

# REAL ESTATE AND MARKETING RHETORICS.

THE RISE OF HERITAGE  
IN THE FACE OF GLOBAL  
FINANCIALIZATION

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## ESSAY 105/06

HERITAGE  
CITY-MARKETING  
REAL ESTATE  
NEOLIBERALISM  
GLOBAL CITY

The contribution proposes to observe the inclusion of symbolic elements linked to the notion of heritage within the images used to promote domestic interiors in regeneration projects. This operation is conducted in two of the most important cities at the forefront of the housing crisis: London and Shanghai, and reveals remarkable parallels between Eastern and Western modes of communication and representation. The financialization of space, which had profoundly transformed the way we value, perceive and desire domestic intimacy, opens up issues of space falsification,

and distortion of the social models of reference. What these projects present us with are fictitious narratives that select not only materials, but also inhabitants, ambitions and social projections. What is new is the aggressiveness of the process linking the construction of spaces and the shaping of the subject, and the enhanced use of references to cultural elements able to secure economic returns. Their reassuring character stabilizes the perception of investment, forcing us to reflect on how we shape a specific idea of the city through images, and for whom we do so.

## INTRODUCTION

In time, images have always been foundational elements for the expression of politics, by virtue of their staged nature and instant influence (Schuppli, 2013). And however, with the rise of neoliberalism, this process brought to a progressive detachment between politics and dominant powers. Now finance, more than governments, benefits from the promotion of urban imaginaries (Harvey, 2005; Žižek, 2009). Their construction and use shadows an increasing aggressiveness in the process of city making that selects and hides chosen parts of the reality through the use of spoken and visual narratives. Their accessibility imposes to go beyond their commercial significance, and to think about vision as a construction that has social and material consequences (Pinotti & Somaini, 2009), because it addresses our understanding of the city, and influences our idea of living in it. As scholars have noted, an image is not merely an archive of information but a force that shapes the present (Rubinstein et al., 2013), which has more to do with its use value than its veracity (Didi-Huberman, 2006): images are objects of spectacle for the masses and of control for the rulers, and are employed by the dominant powers to structure not only the acquisition of information but also its processing and transmission (Schuppli, 2013).

The observation of the global real estate market and the rhetorics that inform its language enable to reflect about who really produces place and for who. Heritage, in particular, is gaining increasing importance as a worldwide rhetoric (Graham & Howards, 2008; Kearns & Philo, 1993; Hall, 1997) supporting the real estate market and the increasing financialization of space (Olmo, 2018; Amin & Thrift, 2017). The rising success of heritage is mainly linked to the fact that it recalls matters of originality and stability in relation to the parallel needs of diversifying the product against levelling aesthetics of the global market (Bauman, 2017), and the one of providing feelings of stability against the uncertainty of regeneration (Lowenthal, 1985). Additionally, the marketing of

urban legacy is a very flexible concept: it can promote stable, enduring qualities and at the same time innovative ones, it can refer to popular restitution and personal ascension, to local and to global public. The images employed to do that are assembled to inform a careful *mise en scène* of the past (Benjamin, 1983) that selects both objects and people in order to shape a new idea of the city (Brown, 2013; Sassen, 2017). The comparison of Western and Eastern models of spatial production pooled by the centrality of heritage in real estate projects, underlines the importance of this theme at the national and international level (Olmo, 2018).

#### HERITAGE AS A GLOBAL LEADING RHETORIC

Among the most interesting tendencies concerned with the coding of images and the shaping of marketing narrative there's the inclusion of cultural elements, especially where developers want to provide a sense of place to otherwise detached architecture. This notion is an extensive and inclusive field, comprising a number of complementary nuances that span from history to memory, identity, nostalgia, legacy, authenticity, originality, culture; and it is generally referred to as 'heritage' inside promotional materials. Although it is argued that references to heritage have always entered the rhetoric of place promotion and production, the financialization of the city is putting the recovery and promotion of heritage into a new perspective. With nation states desperately active in promoting viable products for the global market, heritage has grown increasingly linked to branding. The market, eager to differentiate the product in order to sell exclusivity, commodified anything bearing a trace of identity and heritage became a vehicle for economic appreciation.

Indeed, heritage occupies a central position in the economic debate concerning real estate. If we observe its inclusion inside the promotional materials of real estate market, we can easily recognize the relevance of this trend at the global scale.

Big pieces of the historic city are bought, re-fashioned and sold at exclusive prices. Often, one or more iconic buildings are serving as a center point for these developments that absorb and reflect the prestige of the old industrial presences. But not only ancient constructions are targeted, also more modern ones are becoming increasingly significant for the real estate market. With them, a series of cool destinations started to attract the interests of investors, promoting quirky styles of life and innovative neighborhoods. In short, the notion of heritage expanded, including social practices besides built artifacts. In all these cases, heritage is glorified through aesthetic redemption before than spatial occupation. Suspended between the tangible and intangible, historic legacy ends up being a place for romantic consumption and exclusive gratification.

This is particularly true in those cities where the real estate market is more aggressive, usually global tier cities at the centre of housing deregulation, as London and Shanghai, which are used here as privileged points of observation. Not only do they represent sites of strategic financial interest for Europe and China respectively, but they are two cities whose economic interests have long been intertwined through the housing market. Over time this has fostered openings, concessions and deals worth enormous sums of money and the gradual approximation of their respective spatial outcomes. London plays a central role in the web of financial interests linked to the real estate sector. Here, property is often used as an economic levy to serve the priorities of neoliberal policies. Shanghai is the financial centre of China and, here, the regeneration of property is very much part of the city's modernization effort (Figure 1). Certainly, the images produced to suit the international property market are actually based on very different political, social and economic contexts. Yet, the similarities of the results are striking: aligned with the global aesthetic, small, medium and large-scale representations of Shanghai can easily be mistaken for London. Picking up from the corresponding cultural deposits of each



**Fig. 1** *Office, Shopping Mall, Central Park, Heritage*, 2017, Hoardings around a redevelopment site in Shanghai, China. Photo by the author.

city, historic references are embedded into marketing images of architecture to support the idea of originality and legitimize urban regeneration projects. Especially, heritage is exploited as a symbol which can be easily extrapolated from the context to make sense of a new reality, and becomes a “de-territorialized signifier of lifestyle and identity” (Klingmann, 2007, p. 39), an abstract tale which addresses synthetic recognition. This is also done through the insistence on the aesthetic qualities of heritage, which is particularly significant when observed in relation to the global real estate market: with globalization, when architectural language tended to align to global aesthetics, a renewed necessity to promote the feelings, the emotions and visual stimuli arouse (Mousavi, 2009; O’Sullivan, 2001). In this sense, the reassuring qualities attributed to heritage are often used to pacify possible conflicts over land regeneration and offer a comforting “immediate experience of past time” (Brett, 1996, p. 38).

Through affection, sensations are transmitted immediately, and atmosphere, more than space accessibility and functioning determines the acceptance of the intervention, and people's inclination to see its benefits.

#### HERITAGE, COMMUNICATION, CONSUMPTION

In order to understand the pivotal importance of cultural narratives, we should assume that heritage is made and not inherited (Graham & Howards, 2008), and that memory “works by reinvesting places with new accretion of significance” (Kearns & Philo, 1998, p. 13). According to Groote & Haarsten (2008, p. 184), we should think that heritage is then used, or consumed: “what is consumed, however, is not so much the heritage itself, in the form of, for example, a building or a cultural landscape, but its representation in the form of historical narrative”. It is then easy to understand how the construction and appreciation of heritage become a matter of communication to the extent that certain authors have attributed to it the properties belonging to any other languages: heritage would be a mechanism able to create meanings (Hall, 1997) and a selection process that needs to be considered in relation to a wider economic, political and social context. The reasons for its success involve ideological, cultural and practical motivations: heritage acts as a stabilizing element against the uncertainty generated by transformation because it recalls continuity and stability; these qualities are accompanied by feelings of recognition and belonging, so that the regeneration of heritage becomes a socially relevant operation, and guarantees the acceptance of possible privatizations; at the same time the marketing of authenticity allows the project to be differentiated from the more generic aesthetics of the globalization of places. Marketing images try to hold all these tensions together: thanks to its enduring qualities, heritage extends (over time) the perception of a stable economic value associated with the transformations that include it. Whether the interpretative

power of reading is still encouraged, or whether these images are purely representative visualizations, or even aesthetic taxonomies (Eco, 1987) is under consideration. What needs to be clear is that contents, but also the mechanisms that make contents available, are part of the same strategies that codifies space and make it available.

### **Heritage qualities: originality and stability**

What makes the reference to the past so intriguing is the contrast between the constant changes and innovations that characterize the present world and the attempt to attribute some eternal character to it (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983/1987). This is because history lends a sense of over lasting legitimation and therefore the past is appropriated in order to construct the future as required. Overarching projects involving heritage, carefully select a series of values able to build on this promise. Among all the qualities that have been attribute to heritage over time (among which continuity, identity, legitimation, stability, recognition, belonging, comfort and many others), it is particularly significant, for the purposes of this article, to focus on the qualities of originality and stability, which are linked to the world of real estate in a privileged way.

The meaning of originality is two faceted, on the one hand referring to the origins, and therefore addressing an historical past, on the other hand, referring to an imaginative process projected towards the future. Several of the developments in London and Shanghai are original in both ways, a mixture of enduring qualities, and pioneering, entrepreneurial experiences representing a new chapter for the city. Some redevelopments in London are presented as “an opportunity to live inside a piece of history [...] a tribute to what the area once was, but in the spirit of evolution and progress, where the past and fuels the power of the imagination” (King’s Cross and King’s Cross gasholders, London). The sign at the entrance of the marketing suite in Nine Elms, explains: “where heritage reaches new heights” signifying a relationship between the growth of the city and the advertised towers, but also suggest-



ing possibilities of personal ascension. What is implied is that the buyer, by appropriating a piece of history, can contemplate the city at his feet as the lord in the castle did: the legacy on site legitimates his powers while its aesthetic dimension levels the conflicts over appropriation. In Shanghai the promotional advertisements for Better City, Better Life shows this clearly. The slogan belongs to the world expo of 2010, but it is still used by the municipality of Shanghai as a declaration of intents when new redevelopments are started in town. One of them juxtaposes two apparently contrasting pictures from the top: on the left-hand side the image of ancient temples, on the right, the image of an urban landscape at night, where towers and lights suggest the idea of a lively, global city that never stops. The juxtaposition of contrasts (ancient and new, global and local in this case) is a well-proven mechanism of communication (Greimas, 1966; Marin, 2009) used here to mean that there is no contradiction in what you are buying: originality is both linked to the past and the future, a comforting reference and an engine to renewal. But the originality that heritage entails is also a way out of globalization. It is thanks to a detectable character that places can be distinguished the ones from another, and they can be identified. The irreplaceable nature of places is often exploited to brand identity against the homogenized visions of the urban environment that characterize global cities. Especially, the idea of originality is manufactured through cut and paste operations that select and rearrange some fragments from the past to inform bespoke narratives (Benjamin, 1983), often resulting into an artificial assemblage of symbols and codes à la carte (Eco, 1987; Žižek, 2009). Usually, they are quick and easy to understand, prosaic and obvious. No website or leaflet fails to recall the glorious past of the site under regeneration and accompanies archive pictures with extensive historic narrations. In London, red phone boxes, the Big Ben and colored housing doors are included inside advertisements to promote the city to Chinese investors. At the scale of the building, elements of originality are also embedded inside pictures and CGIs. Interiors showing exposed bricks, Victorian

fireplaces, steel furniture and industrial-style windows as a reference to Britishness are countless. Brochures insist to explain that “the architecture embodies the historic legacy, the unique heritage, and the best of British design” (Queen’s Wharf, London). The most circulated render of Battersea Power Station redevelopment on the South Bank, depicts the building using the same angle that we can observe on the famous album cover *Animals* by Pink Floyd (1977). The dingy, denouncing tones of the album cover are renovated with much brighter nuances, but it is clear that the intention here is to refer to one of the best-known products of British popular culture. In Shanghai, traditional elements used inside visualizations of newly built apartments include old-style wood furniture with a twist, statues of guardian dragons, or Feng Shui elements. Wallpapers are often in tones of blue and white, reminding of ceramic decorations. Other elements are the abundant use of water features and gardens, red lanterns decorating the corners of the houses, water lilies, bamboos and cherry trees moving into the wind, rocks and waterfalls recalling the landscape views painted by the old masters. Expressions like “harmonious picture of life and nature” (Rockbund, Shanghai) refer to the successful integration of the architecture within the landscape, and promotional videos tend to emphasize the presence of wildlife within the redevelopment.

However, behind the reassuring appearance of marketing images, lays a fundamental uncertainty, resulting from the profound cultural, social and physical transformations of the city. This circumstance activates feelings of nostalgia towards a mythical condition of stability, indented as a “moving desire of continuity within a fragmented world” (Bauman, 2017, p. XI). This “instills in many people the idea of needing a tradition [...]. Besieged by the sense of loss and by the current changes, we hold on what remains of stability not to be disoriented” (Lowenthal, 1985, pp. 134, 135). Thus, due to the promises of continuity that it offers, heritage becomes a way to mark the desire of stability. The way the South Small Gate area in Shanghai is advertised offers a good example (Figure 2).

The site, one of the biggest areas to be regenerated as part of the Huangpu Riverbank redevelopment project, is enclosed by walls but presents advertisements of very different kind depending on the area they are facing. On the main road, the busy six lanes Zhongshan S. Rd., renders of the new development are hyperreal and uncanny at the same time, super detailed and saturated, very little atmospheric. Picture is just information, a projection of a shiny reality that matches the international ambition of the riverfront regeneration. On Xundao St., more than 600 m further inside the riverfront, lays a packed popular area edging with the redevelopment site. As many others of the kind it is in danger of being knocked down and people displaced according to an extensive cleansing logic that underwent the city's renovation in the last decade. On this side of the wall another kind of representation applies: here, local artist painted a landscape scene directly on the wall with rocks and waterfalls amongst the mist. The black and white composition clearly recalls the traditional ink paintings that are part of Chinese cultural legacy, and provides feelings of immediate recognition, mixed with comfort and consolation. The bond with nature, is here even more important because provides an indirect reference to the philosophical concept of harmony between humans and environment.

The specific qualities of originality and stability that we attribute to heritage are thus recalled in many ways (iconic images, cultural references, known clichés). It is now necessary to understand what mechanisms make it possible to absorb these concepts within a more articulated framework of meaning, prepared for the spectator, i.e. it is necessary to dwell on the instruments of representation and the semiotic devices that convey meaning.

### **From meaning creation to the building of fiction**

To achieve desirability, marketing strategies often count on symbolic and synthetic images, that have the advantage of being immediately recognizable, and therefore linked of



**Fig. 2** *South Small Gate*, 2017, Hoardings in Xundao St., Shanghai, China. Photo by the author.

feeling of comfort and understanding. At the same time, they leave some space to the reader to enter the interpretation, by activating conscious and subconscious mechanisms of recognition and appreciation (Wunenburger, 1997/1999, p. 402). Advertisement materials are usually plenty of references. The better known are references, the easier it will be for the viewer to imagine the product. The idea of activating cross referential relationship thanks to a collection of images was firstly explored by Aby Warburg through his *Atlas Mnemosyne* (1924-1929). For him, the juxtapositions of images encourage a process of interpretations in relation to preexistences able to rebuild a wider cultural meaning (Centanni, 2002). The process activated in this way is understood, in the words of Didi-Huberman (2006), as a technique for creating meaning: starting from what we see, we initiate our interpretation in relation to the references given. Active memory is sup-

ported by intertextuality and hypertextuality which help us to make sense of the dense and complex connections that every image entertains with the ones that have been produced elsewhere or in the past, and their “relationship of allusion, withdrawal, destruction, distance, citation, parody, and conflict” (Latour, 2009, p. 98).

The set of relationships that we recognize among references is called “intertextuality” (Stam et al., 1992/1999, pp. 264, 269) and guides the spectator in his interpretation. Eco (1978), for examples, talks about intertextual frames as the references recalled by the reader in front of a text. Floch (1990), on the other hand, suggests that the activity of signification is based on the assemblage of elements: cultural references promote new meanings based on both personal interpretation shared knowledge. This idea was derived by the bricoleur of Lévi-Strauss (1958/1963) who stated, already in his *Structural Anthropology*, that the very essence of the myth does not inhabit the single elements that inform it, but the “bundles of relations” that link the one to another (Stam, 1992/1999, p. 32). This means that the combination of images in Warburg’s Atlas, as much as in Bataille’s Documents and Eisenstein’s montages, produces an effect on our conscience, an opening of our mind that kicks off interpretation. Real estate brochures span from the inclusion of modern painting inside CGIs, to the use of Impressionist’s landscape for the brochure (Chelsea Waterfront, London). They allude to a cultural icon when showing the Pink’s Floyd cover of *Animals* (Battersea Power Station, London), and to Tiffany’s Jewels when showing Audrey Hepburn photographs, or to the historical city of Rome when showing models wearing Bulgari’s jewels inside the interiors of Suhe Creek redevelopment (Shanghai).

Hypertextuality is another technique widely used to promote a sense of recognition through references. In particular, hypertextuality is intended as the relationship existing between one text and a former one that the first text modifies, extends, transforms or elaborates. This happens, for example,

when the new interiors of an apartment adopt a style *à la manière de* and add an element of innovation. Inspiration is a recurrent word: “Versace Palm Print, translated onto the mosaic walls, is inspired by the Greek and Roman myths that are part of the Versace DNA, and will transport you to the Italy of the Renaissance” states the brochure of Aykon (London), while 190 Strand refers to grand feature architecture when talking about a “classically-inspired colonnade runs along the length of 190 Strand towards the River Thames” (190 Strand, London). Similarly, the masterplan and architecture of Royal Wharf is inspired by the classic great estates of London –most famously forged in the Georgian and Victorian eras– which are “generously proportioned and elegantly finished” (Royal Wharf, London). Projects are infused with aesthetics and values coming from history and the choice of materials is heavily based on allusions. “Traditional york-stone paving, granite setts and laybys, and corridors of plane and oak trees convey the message that King’s Cross is an integral part of London” states King’s Cross Streetwise, while Keybridge refers to “Timeless brick. London is a city of bricks. Regal terrace houses, robust railway arches, elegant mansion blocks and elaborate warehouses share this humble yet seemingly eternal material. Keybridge is a contemporary addition to this long and proud building tradition.” Interiors too, contribute to the visual identity of the places: “architecture takes on industrial cool, is ware-house inspired, and full of those traditional details which have been thoughtfully included in these quintessentially British homes” (Queens Wharf, London). Often, recalling craftsmanship helps to validate the authenticity of the details: “this historic site demands the most impeccable standards of design and craftsmanship that bridge contemporary living and past aesthetics” remembers 190 Strand, while for City Island “the innovative use of strong, distinctive and earnest materials, (is) a nod to the area’s artisan past.”

The idea that meaning can be created from a collection of images suggests that we should once again look more closely at



**Fig. 3** *Heritage assemblage*, 2017, Hoardings around a redevelopment site, Shanghai, China. Photo by the author.

the technique of collage as a tool capable of generating fiction. After all, the promotional images we find in real estate brochures are just that: measured associations of references, calculated assemblages that aim to stimulate associations of ideas, references and sensations in the mind of the subject (Figure 3). However, there are some differences, and collage, a technique traditionally capable of constructing meaning through the reworking of fragments, is observed here in its less provocative evolution. In the marketing montage, images become a tension-free accumulation of visual data in the original sense of “gluing together” rather than an artistic practice that includes an element of critique or judgement - hence tension.

Its in the 1920s and 1930s that the practice of (photo)montage surpasses the visual arts to be experimented in the fields

of cultural critique (Benjamin, 1983; Blöch, 1935/1992; Brecht, 1963; Kracauer, 1963/1982), history (Benjamin, 1983) and history of images. This approach, debtor to a big number of artists and directors, was iconological: the heterogeneous archive of information left to us by history, loaded with objects, facts, actions, people, has been used to elaborate an analysis of history, of meanings, and of representation through the montage (Pinotti & Somaini, 2009, p. 29; 2016, p. XVII). The juxtaposition of fragments was a resource (Schlögel, 2011), a way to take a political position through reworked visions. The collages presented by CGIs, however, are far from the provocative attitude that characterized these studies, and from the intent to create further meaning of social and political relevance. The ironic, permissive and curious attitude of post-modern architects, in particular, “evaluated the ambiguity and the plurality of styles, the historic citation and the vernacular, the collective memory, the contamination among traditional and new” (Gurisatti, 2006, p. 422). Compatibility and freedom of expressions allowed them to play with the masks and signs of history, getting a surplus of expressivity and a great communicational effect (*ibidem*). Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (1972), with a specific take on architecture aesthetics, counterpoised to the pure forms the irony of the impure and heterogeneous citations, a rediscovered identity made of localism and plural meanings. British collage, on the other hand, used the eclecticism of references from popular culture as a way to disrupt the common understating of the same elements and to inspire new visions. A great example is the collage titled *Just what is it that makes today's home so different, so appealing?* part of the exhibition *This is tomorrow*, occurred in 1956 in London. Hamilton, the author of the above-mentioned collage, recycled cut-outs of form the contemporary newspapers showing objects and myths of consumerism within a modern living room. Placing side by side popular symbols with corrosive irony, the intent was to shake society's imaginaries. Later on, in the 1970s, Archigram produced seductive visualization of futuristic worlds whose



components were assembled through the use of different techniques. These images did not want to be descriptive but evocative and inspiring, they portrayed specific architecture devices and associated them with cut-outs of people and writing from the magazines. They drew non-consequential relations and asked the viewer to elaborate on the fantasy. Equally, other architects who were producing more operative architectural drawings in the same years, employed similar techniques. The Smithsons, for examples, made large use of collage associated with hand drawing when designing Robin Hood Gardens. The intent was to highlight selected pieces of architecture (the streets in the sky, the common garden) and to promote their social function.

The eclecticism of marketing collage, on the other hand, is only superficial, a matter of aesthetic. The representation of the city is reduced to a game of signs, which generates from the allegoric intention of its promoters: the *mise en scène* of an aura, charged in historic significance is, at heart, pure fiction. “The layout’s potential for personalization is inspired by the Georgian penchant for decorating a space with a collection of art or artefacts” recites Royal Wharf’s brochure, alluding to the richness of references coming from the assemblage of distant pieces of furniture. The representation related to architecture “becomes an accumulation of visual data, each fragment adapted and contextualized by editing of imagination” (Brown, 2013, p. 127). The final images, despite their evocative intent, end up being aesthetic taxonomies of the west (Eco, 1987), collections with no further meaning besides accumulation: the furniture, the pictures on the walls, the materials, the atmospheres. Objects are grasped on their more obvious and worn-out side, while fashion covers the surface with atmospheric marvels. This historic depletion anticipates also a nervous exhaustion: the reconstruction of a desirable world made of fragments is just a fetish to made us think that we found a solution through the dream (Bianchetti, 2011). Its exactness is not only a technical matter but transfers its qualities to the places it depicts, it inhabits

the place and reflects on who lives there (Ferrari, 2012). Differently from the cut-outs of British collage and post-modern architecture that concealed further meaning inside the images, virtual montages want to render everything explicit. While the first ones “played with the signs of city and history to obtain an imaginative and amusing result, bizarre and captivating, humoristic” (Gurisatti, 2006, p. 424), the second ones are extremely serious, because their truthfulness is a proof of value for the investment. The juxtaposition does not produce “constellations of citations charged in expressive tension” (Gurisatti, 2006, p. 425) but simple fiction, which by nature downplays every contrast, moderates any tension. The result is an absolute flatness of meanings behind the colorful surface. Nevertheless, Warburg’s hypothesis “that the work of art is a significant symptom and source for a wider cultural reconstruction” (Centanni, 2002, p. VIII) is still valid: marketing collages invent perfect worlds which lean against history but are fueled by economy. It is exactly because economy needs to extract value from the newly created realities, that the specific qualities of heritage are targeted: they represent a resourceful expedient to increase and stabilize both the symbolic and economic significance of place.

## CONCLUSIONS

The observation of representative regeneration projects in London and Shanghai showed that heritage is a very flexible concept, able to adapt to the need of city-marketing. The comparison of Western and Eastern spatial production models, coupled with the centrality of heritage in real estate projects, underlines the importance of this topic at the national and international level. In particular, its aesthetization is observed worldwide: with globalization, when architectural language tends to align to global aesthetics, a renewed need arises to promote sensations, emotions and visual stimuli. In this sense, the reassuring qualities attributed to

heritage are often used to pacify possible conflicts over land regeneration and offer a comforting immediate experience of the past. Through affection, feelings are transmitted immediately, and the atmosphere, more than the accessibility and functioning of space, determines the acceptance of the intervention, and the propensity of people to see its benefits. Heritage is thus exploited as a symbol that can be easily taken out of context to make sense of a new reality. The images try to hold this tension together: the reassuring outlook of heritage is built on its perpetual availability as a testimonial meaning made accessible through representation.

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