

MEGA-EVENTS AND HERITAGE:

THE EXPERIENCE OF FIVE EUROPEAN CITIES

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JPICH
Heritage in
Changing
Environments

MEGA-EVENTS AND HERITAGE:
THE EXPERIENCE OF FIVE EUROPEAN CITIES
National case study report publication

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REVIEW

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LAYOUT AND COVER DESIGN

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FRONT COVER

The Ibrahim Khan, Pafos (Evanthia Dova, 2017)

BACK COVER

Genoa, Palazzo Doria Tursi (Zachary Mark Jones, 2019)
Milan, Piazza Duomo (ExpoinCittà, 2014)
Wrocław, 2016 European Capital of Culture (Wrocław Official
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HOMEE

Heritage Opportunities/threats within Mega-Events in Europe:

Changing environments, new challenges and possible solutions for preservation in mega-events embedded in heritage-rich European cities



Mega-events and heritage: the experience of five European cities

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FOREWORD

Case Studies of Mega-events in Heritage-rich Cities

In the past, many cities used mega-events as a strategy to boost development. The creation of new facilities and infrastructures for mega-events typically targeted areas of expansion outside the historic city fabric. Today, on the contrary, mega-event organizers are beginning to opt more for the re-use of existing facilities and areas. This paradigm shift represents both a potential opportunity and threat for heritage-rich cities in Europe. The HOMEE research project explores, for the first time, the relationships between the planning and implementation of mega-events and cultural heritage. The project investigates past events and draws on them in the development of new policy tools that deal with these emerging opportunities and threats in planning and implementing mega-events in heritage-rich cities.

In particular, this report of five case studies of mega-events hosted in heritage-rich cities (Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture, Milan Expo 2015, Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture, Hull UK City of Culture 2017, Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture) is the second major deliverable (A1.4) of the “HOMEE – Heritage Opportunities/threats within Mega-Events in Europe: Changing environments, new challenges and possible solutions for preservation in mega-events embedded in heritage-rich European cities” research project, financed under the European call “JPICH Heritage in Changing Environments.” By leveraging the conceptual framework developed in a dedicated literature review (i.e. the first deliverable of the HOMEE project), it provides new information on recent events and highlights important issues pertaining to cultural heritage and urban transformation. The information and interpretations collected also provide valuable insights for academics, experts and policy makers connected to these events to show the far-reaching impacts and potential for their events in historic contexts, particularly regarding the legacies of these events. The aim of the National Case Studies Report is to present a detailed analysis of each case as well as to highlight

the key themes and overarching issues. Our report provides clear evidence regarding the importance of studying and improving policy making at the crossroads between mega-event planning and management and heritage policy.

The five case studies present a wide variety of situations, spanning from small-sized cities like Pafos, Cyprus, to global capitals such as Milan, Italy. Also, we studied diverse events that provide different instances of planning and policy making, allowing a first and broad-ranged exploration. The characteristics of the five cities and events are detailed systematically, so as to provide a common framework that positions each case. The intention is far from having a straight multiple-case comparison or one-on-one juxtaposition of cases. On the contrary, we delved into each case in order to understand the relationship and links between heritage and mega-events in their own terms, trying to derive more general considerations that, nonetheless, are to be weighted in their own context in order to be meaningful for others.

As we have argued in other publications, this missing link has become more and more important in urban planning and cultural policy practice as mega-events and cultural mega-events in particular are more intensively using, reusing and improving existing facilities and infrastructure within the city fabric and in historic city centers especially. The insights in different case studies and the summary of the emerging threats and opportunities start to cover this blind spot and to highlight the policy aspects to be prioritized. In our cases, the major threats to heritage that have been experienced in non-European settings and in massive developments for sport events can be excluded. For example the clearing of historic-city neighborhoods and radical renewal approaches adopted for the 2008 Beijing Olympics, or the massive urban changes in the city fabric and infrastructure that are ongoing in Doha in sight of the 2022 World Cup are not common in contemporary Europe (not even for the 2012 London Olympics or the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics). The first issue that emerges is that, in European cities that plan for mega-events, context matters: the location, city fabric and presence of heritage sites, the availability of infrastructure and policy

capacity cannot be underestimated. Second, mega-events may be quite risky for heritage and for urban development more generally, if they are not part of a long-term vision and shared spatial planning strategies. The vision can, on the contrary, help in guiding and streamlining the investments and developments for the event in consistent manners and towards goals that are shared among different stakeholders and actors, including heritage-related ones. Third, the governance of such complex policies require cooperation inside and outside the public administration. In this sense, participation and capacity building, before, during and after the event may be crucial and should not be reduced to a generic narrative of inclusiveness. Overpromising and disempowering citizens and local organizations may go against the leading policy makers, negatively affecting political consensus and overall feasibility of certain actions and policies. Finally, the heritage and identity of cities and of different communities that compose them should be considered in their complexity and variety, beyond what can be packaged and supplied to short-term visitors of mega-events. The planning, implementation and legacy of mega-events may involve the discovery and reinterpretation of local heritage on the part of local institutions, grassroots and common people, generating a strong contribution to urban development and to the production of meanings and values across society.

Moreover, the cases confirm that the goals of our research require crossing boundaries between scholarly research and policy making, involving diverse expertise across the cultural and urban policy board. We sincerely hope that the case studies that are presented here will facilitate this connection.

Davide Ponzini

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES OF MEGA-EVENTS IN HERITAGE-RICH CITIES

by Davide Ponzini

1.1 The research context and broad questions

In the past, many cities primarily used mega-events to support capital investments and boost tourism while harnessing their competitiveness on a global scale. Until recently, the emphasis has been placed by and large on the creation of new infrastructural components, such as new stadiums, theatres and other public facilities to host events. In many instances today, on the contrary, mega-event organizers have opted for the re-use of existing facilities, the conversion of inner-city areas and the regeneration of neighborhoods (Bianchini et al., 2013). For heritage-rich European cities, this shift in paradigm represents both an opportunity and a threat. The HOMEE project has investigated five past events and consolidated knowledge for dealing with the emerging opportunities and threats in planning and implementing mega-events in heritage-rich cities. The project addresses complex questions such as: What are the main blind spots in our current understanding of the relationships between cultural heritage and mega-event policies? How do preservation and conservation policies deal with the threats and opportunities generated by mega-events in heritage-rich European cities? Do key stakeholders in charge of mega-events and preservation policies have relevant operational knowledge and planning tools at their disposal? How to improve such tools and who should be involved in these decision-making processes?

Clearly, this publication alone cannot cover all these aspects, nor flesh them out with the needed care. Its scope and specific tasks are part of a larger research endeavor. The first output from the HOMEE research project, the Literature Review of Mega-events Addressing Cultural Heritage Issues (Ponzini et al., 2019), aimed to define the core concepts of the project but it was also instrumental in identifying the gaps between these two fields of literature and the large blind spots in recognizing potential opportunities and threats. This book builds upon this foundation by providing a set of concrete examples from the five case studies. This volume provides

Opposite page: Hall of mirrors in the Royal Palace Museum of Genoa during the 2019 Rolli Days event (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

key insights and serves as a crucial point of reference for the further stages of the project that will delve further into the operational knowledge and planning tools involved. The case studies presented here will constitute the background for and foster the interaction with other experts and policy makers in order to understand the potential improvements of concrete processes and finally develop a charter that responds to the main issues posed.

Cutting across disciplinary fields became a clear need to address such questions as different specializations have been fruitfully dealing with and studying mega-events and cultural heritage. In order to start answering these broad questions and to provide a better understanding of the relationships between mega-events and cultural heritage preservation policies, we investigated existing literature and debates and derived ideas from various fields, including spatial planning, cultural policy, cultural and social theory, heritage studies, urban geography and urban studies, architecture and urban design, urban and cultural economics and other disciplines dealing with mega-events, heritage or both. These fields also reflect the background and specialization of the members of the four research teams involved in the HOME project.

The earlier publication that derived (Ponzini et al., 2019) from this research constitutes a complex conceptual framework for the investigation of five case studies, presented in this volume. Terms, definitions and conceptualizations cut across and create the background for dialogue with current international debates in multiple fields and both in scholarly and policy making fields. The research questions, their underlying concepts and broader implications are problematized in the literature review, and discussed in its conclusions in further detail. The substantial gap between what we know about preservation and mega-events and what is needed to know about their interconnections in practice can be covered (Jones & Ponzini, 2018), at least as a start, through the evidence of the five case studies presented here. Of course, the way is long and perhaps ever changing, as mega-event planning and heritage policy evolve through time.

According to recent debate in academic literature and policy arenas the definition of a mega-event can vary quite significantly, as summarized in our previous publication (Ponzini et al., 2019). The term mega-events typically implies large scale, massive expense, different geographic locations among the subsequent editions of the event and transnational mobilities of formats, experts, tourists, etc.... The most generally accepted definition was proposed by Roche (2000:1): "... large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance." This definition is important as it is quite encompassing and it could easily include re-occurring events in the same location or which are managed through specific mechanisms of transnational governance. It rather focuses on the perceived significance and magnitude, without requiring specific thresholds for size of attendance, budget, etc... (we can mention that several categories have been created to classify events based on their appeal, size, audience and governing bodies, see among others Hall, 1989; Müller, 2015). Different types of events, including many large cultural events, can be classified as mega-events, according to this definition. The range of effects of such events are wide, spanning from physical and urban improvements such as mass infrastructure projects or new facilities to cultural and social changes to image building and governance innovation (Garcia, 2004; Clark, 2008; Gold & Gold, 2008; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Ponzini & Jones, 2015). Mega-events are in most cases expected to be able to modify the understandings of the city as a whole, and this touches heritage directly in most cities of Europe and other continents as well (Council of Europe, 2005 and 2014).

Mega-events have been interpreted as accelerators and amplifiers of urban processes of development, redevelopment or transformation more generally. In particular, the enhancement of infrastructure and the availability of greater funds for historic areas may help conserve and valorize heritage, inject new functions for underused or neglected facilities and areas. Mega-events may use heritage symbols and icons to build a stronger image for the city as well as to

enhance public interest in heritage. Also, new management and governance networks fostered by mega-events could come to touch heritage policy making as well. We also noted the current trend of cities rejecting the 'bigger is better' approach to hosting mega-events, seeking rather to use existing or temporary venues or instead turning away from events entirely (International Olympic Committee, 2014). Cultural mega-events like the European Capital of Culture have long tended towards such an approach (European Commission, 2014), despite the fact that in some instances large-scale projects and new cultural facilities were at center stage (as in the case of the 2013 Marseille-Provence ECoC). This book also takes a broad scope regarding heritage, again building on our past work (Ponzini et al., 2019). We recognize the vast array of heritage from tangible to intangible, cultural and dissonant. While the general approach largely deals with built heritage and considers the urban scale (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012 and 2015; Bianchini & Borch, 2018), the particular focus in each case depends on how heritage was defined or perceived by local experts, decision makers, event documents and existing planning or preservation policies. In this sense, the cases incorporated several aspects that pertain to the intangible heritage.

Planning mega-events in heritage-rich cities and historic areas imply potential threats, frictions and risks, such as physical alterations to the built environment, reinterpretations of heritage that might be functional to the mega-event but that obliterates the meanings and roles of local communities in it, or that more generally affect negatively how heritage is considered. The necessities of one mega-event may rule out the measures that other policy sectors would prioritize, including heritage preservation. More simply, mega-event planning imposes a short-term agenda for urban decision making; this is in contrast to long-term vision and planning that heritage preservation typically has. Mass tourism is a typical goal for cities hosting a mega-event, yet it may cause damage into sensitive areas because of excessive pressure as well as changes that commodify heritage and 'Disneyfy' the urban realm. One extreme manifestation of this may be seen in the spectacularization, standardization or

instrumentalization of local culture and heritage (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). On the opposite end, it is true that heritage can constitute an important opportunity as well as a threat to mega-event planning and implementation. For example, the image and appeal of a city while bidding as the host of a mega event or as a tourist destination for mega-event attendance-cum-local/regional-visit may lever its cultural heritage, and its historic places and iconic buildings in particular. In given countries where heritage regulation has overriding powers the plans and projects for new facilities and infrastructure for a mega-event may be slowed down and event stopped indefinitely by veto points. In other countries heritage-related social groups may be able to mobilize the public opinion or politicians against measures that are perceived as dangerous for heritage preservation.

In particular, the goal of making explicit these and other opportunities and threats derived from planning and implementing mega-events in heritage-rich cities and to find better ways to deal with them in their context guided our work on the five case studies, as part of the broader HOMEE research endeavor. On a different level, we searched for innovative approaches and planning tools that fostered heritage-sensitive actions and projects in the context mega-event planning, implementation and legacy. It is worth mentioning that the work on the five case studies was intertwined with an investigation of the Matera Basilicata 2019 Capital of Culture event as it unfolded. Preliminary deliverables regarding the case studies were discussed with Matera stakeholders during 2019 as well as in other occasions in relation to the preliminary findings regarding the Matera case. For the sake of clarity, despite the creative and cross-fertilizing process of studying across past and ongoing events, this report will not mention the findings of the Matera case, as, at the time of writing, research is still ongoing.

This report of five case studies is intended as an extensive documentation for scholars and policy makers who are interested in the challenges and potentials of connecting heritage policy with mega-events. In particular, the HOMEE research project has been developing strong relationships

with national and local public bodies, international networks of research, organizations directly planning and managing mega-events and heritage preservation as well as experts that have substantial experience in policy making. This is meant to create the foundation for developing guidelines for planning mega-events in heritage rich cities in Europe, that is the final goal of our research. The case studies that are collected in this volume intend to provide valuable insights for the experts and policy makers connected to these events, as well as other that are similar to certain extents, to show the far-reaching impacts and potential of their events in historic contexts and for their legacies.

1.2 Case study selection and methodology

The original selection of the cases was made following quite practical reasons. Each case was selected individually, in part because the teams knew the process and substance well enough to judge its expected relevance in understanding the mega-event/heritage link by deepening its evidence. In some cases, besides this initial mixed scanning, substantial research work was done before the research started. In general, we wanted to have the widest variety possible, reaching situations that were of substantially different magnitude in terms of city size and population, event size and budget, type and relevance of heritage present before the start of the event, kind of planning and managing processes, of geographical quadrants in Europe, etc. We knew that this would have not allowed simple and linear comparisons across the cases nor a one-on-one comparison. Our aim was mostly explorative given that, as our literature review confirmed, this was the first systematic multi-partner research project casting light on the mega-event/heritage link. We found that providing new information on past and recent events that have not yet been studied or published about extensively can be valuable for the purpose of our research project and more generally. In addition, a policy-oriented consideration motivated the selection of this diverse set of cases. As we expect high-level

policy makers to be able to learn from examples and cases that show similarities, in connection to our interpretations and reflections (that are presented in the conclusions). For this reason, the more varied the cases the ampler the potential learning impact at the policy level.

We were, and are, interested in finding new issues that are theoretically stimulating but, most of all, that are practically relevant in a complex policy field, or, better, in complex policy fields in different cities and countries of Europe. Our selection includes events that have a substantial cultural content (rather than sport), such as the European Capital of Culture, the UK City of Culture and the Universal Exposition. This choice allowed us to see more clearly cultural policy in action and more intensively concentrated in existing city areas rather than in self-standing platforms in peri-urban areas (as more typical for sport mega-events). There are, nonetheless, good reasons for allowing cross-referencing between different types of mega-events, largely due to the observable shifts in mega-event planning as discussed above (as argued by Jones, 2020). In addition, we are aware of the limits imposed by the exploration of the selected cases and not others, while we expect further initiatives will spring from the HOMEE project that will touch on other cases. Future efforts can contribute towards a more systematic analysis across similar experiences as well as other kinds of mega-events, including the Olympic Games and Cities/Capitals of Culture of other world regions.

As mentioned, each study of the cases in this volume originally had quite different background work completed by the researchers involved in the HOMEE project. This forced us to jointly define and adopt a common method of analysis and reporting that places the cases in their context and understanding the due proportions among the cases. Once again, the urge to explore a new policy question rather than to generalize through clear-cut comparative methods drove the work. Each case can be seen at a glance in the first page of each of the following chapters. Each city, each event and their main figures are presented together with a short rationale and key takeaways. This presentation is meant for quick

reading and for our practitioner readership in particular. In addition, a more detailed table of facts and figures can be found in each case, to provide a further understanding of the context, magnitude of the event and of its urban effects. The different sources forced us to use slightly differing labels and to consider different ways of measuring similar things. Given the objective of our research we did our best to make them jointly understandable but we decided not to format this information uniformly in order not to lose the richness of the original collection. Similarly, we allowed quite different techniques of field work and data collection, mainly through secondary sources as well as through a set of targeted interviews. Given the distance in time of the case of Genoa 2004 (which was selected exactly for the purpose of having one long-term observation and example of an earlier ECoC approach that differs from the other cases) and the different availability of interviewees, we allowed for different number of interviews. In some cases (most notably Pafos 2017 and Hull 2017) the researchers had the chance to take part in the events and observe the celebration directly, in other cases this was not possible.

In this introduction, an overview of the methodology is offered to allow other scholars, experts and practitioners to understand the logic of this volume and of a core element of the HOME project. The 'cover page' of each case provides a 'snapshot', that allows for a quick contextualization and to understand more broadly the possible comparisons or contrasts between the cases. This first 'cover page' gives the reader the core rationale and the take-away messages, that are fleshed out in the chapter. Another introductory material is a brief and targeted description of the city that hosted the event and of relevant elements in its built and intangible heritage. These two elements are discussed while describing more generally the process that led to the mega-event at stake.

A more detailed set of data is provided in order to deepen the city's and event's facts and figures as well as the basic effects related to them. The city population, local GDP over time, the comparison of local and national GDP per capita are among the elementary descriptions we included. Regarding

the mega-event, its overall number of events, the attendance and demographics, the relevance of heritage constitute an important set of information along with a breakdown of the budget (total event cost, infrastructure cost, culture and entertainment program cost, heritage project budget, etc.). As for the heritage components, we decided to keep the label that local policy makers adopted in promoting interventions and events and that were used in the official program. As a general reference for this overview we used the typical sets of official reports at the EU level as well as two valuable studies carried out by colleagues in the past (Palmer/RAE Associates, 2004; Garcia & Cox, 2013). One issue that emerged during the research was the differences in the data available in each of the cases as well as how data was collected. We attempted to correlate as much as possible the facts and figures between the cases, but variations remain. For example, infrastructure costs associated with the event are often calculated separately from the program budget, yet such projects can make up the most significant portion of the overall expenditure while greatly impacting the city and potentially even heritage. Of the cases, Genoa was the only one to explicitly define a budget for heritage related works, while in the others it was part of either the overall program budget or separate infrastructure works. Such instances represent the 'blind spot' of heritage opportunities and threats in the evaluation of events and of cultural mega-events in particular (Jones, 2020).

In order to enter into the matters of the event, a detailed yet schematic outline of the process is provided. In particular, the timeline locates the key actions in time and highlights the key actors' role, from the bidding phase to the post-event phase. Turning points and milestones include changes in local/national government, the core of the event planning as well as heritage-based projects and plans and other elements. We describe and label the actors according to their institutional level (from supranational to the national, to the local), to specify what the event-managing organization has done, similarly to other heritage-related decision makers and institutions.

The insight into the planning, governance and legacy of the event, with specific reference to the built heritage and to more intangible elements at the neighborhood and city level required an in-depth analysis of the planning documents as well as media and qualitative interviews with decision makers and observers of the event. Placing the mega-event in the long-term evolution and vision for the city's development was crucial to understanding the level of integration of the event in city policy and the overlap with already shared and established goals across different interests and actor coalitions (e.g. redeveloping certain quadrants, improving infrastructure, targeting tourism as a development opportunity, etc.). The integration of the mega-event was assessed also with reference to existing heritage regulation and plans (e.g. UNESCO site management plans). An insight in the policy network, the governance and management structure was touched upon, including instances of capacity building, public participation, etc. (Tommarchi et al., 2018). The implementation and reception of the event are discussed under different perspectives (correspondence with bid book, surveys and assessments, public and expert criticisms, etc.).

These research operations prepared the ground for a thorough interpretation of the legacy, not only to discuss the relevance of heritage in the review of implemented actions and projects, but to understand how the process stimulated a different role for heritage to play in the mega-event as well as in urban development more broadly (in economic, social, and cultural terms). Despite the short and medium term period available for assessment in most cases (with the exception of Genoa 2004), a long-term impact on local culture and heritage could not be detected or even interpreted in all cases. However, we looked for relevant urban changes in terms of entertainment areas, major cultural facilities, cultural programs, city image and collective identity. In most cases, we could identify some degree of legacy planning and a systematic continuation of cultural and urban policies initiated by or in preparation of the mega-event. A particular policy area is that of tourism which is often the most heavily promoted and expected 'legacy' of the event. Changes in governance were also observed in the case studies, as we

know that mobilizing heritage actors and sometimes slower ways of operating may clash with fast-track approaches to mega-events.

These analyses and considerations allowed the teams to provide an evidence-based review of heritage threats and opportunities with reference to the overall process and governance of the mega-event. Towards the end of each case study chapter, a table summarizes the specific heritage opportunities and threats found. Again, this section intends to provide policy makers and others with a simple and direct insight into the issues discussed in greater detail throughout the case and that could relate to other cases and situations. The wide variety of situations was expected to provide quite a different understanding of the definitions of heritage that came into play in the mega-event planning and management, of the related threats and opportunities. The different context showed very different mixes of powers in heritage matters (from the restrictions of the Italian planning system to the liberal interpretation in the UK) as well as of urban and cultural planning tools available and effectively used with reference to the mega-event (e.g. veto power, regulation, incentives, etc.). In all cases we looked for innovations in the interpretation or definitions of heritage related to the event and more generally in cultural policy making. These innovations were crucial in developing critical yet policy-oriented proposition in the following stages of the HOMEER research project.

As it is clear by now, we adopted a largely qualitative approach in order to identify from the documentation, interviews and review of final outputs of the events how heritage came to be understood and involved (or not) in the mega-event planning and implementation processes. Our research teams analyzed a comprehensive series of city and event documents, plans and strategies to understand what correlations existed between the event and larger long-term city strategies as well as what role is intended for heritage within these proposals and their actual implementation. The documentation regarding the mega-event typically included the bid books at different stages of the competition to get

the title, the official event documents (such as calendars, programs, publications, etc.), the final event evaluations and impact reports where available as well as others. The analysis of the city planning context touched on documentation including official city plans (land-use or otherwise), strategic visions and spatial development plans. More specific heritage conservation/restoration plans and programs (including regulation and restrictions regarding the built environment) we considered in connection with UNESCO World Heritage documents (such as the applications, Site Management Plans, reports, etc.), national heritage policies, plans and listing, other policies and initiatives (including funds by EU or public and private entities). A more in-depth understanding of the narrative behind each mega-event and in particular regarding the relationship with heritage and the historic city drew on systematic press reviews that included newspaper articles, official websites and other media where available. On the quantitative side, in the snapshot and city/event initial descriptions as well as elsewhere, we have used different sources, preferring the ones that were more homogeneous and comparable (e.g. Eurostat, OECD, UNWTO etc.).

1.3 Structure and findings

Following this introduction, the five cases are presented using the same structure as defined in the methodology. A final chapter gives an initial interpretation to the emerging issues, with the aim of shaping the first results of our explorations to discuss further with scholars, experts and policy makers, rather than having the final word on such a complex and understudied subject as the mega-event/heritage nexus.

Chapter 2 presents the case of Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture. Here the mega-event was a turning point in a long-term strategic vision for the development of the city and for the transformation of its large historic city center into an international tourism destination. One can see an important heritage-led redevelopment approach, where the mega-event is integrated with other policies and functions as

an accelerator. The regeneration of large historic quadrants, the new functions given to historic buildings and areas, the reorganization of the museum system and its integrated cultural offerings, the award of the UNESCO World Heritage site in 2006 are important elements for understanding the process and its long-term effects in Genoa and the threats and opportunities that can derive, more generally.

Chapter 3 leads us to a much larger city and event: the Milan Expo 2015. In this case the mega-event generated the opportunity to develop collateral events in the city center and metropolitan core (whereas the Expo site was located in the North-west outskirts). Despite a quite critical planning for the mega-event and its failure in delivering relevant infrastructure, the municipality and the Chamber of Commerce could steer an effective governance innovation in coordinating with heritage institutions and tourism-related stakeholders to spark literally tens of thousands of minor events, in many cases within historic and heritage settings. This was accompanied by an overall success in terms of public attendance and substantial transformations of a few key places outside the Expo sites itself, such as the renewal of the old Darsena (now a key joint for leisure activities in the Navigli area) and the pedestrianization of the central Piazza Castello. The steady increase in leisure tourism in the very city center shows some criticalities in terms of the festivalization of urban space in heritage areas. The self-reinforcing political constituency connected to the Expo mega-event also should be considered as it has already affected the fate of Milan, as the winning host for the 2026 Winter Olympics.

In Chapter 4, the case of Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture shows how the mega-event became a moment to foster change in people's approach to the city's complicated heritage, build the city's identity based on its multicultural past and provide recognition and new functions to heritage venues. The mega-event gave the opportunity to actively engage residents in heritage-related projects and initiatives of different size and scope, spanning from built heritage to intangible heritage.

Chapter 5 addresses the case of Hull UK City of Culture 2017. This stigmatized port city intended to use the event to revert its socio-economic decline as well as its image. Cultural facilities and public realm improvements were ways to engage with heritage and involve different social groups. Thanks to this process the perception and actual policy recognition of heritage expanded, inducing cultural interventions and projects in the city center and sparking the project for the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City currently under development.

In Chapter 6, the case of Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture is presented. The unexpected awarding of the title pushed multiple forces to join the effort of not only getting the event ready but also to enter a new long-term development strategy for the city. Culture and heritage appreciation became drivers (together with a well-established tourism industry) for a set of projects and interventions connecting places in the city fabric as well as in more isolated settings. The involvement of different social groups and reinterpretation of built heritage are important innovations brought about by the mega-event and the related planning activities.

Finally, chapter 7 discusses how the evidence we have collected in this volume starts filling the gap of knowledge in literature at the crossroads between mega-events and cultural heritage debates. Most importantly, it starts the discussion about possible policy principles and guidelines (regarding the relationship with context, long-term planning, governance and participation, as well as local identity). The latter will be expanded and articulated further in dialogue with other scholars, experts and policy makers who will join us in the HOME project and in developing a charter and spark interest regarding the relationship between mega-events and heritage.

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Chapter 2

GENOA 2004 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

A cultural mega-event within a strategic vision for heritage development

by Zachary M. Jones

The Genoa 2004 ECoC case at a glance

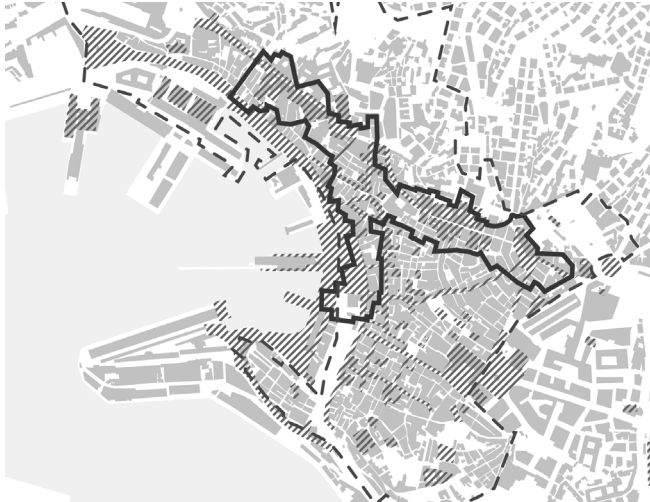


Fig. 2.0 Genoa city center: UNESCO site (black line), buffer zone (dashed line) and restoration/renewal areas (grey hatch) (source: Zachary Jones, 2020).

Genoa 2004 represents the quintessential heritage-led redevelopment approach, using the European Capital of Culture event as the mechanism to bring together diverse actors and implement changes in the city fabric. Many of the efforts of the event contributed to the proposal and eventual listing of the sites as part of a larger long-term strategy the city employed using large scale events including the 2001 G8 Summit and a number of urban regeneration projects. One proof of the success of this endeavor was UNESCO recognizing the system of palaces and streets of Genoa as World Heritage in 2006, two years following the event.

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

- A long-term vision and urban regeneration program
- Tourism economies in the historic city center
- Creating a new City Museum system
- Becoming a World Heritage City

Facts and figures

City population

601,338 (2004)
583,601 (2017)

GDP per capita

National
€ 22,938.24 (2004)
€ 26,168.63 (2017)

City

€ 33,396.96 (2003)
€ 31,616.60 (2012)

Tourists

492,498 overnight (2000)
586,633 overnight (2005)
801,833 overnight (2014)

1,083,244 total nights (2000)
1,230,123 total nights (2005)
1,585,061 total nights (2014)

Event attendance

2,835,960

Total no. of events

439

Total event cost

€ 252,000,000

Heritage project budget

€ 300,000,000 (G8 and ECoC)

Opposite page: Palazzo Doria Tursi during the Rolli Days 2019 (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

2.1 Genoa, its heritage and the lead up to the 2004 European Capital of Culture

Situated between the sea and the mountains, the city of Genoa has a long history, pre-dating the Roman era, with its historical development and port largely informed by its geographical location. One of the historic maritime republics operation in the Mediterranean, the city's most notable period occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries as an independent maritime republic (Bobbio, 2005). This period



Fig. 2.1 Via Garibaldi, one of the Strade Nuove, which contains several of the Rolli Palaces (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

has commonly been referred to as the 'Golden Age of Rubens,' of course referencing the Flemish painter who depicted many of the city's palaces. In addition to its port activities, the city was also a banking center, eventually owning nearly half the debt of Europe (Bobbio, 2008). Though once a city on the Grand Tour of Europe, the city's industrial growth came to largely overshadow the importance and value of its historic center. Ennio Poleggi's (1968) research, *Strada nuova: una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova*, The New Street: a 16th century subdivision in Genoa uncovered the hierarchical system that organized the system of Rolli Palaces throughout the city as well as their connection to the series of New Streets (*Strade Nuove*) throughout the city center. The system of palaces is particularly noteworthy for the palaces' painted facades, which were intermittently restored during the 1970s, but in a quite scattered and uncomprehensive way (Terminello & Barcilon, 1984). The later 1980s and early 1990s saw the city's heritage take a more prominent role in several of the regeneration efforts that were begun. However, due to ongoing pollution much of the city's heritage continued to be damaged and regular restoration efforts were periodically required (Terminello & Simonetti, 1984).

Palaces and urban structure

The Rolli Palaces are located throughout the city center and made up of 88 total, with the grandest palaces located on the 'strade nuove' or new streets of Via Garibaldi and Via Balbi. The palaces located on these streets (i.e. Palazzo Bianco, Palazzo Rosso, Palazzo Reale, etc.) are as grand as perhaps more well-known palaces in Italy in cities like Rome or Florence (Romano, 2010), but in particular the system of new streets function like piazzas that could display the great wealth of the old noble Genoese families as the city did not have a single royal court (Gorse, 1997). The earliest of these new streets (today's Via Garibaldi and Via Balbi) first hosted 10 palaces built by the 5 noble families, though palaces were subsequently added over time. These palaces, beyond serving as private residences, were also notable for hosting official visits to the city. The Rolli System was divided between three

classes, based on the rank and level of emissaries to the city. In addition to the palaces, the city also boasts an impressive medieval core, the largest in Europe (Ricci, 2010). Yet this part of the city's heritage has often been overshadowed by the grandeur of the city's Renaissance Palaces from the city's 'golden age' (De Marco, 2006). The city now also boasts a vast network of industrial heritage located along the waterfront, which has also begun to be recognized, restored and reused.

During the 19th and 20th centuries the city emerged as an important industrial center in Italy. Urbanistically, the city expanded in 1926 as Mussolini's government merged over 20 neighboring municipalities to form the city of Genoa in its current form. This move generated a truly polycentric city spreading out from its large medieval core, but which lacked proper linkages to the center. In the first half of the 20th century the port of Genoa served as the main port of Italy as well as an important producer and manufacturer of steel, iron, textiles and food. However, due to the importance of the port, the city was heavily bombed during WWII (Bonfantini, 2013). As seen in many other cities across Europe, the 1970s introduced a period of economic and industrial decline (Bobbio, 2008), in part resulting from the state ending its financial support, further destabilizing the city's position. By the 1980s, like many former industrial port cities, Genoa was in need of a new strategy to counteract the continuing decline. Up until this time, culture and heritage played a very limited role in the city's development. Yet the first efforts to revitalize the historic center shifted focus to its many cultural and heritage assets that had been previously underused, such as converting Palazzo Ducale into a cultural hub, the rebuilding of the Teatro Carlo Felice opera house as well as the relocation of the architecture school of the university to the San Salvatore Monastery in the city center (Bonfantini, 2015). These initial projects represent the first steps in what would eventually become a more cohesive and cultural-centric strategy for the city, yet by the late 1980s and early 90s the city center was seen as being unsafe and in state of degradation.



The city and the sea

Up until this time, the port and city were also separated from one another with the city having no direct connection to its waterfront as a large wall surrounded the private activities of the port area along with the barrier created by the elevated highway (Sopraelevata). In the 1980s, the Commissione Triporto was created to bring together the city and port authority along with the Regional Government in order to allocate new uses to the waterfront area as part of regeneration efforts (Bobbio, 2005a). Following the creation of the Commissione Triporto and these initial ‘trigger projects’, the city turned to a number of mega-events over the next fifteen years that would further work towards integrating the newly created waterfront with the historic city center as part of regeneration efforts. The city first participated in the 1990 FIFA World Cup by serving as a venue for some of the matches. This was followed by hosting the Expo 1992,

Fig. 2.2 Piazza de Ferrari with the Carlo Felice Opera House in the background (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

an international not universal expo, which celebrated the 500th anniversary of Columbus discovering the Americas and focused heavily on the city's newly refound connection with the sea. In particular, the main barriers that had long existed, such as the wall separating the port from the city, were removed (Gastaldi, 2016). The 1992 event therefore primarily centered on the regeneration of the waterfront area by creating the 'Porto Antico' or Old Port area, an area previously inaccessible by local inhabitants due to the port activities and physical barriers.

Fig. 2.3 The Porto Antico area that was restored and made accessible to the public for the Expo 1992 (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).



Building momentum for redevelopment

While the Expo 1992 made much progress in reconnecting the port area with the city, Gabrielli (2005) criticized the manner of planning and executing the Expo for its limited scope and lack of strategy by not including a larger area of the city center. Genoa had largely based its waterfront regeneration plans on the experience of other cities, namely Baltimore in the US (De Marco, 2006). Baltimore has long

served as a successful example of waterfront regeneration which branded the Inner Harbor area through projects like the Harbor Place marketplace and Baltimore Aquarium, which were constructed in the early 1980s (Falk, 1986; Harvey, 1991; Loftman & Nevin, 1995; Smyth, 2005). In the case of Genoa, Renzo Piano, who is originally from Genoa and continues to operate his studio there, designed the plans for the Porto Antico as well as the new Aquarium for Genoa, which was seen as a necessary element to replicate the success of Baltimore. Yet the Expo 1992 would represent

Fig. 2.4 View of the Sopraelevata that still visually separates the city center from the waterfront (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).



just one of the early steps in regenerating Genoa's city center and it would once again turn to the strategy of hosting large events with the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC. Therefore, the city came to plan and host the 2004 ECoC during a period where the city had initiated various regeneration processes, but the city had not yet fully recovered and had turned to culture and heritage as the main tools to revitalize the city (Jones, 2020).

2.1.1 City and event facts and figures

Tab. 2.1 – City and event facts and figures (source: elaboration by the author).

City/Event	Genoa 2004 ECoC
Year	2004
City population	601,338 (2004) 583,601 (2017)
GDP per capita (local/ national)	Italy- € 22,938.24 (2004) Italy- € 26,168.63 (2017) € 33,396.96 (2003) € 31,616.60 (2012) ¹
Number of annual visitors before/ during/after event²	2000 (overnight) 492,498 2005 (overnight) 586,633 2014 (overnight) 801,833 2000 (visits) 1,083,244 2005 (visits) 1,230,123 2014 (visits) 1,585,061
Event attendance	2,835,960 ³
Total no. of events	439 ⁴
Heritage % of events	-
Audience demographics (age, gender, etc.)	-
Total event cost	€ 220,571,679 ⁵
Infrastructure cost (event budget)	€ 0
Infrastructure cost (other budget)	€ 220,000,000 ⁶
Cultural/ Entertainment Program cost	€ 33,200,000 ⁷
Heritage project budget	€ 300,000,000 (G8 and ECoC) ⁸
Public funding	€ 18,000,000 from EU, State and local entities ⁹

¹ <https://knoema.com/CITIES2017/metropolitan-areas?tsId=1048250>.

² Comune di Genova, 2015.

³ García & Cox, 2013.

⁴ www.genoa-2004.it. (n.d.). BILANCIO CONSUNTIVO. Retrieved May 26, 2016.

⁵ Bompani, 2005.

⁶ Bompani, 2005.

⁷ Bompani, 2005.

⁸ Gastaldi, 2009.

⁹ Begossi, 2005.

Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture

Private funding	€ 12,000,000 from sponsors ¹⁰	
	€ 2,000,000 from ticket sales ¹¹	
Legacy funding	€ 0	

10 Begossi, 2005.

11 Begossi, 2005.

2.1.2 Genoa 2004 timeline

Tab. 2.2 – Timeline of the event’s planning and management process (source: elaboration by the author).

	Bidding	Planning
	1994-1998	1998-2000
Public administration (state, local, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bid submitted under Mayor Adriano Sansa (l’Ulivo) - Giuseppe Pericu elected in 1997 (Center left) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1999 Strategic Conference Organized - 2000 City Center Operative Plan created - Municipality directs multiple funding sources towards heritage projects - Central government gives Genoa 2001 G8 Summit to host
Event organizers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Genoa awarded ECoC in 1998 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Genova 2004 S.r.l. created, chaired by representatives from the Municipality, Province, Region, Chamber of Commerce, Port Authority and universities
Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preparatory studies of palaces made 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MiBACT cooperates and supervises heritage projects

Implementation	Post-event
<p data-bbox="189 451 504 485">2001-2004</p> <ul data-bbox="189 491 504 647" style="list-style-type: none"> -Municipality funds projects through PUC, CIV, EU Urban II, and PRUSST programs with funding from regional, national and EU levels. 	<p data-bbox="512 451 826 485">2005-2018</p> <ul data-bbox="512 491 826 778" style="list-style-type: none"> - Mayor Pericu completes term, Marta Vincenzi (PD) elected in 2007 - Municipality focus shifts towards city periphery - Marco Doria (Independent) elected in 2012 - Marco Bucci (Independent) elected in 2017
<ul data-bbox="189 915 504 1010" style="list-style-type: none"> - 160+ heritage projects completed for both the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC 	<ul data-bbox="512 915 826 979" style="list-style-type: none"> - Genova 2004 S.r.l. disbanded
<ul data-bbox="189 1217 504 1372" style="list-style-type: none"> - Banks and other private owners of heritage buildings privately restore structures - Genoa applies for UNESCO WHS status in 2004 	<ul data-bbox="512 1217 826 1312" style="list-style-type: none"> - City center awarded UNESCO WHS status in 2006

2.2 A coordinated, multi-level and strategic event governance

2.2.1 Building on bid documents

The original bid book was prepared in the mid-90s during the administration of Mayor Sansa. At that time the competition was not nearly as intense to host the ECoC nor was the document developed to the same degree. As the event was won during the tenure of the subsequent mayor, Mayor Pericu, a largely new approach to hosting the event was essentially developed for the 2004 ECoC. As the following section will show, the eventual plans for the event were created through the *1999 Strategic Conference* and subsequent *Operative Plan for the Historic Center* established the main direction of the event planning and implementation. These plans were also complemented by an 'Open Door' policy that invited local individuals and organizations to propose projects, an approach not yet common for ECoCs in the early 2000s.

2.2.2 Closely coordinated city plans and strategies

Strategic visioning and actions

The *1999 Strategic Conference* and subsequent *Operative Plan for the Historic Center* (2000) were the key planning documents that established a strategic direction for the city of Genoa, which largely centered around the 2004 ECoC. The main issues addressed in the conference were those of tourism, education, development, livability and infrastructure. In 1999, Genoa could in no way then claim to be known as a cultural or touristic city, yet the first session of the conference was entitled *Genoa: City of Culture and Tourism* (Comune di Genova, 1999), indicating the intentions to develop a new image and economic sector for the city. The primary strategy was to develop the city center and the waterfront as the primary core for the entirety of

the polycentric city that was perceived to lack a true central destination.

This overall transformation of the city was proposed through the revitalization of existing heritage spaces as well as the insertion of new cultural centers. The main intended additions were a new Museum of the Sea, located in the Darsena area next to the Porto Antico along the waterfront, as well as creating an entertainment/ cultural destination on Ponte Parodi, an old pier, following the demolition of the old grain silos. These waterfront projects were intended to be completed in time for 2004 and play a key role in further connecting the waterfront to the city center. The vision for Ponte Parodi was one of a new high quality piazza to help incorporate the existing pieces of the waterfront, namely the aquarium and economics faculty, into an integrated and attractive system that fits into the rest of the city (Comune di Genova, 1999). The Guggenheim museum in Bilbao by Frank Gehry was cited as the precedent and the city would host a major international architectural competition to design an iconic structure.



Fig. 2.5 UNESCO listed Rolli Palaces (grey dash) along the 'new streets' of Via Balbi and Via Garibaldi (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).

New vision for the historic city center

Within the city center, the Strade Nuove (New Streets) of Via Balbi and Via Garibaldi were highlighted as key resources to develop in order to highlight the main tourist attractions of the city and to draw visitors and citizens through the city, serving as a kind of open air museum. A key goal was for the city to gain a UNESCO World Heritage Site focused on the system of Rolli Palaces. The city plans also highlight the quality of the existing public space as an essential aspect to creating a more livable city. All of the intended works aim towards these two conditions: recuperate the centrality of the city and create a diffused sense of a stabilized livability. The re-establishment of public space was perceived to be the necessary impetus to initiate the intended reimagining of the city. They intended to work in a cohesive and holistic way throughout the city center, learning from the past mistakes of the Expo 1992, which had been perceived as not being strategic enough to have the lasting impacts hoped for (Gabrielli, 2005). The city would not complete all these proposed works alone, but would partner with a number of private actors and institutions, including the University of Genoa, to continue restoration works of dilapidated buildings in the center. The strategic conference ultimately cast a grand vision for the city as it aimed towards 2004. The heritage of the city plays a crucial role in creating the new cultural and tourism destination that the Operative Plan envisions.

It was hoped that this investment in heritage would perform multiple tasks for the city. First, it formed the main theme and attraction for 2004. The advertisement of the ECoC was a play on words of the Italian name of the city: GeNova, which implies that a New Genoa awaits visitors. The intention was that the city itself would draw local residents and visitors back to the city center, both during the ECoC year itself and beyond. While a year of exhibits and concerts might prove exciting for a year, it was not believed to guarantee a long-term return on that investment (Interview with: ComGen01, Gen04Srl01). The heritage of the city was therefore valued for its desired secondary effects to expand a previously quite

small tourism sector as well as to provide an anchor to attract a new creative sector to the city to initiate the regeneration of the city.

2.2.3 Many actors involved in envisioning Genoa 2004

The management of the 2004 ECoC was led by the Genova 2004 S.r.l. and headed by the special committee, comprised of representatives from the Municipality, Province, Region, Chamber of Commerce, Port Authority and universities. This integration of various local stakeholders in the event management built upon the earlier cooperation of the Commissione Triporto and the 1999 Strategic Conference that also brought together a wide range of actors. This inclusive approach helped to ensure ongoing public support and backing for the project. The Genova 2004 S.r.l. was set up to determine and coordinate the projects and events. As part of meeting the two larger overall long-term goals for the 2004 ECoC, the 2004 S.r.l., as the primary managing company organizing the event, was tasked with two main objectives: 1) recover the historic city center and 2) reorganize the heritage infrastructure of the city (Interview with Gen04Srl01).

This second goal was primarily realized through the establishment of the museum system and museum poles that connected the many existing institutions. Though representatives of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities (MiBACT) did not have a share in the Genova 2004 S.r.l., the local and regional MiBACT Superintendents worked closely with event organizers in developing plans as well as in funding many of the works completed. As with the Strategic Conference, the Genova 2004 S.r.l. established an 'Open Door' policy to make local actors and institutions feel welcome to learn about the upcoming event as well as propose ideas. Ultimately, 1,000 proposals were submitted for consideration. Though only about 150 were funded in the end, there was a sense from local actors that they appreciated their ideas and opinions being heard. This cooperation between a range of actors at different levels of

government and institutions could not be taken for granted as different political parties in control between the local and regional levels could have easily created disputes (Jones, 2019). The event provided an added opportunity for public participation, ultimately informing the final program. While this 'Open Door' policy does not fully constitute an inclusive approach to public participation as the key concepts and plans had already been established through the 1999 Strategic Conference, it did represent an important step in involving local actors in a project-oriented process of participation.

2.2.4 Event planning/ implementation of the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC

Overall, the main improvement was the close integration of the event planning with broader city goals and strategic planning that placed the city's heritage as a central element. The Operative Plan specified the division of projects between different planning documents, powers and funding structures as a range of sources combined to meet all the goals and projects proposed. These range from the local PUC (Urban Plan of The City), the regional POI (Program of Organic Intervention) plans, the 2001 G8 funding, university plans to the EU Urban I and II schemes, the co-national/regional-funded CdQ (Neighborhood Contract) and the nationally funded CIV (Integrated Center Streets), PRU (Urban Redevelopment Program) and PRUSST (Urban Redevelopment Program and Sustainable Development of the Territory) initiatives for sustainable urban redevelopment, which focused heavily on the historic center (Balletti, 2005; Mastropietro, 2007; Urban Center di Genova, 2017).

Years	Urban plan/program/event
1994-1999	EU Urban I, European Commission and ERDF
1997-2007	CdQ - Contract of the Neighborhoods, co-national/regionally funded
1998-2008	PRU - Urban Redevelopment Program, publicly and privately funded
1999	Strategic Conference
2000	Operative Plan for the Historic City Center
2000	PUC - Urban Plan of the City
2000-2006	CIV - Integrated Center Streets
2000-2006	EU Urban II
2001	G8 Summit
2002-2012	PRUSST - Urban Redevelopment Program and Sustainable Development of the Territory, promoted by the Ministry of Public Works
2004	European Capital of Culture
2006	UNESCO World Heritage Listing
2007-2013	POR - Regional Operational Program, funded by the EU and ERDF

Fig. 2.6 List of plans and events in Genoa (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

A total of € 2,000,000,000¹² in projects was proposed in combined public and private funding. While these funds were not all specifically tied to the delivery of the event and its program, they were related to projects in some way connected to the delivery of the event, including several stops of the new metro line. As noted in section 2.1.1, the actual cultural program itself represented a quite small part of the overall investment associated with the event. Part of the strategy to recuperate the center also involved the diversification of inhabitants and economic activities located there. Particularly, the city hoped to attract more students, and student housing and economic incubators were intended to initiate new business opportunities in the center. Despite a complex web of projects and funding sources, the city used the strategic conference and the subsequent operation plan to succinctly guide the works completed. The major restrictions to implementing such projects previously were due to cost and feasibility.

¹² This amount includes € 670,000,000 for an underground tunnel that would move the elevated highway under the port; however, this major infrastructural project was never realized.

Another key step in this process was making Genoa the host of the 2001 G8 Summit. Though taking place three years prior to the ECoC, the city was selected after having won the bid for ECoC and developing plans. In fact, the city had just one year to prepare for the 2001 G8. This in fact sped up the city's plans as it began immediately implementing many of the restorations originally intended for 2004 (Russo, 2001). This phase of works saw the most notable palaces in the city restored, as they would be used to host the meetings. Originally the 2001 G8 was granted a budget of only € 30,000,000 for preparations, but eventually over € 100,000,000 was spent to restore over 100 buildings, streets and public spaces. In this way, the 2001 G8 seamlessly fit into the process of developing the 2004 ECoC, which was possible only because of the clear plans put in place and the cooperation of many different actors.



Fig. 2.7 Images of Palazzo Rosso prior to restoration works and after (source: Arkos 2001 Supplement n.1/2001 “Speciale G8”).

The largest and most important of the Rolli Palaces restored for the 2001 G8 include the Palazzo Reale on Via Balbi and Palazzi Rosso, Bianco, Tursi on Via Garibaldi along with Palazzo Ducale, which sits on Piazza de Ferrari. Most of the works completed dealt with restoring the exterior painted facades, which in many cases were no longer visible or severely darkened. While other cities throughout Europe

also boasted painted facades, Genoa is by far the most well-known (UNESCO, 2006). In many ways these works presented a new Genoa, one that had not been previously seen in the past century as no such mass urban restoration project had ever taken place before. Works were by no means limited to façade restorations, with additional works also undertaken to improve the physical quality of public spaces and streets throughout the city, particularly to better connect the city center to the waterfront (see Fig. 2.8). Of the more than 160 individual heritage restoration/conservation projects proposed for Genoa, only 5 projects would not be completed in time for the event. The most notable was the restoration and conversion of the Columbia Hotel into the University Library, which was ultimately finished in 2015. Through both the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC, an impressive number of works were completed within a short period of time, which the following sections will discuss in greater detail.

Fig. 2.8 The restorations and urban projects completed in preparation for the 2001 G8 (grey dash) (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).



2.2.5 Heritage threats and opportunities

For heritage experts, the event was a tremendous success for the number of projects carried out to a high level of quality, called a ‘success’ of regeneration and preservation (Gastaldi, 2016). While no specific plans addressed the potential ‘threats’ to heritage from these changes, projects such as pedestrianizing key city thoroughways were intended to ease the movement of residents and visitors throughout the historic center while also ensuring the longevity of the many completed restoration works by significantly reducing pollution. The painted facades of Genoa are particularly susceptible to damage caused by pollution. Another way the city avoided threats that such a massive set of works might propose was in their preparation of academic studies and research that had already been conducted on historic structures, which allowed conservationists to make the appropriate decisions for each structure (Carbonara, 2001). With the vast array of painted facades, it would have been nearly impossible to complete the work without seriously damaging their authenticity had the proper research not already been completed. The chemical composition of the plaster of each structure is unique with each building containing several historic layers. The studies revealed

Fig. 2.9 Façade studies and scientific details completed for Palazzo Bianco (source: Arkos 2001 Supplement n.1/2001 “Speciale G8”).



Figura 5
Palazzo Bianco: rilievi cromatici e restituzione dei colori di progetto nella facciata principale (Patrizia Falzone).

PALAZZO BIANCO	
CAMPIONE N°10	
<i>Stratigrafia del capitello al secondo piano nobile:</i>	
<i>a) arriccio con spessore non determinabile;</i>	
<i>b) arenino 2 mm.</i>	
a) ARRICCIO	
Legante	Calce aerea
Rapporto clasti/matrice	Medio
Composizione aggregato	Ofioliti, quarzi, calcari marnosi
Dimensione max granuli	3 mm
Classazione	Scarsamente classato
Morfometria granuli	Sfericità bassa subangolosi/subarrontondati
b) ARENINO	
Legante	Calce aerea
Rapporto clasti/matrice	Medio
Composizione aggregato	Marmo
Dimensione max granuli	0,4 mm
Classazione	Scarsamente classato
Morfometria granuli	Sfericità bassa, angolosi
Finitura	Liscia

never before seen designs that were only seen for the first time following the restorations. In terms of combining such sensitive works within the scope of a mega-event, this aspect of proper preparations are essential.

While much attention was placed on the Renaissance and Baroque Rolli Palaces, the event also provided the opportunity to promote the city's more recent industrial heritage that had been largely overlooked previously. Along the waterfront, the Palazzo Verde, or former Magazzini dell'Abbondanza, was restored and converted into an education and activity center organized around the promotion of sustainability and energy conservation. In the Darsena, the previously abandoned warehouse structures of the quartiere Tabarca, Caffa and Metellino were converted to mixed use developments with residences, shops, restaurants and cafes, expanding the presence of re-used industrial heritage along the city's waterfront. The newly created Museum of the Sea in the Darsena area also incorporated historic structures within its design and activated the space through newly introduced cultural functions. In this way the event has been crucial in promoting a historic era of the city that had often been overshadowed or even not considered to be heritage worth protecting.

As already discussed, the pedestrianization of streets like Via San Lorenzo along with the improvement of many other streets introduced a number of new uses and experiences through the historic core of the city with these areas now commonly hosting open air markets along with cafes and restaurants with outdoor seating. Prior to 2001, it would have seemed impossible to convert Via San Lorenzo into a pedestrian street as it was a heavily occupied traffic thoroughfare within the city (Pittarello, 2001). Such successful examples help to demonstrate that such conversions are indeed possible and in the case of Genoa have been a key aspect in meeting the city's overall goals to create a more connected city center that responds to the needs of the entire polycentric city.



Fig. 2.10 Piazza Caricamento being repaved (above) and finished (below) (source: Arkos Dossier 2004).

This wide range of city center improvements included remodeling the central Piazza de Ferrari along with the now iconic fountain (Mastropietro, 2007). Additional adjustments were also made to the waterfront area, building upon the past projects completed for the Expo 1992, such as the planting of palm trees to improve the quality of the urban environment along with the Renzo Piano designed Biosphere connected to the Aquarium. While the next section will further discuss the long-term legacy of these projects, they were at the time quite necessary in meeting the goals set by local and regional decision makers and very much came to highlight the heritage of the city, promoting it to a degree previously unimaginable. A potential resulting threat is the introduction of mass tourism, which, as will be seen in the following section, has consistently grown

since 2004. While this has benefited the city's economy, the potential overtourism of the city could bring with it many negative pressures. While those were not immediately felt during or leading up to 2004, there was again no specific planning or thinking about these eventual problems, rather a focus on a pro-tourism approach.

Fig. 2.11 Interior and exterior restoration details of Villa Doria a Pegli (source: Arkos 2001 Supplement n.1/2001 "Speciale G8").



2.3 A legacy of a vast urban scale heritage regeneration project

2.3.1 Implemented heritage projects between the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC

In total, over 160 restoration and city improvement projects were completed between the 2001 G8 Summit and the 2004 ECoC. As already noted, the largest and most important of the Rolli Palaces in the city were all restored for 2001 as they also served as locations for meetings during the G8 conference: Palazzo Reale on Via Balbi and Palazzi Rosso, Bianco, Tursi on Via Garibaldi along with Palazzo Ducale, which sits on Piazza de Ferrari. Works were also completed in interior courtyards and inside the palaces as well, where necessary. Yet there was not a focus solely on the physical properties of heritage, but also attention was paid to how to best utilize these assets over the long-term. In addition to the physical restorations, cultural infrastructures were added to some of these works, most notably the museum system that directly connected several of the palaces that had been restored, including Palazzi Bianchi, Rosso and Tursi. Part of this system was the newly created museum on the waterfront, the Galata Museum of the Sea. Another key pole of the city museum system, this entirely new museum utilized parts of an existing former port building, encased within a glass shell.

Additionally, a handful of restoration projects were completed outside of the city center to attempt to diffuse the effects of the event and tie together the polycentric nature of the city, though the clear emphasis was on the city center. These projects were focused in the areas of Nervi and Pegli and also restored several heritage structures and public spaces. In the hill area of Staglieno, needed repair works were carried out on the Monumental Cemetery along with the

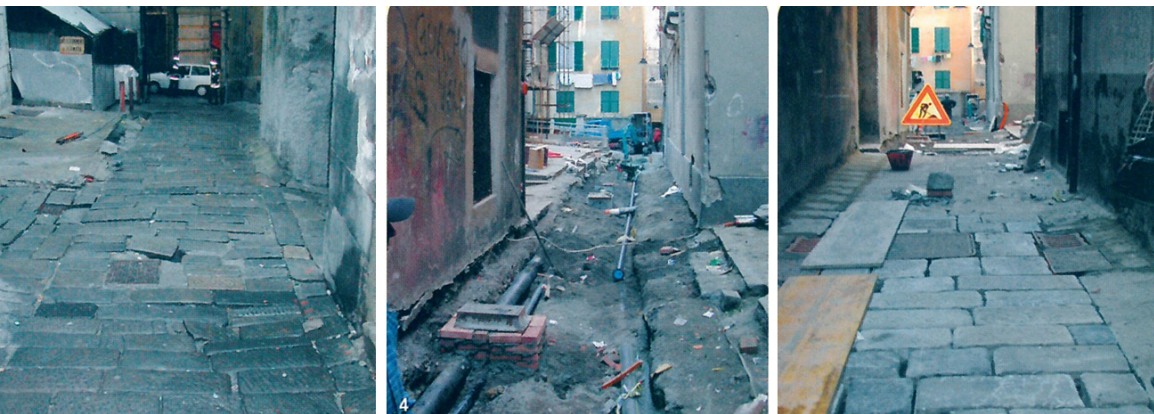
historic aqueduct that can now be visited. A number of villas were also restored, such as the Villa Doria a Pegli, which has been converted into a secondary school, along with several others, including Villa Luxoro a Nervi which is a museum. The intention was to spread works throughout the city to make sure that heritage was highlighted everywhere, and not just the center of the city. Such projects again highlight the great wealth of heritage assets that the city contains, beyond just the well known Rolli Palaces.



Fig. 2.12 Images of Palazzo Doria-Tursi prior to restoration works and after (source: Arkos 2001 Supplement n.1/2001 “Speciale G8” and Zachary Mark Jones, 2016).

For both the 2001 and 2004, there was a broader focus on the whole of the city center. Key urban connections (streets, piazzas, staircases) between the waterfront and the city center were repaved or pedestrianized for the event. Many of the facades along these streets were also restored. As seen in the original planning documents, the expectations for the 2004 ECoC in Genoa, as in most cities, were incredibly high. Genoa had been considered the city hardest hit in Italy during the previous decades by processes of deindustrialization (Gabrielli, 2005). The city used the two events to reposition the city's heritage, taking on a more central role, using the 2001 G8 to complete works on some of the most visible and important structures, while preparations for 2004 could spread focus to many smaller scale works across a greater area to complete the proposed urban renewal program. In fact, the coming down of the scaffolding throughout the city was described as the uncovering of an entirely new city (Ricagno, 2005).

Fig. 2.13 Vico dei Frigoso before and during repaving (source: Arkos Dossier, 2004).



Looking at the funding for the ECoC shows how significant a role the city's heritage played, not only for the event but for the revitalization of the city. From just the funding for the 2004 ECoC, approximately € 200,000,000 was invested into heritage restoration works, compared to the € 25,000,000 for the event program of the year (Mastropietro, 2007). This spending was then complemented by the G8 funding along with European funds. From 1993 to 2005 Genoa invested nearly € 650,000,000 into its heritage, with a third of that

relating to just the 2004 event (Gastaldi, 2009). The approximately € 300,000,000 that the city spent on its urban heritage between 2001 and 2004 equals the € 290,000,000 that Italy allocated to the Protection of Cultural Heritage for the entire country in 2016¹³ (MiBACT, 2016). Therefore, this level of investment was not just significant for Genoa, but is unmatched by any city in Italy.

2.3.2 External projects aligned with the two events

The vast array of works initiated by the event also came to inspire private proprietors to follow suit by restoring their own buildings, even without additional funding incentives (Pittarello, 2001). These included several banks with branches located in historic buildings along with private individual owners. The density of projects stimulated other actors to become involved in order to not ‘miss out’ in this important moment for the city. The clear planning of the event, integrated with city wide plans and the involvement of multiple local actors and decision makers helped in providing a sense of security to private actors to participate.

2.3.3 Post-event trends

In preparation of the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC, two key issues had been identified for the continued long-term success of the event. First and foremost, local experts and scholars called for the continued regular maintenance of the city’s newly restored urban heritage. Otherwise, the city would risk losing these structures eventually and to avoid much more expensive restoration projects when major interventions become necessary later (Alcozer, 2005). However, the years following 2004 saw a significant decrease in funding in preservation projects, both locally and nationally. Naturally, the levels of funding made available especially for the event would not be matched again under a return to normal circumstances, but the ability by MiBACT to continue funding heritage at the national level was greatly reduced due to cuts to the national budget for preservation

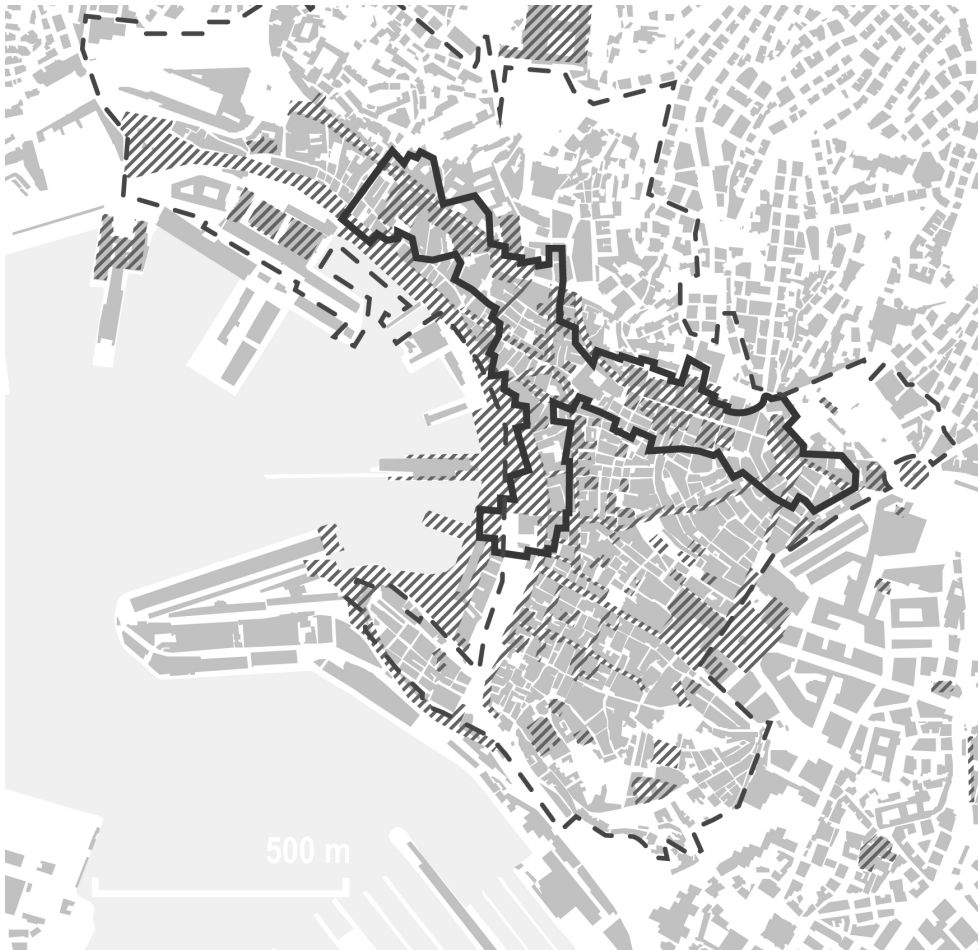
13 See 1.15 Tutela del patrimonio culturale (page 41 of 69) with a total budget of € 290,984,396.

works with the 2011 level of funding being only 50% of the budget in 2000 (Bodo & Bodo, 2016). This reduction also meant that calls for regular maintenance were ultimately unable to be met to the degree hoped for (Interview with: MiBACT01). Therefore while the event was a successful tool to implement a mass urban restoration, it was unable to develop a long term strategy of regularly maintaining and investing in heritage consistently (Jones, 2020).

Another clearly stated goal for the city was the attainment of UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) status for the city center. Much of the physical restoration works done for the 2001 and 2004 event focused specifically on the register of Rolli Palaces and related urban spaces, simultaneously intended as the focal point of the WHS bid. Following the ECoC, the city was awarded this status in 2006 for “Genoa: *Le Strade Nuove* and the system of the *Palazzi dei Rolli*”. It would have been much less likely for the city to have gained such an expansive WHS without the works completed in preparation for the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC events as many of the palaces, streets and public spaces that had been renovated and pedestrianized during the events became part of the final site as seen in Fig. 2.14.

While heritage played an important role in the promotion of the 2004 ECoC, the city has continued to promote its heritage, particularly the World Heritage Site. While several of the palaces are regularly open as museums, twice a year the city hosts “Rolli Days”. Held over the course of a weekend, the city opens up many of the palaces to the public that are normally closed. These events have become quite popular and attract many locals and visitors to experience and understand better the city’s heritage. Such events also fit into broader increases in tourism, which the following section will discuss in more specific detail.

In other regards, the city’s focus has largely turned to other issues now facing the city. In particular the city and region have had to deal with heavy flooding and subsequent environmental issues, the most pressing being the collapse of the Morandi Bridge in 2018. As the 2004 ECoC was quite



successful in restoring and promoting the city's heritage, it has not been necessary for the city to continue to focus on heritage with the same intensity and naturally must address other problematic areas. However, the city has not retained the key elements that helped to make the event such a success in meeting the goals it established. Much of the interdisciplinary networks and relationships formed to help in delivering the event were disbanded in the years following the event leading to a loss of institutional knowledge and learning (Interview with Gen04Srl01, ComGen02, OssUrb01). The city has also lacked strong strategic plans, visions and planning documents that were essential in the delivery of the 2004 ECoC. While a new Metropolitan

Fig. 2.14 The projects restored for the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC (grey dash) with the UNESCO World Heritage Site (solid black line) and the buffer zone (black dash line) (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).

Strategic Plan was released in 2017 and continues to promote the important role of the city's heritage, it does not provide details in terms of specific projects to be delivered or a general future direction to seek in terms of heritage (Città Metropolitana di Genova, 2017).

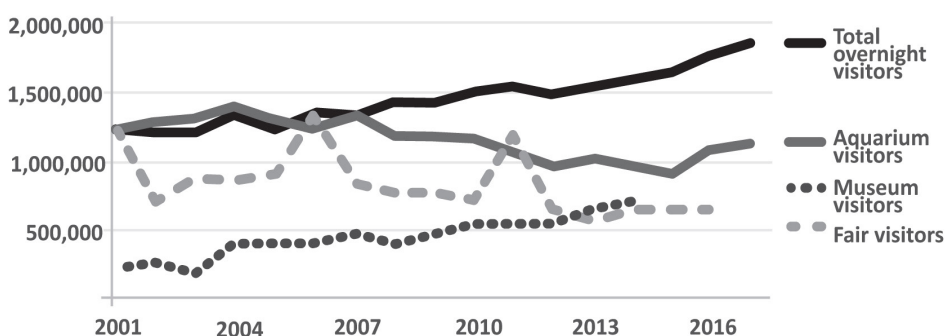
2.3.4 The general legacy over the last 15 years

It can be challenging to define a singular overarching legacy for such an event that involved many complex processes and actors, but many have considered the 2004 Genoa ECoC to be quite successful in terms of the physical effects it had on the city. While social media was not a strong force in 2004, there were a number of articles regarding the 2004 ECoC in Italian and international media throughout the year. During the 2004 year, there were 10,351 articles written in Italian newspapers and 90 articles in US newspapers with a total circulation of 42,272,200 (La Rassegna, 2013). An event evaluation conducted by Demoskopea found that the event had an overall positive effect on improving the city's image amongst local residents and across Italy (Genova2004, 2006).

One of the clearest aims stated in the 1999 Strategic Conference was to establish Genoa as a cultural tourism destination. This aim was ambitious considering that Italy already boasts many competitive tourist destinations and currently ranks as 5th most visited country in the world in terms of international visitors (UNWTO, 2015). The year 2004 represents a key point of change in the city's tourism standings. Compared to the number of visitors 5 years prior to the event, there was a 20% increase in tourism during the year of 2004 alone (García & Cox, 2013). Currently within the national context, the region of Genoa, Liguria, is now the 4th most visited region in Italy following Lombardy (Milan), Lazio (Rome) and Piedmont (Turin) and overnight visits have increased from 586,633 (2005) to 801,833 (2014) (Comune di Genova, 2015). This increase has taken place despite decreases in attendance to the city's two previous main attractions: the fairgrounds and aquarium. However,

contrasting this trend has been the consistent growth of visitors to the city’s museum system, accompanied by a larger overall increase in overnight visitors. From this data one can infer that, while perhaps not entirely but at least in part, culture and heritage have now become an important draw for the city. Based on this available data, it seems that the 2004 European Capital of Culture and the mass urban restoration works completed for the event have significantly and successfully contributed to establishing Genoa as a cultural destination, as originally hoped for (Jones, 2020).

Fig. 2.15 Total tourism figures for Genoa from 2000 until 2016 (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).



Beyond tourism though, the city has not seen a dramatic growth of local residents or in employment. Another important second goal identified to ensure the long term success of the ECoC would be the ability of the city to complete key developmental projects deemed necessary to continue the forward motion of the city, in particular the Parodi Ponte project and the Erzelli Citadel by Renzo Piano (Alcozer, 2005). The ability to implement these strategies without the extraordinary funding the city provided by mega-events is identified as a particular challenge to overcome. However, in the years since the event and following the global crisis, these projects have stalled and their futures remain uncertain.

While it may be true for any mega-event, particularly in the case of Genoa, it is difficult to separate the effects of the event from broader urban/regional development processes as they were so closely linked and integrated together over a number of years. This is in fact one of the defining aspects of the Genoa 2004 case.

2.4 A long-term impact on the city and its heritage

Threats

The short time-frame exerted pressure on heritage decision making, including the use of historic public spaces and buildings.

Some projects were significantly delayed and not completed as part of the event.

The city did not prepare for the eventual potential impacts of tourism on heritage spaces, either in terms of physical stresses or social changes.

The event failed to generate a culture of ongoing regular maintenance post-event as intended.

Institutional networks that gained much experience and learning through the event were disbanded and knowledge lost.

Opportunities

The event drastically increased funding to levels otherwise not possible, which allowed the city to implement a truly urban scale restoration program.

The nature of the event also brought together diverse actors to develop and share a vision for the city's future, which focused on the city's heritage.

The clear planning of the event through the strategic conference and subsequent planning documents allowed multiple funding sources to be brought together and set a clear trajectory to complete works.

Adequate research on the city's heritage had been previously completed to ensure that the restorations completed were done to a proper degree and not rushed.

The event was successful in re-positioning heritage as a main resource of the city and used to promote a new cultural heritage image of the city.

All of the works completed brought international attention to the city's heritage, namely through the designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

There are four key heritage issues and takeaways that can be observed in Genoa 2004:

- **A long-term vision and urban regeneration program**
- **Tourism economies in the historic city center**
- **Creating a new City Museum system**
- **Becoming a World Heritage City**

2.4.1 A long-term vision and urban regeneration program

The *1999 Strategic Conference* and subsequent *Operative Plan for the Historic Center* (2000) were the key planning documents that established a strategic direction for the city of Genoa, which largely centered around the 2004 ECoC. The main issues addressed in the conference were those of tourism, education, development, livability and infrastructure. The primary strategy was to develop the city center and the waterfront as the main centers for the whole city that was perceived to lack a true central destination and to restructure the economic base of the city. This transformation was proposed through a revitalization of existing heritage spaces in the city center as well as the insertion of new cultural centers on the waterfront. More than 160 individual restoration/conservation projects were carried out for Genoa 2004, with the *Strade Nuove* (New Streets) of Via Balbi and Via Garibaldi highlighted as key resources. Projects including the restoration of many of the city's painted facades, particularly on the Rolli Palaces, as well as repaving and pedestrianizing many streets and public squares.

2.4.2 Tourism economies in the historic city center

The strategic conference ultimately cast a grand vision for the city as it aimed towards 2004. The heritage of the city plays a crucial role in creating this city of culture and tourism that the Operative Plan described more explicitly. The intention was that the city itself would draw local residents and visitors back to the city center, both during the ECoC year itself and beyond. The heritage of the city was therefore valued for its desired secondary effects to create a previously non-existent tourism sector as well as to provide an anchor to attract a new creative sector to the city to initiate the regeneration of the city. The year 2004 represents a key point of change in the city's tourism standings. Compared to the number of visitors 5 years prior to the event, there was a 20% increase in tourism during the year of 2004 alone. This increase has taken place despite decreases in attendance to the city's two previous main attractions: the fairgrounds and aquarium. Due to the consistent growth, it seems quite clear, based on the available data, that the 2004 European Capital of Culture and the mass urban restoration works completed for the event have significantly and successfully contributed to establishing Genoa as a cultural destination.

2.4.3 Creating a new City Museum system

One of the city's main goals for the event was the reorganization of the city's heritage infrastructure. This goal was primarily realized through the establishment of the museum system and museum poles that connected the many existing institutions. The museum system most notably directly connected several of the palaces that had been restored, including the Palazzi Bianco, Rosso and Tursi. Part of this system also included the newly created museum on the waterfront, the Galata Museum of the Sea. Another key pole of the city museum system, this entirely new museum utilized parts of an existing former port

building, encased within a glass shell. Finally, a handful of restoration projects were completed outside of the city center to attempt to diffuse the effects of the event and tie together the polycentric nature of the city, though the clear emphasis was on the city center. The changes made to this system have seen a continuous increase in annual visitors to the museums since 2004 (see Fig. 2.15).

2.4.4 Becoming a World Heritage City

Within the city center, the *Strade Nuove* (New Streets) of Via Balbi and Via Garibaldi were highlighted as key resources to develop in order to highlight the main tourist attractions of the city and to draw visitors and citizens through the city, serving as a kind of open air museum. A key goal was for the historic center to be recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The quality of the existing public space was also highlighted as an essential aspect to creating a more livable city. All of the intended works aim towards two conditions: recuperate the centrality of the city and create a diffused sense of a stabilized livability. The re-establishment of public space was perceived to be the necessary impetus to initiate the intended reimagining of the city. Much of the physical restoration works done for the 2001 and 2004 event focused specifically on the register of Rolli Palaces (that were once used for lodging notable guests) and related urban spaces, simultaneously intended as the focal point of the WHS bid. The city was awarded this status in 2006 for “Genoa: *Le Strade Nuove* and the system of the *Palazzi dei Rolli*”. It would have been much less likely for the city to have ultimately gained such an expansive WHS without the works done in preparation of the 2001 and 2004 events as many of the palaces, streets and public spaces that had been renovated and pedestrianized during the events became part of the final site.

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Interviews

Name	Institution	Place and date
Gen04Srl01	Genova 2004 Srl	Genoa 15/11/2016
ComGen01	Genova Municipality	Genoa 14/11/2016
ComGen02	Genova Municipality	Genoa 10/02/2017
OssUrb01	Osservatorio Urbano Permanente	Genoa 13/02/2017
MiBACT01	Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities	Genoa 28/06/2016 Milan 10/12/2016
MiBACT02	Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities	Genoa 06/11/2016
UniGen01	University of Genoa	Genoa 28/06/2016
IUAVUni01	IUAV University of Venice	Email 25/08/2016



Chapter 3

MILAN EXPO 2015

The spread of cultural events in historic places and beyond

by Stefano Di Vita and Davide Ponzini

The Milan Expo 2015 case at a glance

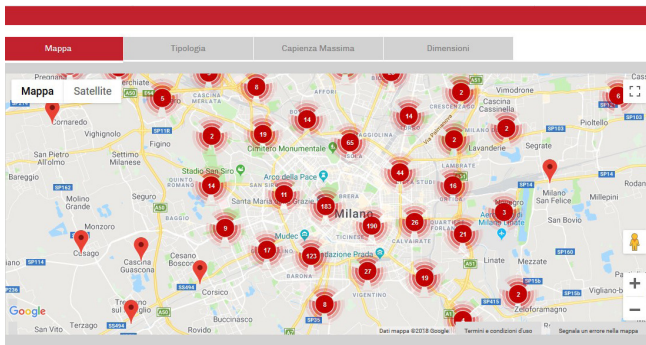


Fig. 3.0 ExpoinCittà program: locations of events collateral to Expo 2015 in Milan's metropolitan area (source: <http://it.expoincitta.com>, 2019).

The exhibitions promoted by the Bureau International d'Expositions (BIE) are usually located in one, large and specifically dedicated exhibition area. In the case of the Milan Expo 2015, the official venue was located on the outskirts of the city. Yet Milan already had a strong tradition of hosting events, tradition that the city leveraged in this occasion. Specifically, the Fuorisalone (Design Week) event inspired the development and coordination of thousands of minor collateral events gathered through an online platform under the ExpoinCittà umbrella label. These events were located in and impacted dozens of historic and modern buildings and spaces throughout the city and metropolitan area. Other heritage sites underwent more substantial transformations, as in the case of the renewal of the old Darsena and the pedestrianization of the central Piazza Castello.

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

- Smaller events supporting the mega-event celebration
- Targeting long-term leisure and culture tourism goals
- Self-reinforcing political constituency and the festivalization of urban space

Facts and figures

City population
1,365,000 (2018)

Metropolitan population
3,235,000 (2018)

GDP per capita
National
€ 27,700 (Eurostat, 2016)

City
€ 36,600 (Eurostat, 2016)

Tourists
3.4 million arrivals (2008)
5.3 million arrivals (2015)
5.7 million arrivals (2017)
Growth Rate (2010-2015):
+33%

Event attendance
Expo 2015: 21.5 million

ExpoinCittà 2015: 11 million

Total no. of events
46,310 collateral events (ExpoinCittà)

Total event cost
€ 14,780,000,000

Heritage project budget
€ 20,000,000 (ExpoinCittà + Piazza Castello + Darsena)

Opposite page: Public concert in Piazza Duomo (source: ExpoinCittà, 2014).

3.1 Milan's development and the turn toward tourism and leisure

Milan is the center of one of the richest regions in Europe. In modern times the city has been a key forerunner for Italian industry and innovation, the heart of internationalization and cosmopolitanism. The long-standing tradition of, among others, design, research & development, finance, fashion and publishing industries established the image of Milan as an economic motor for the region and country, despite the difficulties in keeping up with globalization. Passing from the heavy industry economic base to advanced tertiary economies had a quite long and difficult transition (d'Ovidio and Ponzini, 2014). The crisis of the late 2000s and early 2010s proved to be a turning point where local and regional institutions have been at odds in promoting growth as well as redistributing wealth in a sustainable manner across the social strata and spatially, while single interests groups tended to promote infrastructure, common goods and to support their own business with some degree of autonomy. In other words, Milan is a pluralistic city, where the governance is complex, the political and administrative fragmentation high, and multiple public and private actors are involved in decision making processes regarding cultural policy, and socio-economic and spatial development (Bolocan Goldstein, 2015; Pasqui, 2015).

Despite being a city with a quite extensive history and historically layered built environment, the city has more often been associated as a base of industry, banking or fashion than of heritage. Milan was originally a Roman settlement that even served for a short period as a capital of the Western Roman Empire, though only a few fragments of this history remains until today. Likewise, little of the medieval city remains besides a handful of churches. One of the strongest urban legacies that has impacted the development of the city over time has been the system of canals (or navigli, designed among others by Leonardo da Vinci) that connected Milan

with the surrounding region and led to the growth of the city through the increased transportation routes they provided that eased trade and logistics. While many of these canals were covered over in the early 20th century, there has recently been a resurgence in the recognition of these water routes as an important part of the city's heritage, which the case study will discuss further in depth as these efforts aligned with several of the projects planned for the Expo 2015. The city is of course known for the Duomo cathedral that has long served as the main icon of the city along with other heritage sites like the Sforza Castle, La Scala opera house and the painting of the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci. Milan also has a wealth of Italian modernist buildings built during the post-war period by architects like BBPR, Gio Ponti and Aldo Rossi. Milan is in this way a city with a very mixed collection of heritage that, while it may not solely define the image of the city as in other heritage-rich cities, has played an important role in its development and is yet quite noteworthy.

Fig. 3.1 Statues atop the Duomo of Milan (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).



The event of the Expo 2015 played a symbolic role as well as it involved an acceleration for the tourism and leisure industry, while it could not fully match the expectations of driving regional development and the provision of strong infrastructures to open up the urban form and functioning (Palermo & Ponzini, 2015). Indeed the laissez-faire season of the 2000s (Bolocan & Bonfantini, 2007; Palermo 2009) multiplied the opportunities for the real estate market while it did not drive them with any specific strategy, whereas environmental quality, lack of infrastructure and public transportation, overstress of the city center and other

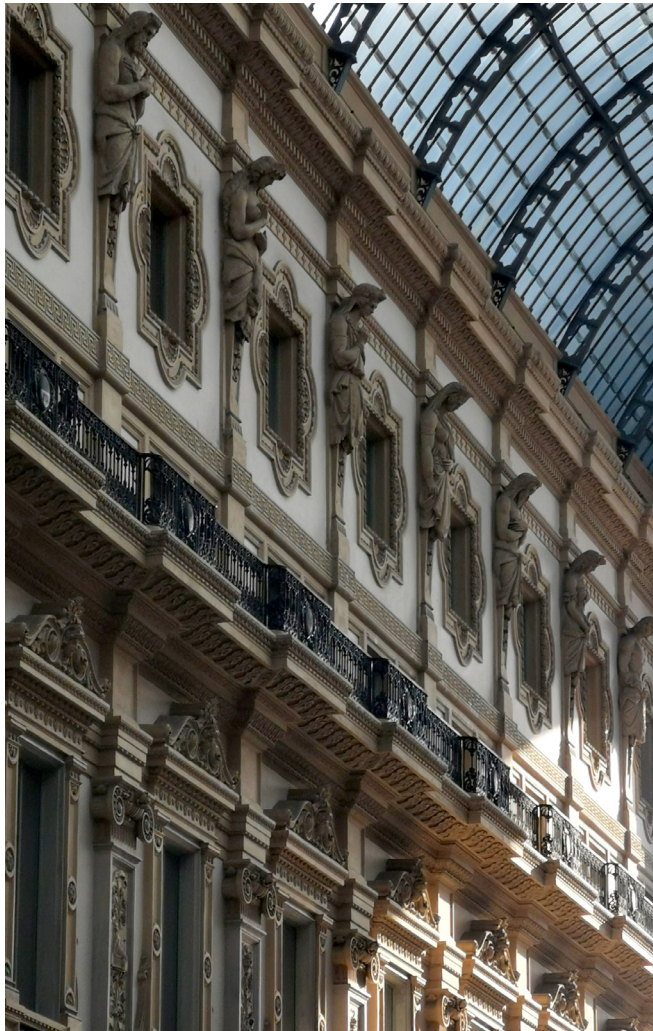


Fig. 3.2 Interior view of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2019).

problems were quite evident to the public decision makers. The spatial framework that the Municipality promoted at different stages lacked a synthetic vision for the city and clear strategic priorities for public and private investment. Large-scale development projects took quite risky stances and in several cases faced dramatic failure (e.g. Santa Giulia in the south-eastern outskirts). Large-scale projects took longer than expected to be completed (e.g. Porta Nuova and CityLife). In many cases the development of cultural facilities has been instrumentalized by real estate developers that in several instances did not deliver what was promised as public gain (e.g. the Museum for Contemporary Arts was planned in multiple sites but, despite the flourishing art market, has as of yet found no place in Milan).

The development of the Expo site was one of the opportunities that risked to be driven by short-sighted political and real estate interests, while the city kept following a project-by-project rationale (Palermo & Ponzini, 2012). However, for multiple reasons, the year of celebration of the Expo became the opportunity for bouncing back from the slow-down and critical aftermath of the crisis. The expansion of the tourism industry and in particular of the leisure segment, the mushrooming of events and entertainment activities gave not only important economic opportunities, but reinforced the international image and attractiveness of the city. Along the difficult way to the Expo 2015, Milan rediscovered several parts of its heritage, promoted valorization of key sites and developed an innovative system of coordination for small and medium sized events in the city center and elsewhere. The fact that the former CEO of Expo became City Mayor in 2016 and the city won the bid to host another mega-event such as the 2026 Winter Olympics confirms the relevance of this trend.

3.1.1 City and event facts and figures

City/Event	Milan Expo 2015	
Event Bid	2006	
Event awarding	2008	
Event celebration	2015	
City Population (ISTAT; 2018)	Milan Municipality	1.365 million (2018)
	Milan Metropolitan City	3.235 million (2018)
City GDP per capita (Eurostat, 2016)	€ 36,600	
National GDP per capita (Eurostat, 2016)	€ 27,700	
Number of annual visitors / A (Comune di Milano, Area Turismo, 2018)	Before bidding	3.2 million arrivals (2005)
	Before awarding	3.3 million arrivals (2007)
	After awarding	3.4 million arrivals (2008)
	Before celebration	4.8 million arrivals (2014)
	During celebration	5.3 million arrivals (2015)
	After celebration	5.1 million arrivals (2016)
		5.5 million arrivals (2017)
	Growth Rate	+61% tourist arrivals (2000-2005)
	+24% tourist arrivals (2005-2010)	
	+33% tourist arrivals (2010-2015)	

Tab. 3.1 – City and event facts and figures (source: elaboration by the authors).

Milan Expo 2015

Number of annual visitors / B (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)	Hotel occupancy rate	+10% (2015-2013) +12% (2017-2015)
	Growth of visitors in Milan museums	+50% (2015)
	Event attendance / Expo 2015 (May-October 2015) (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)	Expected
	Real	21.5 million (in the Expo site)
Event attendance / ExpoinCittà (May-October 2015) (ExpoinCittà, 2015)	Real	11 million in 46,310 events (in the urban region)
Total event cost¹⁴	Total	€ 14,780,000,000
	Cost for transport infrastructures (urban region's road and railway networks)	€ 11,470,000,000 (Botto & Di Vita, 2016)
	Cost for Expo 2015 Spa (Expo site management and organization + Expo site ¹⁵ and Water Way/ Darsena construction)	€ 2,196,000,000 (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)
	Cost for international participants ¹⁶	€ 1,075,000,000 (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)
	Cost for City Operation Master Program and ExpoinCittà management and organisation	€ 39,000,000 (Interview with: WePlan01)

14 Including the costs for the Expo 2015, and the connected City Operations Master Program and ExpoinCittà program. Thus, excluding the costs for the post-Expo dismantling, temporary reuse and permanent transformation of the exposition area, as well as the costs for the other collateral initiatives (such as the E015 Digital Ecosystem, the Expo Working Groups, Explora, the Territorial Coalitions for Expo, Expo and Territories, Laboratory Expo, and Women for Expo, as well as the Urban Food Policy Pact and the Milan Food Policy).

15 Excluding the design and construction of national and corporate pavillions (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018).

16 Including the design and construction of national and corporate pavillions (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018).

	Infrastructure cost (event budget)	Essential works (Expo site, Water Way/Darsena, and essential transport infrastructure construction)	€ 1,114,000,000
		Connected works (urban region's road and railway networks)	€ 10,148,000,000 (Botto & Di Vita, 2016)
		Necessary works (urban region's road and railway networks)	€ 1,322,000,000 (Botto & Di Vita, 2016)
		Connected + Necessary works (urban region's road and railway networks)	€ 11,470,000,000 (Botto & Di Vita, 2016)
<p>17 According to the agreement between the Milan Municipality and the Milan Chamber of Commerce (signed in February 2014), and in comparison with the € 99,000,000 for cultural events estimated by the 2007 Bidding Dossier within the total amount of € 892,000,000 concerning the event operating cost (Comitato di Candidatura di Milano all'Expo 2015, 2007).</p>	City Operations Master Program	€ 38,000,000 (Interview with: WePlan01)	
<p>18 For instance, in 2015, thanks to the economic support of € 100,000 for each one of the 4 ExpoinCittà main partners: EasyJet, Edison, Intesa San Paolo and Vodafone.</p>	Cultural / Entertainment Program Cost	Cost for ExpoinCittà	Max € 200,000 financed by the Milan Municipality (2014-2015) + Max € 200,000 financed by the Milan Chamber of Commerce (2014-2015) ¹⁷
<p>19 Source: Deliberazione della Giunta Comunale di Milano n° 1141, May 30th, 2014.</p>			Max € 300,000 (2014) + Max € 400,000 (2015) provided by the Milan Municipality ¹⁸ to the Fondazione Piccolo Teatro as extraordinary budget to develop the artistic and cultural event program ¹⁹

Heritage budget cost	Darsena renewal	€ 17,000,000 ²⁰ (among the € 121,000,000 for the Water Way)
	Piazza Castello, Nevicata14 temporary installation	€ 200,000 (Pasta, 2015)
	Expo Gate pavillions	€ 3,000,000 (Gallione, 2016; Urbanfile, 2019)
Public funding²¹	Cost for transport infrastructures (urban region's road and railway networks)	€ 11,470,000,000 (Botto & Di Vita, 2016)
	Public contribution to Expo 2015 Spa	€ 1,252,000,000 (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)
	Public contribution to the City Operations Master Program + ExpoinCittà	€ 38,400,000 ²²
Private funding²³	Private contribution to cost for Expo 2015 Spa (including sponsorship ²⁴ and ticket sales)	€ 944,000,000 (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018)
	Private contribution to cost for ExpoinCittà (including the 2015 sponsorship ²⁵)	Max € 400,000 ²⁶
Economic impact (SDA Bocconi, 2016)	Added value: € 13,900,000,000 (from 2012 to 2020) => € 1,800,000,000 before the Expo 2015 + € 4,200,000,000 during the Expo 2015 + € 7,900,000,000 after the Expo 2015	
	Additional production: € 31,600,000,000 (from 2012 to 2020)	

20 Source: Deliberazione della Giunta Comunale di Milano n° 1485, July 13th, 2012.

21 Excluding the costs for the national and corporate pavillions (in charged to the participating countries), the costs for the post-Expo dismantling, temporary reuse and permanent transformation of the exposition area, as well as the costs for the other collateral initiatives (such as the E015 Digital Ecosystem, the Expo Working Groups, Explora, the Territorial Coalitions for Expo, Expo and Territories, Laboratory Expo, and Women for Expo, as well as the Urban Food Policy Pact and the Milan Food Policy).

22 According to the ExpoinCittà agreement between the Milan Municipality and the Milan Chamber of Commerce (signed in February 2014).

23 Excluding national and corporate pavillions.

24 For instance, by the event global partners (Intesa San Paolo, Samsung, Tim, Enel, Leonardo-Finmeccanica, Accenture, and FCA/CNH).

25 For instance, by the ExpoinCittà main partners (EasyJet, Edison, Intesa San Paolo and Vodafone).

26 Source: Deliberazione della Giunta Comunale di Milano n° 1141, May 30th, 2014.

3.1.2 Milan 2015 timeline

The Expo, post-Expo and outside Expo processes²⁷

Tab. 3.2 – Timeline of the event’s planning and management process (source: elaboration by the authors).

	Bidding	Planning
	2006-2008	2008-2013
Event organizers	Comitato di candidatura di Milano all’Expo 2015 ²⁸	Expo 2015 Spa ²⁹
Public administration (state, local, etc.)	Comune di Milano, Provincia di Milano, Regione Lombardia, Camera di Commercio di Milano	Main: Governo Italiano (Ministero dell’Economia e delle Finanze, Ministero per gli Affari Esteri, Presidenza del Consiglio), Comune di Milano, Regione Lombardia Minor: Provincia di Milano, Camera di Commercio di Milano
Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)	Fondazione Fiera Milano	Fondazione La Triennale di Milano

27 Sources: Botto & Di Vita, 2016; Bruzzese & Di Vita, 2016a; Bruzzese & Di Vita, 2016b; Di Vita, 2015; Di Vita, 2017; Di Vita & Morandi, 2018.

28 Constituted by the Lombardy Regional Government, Milan Municipal Administration, Milan Provincial Administration, Milan Chamber of Commerce and Fondazione Fiera, and supported by the Italian National Government.

29 Since 2008, constituted by the Italian National Government, Ministry of Economy and Finance (40%), Lombardy Regional Government (20%), Milan Municipal Administration (20%), Milan Provincial Administration (10%), and Milan Chamber of Commerce (10%).

Implementation	Post-event
2012-2015	2015-ongoing
Expo 2015 Spa	Arexpo Spa ³⁰
Main: Governo Italiano (Ministero dell’Economia e delle Finanze, Ministero per gli Affari Esteri, Presidenza del Consiglio), Comune di Milano, Regione Lombardia	Main: Governo Italiano (Ministero dell’Economia e delle Finanze, Ministero per gli Affari Esteri, Presidenza del Consiglio), Comune di Milano, Regione Lombardia
Minor: Provincia/Città Metropolitana di Milano, Camera di Comm. di Milano	Minor: Provincia/Città Metropolitana di Milano, Comune di Rho
Main: Fondazione Triulza, Infrastrutture Lombarde, Metropolitana Milanese, Triennale di Milano Servizi	Main: Assolombarda, Fondazione Triulza, Gruppo Osp. San Donato, Ist. Italiano di Tecnologia, Lendlease, Università degli Studi di Milano
Minor: Assolombarda, Confcommercio, Confindustria, Fondazione Cariplo, Fondazione Feltrinelli, Fondazione Mondadori, Fondazione Piccolo Teatro, Politecnico di Milano, Soprintendenza di Milano, Unioncamere Lombardia, Unione del Commercio	Minor: Fondazione Fiera Milano, Fondazione La Triennale di Milano, Politecnico di Milano, Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca

30 From 2011 to 2016, constituted by the Lombardy Regional Government (34,67%), Milan Municipal Administration (34,67%), Fondazione Fiera (27,66%), Milan Province Administration (2%), and Rho Municipal Administration (1%). Following, since 2016, constituted by Italian National Government, Ministry of Economy and Finance (39,28%), Lombardy Regional Government (21,05%), Milan Municipal Administration (21,05%), Fondazione Fiera (16,80%), besides Milan Metropolitan City Administration (1,21%) and Rho Municipal Administration (0,61%).

3.2 Connecting the Expo's momentum and the historic city center: planning, projects and governance

The analysis of the Milan Expo 2015 focuses on culture and heritage projects and policy actions that were planned in the occasion of the year of celebration. Culture and heritage were not at all the main feature of the exhibitions promoted by the Bureau International d'Expositions (BIE). Expo sites, indeed, are typically located in one large and specifically dedicated exhibition area, mainly made by temporary and ephemeral pavilions. In many cases, the location is outside or in an expanding/redevelopment area of the city or region that hosts the event.

The Milan Expo 2015 case study has its own specificity in times when and places where it took place. On the one hand, Milan's bid to host the Expo 2015 was promoted in 2006-2007, before the break out of the global crisis, but the actual event planning and management started in 2008, at the beginning of a financial and economic downturn, which affected both public funding and private investment, leading to downscaling the proposed interventions (Di Vita & Morandi, 2018). On the other hand, the Milan Expo 2015 took place in a city that is pluralistic but at the same time containing strong institutions and interests, as represented by the Milan Trade Fair (the body managing one of the largest fairgrounds in Europe). The latter has had relevant real estate interests in the development of the new fairground in the Rho suburban area, where also the Expo site was located, while being an important economic driver and player in urban regeneration through investments and events. Also due to its pluralism, and low degree of hierarchy in the private sector, Milan has a strong tradition in promoting events that are widespread in the city. For example, the fashion industry has a low degree of coordination and almost no common infrastructure while it manages massive events for the catwalks, haute-couture collection and shopping-

related events and tourism. Similarly, the Fuorisalone event, that was originally born as an alternative scene to the official Design Week, has gradually become synergetic to the main event, strengthening its appeal and international success. It is the Fuorisalone event in Milan that, in addition to driving the development and coordination of hundreds of events every year, inspired the organization of thousands of collateral events promoted throughout the year of the World's Fair 2015.

3.2.1 The growing relevance of culture and heritage in refining the Expo bid and planning documents

The documents concerning the Milan candidature to the Expo 2015, and its planning and management, have limited focus on the issues of culture and heritage, because they were not among the main event's targets and goals, but they were perceived as relevant to the success of the event and its legacies. In spatial terms they concentrated the efforts in the north-western outskirts of Milan, towards the main airport Malpensa and nearby the recently inaugurated new fairground in Rho.

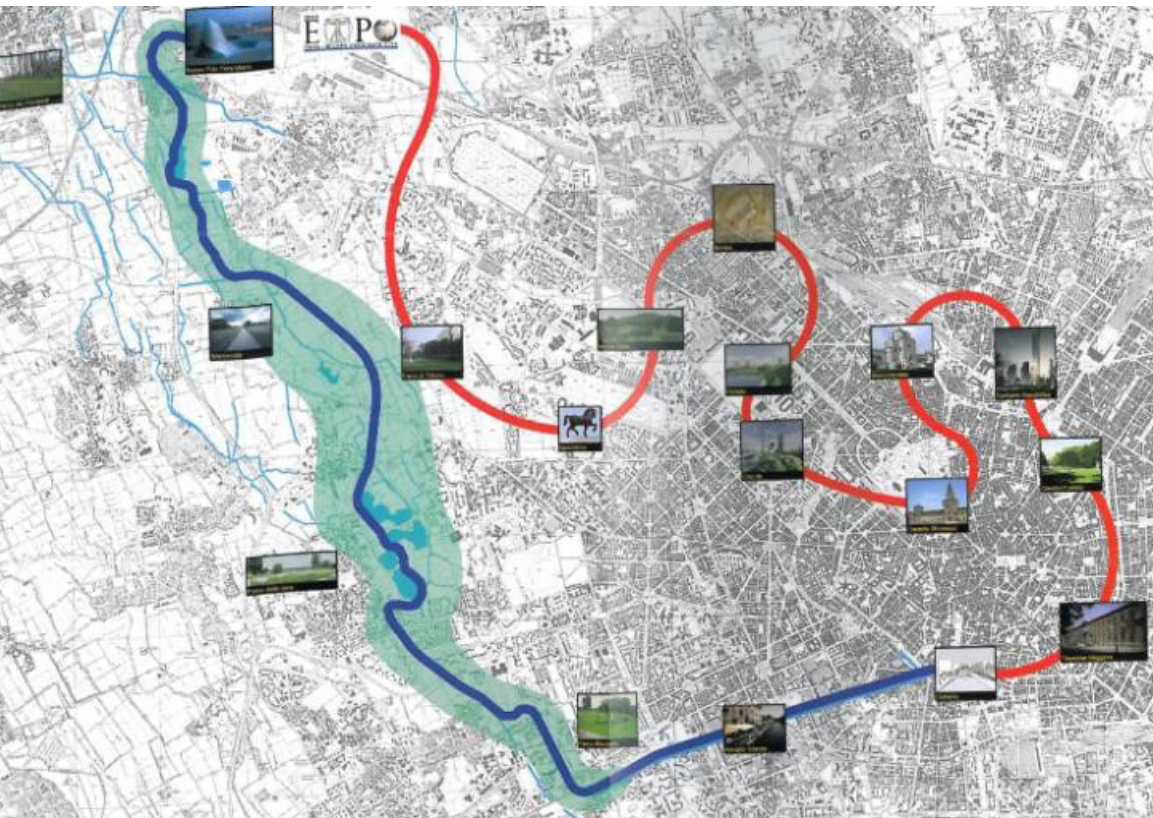
The first contribution was made by the original 2006 Bidding Dossier, that highlighted the local and national excellence in relation to the Expo 2015 theme ('Feeding the planet, energy for life'), as well as the environmental and cultural heritage in the surroundings of the Expo site. In order to strengthen the connections to the city, which were considered essential to the event success, the ongoing development of the Expo proposed the two projects of the Expo Water Way and Land Way. Both these two ways were promoted in order to connect the historical Darsena (that is, the former city dockyard of the Navigli canal system) to the Expo site:

- the Water Way was originally planned as a navigable canal, running along the banks of the historical Naviglio Grande, and passing through important hotspots of the Milan environmental heritage (such

as the Parco delle Cave, the Parco di Trenno, the Boscoincittà, and the Parco dei Fontanili);

- the Land Way was originally planned as a cycle path, passing through big redevelopment areas (such as Porta Nuova, CityLife, Portello, and Bovisa), and important resources of the Milan environmental and cultural heritage (such as, the former Ospedale Maggiore, the Giardini Montanelli, the Cimitero Monumentale, the Castello Sforzesco, the Monte Stella, the Ippodromo di San Siro, and the Parco di Trenno (Fig. 3.3).

Fig. 3.3 The first layout of the Water Way and Land Way in the 2006 Bidding Dossier (source: Comitato di Candidatura Expo Milano 2015, 2006).



The following and final version of the 2007 Bidding Dossier strengthened the exploitation of the local environmental and cultural heritage, beginning with the restoration proposal

of the former farmhouse Cascina Triulza, located within the Expo site, in order to host the innovative Third Sector Pavilion. In parallel, the two projects of the Water Way and Land Way were further developed.

Landscape and natural heritage were in theory at the center of the plans for the Expo-related infrastructure for the bid (that ultimately, however, fell short in this regard). For example, in order to improve the event legacy (growth of city tourism, capability to attract talented people, city image and identity, even through the improvement of the urban design and landscape of the public space and the public realm), the Water Way project was confirmed as a navigable canal and further developed as a park, aiming at regenerating the west sector of the city by increasing the amount of green areas and improving the quality of the landscape. At the same time, the Land Way project was developed as a permanent route across main tourist attractions in the city and integrated by four secondary thematic itineraries: the Creative Milan in the South-West sector of the city; the 19th Century Milan in the South-East; the Milan of Innovation in the North-East; the Milan of the Future in the North-West (Fig. 3.4).

Fig. 3.4 The new version of the Water Way (on the left) and Land Way (on the right) in the 2007 Bidding Dossier (source: Comitato di Candidatura Expo Milano 2015, 2007).



Besides these projects, the 2007 Bidding Dossier also highlighted the importance of both the development of collateral initiatives to the official BIE exposition, and the

planning of other medium-to-long-term projects through a joint masterplan, aimed to integrate the initiatives that were promoted in the city on the occasion of Expo 2015.

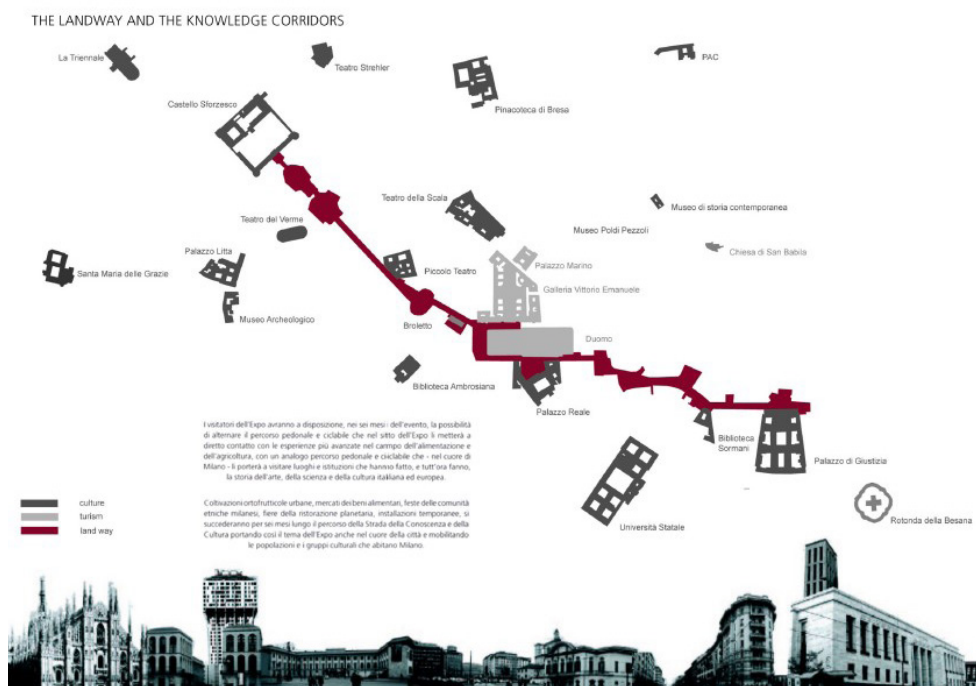
The Expo site was planned and developed in a greenfield area near the new Milan fairground, in a suburban area in the North-West sector of the urban region. After the official awarding of Expo 2015, in March 2008, Milan started the planning phase of the World's Fair. According to the 2009 Conceptual Masterplan, the new Expo site tried to innovatively exploit the Expo theme through the unprecedented proposal of a global vegetable garden instead of a traditional exhibition area made by pavilions. With a similar purpose, the Water Way project (no longer navigable) was extended at the metropolitan scale: not only from the Darsena to the Expo site, but also from the Expo site to the Parco delle Groane. At the same time, it was integrated into a wider project concerning the refurbishment and reuse of the historical farms (cascine) located around the entire urban core of the Milan urban region (Fig. 3.5). Besides, the Land Way project was transformed into the so-called 'Knowledge corridor' inside the historical center of the city (Fig. 3.6).

Fig. 3.5 The general framework of the 2009 Conceptual Masterplan: from Expo site and Land Way, to Water Way and cascine (source: Expo 2015 Spa).

THREE PROJECTS FOR MILAN EXPO 2015



Milan Expo 2015



The Water Way project was further extended by the 2010 Registration Masterplan, from the historical Canale Villoresi to the North, to the historical Naviglio Grande to the South, in order to take the water to the Expo site perimetral canal, and to take it away. The project extended its metropolitan scale, but it was only partially implemented (that is, the North sector from the Parco delle Groane to the Expo site). Environmental and cultural associations fought against it because the Water Way layout did not correspond to the layout of the historic water network of Milan and the project implementation was partially stopped (that is, the South sector from the Expo site to the Naviglio Grande, with the only exception of the renewal of the Darsena and the Naviglio Grande banks) (Fig. 3.7).

Fig. 3.6 The Land Way version proposed by the 2009 Conceptual Masterplan: the so-called 'Knowledge Corridor' inside the Milan historical center (source: Expo 2015 Spa).

Concerning the Land Way project, after the 2010 Registration Masterplan, its development can be recognized within a system of initiatives promoted by the Milan Municipal Administration since the election of the new Mayor, in June 2011. Indeed, this political change corresponded to

Fig. 3.7 The metropolitan scale of the Water Way version proposed by the 2010 Registration Masterplan and the connections with the landscape resources (source: Expo 2015 Spa).

the end of political conflicts that have delayed the event planning and management, and to the acceleration of the event projects' and works' implementation. In January 2012, on the occasion of the Expo 2015, the Milan Municipal Administration launched its City Operations Master Program, inspired by the City Operations Master Program that was developed according to the rules of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on the occasion of the Turin Winter Olympics 2006 (Interview with: YesMil01). Even though it was not explicitly required by the BIE, in June 2012, the Milan Municipal Administration approved this tool in order to coordinate its multi-sectoral activities with those developed by the Expo 2015 Spa and other public administrations involved in the event process. Through this experimentation, 74 projects were coordinated in order to improve the urban quality and hospitality on the occasion of the World's Fair 2015 by distinguishing them into compulsory ('must do') and qualifying ('nice to do').



According to the final version of the City Operations Master Program, the compulsory projects ('must do') were articulated into the following thematic areas:

- "City hospitality", including projects such as the new tourist card, itineraries, and information and signage system, as well as the Patto per Expo (between the Milan Municipality and the local economic associations) and the restoration of the Caselli Daziari (to host temporary info-points);
- "Cultural and sport events", including projects such as the improvement of local museums' services, the organization and coordination of concerts, exhibitions and sport events towards and during the Expo 2015³¹, even through the Expo Days initiative (in May 2012, 2013 and 2014) and the ExpoinCittà program (in 2015 and 2016);
- "Safety / Security and Volunteering", including projects such as the new unified City Commander Center;
- "City image and communication", for instance in order to improve the event communication throughout the city;
- "Mobility and environment", including projects such as the completion of the metro line M5, the improvement of soft mobility, and the development of a new info-mobility system.

In parallel, the most relevant qualifying projects ('nice to do'), also in terms of Expo legacies, have been the promotion of a new Milan brand, the restoration of the former docklands (Darsena), the development of the new Distretto Agricolo Milanese, the promotion of the restoration project of former farms (cascine), the increase of urban vegetable gardens, as well as the development of the E015 digital ecosystem³².

31 Promoted by city theatres, museums and sport institutions and venues.

32 Website: www.e015.regione.lombardia.it.

3.2.2 The path-dependent innovation of ExpoinCittà

According to the 2012 City Operations Master Program, the Universal Exhibition Milan 2015 was integrated by the program called ExpoinCittà. Partially anticipated by the research 'Expo Diffusa e Sostenibile' (promoted by Politecnico di Milano and Fondazione Cariplo; Battisti et al., 2011) and inspired by the above-mentioned Fuorisalone event (see the Introduction to section 3.2), the ExpoinCittà program was capable of coordinating and supporting existing and new cultural, commercial and sport initiatives promoted by multiple stakeholders in order to exploit the tourist potentialities of the city. On the basis of the agreement signed in February 2014, the City of Milan and the Chamber of Commerce of Milan created an interactive digital platform and a set of fast-track procedures and services to facilitate the match between the supply and demand of events and initiatives with appropriate locations available, often underused. The digital platform³³ aimed at broadening the Expo participation:

- by providing information about the official exhibition and its thousands of collateral initiatives, which spread throughout the city;
- by providing an innovative digital tool to different kinds of stakeholders interested in organizing events which, after their bottom-up proposal (by multiple actors) and their top-down validation (by the Milan Municipal Administration and the Milan Chamber of Commerce), were connected to the World's Fair 2015 through the awarding of the ExpoinCittà label;
- consequently, by granting a set of incentives to participants (free communication, discount on taxes for temporary use of public land or for royalties on public performances) (Interview with: ComMil01).

33 Website: www.expoincitta.com.

The ExpoinCittà interactive web platform today collects 1,015 event locations in the Milan urban region: 4 are located

in the Varese Province area and 2 are located in the Piacenza Province area, whereas 1,009 are located in the Milan Metropolitan City area³⁴. Furthermore, the 45% of the 46,310 collateral events officially registered in 2015 was placed inside the Milan historical center, by mainly exploiting the potentialities of the local cultural heritage and landscape. Another 45% was placed outside the Milan historical center and the remaining 10% was placed outside the Milan municipal area (ExpoinCittà, 2015), thus confirming the centripetal socio-economic spatial dynamics, that traditionally characterise the Milan urban region (Fig. 3.8 and 3.9). The participation to this set of collateral events to the Expo 2015 was high, if we consider that, on the total amount of 967 event locations registered in 2015, 296 were placed in public spaces and 671 were placed in private spaces (225 in outdoor spaces and 742 in indoor spaces) (ExpoinCittà, 2015).

34 Source: www.expoincitta.com.

Fig. 3.8 and 3.9 The locations of the ExpoinCittà events within the Milan urban region (graph and table taken from ExpoinCittà, 2015, 48-49).

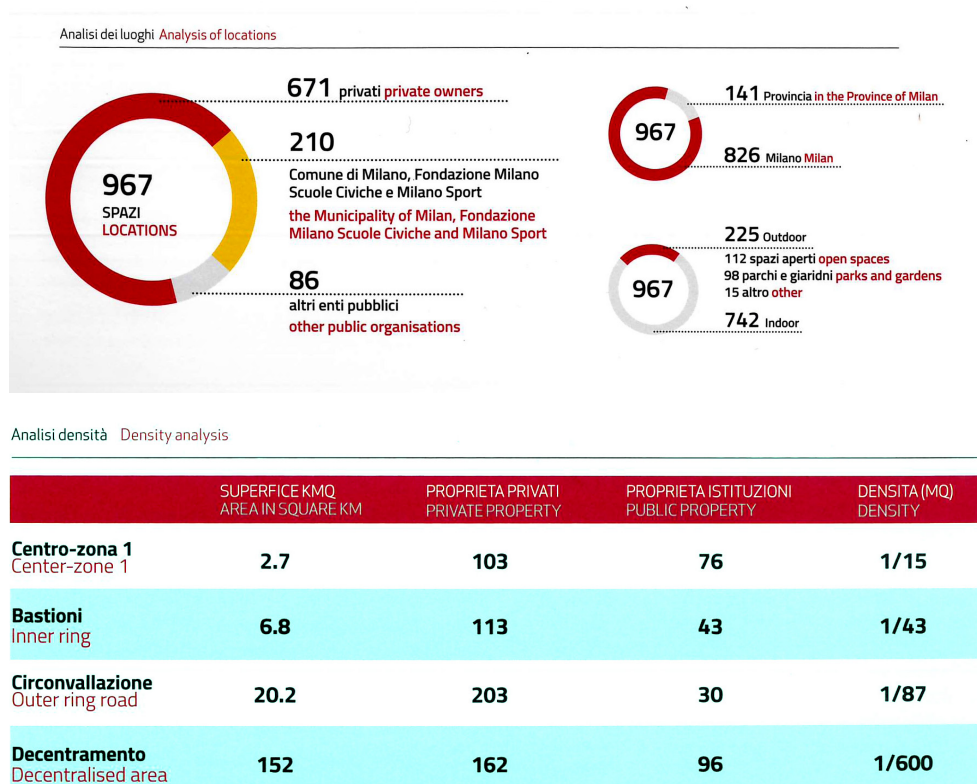
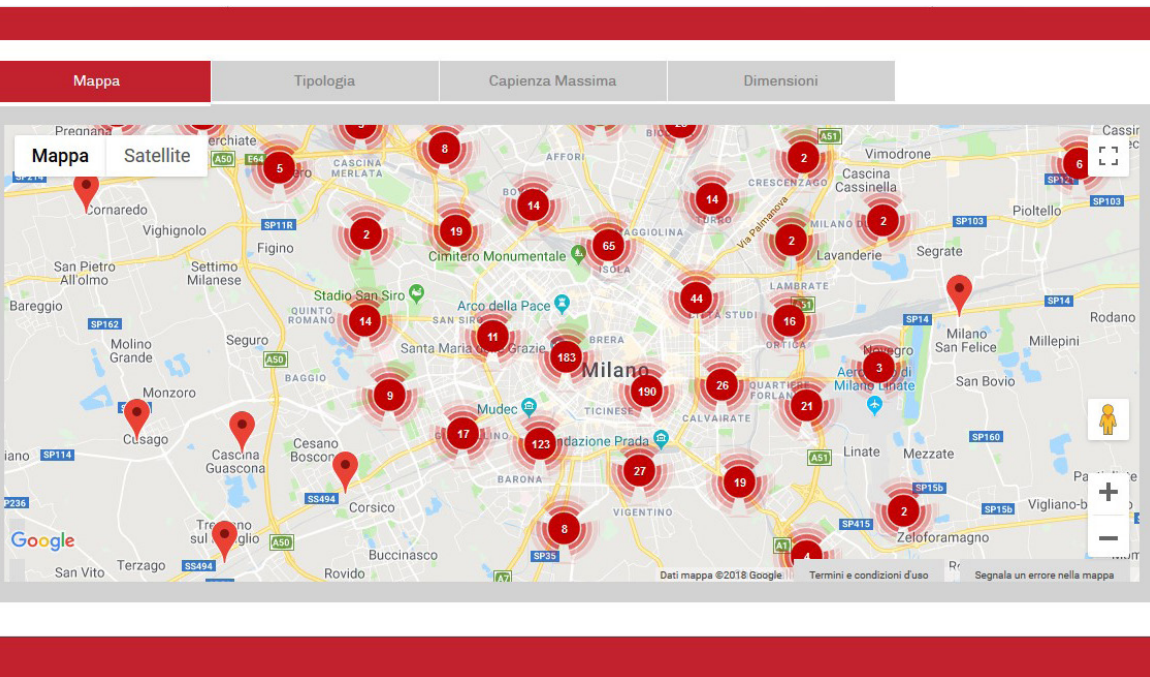


Fig. 3.10 The density of the ExpoinCittà events in the North-West sector of the Milan historical center (source: www.expoincitta.com).

To synthesize, the ExpoinCittà web platform organized and systematized the events' contents and communications, and it mapped and classified the event locations³⁵. According to this mapping and classifying activities, the main cluster of event locations placed in the cultural heritage can be recognized in Milan's historic city center (Fig. 3.10).



35 According to this classification, the typologies of the event locations are: amphitheater; library; art gallery; sport venue; conference center; space to enhance; polyfunctional space; office; public green areas; cascina; industrial building; museum; showroom; education facility; exhibition space; villa; university facility; high value cloister or portico; high value historical building; theme park; open or public space; theater or auditorium (Source: www.expoincitta.com).

Despite its focus not being on high culture, the ExpoinCittà program included the promotion of art icons as well as cultural-heritage-related initiatives, such as:

- The Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci (1494-1498) in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie;
- The Marriage of the Virgin (1504) by Raffaello Sanzio and the The Kiss (1859) by Francesco Hayez in the Pinacoteca di Brera;
- The Pietà Rondanini (1552-1553) by Michelangelo Buonarroti in the Museo della Pietà Rondanini of the Castello Sforzesco;

- The Fourth Estate by Giuseppe Pelizza da Volpedo (1898-1902) and the Concetto Spaziale: Attesa by Lucio Fontana (1960) in the Museo del Novecento.

Within the huge variety of the ExpoinCittà locations, just a couple of them were specific venues:

- the Expo Gate temporary pavilions, which were built in front of the Castello Sforzesco at the beginning of 2014 and dismantled at the end of 2016, were managed by the Fondazione La Triennale di Milano (according to an agreement signed with the Milan Municipal Administration in February 2013), and played the role of Expo info-point inside the city, being located in one of the Milan historical center's most monumental site, that on this occasion was permanently transformed in pedestrian area;
- the ExpoinCittà Lounge "Diurno Elita", which was located in the former albergo Cobianchi in Piazza Duomo, and was directly managed by the Milan Municipality.

Furthermore, one of the most famous and most frequently used locations of the ExpoinCittà program was the former Darsena (South-West of the Milan historical center, the intersection between the two main Navigli canals). According to multiple interviewees, the Darsena renewal represents the most iconic intervention connected to the Milan Expo 2015 and concerning the exploitation of the local cultural heritage (Interviews with: ComMil01, ComMil02, ComMil03, WePlan01, MiBACT01 and YesMil01).

3.2.3 Despite the lack of a planning vision and spatial coordination: The Expo Gate and Darsena projects

The making of the new main planning document for the city – Piano di Governo del Territorio (PGT) started in 2008 and approved in 2012 by the Milan Municipal Administration – proposed a concentric form with massive opportunities

for developers to supply real estate for an alleged growth of hundreds of thousands of new inhabitants. The core idea of the 2008-2012 PGT was to rely on the redistribution of the added value in the real estate and on few new sectors, including leisure tourism. However, the weakness (and even the absence) of a shared vision for development in and across policy networks and the substantial de-regulation in terms of land-use, mixed with the late financial crisis of the 2000s, dramatically curtailed the capacity of the public administration to take the lead in planning new transformations, which evidently depended almost entirely on the private players of (unstable) real estate market (Palermo & Ponzini, 2012; 2015).

According to a traditional Milan approach to the urban planning, promoted since the 1980s, also the Expo 2015, the post-Expo, and the projects outside the Expo site have been mainly developed outside the ordinary urban planning tools. Both the 2012 and 2019 urban plans have explicitly transferred the competences about the Expo, the post-Expo, and the projects outside Expo to their specific planning tools. For instance, the event and post-event planning of the Expo site were developed according to a specific *Accordo di Programma Expo 2015* (started in October 2008, and finally approved in July 2011), whereas both the *City Operations Master Program* and the *ExpoinCittà* program were promoted in 2012 and 2014, respectively, according to a sectoral and just-in-time vision (see also Botto & Di Vita, 2016; Di Vita, 2017). Despite the lack of a long-term spatial development vision for Milan, there are two important projects related to the Expo that involved the historic city center, but produced effects at a wider scale: the redesign of the area in front of the *Castello Sforzesco* and the long awaited renewal of the old docks of the *Navigli* canal system (*Darsena*), which were developed according to ordinary administrative procedures of local authorities (Interviews with: *ComMil01*, *ComMil02* and *WePlan01*; see also Table 3.1 in section 3.1).

In the years prior to the event, the area in front of the Castello was pedestrianised and the main contact point for the Expo 2015 was placed there with the Expo Gate pavilions (Fig. 3.11).



For what concerns the piazza in front of the Castello Sforzesco, in connection to the former Expo's Land Way proposal, the Scandurrastudio won the competition (managed by the Fondazione La Triennale di Milano³⁶) for the development of the Expo info-point in the city in September 2013. This project was finally approved by the Milan Soprintendenza in October 2013 (due to the facilities' alignment to the historical Beruto axis between the 19th century via Dante and the Castle facade). Meanwhile, in May 2014, the Expo Gate³⁷ was officially inaugurated and opened to the public, in April 2014 the entire Piazza Castello was transformed in a pedestrian area, and the project called "Nevicata 14" awarded the design competition for the temporary new furnishing of the area, after some controversies (Fig. 3.12).

Fig. 3.11 The Expo Gate temporary pavilions in the area in front of the Castle (source: <https://www.designerblog.it/post/168786/expo-milano-2015-gli-interventi-di-secco-sistemi>).

36 According to an agreement signed with the Milan Municipal Administration in February 2013.

37 That cost € 3,000,000 (Gallione, 2016).



Fig. 3.12 The “Nevicata14” temporary equipment pavilions in the area in front of the Castle (source: <https://blog.urbanfile.org/2015/02/13/zona-castello-al-via-la-nevicata14/piazza-castello-nevicata14-rendering-0c/>).

For what concerns the former Darsena, the city port area was abandoned since the end of the 1980s, despite its central location between the Navigli canal system, the Parco delle Basiliche and the Porta Ticinese historical neighborhood. In 2004, through an international competition, the Mayor Albertini’s Council promoted the first renewal project of the area in connection with the development of a new underground car parking. The following protests and petition by citizen committees, together with some technical problems related to the project itself, led the subsequent Mayor Moratti’s Council to stop the project. In 2012, after a long period of impasse, the project was relaunched on the occasion of the Expo 2015, and in relation to the Expo’s Water Way and Land Way proposals: a new version of the project (less expensive and without the contested car

parking³⁸) was approved by the Mayor Pisapia's Council (definitive project) and by the Expo 2015 Spa (executive project). Consequently, in 2013 a new bid for the project implementation was promoted and the construction started (in parallel to the reinforcement of the Naviglio Grande banks and the positioning of two new pedestrian bridges along it), leading to the reopening of the area just a few days before the Expo 2015 inauguration.

Fig. 3.13 The 2019 Oh bej! Oh bej! event taking place in front of the Sforza Castle.



The renovation project for the Darsena had been standing idle for years and was fast-tracked due to the Expo, becoming the location of a new food market, a public space for small scale events and entertainment and an addition to the existing nightlife of the Navigli area. These initiatives have changed and adapted the public use and general meaning of many heritage sites and spaces, adding to the new image of Milan as a tourism city (Fig. 3.14).

38 Around € 17,000,000 (Source: Deliberazione della Giunta Comunale di Milano n° 1485, July 13th, 2012), on the total amount of € 112,100,000 allocated to the entire Water Way (see also Table 3.1 in Chapter 3.1.1).



Fig. 3.14 The Darsena after the conclusion of the renovation project (source: <https://www.hotelwindsormilan.com/en/discovering-the-new-darsena-the-milans-harbor/>).

3.2.4 The multiple actors and the complexity of a mixed top-down and bottom-up governance of the events

As the timeline clearly shows (see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3.1.2), the Expo, post-Expo, and outside Expo governance are very articulated by involving both dedicated event and post-event institutions (Expo 2015 Spa and Arexpo Spa, respectively), as well as multiple public and private actors. This is also a consequence of both the event and post-event planning approach (that was characterized by a lack of planning vision and spatial coordination; see section 3.2.3) and the 2008-2011 political conflicts affecting the beginning of the event and post-event planning process (immediately after the Expo awarding; see section 3.2.1). The specific competences and powers of Expo 2015 Spa, as well as the procedures bypassing ordinary management of public works (as defined by subsequent national laws³⁹), brought the Expo site and the related transport infrastructures to be planned and coordinated mainly through a rigid top-down approach. On

39 From the DPCM 22 Ottobre 2008, to the DPCM 6 Maggio 2013 (both approved by the Italian National Government), just to mention the most important.

the contrary, the complementary city cultural programs were in particular developed through the participation of multiple public and private actors, even when the web platform ExpoinCittà was the means of matching supply and demand (see section 3.2.2).

In parallel to the collateral initiatives to the BIE Universal Exhibition (for instance, the E015 Digital Ecosystem, the Expo Working Groups, Explora, the Territorial Coalitions for Expo, Expo and Territories, Laboratory Expo, and Women for Expo, as well as the Urban Food Policy Pact and the Milan Food Policy), the valorization of the cultural heritage during the year of the mega-event was mainly promoted by the Milan Municipal Administration through the City Operations Master Program and, in collaboration with the Milan Chamber of Commerce, through the ExpoinCittà program. According to its ordinary roles, also the 'Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Milano' was involved in the development of the ExpoinCittà program, in order to give its approval to and monitor the numerous projects and events placed inside the local cultural heritage: projects and events which were collateral to the official Expo 2015, but which strongly contributed to the success of the official mega-event.

The interview in the Milan Superintendency highlighted that this authority positively cooperated with the Milan Municipal Administration by intensifying the activities of a joint inter-institutional committee in weekly meetings. Specifically, the local Superintendency did not modify its ordinary procedures, because the Expo collateral projects and events were considered similar and dealt with the same consolidated approach to other yearly events, that were typically spread throughout the city, sometimes experimenting with innovative projects in places with high historical value. For example, the Expo Gate pavilions in front of the Castello Sforzesco, as well as the ephemeral installations for other events, collateral to the Expo 2015, were only temporarily approved in order to experiment with innovative solutions and their unknown/unpredictable

effects. By exploiting this governance expertise in approving and monitoring hundreds of temporary and ephemeral events in historical spaces and buildings, this experience projected the image of a very dynamic city and strengthened cooperation across heritage and event actors and institutions for other exhibitions, new and existing, such as the Fashion Week and the Design Week (Interview with: MiBACT01).

3.3 The Expo legacy and the growing divides in the urban region: from the tourist growth of the city center to the challenges for the urban peripheries and the BIE

Despite the impact of the global crisis in terms of decrease of available public and private funding⁴⁰, and the 2008-2011 impasse in the event planning and management due to the above mentioned political conflicts (see section 3.2.1), the Milan Expo 2015 was a success for what concerns both the visitors to the Expo site (21.5 million in comparison with the estimated 20 million), and the capability of the city to attract, manage and sustain an increasing number of tourists according to the improvement of the urban quality and hospitality, as well as of its international image (See Table 3.1 in section 3.1). Despite the drastic downsizing of the investments for the Expo site and the connected infrastructure in comparison with the previous version proposed by the 2006-2007 Bidding Dossiers⁴¹, the spread of collateral events made an important contribution to the exhibition success, to which the connections with the hosting cities and region are essential (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018).

40 For instance, the cost of Expo 2015 Spa decreased from € 4,120,000,000, estimated by the 2007 Bidding Dossier, to € 2,196,000,000 (Expo 2015 Spa, 2018).

41 From 1.7 million sqm (2006) and more than 1 million sqm (2007), to 953,000 sqm (2010).

The event, the post-event and the side events to the Expo 2015 made an important contribution to the Milan socio-economic and spatial development: not only through several dedicated projects, but also through the acceleration of

many public and private works, already planned or under construction (i.e., infrastructures, facilities, urban redevelopment projects and regeneration processes) as well as with the improvement of the city's image overall (Pasqui, 2015). Whilst the Expo site is still waiting for its post-event reuse⁴², the main legacies of the World's Fair 2015 can be until now recognized in the Milan urban core:

- the improvement of infrastructures (i.e., the new metro line M5 and the new digital ecosystem E015, together with other smart city projects independent from the Expo)
- the completion of public and non-profit cultural facilities (i.e., the opening of new museums, that was accelerated because of the Expo, such as the Casa del Manzoni, the Fondazione Prada, the MUDEC, the Museo della Pietà Rondanini, and the Silos Armani) that in many cases were pending;
- the completion of other urban redevelopment projects (i.e., the Porta Nuova and the CityLife ones, just to mention the biggest and most iconic) and the acceleration of existing urban regeneration processes (i.e., in some creative districts, strongly involved in the ExpoinCittà program, such as the area of the Navigli, Porta Genova and via Tortona, or the area of Brera and Garibaldi neighborhood, just to mention the most famous);
- the renewal of several historical places (i.e., the renovated Darsena and the new Piazza Castello pedestrian area);
- the growth of tourist flows and services, despite the risks of overtourism and festivalization of the city and, in particular, its historical center.

In this regard, the interview in the WePlan consultancy company highlighted that, despite the Expo theme, the promotion of the international Urban Food Policy Pact and the development of the local Milan Food Policy on

42 After the failure of the first masterplan for the post-event reuse of the Expo site, promoted by Arexpo Spa 2014, a new masterplan for the post-event transformation of the Expo area was approved by the new Arexpo Spa in March 2018, in collaboration with the Australian developer Lendlease (Di Vita & Morandi, 2018).

the occasion of the Expo 2015, Milan and the World's Fair 2015 have not been able, yet, to renovate the city image and dynamics in relation to its agricultural surroundings. For instance, the Water Way (and its potential reconnection and strengthening of existing public and agricultural open spaces at the scale of the urban region) was only partially built. At the same time, the restoration and reactivation of the old farm houses (cascine), historically placed all around the city, was only partially implemented. Consequently, the planned renewal of the Milan development in relation to the environmental and agricultural resources of its surroundings is now very partial, whereas the urban core has become more attractive for multi-faceted economic activities and tourist flows (Interview with: WePlan01). The divide between the Milan city center, on the one hand, and its urban region, on the other, seems furthermore growing (Garofoli, 2016).

Whilst the Expo site is still waiting for its post-event reuse, the majority of the collateral event locations to the World's Fair 2015 were just temporarily placed in buildings and spaces already existing, or connected to new cultural facilities whose completion was accelerated on the occasion of the Expo, but not included within the Expo projects. Despite these projects being in most cases very simple, they can be considered as the most important legacy deriving from the Expo 2015 celebration year. They contributed to changing the city image, for both the citizens and the tourists (Interviews with: ComMil01; ComMil02; ComMil03; MiBACT01). However, whilst the Darsena is still considered as one of the main Expo legacies, where several temporary events are usually hosted every year, the post-Expo renovation of Piazza Castello is still pending⁴³.

43 Through an international competition, the winning project was selected in February 2017 and, in April 2018, it was finally approved by the Milan Soprintendenza. Estimated work conclusion: second half of 2021. Estimated cost: € 12,000,000 (Pasta, 2015).

It is difficult to separate the event legacies from the ongoing processes and trends of urban change. For instance, tourist flows have been confirmed as part of longer-term growth (Fig. 3.15). In this context, specific data about the Expo effects from 2012 to 2020 are the following:

- the added value has been estimated at € 13,900,000,000 (€ 1,800,000,000 before the Expo

2015 + € 4,200,000,000 during the Expo 2015 + € 7,900,000,000 after the Expo 2015);

- the additional production has been estimated into € 31,600,000,000;
- the new jobs have been estimated as 115,000 units, and the new firms 10,000 units (SDA Bocconi, 2016).



Fig. 3.15 Growth of tourist arrivals in Milan 2000-2017 (source: elaboration by the authors on data provided by Comune di Milano, Area Turismo, 2018).

Despite the economic indicators, the Expo 2015 together with the post-Expo and the outside Expo led to different kinds of innovation, both material (spatial and infrastructural, thus including the renewal of the Darsena and of the Piazza Castello) and symbolic (socio-economic, political and cultural, thus including the improvement of the city image and the growth of urban tourism, together with the development of a new multi-sectoral and multi-scalar governance). In particular, the ExpoinCittà legacies can be recognized into the Milan Municipal Administration's Sportello Unico Eventi (SUEV), that has simplified the procedures of event authorization and monitoring, and the Milan Municipal Agency YES! Milano that, despite some uncertainties about its mission and activities, has reorganized the thousands of city events into thematic weeks, all year long: from top-down events (i.e. Piano City) to bottom up events (i.e. Design Week); from specific networks' events

(i.e. Fashion Week) to coordinated events (i.e. Darsena-Navigli events) (Interviews with: ComMil01; ComMil03).

The BIE itself has appreciated the innovation and quality of the Milan ExpoinCittà experimentation, understanding the importance of integrating its traditional exhibition platforms, which usually work as an urban enclave, with a system of collateral minor events, spread across the hosting city and region and exploiting local resources and assets. These aspects are the fundamental components of local material and immaterial heritage. For this reason, the BIE has indicated the Milan ExpoinCittà as a best practice to include within the future Expo agreements, which is to be signed with the next hosting cities (ExpoinCittà, 2015).

Whilst the Expo, post-Expo and outside Expo processes were not supported by an explicit urban vision but rather experimental governance tools, the success of this unplanned and unprecedented Expo model demands a broad interpretation in space and time. The presence of tourists has been steadily growing. However, the concentration of cultural and entertainment activities in the historic city center risks generating overtourism, erosion of public space and limits in the appreciation of heritage places that are commodified and touristified. For this reason, in Milan, the local authorities are now attempting at reducing the use for temporary events in the most famous places in the historical center, in order to contain the heritage pressures and, at the same time, to incentivize event spread in other less known sites across both the city center and its outskirts (Interviews with: ComMil01; MiBACT01). This new approach, experimented with during the ongoing post-event phase, is directly connected to the new political agenda, set by the current City Council (in charge since 2016), in order to decrease the congestion of the central areas and to broaden the ongoing phase of urban renaissance to other city districts, which have unexpressed potentialities to exploit or marginalization trends to invert. The framework of the City 'Piano Periferie' has the mission of reducing the gaps in the urban region and to some extent bridges the festivalization of urban spaces with social inclusion by exploiting minor events (Fig. 3.16).



The Expo 2015 accelerated the wide Milan urban transformation process (already ongoing), as well as Milan contributed to the success of the World's Fair 2015 (Pasqui, 2015). As tourist data shows (see Table 3.1 in section 3.1.1 and Fig. 3.15 in this section), this process is going on even in the post-Expo phase, although the innovative services and approach provided by the ExpoinCittà program have been recently denied by the new public agency Yes! Milano (that substituted the ExpoinCittà governance, but that is limiting its activity to the promotion of the city brand; Interview with: ComMil02). As the current socio-economic and demographic trends indicate, the Milan urban core is becoming more and more attractive at the national and international level (see section 3.3.2), despite the growing social problems led by a dual development: both inside the municipal area, and in relation to its urban region (Pasqui, 2018). In the future, this process of dual development could be supported by other ongoing projects: such as the MIND Innovation District in the former Expo site, to the City of

Fig. 3.16 The selection of public spaces to host small events in peripheral neighborhoods in order to mitigate the processes of overtourism in the city center and strengthen the processes of regeneration in the city outskirts (source: Comune di Milano, Area Sportello Unico Eventi, 2018).

Health and Research in the former Falck industrial area, just to mention the current largest projects (Armondi & Di Vita, 2018).

Despite the increase of the urban quality and hospitality, as well as the improvement of the city image, also due to the Expo 2015 and its connections to the city and its metropolitan area (through the development of infrastructure, the opening of new cultural facilities, the spread of minor events, as well as the exploitation of the local heritage), the above mentioned dual development of the Milan urban region demands a new urban agenda in order to promote a more sustainable and inclusive urban development. The current Milan-Cortina bidding dossier for the Winter Olympics 2026⁴⁴, that is also an expression of a local event and tourism constituency empowered through the Expo 2015 and its collateral initiatives, could be at the same time a risk and an opportunity, beginning with the exploitation of the Expo 2015 learnings in terms of both heritage risks and potentials.

44 Website: <https://www.milanocortina2026.coni.it/en/>.

3.4 The threats of success without a spatial vision for Milan: self-reinforcing appetite for mega-events and the festivalization of the city

Threats

Difficult management of large infrastructures with reference to heritage and landscape more generally.

Directing public money to costly platforms driven by real estate and economic interests, rather than reinforcing wide-spread interests and sites (including heritage places).

Reuse of costly platforms for exhibitions without connections with strategic and spatial visions for the urban core and region, implying potential socio-economic and spatial divide between city center and urban periphery, between urban core and urban region, and among different urban populations.

Touristification of the historic city center and consequent erosion of public spaces and their diverse uses.

Festivalization of the city and attraction of more and more events according to political lock-ins and dominance of economic interests related to event and tourism economies.

Opportunities

Accelerating pending projects that involve heritage places.

Innovating or accelerating governance across mega-event planning and heritage preservation.

Bottom-up mobilization of heritage sites and matching with demand of sites for small and medium sized events.

Exploitation of potentialities provided by digital technologies to spread sharing processes of socio-economic and spatial regeneration.

Experimental and unplanned innovation in the format of the exhibitions coordinated by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE).

Leveraging the mega-event momentum for thinking over center-periphery and city-region relationships.

The Milan Expo 2015 is now considered a success for the city, its economy and new image, despite the great costs shouldered by the public, the limits in completing relevant infrastructures and the great difficulties in reusing the Expo site. The success and legacy of the Expo and its side events can be considered in terms of resources, projects, governance and political outcomes, in particular for supporting a long-term increase of leisure and culture tourism in a city previously known mostly for business. There are three key issues and takeaways that can be derived from the Milan Expo 2015 and in particular from the accompanying programs that interacted with the city the most:

- **Smaller events supporting the mega-event celebration**
- **Targeting long-term leisure and culture tourism goals**
- **Self-reinforcing political constituency and the festivalization of urban space**

3.4.1 Smaller events supporting the mega-event celebration

A broad understanding of the case of the Milan Expo 2015, ExpoinCittà and post-Expo shows that contemporary mega-events are capable of activating multiple resources (i.e., funding, projects, institutional and professional expertise, etc.), of sparking different interpretations and uses of the city space and its heritage sites, well beyond the official location of the mega-event itself and narrative. The relationship of the Expo and collateral policies with a broader vision for the development of Milan is problematic as some of the emerging opportunities could become threats according to the spatial arrangements and political economy they imply. The ExpoinCittà initiative was promoted in 2015 by the Milan Municipality and the Chamber of Commerce

of Milan, in cooperation with the Expo 2015 agency and several other private and public actors. Through an ad hoc governance and an innovative web-based platform, this initiative mixed top down and bottom up approaches and was able to systematically detect, map, certify and put to use available facilities and places for hosting smaller events concurrent to the Expo. This innovative open-data collection allowed the city to foster and spread thousands of cultural, entertainment and sport events to a scale, size and pace that was neither envisioned in nor requested by the Expo format promoted by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE). Local investments in locations and a wide array of events significantly and positively contributed to the impact and legacy of the official Expo 2015 event. Based on existing tradition and expertise of hosting large and small events (e.g. the Fuorisalone during the Design Week, catwalks for the Fashion Week) and by building a critical mass with more recent cultural events, the ExpoinCittà increased the availability of spaces and fuelled economic interests for more and more events, both in heritage (villas, cloisters, theatres, open spaces, etc.) and modern sites, mostly in the metropolitan core.

3.4.2 The space for converging on leisure and culture tourism

The deadline and the additional resources, which are typically given by the mega-events, can become a clear opportunity for unlocking projects and processes of preservation and re-use of heritage sites, even when they are not explicitly requested by a mega-event inter-governmental organization like the BIE. Despite the failures in accomplishing grand infrastructural improvements, the mega-event planning unlocked several projects and processes. Expo also clearly eased the transformation of two historic places in the city center. Despite the lack of a long-term urban and metropolitan vision, the Expo event helped in consolidating Milan's development trends. The interest groups and political constituency that supported these transformations reinforced their positions in Milan's decision making. The

image, use and general meaning of the Darsena (not anymore the docks of the Navigli canal system, but a day-time market, public space and evening bar hub) has changed and adapted to the new image of Milan as a tourist city. The Darsena, that is now part of the Milan leisure and nightlife space system, is an evident legacy of Expo 2015.

3.4.3 Self-reinforcing political constituency and the festivalization of urban space

Even though it was unplanned, it is also possible to recognize a clear political trajectory of this mega-event. First, in 2016, the former CEO of Expo 2015 was elected City Mayor. His political constituency consolidated a pro-growth, event-fuelled and tourism-based approach to city management, that has been growing during the post-event phase with a systematic calendar of events derived from the ExpoinCittà model. Furthermore, in 2019, the city secured another mega-event, the 2026 Winter Olympics (in partnership with Cortina). While facing the recurrent problems concerning the development of mega-event facilities and infrastructures, and their post-event reuse, the currently undergoing plans for Milan-Cortina to the 2026 Winter Olympics could be an opportunity to experiment with more wide-spread and smaller scales interventions. The still weak spatial development vision shows the risk of accelerating the ongoing processes of dual urban development and of sharpening the disparities with more and more widespread territorial weaknesses. In Milan, the presence of tourists has been steadily growing, exerting an increasing pressure over the historic city center, which presents clear risks of generating overtourism and eroding public spaces, limiting the appreciation of heritage places and reinforcing current gentrification trends. Given that the formula of the mega-events is perceived as positive by the city elite and population, the most recent response to the problem seems to suggest more of the same events, but spread across the metropolitan space. The local government claimed to be aware of excessive pressure on the historic city center and

promoted a strong program for redistributing wealth to the outskirts, also by fostering cultural, leisure and sport events in available facilities and public spaces located in peripheral areas. Besides the usual attention to infrastructure, a new city image and tourism growth, Expo 2015 shows that the legacy of successful mega-events can also include governance and organizational improvement, as well political lock-ins as certain political constituencies gain power and consensus through the mega-event. Yet such an approach might have unpredictable effects on heritage and the use of space and landscape in the metropolitan region.

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Interviews

Name	Institution	Place and date
ComMil01	City of Milan, Area Sportello Unico Eventi	Milan 14/11/2018
ComMil02	City of Milan, Assessorato alla Cultura	Milan 29/01/2019
ComMil03	City of Milan, Gabinetto del Sindaco	Milan 10/05/2019
WePlan01	WePlan. Large events, projects and more (private company)	Milan 28/01/2019
MiBACT01	Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities, Superintendency of Milan	Milan 29/01/2019
YesMil01	YesMilano (municipal agency)	Milan 10/05/2019



Chapter 4

WROCLAW 2016 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

A new urban vision based on culture, heritage, and social dialogue

by Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, Jacek Purchla, Piotr Knaś, Anna Koziol
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The Wrocław 2016 ECoC case at a glance



Facts and figures

City population
641,600 (06.2019)

GDP
City total
€ 11,660,000,000 (2016)
National
€ 426,547,490,000,000 (2016)

Tourists (nights spent per 1000 people)
2015 2,752.09
2016 3,031.37
2017 3,074.94

Event attendance
5,200,000

Total no. of events
4,500 (within 425 projects)

Total event cost
2011–2016:
€ 82,732,205.8 (OPEX)

Cultural/ Entertainment Programme Cost
€ 38,503,171.25 (47% of the total budget)

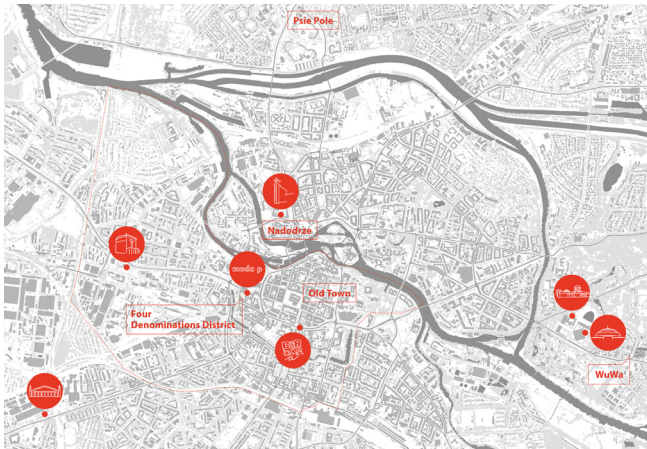


Fig. 4.0 Map of the key heritage projects, actions and locations (source: ICC, K. Leśniak, 2019).

With its slogan, Spaces for Beauty, Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture tried on the one hand to tackle the complicated multicultural past (it is the biggest city in the world that had its whole population replaced after WWII), and, on the other, to make the city a true contemporary meeting point for diverse cultures and people. One of the key aims was to restore the presence of art, culture and beauty in public space, public life and people's daily habits. Heritage was present in the ECoC concept and in projects related to memory, identity and history, as well as in the revitalization of neglected neighborhoods and in adapting historic, sometimes post-industrial buildings, for new functions.

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

- **Mega-event as a catalyst for urban and economic development**
- **Mega-event as a platform for social and urban change**
- **Mega-event as a trigger for new approaches to heritage**
- **Managing change and increasing expectations: post mega-event lessons**

Opposite page: Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture (source: Wrocław Official Flickr, 2016).

4.1 The city of Wrocław: introduction

Located on the Oder [Odra] River, Wrocław has for centuries been the capital of Silesia – a wealthy region whose history forms part of the past in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Prussia and Germany. Today, it is the fourth largest city in Poland.



Fig. 4.1 Ostrów Tumski.
Cathedral Island (source:
Wrocław Official Flickr,
2016).

According to the tradition, Wrocław was founded at the beginning of the 10th century by the Czech prince Vratislav I, from whom the name of the city (Vratislavia) would be derived. At the end of the 10th century Mieszko – the first historical ruler of Poland – built a stronghold on Ostrów Tumski, one of the islands on the Oder. His son, Bolesław the Brave, obtained a permission to establish a bishopric in Wrocław and constructed the first Romanesque cathedral. Early Medieval Wrocław was rebuilt after the Tartar invasion in 1241 under the Magdeburg Law triggering the influx of German colonists who organized the urban commune, which quickly became, along with the prince and the

bishop, the third power in the city's development. In 1335 the principality of Wrocław became a part of the Bohemian crown ruled by the Luxembourg dynasty. 200 years later Wrocław, together with Silesia and other Bohemian lands, was taken over by the Habsburgs. Their reign of more than two centuries not only brought the Counter-Reformation offensive to the city that had adopted Luther's teachings, but left a lasting mark of the great Baroque architecture (e.g. Aula Leopoldina). Finally, as a result of the Silesian Wars, in 1741 Wrocław came under the Prussian rule and became, next to Berlin and Königsberg, the third official residence of the Prussian kings. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Wrocław was already a half-million metropolis experiencing some dynamic industrialization and a very strong academic center, confirmed by a number of Nobel Prize winners. It was enriched by many outstanding works of modernist architecture, including the Centennial Hall (1913).

Fig. 4.2 A trail of the history of Wrocław – information board (source: Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, 2019).



During WWII Wrocław was beyond the reach of war until August 1944 when, with the east front coming, it was declared a fortress (Festung Breslau) to be defended until the last soldier. The siege began in February 1945. The mass bombing of Wrocław destroyed or damaged about 70% of the city, including its historic center. Of the 30,000 buildings that existed before the siege, 21,600 were seen ruined by the time of the city's surrender only on May 6.

After the war Wrocław was not only terribly damaged but also the largest city in Europe where 100% of the population changed, as a consequence of the Potsdam Conference. The city, together with the most of Lower Silesia became part of Poland in exchange for L'viv and a large area of Easter Borderlands that are now Ukraine. The remaining German residents were forced to move out. Wrocław became a training ground for great reconstruction and conservation work as well as a laboratory for heritage, understood as memory and identity, as for the first Polish settlers arriving here (mostly coming from L'viv and other cities lost to the Soviet Union), the ruins of German Breslau meant the heritage of the enemy.

Fig. 4.3 Wrocław, the ruined Cathedral, view from the tower of the Church of the Holy Cross (source: K. Gorazdowska, 1946. Museum of Architecture. <http://ma.wroc.pl/en/about-museum/collection/department-of-photography/>).



In the 1960s and 1970s, Wrocław became an important academic and artistic center (including the activity of Jerzy Grotowski Theater). A decade later, it grew into a significant place for the Solidarity movement development and the Orange Alternative, a peaceful anti-communist underground campaign with roots in Dada and Surrealism, meant to ridicule the social and political absurdity of the Central European situation.

Since 1990 the local power has been concentrated in the hands of former activists of the 1989 Wrocław Solidarity Citizens' Committee. Bogdan Zdrojewski serving as a mayor of Wrocław for eleven years (1990–2001), followed

by the three terms of mayor Rafał Dutkiewicz (2002–2018) stemmed from a strong electoral mandate. This political continuity was an important factor in the successful implementation of the 2016 ECoC in Wrocław.



For Wrocław the year 1989 signified not only the change of political and economic system but a chance to start to define anew its identity and restore its memory. After almost fifty years of trying to find evidence of Polishness of Wrocław, at the same time forgetting or belittling hundreds of years of Bohemian, Habsburg or German Wrocław, it was the time to positively acknowledge the city's complicated history. The heated discussion in the City Council that changed the city's coat of arms back to the one given to Wrocław by the Bohemian-Hungarian king Ferdinand I (and used for four centuries) whose five-field shield presents the history of the city (Wolniczek, 2012: 152–157) could be interpreted as a symbol of acceptance of Wrocław's multicultural history and the beginning of building its identity on the basis of all stages of its history. It would not be possible without finally signing the treaty (November 14, 1990) settling the issue of Polish-German border that had been formally pending since 1945. It allowed Wrocławians to finally feel at home and continue

Fig. 4.4 Panorama of the city (source: Wrocław Official Flickr, 2019).

the process of evolution of their approach to German heritage: from the heritage of the enemy and a foreign city, through the heritage of the neighbor, to treating it as one's own and recognizing of its universal values.

Changes in the coat of arms and restoring historical street names were followed by a complex renovation of the Main Market Square that gave Wrocław's residents a certain feeling of pride and belonging. It was emphasized that building local identity requires reaching to local heritage in its total complexity. The narrow approach of the communist times based on national and class criteria had to be abandoned for benefiting from the accumulated local cultural heritage (Mazur, 2001: 12). In 1994 the historical center's building ensemble of Wrocław was awarded the prestigious Monument of History title⁴⁵, what could be seen as a change in the city's image on the all-Poland level. The Centennial Hall ensemble was added to the list in 2005 and a year later inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Accepting German heritage in Polish Wrocław after 1990 has been a conscious political choice and a proof that a city narrative does not have to be created from nationalist positions but can be replaced by a multidimensional narrative of the city. Complexity of the heritage issue and residents' complicated relation to it might explain the reluctance to use the term "heritage" in the bid book and the event program of the 2016 ECoC.

45 The Monument of History is one of the forms of monument protection in Poland declared by the President. It is awarded to immovable monuments of special historical, scientific and artistic value and great significance for the cultural heritage of Poland. Wrocław's inscription was one of the first, together with the most important and well-known monuments.

Wrocław's winning the 2016 ECoC in 2011 was part of a longer process of city's transformation. On the one hand, the ECoC candidacy was rooted in the approach to culture that the municipality was beginning to appreciate in its development strategy. On the other, it was part of the municipal belief that a mega-event could be an important milestone for city development (earlier Wrocław presented two unsuccessful bids for the EXPO 2010 and 2012). Being a host city for 2012 UEFA European Championship was an important trigger for infrastructural investments (the main train station, the airport, the city bypass highway) in Wrocław. It fulfilled, for the first time, the need to prove oneself as a capable and attractive city. With the 2016 ECoC Wrocław had a chance



to rethink the role of culture and cultural heritage as social and economic resources and think more in terms of a co-creative and participatory processes. Using mega-events to support the city's development did not end there – in 2017 Wrocław hosted the World Games. Wrocław also strove for other designations that would strengthen its image and foster development. In 2016 alongside the ECoC title it held the title of UNESCO World Book Capital and in 2019 it joined the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, after being awarded the title of UNESCO Creative City of Literature.

Fig. 4.5 A trail of the history of Wrocław – a plaque commemorating the 2016 ECoC (source: Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, 2019).

4.1.1 City and event facts and figures

Tab. 4.1 – City and event facts and figures (source: elaboration by the authors).

City/Event	Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture		
Year	2016		
City population	641,600 (06.2019) ⁴⁶		
GDP (city)	2014: € 11,139,950,000		
	2015: € 11,692,980,000		
	2016: € 11,659,100,000		
	2017: € 13,014,360,000 ⁴⁷		
GDP per capita (local/national)	Wrocław		Poland
	2014: € 17,557		2014: € 10,700
	2015: € 18,392		2015: € 11,200
	2016: € 18,283		2016: € 11,100
	2017: € 20,422 ⁴⁸		2017: € 12,200 ⁴⁹
Number of annual visitors (nights spent per 1000 capita)	2014: 2,449.92		
	2015: 2,752.09		
	2016: 3,031.37		
	2017: 3,074.94		
	2018: 3,205.81 ⁵⁰		
Event attendance	5,200,000 ⁵¹		
Total no. of events	4,500 events (within 425 projects) ⁵²		
Heritage % of events	N/A		
Audience demographics (age, gender, etc.)	Gender	Age:	Education:
	Women: 51.2%	16–24 yrs.: 13.9%	Primary/middle school: 6.9%
	Men: 48.8%	24–34 yrs.: 23.0%	Vocational: 17.1%
		35–44 yrs.: 20.3%	Secondary education: 40.8%
		45–54 yrs.: 15.4%	Higher education: 35.2% ⁵³
		55–70 yrs.: 27.5%	

46 Statistical Office in Wrocław, September 2019.

47 EUROSTAT, 2019, September 6.

48 EUROSTAT, 2019, September 6.

49 EUROSTAT, 2019, September 6.

50 Statistics Poland, 2019, November 14.

51 Banaszak et al., 2017: 168.

52 Banaszak et al., 2017: 167.

53 Pluta et al., 2017a: 21.

Number and shares of local/national/international visitors	N/A	
Total event cost	2011–2016: € 82,732,205.8 (OPEX) ⁵⁴	
Infrastructure cost (event budget)	N/A ⁵⁵	
Infrastructure cost (other budget)	N/A ⁵⁶	
Cultural/ Entertainment Program cost	€ 38,503,171.25 (47%) ⁵⁷	
Heritage project budget	N/A	
Public funding	City of Wrocław	€ 32,306,553.91
	Ministry of Culture and Heritage and other public entities	€ 30,346,488.14
	EU funds	€ 1,771,905.09
Private funding	€ 6,561,898.05 (sponsors and barter)	
Legacy funding	N/A ⁵⁸	

54 PLN 352,191,000 (Banaszak et al., 2017: 172). All currency exchange rates done using the average European Central Bank (15 November) EUR/PLN rate for 2017 (4.2570).

55 CAPEX is mentioned both in the application form and the final report. However, infrastructure costs were not a part of the Impart 2016 budget. Banaszak et al. (2017: 171) quote some examples of these costs amounting to PLN 715,000,000 = EUR 167,958,656.

56 As no investment costs were part of the ECoC budget, one might allocate all of them to this category. However, it is extremely difficult to present any estimate here because the projects formally aligned with the event (Banaszak et al., 2017: 171) were implemented in different periods of time, some started even before Wrocław's ECoC application. All of them were done independently of the 2016 ECoC. Authors' own rough estimate (based on the information provided by Wrocław Culture Zone, websites of institutions in question, lists of projects supported by the European Structural Funds) oscillates around € 310,000,000.

57 PLN 163,908,000. Banaszak et al., 2017: 171.

58 There is no data provided on the budget allocated to the ECoC legacy. However, some of the projects and initiatives are continued.

4.1.2 Wrocław 2016 timeline

Tab. 4.2 – Timeline of the event’s planning and management process (source: elaboration by the authors).

	Bidding	Planning
	2008-2011	2012-2016
Public administration (state, local, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City Council decides to enter the competition for the ECoC title (Dec 11, 2018) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mayor of Wrocław takes key ECoC decisions - Ministry of Culture and National Heritage as one of the key donors creates the Multiannual Program ECoC Wrocław 2016
Event organizers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Municipal cultural institution Wrocław 2016 established (Dec. 29, 2009) - Adam Chmielewski nominated for the director of Wrocław 2016 (1.02.2010) - Preparation of the bid book - Promotion of Wrocław’s candidacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wrocław 2016 + Impart Art Center => Impart 2016 Festival Office established - Krzysztof Czyżewski and Krzysztof Maj were appointed artistic and managing directors respectively (2012) - Curators’ Council established with Krzysztof Maj as the ECoC director general - June-July 2013 - open discussions with curators on the program - First editions of ECoC projects (e.g. microGRANTS) - June 2015 – the program unveiled for the first time; Bridge Builders event - Nov 2015 - full calendar of the ECoC events published

Implementation	Post-event
<p>2016</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Work on Strategy for the Development of Culture in Wrocław in a mid-term perspective 2020+ and the Culture Development Plan 2020+ began 	<p>2017-2019</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2018: Strategy for the Development of Culture in Wrocław in a mid-term perspective 2020+ and the Culture Development Plan 2020+ published - 2018: Wrocław 2030 Strategy published - 2019: Wrocław awarded the title of UNESCO Creative City of Literature
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - January: Awakening opening ceremony - April: Inauguration of Wrocław's term as UNESCO Book Capital - April: Opening of the Pan Tadeusz Museum - June: Flow - June: WRO Media Art Biennial - City of the Future / Laboratory Wrocław starts - June: Four Domes Pavilion opening - May: first phase of Nowe Żerniki construction finalized - September: Depot History Center opening - December: Sky Web closing ceremony 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2017: Wrocław Culture Zone established as the legacy agency - A number of projects continued

	Bidding	Planning
	2008-2011	2012-2016
Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supporting the bid preparation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Wrocław Culture Council o Wrocław Center for NGO Support Sector 3 o Lower Silesian Federation of NGOs - The work on ECoC Housing Estate Nowe Żerniki starts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Program Council for the European Capital of Culture supports organization of the ECoC - National Forum of Music charged with the financial flows of the Multiannual Program ECoC Wrocław 2016 - Infrastructural projects (including heritage ones) in action

Implementation

Post-event

2016

- 7,000 organizations and artists received direct ECoC support to carry out their projects

2017-2019

- 2019: Open Culture Group established (Wrocław Culture Council to be established during the Culture Congress in 2020)

4.2 Metamorphoses of Cultures: Wrocław's bid for the 2016 ECoC in planning and implementation

4.2.1 Spaces for Beauty: Wrocław's application for the 2016 ECoC

The competition for the 2016 ECoC in Poland was a turning point for defining the role of culture in urban development. Many cities have been to an extent familiar with the idea of running for prestigious mega-events, however, it was the obligation of the ECoC rules to analyze the approach to the place of culture in a city's policies that forced candidate cities to rethink their cultural resources and their potential. Moreover, the competition revealed the power of Polish city mayors to create new city visions on the one hand, and on the other – it showed what great and unused strength lies in local NGOs, cultural institutions and city inhabitants themselves (Sanetra-Szeliga 2016: 358). Heritage was certainly included in the process, both in terms of its tangible and intangible expressions.

Wrocław was one of the eleven candidate cities that took part in the Polish competition and was awarded the title in June 2011. The selection panel was convinced that Wrocław's bid “best reflected the objectives and criteria of the European Capital of Culture, and that it provided the best potential for a successful implementation of the event” (Selection of the European Capital of Culture for 2016..., 2011: 6).

Heritage in the Wrocław 2016 bid book

“We are seeking designation as European Capital of Culture because we perceive culture as our chance for further development. We are also motivated by a sense of duty towards the historic and contemporary cultural achievements of Wrocław and the creators of this heritage, representing various national and ethnic backgrounds” (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 6).

These statements served as some of Wrocław's reasons to bid for the ECoC title.



Interestingly, the term “heritage” as such was not much used in the bid book, nor was it later in the 2016 ECoC implementation process. A statement in the beginning of the application book could suggest the reason. “We are vying for the title of European Capital of Culture also because we consider the question of Wrocław's future much more important than those of its past and present” (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 6). A similar argument was repeated during one of the focus group interviews (FGI02, Wrocław 22/05/2019). As implied during the FGI conducted with the ECoC organizers, the heritage in Wrocław could have simply been considered not its own, especially as this notion is usually associated with the “national” heritage. Moreover, it was speculated that the authors of the application did not come from the heritage sector and were not that familiar with a typical heritage discourse (FGI01, Wrocław 5.06.19).

Fig. 4.6 Market Square
(source: Wrocław Official
Flickr, 2016).

This is not, however, to suggest that heritage was not present in the program of the Wrocław 2016. References to the city's heritage are clearly seen in any discussion on the city's or residents' identity or activities devoted to their history and memory. These associations served as the main check-points for the analysis of the 2016 ECoC for the HOME project purposes and were the basis for the selection of adequate heritage projects and initiatives to be analyzed. Together with soft projects (i.e. activities, events, initiatives) a number of hard, infrastructural projects were listed in the bid book – as presented further down in this chapter, many of them fall into the heritage category of endeavors.

Discussing the city's multicultural past is the main reflection of its heritage found in the bid book, presenting the complex history of the city, woven by peoples and individuals of different origins and nationalities and to share the experience of dealing with the challenge of building a totally new identity of the city and its residents. It was illustrated by the guiding concept in Wrocław's application process: *Metamorphoses of Cultures*. However, it was not only about the events of the past that shaped Europe; the whole concept was to relate to changes and challenges faced by our continent at present.

Spaces for Beauty was a slogan chosen for the 2016 ECoC celebrations. The idea behind it was to “establish the presence of beauty in social and personal lives” and to “create spaces within which to restore the presence of beauty in public life and in daily habits”. The innovation of this approach was described as encouraging the residents and visitors to “look for beauty where it has been lost and to create it where it is lacking” (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 13, 33).

Some of the problems mentioned refer to the built heritage, mostly in the context of rich German architecture spread across the region of Lower Silesia (over 8,000 historic buildings, including three UNESCO World Heritage Sites). It is the region with the highest number of monuments entered into the official register with some struggling with important losses in their material fabric. They wanted “to draw attention of the European public to the fact that much

of this heritage is at risk of irretrievable loss and is in need of rehabilitation” (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 9).

Sustainable effects of the ECoC program at the time of bidding included construction of new facilities for cultural institutions, equalization of access to culture and increased participation in culture by Wrocław and Lower Silesia residents as well as boosting Wrocław’s recognition at the European level. Although these are not associated with heritage directly, a deeper analysis proves that at least the last effect is related to the presentation of Wrocław’s unique identity and history. Furthermore, the authors of the bid book hoped that the sustainability of the 2016 ECoC achievements would mean that the key areas of the city would be rehabilitated and revitalized. They emphasized, at the same time, that material changes in the urban fabric must be accompanied by mentality changes of the residents (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 27).

Structure of the program

The content of the program described during the bidding phase was prepared to implement the main ideas behind the Spaces for Beauty slogan and the Metamorphoses of Culture concept. The bid set up a formal program with a four-layer structure composed of themes, lead programs, projects and events. The overarching themes for program implementation (Opening up Spaces, Beauty in Sight, Intimate Beauty, Beauty in Cyberspace and Forces of Nature – Power of Culture) were focused on human activity in natural, social, public, private, intimate and cyber spaces. These were accompanied by two more tangible themes: Reclaiming Beauty and New Spaces for Beauty. Within each theme there were projects, initiatives and events planned. These developed by the Institution of Culture Wrocław 2016 were grouped in Lead Programs category, while those proposed by the civil society were placed in Public Projects category. Initiatives of public cultural institutions were called Institutional Projects. The last category defined as Key Events was designed by Wrocław 2016 in consultation with the main Wrocław’s cultural centers.

The bid book presented 20 Lead Programs, 150 Public Projects, 51 Institutional Projects and 17 Key Events. As there was no special category for “heritage,” heritage-related projects had to be extracted from the bid book based on their content descriptions. Each of the categories and themes contained at least one or two proposals for such projects, including the Cultural Bond and the Lower Silesian Cultural Passport (ticket price reductions to enter cultural and heritage institutions as a means to encourage learning about cultural heritage of Wrocław and its region), Play with Glass (popularizing knowledge about the Lower Silesian glass manufacturing tradition), Forum Musicum (music of great masters played on original period instruments) or Singing for Europe (a choir singing on the Oder banks, part of the Wratislavia Cantans International Festival).

Apart from the events, the 2016 ECoC ambition was to pursue a number of infrastructural projects which were grouped in two programs: Reclaiming Beauty and New Spaces for Beauty. While applying for the ECoC title, Wrocław committed to renovating a number of buildings, districts and urban areas within the Reclaiming Beauty program. Works at the following venues were listed as the most important ones:

- Centennial Hall and Szczytnicki Park (overhaul of the Hall, renovation of the Four Domes Pavilion, rehabilitation of the park vegetation);
- Four Temples District (continuation of the already started process for White Stork Synagogue renovation since 2010);
- The Market Square (opening Pan Tadeusz Museum and Literary Bureau, establishment of a pedestrian zone);
- The Oder River (continuation of riverbanks renovation process);
- Psie Pole District (creating an attractive public space, upgrading housing resources and retail infrastructure, building a transportation system);

- Przedmieście Odrzańskie (creation of a street of designers and education centers including a House of Peace);
- WuWA grounds (regeneration of 12 model residential and public buildings which formed part of the famous 1929 WuWA exhibition).

In addition, there were plans to establish 11 routes in the Lower Silesia promoting various aspects of the region's heritage (e.g. Valley of Places and Gardens Route, Piast Castles Route, St. James' Way in Lower Silesia). The New Spaces for Beauty, on the other hand, included creating new cultural infrastructure, e.g. the National Music Forum, the Modern Museum, a new building of Wrocław University Library.

It has to be noted that most of the infrastructural projects, although included in the description of activities to be implemented by Wrocław in connection with the 2016 ECoC were not part of the ECoC project. Many of them had started before the competition for the title (for example, renovation of the Oder banks had begun in 2004 and works in the Four Temples District had started in 2007) and initially their timetables were not deliberately coordinated with the 2016 ECoC implementation. However, although Wrocław's program of developing cultural infrastructure had been pursued independently, its goal became directly linked to the 2016 ECoC effort. Moreover, one should remember that many of the projects were co-funded by the European Structural Funds and therefore, they would have been completed no matter what the result of Wrocław's 2016 ECoC bidding was. Hence, the capital investment amounts quoted first in the bid book, and then consequently in the reports, concerned infrastructural projects that, while related to the bid for the ECoC title, were not fully subordinated to the ECoC project managed by Wrocław 2016 (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 82-83).

4.2.2 The 2016 ECoC in local and regional strategic planning

Wrocław's bid book declares that the organization of the mega-event was an initiative included in the city's longer term development plans, and it mirrored the key issues highlighted in the strategic documents of the time (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 11–12). A closer look at main documents (such as *2020 Development Strategy for the Lower Silesia Voivodeship* (Regional Parliament of the Lower Silesia Voivodeship, 2005, November 30), *Wrocław County Development Strategy for 2012–2020* (Rada Powiatu Wrocławskiego, 2012, June 28), *Strategy. Wrocław in the Perspective 2020 plus* (Galar et al., 2006), *Local Development Plan of the Wrocław County (2004–2013)* (Rada Powiatu Wrocławskiego, 2004, November 23) reveals, on the one hand, that indeed the 2016 ECoC bid book was written to reflect (though it was not limited to) the main problems raised by the documents. On the other hand, one cannot help but notice that the ECoC as a tool to reach the goals stated in those documents is rather rarely mentioned. The Wrocław County strategy sees it as an opportunity to be used in the economic development of the region, while the regional strategy admits the ECoC benefits regarding the image and promotion as well as social development. Finally, the Municipality strategy mentions the bidding for the ECoC title but does not elaborate on it. However, the bid reflects some of the main issues raised by the document, among them self-realization of residents, counteracting participation crisis in culture, or investments in cultural infrastructure (new and adopted facilities).

A small number of ECoC references does not imply that culture or heritage were neglected. In fact, there had been increased spending on culture, especially its infrastructure; also, the need to change residents' daily habits and attract them to participate in culture was recognized as early as the beginning of the 2000s (WroMun01, Kraków 26/03/2019). Many investments, both in infrastructure and regeneration, as well as in the field of social programs and policies, which have been included in various strategic documents published

since 2008, indicate that the Wrocław application for the ECoC title was by no means accidental. On the contrary, it was firmly embedded in the vision and projects planned years earlier.

As a result of not devoting much space to the 2016 ECoC, strategic documents created in 2008–2016 do not refer to any changes potentially brought by organizing the mega-event. The bid book, however, reflects on the effects of the event from a social, cultural and urban point of view and the plans for the period following the year of the event: regenerated key urban areas with new cultural institutions contributing to the residents' mentality changes, increased number of visitors, artists' mobility, bigger cultural offer (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 35). The only mention of further plans is the municipality's promise to transform the ECoC agency into a cultural institution whose goal would be to monitor the impact of the 2016 ECoC and support and promote the development of cultural programs.

Centennial Hall Site Management Plan

The management plan for the UNESCO-listed site is to subordinate all investment plans in the area of the facility and buffer zone to protecting the exceptional universal value of the venue and preserving its character and historical spatial context. It aims to coordinate management and monitoring actions for the Centennial Hall and its buffer zone, and ensure the sustainable use of the complex, including its tourist potential. Drawn in 2016, the management plan only refers to the mega-event once: as an opportunity (Adamczyk-Ans et al., 2016: 90). This is nowhere further developed; however, one might assume that it meant the tourist or visitor potential of the ECoC. Although the authors of the plan are clearly aware of anthropopressure and its consequences, the tone of the document suggests it was a dissatisfying number of visitors⁵⁹ and insufficient interest and knowledge of the residents that they were more concerned with.

59 385,500 visitors in 2013 (Adamczyk-Arns et al., 2016: 79).

Neither in the document nor in the state of conservation reports submitted to UNESCO in 2011 and 2012 (UNESCO World Heritage Center 2011, 2012) is there a reference to any potential problems that might arise specifically from hosting a mega-event. Instead, the problems listed include transport difficulties related to traffic congestion, an increase in noise levels and the amount of exhaust gases (problems that could intensify with the rising number of visitors, also a result of the 2016 ECoC!), the need to renovate some greenery elements; as well as renovation and conservation of the WuWA estate and works in the Four Domes Pavilion (problems addressed, to some extent, within the 2016 ECoC).

4.2.3 Wrocław 2016 ECoC management and stakeholders involvement

It was the mayor of the city, Rafał Dutkiewicz, who was the originator of the Wrocław's ECoC candidacy and the ECoC was seen as a prestigious event "contributing to the development of tourism, strengthening the city's positioning, contributing to its recognition in Europe, and positively influencing the development of the city's infrastructure" (BIP Urzędu Miejskiego Wrocławia, 2008, December 11). For preparing the bid a new municipal culture institution named "Wrocław 2016" was established (Rada Miejska Wrocławia, 2009, December 29) with Prof. Adam Chmielewski appointed as its head and the main author of the bid book. For assistance, the Municipality established the Wrocław Board of Culture (representatives of culture institutions) and a municipality task force supervised by the mayor. Chmielewski, confessed later that when he had taken the position it was "far too little time to build any grassroots social support for the Wrocław candidacy, therefore, the work was carried out mainly within the group inside 'Wrocław 2016', the Municipality and in the group of invited key participants" (Chmielewski, 2014, December 10)⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ However, the bid book mentions extensive consultation processes involving different stakeholders.

After winning the title, having in mind the challenges of a mega event, the municipality merged two cultural

institutions, i.e. the small new one – “Wrocław 2016,” and the big and experienced Art Center “Impart,” into one new cultural institution called Impart 2016 Festival Office (Rada Miejska Wrocławia, 2012, April 19). To run this phase of the ECoC implementation a tandem of directors: Krzysztof Czyżewski (leader of the Lublin 2016 ECoC candidacy) as the artistic director and Krzysztof Maj as the managing director was chosen, stopping the cooperation with Chmielewski. In December 2011 the Program Council for the 2016 European Capital of Culture was appointed with members including representatives of the Municipality, the City Council, artists, experts and culture managers. Its tasks included “providing opinions and advice on matters of program and staff regarding the organization of the European Capital of Culture 2016 program” (Prezydent Wrocławia, 2011, December 15).

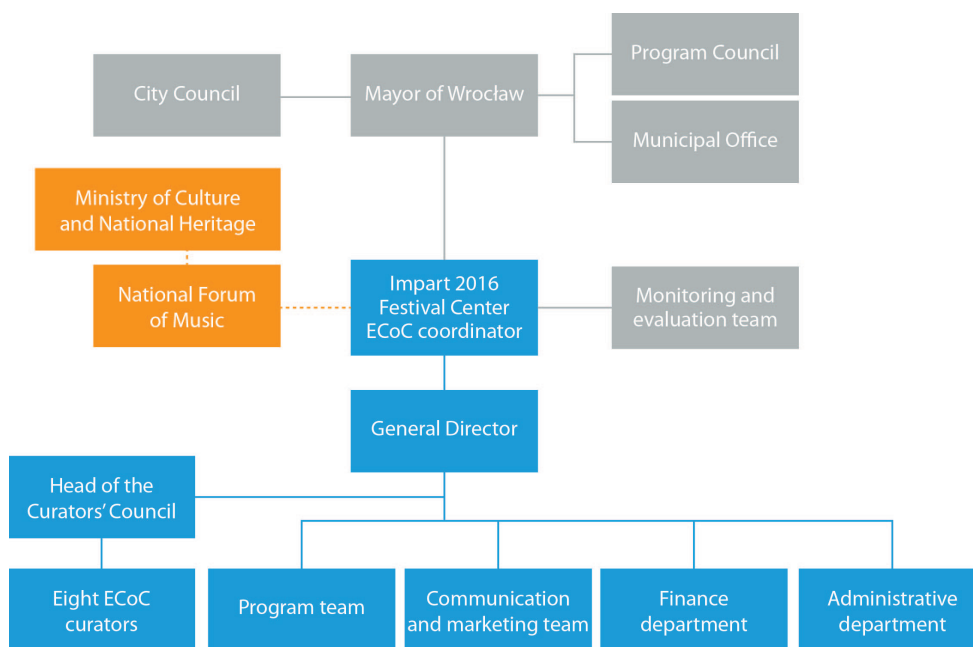
Czyżewski presented a new concept of Deep Culture⁶¹ for preparing the ECoC program that lasted only for a year due to the lack of sufficient support of many culture managers who at that stage expected support and coordination of their projects and not managerial experiments. After Czyżewski’s resignation (April 2013) a new concept of the Curators’ Council was introduced. The management of the ECoC program was divided into nine⁶² different thematic areas and each area was to be coordinated by one curator. The task of the Curators’ Council was to collectively manage the artistic dimension of the ECoC in Wrocław (Prezydent Wrocławia, 2013, June 20). However, following the insistence of the Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (2013: 7) to appoint an artistic director responsible for the 2016 ECoC content, the Curators’ Council elected Jarosław Fret (the theatre curator) to be their Head and play the role (Biuro Prasowe ESK 2016, 2014, January 20). The General Director of the Impart 2016 Festival Office (Krzysztof Maj) and his team were to support the Curators’ Council. This new management model included a certain level of decentralization as each of the curators chose their own method of programming activities. At this point “the organizational secret was that this project was managed by the mayor, simply. And all key decisions were made in the mayor’s office” (FGI02, Wrocław 5/05/2019).

61 Deep Culture is a concept of creating a culture that permeates everything from squatters’ co-operative to opera, from so-called high culture to alternative or hip-hop activities. “The need to ‘go deeper’ is felt by artists and culture animators, but above all the participants themselves, increasingly focused on interactivity, co-creation and partnership” (Franaszek & Czyżewski, 2013, February 18).

62 Initially the ninth curator, responsible for the area of Deep Culture, was supposed to be K. Czyżewski. Later, as he resigned from this post as well, there were only eight curators.

The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, which managed government funds for the ECoC was another important actor. As the intermediary for the funding issues and the operator of the Multiannual Government Program European Capital of Culture 2016 (Rada Ministrów, 2015, July 28) the Minister chose a newly established institution, the National Forum of Music. The cooperation between the Forum and the local cultural sector did not go smoothly due to many formal requirements for entities using these funds while implementing ECoC activities (FGI01, Wrocław 22/05/2019).

Fig. 4.7 Final ECoC management structure (source: Banaszak et al. 2017: 162, altered).



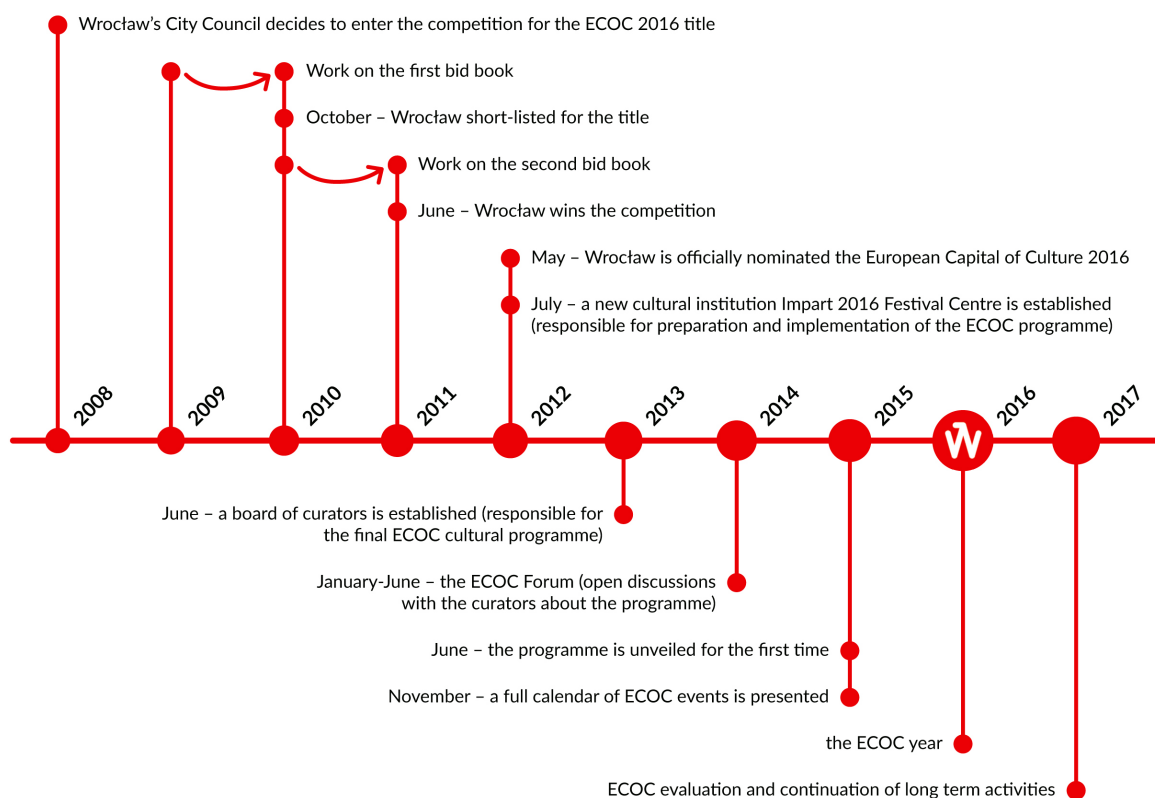
It is worth pointing out that in 2014, the post of a coordinator for the cooperation of the European Capital of Culture Wrocław 2016 with the region of Lower Silesia was set up. The goal was to coordinate the work of a group of people from all around the region dealing with culture. It was an attempt to include the region in the ECoC activities and search for common goals (EccT02, Wrocław 22/05/2019).

A simplified version of the final management structure is presented on Fig. 4.7. In addition to the entities listed there, also a team of legal advisors, HR, Volunteering Scheme team, production and technical departments, secretary's office etc. were involved. In 2016, Impart 2016 had about 200 full-time employees and a very large group of associates employed under temporary civil law contracts, not to mention a great number of volunteers. The evaluation of ECoC was commissioned to an external team from the Institute of Sociology of the University of Wrocław.

4.2.4 Wrocław 2016 planning vs. its implementation

The bid book in the implementation process

Fig. 4.8 Milestones in the 2016 ECoC planning and implementing process (source: Banaszak et. al 2017: II, amended).



While the main theme and slogan of the bid book were thoroughly explored in the program implemented in 2016, the ECoC project was completed with important alterations as compared to the bid book. It was a result, among others, of the changes in management as well as organizational and financial conditions. Moreover, the bid book presented the objectives of the ECoC in a vague and implicit manner. In a way it was an “inventory” of city resources and the richness of its potential (Czyżewski & Sanetra-Szeliga, 2012: 116). The final program was shaped by a team that had not worked on the book, therefore although the program derived from it, in the course of its preparation and implementation it took a slightly different direction. Nevertheless, one might observe that the residents’ engagement in participating and creating culture, and increasing their interest in art and culture, was an emphasized motivation throughout the whole ECoC process (EccT01, Wrocław, Wrocław 5/06/2019).

During preparations for the year 2016 the goals, objectives and the program content had to be specified and finally consisted of:

- Access to culture and participation (co-creation of culture with the residents, easier access to culture, friendlier public space),
- Culture and development (cooperation within the cultural sector, sustainable change of the cultural sector, city development through culture, capacity building of the cultural sector),
- Image (recognition and awareness of Wrocław and Lower Silesia and their culture and heritage),
- Economy (doubled number of tourists, involvement of the private sector in cultural activities) (Fox & Rampton, 2017: 66).

The comparison between the carried-out program and the bid book leads to a conclusion that the weight of the program’s goals slightly shifted from local residents and participation in culture to raising the city profile and attracting tourists.

However, the differences in the scope and approach between the application form and its implementation did not influence much the heritage projects.

The final program was designed by eight curators⁶³ and prepared in line with their respective domains. It has to be emphasized that Wrocław 2016 was the only ECoC so far which devoted a whole strand of its program solely to architecture. This decision was quite important not only for putting into action the Space for Beauty slogan, promoting modern architectural design, but also for dealing with the city's identity, narrative and heritage. Creating a special place for architecture in the program allowed the organizers to dedicate time to the pre-war WuWA area and the underappreciated examples of 1960s modernism, and use the potential of Poland's only Museum of Architecture.

The bid's structure of the program was altered to accommodate the division of the program between the curators' domains; and then it was categorized according to the geographic target groups. The latter resulted in four "stages": the Wrocław stage (dialogue between the city and its inhabitants), the Lower Silesia stage (regional collaboration), the Polish stage (countrywide projects), and the European and the World stage (international cooperation). In 2016 alone⁶⁴ the program comprised 425 projects within which over 2,000 major events were organized (Banaszak et al., 2017: 167). One of the initiatives deserves a special mention – the microGRANTS scheme. Local NGOs, artists, individual people applied for the Impart 2016 support of a small cash injection and organizational, administrative and logistical assistance. The idea was to involve residents in the ECoC co-organization, form "goal communities," inspire people to act as an organizer and event creator, build the identity of Wrocław residents as well as to educate and increase leadership competences. In 2014–2016 there were 405 microprojects supported (in 2016 – 53). 10% of them dealt with cultural heritage (mostly restoring memory of an important building or place) and a couple involved collecting stories and memories (oral history) (Dolińska et al., 2017: 12, 21, 23).

63 Agnieszka Franków-Żelazny – music, Ewa Michnik – opera, Chris Baldwin – performance, Michał Bieniek – visual arts, Jarosław Fret – theater, Roman Gutek – film, Irek Grin – literature, Zbigniew Maćkow – architecture.

64 The preparation phase, especially years 2014 and 2015, also saw a number of projects being implemented or initiatives being tested.

Fig. 4.9 The project
“Forgotten City” (source:
Wrocław Culture Zone,
F. Basara, 2016).



The projects envisioned and implemented in the least modified manner were the infrastructural ones. In line with the motto associated with restoration of beauty in the city, ECoC brought the completion of the Wrocław Contemporary Museum⁶⁵, Capitol Music Theater, renovation of the Centennial Hall and Szczytnicki Park, regeneration of the Four Temples District, Pan Tadeusz Museum, Jerzy Grotowski Institute and WuWA as well as the revitalization of three districts, etc. The majority of cultural routes mentioned in the bid book function today and... had functioned before the bid. However, while the routes were planned in the bid book, the formal documents summing up the ECoC did not refer to their existence.

Reception of the heritage-related projects

⁶⁵ In the bid book the adapted air raid shelter was meant for the Zachęta - Wrocław's "Guggenheim" (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 94), a gallery displaying works by contemporary local artists. At the moment it is a seat of the Wrocław Contemporary Museum (in the bid book called the Modern Museum) whose new seat has not yet been built.

The results of the survey conducted among the residents show that two thirds of them think that Wrocław fulfilled the role of the ECoC host “well” or “very well” (Makaro & Dolińska, 2017: 148). 80% of organizations claimed the 2016 ECoC cultural program had been of high quality and 72% of them believed there had been a balance between the traditional and avant-garde cultural expressions (Fox & Rampton, 2017: 92–93). The ECoC was also a chance for the majority of them to engage in international cooperation. What was also noticed in the evaluation was the introduction of cultural events into unusual spaces: the bridges (during the Flow Quartet), the soccer stadium or forgotten parts of

the historic city. Moreover, the capacity building potential of cultural organizations was recalled as well as bigger citizens' involvement in cultural life, also as volunteers.

However, the final assessment of the 2016 ECoC strongly depends on the person voicing an opinion. The interviews with experts with no direct links to the ECoC-organizing bodies reveal that in the cultural sector, and especially its civil society part, next to appreciating the opportunities, there was some dissatisfaction with the way the final program was implemented. Some claim (WybPap01, Wrocław, 19/06/2019; WroArt01, Wrocław 6/06/2019) that there was too much focus on large-scale shows and events, instead of working on the ground with the residents; that there was a tendency to invite people from outside of Wrocław or even Poland to do projects the city's own experts should have performed. On the other hand, the same people claimed that the ECoC gave the residents a chance that they had never had before – to learn about their surroundings, to become active in them and to be proud of them, too.

The overall reception of the ECoC varied throughout the preparation and implementation phases. However, unlike the management issues or pop culture events, heritage-related projects, if commented at all, received rather a positive welcome. The aestheticization of urban space (under the Space for Beauty slogan), renovation of neglected buildings and abandoned squares, transformation of industrial wastelands raised considerable emotions and were widely commented in social media. Definitely positive reviews, in traditional and social media, were given to new spaces for culture.

What stirred up great interest and emotions, especially in social media, was the Backyard Door project, sometimes even recognized as one of the most important ECoC projects. It was praised for interacting with residents, including neighborhoods most excluded from participation in cultural life. The media cited residents, treating visual projects as an introduction to subsequent changes for the better, showed how artistic activities united residents, allowing them to

meet and build friendly relationships, influenced a change in attitudes, arousing the need to care for a common space. At the same time, some elements of this project were heavily criticized – it was especially true with the “I Love” bench located in one of the most materially and socially devastated Ołbin backyards.



Fig. 4.10 Barbara Café
(source: Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, 2019).

In the unanimous opinion of media commentators, the undoubted success of the ECoC was that art in Wrocław became a releaser of inhabitants’ energy, resulting in various unexpected initiatives. Residents’ involvement encouraged them to experience culture, changed the perception of culture from the festive sphere into a way of life, strengthened ties between neighbors.

The most-described and commented project was the ECoC Opening Weekend. In both traditional and social media it received contradictory reviews, ranging from criticism of serious organizational and communication shortcomings to admiration for the enormous turnout and momentum of the event at the Market Square.

4.2.5 Heritage threats and opportunities

The 2016 ECoC preparation and implementation in Wrocław lacked any discussion on a potential impact of the mega-event on the city's heritage. One of the few issues raised was a more or less direct reference to the effect of residents and tourists growing more familiar with the city's past and its former inhabitants' legacy. Consequently, no substantial threats or opportunities were identified by the 2016 ECoC team and the municipality in any of the documents. However, based on the authors' expertise and the interviews with stakeholders, a number of potential threats and opportunities relevant to the 2016 ECoC were identified. Apart from threats posed by failing to take the chances provided by the mega-event, the lack of legacy planning and long-term thinking, which were noticed in the ECoC preparation phase, the following issues seem to be worth mentioning.

Fig. 4.11 Depot History Center (source: zajezdnia.org, acc. 2016).



First, a mega-event can present a unique opportunity for raising additional financial resources, needed so much in cities with too many historical buildings and monuments for the municipality to properly care for all of them and find them new functions (WroCons01, Wrocław 5/06/2019). In Wrocław this opportunity was grasped (mainly thanks to the European funds), especially regarding renovation (e.g. Four Domes Pavilion) or adaptation to new functions (e.g. Depot History Center in a 19th-century tram depot). However, a mega-event can also lead to a situation where the already scarce financial resources might be moved to finance the

mega-event at the cost of heritage protection. Fortunately, this situation has not happened with Wrocław's culture budget where the allocation for preservation of heritage and protection of monuments stayed on roughly the same level in 2008–2018. Regarding financial issues there might also be a problem of a mega-event establishing new cultural institutions housed in heritage venues that depend on the municipal budget for culture and use the resources that previously were divided among fewer entities. Hence, the probable feeling shared throughout the cultural sector that the budget for culture is not quite adequate, even smaller than before the ECoC.

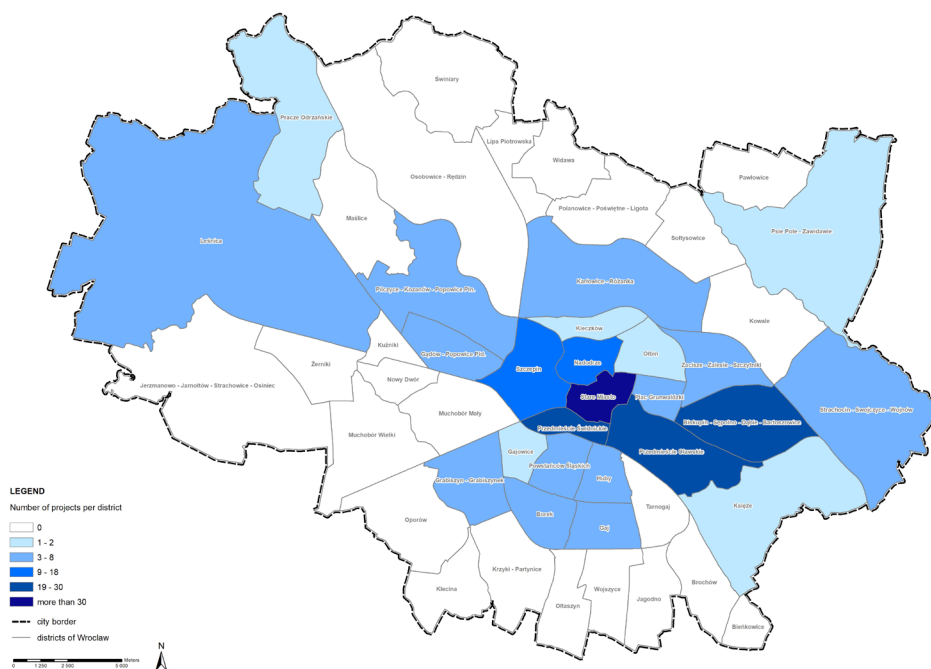
Second, a mega-event might encourage out-of-the-box thinking concerning project venues when facing a significant increase in the number of projects to be carried out. The ECoC provided an opportunity to prove it was possible to use the existing historical venues, without that much time and energy, general renovation of a building or installing state-of-the-art equipment. From a conservator's point of view it was also important to show that it was feasible to actually produce an event minimizing both organizers' and participants' logistical or technical expectations and with no reduction in project quality, thus putting less pressure on the historical fabric (WroCons01, Wrocław 5/06/2019). This new approach to the use of heritage venues could lead to more financial opportunities for a given (now well advertised and tried out) venue, permanent activities or adaptation to new functions.

Moreover, an ECoC is an opportunity to work through a difficult, sometimes painful and complicated past; to deal with heritage with no heirs or no homeland, heritage of the enemy or unwanted heritage. All of which can be found in Wrocław. To succeed, organizers should consciously select certain topics to be included in the program. In Wrocław, apart from the whole multicultural narrative, they decided to address the unwanted legacy of modernist architecture, which presumably contributed to the change of its perception (FGI01, Wrocław 22/05/2019, WroCons01, Wrocław 5/06/2019). At the same time there is a possible

threat, not found reported in Wrocław, of imposing one dominating narrative on the memory and the past which serves the purposes of the authorities, excluding some of the residents or actors.

Furthermore, hosting events in heritage venues, either due to their prestige or uniqueness and innovative use, can lead to congestion and overuse (or abuse) of historical spaces, noise pollution, traffic pollution, etc. Having in mind that many venues were not erected to sustain a large number of users or modern equipment, their use should be strictly monitored by heritage protection experts. Such as it is the case of the Centennial Hall, which is considerably resistant to a rising number of visitors but still there is a constant monitoring of the technical conditions of the facilities belonging to the listed area (Adamczyk-Ans et al., 2016: 80). Such provisions do not apply, however, to the very center of the city (the Market Square and its surroundings), where the tourist traffic is concentrated.

Fig. 4.12 Distribution of ECoC heritage-related projects through the districts of Wrocław (source: ICC, I. Morawska, 2019).



Deep and fast changes in traditional social, economic and urban structure resulting from the influx of mass-tourism into the historical parts of city center should be seen as another mega-event related threat, potentially leading to Disneyfication or museification. One solution, to an extent attempted in Wrocław (bringing the cultural offer closer to the people in their neighborhoods and introducing tourists to less obvious sightseeing routes) though not entirely successfully (FGI01, Wrocław 22/05/2019) – see Fig. 4.12⁶⁶, would be to decentralize cultural life from a historic center. Another way to mitigate the problem would be to cooperate directly with the residents and entrepreneurs active in the city center to make the area attractive for the both groups, as well as tourists and to monitor the type of business activity developing in the center (to exclude the ones that could hinder improving the quality of public space and creating new quality center-forming places). Wrocław tried this method within BoostINNO project conducted to upgrade the image of Świdnicka Street and the Old Town (Prezydent Wrocławia, 2017: 599–600).

Finally, giving a prominent role to heritage within a mega-event may result in the change of approach towards it. On the one hand, the residents, now more knowledgeable of heritage value, can be more appreciative of heritage and its inspirational potential (creativity, innovation), as well as more sensitive and active in the field of heritage protection. On the other, heritage can be recognized as an important endogenous resource of the city persuading decision-makers that heritage can impact city's socio-economic development and should be included in the city's strategic planning. So happened with the Wrocław 2030 Strategy (Rada Miejska Wrocławia, 2018, February 15: 41). Consequently, heritage and city esthetics spending are no longer viewed as an unnecessary cost but as a value to the city (WroCons01, Wrocław 5/06/2019; WybPap01, Wrocław 19/06/2019).

66 Note that it covers only heritage-related, not all concluded, projects.

4.3 Metamorphoses of Cultures implemented: legacy and post-event trends

4.3.1 Implemented heritage projects

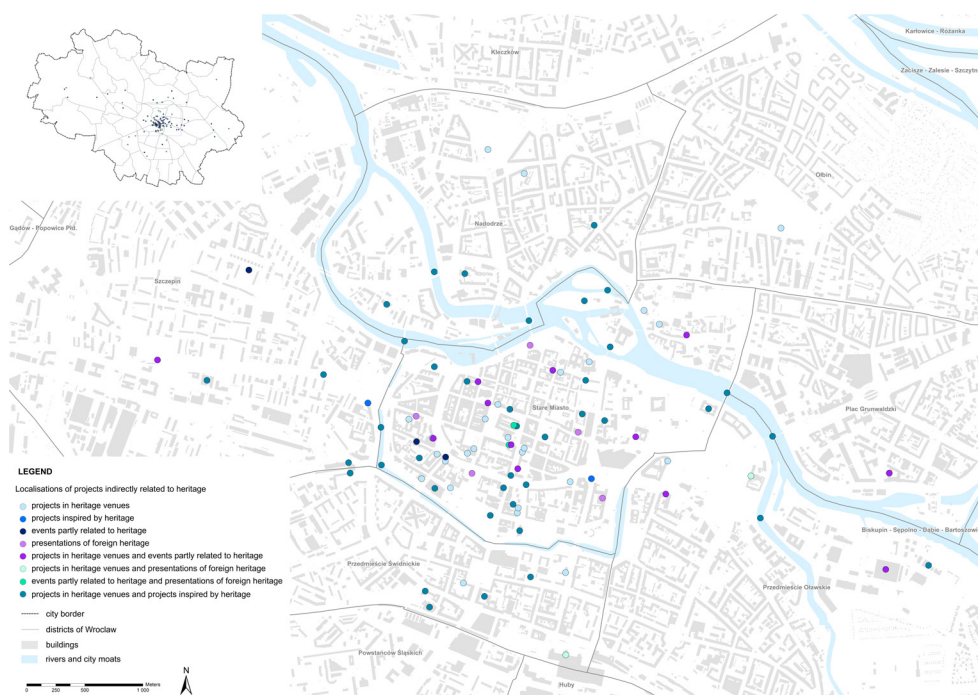
While the notion of heritage was barely mentioned in the text of the bid book, the milestones of Wrocław's history, such as shifting borders or the importance of past city builders with various national and ethnic backgrounds, greatly shaped the core of the ECoC application as these were important elements of Wrocław's identity and heritage. As the bid book, the final ECoC program did not use a special category for heritage projects. Therefore, in order to analyze the ECoC program from the heritage perspective in the most complex way, we introduced a specific categorization. The heritage projects were extracted from the list of projects presented as an ECoC outcome and compiled in the Wrocław 2016 report (Banaszak et al., 2017). The selection of the projects was based on their expert assessment. While a number of projects took place outside of Wrocław, the projects taken into consideration for the analysis were only those that happened in the city. Such a choice of projects was made in order to consider the ECoC impact on the city and its inhabitants.

The projects were divided into two main categories. The first one – the projects directly linked to heritage – encompasses all the undertakings that were produced entirely on the basis of Wrocław's heritage, in all artistic domains, including heritage presentation, popularization and education. While some of these projects touched the question of tradition, memory or identity (including e.g. dissonant heritage), others were planned to maintain, renovate and preserve cultural heritage infrastructure and cultural heritage, both movable and built.

The second category – projects indirectly linked to heritage – contains projects not related to heritage but hosted in

heritage venues, activities inspired by the past, historical fabric of the city or traditions of Wrocław, multi-action projects partially linked to heritage, and presentations of foreign heritage. 10% of ECoC projects can be described as such. The artistic domains that were predominantly inspired by the heritage were theatre, literature and opera. While some locations of these projects repeat the geographical distribution of the projects directly linked to heritage (see below), a couple of the venues is left out, and new ones appear. These projects also cluster in the city center out of proportion to the other districts of the city, but the projects in the city center are distributed in a more balanced way (see Fig. 4.13).

Fig. 4.13 Locations of the projects indirectly linked to the heritage – city center (source: ICC, I. Morawska, 2019).



Projects directly related to heritage

Having set a framework we were able to assess that 21% of the projects within the final ECoC program were directly linked to Wrocław's heritage. Apart from the infrastructural projects, heritage-related projects were mostly concentrated

in the artistic domains related to architecture, music and visual arts. The introduction of the architecture curator, who aimed at raising the profile of architecture understood as art, led to an increase in the projects with built heritage at their heart. However, the strand intervened mostly with the modern, 20th-century architecture (the interwar and the modernist). It might have been a reflection of curator's interests or, to some extent, a manifestation of the insufficient interest in monument protection problems or reluctance to focus greatly on "foreign" tangible heritage. Exhibitions, lectures, guided walks, etc. were to familiarize the audience with the history of architecture and its value. The exhibition *A Way to Modernity. The Werkbund Estates 1927–1932* in the Museum of Architecture showcasing the work of architects seeking new forms for houses in the first half of the 20th century and *Galerowiec* project proposing a model restoration for emblematic neglected post-war buildings are good examples here.

The whole ECoC program scarcely explored the question of monument protection in Wrocław or across the region. The cooperation with the Lower Silesia region was often mentioned as a weakness of the program's implementation (FGI01, Wrocław 20/05/2019; FGI02, Wrocław, 5/05/2019). Among the very few projects related to the issue, one definitely stood out: *Rescuers. Non-public Strategies for Saving Monuments in Lower Silesia*. While the impressive number of manors and palaces in the region makes it difficult for local authorities to preserve or adapt all the monuments to new functions, some of them are being renovated with private funding. The project featured the stories of people who decided to devote a large part of their lives and private funds to save the architectural heritage of Lower Silesia, manors, palaces, churches but also postindustrial buildings, craftsman workshops, timber-framed houses.

Music heritage was part of many projects, with Wrocław's musical heritage played in historical venues within the *1000 Years of Music in Wrocław* project. Another one, *Bibliotheca Rudolphina*, aimed at creating a website presenting digitized materials, the catalogue and descriptions, and the history

of preserved musical collections of George Rudolf's Liegnitz-Brieg library. Many of visual arts projects explored significant but forgotten figures of Wrocław art scene, representing an important legacy of the city, often showed within the 2016 ECoC for the first time. Such was the case of Waclaw Szpakowski (1883–1973). Rhythmic Lines project – an exhibition familiarizing visitors with the art of a pioneer of geometric abstraction, or Persecuted Art. Heinrich Tischler and his Wrocław Environment exhibition trying to restore the memory of Jewish artists active in the interwar period, subjected to growing persecution and banned as “degenerate.”

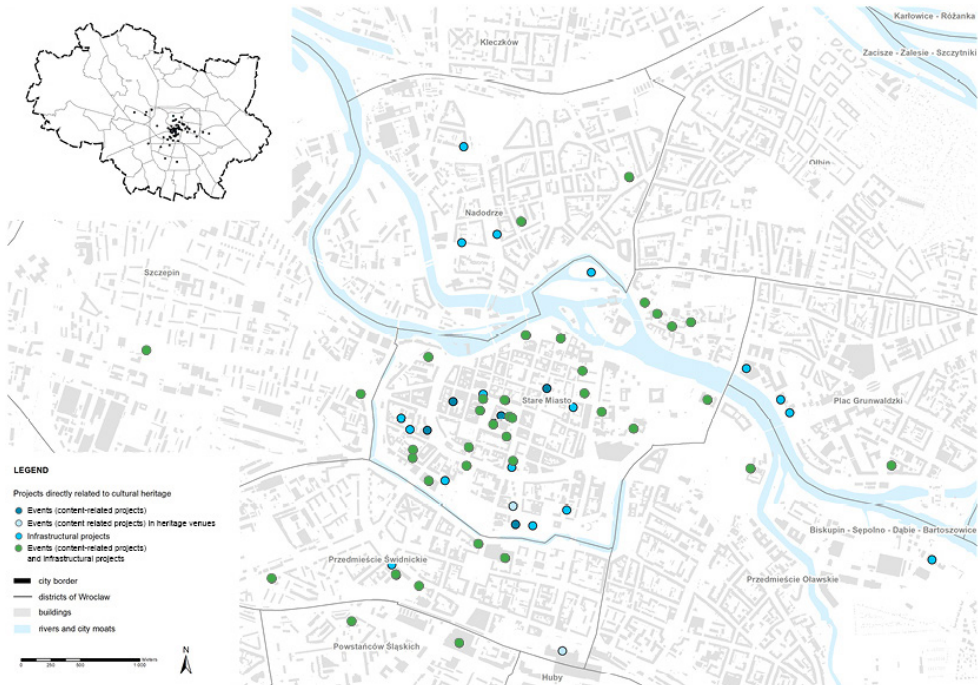
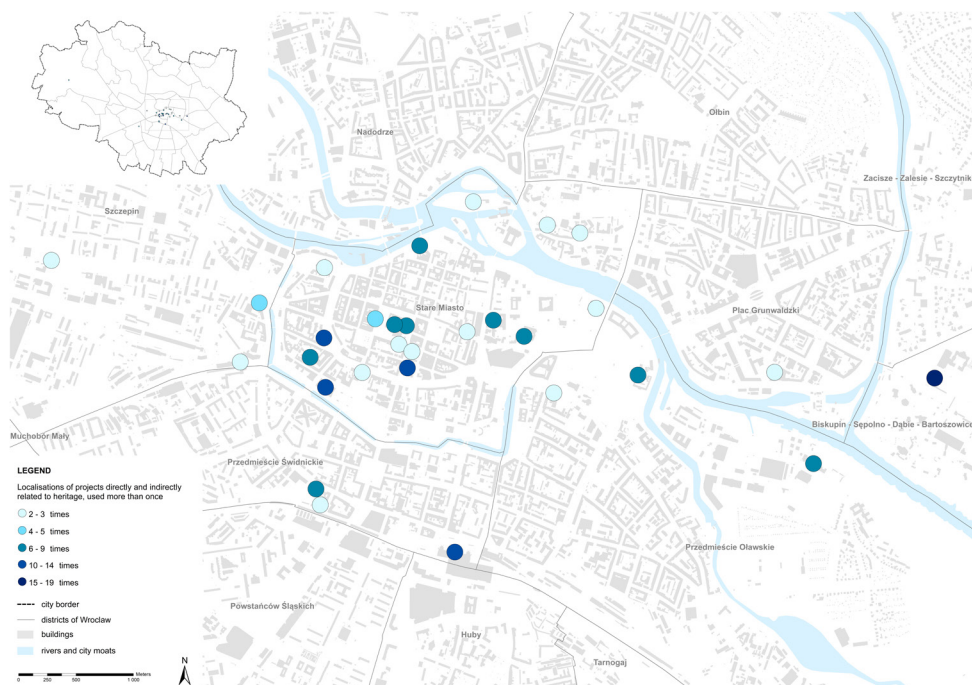


Fig. 4.14 Locations of the projects directly linked to the heritage – city center (source: ICC, I. Morawska, 2019).

The majority of the events directly linked to heritage took place strictly in the historic center of Wrocław (see Fig. 4.14) concentrating around the Main Square and the Four Denomination District. A small number of events took place in the western and southern districts of the city. Regular cultural institutions hosted just a few of the heritage-

related initiatives. An important part of the projects was hosted in the historical venues refurbished or renovated within the ECoC (e.g. Barbara cafe, the Depot History Center, the Centennial Hall). It is understandable that most heritage-related infrastructural projects were completed in the historic part of the city (especially historical building renovations). The revitalization projects were done, on the other hand, outside the historic city center (as delineated on Fig. 4.16) with Nadodrze and the Four Denominations District located fairly close to the Market Square, while Psie Pole district more in the outskirts of Wrocław.

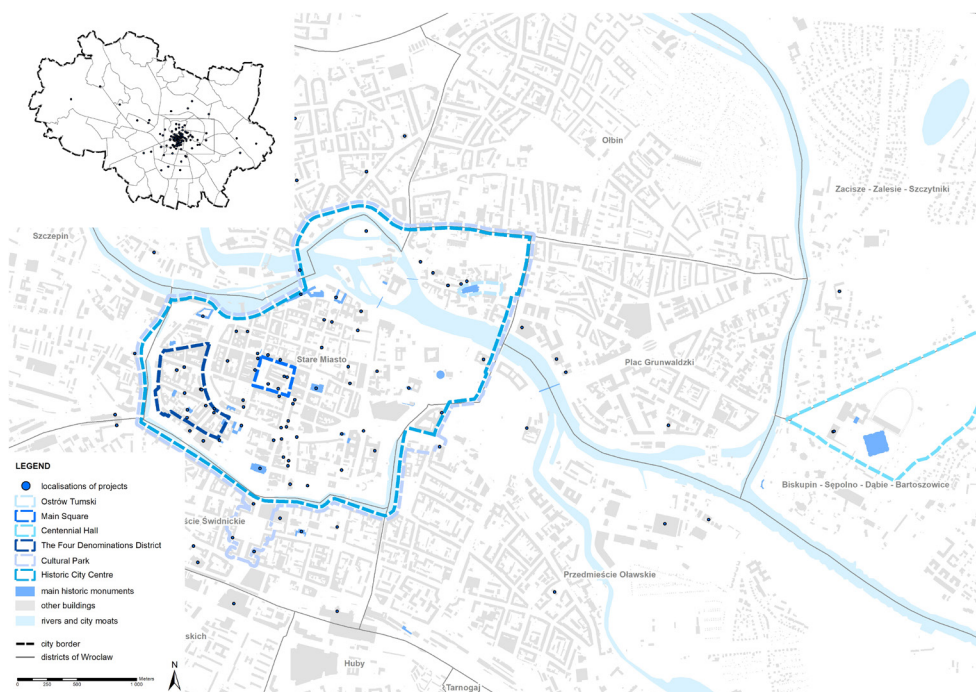


Venues used for the ECoC heritage-related events were frequently locations of more than one project or some multi-activity projects were hosted in several venues (e.g. 1000 Years of Music in Wrocław, a series of 116 historical concerts played at eight different locations) – see Fig. 4.15.

Fig. 4.15 Project locations used more than once (source: ICC, I. Morawska, 2019).

Fig. 4.16 Locations of the projects in the historic center of Wrocław (source: ICC, I. Morawska, 2019).

The comparison between projects directly and indirectly linked to heritage suggests that there is a relation between the project content and its location. There is a tendency for the heritage-related projects to be placed in heritage spaces right in the historic city center and in renovated heritage venues, whereas the projects related to heritage indirectly tend to be more dispersed throughout the city.



67 The culture park is one of the forms of monument protection in Poland, specified in the act on the protection and preservation of monuments. It protects a specific area of cultural landscape and distinctive landscapes with immovable heritage objects typical for local building and settlement tradition.

Generally, the historic city center was used in an extensive manner, as the majority of projects took place inside the old city walls and in the boundaries of the cultural park⁶⁷ (see Fig. 4.16). Approximately 70% of the projects directly linked to heritage were also set in historical venues. In total, around 43% of the ECoC projects were hosted in heritage spaces – monuments, historical parks, churches, synagogues, tenement houses or historical train stations. And while the majority of the ECoC cultural offer was not heritage-oriented, the audience was exposed to the historical environment in an excessive way due to the venues many projects were located in. On the one hand, they brought

people to admire the monuments and experience heritage outside the typical and obvious places such as heritage institutions (museums, libraries, galleries). On the other, it exposed a historical fabric to the pressure of extensive use and rapid adaptation to the temporary needs.

The residents of the city also had the opportunity to encounter newly renovated art installations and sculptures (eight out of fourteen projects of heritage value) in the public spaces within the Spaces for Beauty project carried out by the Municipal Art Consultant. The sculpture Atom by Roman Pawelski, installed at the Wrocław University campus in 1970, renovated with an information plaque and illuminated could be given as an example of this type of heritage hard projects.



Fig. 4.17 Four Domes Pavilion (source: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pawilon_Cztereich_Kopu%C5%82#/media/Plik:Pawilon_Cztereich_Kopu%C5%82_po_remoncie.jpg, Volens nolens kraplak, 2015).

The second type consisted in twenty capital investment projects: three revitalization processes (Nadodrze district, Psie Pole district, Four Denominations District) and eleven renovation works and/or adaptations of buildings to new functions, often involving alterations and additions to existing structures (Banaszak et. al., 2017: 123). Apart from the works done at the Centennial Hall whose function from the beginning was to host various events and the Four Domes Pavilion designed as an exhibition space, all of the other projects meant new uses of heritage spaces and as such are described below.

New uses of heritage spaces

The need for new cultural spaces gave an important impetus for popularization of heritage venues that had not been associated with cultural activity. Previously ignored or underestimated heritage sites were rediscovered as places of interest for both residents and tourists. The first category of such places would be postindustrial heritage spaces, such as Ruska 46 postindustrial passageway and courtyards (turned into a creative space for cultural organizations and the Neon Gallery) or a 19th-century laundry and dyeing buildings (Krzywy Komin – a new cultural institution specializing in educational and culture-forming activities).



Fig. 4.18 Krzywy Komin
Local Center for Professional
Development (source:
[https://www.krzywykomin.
pl/o-nas/](https://www.krzywykomin.pl/o-nas/), acc. 2019).

Another investment set in a surprising venue (Wrocław Contemporary Museum) was carried out in one of largest former civilian air-raid shelters of 1942. Its interesting cylindrical form, designed by Richard Konwiarz, a well-known Wrocław architect, was meant to mask its real function.

Within the ECoC framework new museums and cultural institutions were opened to the public. The Pan Tadeusz Museum and the Depot History Center are two good examples of new uses for heritage spaces and contribution to the Metamorphoses of Cultures theme. The latter, located in the 19th-century tram depot, is focused on the post-war

history and ethnic diversity of Wrocław, while the Pan Tadeusz Museum exhibits the only existing manuscript of Adam Mickiewicz's masterpiece *Pan Tadeusz*⁶⁸. It is a symbolic liaison with L'viv as the Ossolineum collection was moved from that city to Wrocław after WWII. The Pan Tadeusz Museum represents the second category of heritage space adaptation for new uses – taking monument buildings (in this case the Under the Golden Sun tenement house at the Main Market Square) and restructuring them to house new institutions. Revitalization and conservation works carried out in historical buildings, such as Capitol Music Theater, the Na Grobli Studio of the Grotowski Institute or the Henryk Tomaszewski Theater Museum reintroduced them to the cultural and urban life of the city.

While new prestigious premises were being opened to the public, several unusual heritage locations, previously unseen as a cultural asset, were discovered – parks, public squares, backyards. Presenting a cultural offer in non-obvious, historical venues created a chance to appreciate the heritage as a part of everyday life. It concentrated public attention on the surroundings, unveiling their history and artistic value, even in the forgotten part of the city.

Other heritage spaces were given new life by ongoing revitalization, using the potential of local heritage and upgrading cultural life with the animation of several NGOs (in the Psie Pole and Nadodrze districts, the Four Denomination District). The revitalization was part of the wider city strategy carried out by a municipal corporation *Wrocławska Rewitalizacja Ltd.* and would be put into effect anyway without the ECoC title; however, it splendidly corresponded to recovering the city's beauty (*Space for Beauty*) and was included in the ECoC framework.

68 *Pan Tadeusz* or *The Last Foray in Lithuania. A Story of the Gentry from 1811 and 1812* Comprising Twelve Books in Verse (1843) is the national epic of Poland, whose first verses virtually every Pole knows by heart.

Relations of the implemented projects with the projected identity of the city/ event

The identity of the city that had been consciously and continuously built by the municipality since the beginning of the 1990s was that of “a meeting place” and “multiculturality” (from which tolerance and openness were supposed to derive). It is best described by the Metamorphoses of Cultures metaphor used by the 2016 ECoC. Behind it there was the city’s desire to be an inspiration in the contemporary debate on Europe in terms of its identity, multi-ethnic and multicultural past, the sense of the citizenship, and the challenge of constant change. A number of implemented projects were intended to showcase Wrocław as a meaningful example in the current debate on the migration and the transformation of Europe. One of the ways to contribute to this topic was the launch of the book *Culture and Human Rights: The Wrocław Commentaries*, addressing the questions of free access to arts, media, religious and language rights, the protection of minorities and other vulnerable groups, safeguarding cultural diversity and heritage. Another one was joining in October 2015 the International Cities of Refuge Network that gathers cities from around the world in advancing freedom of expression and defending writers persecuted for political reasons. There was also an exhibition, a part of the 56th Venice Biennale, entitled *Dispossession*, that combined historical and contemporary narratives, creating a multi-layered story about the loss of one’s home.

The ECoC was also used to recall the past by restoring the historical knowledge, sense of belonging and local identity of Wrocław’s residents. The turbulent history of the city was used to create an urban narrative that was attractive and relatable to the residents. Apart from the Backyard Door project, one might list here a documentary *Last Jews from Breslau* telling a story of people born in pre-war Wrocław and their later fate abroad or an exhibition *Pojednanie / Versöhnung in Progress*. The Catholic Church and Polish-German Relations after 1945, focused on a difficult and still unfinished process of Polish-German reconciliation after

WWII. Some of such projects were ECoC “export product” to other cities in Poland and abroad – e.g. the Wild West. A History of Wrocław’s Avant-garde project exploring Wrocław’s art and life since the 1960s until today, or The Germans Did Not Come exhibition challenging the fear felt for decades in Wrocław that their life was not quite stable as the Germans might come back anytime and claim back their lands. Kajdanek (2017a: 128) claims that it might have actually been good to show them also in Wrocław, where people seemed quite unaware of the newest parts of the city’s history – for many the only dates of any meaning were years 1000, 1945 and 1997 (the great flood).

Was heritage used to address socio-economic issues?

In Wrocław cultural heritage was not treated explicitly as a tool to create socio-economic impacts of the ECoC. Neither the bid book nor the implementation of the program addressed the heritage as a factor of socio-economic development. However, an analysis of the documents and the ECoC implementation proves that heritage was part of socio-economic issues during the ECoC. Certainly, heritage projects could be related to addressing one of the weaknesses listed, i.e. social and economic exclusion of some inhabitants (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 107). They also contributed to one of the key challenges mentioned by one of the interviewed experts: the search for a new basis for city development (EccT01, Wrocław 5/06/2019) and the need to modernize (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 39). Regarding the latter, modernization of the heritage infrastructure and all the investment projects (renovation, conservation etc.) mentioned in the sections above can be attributed to this point.

These projects should have also contributed to one of the main goals of the ECoC – doubling the number of tourists. According to the data collected for the Municipality, around 5 million tourists visited Wrocław in the ECoC year, of which 1.37 million came from abroad. 64% visitors from Poland and 51% foreign tourists declared that the aim of

their visit was to sightsee (half of the respondents claimed to have visited the Centennial Hall; Bujko & Sowińska, 2016: 5, 80, 95). The mega-event not only increased the influx of international tourists, but also enhanced the national perception of the city, both being important for the municipality when embarking on the ECoC project. The features strongly valued by the visitors from other Polish cities were the architecture, tourist attractiveness and the unique identity (Pluta et al., 2017b: 14).

The bid book underlined the potential of culture to build new economic capacity based on cultural capital in terms of civic commitment, social capital, creativity and knowledge (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 7–8). During the ECoC implementation phase it translated into reaching the goal of increased participation in culture (cultural participation as well as experiencing heritage influences human, social and cultural capital development; Sanetra-Szeliga & Jagodzińska, 2017: 43–48). This goal, generally speaking, was reached (Banaszak et al., 2017: 52). As a number of projects dealt with heritage, it might be assumed that those heritage-related (either directly or indirectly) contributed to its attaining. This could be illustrated by the microGRANTS financial scheme devoted to funding small, bottom-up, citizen-driven projects, which supported a wide range of activities. Some of the projects were rooted in the history and uniqueness of a neighborhood, reinforcing a sense of place and exploiting the potential of cultural heritage that resides in its capability to bring people together around common historical background.

As far as social and economic exclusion of residents is concerned, the ECoC tried to find a remedy for the problem in a number of ways. First of all a large part of the projects were free of charge. They attracted the greatest interest of the residents – 59% declared they were familiar with them. Second, the ECoC brought culture closer to people. 41% claimed that they noticed that culture went outside traditional cultural infrastructure, outdoors – to parks, streets, squares.

Although the heritage was not deliberately described as an asset for local development, one might argue that ECoC implementation resulted in a changed perception of heritage's role as a locally driven development factor. “[ECoC] has shown very clearly that the monuments and heritage, historical objects and so on, that they are the real value in this city, which directly translates into money, tourist traffic, are the actual attractors. And when we work with them and bet on them, there will be tangible benefits” (WroCons01, Wrocław 5/06/2019).

Selected projects: a more detailed look

The Centennial Hall and Exhibition Grounds



The Centennial Hall (inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2006), a landmark in the history of reinforced concrete architecture, was erected in 1911–1913 to the architect Max Berg’s design as a multi-purpose recreational building with a circular central space seating more than 7000 people, situated in the Exhibition Grounds

Fig. 4.19 The Centennial Hall (source: halastulecia.pl, acc. 2019).

(that include the Four Domes Pavilion, the Pergola, etc.). Its opening, together with the Centennial Exhibition, was part of the celebrations to commemorate the 100th anniversary of defeating Napoleon in the battle of Leipzig (October 1813).

The most important renovation works in the whole Exhibition Grounds complex were carried out in 2009–2015 and could be considered a part of a strategy preparing the city for the ECoC or a proof that Wrocław's interest in its German tangible heritage had already been explored for some time. The works that fell directly under the ECoC umbrella included the Four Domes Pavilion, a modernist building designed by Hans Poelzig and erected in 1912 for temporary exhibitions of art and special celebrations. On June 25, 2016, after a three-year renovation that included external renovations and recreating the original functional layout of the building as an exhibition space, National Museum in Wrocław opened one of its branches there, presenting Collection of Polish Art from the Second Half of the 20th and early 21st century. Another ECoC-related investment was the creation of the Discovery Center that uses interactive technological solutions to tell the history of the Centennial Hall and Wrocław itself to 100,000 visitors a year (Waplak & Cichosz, 2016, February 20).

The whole Exhibition Grounds with Szczytnicki Park is a popular recreation destination for Wrocław's residents. During the 2016 ECoC a number of events were held there, including the closing "Sky Web" ceremony. Wrocław 2016 team was an important partner for the Centennial Hall, conducting large events there, thus contributing to the Hall's repertoire in terms of its cultural offer and finance. Therefore, events taking place in the Centennial Hall should be viewed both from a social perspective – as a meeting place for people and cultural experiences – and from an organizational and administrative perspective, emphasizing that the ECoC program contributed to the Hall's budget and number of contracts signed (CenHal01, Wrocław 19/06/2019).

Flow Quartet



Fig. 4.20 Flow project on the banks of the Oder (source: Wrocław Culture Zone, BTW Photographers, G. Rajter, M. Maziarz, 2016).

The Flow Quartet was an ensemble of four open-air events intended to spark the debate on the identity of the city and to explore, in collective and creative space, the complicated and unresolved issues of the city (EccT03, October 17, 2019). The Quartet, curated by a British performance director Chris Baldwin, consisted of interlinked projects: the Bridge Builders conducted already in 2015, the Awakening opening ceremony, the Flow project, and the Sky Web closing ceremony. The events were strongly embedded both in intangible and tangible heritage. They were prepared using Baldwin's original working method, Teatro de Creación and Citizen Centred Dramaturgy that used large-scale performances built upon close relationships with local people, designed and specific to the place. The storylines of the mega-shows were predominantly concentrated on historical matters, such as multi-ethnicity, diasporas, and the intent was to release the process that leads to the acknowledgment of the past (EccT03, October 17, 2019.)

The mega-shows used the monumental fabric of the city: urban layout, historical venues, architectural monuments in order to project the stories. The Awakening opening ceremony (January 15-17, 2016) of over a hundred events, culminated in parades for residents, starting from four different corners of Wrocław symbolizing a different



Fig. 4.21 Flow performance at the riverbanks of the Oder (source: Wrocław Official Flickr, 2016).

cornerstone of the city's history, and all joining at the Market Square. The final show involved 1,300 artists, 200 choristers, 50 soldiers and 300 cyclists. Bridge Builders (where cultural animators received financial and organizational support to conduct projects on a chosen bridge) happened on Wrocław's bridges⁶⁹. The Flow multiple artistic interventions on the connection between contemporary Wrocław and its diasporas and the evening multimedia performance about the city's 20th century history took over the rivers and riverbanks. Finally, Sky Web, a multi-performance about the metamorphosis of the city in the 20th century through an example of three generations of women living in the city, was hosted at the Centennial Hall (December 17, 2016).

All four enjoyed a large audience (Bridge Builders – 25,000 people; Awakening – 120,000; Flow – 51,000; Sky Web – 31,000) being open-air, free of charge events most preferred and frequented by Wrocław's inhabitants (Banaszak et al., 2017: 168). The opening and closing ceremonies were the ones mostly chosen by those who rarely participate in outdoor activities but rather spend time at home watching TV. The first event managed to deliver such strong emotions that the majority of the public was able to turn a blind eye to the organizational and technical imperfections (Kajdanek et al., 2017: 7, 18).

69 In Wrocław there are more than 200 bridges and footbridges over the Oder River, its four tributaries and a dozen other smaller rivers and streams.

The juxtaposition of an intimate take on the city with a large-scale show meant entering heritage as a mainstream topic by

finding an attractive format, stirring up strong emotions on which a feeling of taking root and belonging could be built. Scientific evidence of whether the Flow Quartet managed to reach the aim of attitudinal transformation regarding history and local identity is scarce, though. Out of the four parts, *Flow* was ranked as having highest impact on inspiration, reflection, new knowledge acquisition but still the results were lower than regarding Theatrical Olympiad or a Ennio Morricone concert (Kajdanek et al., 2017: 23).

Wrocław: Backyard Door project

Wrocław – Backyard Door was a program of artistic interventions, based on cooperation with residents, carried out in large communal spaces enclosed by several townhouses or blocks of flats (backyards), primarily in neglected often forgotten and deteriorating neighborhoods such as Ołbin, Gaj, Przedmieście Oławskie, Huby, and Kozanów. Many before WWII had been bourgeois areas, severely damaged during the war and finally re-settled by a new community. Their Germany-legacy infrastructure had been increasingly degraded, with the flood of 1997 causing further damages⁷⁰. The purpose of the program was to awaken the awareness of commitment and responsibility for one's living surroundings and to activate the residents. 61 artists took part in 32 projects carried out in 42 backyards and 7 housing estates with 70 meetings and consultations with residents taking place and 4,400 participants participating in the activities – mainly residents of Wrocław (Zarzycki, 2016: 176–177).

Some of the projects concerned directly heritage. For example, Kozanów – In Search of a Miracle interdisciplinary artistic event (site-specific art works, performances, film screenings, discussions, an international art exhibition) presented a rather unsettling (even regarded controversial) work by Artur Żmijewski that attempted to invite residents to confront local heritage by means of an artistic reinterpretation of local history. The action of collecting decaying and forgotten old German tombstones from a cemetery turned into a park in 1948 (as part of the “de-Germanization” campaign) showed a very important aspect

⁷⁰ The so-called Millennium Flood (40% of the city under water) triggered unexpected social movement building a strong local identity and a feeling of belonging. It is considered one of the most important contemporary community building processes in the city.

of rebuilding the city after the war as a process of blurring its heritage. Another project, The Maze by Justyna Wencel and Marcin Chomicki worked with an empty space between Powstańców Śląskich, Szczęśliwa and Gwiaździsta streets (a former front line of particularly heavy fights between Germans defending Festung Breslau and the Russian army in 1945) installing a multicolored maze to bring awareness of the history and reconnect inhabitants with it (Żyłko, 2015).



Fig. 4.22 Kozanów – In Search of a Miracle (source: Wrocław Culture Zone, A. Kielan, 2016).



Fig. 4.23 Maze (source: Wrocław Culture Zone, A. Kielan, 2016).

Although in the opinion of interviewed experts, the Backyard Door project was quite uneven in terms of quality and reception of particular artistic activities, in general the program was recognized as worth continuing after 2016 in the Neighboring project, implemented as part of

the program of the Wrocław Culture Zone, which also kept Komuny Paryskiej 45 Workshop (as one of its venues for creating a space for artistic endeavors and exchange of experiences with the local community, inviting artists and animators to integrate it, and building a better image of the neighborhood).

4.3.2 External projects aligned with event

Wrocław 2016 was an all-encompassing event that included virtually all the major cultural events in the city and engaged NGOs and residents in smaller actions. A great number of organizations and institutions actually sought the ECoC label to be part of the great celebration. The Municipality certainly focused on the ECoC; however, not all its projects were included in the ECoC (nor its final report) even though they seemed aligned in content and time with the mega-event. For example, there were revitalization projects done not only in the Nadodrże district, but also in the Przedmieście Oławskie district. Moreover, there were works performed on Xawery Dunikowski boulevard (2014–2016) meant to increase its attractiveness by developing public spaces with exceptional historical value in the place of the first walking areas surrounding the city center (Prezydent Wrocławia, 2017: 512). In 2014 the Municipality introduced the culture park regulations that could well have been treated as putting into practice the Space for Beauty motto of the ECoC.

“The purpose of creating the culture park [within the center of the historic city – ed., see Fig. 4.16] is comprehensive protection of public spaces with the highest cultural values and stopping the degradation of this space by introducing regulations that limit the negative phenomena, such as large format advertising, low quality ads, papered-over shop windows or illegal trade” (Prezydent Wrocławia, 2017: 604).

The culture park regulations were introduced in parallel to the ECoC. The Municipality started to work on them after

analyzing the good practices of Kraków's 2010 culture park (WroMun02, Wrocław 5/06/2019).

The 2016 ECoC as an all-encompassing event

Upon obtaining the 2016 ECoC title, there was a big shift in cultural policy of the city and many projects and tasks were subordinated, aligned or taken under the umbrella the 2016 ECoC project. That included infrastructure projects, new culture institution creation, urban public space restoration. Some of these tasks had been previously discussed as important for the city but without specified implementation plans and the ECoC served as a good pretext to carry them out. Some other projects were developed with additional modules just for the ECoC, or their 2016 editions were related to the ECoC goals.

A part of the year 2015 and the whole year 2016 were almost entirely subordinated to the ECoC, as regards the Municipality actions in the sphere of culture. The 2016 ECoC was, on the one hand, a structural framework for inspiring and motivating actors and entities to develop new projects and ideas (even small ones that were then supported within the microGRANTS scheme); and, on the other, it was a pretext for applying for additional financial resources from outside the Wrocław City Council.

It seems that some infrastructural projects, ECoC-labelled in the mega-event final report, are the best examples here. Revitalization projects in Nadodrze, Psie Pole and Four Denominations District, were planned independently way ahead of the Wrocław ECoC idea. Wrocławska Rewitalizacja Ltd. (a municipal company created to deal with revitalization issues in Wrocław) had long been implementing actions in these areas (e.g. in Nadodrze since 2004). However, as they were aligned with the main themes and ideas included in the bid book and in many areas were fulfilling the goals of the ECoC, it was decided that they could use the ECoC label. In the case of other infrastructural projects, the ECoC presumably played the role of an additional benefit or value

for the application evaluation panels for the European Structural Funds with Polish Operational Programs (e.g. the Four Dome Pavilion) or the EEA Financial Mechanisms (e.g. the Depot History Center).

In general, the most prominent cultural enterprises in the city were either invited to the ECoC or decided to join on their own. Many wanted to be part of the ECoC transformation of the city, some sought additional financial or organizational benefits. The Wrocław 2016 team noticed a great interest in the ECoC label, coming sometimes from unexpected actors (e.g. a business convention that wanted to take their participants sightseeing). It seemed that most organizations and institutions wanted to be a part of the ECoC celebration and usually were given permission to use the logo and be a part of the mega-event (even if it did not mean financial or organizational support from the Impart 2016 Festival Office) (FGI02, Wrocław 5/06/2019).

The 2016 ECoC influencing urban change

It can be claimed that the ECoC in Wrocław was intended as a platform for a deep change of the city. When looking at changes in the city brought by the 2016 ECoC (other than heritage-related), there are three areas that should be mentioned. First of all, infrastructural projects. This report focused on the ones related to cultural heritage; however, there was a number of projects that were related to culture, including the new buildings for the Formaty Club, the New Horizons Cinema, the Cultural Center and Library FAMA in the revitalized Psie Pole district, a new building of the Wrocław University Library. Second, new cultural institutions. New museums and cultural institutions have been established, such as the Pan Tadeusz Museum, Henryk Tomaszewski Theatre Museum, the New Horizons Cinema, the Wrocław Contemporary Museum, Cultural Center and Library FAMA. After 2016, the ECoC program became the basis for the continuation of selected programs, projects and structured solutions (e.g. microGRANTS, A-i-R Wro program, the Backyard Door project, ECoC Parks), field-tested during 2016. The Impart 2016 Festival Office was

transformed into Wrocław Culture Zone, which “continues the activities and traditions derived from the program of the European Capital of Culture Wrocław” (Rada Miejska Wrocławia, 2017, November 23). A project that falls into both categories listed above is a gigantic investment of the National Forum of Music, a seat of a new cultural institution, run together by the Municipality, regional authorities and the Minister of Culture and National Heritage.

And last but not least, a new strategy for culture. An important element of the ECoC program was designing new cultural city policies based on the ECoC experience (Chmielewski et al., 2011: 35–36). It was an undertaking that started with a laboratory and discussions about the future of urbanity and culture and ended with the document *Culture – Present! The diagnosis of Wrocław cultural potential and Cultural Development Plan 2020+*. Such a target document was finally published in 2018.

4.3.3 The 2016 ECoC post-event trends

Cultural sector and cultural policy in Wrocław after 2016

The cultural sector in Wrocław was greatly influenced by the 2016 ECoC. The vast majority of its entities participated on some level in the ECoC preparation and implementation. There had been a great concentration and energy build-up. When the mega-event ended, the cultural sector was left with a certain empty feeling. The fact that there was no ECoC legacy or follow-up document in 2016 worsened the situation and might have led to a level of dissatisfaction. Moreover, during the ECoC there might also have been a slight clash between these institutions which clearly benefited from the ECoC in terms of financial and human resources and those feeling that the celebration drained the municipal budget for culture too much. In fact, one of the threats recognized in the *Culture – Present!* strategy were conflicts within the cultural milieu about the culture itself and the municipal

cultural policy; that was actually called a negative ECoC effect (Broda et al., 2018: 34). These problems could be mitigated by a new inclusive and participatory approach to creating cultural policy and cultural life in the city proposed by the Municipality as well as ECoC-experienced culture managers and activists (FGI01, Wrocław 22/05/2019).

The culture strategy was prepared together by the representatives of the Municipality's Culture Department, the ECoC legacy agency – Wrocław Culture Zone and experts preparing the ECoC reports (Wrocław University). It then underwent a long process of social consultations – debates (100 participants), surveys (63 respondents) and workshops (34 participants) – that resulted in a number of recommendations to the proposed text of the strategy, a vast majority of which were accepted and introduced into the final document (Zietal, 2017). In accordance with the provisions of the strategy, a participatory model of the city's cultural policy was established and is being successively implemented, consisting of the following components:

- Wrocław Culture Group – a non-formal advisory platform for the dialogue within the cultural sector, including both public and private entities as well as individuals;
- Wrocław Culture Council – a consultative and advisory body of the mayor regarding policy action;
- Congress of Culture – a cyclic event treated as a tool for dialogue and involvement of civil society, including the residents, in Wrocław's cultural life (Grupa Kultura Wrocław, 2019, October 24).

The work on the new cultural strategy also clearly defined the status of culture in the city's development stating that “culture has become the most important city-creating mechanism” (Broda et al., 2018: 35).

Post-ECoC there has been a debate on the size of the budget for culture. As shown on Chart 4.1 the ten years (2008–2018) enjoyed an increase in the city's expenditure on culture and

Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture

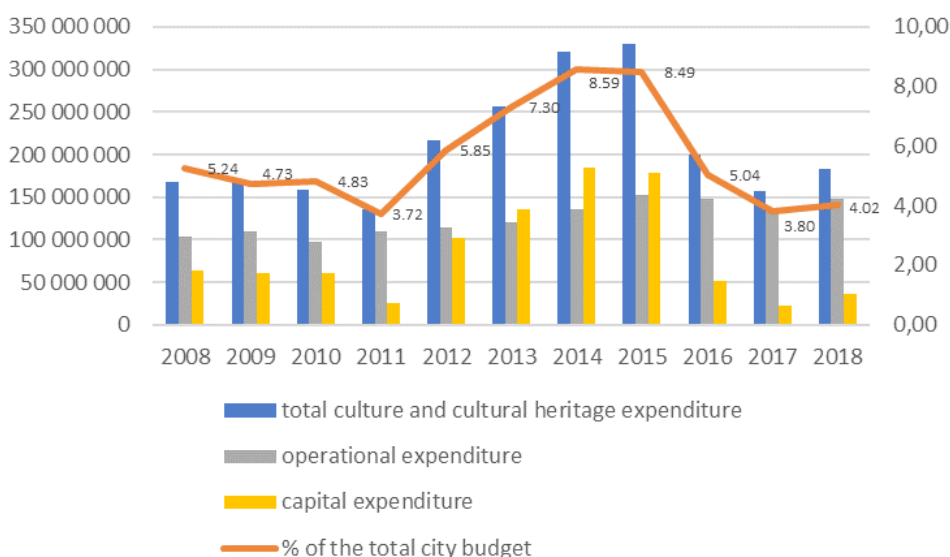
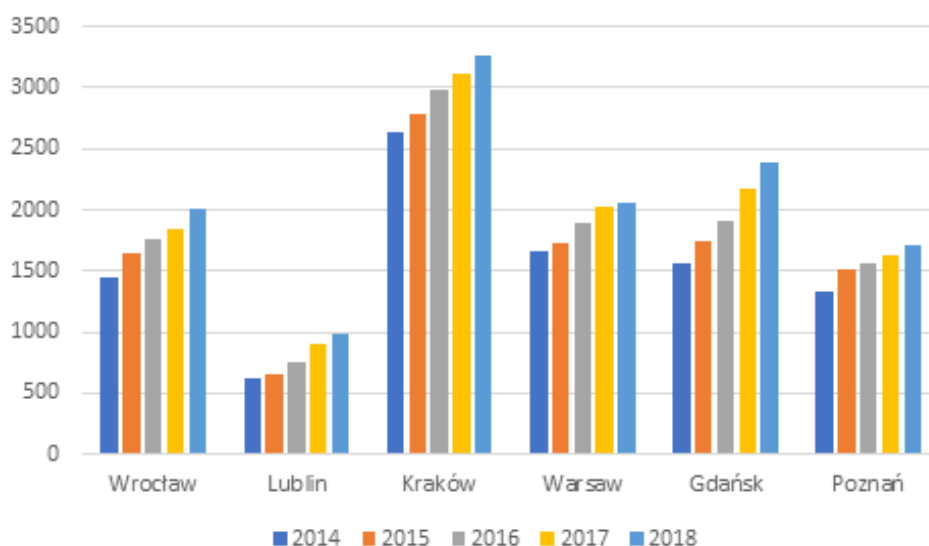


Chart 4.1 Wrocław's expenditure on culture and cultural heritage during the bidding, implementation and post-ECOC phases (in PLN) (source: own, based on BIP Urzędu Miejskiego Wrocławia, 2019).

cultural heritage. However, a closer look at the figures reveals that it was the capital expenditure that was responsible for the unusual peaks in expenditure that happened in the four years preceding the ECOC year. What mainly increased the expenditure at that time was building the National Forum of Music (approx. PLN 400,000,000 in the four years) as well as the works done in the Capitol Music Theater, Barbara Cafe and the Depot History Center, and other smaller projects.

The increase observed for operational expenditure was not as impressive, although it still amounted to a great percentage of the 42% difference between 2008 and 2018 (BIP Urzędu Miejskiego Wrocławia, 2019). Yet, it did not necessarily translate into better financial conditions of individual cultural institutions or more funds for the non-governmental organizations – one has to consider that the consequence of the capital expenditure and the title year is a bigger number of cultural institutions supported by the Municipality and some of them having larger premises to maintain. Therefore, it is not possible to draw a definitely positive conclusion regarding the Municipality spending on culture and cultural heritage. Moreover, in 2017 there was a visible drop in the cultural expenditure that definitely



worried the cultural sector, whose expectations were raised after the title year (FGI02, Wrocław 5/05/2019).

The expenditure allocated to protection and preservation of monuments did not change through the discussed years – it amounted to roughly PLN 10,000,000 per year (BIP Urzędu Miejskiego Wrocławia, 2019). The amount does not include expenditure on revitalization as it is part of a different budgetary chapter. When it comes to expenditure of households, average monthly per capita expenditure on recreation and culture has not changed between 2010 (PLN 86 PLN) and 2017 (PLN 86.25). In fact, in 2015 and 2016 it was actually slightly lower (PLN 82.02 and 79.98 respectively) (Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2019) – probably due to a large number of ECoC free-of-charge events.

Chart 4.2 Tourists accommodated per 1000 capita in selected Polish cities (2014–2018) (source: own, based on Statistics Poland, Nov 14, 2019).

Tourist traffic

The available statistics show an increase in the number of tourists visiting Wrocław in recent years (see Chart 4.2). The biggest increase was noted in 2015 (13%) and the numbers have continued to grow ever since (7% increase in 2016, 5.13% increase in 2017 and 8.69% in 2018). However, a similar trend was observed in other large Polish cities; in fact

2015 and 2016 were everywhere the years of biggest percentage increase in the number of tourists accommodated (per 1000 capita) (apart from Lublin which saw a large (20%) increase also in 2017 (Statistics Poland, 2019, Nov. 14), probably due to the mega-event of the city's 700 Year Jubilee). These numbers preclude a simple attribution of the Wrocław touristic success only to the 2016 ECoC. Especially as research completed for the Municipality shows that although 82% of visitors claimed to know about the 2016 ECoC in Wrocław (it does not specify when they actually learned about it), only 1% of visitors stated the ECoC as the main reason for coming to Wrocław⁷¹. 10% of Polish tourists and 21% of foreign ones admitted taking part in the ECoC events (Bujko & Sowińska, November 2016: 12).

The estimate of tourist traffic in Wrocław gives the following numbers: 2016 – 5 million, including 1.37 million coming from abroad, 2017 – 4.8 m (including 1.56 million from abroad) and 2018 – 5.35 m (including 1.6 million coming from abroad) (Bujko & Sowińska, November 2016: 5; Bujko & Sowińska, November 2017: 4; Bujko & Klimek, November 2018: 4). In 2016 there was a significant increase in the number of visitors from Germany (35,500 people). This group of tourists is by far the largest among foreign tourists in Wrocław (41% of all foreign tourists in 2015, 49% in 2016 and 38% in 2017 (Bujko & Sowińska, November 2017: 26; Bujko & Klimek, November 2018: 26). Moreover, the Wrocław airport has shown a continuous increase in the number of passengers – between 2014 and 2018 there was a 60% increase with 2,085,638 and 3,347,553 passengers respectively. The increase in 2016 as compared to the previous year equaled 4.29% (Wrocław Airport, 2019). The overall increase since 2010 might have something to do with opening operational bases of budget airlines in Wrocław (Wizz Air in March 2010 and Ryanair in October 2011).

Gentrification of revitalized areas

⁷¹ A different number is provided by the ECoC report: 6,1% (Banaszak et al., 2017: 159).

Usually gentrification is associated with negative repercussions, i.e. pushing local residents, often poorer than the incoming middle class, out of their neighborhoods.

Focus group experts pointed to the situations when renovating a venue resulted in rent rate increases, making it no longer affordable to some NGOs or artists (FGI01, Wrocław 22/05/2019). However, some experts contradicted that, claiming gentrification was not a common problem in Wrocław, as it was the municipality who owned most of the buildings in the historical areas of the city and therefore, the revitalization process should be well controlled (WroRew01, Wrocław 6/06/2019). This statement is to an extent supported by Jaskólski and Smolarski (2016: 112), who argue that “the planned revitalization, which triggered gentrification processes, enabled their control” in the case of a revitalization project in the Nadodrze district. While the renovation of tenement houses and comprehensive works on changing the image of Nadodrze encouraged investors to build new luxury apartments, the attention was also paid to maintaining the artistic and craft character of the district (grass-roots initiatives – gardens, murals, decorating yards). Opening the Krzywy Komin Professional Development Center helped to professionally activate “native” residents and for some of them to find a new future (mainly in traditional careers such shoemaker, tailor or furrier). However, to avoid future conflicts the municipality must work on integration of new and old residents (Jaskólski & Smolarski, 2016: 113).

Multicultural narrative

Wrocław’s main narrative of a multicultural meeting space has been created and communicated since the 1990s. To a certain degree this idea had been internalized and strengthened (possibly also thanks to the ECoC) among Wrocław’s residents⁷². When asked in 2011 to list the main characteristics of Wrocław, respondents chose the following: “a microcosm where influences of different cultures have been mixing over the centuries” – 46%, “since WWII a Polish city dating back to the Piast times” – 29%, “since WWII ‘of Eastern borderlands’ as many settlers came to Wrocław from there” – 15%, “most of all a German city, because the Germans were the ones that created the city almost as we know it today” – 10% (Dolińska & Makaro,

72 Sadly, 2019 saw also a raise in nationalist attitudes in Wrocław mirrored in a violent Independence March on the Independence Day in Poland (November 11), prematurely ended by the police with fourteen people hearing charges and standing trial.

2013: 77). The same question asked in 2017 produced the following responses: 61.3%, 22.8%, 8% and 7.9%, respectively (Makaro & Dolińska, 2017: 145–146). However, as Kajdanek claims (2017a: 128), more discussion on the city's past and contemporary identity could be needed as the residents have a fairly superficial knowledge of their past.

Wrocław 2016 legacy: promotion vs. perception

The ECoC report lists the projects that constitute the 2016 ECoC legacy (see 4.3.4). The Festival Office itself, transformed into Wrocław Cultural Zone (a municipal cultural institution) is, for example, considered and promoted as the ECoC legacy, and it runs some of the ECoC-started projects. However, there is a general feeling among the interviewed experts that there is no real legacy management in the city and not enough discussion on the impact of the ECoC. One might speculate if it is due to the fact that the year following the ECoC was devoted to the World Games, another mega-event that may have overshadowed the impact of the ECoC or at least taken up the space and time that could have been devoted to the said issue.

There is a need for a more structured promotion plan. People's memory seems to be short and easily influenced by current politics. At times they remember some actions or projects that they happily participated in, or they still see their influence in the neighborhood but they do not attribute their experience nor the impact to the ECoC (FGI02, Wrocław, 5/06/2019). Of some processes they might not be actually aware – such as an increased awareness of the importance of urban beauty and value of historical architecture, e.g. Modernist. In a 2008 discussion whether such buildings, as symbols of infamous People's Republic of Poland, should be demolished (e.g. the so-called Wrocław's Manhattan – a complex of residential and service buildings designed in 1967–1970 by Jadwiga Grabowska-Hawrylak) were quite common. Today, there is a retrospective exhibition Patchwork: The Architecture of Jadwiga Grabowska-Hawrylak shown at the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Center for Architecture in

Manhattan's Greenwich Village, and Modernism (thanks in part to the Architecture strand of the ECoC program) is not contested, it is even in fashion. Furthermore, there is public permission, thanks to the ECoC and its Spaces for Beauty



Fig. 4.24 Manhattan by J. Grabowska-Hawrylak (source: Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, 2019).

slogan, for municipal money to be spent on aesthetic issues, what was not so obvious before 2016 (WroMun02, Wrocław 5/06/2019).

Experts from the focus group underlined that the reason to constantly show the residents of Wrocław the impact of the ECoC is to make them understand that a mega-event can bring change and there is nothing to be afraid of. Examples “that only brave, broad, visionary thinking creates opportunities” for a city should be highlighted (FGI02, 5/06/2019).

4.3.4 General legacy

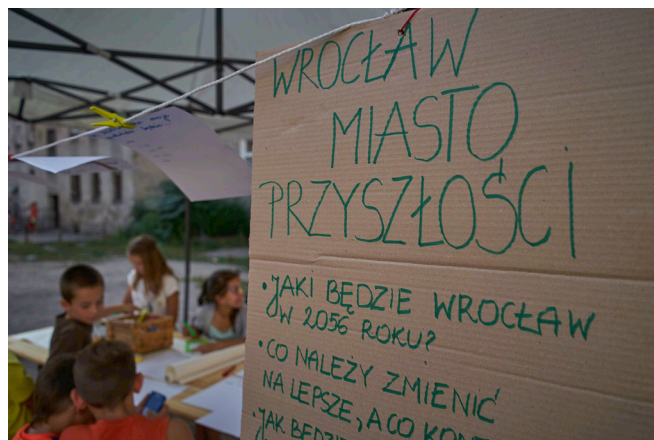
The ECoC report lists the following as the long-term results of Wrocław 2016:

- new cultural infrastructure with the potential to support development of social capital,

- new cultural projects that are continued (such microGRANTs scheme, Artists-in-Residence Program (A-i-r Wro), the ECoC Parks);
- common experience of Wrocław residents, another brick in building the feeling of belonging, pride and active involvement in the city's life;
- international recognizability of Wrocław and the region;
- new competences and skills of cultural managers and cultural organizations (esp. those directly involved with the IMPART 2016 Festival Office);
- new municipal strategy for culture Culture – Present!;
- increased potential of local artists and local cultural sector (Banaszak et al., 2017: 2).

Most of these are unquestionably effects of the ECoC in the city. However, any discussion on the ECoC impact is rather difficult, as the monitoring project was quite selective (only some aspects of the ECoC were analyzed). It was commissioned too late to be able to cover a larger scope of the ECoC influence on the city. Moreover, there is no baseline report that the final results could be benchmarked against. Finally, the results of the monitoring were published right after the ECoC, in 2017, therefore, no long-term or even

Fig. 4.25 Wrocław 2036/56 Social Foresight. Wrocław City of the Future. What Wrocław will be like in 2056? What needs to be changed for better? (source: Wrocław Culture Zone, W. Nekanda Trepka, 2016).



medium-term outcomes were included. The authors of this report are not aware of any complex evaluation of longer-term Wrocław 2016 results that has ever been performed.

However, analysis of the contemporary situation in Wrocław allows us to draw the following cautious conclusions. At this point, a new, participatory approach to the issue of creating cultural policy seems to be a process internalized by a large part of the cultural sector in Wrocław. The new process of shaping cultural policy in Wrocław is being successively and successfully implemented. One might argue that Wrocław's efforts to become UNESCO Creative City of Literature (successfully concluded in 2019) are part of the same trend to use cultural potential of the city for its further development. Clear traces of the ECoC impact can also be found in the Wrocław 2030 Strategy. One of the ECoC projects – Wrocław 2036/56 Social Foresight – was a basis for diagnosing the current Wrocław's situation and envisioning possible future scenarios of its development. Apart from direct references to the ECoC throughout the document, the participatory processes implemented to create the strategy are what needs highlighting here. Somewhat ironically, the already mentioned Wrocław 2036/56 Social Foresight came to the conclusion that “we reached a very particular point in which all big local narratives have been exhausted, for example the one about the city of big events and the infrastructure serving them” (Medeksza, 2017: 139). What is now needed is a policy of small interventions focused on the quality of life. This is the direction the new strategy for Wrocław is going in.

Speaking of tangible effects, the new ECoC estate, Nowe Żerniki⁷³, is one of the projects with a large potential to influence the real estate market and to introduce another way of designing and building housing estates in Poland. Certainly, it largely depends not only on mentality changes (both the developers' and the clients') but also on the market situation and the profitability of new investments. The new mayor, Jacek Sutryk on his Facebook profile already declared that one of his aims for the near future was creating “complete housing estates” (Sutryk, 2019, January 24); that is to say

73 A model housing estate co-designed as a grassroots initiative of the local architecture community for a high quality of life (with all amenities necessary) and the control of public space, inspired by the WuWA estate of 1929.

“social housing estates” based on “wide, planned, public urbanization action” (Kajdanek, 2016: 48).

Yet, it must be remembered that in order for a mega-event to really fulfill its potential, clear strategy of legacy management is essential. In Wrocław’s case, lack thereof at the time of ECoC preparation and implementation could be treated as a weakness of the whole ECoC process. Some feel that as a consequence of this, the opportunities generated by organizing ECoC-related events, all the ferment among both residents and entrepreneurs, representatives of culture and NGOs related to heritage have not been capitalized on, and the positive attitude and stimulation among activists has been to a certain extent wasted, because neither tools for further work nor directions of further change have been developed. Clear legacy plans would have inhibited bitter (and not completely fair) feelings and extreme statements, such as the one voiced by one of the interviewed experts involved in the ECoC implementation: “After the ECoC ended, everything returned not to the state it had been in, things slipped back a lot” (EccT02, Wrocław 22/05/2019). The participatory process of creating and putting into practice the new strategy for culture is a way to compensate for earlier inadequacy regarding the ECoC legacy.

4.4 General takeaways and key heritage issues

Threats

Failing to take advantage of ECoC potential.

Lack of legacy planning and long-term thinking.

Moving financial resources from heritage protection towards a mega-event implementation.

More entities dependent on the same municipality budget for culture (new institutions created during a mega-event).

Imposing one dominating narrative on the memory and the past of a city.

Disneyfication or museification of the historic city center.

Visitor congestion in heritage venues leading to damage of heritage sites.

Exclusion of some groups of residents.

Opportunities

Including heritage potential in strategic planning of the city.

Attracting new financial resources.

Dealing with difficult heritage (heritage with no heirs or no homeland, heritage of the enemy, unwanted heritage).

Strengthening the importance of heritage in urban discourse.

Familiarization of residents and tourists with heritage of the city.

Raising awareness of the importance of heritage and its potential (consequently engagement of residents in heritage protection).

New functions for heritage venues.

- **Mega-event as an opportunity for a new or revised approach to heritage**
- **Mega-event as a catalyst for urban economic development**
- **Mega-event as a platform for social change for cities in transformation**
- **Management of change and increased expectations: post mega-event lessons**

4.4.1 Mega-event as an opportunity for a new or revised approach to heritage

Mega-events create opportunities to create new or strengthen earlier urban narratives, potentially based on a city's history and heritage, and to revise a city's approach to its heritage. Wrocław, in line with the Potsdam Conference agreements (1945) shifting Polish borders to the west –after 600 years again a Polish city, can be considered a laboratory for heritage. Both tangible one, as it had to face the challenge of reconstructing the material urban tissue (70% destroyed during the WWII), and understood as memory and identity, as for the first Polish settlers it was heritage of the enemy. The issue of constantly processing the city's multicultural history, uprooted residents, dissonant heritage could have been the reason behind the reluctance to use the term "heritage" in the official ECoC documents ("people of Wrocław look forward, rather than dwell on the past").

However, a number of projects (according to the authors' estimate 21%) did explore the issue of Wrocław's

heritage. The narrative of the city's multiculturalism and Metamorphoses of Cultures metaphor turned into specific projects served to familiarize the residents with Wrocław's complex past and contribute to building urban community. Some initiatives were intended to use the city's historical experience in the current debate on transformation of Europe. Participating in heritage-related projects and projects taking place in heritage venues could create a bond of common experience and knowledge, as well as conviction about the city's uniqueness and residents' pride. The 2016 ECoC sparked the rediscovery of heritage spaces and the appreciation and use of historical venues (both as project locations and restoration and adaptation actions). Thanks to a unique ECoC strand – Architecture, the interwar and the People's Republic of Poland modernist buildings found new appreciation.

4.4.2 Mega-event as a catalyst for urban economic development

Starting with the reestablishment of local government in 1990, mega-events in Poland were considered as a leap forward in terms of social and economic development, bringing different types of capital, tourists and opportunities for change. While for Wrocław hosting 2012 UEFA European Championship meant important transport infrastructural investments, it was the 2016 ECoC that enabled the city to rethink and re-allocate the role of its previously underappreciated socio-economic development resources – culture and cultural heritage – influencing development of the Strategy for Culture Development 2020+ and the Wrocław 2030 Strategy.

The ECoC umbrella included urban regeneration processes (e.g. Nadodrze district), heritage venue restorations (e.g. UNESCO-listed Centennial Hall) as well as building new cultural infrastructure (e.g. National Forum of Music) and adapting existing, including postindustrial, venues for culture (e.g. Depot History Center). Moreover, the ECoC played an important role in the idea of “putting Wrocław

on the map” after 50 years behind the Iron Curtain, as well as creating a city narrative and attracting tourists (est. 5 million visitors, amounting to almost 15% of Polish tourism in 2016). While planning to use culture and heritage for urban change, decision makers and planners focused on opportunities rather than on potential threats posed by organizing a mega-event.

4.4.3 Mega-event as a platform for social change for cities in transformation

Wrocław 2016 motto Spaces for Beauty was understood both metaphorically and literally. It gave the city the expected narrative about city embellishment, regeneration of degraded areas, revitalization of public spaces etc. The actions taken were also meant to foster change in the sphere of spiritual values, fulfilling the need to experience art and culture and encouraging pro-civic attitudes. The main positive feature of the program was working in relatively different areas of the city with many stakeholders and partners who implemented their own ideas into the ECoC and not creating one special festival zone with its own separate events and infrastructure. According to studies (e.g. Banaszak et al., 2017) the ECoC goals, such as developing social participation and good, effective, local cooperation, building communities and social capital, revival of local communities and civic engagement were generally positively assessed (with e.g. microGRANTS Program, the Backyard Door project and the volunteering program) and the ECoC legacy could smoothly become part of existing cooperation networks, and not an external resource nobody knows what to do with.

However, effective management of a huge ECoC program combined with active social participation presented a number of unforeseen challenges and clashes between the grass-root social processes and the need to produce and promote an impressive mega-event. Participatory

approach to creating cultural policy in the city (e.g. the work on the new Strategy for Culture Development 2020+) is a way to mitigate earlier shortcomings in cooperation with the whole cultural sector and a lack of clear ECoC legacy plans.

4.4.4 Management of change and increased expectations: post mega-event lessons

The organization of such an extensive event as the ECoC, with a huge number of events, targeting various groups and places, results in residents getting accustomed to a big and varied cultural offer and expecting it to continue along the same lines in the future years. To some extent the same expectation can be seen within the cultural sector. Moreover, the ECoC contributed to establishing some new public cultural institutions or enlarging the scope of action for some others. The feeling of emptiness after the event and the ECoC follow-up scheme not devised well enough (non-existent at the time of Wrocław 2016 preparations) may lead to the dissatisfaction of both groups (sometimes overlooking the fact that some events or mechanisms were actually absorbed into the regular cultural activities). The apparent decrease in the budget for culture after the event, though understandable, might have topped the disappointment.

A personal level of people's unique involvement in the mega-event should not be overlooked here. The importance of their experience lies in a number of new professional contacts, otherwise unattainable, and the capacity-building effect (team flexibility, creativity, ingenuity trained when they solved emerging challenges). It can be pointed out that ECoC was a training process regarding management, cooperation and negotiations in real time. Permanent relations and connections have been built between people, which in a different situation could never have been created; for example, between artists and people taking care of the local heritage. It is a huge resource and potential for the development of culture in Wrocław.

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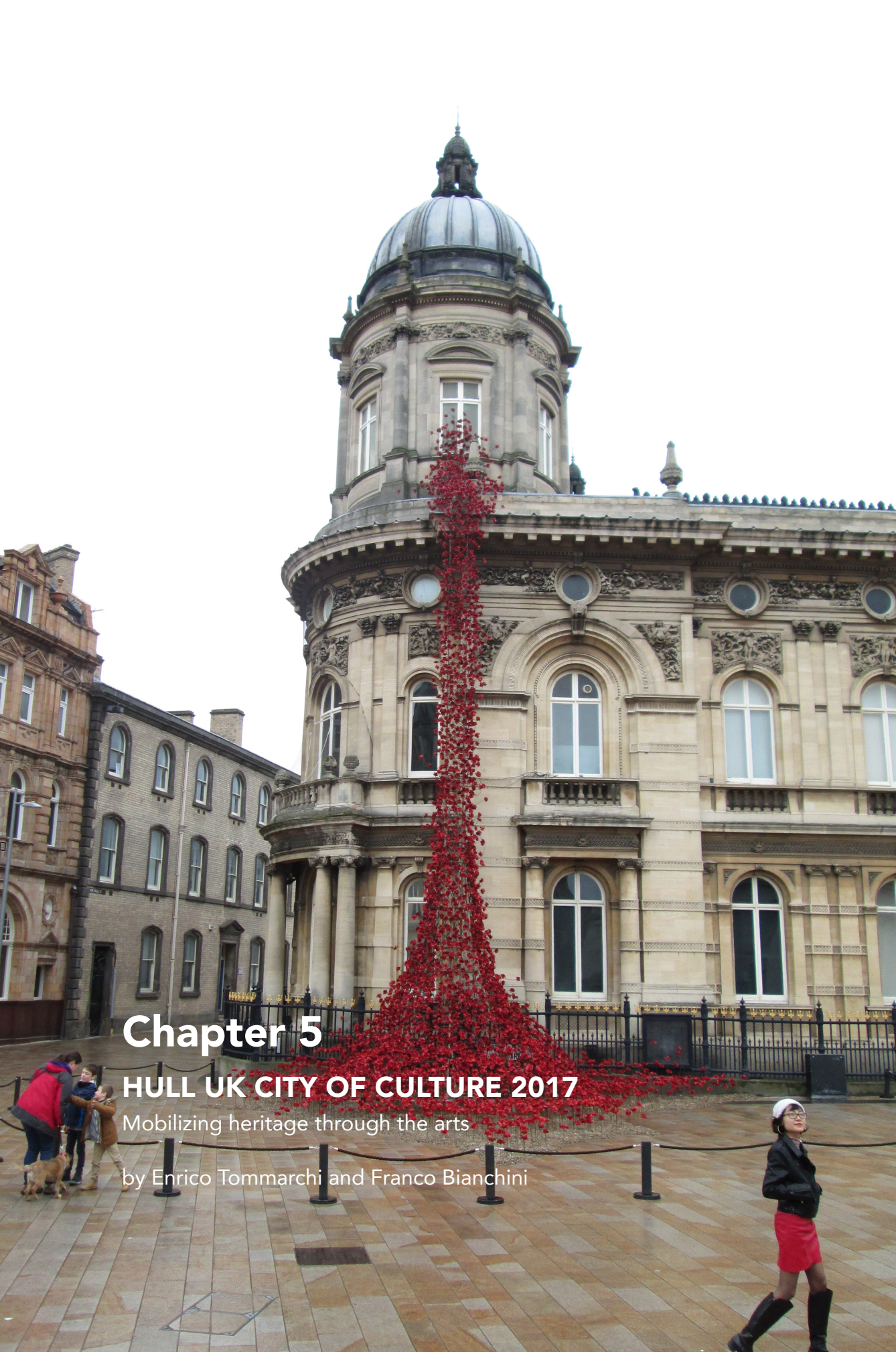
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Interviews

Name	Institution	Place and date
CenHal01	Centennial Hall	Wrocław 19/06/2019
ChrECC01	ECOC Chronicle	Wrocław 14/08/2019
EccT01	ECOC Team	Wrocław 05/06/2019
EccT02	ECOC Team	Wrocław 22/05/2019
EccT03	ECOC Team	Skype 17/10/2019
FGI01	Focus group interview with ECOC stakeholders	Wrocław 22/05/2019
FGI02	Focus group interview with ECOC Team	Wrocław 05/05/2019
UniWro01	University of Wrocław	Wrocław 23/05/2019
WroArch01	Wrocław architect	Wrocław 05/06/2019
WroArt01	Wrocław artist	Wrocław 06/06/2019
WroCons01	Wrocław Municipality -Monument Conservator Office	Wrocław 05/06/2019
WroMun01	Wrocław Municipality	Kraków 26/03/2019
WroMun02	Wrocław Municipality	Wrocław 05/06/2019
WroNGO01	Wrocław NGO/activists	Wrocław 22/05/2019
WroRew01	Wrocławska Rewitalizacja sp. z o.o.	Wrocław 06/06/2019
WybPap01	“Wyborcza” Daily	Wrocław 19/06/2019



Chapter 5

HULL UK CITY OF CULTURE 2017

Mobilizing heritage through the arts

by Enrico Tommarchi and Franco Bianchini

The Hull UKCoC 2017 case at a glance

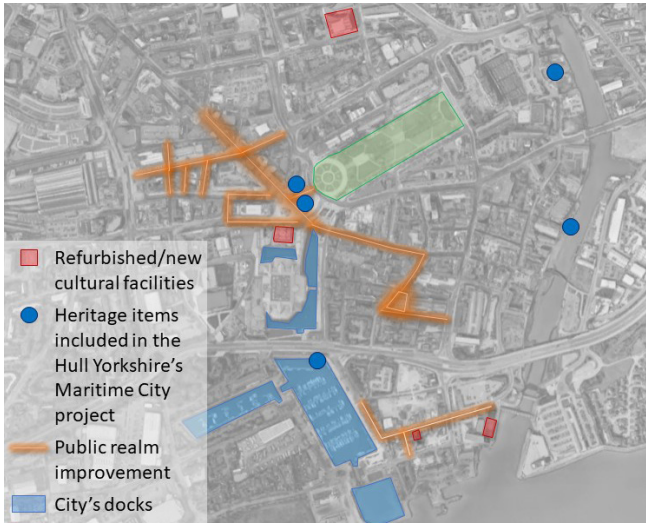


Fig. 5.0 Hull city center with areas of public ground works and new or refurbished cultural facilities for 2017 and heritage items to be transformed or refurbished as part of the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City project (source: Enrico Tommarchi. Background map: Imagery ©2019 Google, Map Data ©2019).

Hull UK City of Culture 2017 was celebrated in a port city suffering from socio-economic decline and negative perceptions. The City Council invested on the refurbishment of cultural facilities and on public realm improvements. Hull 2017 encouraged participation and learning and was a platform for broader discussions about heritage. It boosted heritage-related cultural and urban projects after 2017.

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

- The event encouraged heritage participation and learning
- Transformative impact of public realm improvements
- New heritage assets listed as a result of the event
- Post-event heritage projects (Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City) and heritage-inspired cultural events

Facts and figures

City population

256,406 (2001)
260,645 (2018)

GVA (Gross Value Added) per capita

National
€ 32,620.73 (2016)
€ 31,170.45 (2017)

City

€ 25,007.31 (2016)
€ 24,110.23 (2017)

Tourists

352,000 overnight (2013)
360,400 overnight (2016)
416,000 overnight (2017)
407,000 overnight (2018)

4.75 million visits (2013)
5.65 million visits (2016)
6.2 million visits (2017)
6.25 million visits (2018)

Event attendance

5,300,000

Total no. of events

more than 2,800

Total event cost

€ 93,977,272

Infrastructure cost

€ 56,704,545

Cultural program cost

€ 37,272,727

Heritage project budget

N/A

Opposite page: Poppies: Weeping Window on the façade of the Maritime Museum in 2017 (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).

5.1 Overview summary of Hull and hosting the UKCoC 2017

Kingston upon Hull, or Hull, is a port city on the Humber Estuary, in Northern England. In 2017, it was the second-ever UK City of Culture, after Derry-Londonderry 2013. Despite being relatively close to larger cities such as Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield, Hull suffers a certain degree of isolation due to relatively poor rail and road connections. A direct train service to London, operational since the early 2000s, improved the city's long-distance connections, which also include ferry services to Rotterdam and Zeebrugge.



Fig. 5.1 Map of the UK showing the location of Hull (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2019).

Hull was established in the 12th century as a port on the north bank of the Humber Estuary and has been a port city for nearly 800 years. The city developed strong trade connections with many Hanseatic cities in contemporary Netherlands, Germany and Belgium, as well as with Scandinavia. With the industrial revolution, Hull became the port for developing

industries in Yorkshire and the Midlands and a petroleum and coal shipping port: this triggered the construction of larger docks along the Humber (Wilcox, 2017). In the 19th century, trade with Northern Europe, in particular with Scandinavia, the Baltic and Russia, was the main economic activity (ibid., 2017). Shipbuilding was a traditional activity since the foundation of Hull itself. It flourished from the 18th century along the western bank of the River Hull – where the *Bethia*, later HMS *Bounty* was built in 1784 – continuing into the 19th and early 20th century. Whaling also developed as a significant maritime industry, which involved risky but profitable expeditions to the North Sea and Arctic Sea and the construction of whale-processing facilities on the waterfront. As whaling declined in the mid-19th century and railway connections to Yorkshire and the Midlands improved, the fishing industry experienced a remarkable growth, which influenced the development of the port itself. In the late 19th century, Hull and Grimsby were pioneers of distant-water steam trawling (Kerby et al., 2012), working predominantly on fishing grounds off the coasts of Iceland, Norway and Russia. From the mid-19th century to the outbreak of the First World War, Hull has played a pivotal role in transmigration from Europe via the UK (Evans, 2017). Wilson Line provided a range of transoceanic steam liner services (Wilcox, 2017). During that period, Hull and Grimsby alone handled around three out of the five million transmigrants that made their journey through the country, since they offered the shortest route to the port of Liverpool (Evans, 2001). Prior to the Second World War, the port of Hull was the third largest in the country (City of Hull Development Committee, 1937).

Hull's fishing industry enjoyed a boom immediately after World War II. However, in the 1970s, a combination of overfishing, oil crises, competition from Eastern bloc fleets, the Cod Wars between the UK and Iceland (resulting in the territorialization of national waters) and uncertainty surrounding the new European Common Fisheries Policy saw Hull's fish catching sector rapidly decline and its fish trades contract (Byrne, 2015). In parallel, Hull experienced some of the processes of deindustrialization and port

Fig. 5.2 Queen Victoria Square and the City Hall
(source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2018).

restructuring, due to the mechanization and reorganization of maritime practices, that affected other European port cities (Hayuth and Hilling, 1992), which disrupted the city's traditional maritime-related practices, rhythms and geographies (Byrne and Ombler, 2017). Collectively, these circumstances triggered a long-term structural economic decline that fueled unemployment and deprivation in the last decades of the 20th century.



For these reasons, Hull's population, which had grown remarkably during the Industrial Revolution until the 1930s when it peaked at about 300,000 inhabitants, has experienced a steady decline in the second half of the 20th century, which has only recently been reversed due to considerable flows of migrants – in particular from Eastern Europe – and refugees, bringing the current total population at about 260,000 inhabitants. In comparison with national figures, Hull is characterized by a younger population,

while unemployment rates are considerably higher. Baseline figures before 2017 also showed higher rates of health issues. For these reasons, external perceptions about Hull were negative. In addition, the city was unpleasantly top-ranked in the 2003 book *The Idler Book of Crap Towns: The 50 Worst Places to live in the UK*. Although the book was not based on a rigorous analysis, its mediatic impact contributed to strengthening the negative image and preconceptions about Hull as a deindustrializing port city. Such prejudices were consolidated in the last two decades through the narratives of rustbelt cities and deprived coastal communities (see for example *The Economist*, 2013; Lehmann, 2016; see section 5.4).

In 2013, the City Council, East Riding of Yorkshire Council and Associated British Ports, together with partner organizations including the University of Hull, launched Green Port Hull, a vision for the future of the port as a hub for renewable energies. German-based company Siemens located a new wind turbine manufacturing facility at Alexandra Dock, which is contributing to re-launching the local economy.

Fig. 5.3 Siemens' wind turbine manufacturing facility seen from the Deep (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).



The city's industrial profile includes medical and pharmaceutical (Smith & Nephew, Reckitt Benckiser), chemical and petrochemical industries (BP, Croda) and

logistics. Recent investment also involve R&D sectors, while approximately £3,000,000,000 has been invested in renewable energies, healthcare, telecommunications, maritime activity and tourism (Invest Hull, n.d.). Nevertheless, researchers and high-skilled workers tend to concentrate in the suburbs or in West Hull, outside the city's administrative borders.

Hull displays a rich built heritage as a result of having been a wealthy port city for more than 700 years. The City Hall, a cultural venue since its opening in 1909, the Dock Offices building of the Hull Dock Company, which hosts the Maritime Museum since 1974, and the Ferens Art Gallery dominate Queen Victoria Square, which was refurbished for the UK City of Culture 2017. Hull's Old Town, dominated by Hull Minster, displays a distinctive urban design, which highlights the city's maritime history and its connection to the cities of the Hanseatic League. Despite the increasing attention from local policy makers and a greater interest from residents themselves, maritime built heritage in Hull is not often valued and may not be very visible (Hull City Council, 2016: 21), especially for visitors.

The UK City of Culture 2017 was a pivotal element in the city's long-term strategy of urban regeneration and development. Hull successfully bid to be the second-ever UKCoC, with a narrative of "a city coming out of the shadows" (Hull UK City of Culture 2017, 2013: 4) that needed the event to re-launch itself. The UK City of Culture program was established in 2009 and it was conceived as a 12-month cultural event to be celebrated in a British city once every four years. Its aim is to enable other British cities to benefit from the positive effects in terms of regeneration and development that were generated by the European City of Culture 1990 in Glasgow and by the European Capital of Culture 2008 in Liverpool (DCMS, 2009). In 2010, Hull City Council bid for the first UK City of Culture in 2013, but they failed to get shortlisted. The title was eventually awarded to Derry-Londonderry, in Northern Ireland. In 2013, Hull's second bid for the event was successful and the city was designated UK City of Culture 2017.

5.1.1 City and event facts and figures

City/Event	Hull UK City of Culture 2017
Year	2017
City population	256,406 (2011) ⁷⁴ 260,354 (2017) ⁷⁵ 260,645 (2018) ⁷⁶
GVA⁷⁷ (city)	£ 5,594,000,000 ⁷⁸
GVA per capita (local/national)	£ 20,258 ⁷⁹ / £ 27,555 ⁸⁰
Number of annual visitors before/ during/ after event⁸¹	4.75 million (2013) 4.87 million (2014) 5.07 million (2015) 5.65 million (2016) 6.20 million (2017) 6.25 million (2018)
Overnight stays⁸²	352,000 (2013) 365,000 (2014) 374,900 (2015) 360,400 (2016) 416,000 (2017) 407,000 (2018)
Event attendance	5.3 million ⁸³
Total event cost	£ 82,700,000
Infrastructure cost (event budget)	N/A
Infrastructure cost (other budget)	£ 49,900,000 ⁸⁴
Cultural/ Entertainment Program cost	£ 32,800,000 ⁸⁵
Heritage project budget	N/A
Public funding	£ 22,100,000 ⁸⁶
Private funding	£ 10,700,000

74 Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census.

75 Eurostat, mid-year estimate 2017.

76 Office for National Statistics, mid-year estimate 2018.

77 Gross Domestic Product figures are only available nationally in the UK. Local and regional statistics make use of Gross Value Added, as figures of taxes on products and subsidies on products are calculated locally.

78 Hull Data Observatory (2017).

79 Office for National Statistics, Regional gross value added (balanced) by local authority in the UK (2016).

80 Office for National Statistics, Regional gross value added (balanced), UK: 1998 to 2017 (2018).

81 Cambridge Economic Impact Model Report (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018).

82 Cambridge Economic Impact Model Report (2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018).

83 Culture, Place and Policy Institute (2018).

84 This figure was calculated considering the cost of renovation works at the Ferens Art Gallery and Hull New Theatre, the construction of the Stage@The Dock and public realm improvements in the city center. City Plan (2013) and Culture, Place and Policy Institute (2018).

85 Culture, Place and Policy Institute (2018).

86 Culture, Place and Policy Institute (2018).

Tab. 5.1 – City and event facts and figures (source: elaboration by the authors).

5.1.2 Hull 2017 timeline

Tab. 5.2 – Timeline of the event’s planning and management process (source: elaboration by the authors).

	Bidding	Planning
	2013	2014-2016
Public administration (state, local, etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City Plan - Redevelopment of Fruit Market - Nov 2013: UKCoC 2017 designation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2015: Hull: Yorkshire’s Maritime City project is initiated by the City Council - Mar 2016: government funding for Hull New Theatre - Jun 2016: new Local Cultural Strategy
Hull 2017 Ltd- Absolutely Cultured Ltd	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jun 2014: Hull 2017 Ltd established - Oct 2014: company fully operational
Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2016: HLF joined as partner

Implementation	Post-event
<p data-bbox="189 451 504 485">2016-2017</p> <ul data-bbox="189 491 504 647" style="list-style-type: none"> - Jan 2017: reopening of the Ferens Art Gallery - September 2017: delayed reopening of Hull New Theatre 	<p data-bbox="512 451 826 485">2018-</p> <ul data-bbox="512 491 826 616" style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of the Local Cultural Strategy - work Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City
<ul data-bbox="189 814 504 939" style="list-style-type: none"> - Jan 2017: event opening and Made in Hull - Heritage-inspired events in 2017 	<ul data-bbox="512 814 826 1036" style="list-style-type: none"> - May 2018: Absolutely Cultured Ltd announced as the legacy company - Ephemeral events in 2018-2019 created art trails across the city involving heritage buildings
<ul data-bbox="189 1050 504 1137" style="list-style-type: none"> - 2017: national heritage status given to a range of sites/buildings 	<ul data-bbox="512 1050 826 1137" style="list-style-type: none"> - HLF/NLHF working with the City Council on Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City

5.2 “A city coming out of the shadows”: the UK City of Culture 2017 and the City Plan

Hull City Council saw in the UK City of Culture a once in a lifetime opportunity to resume and boost socio-economic regeneration and to counter negative external perceptions of the city. Although the final program did engage with local history and heritage, this relation developed in the planning and delivery phase, also as a result of the partnership with the Heritage Lottery Fund. The successful bid was placed at the same time of the launch of the City Plan, which outlined a vision for the future development of Hull as an energy port city and a world-class visitor destination.

5.2.1 The UK City of Culture 2017 bid, cultural assets and their mobilization and perception

Heritage as local stories and cultural assets

After Hull's unsuccessful bid to be the first UK City of Culture, Hull City Council submitted a new bid in 2013 for the second run of the program in 2017. The work on the new bid started in late 2012, when a Steering Group led by the City Council was established, including members from East Riding of Yorkshire Council, Visit Hull and East Yorkshire and a number of local stakeholders from different sectors; in addition, a core bid team was set up within the City Council with the aim of submitting a first bid document in April 2013. Hull was then shortlisted, together with Dundee, Leicester and Swansea Bay: the core bid team, through consultations with a broad range of stakeholders from across the city, completed and submitted the final bid in September 2013.

In the final bid, heritage was explicitly mentioned in relation to two of the four general themes developed in the bid. The

concept of heritage was mobilized dynamically in the theme Roots and Routes, aimed at exploring “people’s roots in Hull and the history, heritage and contemporary demographics of a city at the heart of migration and transition” (Hull UK City of Culture 2017, 2013). It was also mentioned together with “cultural production”, “alumni” and “architecture” in relation to the role of Hull as “production base” for culture (ibid., 2013). The bid document also emphasized the “historical lack of vision of regeneration, and role of culture and heritage in the city” as a key challenge to be tackled through the event (ibid., 2013: 24).

Some of the city’s flagship heritage buildings were then mentioned among its cultural assets, which included both listed buildings and cultural facilities (ibid., 2013: 50). These were: the Maritime Museum; the City Hall, a venue for cultural events in the city’s main square; the Ferens Art Gallery; Queens Gardens, a public park built in the 1930s on one of the city’s historic docks; Hull New Theatre; The Guildhall, where some of the City Council offices are located; Holy Trinity Church, known as Hull Minster since 2017; Hull Marina, realized in 1983 in another of the city’s central redundant docks; Fruit Market; The Deep. Another reference to built heritage was that of the city’s “stunning architecture” (ibid., 2013: 20), which is recognized as one of the means for Hull to enter the national consciousness.

Refurbishment of cultural facilities

The bid document mentioned a series of heritage-related urban/architectural projects that would be implemented in relation to the event. Firstly, the refurbishment of the Ferens Art Gallery, which the City Council intended to restore and improve in order to have a high-standard gallery able to host international exhibitions. Secondly, the refurbishment and partial rebuilding of Hull New Theatre. Thirdly, Fruit, a music venue in the renewed Fruit Market area. This venue was however closed in 2018 and reopened the following year after further works (Kemp, 2019). In addition, a number of heritage-related cultural programs were proposed in the bid. For example, Rooted in Hull was conceived as a major

engagement program and included the proposed opening event Four Rivers, consisting in ‘flows’ of light, sound, objects and stories to present the city, and an exhibition of photographs of Hessle Road in connection to the Heritage Open Days.

Heritage to change external perceptions

The role of heritage outlined in the bid document was predominantly related to the aim of changing external perceptions of Hull in order to make the city attractive as a place to live, work and visit. However, heritage was recognized as a key element to increase awareness of Hull’s history, as the event was intended to explore the city’s “hidden stories and its architecture” (2013: 20) in order to tell residents and visitors the story of Hull. The bid also promoted the idea of the ‘city as a venue’ (2013: 8), i.e. the intention of celebrating the UK City of Culture throughout the city in a wide range of venues with the aim of telling the story of Hull.

5.2.2 Other city plans: towards new urban and cultural strategies

The City Plan

The bid extensively referred to the City Plan, the strategic document conveying the vision for the future development of Hull, as regards in particular the planned capital investment and the aim of making Hull a place to live, work and visit. Likewise, the City Plan, launched in 2013, acknowledges the role of the UKCoC within a £ 100,000,000 public investment for transforming the city. The City Plan is structured along three themes (Hull City Council, n.d.c):

- UK Energy City, which envisions the future role of Hull as a hub for renewable energy, departing from its port and the new wind turbine manufacturing facility;

- Destination Hull, where “the city’s proud heritage”, the UK City of Culture 2017 and the city’s investment in its cultural and tourism infrastructure contribute to making Hull a world-class visitor destination;
- Community and Opportunity, focused on a set of social policies to build a more resilient local community.

In this vision, culture and renewables are the two key aspects for the future of Hull, although the latter is predominant. The relations between these two elements need to be problematized, considering for instance the theme of renewables in the cultural offer or the role that port and energy actors can play in the local cultural scene.

The new Cultural Strategy

In 2016, the City Council issued a new Cultural Strategy for the period 2016-2026 (Hull City Council, 2016). This document, which replaced the previous strategy (One Hull, 2009), was intended to outline strategic priorities for the legacy of the UK City of Culture. The event is seen as a first step in making Hull a vibrant cultural city in ten years’ time. The Cultural Strategy emphasizes in particular the nature of Hull as a port city on the North Sea and its connection with Scandinavian countries, acknowledging the role of these relationships in the shaping the city’s heritage. The document builds on a definition of culture that explicitly includes “sport, arts, heritage, and all forms of leisure” (Hull City Council, 2016: 13) and recognizes the connection between culture and the development of the city center which characterized the UKCoC program itself. However, its focus is more on audience development, cultural participation, education and skills.

Conservation plans and policies

As regards specific heritage policies, no UNESCO World Heritage sites are currently located in Hull or in East Yorkshire. However, the possibility of bidding for making

the Old Town a World Heritage Site was discussed, although such idea is yet to take shape. As discussed more in depth further below, recent years have also witnessed a growing awareness of Hull's history and present role as a port, including a greater interest and attention by policy makers in the city's maritime heritage. This deeper acknowledgment of the importance of heritage has also been shaping recent strategies and projects.

In 2015, the City Council launched the Beverley Road Townscape Heritage Scheme (Hull City Council, n.d.b), a five-year financial scheme to support conservation works on listed buildings in the area. Beverley Road is one of the 26 conservation areas detected through spatial planning. The wealth generated by port activities in the industrial revolution fueled the growth of suburban housing along the connection between Hull and Beverley. Today, many of these buildings display urgent need of conservation works. Many of them are also abandoned, as businesses ceased their activity or moved elsewhere (see for example Campbell, 2018).

This arguably represents a critical issue for heritage conservation in the area. The scheme aims at helping homeowners to face the expenses of much needed conservation works, through a £ 2,700,000 fund. Hull City Council secured funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund for £ 1,600,000 and directly contributed with a £ 511,000 investment. An additional £ 597,000 came from the private sector.

In 2017, Historic England designated Hull's Old Town as a Heritage Action Zone (ITV, 2017a). Heritage Action Zones are target areas of investment to promote economic growth and quality of life in heritage-rich towns and cities across the country.



5.2.3 The actors involved and public participation

The culture company Hull 2017 Ltd and the governance of the event

Hull 2017 Ltd was established in 2014 as a separated delivery agency for the event. The company was structured in four departments, namely Partnerships and Development, Education Skills Health and Legacy, Marketing and Communication, Programme and Delivery Corporate. The activity of the company was supervised by a Board of Trustees. The company combined local talents and external expertise, which was sought in particular for senior positions. Martin Green, who had been head of ceremonies in occasion of the 2012 Olympic Games held in London, was appointed as the CEO of the company.

Fig. 5.4 Heritage buildings along Beverley Road (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).

In addition, other organizations were directly involved in the planning and delivery of the event, in close collaboration with Hull 2017 Ltd. Hull Culture and Leisure Ltd (HCaL), a company controlled by Hull City Council, are responsible for the management of cultural venues and facilities across the city. Visit Hull and East Yorkshire (VHEY), a partnership between East Riding of Yorkshire Council and Hull City Council that also involved businesses in the tourism sector, are responsible for tourism offer and development. Despite their key role in initiating a number of heritage-related projects, HCaL were subject to criticisms regarding the lack of internal expertise to deliver on their mission. These criticisms arose from the fact that the company's board consisted mainly of politicians. Similarly, VHEY was criticized as, albeit being an independent organization, it was considered embedded into Hull City Council de facto. It is worth noting that VHEY and Hull 2017 Ltd's headquarters were located in the same building: this facilitated cooperation between the two organizations, as well as a greater involvement of VHEY in the event (Interview-HullCC02).

Hull 2017 Ltd involved external heritage experts, in particular historians. The company worked with the Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation (WISE, one of the research institutes of the University of Hull), Hull History Center and with Hull Civic Society (Interview-Hull1701), a local heritage group. However, this networking was limited to the planning and delivery of the UKCoC. In the Cultural Strategy 2016-2026 the need of further senior staff was recognized as a prerequisite for the delivery of the strategy itself.

Participation and involvement of local heritage groups

In the bidding phase, discussions and consultations involved institutional and creative actors, including local artists. However, as in the case of many other mega-events, a more top-down governance structure supported the delivery phase, reducing the room for participatory processes. This was the result of a number of factors which are typically

associated with mega-event schemes, such as tight deadlines, need for external expertise within the delivery team, pressure arising from media visibility and the ‘impossibility’ to fail. The lack of involvement and participation did raise criticisms from local artists and stakeholders who felt they were not sufficiently involved and consulted. Minor issues emerged with the local community, such as episodes of vandalism at the restored Beverley Gate, which – according to an interviewee – might have probably been avoided had wider consultations taken place (Interview-HullNLHF02).

The event’s timescale was also behind the difficulties in the involvement of local heritage groups, which was not successful as it might have been (Interview-Hull1701). In this respect, it is important to note a particular feature of the local context: Hull’s middle class is arguably much weaker than that of other cities such as York. Consequently, heritage societies and groups are also weaker. As a result of the event’s timescale, heritage groups experienced an uneasy coexistence and relationship with Hull 2017 Ltd, characterized by issues of lack of participation, unsatisfactory cooperation and a perceived patronizing attitude arising from Hull 2017’s mission to deliver a large event (Interview-HullHG01). Nevertheless, public walking tours of Pacific Exchange, the Grade II listed building hosting the headquarters of Hull 2017 Ltd and VHEY, were allowed.

The relations with the City Council and the Heritage Lottery Fund

Hull City Council pursued a clear separation of responsibilities and competences between themselves and Hull 2017 Ltd. The Council was the accounting body and was also responsible for strategic decisions. On the other hand, Hull 2017 Ltd operated with a certain degree of autonomy with regard of the organization of the event and the cultural content. This choice was made from the very outset of the planning phase, in order to minimize the risk of friction between the two bodies and of political influence on the delivery of the event. Unclear distribution of responsibilities, political influence and personal conflicts

had negatively impacted on the delivery of the UKCoC 2013 in Derry-Londonderry (Boland et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the CEO of Hull City Council was a member of the Hull 2017 Board of Trustees and this ensured smooth cooperation at the executive level.

A key element of the governance of the event was the partnership with the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), known as the National Lottery Heritage Fund (NLHF) since 2019. As principal partner, HLF contributed with £ 3,000,000 to funding Hull 2017's cultural program and played a pivotal role in discussions about event planning and delivery. Since early 2016, HLF officials were involved in discussions with the event team about the role of heritage (in all its forms, including for example green spaces and museum collections) and the idea that heritage should be a source of inspiration for the program (Interview-HullNLHF01). The experimental approach developed through this partnership gave artists the opportunity to explore heritage in creative ways (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). HLF's work with Hull 2017 Ltd sat outside the institution's ordinary practices and did not pursue particular targets, such as target levels of audience development. Unlike HLF's established practices in relation to projects of this kind, the approach was founded on the willingness to generate heritage-inspired projects (Interview-HullNLHF01). Hull 2017 Ltd was encouraged to mobilize heritage assets which had not been taken into account beforehand (Interview-HullNLHF01), such as the 1981 Humber Bridge, which was listed in 2017. Artists were granted access to archives, for example at Hull History Center. From the perspective of Hull 2017 Ltd, the work with HLF was "felt to be experimental" as it gave the delivery company the opportunity to test new approaches (Interview-Hull1701).

The outcomes of such partnership exceeded initial expectations, as the audience's response was greater than predicted (Interview-HullNLHF01) and one in two commissions within the program was inspired by local history and heritage (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). Furthermore, this experience has been pivotal in

terms of mutual learning. The event – together with 14-18 NOW, an HLF-funded national project marking the centenary of the First World War – represented a shift in the way in which HLF approach and manage such projects. HLF were persuaded to adopt a looser approach, enabling artists to engage more freely and creatively with heritage, than in previous HLF-funded projects (Interview-HullUni02). The UKCoC 2017 was also the chance for Hull 2017 Ltd’s creative team to improve their skills in terms of understanding and interpreting heritage buildings and of staging cultural events in heritage spaces (Interview-HullNLHF01).

5.2.4 Event planning/ implementation

The shift from bidding to delivery

The final program did adhere to the themes and the overall project outlined in the 2013 bid. However, such themes were interpreted in a different, in some cases superficial, way. In particular, heritage played a “strange role” within the program, as it was not fully embedded into the event and arguably more focused on stereotypes and expectations about Hull (Interview-HullUni01). This can be read from a perspective of territorial stigmatization (see for example Wacquant, 2007, 2008; Foster, 2018), as leveraging on stereotypes was arguably understood as a means to counteract negative external perceptions. Furthermore, engaging with heritage was not a crucial issue in the 2013 bid. Rather, the connection with heritage developed in the planning and delivery phase, as a result of the partnership between Hull 2017 Ltd and the then Heritage Lottery Fund initiated in 2016. Despite the fact that the bid did include references to heritage, these did not coalesce into an explicit theme within the 2013 document. At that time, the event’s primary goal was to connect with Hull’s population (Interview-HullUni01). Discourses of civic pride and willingness of overcoming negative external perceptions were dominant. As the event progressed through the planning and delivery phase, the focus shifted towards goals of economic development and issues of delivery capabilities.

As in the case of many other cultural events of comparable size, this was the result of many interrelated causes, such as increasing media visibility and attention – which peaked in January 2017 – and the evolving governance architecture of the event. As regards the latter, the shift in competencies and responsibilities from the core bidding team to Hull 2017 Ltd also meant that external expertise was brought into the planning and delivery stages.

In relation to this, there was then a major shift in the way in which heritage was approached (Interview-HullUni02). The reason why heritage did not emerge as an explicit theme was that Hull 2017 Ltd promoted the idea of not having heritage strands of the program. Rather, the approach was to diffuse heritage throughout the program⁸⁷ and to move away from typical stories (see Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). However, some interviewees felt that this resulted in an arguably superficial connection with history and intangible heritage (Interview-HullUni04) and a conservative approach in selecting what aspects to explore in the local ‘pyramid of stories’ (Interview-HullUni03): the event engaged with things that local people already knew about, such as the facts behind the spark of the English Civil War (Interview-HullUni04). Similarly, the initial intention to move the focus away from Hull’s fishing past was not evident in the final program, as fishing narratives became increasingly prominent in 2017. Such reframing of the core heritage narrative associated with the event might have been the natural outcome of the interaction with local artists and audiences. This aspect raises questions as to whether it is possible or desirable to move away from traditional and valued narratives (Interview-HullUni02). Nevertheless, the interpretation of heritage developed rather than changed (Interview-HullUni04), as existing interpretations were brought to wider audiences. Heritage was also connected with spectacle, as explored further below: Hull 2017 Ltd soon realized that they would need more spectacular events than those outlined in the bid (Interview-HullUni01), due to the scale and visibility of the event.

87 As presented at the Hull 2017 Heritage Workshop, Hull History Centre, 16th May 2016. The fact that heritage was a central element of the programme albeit not constituting a specific strand of it, is also visible in the evaluation report about heritage outcomes (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019).

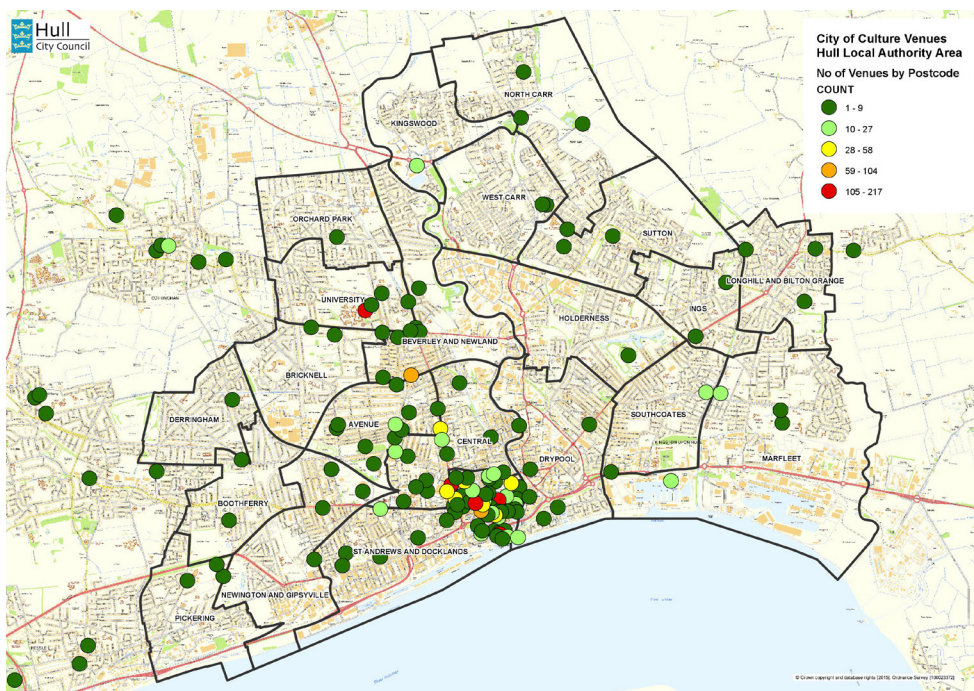
In the final program, heritage was included in two of the nine aims which structured the logic chain of the program, both in the Arts and Culture Impact Area. Aim 1 was to produce a high-quality program of arts, culture and heritage, helping to position the UK City of Culture as the quadrennial UK cultural festival. Aim 2 was to develop (new and existing) audiences for Hull and the East Riding's cultural offer locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. In relation to Aim 1, event organizers were committed to improving the understanding and appreciation of Hull's history and heritage. This was done in particular through visual arts and theatre. As regards audience development in Aim 2, the expected outputs were an increased total audience for local arts, culture and heritage offer, increased engagement and participation in arts and heritage, in particular amongst residents, and a greater diversity of audience for this offer. This connection between culture and heritage was informed by the idea that people would feel enabled to learn about Hull's history and heritage as a result of the positive cultural experiences undertaken in 2017 (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). Encouraging residents to feel enabled to experience culture, including highbrow culture, was also underlined by some interviewees as one of the factors at the basis of the success of the event in terms of attendance.

The theme Made in Hull reflected the goal, outlined in the bid document, of telling and celebrating the 'story' of Hull. In particular, the opening event with the same title – consisting of light shows and projections on historic buildings – played a crucial role in connecting residents and visitors with Hull's heritage and was also considerably successful in terms of audience, reaching a figure of 342,000 attendees in the first week (ibid., 2018). The theme Roots and Routes explored Hull's links with Reykjavik and Rotterdam and was able to stimulate reflections about the relations between these international links and the city's urban and maritime heritage. As mentioned, of the 465 new commissions that characterized the UKCoC, one in two was inspired by history and heritage (ibid., 2018). As many other cultural mega-events, Hull 2017 also displayed the replication of some events and programs delivered by other ECoCs and by the

previous UKCoC Derry-Londonderry. This is nonetheless to be expected considering the need to fulfil expectations generated by these flagship mega-event schemes among the general public.

The idea of the ‘city as a venue’ proposed in the bid was implemented, albeit with a deliberate focus on the city center. While a range of cultural activities aiming at improving social inclusion did take place in peripheral housing estates and deprived areas (e.g. I Wish to Communicate with You), cultural events in 2017, and in particular flagship events, were concentrated in the city center.

Fig. 5.5 Venues of Hull 2017 events (source: Hull City Council; © Crown copyright and database rights, 2015. Ordnance Survey [100023372]).



Arguably, this choice was supported by the belief that such concentration of events would encourage further regeneration in the city center, which would in turn generate positive spillover effects throughout the city. The need to regenerate the city center, in particular by improving its retail offer, has been a key discourse in local urban policy since the 1990s (City Regeneration Strategy Group, 1994a;

City Regeneration Strategy Group, 1994b). In addition, it is important to note that the implementation of the *City Centre Area Action Plan* (Hull City Council, 2008) was halted in 2010 due to the impacts of the 2008 economic crisis and the consequent austerity policies that were imposed to local authorities by the central government. In this context, the event was perceived as a crucial opportunity to resume urban regeneration in the city center.

Cultural events and heritage buildings

The final program was successful in engaging with built heritage. It encouraged residents to ‘look up’ to heritage buildings (Interview-HullUni04) from a new perspective and to increase their awareness about these assets (Interview-HullHGs01; Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). An example is the series of events held in Trinity Square, in front of Hull Minster, where people gathered attracted by cultural events and were encouraged to stop and look at heritage buildings around the square (Interview-HullUni01). Cultural events in 2017 displayed a clever use of heritage spaces, although this connection was not always explicit (Interview-HullUni01). The program did engage with heritage, yet perhaps in more subtle ways: it celebrated heritage buildings (for example in the case of art installations in Queen Victoria Square and Trinity Square as part of the project *Where Do We Go from Here?*) and mobilized heritage ‘as a canvas’, as in the case of performances staged in historic buildings (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019; Interview-HullCC02).

5.2.5 Heritage threats and opportunities

Hull UK City of Culture 2017 did generate a range of opportunities for local built heritage, including greater engagement and learning, the establishment of heritage-related partnerships, increased confidence in the cultural and heritage sector, boosted civic pride and media visibility of local stories, capital investment in urban renewal and heritage conservation. These opportunities contributed

to the legacy of the event after 2017, as in the case of the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City Project explored in section 5.3.2. No significant threats to heritage arose in relation to the event, especially as regards its physical preservation. However, minor threats emerged in relation to the framing of heritage narratives and the geography of the event.

Engaging with heritage and broadening its uses

Hull 2017 undoubtedly displayed efforts to encourage residents and visitors to engage with heritage, with the aim of increasing awareness and appreciation of it. In particular, the event involved the use of visual arts and theatre to inform residents and visitors about the city's heritage (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). For example, the Look Up program consisted of a series of art installations which were specifically designed to challenge the way people perceive the city and to offer them alternative ways to experience it. Theatre was perceived as a powerful means to foster engagement with Hull's history. 98% of respondents to a survey involving attendees of *The Hypocrite*, a production by Hull Truck Theatre about the historical events that triggered the English Civil War, agreed that such art-based approach made history and heritage more interesting (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018; Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). Another flagship theatre production, *The Last Testament of Lillian Bilocca*, explored and celebrated activism about the working conditions of local fishermen. The play was performed in the historic Guildhall, in some of the rooms where the narrated events had taken place. Attendees, some of whom had never visited the building, had the chance to discover and appreciate its 'hidden' architecture (Interview-Hull1701). In addition, the opportunity to work with artists in more unstructured and open ways allowed new heritage narratives to emerge (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019) through these productions.

The designation of Hull as the UK City of Culture 2017 also worked as a platform to enable broader discussions about the city's heritage. For example, Beverley Gate, one of Hull's medieval city gates, was given protection by the Department

of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 2016, as suggested by Historic England (Hull City Council, 2016b), a national organization funded by DCMS. Furthermore, in 2017, nine heritage assets were listed, including modern infrastructures such as the 1981 Humber Bridge and the 1980 Tidal Surge Barrier (BBC News, 2017c; Halliday, 2017).



Fig. 5.6 Humber Bridge.
(source: D. Wright
[CC BY 2.0 - <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>]).



Fig. 5.7 Tidal Surge Barrier
(source: Enrico Tommarchi,
2017).

As already mentioned, broader heritage-related discussions also led to the proposal to bid for securing World Heritage Status to the Old Town. Although this is an example of opportunities arising from mega-events as platforms for heritage-related partnerships and processes of this kind, it is worth noting that, at the time of writing, such proposal about the Old Town has not progressed further.



Fig. 5.8 Hull Minster (left) and the Old Town (right) (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).

The event was also an opportunity to increase confidence across the local heritage sector (Interview-HullNLHF02). The success of the event, the positive narratives that were projected and the relationships established with national organizations have put the heritage sector in a position that local organizations can now be more ambitious in fundraising for future projects. An interviewee from NLHF observed that some of the projects implemented in the last few years might not have happened at all without the UKCoC (Interview-HullNLHF02).

Other opportunities generated through the event had to do with perceptions of Hull's tangible and intangible heritage. The UKCoC 2017 contributed to changing established interpretations of heritage as "boring" and "dusty" and demonstrated that heritage can also be new – i.e. incorporating contemporary stories – and valuable (Interview-HullNLHF02). The event also played a role in changing perceptions of heritage in relation to age. In Hull, and in the UK more broadly, the audience of heritage sites and heritage-related activities predominantly consists of elderly people and mature families living in the suburbs (see audience spectrum analysis in Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). The UKCoC was then a platform for communicating heritage to young people as something

“cool” and “edgy” (Interview-HullCC02). This effort continued after 2017, through a range of ephemeral events organized by the legacy company Absolutely Cultured Ltd, which are commented in section 5.3.3.

Heritage spectacularization as an opportunity

Many events within the UKCoC involved the spectacularization of heritage, which is a common feature of many mega-events. Although it is traditionally understood as a means to generate and disseminate media content with the purpose of attracting tourism and investment or of legitimizing urban megaprojects or policies, this issue should be further problematized in the case of Hull. Arguably, before the UKCoC and at the beginning of 2017, event organizers in Hull included the spectacularization of built heritage in flagship events with the aim of generating positive media narratives about the city. This appears in line with the baseline issues presented in the bid document, in particular the willingness to fight negative external perceptions and misconceptions about the city. Such stigmatization was a result of the structural socio-economic decline of the city since the 1970s and raised considerable skepticism about its designation as UK City of Culture. An example of this strategy is Sea of Hull, an event that took place in 2016 and involved thousands of volunteers who were filmed and photographed naked and painted in blue in a range of iconic locations (BBC News, 2016c; Perraudin, 2016). This generated positive media content about the city and showcased some of its heritage assets. Photographs of the event were also displayed at the Ferens Art Gallery in 2017, through the exhibition SKIN (BBC News, 2017d).

In 2017, the spectacular character of certain events was enabled and co-created by built heritage itself (Interview-HullUni01). The best example of spectacularization of heritage within the UKCoC is the opening event Made in Hull, where light shows, fireworks displays and projections involved heritage and other iconic buildings, such as The Deep. Made in Hull made a very clever use of technology

to frame heritage buildings and present them as historically significant assets (Interview-HullUni03). This heritage spectacle was a powerful tool to generate interest about the event and the city through the media (Parveen, 2017; ITV, 2017b). Furthermore, it dissolved the skepticism about the ability of Hull to deliver such an event and it helped in generating momentum for the rest of the year. Other forms of spectacularization of heritage, albeit less ambitious, characterized the rest of 2017 and the immediate post-event. For example, Poppies: Weeping Window was an art installation consisting in a cascade of ceramic poppies on the façade of the Maritime Museum. The event was part of the national initiative 14-18 NOW to mark the First War World centenary. While this event generated considerable attention amongst residents and visitors, it also linked to a national reflection on the legacy of World War I.

Fig. 5.9 Poppies: Weeping Window on the façade of the Maritime Museum (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).



These events contributed to the “humanization of public space” (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018: 160) after the improvement of the public realm in 2015 and 2016 had transformed part of the city center. They also helped redefine the relationships between residents and heritage sites such as Queen Victoria Square. The idea of the ‘city as a venue’ had been explored before, but in 2017 it was implemented on a

larger scale (Interview-HullUni01). The positive response to the cultural events that were held in public spaces across the city in 2017 showed local cultural policy makers that it was possible to attract people into these spaces all year round and to hold events outside dedicated cultural facilities without threatening architecture and heritage (Interview-HullUni03). The event-related public realm improvements undertaken in 2015-2016 generated broader opportunities for built heritage in other areas, as well. An example is the station area, which was repaved for the UKCoC. In Anlaby Road, people explored the renovated spaces and looked at the 19th-century buildings in the area; similarly, the war memorial opposite the station was made more visible (Interview-HullNLHF01).

Opportunities and threats for maritime heritage

As discussed earlier, the built heritage of Hull was profoundly shaped by its port industries. In built environment terms, the relations between the UKCoC and Hull's maritime heritage provides a useful case study to explore both opportunities and threats. Hull 2017 was characterized by issues of framing narratives of history and heritage, as observed in other mega-events (Bianchini & Borchi, 2018). In spatial terms, the way in which maritime heritage was framed and presented through the UKCoC led to the use and celebration of some sites and the neglect of others.

Taking fishing as an example, through the efforts of community led campaigns coupled a later partnership with Hull Museums, fishing heritage has progressed from a position of marginalization in the 1980s, to one of prominence. In the 21st century, fishing has arguably come to overshadow other relevant aspects of Hull's history as a port (Interview-HullUni04), such as maritime trade, food and timber handling, shipbuilding.

During Hull UKCoC 2017, whilst heritage narratives relating to fishing flourished in a range of art- and museum-based projects, the physical historic spaces of the fishing industry

Fig. 5.10 The Three Ships mosaic showcased through a UKCoC banner in 2017 and partially covered by Christmas market installations in December 2018 (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017 and 2018).

received less attention. The memorial sculpture dedicated to the city's trawlermen lost at sea, erected in February 2017, was commissioned and funded by local heritage group STAND following a long campaign (BBC News, 2016b) and had no connection with the UKCoC. Similarly, St. Andrew's Fish Dock, the redundant and severely derelict former home of Hull's fishing fleet and a designated conservation area, was not mobilized in 2017.



Built heritage-related controversies also took place during the planning and celebration of the UKCoC. For example, the derelict Lord Line Building located on St Andrew's Fish Dock was threatened with demolition. The City Council ultimately stepped in to prevent this in late 2017, until plans for the reconversion of the building could emerge (Young, 2017; Young, 2018a). A further example is the bid by a local campaign group to assign Grade II listing to the 1960s Three Ships mosaic, which was rejected by Historic England in 2016 (for more information about the campaign, see *Ships in the Sky*, 2018). The mosaic was included in the Council's Local Buildings List since 2007 (Hull City Council, n.d.d) in relation to its artistic value. A £130m vision for the redevelopment of Albion Square included plans to retain the artwork (Hull City Council, 2017), although it was not

formally protected. However, in late 2019, Hull City Council ruled out retaining the mosaic, as its temporary removal to allow construction works to take place would pose health risks in relation to high concentrations of asbestos in the concrete (BBC News, 2019). Both examples highlight the challenges of addressing deep rooted and complex problems associated with redundant heritage buildings, where it may be unreasonable to expect a one-year cultural mega-event to provide the solution.

Overlooked aspects of local heritage

Similarly, the UKCoC 2017 did not extensively engage with Hull's older heritage. Hull City Council did include in their public realm improvement strategy the refurbishment of the public space surrounding Beverley Gate, one of Hull's medieval gates. At Beverley Gate, King Charles I was denied entry to the city in 1642, leading to the spark of the English Civil War. The site, uncovered in the 1980s (for more information about Hull's city gates and Beverley Gate, see Evans, 2018), was made more visible in 2017 through the redesign of the surrounding area. In 2017, the flagship theatre play *The Hypocrite* explored these historical events. However, the UKCoC did not generally explore aspects of the city's medieval heritage. An explanation for this may be in part that much of the city's visible medieval heritage was lost in the Victorian era and during reconstruction in the late 1940s (Interview-HullUni01).

Another aspect that was arguably overlooked in the UKCoC program was the physical heritage of transmigration. Hull's history as a transmigrant port was explored through art-based projects in 2017, including the opening event *Made in Hull*. However, this effort did not extensively mobilize the related physical heritage. Built heritage of transmigration in Hull consists in particular of three buildings: the emigrant waiting room, the Wilson Line Hull head office (which has hosted the headquarters of the radio broadcaster Viking FM from 1984 to 2018) and the Harry Lazarus Hotel. However, these assets are not ideally located (Interview-HullUni03). An exception is the Harry Lazarus Hotel, which is located in

the city center and will be hosting the Freedom Festival in 2021. The idea of transforming the building into a British “Ellis Island museum” was included in the Council’s plans (Hull City Council, n.d.e; Interview-HullUni03). The other two heritage assets are nonetheless located in areas where it would be difficult to attract large numbers of visitors. The visibility of transmigration heritage has been promoted in recent years through single initiatives, such as the installation of blue plaques⁸⁸ on the basis of the work of Nicholas Evans (Evans, n.d.; Price, 2008). As discussed above in the case of fishing heritage, this raises a question as to whether art-based approaches to the mobilization of the intangible heritage of transmigration were – and are – preferred to a more challenging engagement with the restoration of such built heritage.

Threats arising from the spatial vision of the event

In terms of event-related threats to built heritage, no particular issues appeared to arise in direct relation to the physical environment. Hull did not experience the issues of overtourism or damage to fragile heritage spaces that mega-events have generated in other heritage-rich host cities. This is also related to the very urban fabric of Hull as a port city. Areas such as the Fruit Market and Queens Gardens were formerly robust dockside environments, well suited to hosting large numbers of visitors (Interview-HullUni02). Yet, elsewhere, Hull’s port city character also represented a constraint with regard to the limits to the number of attendees and visitors who are allowed to enter the port estate (Interview-HullUni03). The UKCoC 2017 highlighted the difference between heritage spaces in redeveloped and working port areas as venues for cultural events, as in the case of the live screening of the performance by the Royal Ballet at Queens Gardens – the former Queen’s Dock – in comparison for instance with the accessibility of the Pump House at Alexandra Dock. It is worth noting that safety and security issues, together with the need of minimizing potential disruptions of maritime activities, are nonetheless common features of mega-events in port cities.

88 In the United Kingdom, blue plaques signal the connection of an element of the built environment with a notable person or historical event.

Heritage opportunities and threats also emerged from the geography of the UKCoC and the spatial distribution of events in 2017, characterized by a considerable concentration of redevelopment projects and cultural events in the city center and the Fruit Market. Hull 2017 is then an example of how mega-events tend to concentrate attention and investment either in city centers or in dedicated venues outside the city. Despite the fact that some cultural events and projects involved housing estates, the event displayed spatial disparities between the city center and the periphery as a result of the concentration of events in the former. On the one hand, this choice arguably contributed to emphasizing the positive outcomes of the event in central areas, by accelerating the pace of investment and transformation, and ultimately to showcasing flagship heritage assets. On the other hand, this choice risks displacing cultural activities from other areas such as Beverley Road and Princes Avenue, which may increase the danger of further damage to unused heritage buildings that need urgent conservation works (see for example Campbell, 2018).

The challenge of displacement and the need to ensure that heritage buildings continue to be used, and therefore maintained, has long been an issue in Hull (Interview-HullUni02). For example, from 2011 the stretch of Beverley Road close to the city center was chosen as a target area for support by Historic England, Hull City Council and NLHF, as it was felt that the road was dying due to the large number of empty buildings (Interview-HullUni02). This problem of filling spaces and in particular heritage buildings appears to cyclically involve different areas of the city: Hull Marina used to be a vibrant place which then faded in favor of Beverley Road, which in turn has been emptying as activities moved to Princes Avenue (Interview-HullUni02). The UKCoC 2017 contributed to the rapid rise of Humber Street, in the Fruit Market area, as a new cultural hub and was crucial to boost the redevelopment process that involved the restoration of a number of heritage buildings. Yet, this raises a question as to whether the area is about to follow the same cycle and to decline in favor of another, yet to emerge, cultural pole. This is also connected to the crisis of retail that is hitting the UK

as a whole (see for example Butler, 2019; Simpson, 2019), which has been generating widespread shop closures and a growing number of unused buildings, including of course heritage buildings. Despite being unrelated with the event, this process risks fragmenting the townscape (Interview-HullUni02) and thus reversing the tendency towards the reconnection of heritage spaces that was triggered by the UKCoC 2017 and the Council's Public Realm Improvement Strategy.

Skills developed as a result of the event

The UK City of Culture 2017 and the implementation of projects connected to the event required the delivery team and local institutions to deploy specific tools and develop new skills to deal with heritage-related opportunities and threats. The delivery of the event itself required Hull 2017 Ltd staff to have a particular sensitivity around heritage, as a means to try to “dig into” local stories and to detect actors and individuals to involve (Interview-Hull1701). The idea of the city as a venue and the use of a broad range of spaces beyond traditional cultural facilities provided Hull 2017 Ltd staff with the ability to give reassurance about the use of heritage spaces for cultural events (Interview-Hull1701), as this approach had not been used extensively before 2017. Increased awareness and the development of new skills also involved national organizations taking part in the event. For example, HLF officers working with Hull 2017 Ltd were able to increase their awareness of the importance of evaluation of heritage projects and its role in generating confidence for future investment in heritage (Interview-HullNLHF02).

5.3 Towards a cultural and heritage destination? The legacy of 2017

The UK City of Culture 2017 contributed to concentrating investment in the refurbishment of the city's cultural facilities and its public spaces, generating a tangible legacy for the years to come. The approach to heritage that characterized the event continued beyond 2017 and kept alive the relationships between residents and built heritage. Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City is perceived as another game changer (Campbell, 2019) for the future of the city. Issues such as the national political climate, the crisis of retail and the impact of the geography of the event itself raise challenges for the legacy of the UKCoC.

5.3.1 Implemented heritage projects

Most heritage-related projects were actually completed in time for their respective 'opening events' (Interview-HullCC02), although this did mean that there were construction sites still open during 2017. Public realm works in 2016 caused inconvenience and distress, to the extent that Hull was sometimes labelled as the 'City of Orange Barriers' in the media. However, most of these works were completed in time for the opening event Made in Hull. Some respondents to audience and peer assessment surveys in 2017 did complain about some difficulty to reach the city center due to unfinished bits of roads and car parks⁸⁹. Minor issues were reported regarding public lighting (Interview-HullCC02). Hull's railway and bus station underwent planned renovation works in 2017, which involved a new retail area and waiting room. The Ferens Art Gallery, subjected to a substantial refurbishment to meet the required standards to host international exhibitions, was reopened in January 2017. The delay in the reopening of Hull New Theatre did not affect the planned showcase event performed by the Royal Ballet. However, funding issues and the need of further works for flood prevention and the completion of the

89 Peer Assessment Surveys 2017.

flytower (Interview-HullCC02) meant that the reopening was delayed from April to mid-September 2017.

Two case studies: the Ferens Art Gallery and Hull New Theatre

The refurbishment of the Ferens Art Gallery and of Hull New Theatre were two of the major heritage-related physical projects implemented for the UK City of Culture 2017. These projects, which were included in the 2013 bid, were part of a £48,000,000 investment in the renovation of the city's cultural facilities and public realm in preparation for the event. These works were in line with the aim, formulated in the 2013 City Plan, of making Hull a world-class visitor destination and in general with the broader and long-standing idea of marketing Hull as an attractive place to live, work, study and visit. Distinctive heritage assets and refurbished flagship cultural facilities are assets to pursue such vision.

Fig. 5.11 The Ferens Art Gallery from Queen Victoria Square and during the opening event Made in Hull (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2019; Stephen Walsh, 2017).



The Ferens Art Gallery, opened in 1927, is located in a Grade II listed building in the city's main square. The gallery is named after Thomas Ferens, MP for Hull East from 1906-1918, who donated the land and funded the construction of the facility.

The gallery, which is managed by HCaL, underwent a series of redevelopments and was closed for 16 months ahead of

the UKCoC to implement a £ 5,400,000 refurbishment. The renovation works focused on upgrades to the facility's environmental controls, to manage temperature, humidity and lighting, and extended the café and shop (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). These improvements enabled the facility to meet the required standards to host high-profile international exhibitions. The gallery reopened in mid-January 2017, with an exhibition featuring a recently-acquired 14th-century painting by Pietro Lorenzetti, which enriched the gallery's permanent collection. In 2017, the facility was used to host a number of exhibitions and events. In January, the Ferens Art Gallery, the Maritime Museum and the City Hall were the background of the successful art installation *Blade*. *SKIN* displayed images of the 2016 event *Sea of Hull*. From late September 2017 to early January 2018, the gallery hosted the Turner Prize, the UK's flagship annual visual art award organized by the Tate gallery. The Turner Prize has occasionally been held outside its traditional venue at Tate Britain in London, for example in Liverpool (2007), Newcastle-Gateshead (2011), Derry-Londonderry (as part of the UK City of Culture 2013), Glasgow (2015) and Hull (as part of the UK City of Culture 2017). This gave the Ferens Art Gallery greater visibility nationally and internationally. In 2017, Hull Culture and Leisure (HCaL) recorded a peak 519,000 visitors, marking a 309% increase in comparison with 2016 levels⁹⁰. Such increase was observed in a period of falling visitor numbers for museums and galleries at the national level (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). However, annual total visits normalized at 171,000 in 2018⁹¹, which corresponded to a 34.6% increase in comparison with 2016 figures.

The second key project was the refurbishment and extension of Hull New Theatre. The 19th-century Grade II listed building where the theater is located was formerly the city's Assembly Rooms, while the existing Little Theatre occupied a nearby building. In 1939, the theater was moved to its current venue and has been known as Hull New Theatre ever since.

90 Hull Culture and Leisure Ltd; Culture Place and Policy Institute (2018).

91 Source: Hull Culture and Leisure Ltd.



Fig. 5.12 Hull New Theatre
(source: Enrico Tommarchi,
2019).

The theater was closed in January 2016 to implement a £ 15,900,000 refurbishment in preparation for the UK City of Culture. Such funding included £ 11,000,000 of Council's resources and £ 5,000,000 from the Arts Council England. Part of the additional £ 13,000,000 provided in 2016 by the UK government in relation to the UKCoC (BBC News, 2016a) was used to complete the project. This renovation included a new foyer, the refurbishment of the backstage, a new restaurant and bar and increased the theatre's audience capacity up to 1,330. The building was also extended in size and height, in particular in the stage area, with the aim of hosting larger theatre companies. A 27-meter-high flytower was built at the back of the building following the demolition of existing premises. The need of retaining the historic, Grade II listed façade unchanged and of protecting it from damage while the works took place poses technical challenges, as the façade needed to be stabilized during the process (see for example Masso, 2017). The lack of suitable space and easy access to the backstage had been a longstanding weakness of the theatre, which had prevented the venue from hosting major productions. Thus, its substantial renovation was key to project the theatre nationally and internationally and contributed to the legacy of the event as regards the improvement of the city's cultural facilities. However, the scale of the project meant that its implementation was heavily

dependent on the additional funding from the government (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). Funding and technical issues, in particular related to the construction of the new flytower, caused delays in the completion of the project. The reopening, shifted from April to mid-September 2017, was celebrated with a gala event and a performance by the Royal Ballet, which was also displayed live in Queens Gardens, where approximately 3,000 people gathered to see the show (Brown, 2017). Hull New Theatre was then used to host events in the final season of the program, however, due to its closure to implement the refurbishment work, it is not possible to compare visitor figures across recent years.

Mobilizing heritage for the future of Hull

Heritage was mobilized in relation to social challenges, as well, with the aim of encouraging engagement and participation and strengthening civic pride through increased awareness of Hull's history and heritage. For example, heritage featured in school programs delivered under the umbrella of the UKCoC 2017 in order to encourage pupils to think about Hull as a distinctive place (Interview-HullUni01). The use of art installations and cultural events to tell local stories arguably made those who normally would not engage to feel enabled to access culture: for instance, residents felt enabled to go to the theatre as the offer included plays about local stories and historical events (Interview-HullUni01) that were familiar to them. The Hypocrite was based on the historical events happened in Hull that sparked the English Civil War. The Last Testament of Lillian Bilocca was about activism in the city after the 1968 Triple Trawler Disaster, which hit many local families. Although this might have been "simplistic storytelling" (Interview-HullUni01), it also represented a component of a strategy of social regeneration based on increasing participation, boosting civic pride and raising ambition. Heritage was also used to raise questions and reflect about Hull's present and future. For example, the art installation Blade consisted of a wind turbine blade manufactured at Siemens' plant in Hull being displayed in Queen Victoria Square in January 2017. Blade was part of the Look Up program, which consisted of a series of

art installations in iconic areas of the city, which built a connection between art and heritage. Blade mobilized heritage buildings in the square, such as the Maritime Museum, the Ferens Art Gallery and the City Hall, to raise awareness about the city's role as a hub for the development of renewable energies. Approximately 1.1 million people saw the installation and 420,000 people interacted with it (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019). It is interesting to note that, despite the absence of any specific security measures but existing CCTV cameras around the square, the wind turbine blade was not subject to vandalism.

Fig. 5.13 Blade at Queen Victoria Square in January 2017 (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017).



Another example is Flood, a year-round production consisting of online and TV contents and live cultural events. Flood made use of heritage spaces and assets, such as Victoria Dock and the Humber Bridge, with the aim of reflecting on rising sea levels and the future of Hull as an estuary city built on a flat flood plain. Such heritage assets were used as venues for cultural events or featured in videos broadcasted online and on the BBC.

The use of heritage spaces as cultural venues

In 2017, UKCoC events made use of a range of heritage spaces, some of which were not – regularly or at all – used to host cultural events. The UKCoC was used to launch Humber Street Gallery, located in a former fruit and vegetables warehouse, which has retained its role after the event. Holy Trinity Church, known as Hull Minster since May 2017, was also used as event space, together with the adjacent Trinity Market square. In 2018, two flagship events, Ship of the Gods and Museum of the Moon, were celebrated in the cathedral and contributed to generating a record number of people visiting the building (Pantry, 2019). Hull Minster and Trinity Market, which had not regularly hosted events before 2017, gained the status of cultural venues thanks to the event (Interview-HullCC02). The historic Guildhall, the headquarters of Hull City Council, was also used to perform The Last Testament of Lillian Bilocca, although the building is not typically used as a cultural venue. The 1885 Pump House at Alexandra Dock, owned by Associated British Ports (ABP), was used for the exhibition In-Port Stories, which was organized by ABP under the umbrella of the UKCoC. Attendees had the chance to access the port estate and visit such historic building. After 2017, the Pump House has occasionally been used as a cultural venue. Such examples from 2017 and after the UKCoC means that the city is now better equipped to make different use of built heritage assets as cultural spaces: for example, the new moving seats in Hull Minster now allow the venue to host flagship cultural events such as Ship of the Gods (Interview-HullUni03). In addition, public realm improvements play a role in this, as local policy makers, cultural organizations and the community now feel that public spaces can be used for cultural events, which was not necessarily the case before 2017 (Interview-HullUni01).

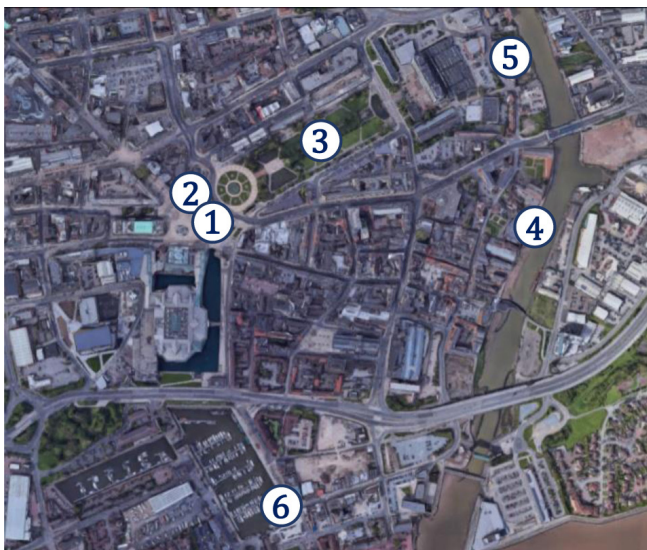
5.3.2 External projects aligned with event

The UK City of Culture 2017 also represented an umbrella for cultural events and projects that were not part of the UKCoC program. Maritime heritage-related projects organized by Associated British Ports are an example. The already mentioned In-Port Stories, an exhibition about the history of the port of Hull held at the historic Pump House at Alexandra Dock, was funded and delivered directly by ABP. However, as ABP was partner of Hull 2017 Ltd, the event benefited of the official UKCoC logo and was advertised through Hull 2017's website. Another interesting example, indirectly related to the UKCoC, is the rescue and restoration of the Dead Bod mural (see for instance Robinson, 2017). The Dead Bod was a painting of a dead bird, originally located on a shed at Alexandra Dock. Since it was easily visible from the estuary, it became a local landmark among sailors and fishermen. The mural risked disappearing when the area needed to be cleared for the construction of Siemens' wind turbine manufacturing facility. Associated British Ports funded its recovery and, again because of their role as partner of Hull 2017, the mural was put on public display during 2017. Approximately 120,000 people saw the mural at Humber Street Gallery (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019), where it is still exhibited.

Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City

Arguably, one of the most important external projects related to the UKCoC is Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City (see Hull City Council, n.d.a), which is included in the City Plan as a flagship project to implement the vision of Hull as a world-class visitor destination. The rationale for the project is to broaden the vision of Hull's heritage beyond established views and stereotypes, such as that of 'fish and chips' (Interview-HullCC01). The project was initiated by the City Council independently from the UKCoC, albeit it was then increasingly understood and framed as a legacy project. Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City "became" a legacy project as the UKCoC brought together some of the existing

ambitions and helped reach a holistic view of the project's different components (Interview-HullCC01). In addition, the UKCoC was intended to be a catalyst for the project, by helping create momentum and interest around it. The experience of the UKCoC helped in framing the project's overall view and its artistic interpretation, letting "daft ideas" which would not normally be considered to emerge and develop (Interview-HullCC01). The UKCoC also produced a legacy in terms of skills and capabilities for the project, as it helped local institutions learn about the delivery of large-scale projects (Interview-HullCC01).



1. Maritime Museum
2. Dock Office Chambers
3. Queens Gardens
4. Arctic Corsair
5. North End Shipyard
6. Spurn Lightship

Notes: the Arctic Corsair (currently berthed next to the Museums Quarter) will be moved to the North End Shipyard.

The Spurn Lightship has temporarily been moved to the displayed location due to the construction of a footbridge over Castle Street.

Fig. 5.14 Maritime heritage

assets included in the project Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City (source: EnricoTommarchi.

Background map:

Imagery ©2019 Google, Imagery ©2019 CNES / Airbus, Getmapping plc, Infoterra Ltd & Bluesky, Maxar Technologies, The GeoInformation Group, Map data ©2019).

Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City aims at establishing a coherent maritime cultural offer, by recovering and connecting a set of maritime heritage assets. These include the Maritime Museum, the adjacent Dock Office Chambers, Queens Gardens, the Arctic Corsair (a 1960s distant-water fishing trawler berthed along the River Hull), the North End Shipyard and the Spurn Lightship (currently docked in the Marina, although it was recently moved from the north to the south edge of the dock due to the construction of a footbridge over Castle Street). This means that the focus is also on areas that had been neglected in 2017, as in the case of the North End Shipyard (Interview-HullUni04).

Fig. 5.15 Dock Office Chambers and Maritime Museum (left); Queens Gardens (right) (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2017 and 2018).

In the North End Shipyard area, a new building is planned to be built by the River Hull. Policy makers display different opinions and ideas about this new development. Initially, some of them suggested that the building should have a modern appearance, for example using glass surfaces. This idea was abandoned in favor of a more traditional 'shipyard architecture' which will be in line with existing buildings in the area (Interview-HullCC01).



Such cultural offer is expected to attract cruise tourists travelling across Yorkshire from the port of Hull, in relation to the proposed construction of a cruise terminal opposite the Deep, at walking distance from the city center. Currently, ferry passengers from The Netherlands and Belgium disembark at the eastern edge of the port and many of them travel directly to other destinations in Yorkshire without visiting Hull. A £ 27,400,000 investment has been envisioned to deliver the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City project. This will include a £ 13,600,000 grant from the National Lottery Heritage Fund and £ 2,600,000 of private funding (Hull City Council, 2019). Nevertheless, NLHF are not providing mere sponsorship. Rather, NLHF staff have been proactive in challenging the Council's project team to build a strong heritage focus (Interview-HullNLHF02).



As mentioned, Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City is an opportunity to overcome traditional views and stereotypes about Hull's history and to rebalance the dominance of the city's fishing past within heritage narratives (Interview-HullCC01). The project is also a chance to review historically inaccurate interpretations of heritage. An example is the fact that the building that now hosts the Maritime Museum and is accessible from the city's main square used to be oriented towards Queen's Dock (now Queens Gardens). This, together with refurbishment works undertaken in the 1970s that probably did not fully respect its original state, means that the building is now interpreted in a different way as visitors approach it from the 'wrong' entrance (Interview-HullCC01). Nonetheless, such focus on maritime history and heritage risks overlooking the fact that Hull is still an important port (Interview-HullUni04) and its maritime character now encompasses other aspects such as the development of renewable energies.

Fig. 5.16 North End Shipyard (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2019).

Public realm and Fruit Market

Two other relevant projects were implemented in relation to the event. First, the Public Realm Improvement Strategy (Hull City Council, 2014) aimed at refurbishing urban amenities, in particular pavements, in a set of pedestrian routes in the city center. These actions were already included in the *City Center Area Action Plan* (Hull City Council, 2008), which implementation was halted due to the impacts of the 2008 economic crisis. The UK City of Culture 2017 set the conditions for resuming these works and contributed to concentrating investment and accelerating their delivery, to get the city prepared for 2017.

Fig. 5.17 The Arctic Corsair (left) and the Spurn Lightship on the north side of the Marina (right) (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2018 and 2017).



Second, the event had an impact on the redevelopment of the Fruit Market area. Prior to its transformation, this was a partially derelict area located between the Old Town and the waterfront, which used to host a permanent fruit market and was characterized by the presence of many historic buildings. Through time, this activity has caused significant structural damage to many of these buildings, as their openings were not designed to bring in trucks to receive goods. Hull City Council decided to purchase properties within the area and to move the fruit market to a dedicated location in the periphery of the city. The Council set up an agreement with a local developer to transform the former Fruit Market into a mixed-use district, which includes cultural facilities

such as the Humber Street Gallery or Stage@The Dock on the River Hull, bars and restaurants, housing and office spaces. This intervention was already planned when Hull successfully bid for the UK City of Culture in 2013, thus it cannot be considered as part of the program itself. However, the delivery of the event generated pressures to get Humber Street – the cultural ‘hub’ of the area – ready for 2017, while this transformation was spectacularized through the celebration of several events within the UKCoC program.

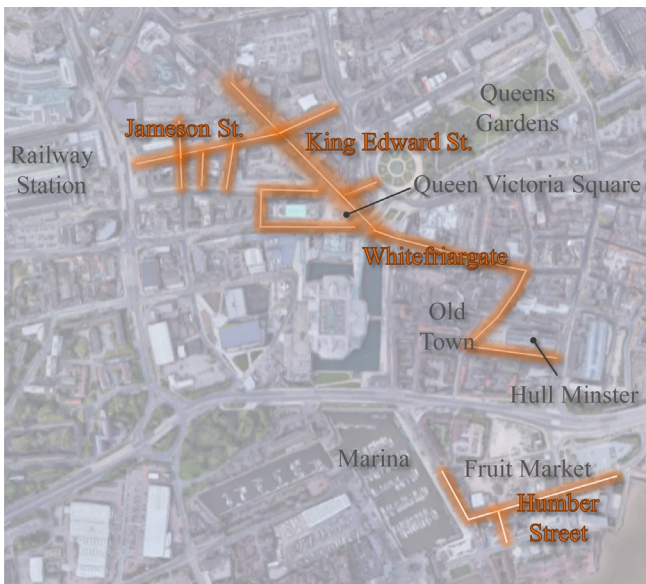


Fig. 5.18 Public realm improvements map. (source: Enrico Tommarchi. Background map: Imagery ©2019 Google, Map Data ©2019).

The redevelopment of the Fruit Market area arguably represented a potential threat to heritage, as it transformed the historic fruit market and its 19th-century buildings. In 2013 – at the time of the submission of the UKCoC bid – Hull City Council as Lead Development Partner issued a number of planning documents setting preconditions and guidelines for developers who were interested in bidding for implementing the scheme. The goal of retaining the Fruit Market’s distinctive character and preserving the integrity of its Georgian buildings was to be pursued for example by encouraging the consolidation of existing shop fronts (Hull City Council, 2013). Although some buildings were demolished due to the extent of the structural damage



Fig. 5.19 Humber Street in 2018 (top and bottom left). The Stage@The Dock (bottom right) (source: Enrico Tommarchi, 2018).

caused by their use as fruit and vegetable warehouses, urban and architectural design retained the key features of the area, such as the buildings' original openings and the traditional shutters. The Council invested in the refurbishment of public grounds and external elements such as roofs and windows. This investment gave confidence to the private sector and allowed to attract businesses, who in turn invested their resources in the refurbishment of interior spaces. Alongside the preservation of local built heritage, specific planning strategies were also put in place to sustain cultural functions in the area and to contrast gentrification and standardization of the urban environment. Culture-related activities such as the Oresome Gallery were attracted through a regime of 'meanwhile uses'. This allowed temporary uses, in particular cultural

ones, to settle in the area without requiring considerable investment. Such temporary cultural uses were then kept as they contributed to generating a distinctive character of the Fruit Market. This was done through a rent subsidy system involving subsidized rent for cultural organizations. This subsidy is nonetheless self-sustaining since it is generated through rents from competitive economic activities such as restaurants. In addition, only independent businesses were allowed to settle in the area, attempting to avoid the proliferation of national and international chains. Housing allocation policies also require that 80% of new housing must be rented to people working in the area. Planning gain was used by the City Council with the developer Wykeland Beal for example in relation to the refurbishment of Humber Street Gallery. Planning gain is commonly used in the UK as a tool to negotiate with developers in order to attach social or environmental provisions to economically and commercially viable schemes. Although this scheme was already being implemented, the designation of Hull as UKCoC 2017 contributed to generating pressures around the project's timescales.

5.3.3 Post-event trends

The legacy company Absolutely Cultured Ltd

Hull 2017 Ltd was restructured and transformed into a permanent arts organization called Absolutely Cultured Ltd, which retained part of the original expertise. The new company was nonetheless fully operational about 6 months after the UK City of Culture was ended in December 2018. This led to a considerable contraction of cultural activity immediately after the closing of 2017 celebrations. However, after such initial 'cliff effect' (Tommasini et al., 2018), ephemeral events since mid-2018, organized by the legacy company Absolutely Cultured Ltd, did display a certain degree of continuity with 2017 concepts and strategies. Such continuity was also visible in the way in which cultural events in 2017 engaged with heritage. In

particular, they contributed to keeping alive the relationship that was created between Hull residents and built heritage. In 2018, Dominoes, Absolutely Cultured Ltd's flagship event, consisted of a 3.5km route of domino pieces across the city center (Preston and Winter, 2018). Urban Legend: Northern Lights proposed light shows and projections in a range of locations – such as Queens Gardens, Hull Minster, Whitefriargate (where Beverley Gate is located) and King Edward Square – to celebrate Hull's connections with Scandinavia and Northern Europe (Young, 2018b), in line with the city's new Cultural Strategy. For example, the Three Ships Mosaic in King Edward Square was the background of a lightwork by Icelandic artist Dodda Maggy. The event also involved less well-known heritage-rich areas of the city such as Parliament Street, which were neglected in 2017. In addition, in January and April 2018, some graffiti allegedly realized by street artist Banksy appeared in Humber Street and in an industrial area in Wincolmllee, stimulating discussions about Hull's industrial heritage. In 2019, The Witching Hour celebrated Hull's intangible heritage by spectacularizing local stories and folklore and by engaging the audience in interactive ways.

Knowledge and appreciation of Hull's history and heritage

The UKCoC 2017 was well received in relation to heritage. It was considered very effective in encouraging people to look at built heritage from a fresh perspective, to understand its stories and to explore less well-known built heritage assets beyond Queen Victoria Square, the Old Town and the Fruit Market (Interview-HullNLHF01). As a result of the event, it will be easier to talk about Hull and its history (Interview-HullUni01). The event contributed to fueling the interest of the general public in history and heritage and to encourage residents to engage with heritage-related cultural events and projects (Hull 2017 Ltd, 2019).

As highlighted in the 2018 Preliminary Evaluation Report, 65.6% of respondents to the 2017 Residents Survey felt that their knowledge of the city's history and heritage had

increased because of the UKCoC. However, no significant differences were observed in residents' ratings of their own knowledge of heritage between 2016 and 2017. This was related to a passive process of learning in 2017 or a self-recognition of a lack of knowledge as a consequence of the fact that less well-known stories had emerged (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). In addition, the choice of using art-based approach to explore and communicate Hull history and heritage were positively received by the public: the majority of 2017 audiences believed that such approach made history and heritage more interesting (91.3%) and easier to understand (91.4%, *ibid.*, 2018).

Nevertheless, more recent data show a different picture. The Residents Survey 2018 (Information by Design, 2019) shows how the proportion of residents rating their knowledge of the city's heritage as high (i.e. a score of 4 or 5 on a 0-5 scale) decreased in comparison with 2017. Conversely, low scores (0-2 on a 0-5 scale) remained unchanged. These data appear to suggest that, despite the continuity in the way in which they explored and communicate heritage, cultural events in 2018 might have been less effective on this aspect. Nonetheless, as mentioned in the 2018 Preliminary Report with regard to 2017 data, lower proportions of the highest ratings might be a consequence of the fact that these events let underrepresented and less well-known aspects of history and heritage emerge. This could explain the fact that such decrease only involved the highest ratings on the scale, as residents with a deeper knowledge of local heritage who took part in the survey might have been more self-critical.

5.3.4 General legacy

The event generated in 2017 a narrative of a 'success story', in particular in relation to a range of issues including media visibility, the change of internal and external perceptions about the city, a boost in visitor numbers, the richness and variety of the cultural program (Wonfor, 2017; BBC News, 2017b; BBC News, 2017a). The UK City of Culture was perceived as an exemplar of a high-quality cultural program, which could be a benchmark for future host cities. This

positive narrative continued in 2018 and 2019, particularly in relation to the economic benefits of the event (Winter, 2019). The opening event Made in Hull was widely considered as successful in overcoming initial skepticism about the city's capacity to deliver such an event and countering negative preconceptions about the city. The opening event was also considered successful in connecting residents and visitors with the city, its history and heritage. Made in Hull was considered the single event which contributed the most to the success of the program.

Countering skepticism

In terms of broader perceptions of the event, the UK City of Culture 2017 was “surprisingly well received” (Interview-HullUni01); despite initial skepticism and criticisms, the event did not lead to extensive criticisms as it progressed. At the bidding stage, there was skepticism about the fact that Hull would be able to secure and deliver the event and that the whole process would be a waste of money (Interview-HullUni04). These opinions were replaced by joy and excitement after the designation, yet skepticism and frustration emerged again in the planning stage, due to the length of consultation processes, as in the case of public realm improvements (Interview-HullUni04). However, skepticism and opposition faded away after the success of the opening event (Interview-HullUni01; Interview-HullUni04). After the event, skepticism around legacy arose, fueled perhaps by unrelated factors such as the highly visible and negative local impacts of the national crisis of retail (Interview-HullUni02).

The short-term impacts of the event

The Preliminary Evaluation Report issued in March 2018 shows the immediate outcomes of the event (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). Tourism figures released by Visit Hull and Easy Yorkshire (VHEY) show a peak in visitor number in occasion of the UK City of Culture, from 5.5 million in 2016 to 6.2 million in 2017. 6.2 million visitors in 2017 were estimated to have generated £ 313,000,000 in terms of value of tourism against a baseline of £ 285,000,000

in 2016. In 2018, the volume of total visits reached 6.25 million. In early 2019, HullBID revealed figures showing a peak in footfall in the city center since 2012, despite increasing pressures on local retailers, which may be explained considering ephemeral events such as Dominoes in combination with the exceptionally dry and warm weather conditions that characterized summer months in 2018 (Winter, 2019).

As regards economic regeneration, 28% of new businesses started since 2013 were mainly or partly motivated by the UKCoC 2017. Approximately £ 220,000,000 investment was estimated to be partially or totally attributable to Hull being the UK City of Culture 2017. In terms of identity and well-being impacts, 75% residents reported to be proud to live in Hull, while 71% would speak positively about the city.

A 9% increase in confidence to join or take part in cultural activity was estimated. However, mixed results were observed as regards happiness: a boost in happiness at the beginning of 2017, after the opening event, was followed by a steady decrease during the year (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). The Volunteer Programme was considered a success and continued beyond 2017 with all its 2,400 volunteers involved in a range of activities. The results achieved through the UK City of Culture 2017 appear to be producing a positive legacy in terms of the city's track record: positive perceptions of Hull 2017 are helping local authorities and cultural organization in building stronger relationships with national organizations and in being more confidence as regards funding applications.

As mentioned, the event was the chance to resume the urban regeneration and public realm improvement process that was halted by the impact of the 2007-8 economic and financial crisis. The transformative impact of the extended improvements implemented on a compressed timescale to prepare the city for the event led to stronger civic pride and willingness to speak positively about Hull.

A resurgent port city or city of culture?

In the case of Hull, it is problematic to separate the transformative impact of the UK City of Culture from broader urban and regional development processes. Green Port Hull and Siemens' wind turbine manufacturing activity generated a considerable positive impact in terms of jobs and private investment that was not necessarily linked to Hull's successful bid for the UK City of Culture 2017. However, the event did play a crucial role in legitimizing and sustaining the Council's £ 100,000,000 investment in the regeneration of the city, which in turn provided a boost in terms of confidence among private investors. While these interventions were already being planned by the City Council, one could argue whether they would have produced similar outcomes, had they been delivered on a much longer timeframe in the absence of a mega-event able to concentrate resources and generate momentum.

5.4 Maritime heritage in a changing Britain

Despite the positive regenerative effects of Green Port Hull and the UK City of Culture, the anger and frustration relating to long-term problems of deprivation and poverty in the city conveyed into a considerable proportion (67%) of those taking part in the 2016 EU referendum to vote to leave the European Union. Such electoral result, largely associated with Hull's structural socio-economic decline (see for example Araujo, 2017), was perceived as surprising, especially by pro-EU commentators, considering the outward-looking attitude of Hull as a European port city (see for instance Clavane, 2017) and the recent commitment by Siemens in the city (e.g. Conn, 2017). Brexit discussions began during the planning and implementation stage of the event, which aimed at celebrating Hull's connection to the world. The decision of the UK government to trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty to leave the bloc led UK cities to be excluded from the European Capital of Culture

2023, hampering potential partnerships between Hull and other cities of culture in the country in terms of knowledge sharing.

Arguably, the UKCoC in Hull could have also represented a platform to tackle the issue of visibility of maritime heritage and to encourage a reflection at national level about UK 'left-behind' coastal cities, which are amongst the most deprived urban areas in the country. These cities – many of which are geographically isolated, at the end of road and rail transport networks – had thrived in the 19th and 20th century as seaports or in relation to coastal tourism (see for example Shaw & Williams, 1997; Borsay & Walton, 2011). In either case, their subsequent decline represents a major threat to their rich heritage. In the case of Hull, although its role as a port city and its connection with other European port cities was part of the bid, the final program and the Cultural Strategy 2016-2026, the event failed to trigger such broader conversations at the national level. However, the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City project is a crucial opportunity to make some of Hull's maritime heritage more visible in the future.

5.5 General takeaways and key heritage issues

Threats

The event emphasized certain, not necessarily prominent, aspects of the city's heritage (e.g. fishing) and overlooked others.

Cultural projects and investment were concentrated in the city center, to the detriment of built heritage assets in the periphery.

Art-based approaches to heritage also meant that, while intangible heritage was celebrated, some of the related built heritage assets were neglected.

The spatial outcomes of the nation-wide crisis of retail may fragment the cityscape and hinder the connection among heritage assets resulting from the event.

Opportunities

Cultural events in 2017 had a positive impact on residents and visitors' awareness and knowledge of local history and heritage and stimulated an appetite for heritage-related cultural events.

The concentration of investment and renovation works meant that many heritage assets are now more visible and accessible, refurbished and suitable to host high-profile cultural events.

Partnerships with national institutions (e.g. HLF/NLHF) contributed to improving the skills and confidence of the local heritage sector and to encouraging broader discussions on heritage.

Art-based heritage communication and learning shaped cultural events beyond 2017, mobilizing less well-known aspects of it.

A number of maritime heritage assets are being restored and mobilized (Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City project).

- The event encouraged heritage participation and learning
- Transformative impact of public realm improvements
- New heritage assets listed as a result of the event
- Post-event heritage projects (Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City) and heritage-inspired cultural events

5.5.1 Learning about heritage through a mega-event

One first key lesson which emerges from the case of Hull arguably concerns heritage communication and learning through arts and culture within the framework of a mega-event such as the UK City of Culture. On the one hand, Hull 2017 showed how communication and learning in relation to heritage can be successfully integrated into the cultural programs of future UKCoCs (Culture, Place and Policy Institute, 2018). Similarly, this can be done in the case of other initiatives, such as the European Capital of Culture. On the other hand, the case of Hull demonstrated how these schemes can be very effective in enabling residents and visitors to learn about local history and heritage. This is because cultural projects and events can be effective means to convey knowledge about heritage and to stimulate active participation and engagement, in innovative and inclusive ways.

Communicating history and heritage in innovative and accessible ways was arguably one of the factors behind the success of the opening event *Made in Hull*, which made use of light shows and projections to tell visitors the story of the city but also to celebrate it with its residents. The event also explored painful memories about the city's fishing past, generating an emotional response from attendees, who felt more connected to the city and the event itself. This may have helped to overcome the diffidence and lack of interest in high-culture and heritage that traditionally characterizes lower-class social groups, who in this case felt interested and enabled to access culture. This approach, combined with the celebration and the spectacularization of built heritage in iconic locations across the city, was also considered crucial to establish a connection with local audiences and gain their trust and interest for the rest of the year.

Residents, including those who normally do not engage with culture, felt enabled to access cultural events, for example theatre plays, about local stories, such as *The Hypocrite* or *The Last Testament of Lillian Bilocca*. Art installations and events in outdoor venues across the city, for instance in the case of *Look Up*, where residents and visitors were given the chance to look at heritage buildings from a different perspective. These initiatives contributed to increasing awareness and knowledge about the city's history and heritage. This was possible because history and heritage were creatively presented in accessible and unprescribed ways.

Although the way in which Hull's history and heritage were presented and communicated was arguably successful, it is also worth noting that, some cultural events in 2017 displayed at times a superficial approach to heritage and appeared to focus on stereotypes and general expectations. Certain heritage narratives, for example in relation to the city's fishing past, became prominent, while other were neglected. In addition, data regarding residents' ratings of their own knowledge about the city's heritage are difficult to interpret, as they show no substantial difference in 2017 in comparison with baseline levels – in stark contradiction

with data regarding heritage awareness and learning – and display a decreasing proportion of highest ratings in 2018. This may suggest that either learning about heritage has been superficial or a more self-critical attitude has emerged among residents as a consequence of hidden aspects being explored. In addition, the focus on art-based approaches to stimulate engagement with certain aspects of the city's intangible heritage led in some cases to the neglect of related built heritage assets.

5.5.2 Capital investment in built heritage

The fact that mega-events act as catalysts and accelerators for urban change is a well-established theme in mega-event studies. The case of Hull 2017 is an example of how such transformation can have a positive impact on built heritage, as well.

Hull's Public Realm Improvement Strategy, aimed at implementing extensive refurbishment of public spaces in the city center to make the city ready for the UKCoC, was the chance to resume the regeneration of the city center and made it possible to concentrate several years of public ground works in less than two years. This had a transformative effect on the city and would not have happened without the pressure of a mega-event (Interview-HullUni02). Such improvements were key for showing heritage off (Interview-HullUni02). Refurbished public spaces encouraged residents and visitors to spend their leisure time in the city center and to look at heritage buildings. These were in turn more visible, such as in the case of Beverley Gate. In addition, refurbished squares and streets created connections among heritage assets scattered across a formerly fragmented cityscape.

Hull 2017 also suggested that mega-events can positively contribute to providing the rationale and to generating the necessary momentum to convey and accelerate preservation and conservation works on built heritage. In times of austerity, the event was key to legitimize a £100,000,000 investment by

the City Council in a wide range of improvements, which included the refurbishment of iconic heritage buildings and cultural facilities such as Hull New Theatre and the Ferens Art Gallery. The event was also key to attract £13,000,000 additional funding from central government in 2016, which was mainly used to complete the refurbishment and partial reconstruction of Hull New Theatre. Finally, as a result of the event, a stronger partnership with HLF/NLHF is shaping a large-scale heritage project such as Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City, both in terms of funding and in terms of cooperation to frame the interpretation and role of heritage within the project.

Nevertheless, a critical element is the spatial distribution of such positive effects. Investment in culture and heritage has been focusing primarily on the city center. This is not necessarily a feature of the UKCoC, as the idea of concentrating urban regeneration in the city center and the waterfront is a long-standing element of the local urban agenda. This approach emerged to tackle urban decay and the under provision of retail in the city center. However, the event contributed to emphasizing center-periphery socio-spatial disparities. Arguably, the neglect of peripheral areas may impact on built heritage both directly – i.e. less investment in heritage conservation outside the city center – or indirectly, for example as a result of the displacement of economic activities. Legacy planning will have to deal with this increased inequality to avoid the neglect of built heritage assets in the periphery.

5.5.3 Mega-events as heritage partnership-building devices

Hull 2017 showed how mega-events can be platforms to establish new heritage-related partnerships and develop existing ones, involving both local and external actors, such as national organizations.

As mentioned earlier, the work with Historic England led to a series of heritage assets being assigned protection status

for the first time. In addition, this partnership also led to more experimental approaches to heritage conservation and management, as in the case of the Old Town, which was included in the national list of Heritage Action Zones.

The partnership with the Heritage Lottery Fund/National Lottery Heritage Fund since 2016 was key to secure substantial funding for heritage projects and to develop local skills and capabilities in relation to the delivery of such projects. Moreover, HLF/NLHF encouraged local actors to explore innovative interpretations of and ways to engage with built heritage. This kind of partnership building at the national level appears of particular importance considering the established discourse of political and economic marginalization of the North, as political attention and economic resources tend to concentrate in South East England.

Finally, an interesting issue is the partnership with Associated British Ports, who showed an unprecedented interest in cultural activity and contributed to funding and delivering a number of events in 2017. After the privatization of UK ports, port authorities are private companies who directly manage maritime businesses and run the port estate. For this reason, they are particularly wealthy actors, who can contribute to cultural events and activities with substantial resources, and most importantly they can waive their safety and security policies to allow the use of heritage spaces within the port estate to host cultural events.

This experience suggests that mega-events can have an important and long-lasting legacy in terms of heritage-related partnerships and of relationships between local actors and national heritage organizations. As a result of Hull being the UK City of Culture 2017, local institutions and cultural organizations now have stronger relationships with national organizations and increased confidence in applying for funding, even in the case of large-scale heritage projects such as Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City.

5.5.4 Post-event heritage projects and heritage-inspired cultural events

The case of Hull also shows how an immediate legacy is key to sustain the momentum generated by mega-events as regards heritage protection and mobilization.

Ephemeral events in 2018 and 2019, delivered by the legacy company Absolutely Cultured Ltd, played an important role from this perspective. These events displayed a certain extent of continuity in the idea – which characterized many events in 2017 – of using the arts to encourage residents and visitors to engage with Hull’s history and heritage and explore the city’s heritage spaces. Events such as Dominoes or Urban Legends: Northern Lights created kinetic art trails across the city, sometimes in areas that had relatively been neglected in 2017 or were less well-known. These events created arts-heritage collaborations that helped keep alive the relationship between residents and heritage and allow aesthetic innovation and creative learning.

Hull: Yorkshire’s Maritime City is another project that has been helping sustain the interest, momentum and excitement around heritage that was created by the UKCoC. It also responds to the ‘appetite’ for events and initiatives related to the city’s maritime heritage that was witnessed during 2017, considering that such events were able to generate considerable interest among the public. Although the UKCoC was not the only driver of Hull: Yorkshire’s Maritime City, the event arguably contributed to boosting such project and broaden its scope and ambition. Nevertheless, the risk is that goals of economic development might become dominant and lead to an extensive commodification of maritime culture and heritage, to the detriment of authenticity.

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Young, A. (2018b). Urban Legends: Northern Lights to bring Made in Hull magic back with huge sound and light festival. *Hull Daily Mail*, November 1, 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.hulldailymail.co.uk/news/hull-east-yorkshire-news/urban-legends-northern-lights-hull-2171937>

Interviews

Name	Institution	Place and date
HullUni01	University of Hull	University of Hull, 26/04/2019
HullNLHF01	Former officer of Heritage Lottery Fund	Phone interview, 15/04/2019
HullUni02	University of Hull – Blaydes Maritime Centre	University of Hull, 26/04/2019
HullUni03	University of Hull – Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation (WISE)	WISE, 23/08/2019
HullCC01	Hull City Council – Project Manager for Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City	Earle House, 08/04/2019
Hull1701	Absolutely Cultured Ltd	Phone interview, 03/07/2019
HullHGs	Hull Civic Society	University of Hull, 07/03/2019
HullNLHF02	National Lottery Heritage Fund	Phone interview, 24/05/2019
HullCC02	Visit Hull and East Yorkshire	Pacific Exchange, 22/05/2019
HullUni04	University of Hull – Blaydes Maritime Centre	University of Hull, 01/07/2019



Chapter 6

PAFOS 2017 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

Motivating new planning practices and rethinking heritage

by Evanthia Dova, Angeliki Sivitanidou, Julia Georgi-Nerantzia
Tzortzi and Natia Anastasi

The Pafos 2017 ECoC case at a glance



PAFOS2017
EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

Facts and figures

City population
32,892 (2011)

GDP per capita
National
€21,000 (2013)
€22,900 (2017)

City
N/A

Tourists
930,886 overnight (2013)
1,369,527 overnight
(2017)

Event attendance
207,250

Total no. of events
168 projects

Total event cost
€ 8,500,000

Infrastructure budget
€ 22,000,000

Heritage project budget
N/A

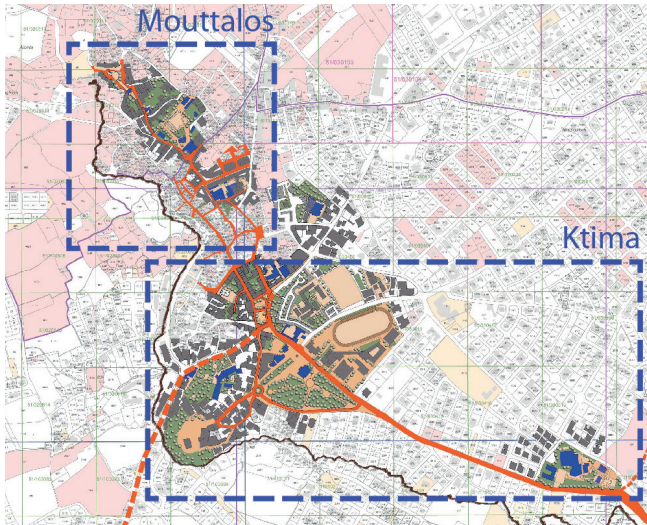


Fig. 6.0 The 2017 ECoC plan for the network of buildings and public spaces in the Pafos center (source: Angeliki Sivitanidou, Evanthia Dova, 2013).

The projects designed for the Pafos 2017 ECoC event have contributed to generating a new long-term development strategy for the city founded not only on seaside tourism, but also on the enhancement of cultural heritage, environmental sustainability, inclusion and social capacity. The event generated a long-term vision and stimulated the design of various urban interventions related to cultural heritage. The recovery of historic buildings and public spaces is an obvious legacy of the ECoC. However, it is too early to yet provide a definitive assessment of the economic and social effectiveness of this approach and the series of plans and projects generated by the event in various parts of the city.

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

- A scheme based on community and heritage
- A strategic vision for the transformation of the city center
- The ECoC as incentive and activator of change

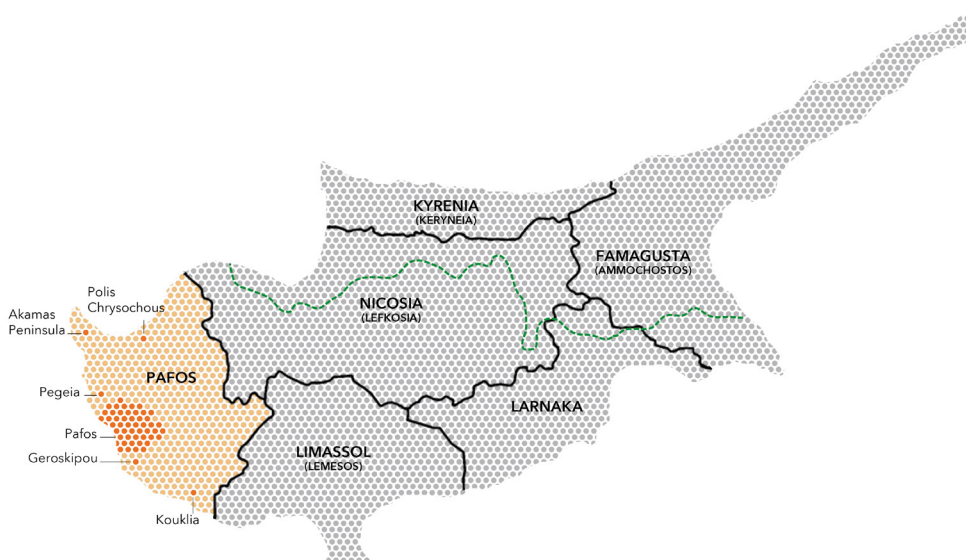
Opposite page: Attikon/Othello Theatre in early 2017 (source: Evanthia Dova, 2017).

6.1 Pafos: from sanctuary of beauty to capital of culture

A long history of arrivals

Pafos, on the coast of Western Cyprus, is a small city with a long history. Dating to the Neolithic period, it grew as an outpost of the Mycenaeans from the 12th century BC. The first settlement in the area is Palaipafos (Old Pafos), about 15 kilometers SE of the current city, where an important Sanctuary hosted the cult of Aphrodite, the hellenized form of the eastern goddess Astarte. Pafos therefore boasts a special connection with the goddess of beauty and love, and a long tradition of festivals and celebrations that involve music, poetry and sports. By the 4th c. BC, Nea Pafos, a larger harbor town, had developed NW along the coast, to what is now Kato Pafos. It grew to a large commercial and cultural center, still tied to the worship of Aphrodite in the Sanctuary at Palaipafos, and became the capital of Cyprus after the arrival of the Romans. The splendor of the Hellenistic and Roman times can still be seen in the city's archaeological site, in the magnificent villas and beautiful mosaics, the large

Fig. 6.1 Map of Cyprus showing the location of Pafos (source: Evanthia Dova, 2018).



Hellenistic theatre, the Roman Odeon and the extensive necropolis ‘Tombs of the Kings’, designated a UNESCO World Heritage site. Apart from Aphrodite, Pafos is also connected with another figure of worship, Apostle Paul, who arrived in Pafos in 45 AD and converted its Roman governor to Christianity. Pafos’ decline began much later, in the 4th c., when it was hit firstly by a series of earthquakes and then by the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius’ closing down of all pagan temples, ending the worship of Aphrodite in the area. Arab raids forced the town to relocate inland to Ktima and the hills overlooking the Roman harbor. The Ottoman Turks invaded the island in 1570, to rule it for 300 years, until handing it over to Great Britain in 1878.

Fig. 6.2 The Nea Pafos archeological site (source: Sergey Galyonkin, <https://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2015).



A violent divide and a forced relocation

Almost a century later, and after an armed uprising in 1955, Cyprus gained its independence from Britain in 1960. However, problems between the Greek- and the Turkish-Cypriot communities persisted, and in 1963 violent confrontations between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots left many casualties. After a decade of turmoil, the Turkish invasion of 1974 caused destruction and thousands of deaths all over the island. Awaiting for a definitive resolution, a UN-controlled no-man’s land, the Green Zone, has divided the island in two; the Republic of Cyprus controls the southern part of the island (about 59% of the territory), and the self-declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus controls the north (about 36%), while the rest is British army bases, under

the sovereignty of the UK. The division of the island forced the separation of the Greek- from the Turkish-Cypriots, who, until then, had lived together for centuries. Tens of thousands of people were displaced from their homes in the north of Cyprus and had to move south, and vice versa; the empty bullet-ridden houses of Mouttallos still wait for their owners to return, while many villages in the Pafos district –as elsewhere on the island- are crumbling away.

Pafos' resurgence

The division of the island also separated the popular resorts of the time -Famagusta and Kyrenia- from the Republic of Cyprus. As tourist development was re-directed to new areas in the south, Pafos began to grow once again, this time through haphazard expansion along the coast, around the fishing village that had sprung up adjacent to the ruins of Nea Pafos. Today, the city of Pafos has almost 33,000 residents and the entire district is a constantly growing tourist center, with a significant contribution to the area's and the country's economy.

In bidding for the 2017 European Capital of Culture, Pafos represented the entire District of Pafos, comprising four Municipalities (Pafos, Geroskipou, Pegeia and Polis Chrysochous), 98 village communities and a total of about 90,000 residents. Almost 30% of its residents are foreign nationals, mostly expatriates from the UK or Greek, with rising numbers of people from Russia and other countries of Eastern Europe; so the co-existence of many cultures in Pafos is not just a historic fact, but a current reality. This is intensified by the number of annual visitors to Pafos, with more than 1,300,000 overnight stays in 2017 and rising.

Focusing on the city, an interesting aspect of Pafos is the relative segregation of its urban and social fabric, which is more of a patchwork of areas with many missing pieces; the displacement of Pafos's Turkish-Cypriot population has left many buildings in the center of the city derelict or underused, and a whole quarter (Mouttallos) largely empty. This is a strong reminder, symbolic and spatial, of the island's

political division. There is also a strong division in geography and character between Ktima, the main residential district, and Kato Pafos, the touristic area, which is reflected in the social make-up of the two areas: locals are concentrated in the upper part, tourists and seasonal workers (many of them foreigners, too) stay in the lower part of the city.

A bridge of cultures

Its small size and diverse social make-up were the defining factors in how the ECoC was planned, funded and delivered, and how it has benefitted the city so far and into the future. With the city being an already well-established seaside tourism center (based on its mild year-round climate), Pafos 2017 was not so concerned about increasing the international profile of the city as it was about changing it.

Suturing the social and spatial divides has been an important part of the bid and the program. The motto of Pafos 2017 “Linking Continents-Bridging Cultures” refers to its geographical location, its history as a crossroads of people and cultures, and also to its intention of re-connecting its residents with the city, the separate parts of the city with one another, and its disparate communities together. The ‘Open Air Factory’ was the term used for the mechanism of the 2017 ECoC; it was a concept that comprises open spaces and also openness in terms of tolerance, acceptance, encouragement and integration of different cultures, ideas and beliefs. As a virtual space for cultural production it encompassed the entire district, spatially and socially, and as a physical space it comprised indoor spaces but mostly open air amphitheaters, public spaces and natural sites where cultural activities took place.

6.1.1 City and event facts and figures

Tab. 6.1 – City and event facts and figures (source: elaboration by the authors).

92 Statistical Service of Cyprus, 2016.

93 The City of Pafos represented the whole District of Pafos; all four Municipalities of the District were partners in the Pafos 2017 Organization and ECoC activities spread in the entire area. Urban population: 63,542/ Rural population: 26,753.

94 World Bank Open Data, 2019.

95 Statistical Service of Cyprus, 2019.

96 European Commission et al., 2018: 81.

97 European Commission et al., 2018: 62.

98 Estimate based on description of projects. See Grizzo, Beeby, & Georgiou, 2016.

99 Pafos 2017 did not gather comprehensive audience data. See European Commission et al., 2018: 90.

100 This percentage is much higher than in other ECoCs, where foreign visits often make up less than 10%, however, it includes permanent residents in Cyprus (particularly Greek and British), not only visitors. (European Commission et al., 2018: 64, 67).

101 European Commission et al., 2018: 72-75.

102 European Commission et al., 2018: 76.

City/Event	Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture	
Year	2017	
District population (2011)⁹²	Pafos Municipality	32,892
	Pafos District ⁹³	90,295
GDP per capita⁹⁴	Before (2013)	27,942.32 USD
	During (2017)	25,760.76 USD
	After (2018)	28,159.30 USD
Number of annual visitors (in overnight stays)⁹⁵	Before (2013)	930,886
	During (2017)	1,369,527
	After	207,250
Event attendance⁹⁶	207,250	
Total no. of events⁹⁷	168 separate projects	
Heritage % of events⁹⁸	86 (54%)	
Audience demographics (age, gender, etc.)⁹⁹	N/A	
Number and shares of local/national/international visitors	59% Cypriot (many from Pafos). 40% non-Cypriot (13% UK, 11% GR, 4% Germany, 2% Russia, 8% other- China, Japan etc., 2% dual citizenship) ¹⁰⁰	
Total event cost¹⁰¹	€ 8,500,000	
Cultural/Entertainment Program cost¹⁰²	€ 5,311,291 (69% of budget)	
Heritage project budget	N/A	

Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture

Public funding ¹⁰³	Ministry of Education and Culture	€ 4,500,000	60%
	Local and regional government	€ 1,000,000	10%
	EU Mercouri Prize	€ 1,500,000	15%
Private funding	Sponsors	€ 1,000,000	10%
	Ticket sales	€ 300.000	3%
Legacy funding	N/A		
Infrastructure cost (event budget)	€ 0		
Infrastructure cost (other budget)	€ 21,980,350 ¹⁰⁴		

103 European Commission et al., 2018: 72-75.

104 Budget given by the Technical Office of the Municipality of Pafos.

6.1.2 Pafos 2017 timeline

Tab. 6.2 – Timeline of the event’s planning and management process (source: elaboration by the authors).

105 The Committee was established by the Municipal Council of Pafos after its decision to run for the 2017 ECoC (07.2010). It included the four Municipalities of the Pafos District (Pafos, Pegeia, Geroskipou & Polis Chrysochous), and the District Union of Communities of Pafos.

106 “Declaration of support for the candidacy of the city of Pafos for the title of European Capital of Culture 2017”, presented in a public gathering (12.2010).

107 The Pafos 2017 Work Group consisted of a Project Manager, an Artistic Director, an Office Executive Manager and an Administration Officer, three Municipal Services representatives, the Communications and Marketing consultants, and three academics from the Neapolis University Pafos School of Architecture, Land and Environmental Sciences. For Phase II, the Work Group was housed in the District Officer’s Residence, a historic and emblematic building in Pafos.

Bidding

2010-2012

Public administration (state, local, etc.)

Pafos Municipalities’ Committee for the 2017 ECoC Bid is established (Pafos Mayor: S. Vergas)¹⁰⁵.
Public presentation to obtain support (2010)¹⁰⁶.

Event organizers

The Pafos Office for the 2017 European Capital of Culture is set up (2011). The Pafos 2017 Work Group is finalized, after multiple rounds of public consultations¹⁰⁷. The Phase I Bid Book is submitted (July 2011), and Pafos and Nicosia are selected to proceed to Phase II (Sept. 2011).
During Phase II, Open Volunteer Workshops (Artistic Creation, Urban Development and Infrastructure, Volunteerism, Youth & Culture, Social Inclusion, Entrepreneurship & Culture, Marketing & Communication, with app. 800 participants) are run. Info events are held (with app. 2000 participants) on the ECoC program and Pafos’ candidacy. Pafos is selected as the 2017 ECoC (14.09.2012).

Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)

Establishing contacts with various ethnic groups and foreign residents associations: The United Kingdom Citizens Association, the Cyprus- Russian Association of Pafos, the Romanian Association, the Pontiac Association, the Bulgarian Association and the German-Cyprus Friendship Association, individuals from Sri Lanka, South Africa, Philippines and Egypt (2011).

Planning	Implementation
2013-2016	2015-2017
<p>Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Plan submitted (2014)¹⁰⁸. Permission to use T/C property obtained (2015)¹⁰⁹. Mayor S. Vergas' arrest and resignation (2014-15). New Mayor: P. Phedonos (2016)¹¹⁰.</p>	<p>Infrastructure projects implemented under the supervision of the Technical Office of the Municipality of Pafos (2015-2017).</p>
<p>The Pafos 2017 Board of Directors is set (03/2013). An Artistic Director (M. Ilia) is selected (08/2013), and is replaced six months later (G. Doetzer, 01/2015). The Pafos 2017 Official program is presented in public (2016).</p>	
<p>Pafos 2017 & Volunteers' meeting with the Dept. of Antiquities to discuss the Archaeological Spaces' Unification and their active involvement in the project (Sept. 2013). Meeting with Citizens' Board (Oct. 2013) and the Hoteliers' Association (Nov. 2013) Cooperation Protocol with NUP/ OSYPA/ KOT (2016).</p>	

108 The ISUDP was submitted to the Ministry of Interior (11.2014) in order to apply for project funding from the European Regional Development Fund for the period 2014-2020.

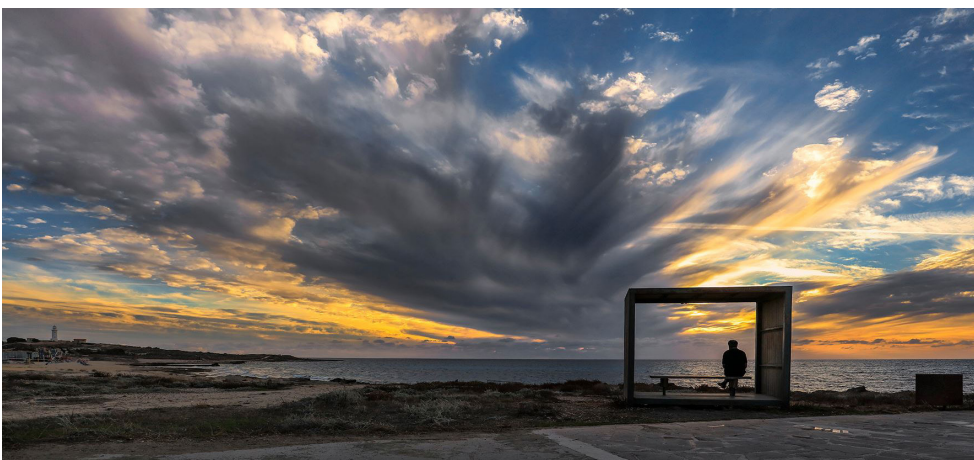
109 Turkish-Cypriot properties in the Republic of Cyprus are temporarily managed by a special branch of the Ministry of Interior Management (Legislation 139/91 to 68(I)/2012). The permission to use T/C property was granted by the Ministry of Interior (08.2015).

110 Mayor S. Vergas was arrested on corruption and blackmail charges (15.10.2014), resigned (02.12.2014) and an interim election was held (11.01.2015). P. Phedonos was elected in the interim election and reelected in the regular election (18.12.2016).

6.2 The road to Pafos 2017 and the turning point in urban planning and governance

Pafos pursued the 2017 ECoC designation in order to steer social and cultural development along new paths (heritage preservation, environmental protection, community inclusion and social responsibility) and diversify its primarily seaside-tourism-related economy, based on the area's culture, its historic and natural assets. Surprisingly, and despite its small size, lack of experience in large-scale cultural events and limited cultural infrastructure, Pafos was awarded the title. The economic crisis that hit Cyprus during Pafos' preparation greatly affected the program and its financing, yet the enthusiasm and participation of locals as Pafos 2017 employees, artists, donors or volunteers contributed to the success of the event. The spatial component of the bid, based on re-claiming public spaces and historic buildings, and promoting issues of sustainability and social cohesion, was supported by EU Structural Funds, catalysed a city-wide process of urban interventions which is still on-going, and stands as the palpable legacy of the ECoC. It is, however, too early to assess the effectiveness of this approach in terms of economic activity stimulation, cultural growth and social cohesion.

Fig. 6.3 The Pafos Waterfront (source: Christos Constantinides, 2017).



6.2.1 Heritage as a driver of the mega-event planning

The actors involved in defining heritage

Initially, in the first bidding phase, the Pafos 2017 Working Group, which included a culture and heritage official from the municipal cultural services, the artistic director and academics from the local university, and the municipality's cultural advisors were the sole actors involved in defining heritage and deciding how to include it in the event planning (Paf1701, PafMun02 and PafVol02). During the second bidding phase, the Pafos' candidacy gathered so much momentum that all volunteer workshops, which included academics, artists, artistic and cultural associations and entities, together with the Artistic Team and the Steering Committee, offered their interpretations on heritage via various degrees of capacity and expertise.

During the implementation phase (2014-17), the broader group of actors involved in determining notions, concepts and meanings of heritage and how they are manifested in socio-cultural and artistic events were the Pafos 2017 Organization Artistic team (director and staff) in collaboration with co-organizers and/or participating entities. The Ministry of Education and Culture, the Cyprus Center of the International Theatre Institute and the Cyprus Tourism Organization integrated the International Festival of Ancient Greek Drama in the 2017 program; the Ministry also collaborated with artists in the Trails of Memories – Terpsichore project (which records the multiple socio-historic layers of the Pafos old city center); a local cultural association initiated Trauma and Therapy in the Archaeological Museum of Pafos; Terra Mediterranea: In Action and Terue Yamauchi: When Solid begins Turning Fluid were co-organized with the EU-Japan Fest Japan Committee; local and international academics worked on the project Nea Paphos and Western Cyprus – New Archaeological and Historical Perspectives.

Heritage projects in the bid documents

Tangible and intangible heritage had a prominent role in the Pafos 2017 bid documents. The city's long history as a multi-cultural crossroads and its immediate connection to the myth of Aphrodite and, in extension, Love, appeared repeatedly in the three production lines that structured the Cultural Program (Myth and Religion, World Travellers, Stages of the Future), but also in specific projects (eg. Aphrodite's Kitchen/ Linking Continents through Culinary Adventures, The Big Mosaic/ Linking Continents by re-assembling Cultural and Social Mosaics; Grizzo, Filippidis, Christoforou, & Iacovides, 2011: 84-87). In fact, history and heritage, Aphrodite and St. Paul, the archaeological and the historic sites of Pafos were the bid's anchoring points. This strategy was further elaborated upon during the second phase of the bid, and highlighted Pafos' cultural heritage and relationship to the environment. The area's intangible heritage was immediately related to its distinctiveness as a bridge between continents, and as its input in shaping a shared European identity:

“The figureheads of our heritage: Aphrodite (love, beauty, sexuality, eros, desire), Hephaestus (forge, fire) ... the island's geographical location and cultural affiliations give its population a unique character, as a European people deeply shaped by Asian and African influences, which are parts of our common European heritage” (Grizzo et al., 2011: 13).

As concepts to be re-visited and re-thought, aspects of heritage were put forward as inspiration and resource for a cultural strategy and for cultural production in the future, and also as a tool with which to address political problems (Grizzo et al., 2011). Built heritage was regarded as the tangible expression of cultural heritage, of identity, of the spirit of the place, and as a way to synthesize locality in the context of globalization; it should therefore be preserved and enhanced.



Fig. 6.4 The sculptural fence of the Cyprus College of Art, in Lemba, Pafos: a three-dimensional collage of recycled materials, traditional techniques and fantastic forms (source: Evanthia Dova, 2019).

Multiple heritages shaping projects and urban transformations

On the local level, urban heritage was regarded as a strong asset for the city. Urban space, considered as a bearer of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, was directly linked with identity, and its obvious abandonment was stated as the physical manifestation of the city's loss of direction (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 2); reclaiming the city's heritage would rekindle the cultural potential of the city:

“The vision of the new cultural strategy is to utilize the city's history and heritage, which has made Pafos a center of European culture throughout the centuries, in order to reawaken its cultural capacities and generate new ones” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 13).

Adding on to historical identity, processes of inclusion, participation and integration of the particular 'heritages' of Pafos' residents were subsequently discussed as ways to connect the various ethnic groups of the city into a more cohesive social entity, as means to enhance the city's identity through multi-cultural practices:

“To enrich Pafos' cultural heritage through modern cultural and artistic interventions and tie art and heritage in with an interactive and participatory approach for the citizens of all ages and ethnic groups” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 12).

Local heritage was also seen, at the macro-level, as a means to integrate the city into the wider European vision, and to claim a distinct position for Pafos within the European geographical and cultural space:

“Pafos has a rich cultural and natural heritage and artefacts which are of world-wide cultural value and importance for mankind. Preserving the diversity of our culture and transporting it into 21st century Europe is a contribution to our common human heritage” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 89).

Additionally, it was proposed as a shared ground where political and social convergence could be stimulated:

“...a reuniting of Greek Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots promoted through the Open Khan multicultural center and The Big Mosaic processes of discovering a common heritage and traditions” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 7).

Moreover, heritage was regarded as a composite of all ethnicities that have constituted Cypriot identity over the centuries; Linking Continents- Bridging Cultures relied on harnessing the potential of their convergence in order to reunite Cyprus -the divided country- and Pafos -the divided city and community- through creative synergies (Grizzo et al., 2011: 17). In describing the Open Air Factory concept,

its production units and departments were the various ethnic groups and communities of the district of Pafos, to be fully utilized and involved throughout the whole process (bidding, creating the cultural program and implementing it) as participating artists, volunteers, staff and audience (Grizzo et al., 2011: 25-26). The Community Involvement Program (CIP) was shaped for the purpose of engaging all ethnic minorities in artistic creativity, assisting in setting up and running the ECoC projects, developing their knowledge base and skills and ensuring citizen's building capacity and active engagement in the socio-cultural and artistic happenings of the city during and after 2017 as a legacy:

“[...] the Open Air Factory invites groups, minorities, foreign permanent residents, immigrants and refugees to integrate and, together with the residents and the artists of Pafos, to create joint activities, with respect to diversity and acceptance of the other [...] The CIP [...] offers an opportunity to the participants for creative and organized participation, as well as opportunities and prospects for knowledge and skills development, leaving

Fig. 6.5 Artist's rendering of The Ibrahim Khan and the Table of Unification, depicting the Khan's courtyard as a venue for multi-cultural events (source: Angeliki Sivitanidou, 2012).

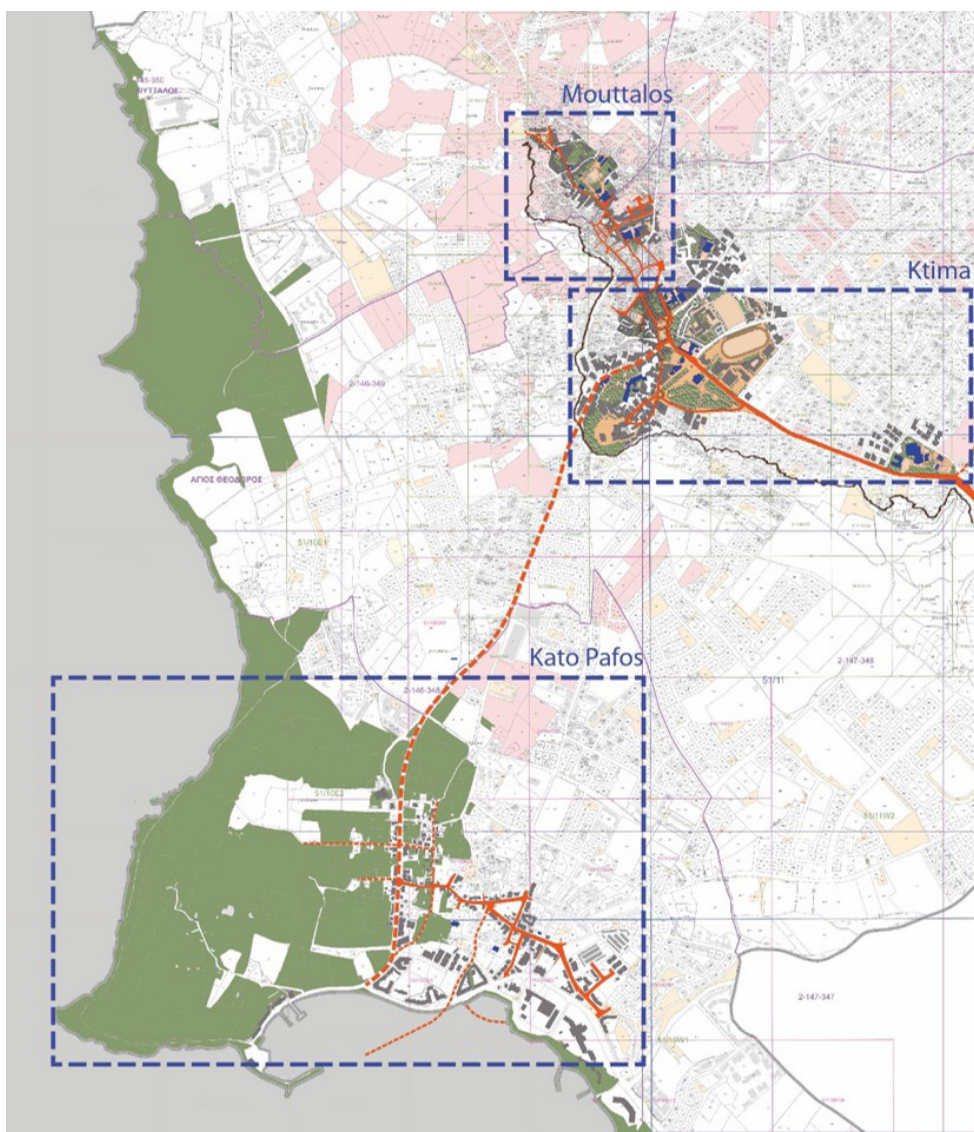


behind important structures and prerequisites for the engagement of active citizens in the years after 2017” (<http://www.pafos2017.eu/en/community-involvement/>. Accessed 29 July, 2019).

Particular efforts were made to include Turkish-Cypriots, expatriated Cypriots and children through targeted invitations, such as to artistic associations (e.g. the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts and the corresponding Turkish-Cypriot European-Mediterranean Art Association for the Akamas Project; Grizzo et al., 2011: 100-103), representative bodies (e.g. the UK Citizens Association Pafos and the "Aetos" Pontian Community of Pafos), public and private schools and youth artistic entities (e.g. Back to the Future/Pafos in 2030 was a collaboration of 180 students from schools of the Pafos district; Grizzo et al., 2011: 96-99). However, citizens residing further away from the cities of Pafos district, namely remote rural communities, out-of-towners, expats and especially Turkish-Cypriots did not have equal opportunities to participate due to communication difficulties, long distances and limited budgeting.

With such a strong emphasis on heritage, many heritage-related projects were planned in the first stage of the bid (Grizzo et al., 2011: 84–96), some of which were further elaborated in the second stage, whilst some were discontinued and replaced with other projects in a similar vein (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012a: 6-18). Eventually, 157 events comprised the Pafos 2017 programme; 86 events (55%) were related to heritage, 138 events (88%) were located in designated heritage sites, and 79 events (50%) concerned heritage and took place in designated heritage areas. The sheer number of heritage-related projects in the ECoC attest to “notions of heritage being completely intertwined in the spirit and fully embedded in the concept the Open Air Factory, the design of its thematic categories and its implementation” (Paf1701).

Not limited to the cultural program, heritage was also the basis for the series of urban interventions proposed as infrastructure for the 2017 ECoC events in Pafos (Grizzo



et al., 2011: 128-130; Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012a: 20-23). The spatial component of Pafos' Open Air Factory program was shaped through the Urban Development and Infrastructure Volunteer Group (local architects, engineers & academics) in a series of workshops, with much input from local authorities and building professionals (mostly local architects and engineers). The workshops focused on identifying and using existing public spaces and historic

Fig. 6.6 Map of projects proposed for the 2017 ECoC in the Pafos bid book (source: Evanthia Dova, Angeliki Sivitanidou, 2013).

buildings to fill in urban gaps and shape a network of outdoor and indoor spaces for culture. Particular attention was paid to heritage sites, which had until then, stood empty, underused or neglected. Discrete urban projects that the Municipality already had in various stages of development (the remodeling of the historic/ commercial center, the Municipal Gardens - Town Hall - Schools complex) were also integrated into the network, so as to take advantage of soon-to-be-completed spaces or to expedite their implementation. These spaces were then matched with the most suitable cultural projects, in close collaboration with the Artistic director (PafMun01, Paf1701 and Paf1704).

The projects for the city of Pafos form two groups¹¹¹:

- The Urban Network of Ktima integrates public spaces with specific buildings and connects the administrative core of the city (28th October Square and City Hall), through Kennedy Square and Pazari, its main commercial axis, to the abandoned Turkish-Cypriot quarter of Mouttallos. This cluster involves the extensive pedestrianization of the historic market area, the upgrade of historically and socially significant cultural venues (the Attikon Cinema and the Markideion Theater), and the creation of new infrastructure with the restoration of the highly symbolic Ibrahim Khan, forming a continuous network of indoor and outdoor public spaces for culture. The interventions in Ktima aim to generate an alternative pole of attraction for locals and visitors as a counterpoint to the most-frequented areas along the waterfront. Using the area's extensive spatial heritage, the projects aim to re-insert the features of centrality and livability into the long-overlooked city core.
- The Archaeological Network of Kato Pafos links the UNESCO World Heritage site of Nea Pafos with the modern settlement, forming an extended historic walk and an ecological corridor between two Natura 2000-designated areas. This is expected to restore the

111 Projects in other parts of the district, also heritage-related, were included in the bid but not realized, like the restoration and reuse projects of the Silk Factory Complex and the 'Germanina Farm' in Geroskipou.

historic and natural narrative as a spatial experience, enhance the tourist experience and also shape a vibrant public space that highlights Pafos' multi-cultural character.

6.2.2 The ECoC as trigger for further city plans based on urban heritage

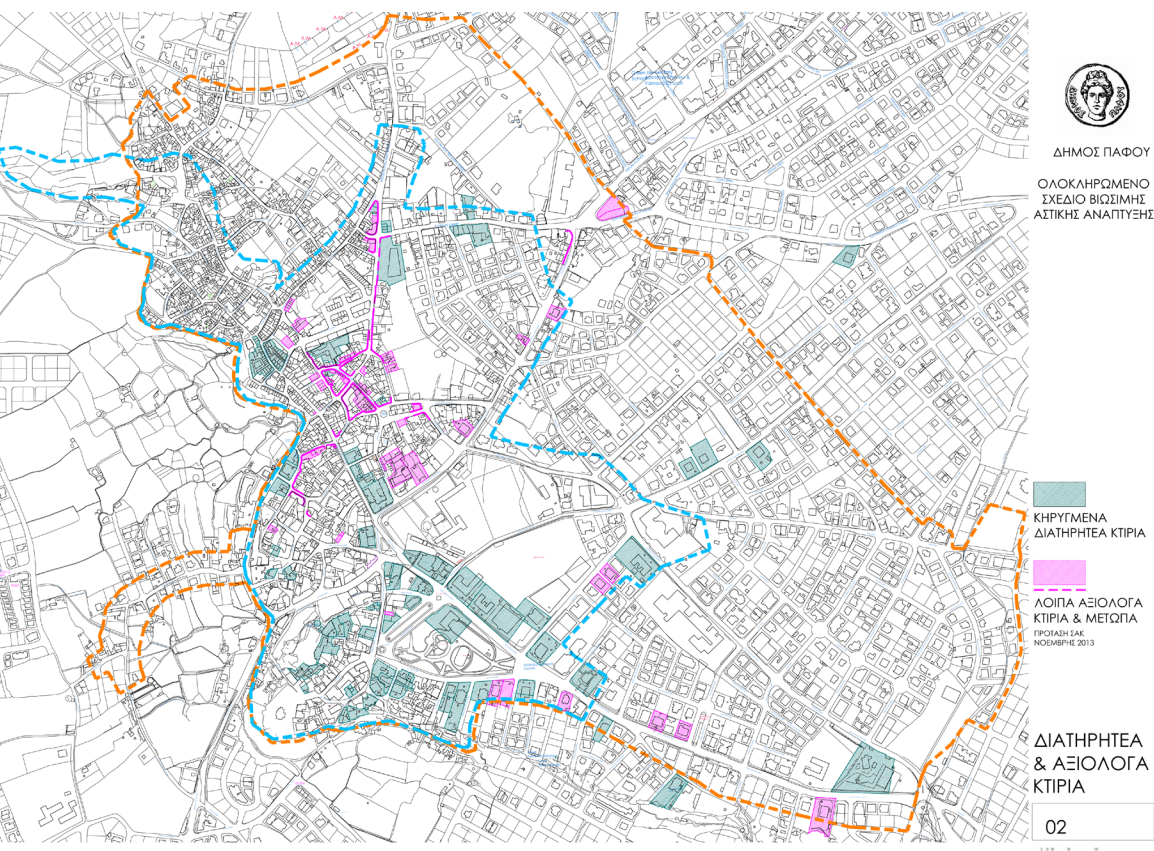
In order to enhance the quality of life for current residents and attract new ones, the Local Plan for Pafos, prepared by the Cyprus Department of Town Planning and Housing, promoted the remodeling of Pafos' traditional neighborhoods through restoring old buildings, improving the environment and the services provided, preserving the current and inserting new uses, compatible with the character of the area. Particular attention was given to the urban core, defined as an Area of Special Planning Interest, whose central role should be restored and enhanced, its density augmented and pedestrian/ cyclist mobility improved (Local Plan for Pafos, 2011). A special chapter is devoted to the protection of Cultural Heritage (Local Plan for Pafos, 2011: 83–90), which includes the archaeological, architectural and urban heritage, describes the concept of 'integrated conservation', and anticipates its promotion through specific Area Schemes and economic incentives (which are to be set in other plans).

Even though the ECoC bid appears to work in a similar vein, it was not part of this or any other pre-existing city plan; instead, it appears that bidding for (and eventually winning) the title became the occasion for developing urban plans and setting them in motion (Dova, 2013). From the very beginning, the spatial projects included in the bid would form a plan that could be used by the Municipality even if the bid failed; the bidding documents themselves would provide a legacy for the city to follow (PafMun01 and Paf1704).

For the small city of Pafos, the intrinsic economy of the ECoC event, i.e. reliance on local resources, flexibility and independence from external investments, showed its merits when the economic crisis hit Cyprus in March 2013.

Placed under extreme pressure, the government funding and municipal/community public contribution initially proposed were severely reduced and private sponsoring was almost impossible to procure. With the 2017 ECoC designation secured, the Municipality of Pafos developed a plan, in order to claim assistance from the EU Cohesion Fund for Investment in Growth and Employment. The *Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Plan (ISUDP 2014-2020)* was based on the Pafos 2017 spatial program and comprises three axes: (i) protecting and promoting cultural heritage, (ii) enhancing the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises and (iii) promoting employment and alleviating social exclusion. For these purposes, the urban proposals from the Bid Book were grouped in 8 projects; the spatial regeneration program was thus directly linked with job creation, social cohesion, financial

Fig. 6.7 Map of listed buildings in the Pafos center, prepared for the ISUDP (source: Municipality of Pafos, 2013).



viability, protection of cultural heritage, quality of place and livability, and diversification of the tourist economy. Members of the Urban Development and Infrastructure Volunteer Group systematically mapped the age and value of the area's buildings as sites of cultural and architectural heritage, public buildings and green spaces, parking lots, transportation networks, land use, alongside other social and urban parameters and located the ECoC projects in this context. The aim was clear: to take advantage of the ECoC opportunity so as to breathe new life into a historic center that is in steady decline, more like an urban defibrillator (Dova, Sivitanidou & Koutsolambros, 2015). So, in a sense, the order of planning was reversed; the 2017 bid provided a coherent 'master plan' which the Municipality then adopted and pursued. The Pafos 2017 ECoC was used as a pressure mechanism to obtain funding for Ktima's long overdue reboot and revitalization.

As a successful international and domestic tourist destination, Pafos has long struggled with controlling the impact of tourism on its natural assets, its economic environment and its urban structure. Until now, tourism had concentrated along the waterfront; in contrast, the ISUDP includes a strategy on tourist development through the promotion of cultural heritage as a tool to enrich the area's tourist offerings, and to stimulate the growth of medium- and small-size businesses in the city center. Its goal is to redefine the city center as a destination and a counterpoint to the waterfront, both for visitors and locals. Reclaiming the city's public space and historic buildings is therefore seen as the stimulus for the city's regeneration and re-definition as a city of culture and heritage; built heritage becomes important for its secondary effects as attractor and as generator of the previously non-existent 'creative economies'. The ISUDP anticipates the gentrification problems that might arise with urban regeneration, hence it tries to create jobs and promote integration activities for minorities, people with special needs and other sensitive social groups.

Apart from the city proper, at the time of the ECoC bid, the Cypriot government commissioned *Management Plans*,

Sites of Community Importance (SCI), Special Protection Areas (SPA), and other Local Communities Sustainable Development Plans (LCSDP) throughout the island. Due to the nomination of the whole Pafos district as the Pafos 2017 ECoC, great efforts were made to complete the *Sustainable Development Plan for the Akamas National Forest Park* and the *Akamas Management Plan*, which include the integration of the whole Akamas Peninsula and the adjoining Pafos Forest into the Natura2000 European network.

6.2.3 Top-down practices and bottom-up contributions

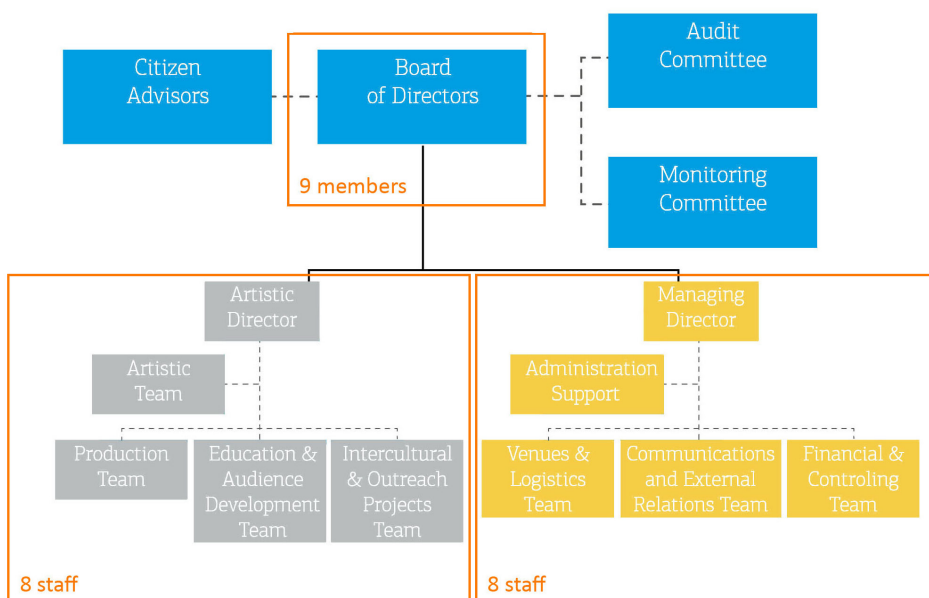
Setting up the Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture

Even during the bidding phases, the Pafos Municipality intended to forge collaborations and networks within and among other small cities (Pafos, Geroskipou, Pegeia, Polis Chrysochous) and communities in the district (Union of Communities) to establish the Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture Organization, for the purpose of increasing political and economic support from the Cypriot government and other public and private investors, pooling resources (economic, technological, efforts, experience, personnel etc.) to a greater effect. However, significant delays in setting up the ad-hoc agency responsible for the events followed the official designation of Pafos as 2017 ECoC in 2012 mainly due to disagreements concerning the selection of the Organization's chairman. It took until March 2013 for all bodies involved to agree and set up the Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture Organization, which was dismantled in 2018. It was a private non-profit legal entity, set up as a Private Limited Liability Company with the area's four Municipalities (Pafos, Geroskipou, Pegeia, Polis Chrysochous), the Union of Communities of Pafos and the Pafos Chamber of Commerce and Industry as shareholders. It was responsible for the overall control of the ECoC, its budget and the delivery of the projects, in direct collaboration with the Municipality of Pafos regarding the

spatial infrastructure. The Pafos 2017 Organization had a Board of Directors and a Secretariat. The 9-member BoD was responsible for key decisions on resourcing, priorities and projects (with an 80% majority decision), whilst none of its members had a direct political role. Half of the Secretariat's staff of sixteen worked in the Artistic Team and the other half in Administration Team.

The structure more or less followed the scheme set in the Bid Book (see Fig. 6.8). The Artistic team (director and staff) were responsible for the development and implementation of the cultural program, based on the original bid books and the ECoC's overall concept. The Managing team (Director and staff) were responsible for the administration, communication and financial management of all activities linked to the program. The work of the Pafos 2017 Organization was monitored by two independent committees: the Audit Committee, responsible for the transparency of financial and legal issues and information, and the Monitoring Committee, responsible for the evaluation of Pafos 2017 (European Commission et al., 2018).

Fig. 6.8 The Pafos 2017 Organization structural diagram (source: Evanthia Dova, after Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 48-49).



As stated in the official ex-post evaluation report, the number of the Pafos 2017 staff members was significantly lower than other ECoC secretariats, which usually have about 30-50 employees. In order to overcome this shortage, team members had to work on a variety of duties, e.g. artistic support, project organizing, promotion, administration and technical issues (PafVol01 and PafVol03). The volunteers, too, had to take on more responsibilities; apart from handling promotional or organizational support duties, volunteers were also involved in the design and implementation of projects, including technical details, construction, etc. (European Commission et al., 2018). The spatial infrastructure envisioned for the ECoC events was the responsibility of the Municipality of Pafos, which managed the venues in close collaboration with the Pafos 2017 Organization.

Collaborations with other bodies

During the bidding, the Pafos 2017 Working Group were selected directly by the Municipality of Pafos (Paf1701), and the Steering Committee comprised three municipality officials. Moreover, the Technical Services of Pafos, Pegeia and Geroskipou Municipalities and of the Pafos District Administration, as well as the councils of participating communities, worked closely with the Urban Development and Infrastructure and the Artistic Teams to select suitable locations (PafMun01). Both bidding phases were monitored and assessed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. During the implementation phase (2014-17) and despite difficulties resulting from differences in opinions and approaches (Paf1703), the Pafos 2017 Organization was in continuous collaboration with the local municipalities (who were its shareholders) and various departments, ministries and services of the Cypriot government, due to their joined ventures and interests: e.g. to secure approval to use Turkish-Cypriot properties and archaeological/ historic and environmentally sensitive sites as ECoC venues, to complete and submit the Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Plan (ISUDP) so as to claim EU Structural Funds and to integrate established and reoccurring cultural events in order to enrich the Pafos 2017 Program.

At international and national levels respectively, both the bidding and implementation phases were constantly monitored and scrutinized by the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture (the Pafos 2017 major source of funding), and the European Committee's Monitoring and Advisory Panel before awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize.

The Cyprus Department of Antiquities has been another key agent in the implementation of the ECoC projects; the Municipality of Pafos had already established an effective long-term partnership with the Department, for two long-running annual events (the International Festival of Ancient Greek Drama and the Pafos Aphrodite Opera Festival, integrated in the ECoC program) taking place in heritage sites. The Pafos 2017 Organization used this precedent to secure further support and approval for planning other ECoC projects related to heritage and taking place in archaeological sites (e.g. Lysistrata at the House of Aion in the Pafos Archaeological Park and Traveling Stage at the Pafos Medieval Castle). The Department's collaboration as an associate and an advisory body was needed, especially for gaining special permission and guidance not only in setting up events in archaeological locations, but also during the renovation of the Pafos Archaeological Museum and the Archaeological Promenade in Kato Pafos –both projects run by the Department. In other cases, the Department co-organized ECoC events in archaeological sites (e.g. Archaeomusica and the Festivities of Yeronisos).

In several occasions, the Pafos 2017 Organization had to forge mutually beneficial relationships with heritage and conservation officials from several governmental departments (such as the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Works, the Department of Forests and the Department of Environment/ Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Environment) at the same time, in order to assess environmental and heritage-related impact. Safety, protection and preservation measures had to be taken for ECoC events to alleviate environmental issues and calm down protests by concerned citizens, Green Party officials and

supporters (e.g. the Moon and Stars concert series required the construction of a grandstand and stage at the Petra Tou Romiou landmark and the Akamas Project inserted artistic installations in a Natura 2000 site). Most collaborations with these departments were fruitful, but in certain instances, severe limitations were imposed, leading to some proposed ECoC events to be either hosted in alternative venues/sites or cancelled all together (e.g. Uniting the Mediterranean Sea, a site-specific marine theatre series, was moved to the beach in front of the EDRO III ship wreck, after the Departments of the Environment, Forests and Fisheries feared that it would disturb the indigenous sea turtles and seals living in the Pegeia sea caves, the event's original location).

The integral role of public participation

The bidding process began with a public gathering (Dec. 2010), and was followed by a series of focus groups with representatives from various local organizations (e.g. Neapolis University Pafos, local artists and cultural associations, professional societies etc.). Difficulties were initially encountered in designing the participation process, finding the appropriate medium of communication (in order to advocate and promote the institution and its significance to the communities and citizens of Pafos district) and increasing citizens' awareness, but they were quickly overcome (PafVol02). Once Pafos began working on the second phase of the bid, a series of volunteer workshops was held ("Workshops of Ideas"), open to all, in order to further develop most aspects of the bid: Artistic Creation, Urban Development and Infrastructure, Youth & Culture, Volunteerism, Social Inclusion, Entrepreneurship, Development and Culture, Promotion & Communication. Locals (Cypriot- and foreign-born) were very active during the entire second phase of the bid, encouraged by the city's unexpected success in the first phase, stimulated by the appreciation of their ideas, hopeful for change, and proud for having been included in a city-wide endeavor.

At the beginning of the implementation phase in 2014 an open call for artistic projects was issued, as well as a call for

volunteers to participate in the realization of the event and its projects; a number of proposals was selected through the first process (out of the 61 projects selected, 30 were implemented between 2014 and 2016 and 19 were in 2017; European Commission et al., 2018: 62), and a great number of volunteers through the second. The small number of 2017 employees was greatly helped by the contribution of almost 800 volunteers, who had an exceptionally active role in the realization of the 2017 ECoC events (European Commission et al., 2018: 68).

Apart from individuals, community groups also responded to calls for contribution. The Akamas area community councils collaborated with central government departments, local artists' and the Pafos 2017 Artistic Team to orchestrate actions and events in village areas and natural sites: historic public buildings, traditional village squares and sites of archaeological and environmental importance hosted parts of the ECoC creative program, e.g. the Akamas Project, Eco Art, Eco Biennale, Dragons of Europe- Travelling Playground. The ECoC events enlivened these places of collective memory, brought out their existing yet forgotten architectural and cultural values, and contextualised them by enriching them with new meanings. In a domino effect, most participating community councils equipped with newly-acquired confidence, knowledge and experience, utilized their ECoC involvement as a pressure mechanism to obtain public and EU funding from rural development programs, e.g. European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF), to restore outdoor spaces and buildings in their villages, for example the Neoclassical former regional school and central square of Kathikas village.

Even though a series of specific events and volunteer workshops enabled the public to follow and participate throughout the whole process, financial limitations and pressing deadlines for the cultural program did not allow improving, altering or introducing more effective public participation processes. Eventually, as the program was developing towards finalization, there was no formal mechanism to involve locals in the decision-making process,

apart from a limited budget on community involvement and outreach activities (European Commission et al., 2018: 68-69; Paf1701 and PafMun02). Especially during 2017, volunteers were utilized solely for the execution of events, e.g. to manage site-specific activities, to staff facilities, help setting up events, provide support etc. Although their participation was instrumental in the success of the event, their involvement in cultural production was limited.

6.2.4 The 2017 Open Air Factory in action

From elation to delays: reactions to Pafos' designation

As mentioned earlier, winning the bid was a welcome surprise for Pafos, given its small size and limited cultural capacity, compared to its competitors, Nicosia and Limassol. Much of the initial criticism from the media was based on these two facts, which could make 2017 a lost opportunity for Cyprus to show its culture to a world-wide audience (Savvinides, 2017). This was exacerbated by the delays in setting up the Pafos 2017 Organization, the hesitancy of local administrations to commit resources, the arrest of Pafos' Mayor on corruption charges (unrelated to the ECoC) and his subsequent resignation, the replacement of key people in the Pafos 2017 Organization, and, last but not least, the global financial crisis that hit Cyprus severely in 2013, and the ensuing budget reductions that caused cutbacks in artistic and infrastructure projects (from € 23,000,000 at the bidding stage, it went down to € 8,500,000, a reduction by about 63%; European Commission et al., 2018: 58).

However, Pafos's size and under-developed cultural sector "inspired great ownership for the ECoC among the citizens of Pafos" (European Commission et al., 2018: 67); this was evident in the high levels of audience participation among local residents, as well as the large number of volunteers who became actively involved in the projects. Their enthusiasm was crucial in overcoming the harsh budget cuts and

ensuring the success of the event. The citizens of Pafos were also remarkably patient in the years leading to the 2017 events, while the entire city center was a construction site; due to the delayed start, the infrastructure projects had to be completed all together and within a very short timeframe.

Spatial, social and cultural openness as goals

A central idea of the Pafos 2017 ECoC Program was to make cultural development accessible to all; the Open in the Open Air Factory meant both that cultural activity would take place in open-air spaces, but also that it was open to all, in terms of participation, tolerance, acceptance, and integration of differences. Pafos' motto Linking Continents – Bridging Cultures put forward the necessity of building bridges between the various social groups in the city – and, in extension, on the island- as a prerequisite for co-existence in a globalized Europe. The artistic program was structured along three main themes, all of which involved aspects of heritage: Myth and Religion, with projects starting from histories, traditions and legends, World Travelers, promoting interconnections and multi-cultural exchanges, and Stages of the Future, referring to contemporary problems, technologies and dreams. About 30 projects that were included in the bid were further developed and implemented in the event year (e.g. The Big Mosaic, Spatial Counterpoint, The Open Khan).

In terms of spatial openness, about 70% of the Pafos 2017 projects were estimated to have been held in open-air venues (e.g. village and city squares, courtyards, beaches, streets, rooftops; European Commission et al., 2018: 62); the moderate climate of Pafos was very helpful in that, as activities were evenly spread throughout the year and not concentrated in the spring and summer months. In this manner, it was also possible to spread activities within larger areas, around the city and in small villages, as they were not contingent on the existence or the availability of conventional cultural venues. This also made the projects more accessible, and often, part of the city's everyday routines rather than

exceptional or exclusive events (i.e. events that people had to plan for, obtain tickets etc.). This openness was also facilitated by the Municipality's investment in urban redevelopment, which closely followed the infrastructure program included in the bid.

In terms of social and cultural openness, the Cultural Barometer, the official evaluation tool of Pafos 2017 conducted by Neapolis University Pafos on behalf of the Pafos 2017 Organization, shows that the ECoC events in Pafos had managed to familiarize their audiences with aspects of the local Cypriot culture, but also with other cultures (Tsangaridis, 2018). It also indicates that attendance in the events stimulated a greater interest in interacting with other cultures (compared to the control group who did not participate in ECoC activities). It is interesting that Pafos had a very large percentage of audiences coming from outside Cyprus (about 40%, much higher than other ECoCs), and it made an effort to highlight aspects of the local culture in its program and projects. However, although many projects were the result of collaborations with Aarhus2017 and other European bodies, little emphasis was placed on collaborations with neighboring eastern Mediterranean cultures (like Lebanon, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Palestine and Israel; European Commission et al., 2018: 65). The event evaluation also notes that many projects on tolerance and acceptance addressed mainly individuals rather than larger community groups, and that they were small in terms of scale and audiences, so their larger impact was open to question (European Commission et al., 2018: 61). The issue of scale was linked to the greater problem of the budget, which was limited to begin with and was even further cut as a result of the 2013 financial crisis in Cyprus (see previously, p. 284).

In 2017, as the ECoC events began to unfold in the freshly remodeled spaces, public opinion on the Pafos 2017 ECoC took a very positive turn. The evident transformation of public space, in conjunction with the high-quality of the cultural events animating them, the high levels of audience and volunteer participation and the festive atmosphere of the city created high levels of acceptance for the 2017 events



among locals, which grew higher as the event progressed (Tsangaridis, 2018). The Cultural Barometer shows that the predominant opinion was that the 2017 events have transformed Pafos, but there was also wide-spread disbelief that the local administration would be able to fully exploit the legacy of the event (Tsangaridis, 2018: 11-13). Local cultural organizations held a public meeting in Dec. 2017, concerned about the event's legacy, in which two things were evident: the shared concern of the citizens for the continuation of the ECoC legacy, and the administrative rigidity and reluctance to make bold decisions. Eventually, the establishment of the Pafos Cultural Foundation, was announced in December 2018; it was proposed as a continuation of the Pafos 2017 Organization, to take over the management of both the spaces and the events/ festivals of the city. However, and although negotiations regarding its members have started, it has not yet been instituted.

Fig. 6.9 The preparations for the Opening Ceremony at 28th October Square (source: FotoLarko, 2017).

6.2.5 Heritage threats and opportunities

The Municipality of Pafos and the Steering Committee of the Pafos 2017 ECoC quickly realized that in order to overcome Pafos' inherent disadvantages of a small city, i.e. limited regional economy, lack of infrastructure and resources, little expertise and experience in large-scale cultural events, they needed to formulate a sustainable plan that utilized bottom-up community-based strategies and capitalized on the city's assets: heritage/ history/ culture, natural environs and diverse social composition. The ECoC was taken up as a chance to involve local communities in order to support the local traditions of collective cultural creation, understood as woven into Pafos' social and spatial fabric. By providing a platform for engagement among citizens, visitors, neighbors, friends and families, and establishing ways for citizens to collaborate, culture and heritage acted as strong catalysts to socio-economic revitalization (Dova, Sivitanidou & Koutsolambros, 2015).

Nevertheless, the strong bond between heritage and culture, on the one side, and power and dominant narratives, on the other, was a challenge that Pafos 2017 attempted to tackle from the very beginning. When discussing culture in the context of a small city, the danger of forgetting the culture of the 'other' and evading issues of marginalization, tolerance and interculturality, as related to Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, ethnic minorities, foreign residents, immigrants and refugees, became evident very soon; Pafos, understanding the ECoC in Cyprus as a locus for the representation not only of the city, but also of the entire country as a divided land -geographically, politically, socially, psychologically-, adopted an inclusive approach to heritage, in order to highlight the communal and the shared cultural elements of a society with deep historic roots that transcend recent events and inflicted borders. Heritage – spatial, tangible and intangible- was exploited as a means to put uncomfortable aspects of history to the table, to re-introduce, even on the conceptual level, the displaced

Turkish-Cypriot community, and to involve newcomers –residents and visitors- to the cultural production of the ECoC, however hard that turned out to be in isolated cases of religious fanaticism and discrimination (Paf1701). Yet, as already noted, during the actual event more emphasis was placed on establishing connections among individuals rather than within larger groups, so the effectiveness of the practical approach (influenced, of course, by the event financing) has so far been limited.

In addition to inclusiveness, heritage has been recognized as an active agent in urban processes, instead of a passive remnant from the past, or worst, a hindrance to future development. A collective good that can be put to use for the benefit of the city, heritage –and, in particular, spatial heritage- became central in the city’s long-term development strategy and a key factor in shaping a plan that strives for sustainability and social cohesion. Pafos’ small scale facilitated the opening of planning discussions to a wide range of stake-holders (from the level of the municipality, to that of local experts and concerned citizens) and fostered feelings of collective decision-making.

In the same context, however, several obstacles had to be overcome. To begin with, the regeneration of Pafos’s city center required for the Municipality to assume a more active, even aggressive role in the management of urban space. Particularly in dealing with empty lots and abandoned buildings belonging to Turkish-Cypriot former residents that claim almost half the area of the old town’s core, in its essence a thorny political and sensitive social issue, necessitated forcible interventions, even expropriations in some cases, of Turkish-Cypriot properties. Furthermore, the urgency imposed by the ECoC event conflicted with the past inertia to generate and expedite actions that were long in waiting, such as claiming funds for projects that had been planned long ago, or realizing new ones. For its implementation, the ECoC event did not introduce new tools for managing spatial heritage, but it exploited the ones already in existence by utilizing the nomination and its short-term planning/delivery period to apply pressure and

fast-forward otherwise time-consuming procedures, as well as the privileged position of a municipal body in intervening on Turkish-Cypriot and state properties. The ISUDP was considered as a new developmental model for the Cypriot context, since it has been structured as a comprehensive plan that recognizes the protection and promotion of cultural heritage as a requisite of urban development, and as an opportunity to tackle further economic and social goals.

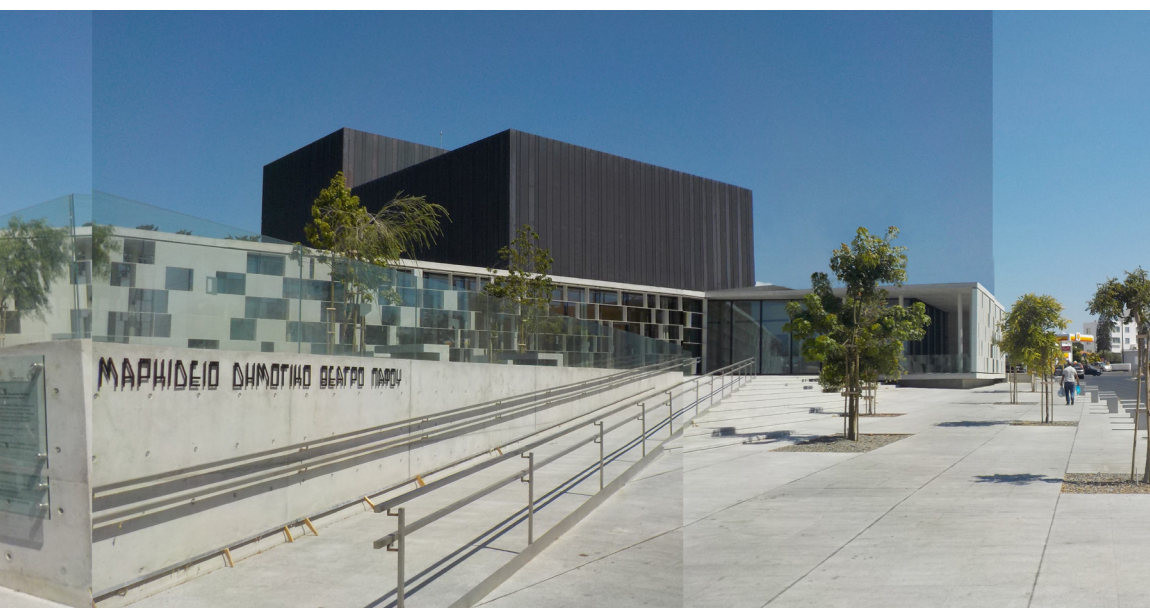


Fig. 6.10 The Markideion Theatre in 2017, after its remodelling (source: Evanthia Dova, 2018).

It is true that the eventual realization of the extensive urban remodeling has been a decisive factor in the acceptance of the ECoC event and the ISUDP among the residents of Pafos, as it: brought out the once lost architectural, historic and cultural value of several buildings and gave prominence to the heritage of the area; improved the crumbling built fabric of the old town; and improved the 'liveability' of central urban areas. However, only the spatial component of the ISUDP was implemented, while the anticipated technical support and economic provisions are lagging behind, owing to misinterpretations of heritage and misconceptions about the most effective means to achieve a sustainable and long-term regeneration scheme, as well as to political agendas,

grandiose ambitions and the resulting gentrification of the area. This has forced a number of traditional businesses (e.g. wicker chair makers, carpenters, tailors/ seamstresses and pastry shops) out of the remodeled center, despite the stated objectives of the ISUDP. As a result, the massive regeneration of the historic city center and the Mouttallos Turkish-Cypriot Quarter greatly impacted the physical and socio-cultural qualities of these spaces, caused major alterations and posed certain threats to how the image and identity of the city, as well as its sensitive heritage and cultural context, are interpreted.

The lack of legacy planning and management is also weakening the effects of the event for the city's development with every passing day; with few cultural offerings and most venues underused after 2017, the remodeled city center is struggling to keep the attention of residents and visitors, whilst the cultural institutions of the city are again left to their own devices, with little support and encouragement. Only a few years after Pafos 2017, the city center has been successfully revamped, at least spatially, but it has certainly started to show isolated signs of misguided application and problematic implementation, in terms of integrating culture and heritage into its spatial regeneration. The absence of traditional occupations, arts and crafts -the intangible heritage- that in the past had infused the central commercial hub with its uniqueness, diversity and liveliness, established a specific identity for Pafos, and enforced a sense of place among citizens, has emptied Pafos' core. A handful of successfully revitalized spots attract most visitors, while elsewhere shops are closing down. The businesses that have made their presence felt, suffuse a vision of a lively, fashionable, albeit spectacularized city center, with its history and heritage detached, only to be showcased as relics of the past and not as on-going forces that shape the city's identity.

6.3 The Pafos 2017 legacy on urban space, culture and society

The greatest expectation was for the ECoC event to act as an incentive and activator of change, particularly in enabling Pafos to transform and redefine its identity through a series of urban regenerations and reclamations of public space, expressions of culture and history and manifestations of heritage. Indeed, Pafos successfully redeveloped its urban center as a community hub, hosting social, cultural and creative activities, attracting the interest of tourists and locals and adding to its residents' civic pride. Presently, the urban space of Pafos communicates in a clearer –and therefore, a stronger- way the city's history and heritage and provides room for future development as a creative continuation of the city's past.

The 2017 ECoC did manage to steer social and cultural development along new paths, namely heritage preservation, environmental protection, community inclusion and social responsibility, and diversify its primarily tourist-based economy, based on the area's culture, its historic and natural assets. Nevertheless, the lack of a legacy plan has neutralized any increase in cultural capacity, as even the new cultural venues remain unused and creative forces are gradually falling into a vegetative state. Without a clear cultural policy, Pafos cannot establish a contemporary cultural aspect in its identity, particularly given its already sun-and-sea touristic character and its provincial position at the national level.

6.3.1 The city transformed

At the start of the event, the spatial projects were only partially completed. The two main squares of the city, Kennedy Square and 28th Oct. Square (in front of the City Hall) were finished, as they were necessary for the Opening Ceremony, but the rest of the remodeling projects (connecting streets, historic buildings and building fronts along them) were still pending; in January 2017, the city

center was still a construction site, and spectators had to negotiate potholes and construction boundaries. This was mostly due to the late start of the projects (in 2015), which in turn was caused by the political and financing problems in 2013 (see section 6.2.4). By the end of 2017, however, the heritage projects to be used as ECoC venues were more or less complete and were being used for ECoC activities. The projects around Dioikitirion Square that had not been part of the initial cultural infrastructure but were added to ISUDP plans continued well into 2018, and the Unification of the archaeological area of Nea Pafos has run into technical and financial problems and is still, in 2019, unfinished.

Fig. 6.11 Pafos center with buildings and public spaces restored for Pafos 2017 (source: Angeliki Sivitanidou, 2018).



Concerning the 2017 ECoC events, the implemented projects provided Pafos with the necessary indoor –and mostly outdoor- venues for a variety of projects. The squares, streets and archaeological spaces of Pafos hosted a series of performances and exhibitions, with larger or smaller audiences, within the spirit of the Open Air Factory. As for the city, all the interventions implemented were heritage-related in essence; the archaeological sites and the historic buildings are, themselves, heritage spaces, while the urban design projects focus on historically sensitive city areas and tie specific heritage spaces together. A few spaces have been remodelled to the same or similar uses as before; the Markideion Theatre is still a theatre and the Attikon/Othello Cinema is a multi-use space for performances and exhibitions, with an open-air cinema in the back (both places were originally warehouses converted into a theatre and a cinema, respectively, but this use is largely forgotten). The Ibrahim Khan, previously an inn, has been restored as a cultural venue with artisanal workshops and a few studios for artists, vaguely reminiscent of its past use as a hub for travellers and craftsmen (see detailed description of the project below). The design of these public spaces aimed to enhance their character as social, cultural and commercial areas, as symbolic city landmarks, leaving current uses mostly unchanged. The remodelling of the streets and cliffs of Mouttallos intended to re-connect this marginalised central area to the rest of the city, stimulating further development in a neglected part of the city.

The addition and improvement of cultural facilities in Pafos, such as the Markideion Theatre, the Attikon multi-purpose Cultural Center and the Ibrahim Khan, together with the refurbishment of civic areas like the Pazari and 28th Oct. Sq., are everyday reminders of the 2017 ECoC events in the city. Although they are not officially linked to Pafos 2017, they are its indirect result; their inclusion in the bid, and their necessity for the 2017 ECoC made their realization an urgent matter for the city, and catalyzed a series of processes that otherwise might have taken much longer. The fact that the projects finished in 2017, and they were immediately used to host cultural events, has also strongly associated them

with Pafos 2017 on the one hand and with culture on the other, and has reinforced feelings of acceptance for the 2017 ECoC among residents (Tsangaridis, 2018). Two of the most prominent urban projects mentioned above are described in further detail.

The pedestrianization of Kennedy Square and the streets in Pazari (the Market area)

Fig. 6.12 Kennedy Square in January 2017, during the Opening festivities (source: FotoLarko, 2017).



Kennedy Square, originally known as Artimathkies (Peppercorn Tree) Square, was initially a farmer's market in the center of Ktima. In the 1960s, under a major urban facelift, it was paved as a square and signaled the beginning of Archbishop Makarios Avenue, the city's major commercial street that runs to Mouttallos, the Turkish-Cypriot neighborhood of Pafos. Surrounded by important public buildings (the Titania and Attikon/Othello Cinemas, banks, hotels, coffee and pastry shops, schools) Kennedy

Square was the commercial center of the city. Its importance waned in the following decades, when political events forced a major population exchange, Kato Pafos began to grow as a tourist destination, and Ktima sprawled in all directions. Arch. Makarios Av., commonly known as 'Pazari' (from Bazaar, signifying the trading district), remained the main commercial zone of the city, but its narrow pavements and heavy vehicular traffic made pedestrian accessibility problematic. A series of problems also arose by the fact that most of the buildings are Turkish-Cypriot property, which made it difficult to intervene in the area's uses, or to maintain buildings, either in use or closed off. Commercial activity had therefore spread to other parts of the city, and the area around Kennedy Square was suffering from neglect.

112 The Old Pafos Powerhouse (Palaia Ilektriki) was already restored as a municipal cultural center and an artistic reference point that supports indoor and outdoor exhibitions, seminars, discussions, recitals and small concerts, literature readings and parties. This project began in 2005 as part of the Kennedy Square remodeling.

113 The Attikon/Othello Cinema is a city landmark that had stood empty for years, and, in 2010, was almost demolished to be converted into a night club. Its renovation and reuse was included in the Pafos 2017 bid, to provide the city with a multi-use cultural venue (for film, theatre and exhibitions) with both indoor and outdoor spaces; the complex is connected to the Palaia Ilektriki Cultural Center through its open-air cinema, creating a cultural nucleus in the heart of the old city.

114 As the only indoor theatre in Pafos, the Markideion Theatre was also extensively remodeled for Pafos 2017, together with the area surrounding it (landscaping and street network).

The unification of Kennedy Square and the pedestrianization of Pazari and its surrounding streets was a project that the Municipality had already developed in 2011, and was integrated in the Pafos 2017 bid. This scheme continues the 'cultural boulevard' that begins at 28th Oct. Sq. in front of the City Hall all the way through the city center, articulating cultural venues on a coherent spine: the Palaia Ilektriki Cultural Center¹¹², the Attikon/Othello Cinema¹¹³, the Markideion Theatre¹¹⁴ and the Ibrahim Khan (see next). Boosting the area's cultural dynamic, these interventions were expected to invite further private investment and re-introduce the area to locals and tourists as a vibrant public space.

Completed in early 2017, the renovated Kennedy Sq. allows more space both for pedestrian movement and outdoor seating. A series of landscaped parking areas in the perimeter of the Square and Pazari keep the space clear of vehicles. The 'new' square, designed as a space accessible and safe for all, hosted many activities in 2017 and attracted locals and tourists until late in the evening, especially on weekends. Cultural events re-introduced the renovated city center to locals and tourists, in the sense that they made its potential as an attractive public space known. Many businesses had to relocate during the construction process, but those that persisted are now bouncing back, while newcomers are

gradually appearing (mainly bars, restaurants, specialty foods, jewelry and souvenir shops). The new face of the area has stimulated a sense of pride for business owners, who have claimed ownership of this space, keeping it clean, watering the plants, holding parties in front of storefronts. It seems that the people of Pafos have embraced this grand regeneration scheme, agreeing on its necessity. Further smaller projects are still underway by the Municipality, who are adding playgrounds, smaller squares and seating areas, opening up pedestrian paths and repainting facades (Dova, Sivitanidou, & Balasis, 2019).

It seems, however, that the past character of Pazari as a commercial area addressed to locals has been lost, replaced by tourist and leisure activities. On the cultural front, little activity has taken place after 2017, and the venues developed for the ECoC are underused.

The Ibrahim Khan

The Ibrahim Khan is the most important caravan-serai (inn) in Pafos, dating from before WWI and used as a hostel until the 1970's. At the heart of Ktima and a stone's throw from Pazari, the Khan was a complex of rooms laid out around three courtyards. It provided accommodation for travelers from afar or from neighboring villages, and it hosted craftsmen and manufacturers' workshops. Despite its historical and urban significance, in 2010, few people in Pafos knew where or what it was. For Pafos 2017 the restoration and reuse of the Ibrahim Khan became a flagship project, as an icon of the city's architectural, historic, economic and multi-cultural legacy. Planned as a joint project involving Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot experts and craftsmen, it was to become a literal and symbolic gesture of cooperation. It was eventually realized as a municipal project, through an open architectural competition –and not a bi-communal project-, but the Table of Unification, a Pafos 2017 project, is still in the main courtyard.

The Ibrahim Khan is Turkish-Cypriot property. In order to restore and reuse it, the Municipality of Pafos obtained



Fig. 6.13 The Ibrahim Khan (top: before and bottom: after 2017- source: Evanthia Dova, Angeliki Sivitanidou, 2015, 2018).

a special permit from the Cypriot government, taking advantage of its privileges as a public body. It houses artists' residences, studios and exhibition spaces, as well as small artisanal workshops, specialty stores, a café/ restaurant and a large open-air performance venue. It was partially completed in 2017 and hosted a number of ECoC projects, but its spaces were filled later, in 2018, by small businesses, who have taken an active interest in reanimating the Khan and have hosted a series of events (open houses, concerts,

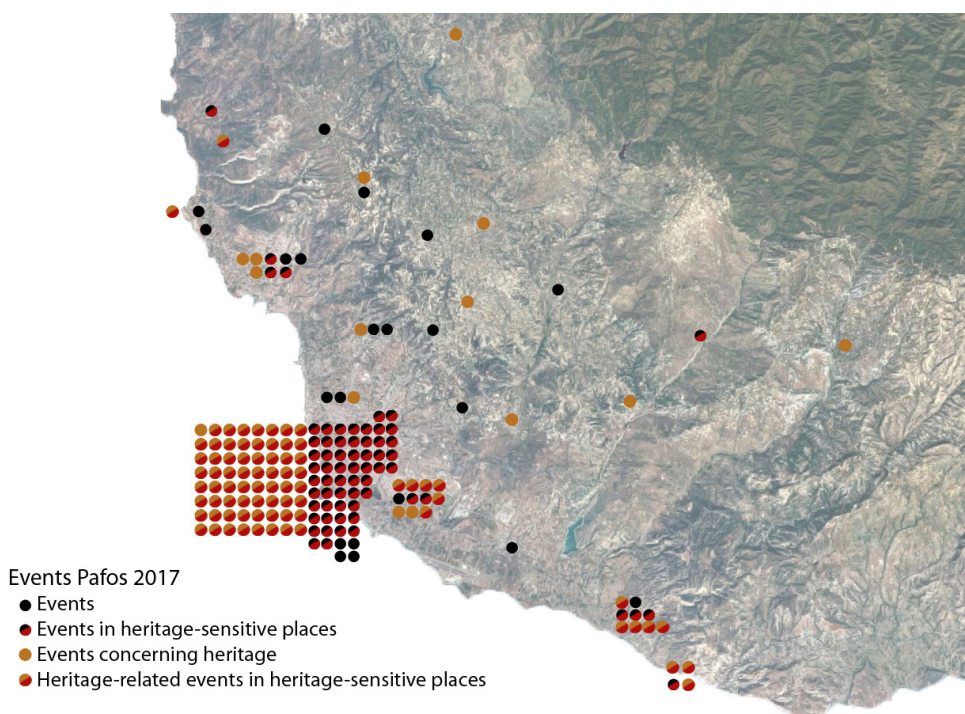
festivals, Christmas markets, etc.) to attract public interest. However, its potential as a cultural venue has yet to be fully activated, as the artists' residency program that the Pafos 2017 bid and the ISUDP anticipated is not functioning, and neither is the library that would host a collection on local history, architecture, traditions, and cultural, social and economic issues.

The manifestation of culture in these and many other public spaces and buildings established them as places where public life, culture and creativity occurs and gradually solidifies them as everyday spectacles and successful cultural venues, putting Pafos on the cultural map both nationally and internationally (Paf1701 and PafMun02). More specifically, the site-specific, heritage-related cultural ECoC events that took place there contextualized and enlivened them, as they played upon their site characteristics and distinctiveness, their historic and heritage value in the collective memory of the city's inhabitants. These lively public places with their embodied cultural character, improved the quality of life in the city center, transforming it into a desirable place of residence and work (Dova, Sivitanidou & Balasis, 2018). The local economy and real estate market showed an increase and a greater activity in the area, existing businesses are achieving bigger profits, whereas new enterprises are taking advantage of the potentially increasing profitability and centrality of the city center to relocate here (Paf1702 and Paf1703). There may have been similar or additional financial benefits to other city areas or in the district in general, but it is hard to discern the economic impact of the 2017 ECoC in Pafos, as there are no specific indicators for Pafos regarding job creation, resident attraction or additional production.

The 2017 infrastructure projects were only the beginning; the Technical Office of the Pafos Municipality has plans to continue with further projects that concern heritage sites, archaeological spaces and historic buildings in the city center and streets of Pazari, and the tourist areas of Kato Pafos. The major renovation of the Municipal Market buildings and outdoor spaces, and the Laiki Geitonia (traditional neighborhood) Quarter in the old town

Fig. 6.14 Map of the District of Pafos, showing the location of events and their relationship to heritage (source: Angeliki Sivitanidou, 2018).

(PafMun01 and PafMun02) was completed in 2018-2019 and more are scheduled to begin in 2019-2020. Other projects in the city center involve the restoration of British Colonial pre- and inter-war buildings, such as the former Police Headquarters, the Post Office/ Land Registry, the Pafos District Administration Offices and their immediate environs and squares.



6.3.2 Cultural capacity in limbo

The increase and development of the city's cultural and creative capacities were achieved not only through the upgrading of its spatial infrastructure, but also by investing in human capital building and expertise growth. More specifically, the establishment of public participation practices through community involvement and capacity development programs and the integration of community consultation into the design and implementation of the cultural program, resulted in empowering the public, building capacities,

improving skills and gaining considerable knowledge in putting together cultural and artistic events. These practices also increased levels of civic pride, collective confidence and greater identification with the city's projected image, shared vision and expected outcomes, developed the awareness and widened the perspective of the public, as participants, creators, volunteers and audience that occurred during all phases of the event (Tsangaridis, 2018). Particularly invested local stakeholders successfully formed networks and forged collaborations with numerous contacts at a national and international level, which allowed them to continue after 2017, founding organizations, implementing events and contributing to the local creativity-, culture- and heritage-related scene.

Engaging with different ideas and actions -as opposed to conventional cultural practices-, dealing with environmental, socio-cultural, historical, heritage and identity concerns -particularly issues of "otherness" and interculturality, as related to Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, ethnic minorities, foreign residents, immigrants and refugees- featured predominantly in the ECoC legacy assessment conducted by the Cultural Barometer. More specifically, the ECoC event enabled the public to become more involved in the local cultures; become acquainted with the Cypriot and the European identity, society and culture, understanding their distinctiveness and peculiarities; accept a shared European identity whilst acknowledging common elements with other European countries; and become familiar, positively open and receptive to interacting with other cultures and civilizations (Tsangaridis, 2018). Openness and inclusivity, human empowerment and capacity building, the main principles of the Open Air Factory concept, were wholeheartedly embraced and utilized by locals, leading to a strong willingness, new-found confidence and empowerment to participate as active and conscientious citizens and volunteers, contributors and administrators, artists and creators, working on cultural projects either individually or in groups.

Fig. 6.15 Piece from the Peace2Peace installation, part of the Pafos 2017 Community Involvement Programme, in Moutallos (source: Evanthia Dova, 2018).



Many who gained considerable knowledge, expertise, capacities, and skills in putting together events and established contacts and networks during the bidding and the implementation phases founded local cultural associations (e.g. Ex-Artis, Kimonos Center, Pafos Photographic Society, Folklore Group "Ktima"), who greatly contributed during the year 2017. After 2017, most of these agents remain active and continue to produce though at a reduced capacity and with limited financial backing¹¹⁴¹¹⁵. From 2018 onwards, the cultural offer in the city is being sustained mostly in an ad-hoc, individual project level through the personal efforts and networks of individual artists, artistic bodies and cultural associations as coordinators/organizers (European Commission et al., 2018).

115 E.g. the cultural initiative Ex-Artis, composed of local artists, is still actively producing 1-2 events per year, whilst the bi-communal group of women crafters and crochet knitters that organized the Peace2Peace Action, continue to meet on regular basis and engage in few projects in collaboration with other cultural associations.

Obstacles to the sustainable creation and management of new cultural, artistic and heritage-related events and constituencies may also be insufficient financial support from local and national authorities as well as independent investors, limited professional human capital and resources (e.g. coordinators, curators), inadequate and restrained audience development and low engagement of a critical mass in the city's cultural life (Paf1701, Paf1702, Paf1704 and PafVol03). Pafos 2017 set aside a part of the budget for cultural activities after 2017, approx. € 500,000 (European Commission et al., 2018), and the Ministry for Education

and Culture offered an additional € 270,000 for cultural projects to the Municipality. A call for proposals was extended in January 2018 under the Program for Enhancing Cultural Development in Pafos, in continuation of the Pafos 2017 event, and 31 projects were selected for implementation (European Commission et al., 2018), but there is yet no cultural agency set to carry them out.

This almost absolute interruption of continuity resulted in losing the accumulated momentum, right after one of the greatest events ever to be orchestrated in the Pafos district, which could have created the conditions for generating a 'legacy' of continuity and endurance (PafVol02). As 2017 was ending, in a meeting set up by concerned cultural bodies and organizations, municipal representatives, Pafos 2017 officials and the community overall (see Section 6.2.4), it became evident that there was neither a sustainable succession plan nor a legacy policy regarding the management and maintenance of the new and restored venues and urban spaces, the collaborations with the newly-established creative institutions and the development of a rich and diverse yearly cultural program. In light of the above, we might say that the objective of improving the cultural capacity of the area (improving the skills of the cultural sector, adding to the cultural infrastructure of the city, building an audience and raising awareness) was achieved, but little has been done in the years following 2017 to take advantage of this potential.

As mentioned previously, the proposed Pafos Cultural Foundation, a joint endeavor of Pafos District, responsible for taking over the legacy of the European Capital of Culture after 2017 (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b), was supposed to be a continuation of the Pafos 2017 Organization and thus have all its remaining shares. However, the profits of Pafos 2017 were distributed to all involved parties and the Pafos 2017 Organization gradually dissolved, as there were no further attempts to continue previous collaborations between municipalities and communities. As a result, in October 2019 the Municipality of Pafos announced the foundation of the Organization of Cultural Development of Pafos as its sole shareholder. It will be a private, non-profit,

limited liability company with an artistic director and team, and a 7-member Board of Directors composed of competent personalities to ensure its autonomous operation (Nanos, 2019). The Organization will retain the € 300,000 given to the municipality by the Pafos 2017 Organization, operate all cultural venues restored due to the ECoC event i.e. the Markideion Theatre, the Attikon and Old Powerhouse multi-purpose Cultural Centers, the Ibrahim Khan, the En Plo Gallery and the Municipal Gallery, and manage cultural events/ festivals in the city, including the Pafos Aphrodite Opera Festival (PafMun02).

Yet the Organization has not been set up yet, and Pafians, who seemed to anticipate this, have become disheartened. The small percentage of the public (9%), who during 2017 expressed the negative expectation that the city would regress to its previous state of neglect, administrative corruption and low quality cultural events and activities (Tsangaridis, 2018), has been steadily growing both in numbers and in intensity over the years. However, given the pride that the citizens have taken in participating in such a big event and accomplishing it successfully, with little previous experience and a remarkably limited budget, and their interest in continuing its legacy, a well-structured and inclusive plan would find much support in the city.

6.3.3 Social connectedness triggered

One of the main goals of the ECoC event was to reinstate the city center as a shared civic space and a point of convergence for the various social groups of Pafos. Inherent in the concept were ideas about sustainability, economy, flexibility: key public spaces and historic buildings to be re-animated through culture and, in turn, become catalysts for economic and cultural activity, environmental awareness, neighborly interaction, and social cohesion. During 2017, the Cultural Barometer provided important information regarding the expected 'social legacy' of the ECoC event. It seems that Pafos as European Capital of Culture had a clearly positive impact on citizens, as a source of inspiration and civic pride, regardless of the degree of attendance and participation in the

ECoC events during 2017. The majority of people (91.2%) expected that the ECoC event would have long-term results, namely: the city changing greatly due to the revitalization of the city center, restoration and reuse of historic buildings, construction of new buildings and improvement of existing infrastructure; positive perception and hope for long-term benefits to the city and citizens; cultural development; and increase in tourism (Tsangaridis, 2018).



The network of spaces realised for the Open Air Factory was conceived as a place-making tool to activate neighborhoods, routes and connections, direct and indirect, and spaces in between. Notions of sustainability, flexibility and economy were tied into the concept –as demonstrated by the ISUDP, which was largely based on the 2017 ECoC bid. The idea that heritage could be used to unite disparate social groups together and with the city was inherent in all the projects; updating heritage and finding its relevance in contemporary times was regarded as a way to make urban space, and, by extension, social relationships, coherent.

Fig. 6.16 Pafos 2017 Closing Ceremony, December 31st, 2017 (source: Pafos 2017 Official Facebook page, 2017).

From a socio-cultural perspective, the ECoC event would instigate changes in the 'segregated' city by converging together all groups –locals, foreign residents, immigrants, tourists- who previously had little interaction and no common causes for cooperation, and initiating them to the civic, public, social and cultural life. In this way, occasions for volunteering, social involvement, capacitation and collective creativity will be generated, the Turkish-Cypriot absentees could forge new collaborations and reformulate channels of communication, and immigrants would add an international dimension to the community by importing their own cultures and languages, thus fostering and accepting social diversity and creating a multi-cultural collective and inclusive community. The direct contact between different people, mediated through art and culture could set the foundations for a “new culture and restore civic life” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 35); and it is hoped that the younger generations stimulated by the ECoC event would continue to remain active in reshaping a culture with Cypriot, Mediterranean, European, even international influences.

Similarly, physical space would undergo a major regeneration so that public life might be regained and enhanced through 'new' and reclaimed public spaces. The most important archaeological locations would emerge from anonymity and be showcased as venues for the ECoC events, linked by pedestrian routes in a re-united network of historical and heritage-related sites (e.g. the Reunification of Kato Pafos archaeological sites project). The old administrative and commercial city center would once again become a hub for cultural, social and artistic planned festivities, recreational, entertainment and leisure activities, spontaneous happenings and children's play. The new and restored buildings, squares and other open-air spaces would be used as venues for the ECoC events, vessels of collective memory, “resuming their presence in the life of the city, enriching the genius loci, reinforcing the sense of place, history and heritage and reshaping the city's identity” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2012b: 35).

Tourists and locals

It is also too early to measure any changes in tourist mobility in the years following the 2017 ECoC; but there was a marked rise in tourists' visits and an increase in revenues from tourism in 2017, which seems to be continuing in 2018¹¹⁶; it is hard, however, to either attribute any changes, or connect this rise solely to the 2017 ECoC events (Paf1701). In reality, only 20,8% of visitors arriving in Cyprus in 2017 were aware of Pafos being European Capital of Culture (Tsangaridis, 2018). It also appears that only a few of Pafos' guests were influenced by its ECoC status for their visit (European Commission et al., 2018). Since Pafos 2017 focused more on encouraging locals and tourists already in Pafos to participate in events, publicity abroad was not 'a priority', and little advertising was aimed at international audiences. In addition, there seemed to be deficient and unsatisfying coordination between the Pafos 2017 Organization, the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO) and intermediary entities, such as hotels and travel agencies, who could at least contribute in educating visitors about Pafos 2017 and its cultural program (Tsangaridis, 2018). However, an international promotion of the Pafos 2017 events would definitely boost audience numbers, offer cultural tourism as an alternative, and in general increase tourism, as it became evident from the great promotion of the world-famous Berlin Philharmonic Concert (done not by the Pafos 2017 Organization and the CTO necessarily, but by cultural German agents and the PR team of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra) resulting in an impressive 52,2% increase of German visitors to Pafos around the time of the concert (Paf1701).

6.3.4 Legacies for local administration

In the political realm, Pafos exceeded the expectations of the EU and even more of the Cypriot government, by succeeding in implementing and following through its cultural program and its infrastructure plans, even though it is one of the smallest cities to become ECoC and despite

116 Tourist arrivals in Cyprus: 3,186,531 in 2016, compared to 3,652,073 in 2017 and 3,938,625 in 2018. Revenues from tourism show an increase of 18,5% in 2017 compared to 2016, and a 11,6% increase in 2018 compared to 2017 (Statistical Services, 2019).

its limited budget. In fact, one of the reasons that the EU awarded the Melina Mercouri Prize to Pafos was because Pafos is now considered a model for other cities to follow: “[...] Pafos is a very good example of how a small city can put together a suitable programme to be a European Capital of Culture” (European Commission, 2016: 5).

The municipal departments and community councils of the Pafos district, who accumulated considerable knowledge and experience by being involved in the various phases of the ECoC event, took advantage of the good relationship with the Cypriot government –ensued because of winning the ECoC bid- to gain political support, and secure state and EU funding for other infrastructure projects that were long overdue to commence, and for instituting regional cultural events before and after 2017. In a sense, the ECoC event became an occasion for coordinating collective co-creativity and stimulating further development in the physical and artistic scenes of Pafos. More specifically, the bidding documents, the infrastructure projects and urban interventions, cultural events and creative partnerships, proposed throughout the district but not realized during the actual ECoC year, are themselves a legacy: to the technical services of municipalities and communities who can now incorporate these proposals to enrich, re-direct, improve, further develop and set in motion local urban and cultural plans, policies, implementation strategies and programs (PafMun01, Paf1701, Paf1704, PafMun02 and PafVol01).

6.4 Urban transformation through heritage

Threats

Lack of a clear vision to ensure the longevity of the spatial and social changes.

Absence of cultural policy and an administrative body that will manage, activate and coordinate the cultural program, spaces and stakeholders.

Inter-culturality and political problems complicate both the definitions of heritage and the management of urban space (and heritage).

The concentration of spatial projects in the city proper generates further inequalities between center and periphery, both in terms of heritage evaluation and in terms of spatial development.

The small scale of the city posed limitations in funding, cultural experience and cultural infrastructure.

Opportunities

The integration of public participation processes into the bidding and planning stage for the 2017 ECoC managed to spread the ECoC ideas widely, provided a platform for discussion, mobilized various groups within the city and established co-operations and synergies.

The focus placed by the bid on heritage sites and projects evolved into a strategic plan by the Municipality that managed to transform the urban space of Pafos.

The ECoC catalyzed processes that were long dormant: the completion of a comprehensive strategic urban plan, the motivation to implement it and the pressure to fund it were the result of the ECoC designation.

The small scale of the city made public involvement a feasible strategy which greatly contributed to the success of the event.

The main themes that are highlighted in the Pafos case are:

- **A scheme based on community and heritage**
- **A strategic vision for the transformation of the city center**
- **The ECoC as incentive and activator of change**

6.4.1 A scheme based on community and heritage

Pafos' small size and diverse social make-up were the defining factors in how the ECoC was planned, funded and delivered, and how it has benefited the city so far and into the future. With the city being an already well-established seaside tourist center, Pafos 2017 was not so concerned about increasing the international profile of the city as it was about changing it. Pafos pursued the 2017 ECoC designation in order to steer social and cultural development along new paths (heritage preservation, environmental protection, community inclusion and social responsibility) and diversify its primarily tourist-based economy, based on the area's culture, its historic and natural assets. A new planning season started in sight of the mega-event.

During the application process, Pafos' bid became a city-wide endeavor; the concept of the Open Air Factory was developed through an open call extended to all Pafos residents. The use of bottom-up community-based strategies integrated community consultation, public participation and capacity building practices into the bidding process in order to: spread the ECoC ideas to a very wide audience; provide a platform for discussion and ideas on many aspects of the bid; and mobilize various groups within the city (artistic, academic, professional) and it established co-operations and

synergies. Apart from its communicative and supportive aspects, the call managed to integrate in-depth knowledge of the city's virtues and shortcomings, coalesce the various social groups of Pafos around a common cause, and create a sense of joint ownership of the project and a collective vision for the future of the city. Both the spatial and the cultural components of Pafos' Open Air Factory ECoC bid were shaped in a series of volunteer workshops with much input from local authorities and professionals, and was based on a solid background of understanding existing conditions, assets and potential problems.

Surprisingly, and despite its small size, lack of experience in large-scale cultural events and limited cultural infrastructure, Pafos was awarded the title. The economic crisis that hit Cyprus during Pafos' preparation greatly affected the program and its financing, yet the enthusiasm and participation of locals as Pafos 2017 employees, artists, donors or volunteers contributed to the success of the event.

6.4.2 A strategic vision for the transformation of the city center

Lacking a pre-existing comprehensive development plan for Pafos, the spatial program was shaped as a roadmap for further elaboration by the authorities, even if the ECoC application were unsuccessful; the projects included were regarded as components of a long-term development strategy for the area and their versatility could satisfy a wide range of scales, for 2017 and beyond. By creating a network of outdoor and indoor spaces via identifying and using existing public spaces and historic buildings to fill in urban voids, particular attention was paid to heritage sites, which had either been empty or underused and neglected. Discrete urban projects already in various stages of development by the Municipality of Pafos (the remodeling of the historic/commercial center, the Municipal Gardens - Town Hall - Schools complex) were also integrated into the network, so as to take advantage of soon-to-be-completed spaces or to expedite their implementation. The main goal was to re-

instate the city center as a shared civic space and a point of convergence for the various social groups of Pafos. Inherent in the concept were ideas about sustainability, economy, flexibility: central public spaces and historic buildings to be re-animated through culture and, in turn, become catalysts for economic and cultural activity, environmental awareness, neighborly interaction, and social cohesion.

6.4.3 The ECoC as incentive and activator of change

Although the infrastructure projects were part of the 2017 ECoC bid, the responsibility for their completion fell upon the local authorities; the selection of Pafos as ECoC became a mandate for the Municipality of Pafos to pursue the proposed redevelopment of the city center. In order to obtain funds, the Municipality put together the Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Plan (ISUDP 2014-2020), based on the Pafos 2017 spatial program. The ISUDP comprises three axes: (i) protecting and promoting cultural heritage, (ii) enhancing the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises and (iii) promoting employment and alleviating social exclusion. With this plan, Pafos could claim assistance from the EU Cohesion Fund for Investment in Growth and Employment; and then proceed with its extensive pedestrianization, remodeling and restoration program, which turned the entire city center in a construction site, and was completed in 2017. This city-wide process of urban interventions greatly amplified public support for the ECoC event, as well as for the ISUDP that is still on-going, as the Municipality has expanded the initial projects with further plans. It is still, however, too early to discuss the social, economic or tourism impacts; and the lack of legacy planning, cultural policy and management of both cultural activities and venues so far seems to compromise the city's increased cultural capacity in terms of audience participation, expertise and active spaces.

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Interviews

Name	Institution	Place and date
PafMun01	Municipality of Pafos, Technical Services	Pafos 12/12/2018
Paf1701	Pafos 2017 Organization	Pafos 21/10/2019
Paf1702	Pafos 2017 Organization	Pafos 23/10/2019
Paf1703	Pafos 2017 Organization Board of Directors	Pafos 15/10/2019
Paf1704	Pafos 2017 Organization Board of Directors	Pafos 18/10/2019
PafMun02	Pafos Aphrodite Opera Festival	Pafos 04/10/2019
PafVol01	“Artistic Creation” Volunteer Workshop	Pafos 10/09/2019
PafVol02	“Artistic Creation” Volunteer Workshop	Pafos 02/11/2019
PafVol03	“Youth & Culture” Volunteer Workshop	Pafos 29/10/2019



Chapter 7

EMERGING ISSUES, OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS AND HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM

by Davide Ponzini and Zachary M. Jones

The introduction argued that there is a lack of reflection regarding the links between mega-event planning and heritage policy, both in literature as well as in public and policy debates. Given the explorative nature of our work across European cities, this concluding chapter must be, first of all, seen in its intent of generating further discussion and research regarding this precise connection. As the HOMEE project works to spark such debates and harness them to develop and promote informed policy making in Europe and beyond, the inevitable limits of the following reflection should be interpreted as a spur to engage with further and better work in this direction, within as well as outside this specific research project.

7.1 Diversified views and common perspectives across Europe

The methodological discussion in the introductory chapter and the concrete evidence of the cases – especially as displayed in the front page and data sets in each – made clear that this research deals with very different places in different quadrants of Europe. The definitions and roles of heritage in the five events vary significantly. The different planning systems and institutional settings where the events took place evidently conformed significant aspects, specifically in terms of what could be done or even envisioned and what could not, in other words the actual opportunities of intervention for mega-events. The essence of the events considered and their variations also differ across cases. The European Capital of Culture program is a highly adaptable format as seen in the analysis and the UK City of Culture and Expo also imply quite different international, national and local dynamics. The interaction between mega-event planning activities and heritage policies also substantially differed across the cases. In some cases, the city used its heritage strengths for building its image and visibility (Genoa 2004), in others it had to face some problematic aspects of it in order to find new meaning and cultural momentum;

Opposite page: Market Square, Wrocław (source: Wrocław Official Flickr, 2017).

for example Hull 2017 allowed for a broader understanding of the somewhat painful fishing past of the city; Wrocław 2016 was the occasion to reinterpret the recent history of a European city that saw its population substituted almost entirely following WWII. In some cases heritage was the core of projects explicitly promoted by the event (Genoa 2004, Pafos 2017). In others, it had to be searched at the margins, as collateral aspects that have emerged ex-post, based on the research we have conducted (ExpoinCittà for Milan 2015).

Perhaps due to the size and economic relevance in their respective city, each process related to mega-event planning, delivering and legacy has clearly different features from the other cases. In all cases, the event was “mega”, at least in terms of its effects in the evolution of the city as it constituted a clear turning point, sometimes for spatial planning beyond the mega-event interventions, in all cases in terms of the transformation of the urban environment, its heritage and perception. The precise labelling and classification of such a varied set of cases is an issue that could be discussed further, yet this relative effect makes the celebration of the event important and worth studying even when in absolute terms we may be dealing with events of a smaller size. Pafos, though a quite small city compared to the others and a relatively contained event in terms of attendance, is a case in point: the city has changed its vision, the role heritage has, and significant elements in its planning and transformation in relationship to the ECoC event.

The following table shows the wide range of situations in term of city population and wealth, event attendance and tourist visits, the costs of the events and the investment in heritage. The distribution of facts and figures here is not intended as a means of simple one-to-one comparison but as way to highlight the differences among the cases and perhaps among the cities of Europe that could plan to host a mega-event in the near future. It is not only a matter to reassert the distance between the usual suspects (small Pafos and big Milan), but also to show that cities like Genoa had an explicit proposition for improving its heritage and earmarked a large budget to do so while others operated in

a similar direction without a single policy label and clear political recognition. Of course, the Expo event features in Milan are of a greater magnitude when considering the overall investments, though some of the problems and solutions are still in dialogue with those facing many cities in Europe. Such considerations and reflections in fact led to the issue of context as one of the main aspects to be discussed, as will be further developed in the following section.

Selected Range of Facts and Figures across the Case Studies

City population	32,892 (Pafos 2017) – 1,365,000 (Milan 2015)
City GDP per capita	€ 18,283 (Wrocław 2016) – € 36,600 (Milan 2015)
Event attendance	207,250 (Pafos 2017) – 11,000,000 (Milan 2015 – ExpoinCittà program)
Total number of events	168 (Pafos 2017) – 46,310 (Milan 2015– ExpoinCittà program)
Total event cost	€ 8,500,000 (Pafos 2017) – € 14,780,000,000 (Milan 2015)
Investment in heritage	N/A (Wrocław 2016 and Pafos 2017) – € 300,000,000 (Genoa 2004)

Tab. 7.1 – Selected range of facts and figures across the five case studies.

All in all, and despite the methodological difficulties and limits, this variety among cases proved to be a quite heuristic and generative feature, besides being a constitutive aspect of the European Union's context (“in varietate concordia” or “united in diversity” is the EU motto). Jointly reading and analyzing different situations, different sets of more or less relevant heritage policy and regulation changes and adjustments that occurred in relation to the event, investigating the discourses that diverse actors have mobilized to legitimize and even to prioritize heritage in the bid for competing for the title (or that have emerged during implementation or that sustained post-event changes), detecting the effects of these on the city, its built environment, cultural offering and social meaning proved to be complex

but inspiring for the reasoning among the HOME research teams and across the case studies. The struggle to develop similar analytical structures to such different processes and places in transformation paid off in terms of allowing our perspectives to converge, at least regarding core issues, and to foster learning across places and situations.

In all the cases, the mega-event worked as an indisputable accelerator and amplifier of various urban processes. In some cases, policy makers and stakeholders had pre-existing objectives and target areas for the city to develop, redevelop, reuse or transform, with the event allowing them to signify, promote and infuse areas with new meaning and image. In some cases, the chances to do so emerged only as the planning for the event unfolded or even the post-event management approached. Resources for new or renewed infrastructure and facilities constituted an important means to fuel the process and the interest paid by different actors. The longitudinal analysis and the in-depth investigation of the official documents from the bid to the implementation and legacy interventions showed, in all cases, that mega-events are quite adaptable in their target areas, spatial arrangements and distribution of benefits, as the early and grand plans inevitably have to adapt to the real political and planning arenas. Mega-events are formidable umbrellas that embrace pre-existing policies, harness their consensus and speed their implementation. Stressing underused or neglected facilities and areas as well as pouring more pressure on the historic city center or places inevitably intersected with heritage policy, which typically has a slower pace and, in all cases, brought more reflectiveness regarding the values of the built environment (in some occasions about the intangible cultural assets and the city image as well) in the process.

These are important opportunities for heritage-rich cities. Relevant ways of innovating heritage policy making and involving cultural policy makers in the mega-event planning went beyond the programming of cultural policy alone. In particular, directing the additional resources towards heritage targets in a sustainable manner proved to be a

complex challenge in all cases but always attempted by the leading actors (despite the fact that this depends on the institutional settings, the actors at play in high-level decision making as well as the political constituency and perception of the role of heritage in the city and its future). The substance of what policy makers expected from heritage policies, as well as from cultural and leisure policies more generally are, at the urban level, in line with the mega-events: promote more growth and attract public attention and more tourists for the event and for the subsequent years as well. This consistent inclination of pro-growth coalitions in Western cities seems a powerful political force to make other policies converge, including culture and heritage policies. However, the potential mega-event frictions and concrete threats for heritage should not be underestimated. A systematic overview of the opportunities and threats identified in the cases highlight issues that are common to different situation in Europe. These links across the cases constitute a first basis for elaborating more general considerations in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Heritage opportunities from the case studies

Increase in heritage funding and heritage-led urban regeneration schemes	Genoa 2004, Hull 2017
Improved cooperation and innovation in governance and at multiple levels	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015, Hull 2017
Heritage works completed properly (and/or after long delays), leading to a new discourse and promoted image for cultural heritage (including difficult heritage narratives)	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015, Wrocław 2016, Pafos 2017
Event providing incentive for new or improved long-term city strategies	Genoa 2004, Pafos 2017
New uses for heritage sites and venues (ongoing also after the event) along with continued focus on maintenance/regeneration.	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015, Wrocław 2016, Hull 2017
A measurable increase in heritage communication and understanding	Wrocław 2016, Hull 2017
Event providing new approaches and opportunities for public participation in heritage related decision-making	Hull 2017, Pafos 2017
Adaptability of the event to be right-sized to fit differing local contexts and types of heritage	Wrocław 2016, Pafos 2017
Sustained increase in tourist arrivals and visit to heritage sites and cultural venues	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015, Wrocław 2016, Hull 2017

Heritage threats from the case studies

Short-time frame of the event in conflict with heritage decision making processes, leading to frictions and projects delayed or not finished on time	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015
Lack of long-term management and maintenance of restored heritage sites post-event, overpressure by mass tourism, festivalization and erosion of public/diverse uses, particularly in center areas	Genoa 2004, Milan 2015, Wrocław 2016
Loss of institutional knowledge and networks following the event leading to a loss of long-term thinking/legacy for the post-event period	Genoa 2004, Pafos 2017
Available funds can become exclusively funneled towards the mega-event (at the expense of heritage) and also create new cultural entities dependent on public subsidies	Wrocław 2016
Development of a single dominating heritage narrative that overlooks alternative aspects of heritage or different social groups	Wrocław 2016, Hull 2017
No long-term cultural policy mechanisms in place after the event to sustain spatial and social changes brought about by the event	Pafos 2017
Concentration of focus and funding in central areas, overlooking the periphery which excludes some resident groups and increasing inequality	Milan 2015, Hull 2017, Pafos 2017
Smaller scale cities may struggle with obtaining adequate funds and expertise	Pafos 2017

There are common threats across the cases and perhaps across Europe. Creating new infrastructure and facilities, renewing public space and injecting new functions or simply enhancing certain meanings and symbols of historic places for the celebration of one mega-event might constitute opportunities, but in these cases were perceived as a potential problem by heritage policy makers and stakeholders, as well as the local community. In some instances, there could be dissonance between the interpretations of the same heritage by different groups or even explicit attempts at silencing certain aspects or components of one city's history and heritage. Obviously, there are radically different time frames and missions that interest mega-event and heritage actors (delivering within years and months for mega-events, protecting for decades and centuries for heritage) and there are different approaches to the urban realm and event different languages between mega-event professionals and interests and heritage-related actors. Beyond this there are concrete threats that recurred in the cases as the imposing of certain governance modes and underlying goals and narrative (e.g. competition, growth and international tourism), the use and commodification of urban space (and any assets, including heritage and culturally-significant places) in order to meet the objectives in the pro-growth agenda (in particular as seen in Genoa 2004 and Hull 2017).

Given the general care for heritage in the European context, more extreme, radical threats did not surface in any of the case studies and are not considered in depth in this publication. Yet we know that mega-events may bring substantial destruction of historic city fabric and buildings, more or less rapid expulsion of local communities and of users, loss of layered meanings and intangible heritage in place. The case of the Beijing 2008 Olympics is widely known, which led to the loss of several historic Hutong neighborhoods. These concerns should be considered with due attention when transferring our lessons to other contexts and situations where tangible and intangible heritage can be threatened by the fast-track development and urban transformation that mega-events typically imply and which may not have in place such strong and long-standing traditions of preserving and protecting heritage (and this is exactly what given policy makers seek for their city).

One other general consideration must be highlighted before going into the details of specific issues: mega-events are moments for experimentation at the regional and urban levels as well as in terms of governance and management. Formats can improve and reflexive planning and implementation on part of involved policy makers can help doing that as the process unfolds. The case of the innovative ExpoinCittà initiative in Milan shows that even international bodies (in this case the Bureau International des Expositions - BIE) can learn from the bottom up and rethink their available options. As it was discussed in the literature review included in a previous HOMEE publication, the Olympic Agenda 2020 is another, more radical, example of the urge for mega-events to learn and evolve over time in order to meet the aspiration and needs of bidding cities. Along the same line, heritage approaches can change, despite the fact that this occurs (in most cases for very good reasons) quite slowly. In this sense, we have these possibilities for change at all levels in mind and with the HOMEE project we intend to contribute to progressing policy making.

Given the explorative nature of this work one cannot derive generalized propositions from the cases and examples considered. Further research and interaction with policy makers and experts can corroborate these views and expand their relevance to other situations. The following sections present an interpretation of the key issues and statements that can be derived from the conclusions and takeaways from the five case studies and can constitute a common ground for further research and debate. Sections 7.2-7.5 provide a first assembly of the very case-specific issues to define more broadly the ways in which policy makers should perceive of and approach the opportunities and threats for heritage in the bidding for or planning of a mega-event and its legacy. These main issues that the HOMEE Project has identified are: the importance of context for mega-events; the relevance of long-term visioning and spatial planning in relation to the mega-event; the complexities of governance, participation and local capacity building; the connection of heritage, identity and local communities to mega-events. We recognize that our findings could perhaps be organized or presented through

other categorizations and intend them as a provocation to be discussed and debated as the project continues to work towards creating a set of final policy guidelines.

7.2 Context matters for mega-events

There are multiple ways in which the economic, sociocultural, political and urban context emerged in the cases, representing key aspects in the ways that heritage came to interact, or not, with the presence of the mega-event.

Mega-events in heritage-rich cities shall position themselves into broader regional, national and international contexts and trends

Important aspects of a city and region depend on very long-term factors and can be affected by the plans and projects for mega-events only in part. The form and qualities of historic city centers, the size and spatial layout of metropolitan and regional systems, the infrastructural backbone of cities are conditions that cannot be underestimated when planning mega-events. Accessibility of event sites can be improved (in terms of public and private transportation, pedestrian mobility etc.) based on existing conditions, as many of the examples showed, yet there are contextual limits to what planning and investments can do within 5-7 years – especially in resource-scarce and governmentally complex cities of Europe. This means working and finding synergies at multiple scales (from regional connections to the design of public spaces) and considering the fine-grain implications of infrastructure and land-use interventions for heritage places, in order to avoid generating vetoing reactions from institutions in power or antagonistic positions on part of the public opinion. On a more intangible side, international visibility cannot be simply generated in the short term; not all segments of tourism are equal and equally beneficial for the city and its different areas and social groups; climbing

the international tourist rankings in a healthy and stable manner takes much more than a mega-event that makes it to the news.

For example, the accessibility of Hull was quite limited and the city has worked with a clear national goal to change the perception and image of Hull within the UK. Meanwhile, the size and characteristics of Pafos, the conjuncture of planning the event in the wake of a financial crisis inevitably led to limits in the scale of planning and interventions. This allowed nonetheless event planners to generate significant urban changes in terms of the use of public space and the connectivity between the center and peripheries. In different ways, both Genoa and Wrocław deliberately reconsidered the role of the historic city center in terms of cultural and leisure activities. Genoa wanted to bring tourists and regenerate its wide city center. Wrocław, though focusing on increasing the number of tourists and other more general development goals, fostered revitalization of neighborhoods outside its historic city core. Both cases showed a clear understanding of contextual matters and planned accordingly. One can see that the intention of injecting cultural life in multiple areas across neighborhood should be seen in place. Part of what Wrocław experimented with was successful thanks to the attention to the local communities and their mobilization in planning their own contribution to the event.

Heritage-rich cities shall consider thoroughly if and how to bid according to their conditions and potentials, not only with reference to the qualities of their heritage, but also their size and dynamics, infrastructure and accessibility, ...

Descending from the previous point, one can see that not all the cities can reasonably aspire to host mega-events without significant risks for the management and success of the mega-event as well as for the balanced development of the city and region. Mega-event organizers tend to target heritage areas and specific cultural hot spots and intangible values that are functional to the event's image and success; this can be

problematic, according to place and situation as well as to the ability of defining goals and means that are sustainable. In the case of Genoa, the political leadership consistently targeted certain places in the historic city center and the old port's waterfront as deemed for physical regeneration and economic revitalization. The city as a collective organization of social actors and economic interests was not prepared for the great transformation and increase in tourism in the historic city center. This exerted significant pressure and stressed certain places in terms of the built environment, as well as social composition and presence of different dwellers and users.

At the same time, the more intense use and appreciation of historic buildings that was spurred by the ECoC and its deadlines established new ways of programming and performing the maintenance of the heritage built environment. The innovations derived more from the new links drawn among existing culture and urban policy actors more than an entirely new structure. In a different way, the limits in the implementation of the original plans and projects for the infrastructure and accompanying interventions for Milan's Expo suggest that the political leadership dramatically underestimated the complexity of urban-regional governance and the substantial unpreparedness of local actors to cooperate. On the contrary, they could enhance the already existing capacity only at the final stage by allowing unplanned but wide-spread activation of places for minor events during the celebration year. In both cases, a more careful understanding of the context could have granted a better and more feasible proposal.

Cities should know their heritage and think about how to positively involve their actors and stakeholders, how to develop a shared and sustainable local narrative as part of the mega-event and the urban development strategy more generally

Communication regarding mega-events typically requires one single strong narrative or image for the city and program.

This may clash with the multiple interests and perspectives of actors and stakeholders on the transformation of the city in general and it may limit the rich interpretations of heritage and places in particular. Spreading the mega-event spatially and diluting the presence of masses over time (targeting longer stays, expanding the calendar of the events) lowers the pressure on must-see heritage places only and generates a broader understanding and potential appreciation of the city. It is not only a matter of risking overtourism and damage in certain hotspots, but widening the conception of what is interesting and valuable in a city to experience, beyond its most consolidated historical areas and heritage attractions. In terms of the time frame, cultural initiatives with a slow pace give room for adjusting and integrating actions that are relevant to historic places. In the case of Wrocław, the ECoC projects (especially those proposed by the residents and local organizations) proved that there is a need of decentralizing the cultural life of the city not only by creating new attractions but also by allowing the local populace and tourists to rediscover the meaning and value of more ordinary heritage and *genius loci*. Using unusual heritage spaces outside the medieval city core opened up possibilities to drive both visitors and residents to less frequented parts of the city. The mega-event faced difficult matters with reference to a city that has seen an almost entire change in population after World War II and that mixed eventually conflicting heritages or witnesses of unwanted memories. This proved to be a socially creative process that generated further opportunities for appropriation of pieces of heritage, facilities and places on part of different social, ethnic and neighborhood groups.

In the case of Hull, despite the difficulties and painful memories attached to it, rediscovering the maritime heritage of the city became a great opportunity for planning long-term interventions, as well as for mobilizing different strata and groups of the local and regional population. In this sense, expanding the cultural ownership and the possible narratives for the mega-events and the involved heritage can become strategic also for inclusivity. Clearly, the case of Pafos had to face the heritage of the Turkish Cypriot

population, to make sense of the places that historically hosted that community and that became deserted after the 1974 conflict which divided the island's territory. This was part of the core narrative (following the overarching motto of the event: "Linking Continents-Bridging Cultures") and resurfaced in multiple concrete projects as the revitalization of the Mouttallos Turkish-Cypriots neighborhood that was partially abandoned.

7.3 Long-term vision and spatial planning

The presence of heritage and the typical ways in which European experts and policy makers deal with it suggest to envision the planning of mega-events in heritage-rich cities within a long-term time frame. The case studies in this report made clear a less obvious consideration, that the intersection with spatial plans and development strategies of the hosting city are also crucial inasmuch as they involve heritage places and cultural policy.

Mega-events are accelerators and amplifiers of development processes and urban policies; cities can better harness their potentials within a shared vision for the development of the city in the long term, especially when dealing with heritage places and assets

Despite the grand plans and statements, successful mega-events are rooted in the locale and inevitably lever the trends and transformation already under way. Recently, there has been a call for more cautious approaches to mega-event planning for the sake of event legacy and sustainability of the facilities and places over time. Following the IOC Agenda 2020, sport mega-events in particular have begun to require thorough consideration of the reuse of large existing infrastructures and of what is built with the purpose of hosting the celebrations of a given event. The lack of a clear vision, not only for the

management of the facility itself but of its role and functioning in the city, can lead to planning disasters. Large facilities that are needed for only a few months of celebration can easily become a heavy burden for the city to manage in subsequent years, both from the financial and urban points of view. The difficulties that Milan has encountered with the reuse of the Expo site could have been easily anticipated, simply based on what past and even recent experiences with Expos and the Olympics showed (Lisbon Expo 1998, Athens 2004 Olympics, and many others; Thessaloniki 1997 is worth mentioning among the European Capitals of Culture). The exceptions made to land-use regulation and planning procedures in order to build the facilities and infrastructures on time for the event can be seen as problematic, because they bypass institutional veto points and restrictions that are conceived for plans and project to be enriched with multiple political stakes a longer-term rationality. This aspect is key to heritage matters, both in terms of presenting opportunities as well as threats (at the same time one should keep in mind that the problematiques go well beyond the heritage policy sector).

For example, Pafos decided to define a new development vision for the whole city and used the event to start a significant exercise in spatial planning. This was an important opportunity and it indeed positioned the interventions for the ECoC in a consistent framework and, despite severe financial limits, still had diversified effects, especially in most disadvantaged areas in the outskirts. On the contrary, the plans for the Hull UKCoC 2017 favored the central areas and their heritage with limited consideration of the outskirts. Following the city strategies of the 1990s, this was due to the selection of most valuable assets as well as to the easiest choice for building a more appealing image for a stigmatized city. The concentration of investments and renovation made a number of key heritage assets more visible and accessible to the public which were previously underused or in a near state of abandon. More generally, without the due attention and connection to city and regional planning, even positive additions to the cultural and leisure offering of a city can induce congestion, trickle-down neighborhood effects and can generate unwanted consequences at multiple scales.

Spatial integration of multiple policies is crucial to direct different efforts and investments in directions that are shared among different actors and stakeholders

The different ways of performing planning on the part of mega-event agencies and city planning departments mark quite a significant distance among the case studies. Planning systems proved to have quite different functions in terms of land-use planning as well as heritage preservation policy (from the formalized and redundant institutional structure of Italy to the liberal approach in the UK), its set of typical actors, the extent to which binding power is in place and is effective. The position of heritage protection powers in the planning system is also important to see if heritage typically needs to mobilize consensus from the bottom up (e.g. in the case of Hull), or has established systems of intervention from the top down (as is typical in Italy). In both directions we have noticed that it is important to consider how the mega-event and the heritage policy interact with one another, but more broadly nest into a vision for the development of the city and the region that covers other policy sectors, such as infrastructure and mobility, social service provision and others. This is visible in the case of Genoa, where events and urban policies of different size and sort went under the umbrella of a long-term planning strategy. This is due to the ability of the leading actors to involve a quite diverse set of agencies and stakeholders at different stages of the process. With respect to strategic planning, the early activation of the strategic conference allowed the Municipality to harvest ideas and energies in order to direct investments and projects towards shared objectives.

This issue was important for the substance of the interventions, including the ones for the 2004 ECoC in Genoa, but even more so in terms of the political consensus that sustain it and the subsequent operations taking place in the historic city center. This and other cases clearly showed that one event cannot anticipate nor solve all problems for the city and cultural policies, no matter how large and important that event might be. Major crises, regional,

national or global, may affect the quality and even the function of certain spaces. The case of Pafos demonstrates how to manage mega-event planning despite a crippled budget and find synergies across policy sectors. The case of Hull shows that revamping retail and leisure through a stronger presence in public spaces may not have a long-lasting effect as socialization and shopping behavior can change quite rapidly. In this sense, having a reflective approach and strengthening the ability of adjusting policies and interventions on part of the public administration and local society may be as important as having clear plans and projects. All cases witnessed, to very different extents, the injection of new public and private functions in heritage places. The spatial characteristics of what heritage areas target and the connection to other policies affected the success of interventions in all cases. In the case of Genoa, the main historic palaces that were neglected and the old port's waterfront did not require massive infrastructure for pedestrians to reach and enjoy cultural life and attractions. In Milan, the lack of a clear spatial vision mixed with a strong self-interested mobilization of event space providers brought to the concentration of activities to the city center and the overexploitation of certain public spaces on part of tourists during the celebration and in subsequent years. A clever spatial vision led Wrocław to mix places inside and outside of the historic city center and to focus on key physical and symbolic connections (e.g. bridges). In the experience of Pafos, the attempt at reconnecting different neighborhoods to the city center, including the ones with diverse socio-cultural background worked only in part. The small size of the city and the relatively limited budget for the event affected the impact of potential change, especially when considered in the medium to long term.

When dealing with heritage, legacy planning should be multidimensional and reflective

One of the most publicly narrated but practically overlooked item in mega-events planning is the legacy. Legacy does not only mean the infrastructure and facilities that have been built

for the occasion of the mega-event, or simply the programs and initiatives that have been started for it. In the case of Milan the organization that took control of the important real estate asset of the Expo site and the vast public investment that it required began with an uncertain trajectory that led to substantial delays in decision making. At the same time, the organization of the ExpoinCittà program, embedded within the city municipality, readily continued and even expanded its efforts in the years following 2015, rebranding as YES Milano and continuing to host events regularly throughout the city while the main Expo site remains closed. On the opposite end in terms of size, the organization managing the legacy of the Pafos event became problematic because of the uncertain status of the administrative agency that was in charge of following up with ongoing cultural programming. Such uncertainties can present ongoing threats to heritage as spaces that were either renewed or given new uses for the event are not continued over the long term.

The social and political networks that are built or strengthened in order to respond to the requirements and challenges of the event, the capacity among public administrators, non-profit and private organizations are relevant elements that could enrich the governance and development of one city. The image and attractiveness of the city and of certain places in the city, as well, are important components of the intangible legacy of mega-events. Among the case studies, Wrocław seems to have planned continuity for the governance and the organization that successfully managed the 2016 ECoC, yet this implied selecting which cultural programs to prioritize, where to keep the attention high and what to return to a business as usual mode. Also because of its long-term perspective, the Genoa case shows that the conditions may change and the legacy may work within a certain time frame, but lose its relevance when the city faces new challenges (e.g. in that case infrastructure and environmental matters gained the highest priority in the public agenda within a few years after the push for becoming a cultural and tourism destination). The mega-event legacy should not be simply planned once and for all, but have built-in moments of discussion and adjustment over time.

7.4 Governance, participation and local capacity building

In Western countries, where powers are shared and sometimes scattered among different public, nonprofit and private actors, governance issues must be taken seriously. Mega-events are not implemented based on off-the-shelve plans, nor can they be simply enacted in heritage-rich cities where relevant aspects of places are multiple and governed by several actors. In particular, heritage-related actors and agencies may have veto powers that can slow or even stop plans and projects. In recent years local population perception and positive inclination towards hosting a mega-event have become more and more important, in some cases even for the awarding of the event itself (with survey and assessments done by the central bodies). In actual policy terms, the involvement of a broad political consensus and the mobilization from the bottom up seems important both for mega-event planning/implementation and for its connection with heritage preservation.

Mega events and heritage policies can intersect in multiple manners and find generative ways to adapt to each other and promote urban and cultural development

In many cases, mega-event plans work with what is in place, because the time restrictions are key and the key elements are too complex to plan from scratch (e.g. infrastructures). This is especially true when referring to heritage policy and places that typically require time to change and to complete eventual projects. In many cases, the mega-event systematized what had been already planned for certain areas and accelerated it. The case of Milan is prominent in this sense, with the old docks of the Darsena being completed following many years of impasse. The organization and approval of small and medium sized events in heritage facilities and places followed procedures and used networks already in place in a faster and more pragmatic manner in order to keep the

pace with the Expo 2015 and its deadlines. This required the convergence of complex sets of actors and powers and the adaptation of policies and actions. The case of Hull is prominent in terms of generating new heritage coalitions and initiatives out of the mega-event experience, with the Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City, that includes projects for public spaces in the historic city center, the appreciation of existing cultural facilities and the conversion of historic buildings into cultural and public uses.

Mega-events may induce changes in the governance of heritage and heritage sites for them to be available for the events; these (policy) changes are part of the governance legacy of the mega-event and should be envisioned as such

One can consider that the mega-event can become a turning point for city governance arrangements, in traction with what has been discussed in the previous point. For example in the case of Genoa, the existing cultural organizations joined in a new system of museums that coordinated their communication, ticketing and enhanced the cultural appeal of the city. At the early planning stage, the opening of the strategic conference to multiple actors built an important political momentum and harvested relevant ideas for changing the city of Genoa, in particular in its historic city fabric and functioning. Unfortunately, the governance innovations that touched other levels of planning and programming in Genoa did not survive long after the mega-event. Other cases showed how the morphing of the agency or organization that managed the event is a difficult passage that might disperse the capacity and connections across policy domains and within the public administration. This is very relevant when considering the links with the heritage policy field, where mutual trust and a cooperative attitude are sometimes hard to win. In this sense, the capacity-building that occurs during the preparation and delivery of mega-events should be cared for as a central part of the legacy. In this way Wrocław has been perhaps one of the most successful instances of not just maintaining newly created

governance structures for the event but also continuing to significantly fund the organization and its ongoing cultural activities for several years.

The involvement of heritage actors in the mega-event planning processes and post-event networks is key for building capacity and sharing solutions and outputs

The case of Milan shows that a collateral set of initiatives can generate significant momentum by involving a high number of actors from the bottom up. The providers of sites and buildings for the Expo in Città initiative coordinated by the Municipality and the Chamber of Commerce contributed to the success of the mega-event by spreading small and medium sized events within the city fabric, by expanding the cultural and entertainment offerings during the celebration period. This consolidated a strong spatial and economic platform for events in the subsequent years and it has, as well, built consensus and a political constituency for the festivalization of the city and the attraction of more events and tourists to town. In the early 2010s this meant experimenting with digital platforms that in the 2020s are more widespread and readily usable on part of the government and other agencies. However, the technical aspects should always be considered in the light of its long-term urban and political implications. On the contrary, in Hull, the involvement of national heritage actors (such as the HLF) experimented for the first time with the benefits of collaboration, provided knowledge, skills and confidence for intervening on heritage assets and areas in a meaningful manner. In particular, art-based initiatives involving heritage sites allowed Hull to broaden the use of known heritage. This sustained a broader discussion on the role of built and intangible heritage in the city and its economic development. In other cases, the involvement of heritage actors might have been considered as a necessary burden in order to avoid certain solutions to be vetoed by relevant agencies or to build consensus among cultural policy experts and opinion makers. Nonetheless the process enriched the solutions and bettered the outputs with respect to the built and intangible heritage of the city.

Mobilizing people in participation processes before, during and after the event (i.e. participation) without overpromising the power given to citizens

The dynamics of mobilization and participation often imply a surge at the earlier stages and sometimes a dramatic drop when operative decisions must be taken to keep the pace and deliver key elements for the mega-event on time. In Pafos, the small-scale and close-knit community of the city core made it easier to mobilize citizens since the earliest phases. This greatly contributed in building the consensus about the bid, the event and to sustain some of the positive effects on the city. The integration of public participation processes into the bidding and planning stage for the 2017 ECoC managed to spread the ECoC ideas widely, provided a platform for discussion, mobilized various groups within the city and established co-operation. Subsequent stages had far lower involvement and this can be seen in the limits of the volunteering program. The Wrocław case is an interesting instance in experimenting with the use of small and micro grants. The mobilization of small organizations and individuals towards the goals of the ECoC was very effective. Involving neighborhood organizations and the grassroots allowed the city to enhance the meaning and uses of places with cultural, civic and social relevance, activate and even regenerate them in connection with the event and its expected legacy. While Genoa also had a public call for projects through its 'Open Door' policy, quite an innovative approach at that time, neither was it able to continue such practices following the event.

Considering self-reinforcing actions and political lock-ins, carefully selecting which interests/constituencies to empower

As any turning point in the trajectory of a city, mega-events may have relevant political implications for subsequent phases. In the case of Milan, the constituency that supported the Expo 2015 and that prioritized event-driven and leisure-tourism-based approaches had a sustained impact. The

former CEO of Expo was elected as the City Mayor in 2016 and consolidated a set of policies, including the craving for mega events. Under the leadership of the new Mayor, Milan placed a successful bid to host the 2026 Winter Olympics which it is currently planning. The case of Hull clearly shows that mobilizing the residents through cultural events had a positive impact in terms of awareness regarding local history and heritage, building consensus and demand for heritage-related activities and further creative use of historic places. The post-event effects on boosting Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City are very important and of a significant magnitude for Hull. In Pafos, the conception and completion of a comprehensive strategic urban plan, the motivation to implement it and the pressure to fund it were clear results of the ECoC designation. This has empowered planning actors, at least in part, as crucial players in the decision about the future of the city. Though not a significant factor in these cases, in many instances such events can also have the opposite impact with negative perceptions of event planning or delivery cause for political upheaval and change.

7.5 Heritage, identity and local communities

Cultural assets in general and heritage in particular play an ambivalent role in planning mega-events: they can promote social cohesion but trigger political conflict as well. In most cases, mega-events are focal points in the life of local communities and sometimes can mark a change in the image and identity of one city, sometimes by using its heritage and historic places. Policy makers should be aware of this, well beyond the instrumentalizing of these political and cultural processes for the purpose of competition and growth.

Mega-events can help in disclosing/ developing new heritage narratives and building new identities for the city and its communities

In multiple cases, the mega-event and its implementation were starting points for enhancing cultural heritage and its visibility in the host city. For Genoa, the 2004 ECoC and the more general strategy surrounding it triumphed in the award of the UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2006. In Milan, a massive amount of sites were put to use for events collateral to the main exhibition and events of the Expo 2015, including historic facilities and settings. Because of the unplanned nature of this process, there was not any particular spatial arrangement collectively supported. Several “event weeks” continued up to now within the frame of yearly programming and with the creation of a dedicated agency (the YES Milano agency), both derived from the 2015 experience. The refurbishment of the old docks of the Navigli canal system (the Darsena) was reinterpreted as a joint for nightlife and the setting for leisure activities and minor events. This sustained the use of such places and the consolidation of an image for Milan as a leisure tourism destination. The change seems relevant not only under an economic profile, but as it impacts the identity and reputation of Milan. In Wrocław, the event pushed for reinterpreting the European identity and the potential as a crossroad for diverse populations. A more accurate planning for the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Centennial Hall and its buffer zone involved the development of a new management plan in the same period as the planning for the ECoC; the mega-event was perceived as an opportunity but not fully considered in its implications for mobility and presence of people and the local identity more generally. The plans for Hull: Yorkshire's Maritime City have been extensively mentioned as a recognition of a problematic and even painful cultural identity, linked to the UKCoC 2017 celebrations. In most cases, this meant in-depth heritage research carried out before and after the event, as well as collective understanding of the implications of its recognition. Yet this could also be, on the contrary, a 'double-edged sword' where mega-events reframe heritage

narratives along trajectories that are not recognized as being in line with local identities from large shares of the local population.

Anticipating potential conflicts that are inherent to the intensified use of heritage places and potentials is key

Modifying the balance and the consolidated uses and meanings attached to heritage may generate frictions and even spark conflicts among different groups benefiting from or losing ground with reference to certain heritage pieces, historic places or the cultural practices and intangible values attached to them. This conflict can be anticipated and dealt with through cultural activities, events and the arts, that can creatively generate new platforms for dialogue. Hull is an important example for this practice. Intercultural initiatives were envisioned since the start, given the relevant presence of migrant workers and their weak recognition within official cultural policy making. In addition, the use of arts and playful events for mobilizing heritage building and activating historic places for building a new and more attractive narrative of the city and community proved to be successful. In Wrocław, the collective processing of a difficult cultural identity and social history was stimulated through recognizing specific heritage buildings and places pertaining to multiple communities of the past and of the present. This was a way not only done to valorize heritage for tourists, but also to input social learning and cultural innovation. All the cases showed that promoting social dialogue about and through heritage is much cheaper and less time consuming than managing conflicts that may derive from a different or more intense use of heritage and historic places.

Developing meaningful places for multiple populations and considering multiple stakeholders are ways of enriching mega-event-related plans and projects as well as avoiding heritage-related conflicts

Mega-events, when successful, induce different uses of the urban space and a different balance in the presence of different populations (locals and tourists, high-income and low-income, ethnic groups, etc.). This does not only reflect the benefit for given stakeholders such as mass-tourism-related businesses, real estate rentiers, the local community or others, but also a different interpretation of place and of urban development. In the case of Pafos the ECoC catalyzed processes that were long dormant and mobilized different groups. The main economic interests that sustained the city and region as a tourism destination allowed the creative contribution of groups with different visions for the city and the role of culture in its development. This had limited impacts but showed the possibility for it to happen. Similarly, the social and political interaction involved by planning mega-events can conciliate contradictory values of heritage. The Polish case study shows that built heritage as well as more intangible assets were actively used for social learning and cultural innovation in a diverse local society. Promoting processes that ease reflectiveness and sense-making regarding place, heritage and the aimed-for future may be perceived as an adding to a solid management plan that is the real driver for delivering the mega-event. All the cases are here to tell that these are not optional features for successful and efficient urban and social processes of change.

7.6 From the specificities of case studies to heritage-conscious mega-event policies

The propositions presented in this chapter are based on the in-depth study of five cases. Given the availability of dozens of other experiences in places and under conditions

that are different, we do not expect these to be exhaustive. The intention is to spark debates with experts and policy makers towards the definition of more accurate and useful principles and guidelines for mega-events in heritage-rich cities in Europe and beyond. Likewise, we do not expect all the issues discussed here to be limited solely to 'heritage-rich' cities or historic spaces. These four key areas of focus are important aspects for any city hosting a mega-event to take into consideration and plan for. This chapter and the book as a whole has worked to demonstrate the particular effects such mega-events have on heritage spaces, as well as how the presence of heritage comes to impact the planning and locating of events, the trajectories of the urban transformation processes that may derive.

The mission of the HOMEE project has been to first initiate this process of research and discussion; the following steps will be to formalize these initial findings in a charter that assists policy and decision makers to appropriately consider and include heritage from the early stages of bidding for a mega-event to its legacy. The project will continue to analyze and digest these findings in coordination with other experts, academics and the stakeholders responsible for making decisions in such events to fully develop the final work. The project has also been studying, in real time, the Matera 2019 ECoC as it occurred. In that context some of the findings derived from the case studies were discussed in dedicated sessions with local stakeholders and experts. Though not presented alongside the other cases, the learnings from that investigation will likewise help to inform the final charter. The effort is great and might lead to partial results within the project's time frame, but the issues at stake are important for European cities and communities and, without doubt, worth trying as the lessons learned, we are fully convinced, can benefit future cities hosting mega-events in Europe and beyond.

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HOMEE

Heritage Opportunities/threats within Mega-Events in Europe:

Changing environments, new challenges and possible solutions for preservation in mega-events embedded in heritage-rich European cities

The Project

The research project “HOMEE – Heritage Opportunities/threats with Mega-Events in Europe” is funded under the European call “JPICH Heritage in Changing Environments”. The HOMEE project brings together leading research centers working in the fields of cultural heritage preservation and mega-event planning, in close contact with key institutions and policy officers who have already had or will have direct responsibility for planning and implementing mega-events in Europe, from the local to the international level. The project investigates past events and develops new policy tools for dealing with the emerging opportunities and threats in planning and implementing mega-events in heritage-rich cities.

For further information,
visit: <http://www.tau-lab.polimi.it/research/homee/>

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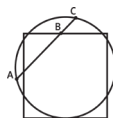
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In the past, many cities used mega-events as a strategy to boost development. The creation of new facilities and infrastructures for mega-events typically targeted areas of expansion outside of historic city fabric. Today, on the contrary, mega-event organizers are increasingly opting more for the re-use of existing facilities and areas. This paradigm shift represents both a potential opportunity and threat for heritage-rich cities in Europe. This book explores the relationships between the planning and implementation of mega-events and cultural heritage through the in-depth study of five cases: Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture, Milan Expo 2015, Wrocław 2016 European Capital of Culture, Hull UK City of Culture 2017, Pafos 2017 European Capital of Culture. The book draws on these case studies in order to spark further research and policy debate regarding the emerging opportunities and threats for context-specific policies and projects, for long-term urban development, for cooperation among actors and capacity building at different levels, for the multiple social and cultural identities that help heritage and cities to flourish.

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