	Come ha pianificato, organizzato e sistemato il suo temporary shop a Lucca?
	Seleziono e ordini cronologicamente le seguenti attività, in base alle fasi organizzative (inserire numeri nei riquadri relativi alle sole attività svolte)
A	Attivazione di contatti / rapporti già in suo possesso
2	Accesso e partecipazione a forum on-line
3	🗷 Contatto con il titolare del negozio permanente
6	☐ Selezione del luogo
5	☐ Individuazione di un intermediario
6	Selezione dei prodotti
1	Organizzazione dello spazio di vendita del negozio
(2	Assunzione di personale aggiuntivo per il temporary shop
G.	Ricerca di un alloggio a Lucca
10	☑ Trasporto dei materiali
An	Altro:
17	☐ Altro:
110	
7.	Che modifiche ha apportato allo spazio esistente per adattarlo alle esigenze della sua attività?  □ Nessun cambiamento
7.	☐ Modifiche parziali agli arredi
3	☐ Completa sostituzione degli arredi
	□ Costruzione di spazi aggiuntivi (dehors, stand)  5-Stile della vetrina

	Passa- parola	Facebook	Twitter	Gruppi e-mail	News- letter	Giornali, riviste	Flyers	Altro (specificare)
Trovare i contatti		B,				91211 🗆 3		o
splorare l'area		Ď.		- 10-				o
elezionare i prodotti		A						o
ubblicizzare il temp. shop		B.				M o a		o
enere contatti con i clienti		A						□
ltro:								<b></b>
Altro:						□ <b>∂</b>	10	<b></b>
9. Quali differenze ci sc	no tra la	'strategia t	emporane	ea' e la sua	attività c	ommerciale	permane	ente?
Management:								
风 Stesso staff (numero di persone	3)			sunto in se ersone:				o a Lucca o di persone:)
Stesse attività		□ Att	ività diver	rse (specific	care):			
☐ Sede permanente in attività durante l	.C&G		iusura del rmanente	la sede durante L0	C&G			arie nella vostra e durante LC&G
Selezione dei prodott	i / strate	gia di vendi	ita					
Maggiore varietà d	i prodot	ti 🗆 Sel	ezione ric	dotta		Selezion	ne esclusi	va per LC&G
☐ Nuovi prodotti		☐ Sto	ock, fondi	di magazzi	ino	☐ Articoli	creati pe	r LC&G
☐ Alimentari (con pre	parazion	e) 🗆 Ali	mentari (s	omministra	azione)	□ No gene	eri alimer	ntari
☐ Prodotti selezionat autonomamente	i		odotti sele ecificare):		n il suppo —	orto di intern	nediari	
Strategia promoziona	le:							
☐ Promozione del ter iniziata prima di LC			omozione o durante		rary shop		a strategi mporary	
☐ Promozione del ter permanente (es. 'v	50				una pron permane		tempora	ry shop nella
10. Quali sono i principa shop?	li vincoli	o problemi	che ha in	contrato n	ella piani	ficazione de	lla sua at	tività di tempora
GESTIONE	2.6	OISTI	CA	DENT	0 -	2 -	MURA	

11. Cosa pensa dei reg	olamenti urbani che :	si applicano ai temporary	shops?	
Chiarezza:	▶ non chiari	□ indifferente	□ chiari	
Tempi e scadenze:	& problematici	□ adeguati		
Accessibilità:	□ accessibili a tutti	🔊 è necessaria l'inte	ermediazione di ui	n professionista
Costi:	□ troppo alti	<b>⊠</b> ragionevoli	□ bassi	
Altro:				
EUKT DETTI	KE607F	unicipali possano essere CON AVTICIPO E CON AI	Dr 11	IESE PER E ORARIE
13. Quali supporti med	iatici utilizza per le at	tività promozionali della	sua attività, perma	anente o temporanea?
			Temporary shop	Attività permanente
Materiali a stampa	(giornali, riviste, ecc.)			
Media online (riviste	e e giornali online, bl	ogs, siti web)	×	
TV				
Cartelloni, manifest	i teller T			
Sito web ufficiale			2	
Facebook				
Twitter				
Youtube				
Instagram				
Control - Contro	e promotion (posters	, brochures, flyers)		
Convegni ed event				0
Altro –Specificare:.				
				J
Perché ?				
14. Perché ha deciso d	i aprire un temporary	shop durante LC&G?		
Per incrementar	e i ricavi			
	a visibilità del brand			
☐ Non ho potuto	affittare uno spazio al	l'interno di LC&G		
☐ Altro:	WITH THE LANGE			
15. Ha partecipato a LO	C&G in passato?			
☐ Precedente part	ecipazione all'interno	o dell'area LC&G, numer	o di edizioni:	
☐ Precedente part	ecipazione 'autonom	na' al di fuori dell'area LC	&G, numero di ec	lizioni:
🙎 Questa è la prin	na volta			

16. Se ha partecipato in pred	edenza, perché h	na deciso di 'uscir	e fuori'?	
☐ Costo dell'affitto degl	li spazi commerci	ali all'interno dei <sub>l</sub>	oadiglioni di l	LC&G
□ Dimensione degli star	nd disponibili nor	sufficiente		
☐ Problemi logistici prin				
☐ Maggiore visibilità fuo			,	
☐ Maggiori vendite fuor	i dall'area LC&G			
☐ Possibilità di scegliere		gliore fuori dall'ar	ea LC&G	
☐ Vincoli dovuti all'orga				
☐ Altro:				
17. Se ha partecipato preced	dentemente, ha n	otato cambiamer	iti nella città d	di Lucca rispetto ai seguenti punti?
Immagine della città:	☐ Sempre ug	guale 🗆 Mig	liorata	□ Peggiorata
Servizi:	☐ Sempre ug	guale 🗆 Mig	liorati	☐ Peggiorati
Organizzazione LC&G:	☐ Sempre ug	guale 🗆 Mig	liorata	☐ Peggiorata
40 Divi		1	. d d	u bisas sati a lunga tarmina.
18. Ritiene che la presenza d				Perché?
nell'immagine della ci		□ Si	Ø No	
nell'identità di LC&G?		□ Si	No No	Perché?
nella partecipazione d			⊠ No	Perché?
nel pubblico di LC&G		□ Si	Z No	Perché?
nei partners commerc		☐ Si	Ŋ No	Perché?
Altri cambiamenti signifi	cativi:		***************	
19. Prenderebbe in conside	razione, per la pr	ossima edizione,	a possibilità d	di spostare la sua attività all'interno
dell'area LC&G e, in cas				
	ni condizione	Si, a condi	zione di:	
		•		per gli spazi espositivi
		<b>■</b> ter	npo di attesa	inferiore per ricervere conferma
				า:
				à nella sistemazione dello spazio
		□ alt	o:	T 8/2-6
Dove / Quando ?				
				el temporary shop? (selezionare max3)
□ Vicinanza ai padiglio				
<ul> <li>Vicinanza ad altri ter</li> </ul>				
				cheggio, aree verdi, tourist office)
	enti o siti di intere	esse monumentale	e nella città (n	nura, chiese, piazze principali)
🕵 Costo degli affitti				
☐ Facilità di comunica:		i dell'attività pern	nanente	
☐ Precedenti relazioni	A		S Series as	
Caratteristiche fisich				
☐ Somiglianza tra la su	ua attività e l'uso	permanente del f	ondo comme	rciale
C				

21. Come definirebbe la sce Perché? STUPIRTA	elta della localizzazione de □ Improvvisata & MESI PRII		
22. Di quali tra le seguenti i	nformazioni è in possesso	prima del suo arrivo a L	ucca?
	Noto 1 mese prima	Noto 3 mesi prii	ma Sconosciuto
Mappa di LC&G	S.	0.00	0
Localizzazione accessi principali all'evento		MOWTEN DE	50-
Localizzazione servizi principali (ristorazione, info points)	0	2	0
Localizzazione di altri temporary shops		A	MASH o
<ul> <li>23. Il fondo commerciale è</li></ul>	to razione l'apertura di un pi	unto vendita permanent	e a Lucca?
	esi adeguata per la sua at		rary shops durante LC&G, la
	PODIC		orary shop
Chi ?			
<ul><li>∑ Si, per la ricerca del</li><li>∠ Si, per la procedura</li><li>□ Si, per la selezione d</li></ul>	fondo commerciale di autorizzazione el personale specificare):		e il suo temporary shop a Lucca?
	lle aziende / agenzie / pro ne delle of aziende / ager		

Grazie!			
(&)			
Ha altre osservazioni?			
Altro			
☐ Altro - Specificare:			
☐ Rafforzamento delle relazioni con la community di riferimento		82	
☐ Incremento del valore e visibilità del brand		R	
☐ Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento		風	
□ Conoscenza del settore	12		
☐ Networking e nuove opportunità	8		
sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglier			Molto rilevante
12. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azio	enda o organ	izzazione, pi	roveniente da
11. Qual è la sua previsione rispetto al ritorno economico e ricavo total temporary shop?	e dalla sua p	artecipazion (	e a LC&G cor
Quali risultati?			
0. Osserva il pubblico di LC&C come community nel corso dell'anno, a  □ No □ Sì, come? SOCIR∑ NE TWORK	l di là della de	urata del fes	tival?
25No ☐ Sì, specificare:			
9. Ha una strategia commerciale mirata rispetto al pubblico di LC&G?			
Communities di riferimento: .\(\mathbb{ER}\mathbb{D}\).			
Professione:			
Gradi di educazione: KEDIO			
Età: 15-25			

Questa intervista è condotta con finalità di ricerca, nel quadro dello studio "Socio-Economic Impacts of Lucca Comics & Games" presso l'unità di ricerca LYNX a IMT Scuola Alti Studi Lucca (coordinazione del progetto: Dr. Yeşim Tonga Uriarte; supervisione: Prof. Maria Luisa Catoni; studente del corso di dottorato che conduce il casostudio: Dania Marzo). Le informazioni ottenute tramite questo studio saranno utilizzate esclusivamente ai fini della ricerca e in modo da non diffondere dati personali. I suoi dati non saranno identificabili attraverso nessuna pubblicazione derivata da questo studio o nessun documento condiviso con altri ricercatori.

Per ogni ulteriore informazione: Dania Marzo,

## Questionario – Temporary Shops @ LC&G

ln	formazioni sull'attività commerciale
1.	Ubicazione del temporary shop:
2.	Nome della ditta:
3.	Attività e/o prodotti principali commercializzati: A CTION FIGURES
4.	7047
5.	Sede permanente della ditta o del settore attivo come temporary shop: (città, paese)
	(per ditte con più sedi) Sede centrale: (città, paese)
C	ome?
6.	Come ha pianificato, organizzato e sistemato il suo temporary shop a Lucca? 5 NEGOZI, 2 NAGAZZINI
	Seleziono e ordini cronologicamente le seguenti attività, in base alle fasi organizzative (inserire numeri nei riquadri relativi alle sole attività svolte)
	Attivazione di contatti / rapporti già in suo possesso
	Accesso e partecipazione a forum on-line
	☐ Contatto con il titolare del negozio permanente
	✓ Selezione del luogo
	☐ Individuazione di un intermediario
	☐ Selezione dei prodotti
	✓ Organizzazione dello spazio di vendita del negozio
	Assunzione di personale aggiuntivo per il temporary shop
	☑ Ricerca di un alloggio a Lucca
	☐ Trasporto dei materiali ☐ Altro:
	☐ Altro:
7.	Che modifiche ha apportato allo spazio esistente per adattarlo alle esigenze della sua attività?  Ø Nessun cambiamento
	☐ Modifiche parziali agli arredi
	☐ Completa sostituzione degli arredi
	Costruzione di spazi aggiuntivi (dehors, stand)
	Stile della vetrina
	Stile dell'allestimento

Passa- parola	Facebook	Twitter	Gruppi e-mail	News- letter	Giornali, riviste	Flyers	Altro (specificare)
	Ø			Ø	M		
	Z		_ Dlos	Þ	N D		o
							o
					ADMON D		O
			anz Pa				o
							D
					_ ( s	050	o
no tra la	'strategia t	emporane	ea' e la sua	attività c	ommerciale	permane	ente?
			1				
e:)							
	□ Att	ività diver	se (specific	are):	a de la companya de l		
.C&G				:&G			
ti / strate	gia di vendi	ta					
li prodot	ti 🗆 Sel	ezione ric	lotta		☐ Selezion	e esclusi	va per LC&G
	<b>∠</b> Sto	ck, fondi	di magazzi	no	☐ Articoli d	creati per	LC&G
parazion	e) 🗆 Alir	mentari (s	omministra	zione)	✓ No gene	eri alimer	ntari
i				il suppo —	rto di interm	nediari	
le:							
				rary shop			
70. TO.,						emporar	y shop nella
li vincoli	o problemi	che ha in	contrato ne	ella pianit	ficazione del	la sua att	tività di tempor
	parola	parola Facebook	parola   Facebook   Witter	parola   Facebook   Witter   e-mail	parola Facebook I witter e-mail letter	parola Facebook   witter e-mail   letter riviste	parola   Facebook   witter   e-mail   letter   riviste   Flyers   Flyers

Chiarezza:	□ non chiari	$\begin{tabular}{ll} \begin{tabular}{ll} \beg$	□ chiari	
Tempi e scadenze:		□ adeguati		
Accessibilità:	☑ accessibili a tutti	□ è necessaria l'	intermediazione di u	n professionista
Costi:	₩ troppo alti	□ ragionevoli	□ bassi	
Altro:				
2. In che modo ritiene	che i regolamenti mur	nicipali possano esse	ere migliorati?	
	C-097		le emine	
	rap <sub>e</sub> =10	5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		
3. Quali supporti med	iatici utilizza per le atti	vità promozionali de	ella sua attività, perm	anente o temporane
			Temporary	Attività
			shop	permanente
	(giornali, riviste, ecc.)	LA RE		Ø
	e e giornali online, blo	gs, siti web)		
TV				
Cartelloni, manifest	i			
Sito web ufficiale				Z
Facebook				
Twitter				
Youtube				
Instagram				
Promozione in-stor	e promotion (posters, b	orochures, flyers)		Ø
Convegni ed event	النيديد والكنيموا			
Altro -Specificare:.				
	ONSUL 4			
Perché ?				
4. Perché ha deciso d	i aprire un temporary s	hop durante LC&G?	?	
	e i ricavi			
	a visibilità del brand			
☐ Non ho potuto	affittare uno spazio all'i	interno di LC&G		
☐ Altro:				
15. Ha partecipato a L	C&G in passato?			
		1.11/	0 600	6
Precedente par	tecipazione all'interno			
CDY Dance 1	tecipazione 'autonoma	/ - [ - ]: C	1000	1

16. Se ha partecipato in precedenza, pe	erché ha decis	o di 'uscir	e fuori'?		
Costo dell'affitto degli spazi com	nmerciali all'int	terno dei į	padiglioni di	LC&G	
Dimensione degli stand disponil	oili non sufficie	ente			
	te l'evento				
☐ Maggiore visibilità fuori dall'area	LC&G				
☐ Maggiori vendite fuori dall'area					
☐ Possibilità di scegliere una locati		ori dall'ar	ea LC&G		
☐ Vincoli dovuti all'organizzazione					
☐ Altro:	a. Load, spe	cincarc			
Alto.					
17. Se ha partecipato precedentement	e, ha notato ca			di Lucca rispetto ai seguenti punt	i?
Immagine della città:	ipre uguale	Ď, Mig	liorata	□ Peggiorata	
Servizi: Sem	ipre uguale	🗓 Mig	liorati	☐ Peggiorati	
Organizzazione LC&G:	pre uguale	Mig Mig	liorata	☐ Peggiorata	
18. Ritiene che la presenza dei tempora	ary shop a Luc	ca stia pro	oducendo cai	mbiamenti a lungo termine:	
nell'immagine della città?	, ,	□ Si	No No	Perché? TENPORANTI	
nell'identità di LC&G?		☐ Si	□ No	Perché?	
nella partecipazione dei cittadini	a LC&G?	Si	□ No	Perché?	
nel pubblico di LC&G?	u 200.0.	☑ Si	□ No	Perché?	
nei partners commerciali di LC&C	32	□ Si	□ No	Perché?	
Altri cambiamenti significativi:				Terche:	
19. Prenderebbe in considerazione, pe dell'area LC&G e, in caso affermati			a possibilità (	di spostare la sua attività all'interr	10
□ No □ Si, a ogni condizion	ne 🗷 S	i, a condi	zione di:		
		☐ pre	zzi più bassi	per gli spazi espositivi	
		□ ten	npo di attesa	inferiore per ricervere conferma	
		<b>Ø</b> mig	gliore location	+ SPAZIO	
		📶 ma	ggiore liberta	à nella sistemazione dello spazio	
		□ altr	o:		
Dove / Quando ?					
20. Quali fattori principali hanno influe	enzato la scelta	della loca	alizzazione de	el temporary shop? (selezionare m	nax3)
☐ Vicinanza ai padiglioni LC&G (C	Quali? Specific	are)::			
☐ Vicinanza ad altri temporary sho	ops (Quali? Sp	ecificare):		************	
				heggio, aree verdi, tourist office.	)
☐ Vicinanza a monumenti o siti di					
▼ Costo degli affitti			The state of the s	To a second	
► Facilità di comunicazione con i	titolari dell'att	ività perm	anente		
Precedenti relazioni personali	citolari deli att	avita perm	idi idilici		
The state of the s	zio: dimonsio:	a dimas	sione della fi	oostro	
☐ Caratteristiche fisiche dello spa					
☐ Somiglianza tra la sua attività e	i uso permane	ente del 10	ondo comme	ciale	
LI AIITO:					

A Pianificata	☐ Improvvisata	o temporary snop?	
22. Di quali tra le seguenti info	ormazioni è in possesso pri	ma del suo arrivo a Lucca?	
	Noto 1 mese prima	Noto 3 mesi prima	Sconosciuto
Mappa di LC&G		Ø	
Localizzazione accessi principali all'evento			
Localizzazione servizi principali (ristorazione, info points)	C C		Ø
Localizzazione di altri temporary shops			Z
23. Il fondo commerciale è in ☐ Affitto ☑ Subaffitto	affitto o in subaffitto?		
☐ Si, dove?	Ø No se a disposizione un'area s adeguata per la sua attivit	pecifica per i temporary sho	
<ul> <li>✓ Si, specificare quali: T.:         La sua partecipazione a qu</li></ul>	uesti eventi avviene: ni ufficiali 🏻 🗎 fuori dai pa	□ No diglioni, come temporary sh DTICO, DENO SPECIFIC	
Chi ?			
27. Ha collaborato con altre a  □ Si, per la ricerca del for  □ Si, per la procedura di  □ Si, per la selezione del  □ Si, per altre attività (spe	ndo commerciale autorizzazione personale ecificare):	locali per organizzare il suo	temporary shop a Lucca?
	aziende / agenzie / profes: delle of aziende / agenzie		

Ftà:			
Gradi di educazione:	ou terrin do	1200/1013	
Professione:			
Communities di riferimento:			
9. Ha una strategia commerciale mirata rispetto al pubblico di LC&G?			
□ No Sì, specificare: Anglezza Della Scelta			
0. Osserva il pubblico di LC&C come community nel corso dell'anno, a	al di là della di	urata del fest	ival?
☑ No ☐ Sì, come?			
To papersophic resoulation one as that configuration with			
Quali risultati?			
1. Qual è la sua previsione rispetto al ritorno economico e ricavo tota	ale dalla sua p	artecipazione	e a LC&G co
temporary shop?			
Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua az	ienda o organ	iizzazione, pr	oveniente d
Construct Observed the respecting theory and the first days			Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua az	re più di una d Non	opzione).	Molto
<ol> <li>Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua az sua partecipazione LC&amp;G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie</li> </ol>	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie    Networking e nuove opportunità	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante □
<ul> <li>2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&amp;G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie</li> <li>Networking e nuove opportunità</li> <li>Conoscenza del settore</li> </ul>	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie    Networking e nuove opportunità   Conoscenza del settore   Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie  Networking e nuove opportunità  Conoscenza del settore  Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie    Networking e nuove opportunità   Conoscenza del settore   Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento   Incremento del valore e visibilità del brand   Rafforzamento delle relazioni con la community di riferimento	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie    Networking e nuove opportunità   Conoscenza del settore   Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento   Incremento del valore e visibilità del brand   Rafforzamento delle relazioni con la community di riferimento	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante
2. Prevede qualche ritorno non economico significativo per la sua azi sua partecipazione LC&G? Per favore indichi le priorità (può sceglie    Networking e nuove opportunità   Conoscenza del settore   Conoscenza del suo pubblico di riferimento   Incremento del valore e visibilità del brand   Rafforzamento delle relazioni con la community di riferimento   Altro - Specificare:	Non rilevante	Rilevante	Molto rilevante

## Grazie!

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Per ogni ulteriore informazione: Dania Marzo,

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