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ID 1378 | THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT IMPACTS OF MEGA-EVENTS ON EUROPEAN URBAN HERITAGE

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1 MEGA-EVENTS AS A PLANNING STRATEGY

For the last 150 years, mega-events have been used as instruments to define cities and distinguish them from one another. They have been praised as opportunities for innovation and cursed as overly bloated expenditures, both a blessing or a scourge for the modern and modernizing city. As cities have sought to compete not just nationally, but globally, the hosting of a mega-event has become a sort of qualifier or standard to be achieved. Ongoing discussions debate the professed benefits they bring to host cities and the reality of their legacy. The legacy of the event deals not just with a physical memory, but also a new image or brand for a city that has been projected through the event. Therefore, mega-events have been used as part of cultural and creative strategies to secure much desired global recognition and attract future economic investment (Horne and Manzenreiter 2006; Roche 1994, 2002; Short 2008; Young and Wamsley 2005). The first key aspect of events is the large public spending that accompanies them, introducing a range of physical and social effects on the city, such as new infrastructure projects or facilities (Ponzini and Jones 2015). Secondly, they can also serve as a focusing-event that introduces strict deadlines accompanied by huge expectations, the conditions that can induce actors to put aside differences in order to collaborate (McGillivray and McPherson 2012). These two qualities in particular, mass investments restricted to a hard timetable presents a potential for synergy or friction with the urban heritage of a city.

Generally, urban heritage is one of the more particularly sensitive areas of the city. The introduction of mass tourism, often one of the intended consequences of a mega-event can greatly impact both the physical and the social qualities of these spaces. The decisions made as part of these events can lead also to altering the physical appearance and substance of a place through either conservation or demolition of heritage. These changes can significantly alter or potentially destroy these valued areas of cities. The historic nature of a place can also inversely impact the planning of the event or potentially become a key part of the The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage attraction. While physical changes may be the most immediately visible, the changes to the governance of heritage areas, as well as their definitions, can have the most lasting impact. Whether a city chooses to highlight and promote its built heritage as an integral asset can continue to determine how the city values and protects its heritage even long after the event has ended. The combination of heritage cities and mega-events is therefore one that contains great potential as well as risk and deserves further consideration and study. In the last several years, a number of high profile cities including Boston, Rome and Budapest have cancelled their bids to host the Olympic Games, citing extreme costs and low public support. To broaden the appeal of the Olympics and promote more sustainable practice, Agenda 2020 has established new guidelines.

Specifically, recommendation 2.2 aims to promote the re-use of existing infrastructures (Gold and Gold 2016). This shift could result in the Olympics being more integrated into the existing city fabric. The

previous bid by Budapest for the 2024 Olympics served as a good example as they specifically recognized the use of important historic locations throughout the city to serve as the venues for various events, integrating the games into the city itself more than has been the norm in recent years. With this changing paradigm of megaevents, the European context can provide beneficial examples of how to properly integrate large events within existing city fabric. Over the last thirty years, lesser known cultural mega-events have played an important role in the development of cities and have become a common strategy for cities to turn to. While large Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai have hosted events including the 2008 Olympics and 2010 Expo respectively, if trends continue, smaller scale cities in China and elsewhere may also pursue cultural and sporting events to promote themselves at an international scale. As the Agenda 2020 recommendations become more common and mega-events are more integrated into the city itself, it will be important for cities to recognize and plan how to utilize these events for their greatest benefit. The cases presented herein provide three examples to consider and learn from how the urban heritage of a city can benefit or be put at risk by the significant investments and protracted deadlines of a mega-event.

2 THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE A MODEL OF AN INTEGRATED MEGA-EVENT

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) is a yearlong cultural program consisting of a series of events typically situated within the city. This event is one of the longest running continuous EU policies and the flagship cultural program for the European Commission. Beginning in 1985, the event has operated for 30 years with over 50 cities throughout Europe holding the much-coveted title of European Capital of Culture (García and Cox 2013). A key component of the program is the promotion of a distinctively “European culture” (European Commission 2014). The 50+ cities have interpreted European culture in many different ways, sometimes with traditional built heritage taking a leading role, while other cities have chosen to not include it within their programs at all. Typically, the activities of the ECoC are embedded directly within the city itself, with the potential to reference and actively include built heritage more than is typically possible with the Olympics, which have often resided outside of the city and relied more heavily on newly built infrastructure.

While the ECoC program may not be as renowned as other mega-events, it has become the inspiration for a number of similar programs. There has been a UK City of Culture program since 2013 with many British cities desiring to participate following the success of the 2008 Liverpool ECoC. Since 1996 there has also been an Arab Capital of Culture initiative organized through the Arab League and since 2015 there has also been the Capitale italiana della cultura in Italy. With the ECoC program slated to continue until 2033, it is a mega-event worthy of continued study. Due to the content of the program and its direct relationship to the city itself, the European Capital of Culture is a relevant mega-event for which to examine how a megaevent adds value to the city itself, particularly its urban heritage.

The three selected case studies of Genoa 2004, Liverpool 2008 and Istanbul 2010 represent three very diverse cities in terms of the contents of their events, their planning systems and approaches to heritage.

In addition to hosting the ECoC, each city has also been recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site (WHS) for being of outstanding universal value (OUV). While many of the other ECoC host cities also contain important urban heritage, the quality of being a WHS created another point of comparison between the three cases. The application process for WHS is an intensive process that guarantees these cities have valued their heritage enough to ensure its global recognition. The cases will be used to illustrate the great potential and risk they can pose to built heritage through a range of approaches.

Genoa 2004 was selected as the quintessential example of using a mega-event to regenerate the image of the city through a heritage-led approach. The WHS site of Genoa was actually recognized in 2006, two years following the event due to many of the restorations included within as part of a larger long-term strategy of the city that also included the 2001 G8. Liverpool 2008 was seen as an ideal counter point to Genoa for the study. Though the city received WHS status as “Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City” in 2004, the heritage of the city was largely absent from the 2008 events. Eventually the site was added to the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2012 and presents an interesting opportunity to examine the long term effects of a city choosing to ignore its heritage within a mega-event. Finally, Istanbul 2010 was

chosen both for its focus on heritage, but also for taking the mega-event strategy and expanding it to the extremes within a global city. The planning of the event also different from the strategies of Genoa and Liverpool, revealing the diversity of approaches.

2.1 GENOA EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2004

Genoa and its revival has generally been declared a success of a post-industrial regeneration (Gastaldi 2016; Bonfantini 2015). While Genoa clearly utilized the transnational mega-event strategy propagated by many cities, it is distinct for its usage of heritage as the key component. The story of Genoa’s revival traces its origins to some early renewal projects in the late 1980s, followed by the Expo 1992 and considered finalized with the 2001 G8 and 2004 European Capital of Culture. Through all of these efforts, the historic city centre has played an essential role. The city’s ‘Golden Age of Reuben’ occurred during the The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage 16th and 17th centuries, when as an independent wealthy maritime republic the city was very wealthy and established itself as a centre of banking (Bobbio 2008, 2005a). While the city then enjoyed a period of continuous growth up until the 1970s, it entered a period of several decades of decline and shrinkage. This new scenario resulted from changing national and international trends (Bobbio 2008). By the 1990s, the city centre was in a serious state of degradation, disconnected from the waterfront and, despite containing a Medieval historic core and series of impressive Palaces, it was not known or recognized as a city of culture or tourism.

A key aspect of Genoa’s approach was embedding the event within the wider plans for the city. Genoa presents a case where the plans for the city were molded around the event, specifically with the 1999 Strategic Conference and 2000 Operation Plan for the Historic Center. The city brought together the key institutions and actors to establish the goals of these plans to address the issues of tourism, education, development, livability and infrastructure (Comune di Genova 1999). Despite a complex web of projects and funding sources, the city used the strategic conference and the subsequent operation plan to succinctly guide the mass physical transformation of the city. The series of 16th and 17th century Rolli Palaces were selected to be restored in particular with the explicit intention of applying for UNESCO WHS status. This recognition was considered key in establishing the city as a cultural destination and became one of the main goals. The massive shift to focus so heavily on the heritage of the city was a significant change for a city that had not been considered a ‘cultural’ city during the previous century. These plans and the event reveal a new way of thinking about the city.

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 idea 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 (Da Molo, personal interview, 2016). Heritage was therefore tasked with creating both a previously non-existent tourism sector as well as an anchor to attract a new creative sector to the city to initiate the regeneration of the city. These expectations were quite high, particularly in a place where there was no strong presence of a tourism industry in a country already competitive in world-renown heritage offerings in cities such as Rome, Florence and Venice.



Figure 1) The Rolli Palaces. (a) Palazzo Bianco (b) Palazzo Rosso (source: author, 2016).

2.1.1 THE OUTPUTS OF GENOA 2004

Over 160 individual restorations and urban improvement projects were completed between the two coordinated mega events. A key to the proper completion of works was the pre-existing academic studies and research that allowed conservationists to make the best decisions for each individual structure restored (Carbonara 2001). In Genoa particularly, with its vast array of painted facades, it would have been nearly impossible to complete the work without seriously damaging their authenticity without such preparation. The works included the grandest palaces of the city: Rosso, Bianco, Tursi and Reale, the same first made famous by Reuben. The facades of a number of smaller palaces within the medieval core were also restored. Several other important projects were the pedestrianisation of several of the key streets throughout the city. These works both improved the urban quality of these spaces to make them more accessible and enjoyable as well as guarantee the long term protection of the city's heritage by significantly reducing harmful pollution. Without the advanced preparation and integration of the event into larger strategic city plans, it was possible to properly complete the restoration works despite the restricted schedule.



Figure 2) Newly restored and pedestrianised public spaces (a) Piazza Ferrari and fountain (b) Via San Lorenzo (source: author, 2016).

The incredible volume of works completed in Genoa through the event cannot be denied. The facade restorations revealed a previously unseen and unknown Genoa. At the time of the events, there were two key issues identified for the continued long-term success of the event. First and foremost, the continued regular maintenance of this newly restored heritage. Otherwise, the city risks eventually losing these structures or they will become even more expensive to restore when major future interventions are required (Alcozer 2005; Pittarello 2001; Storti 2005). Second, key developments were identified in order to continue the forward motion of the city, in particular the Ponte Parodi project, a large cultural and entertainment center on the waterfront (Alcozer 2005), and the Erzelli Citadel by Renzo Piano, a new research and technology district. The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage (Bobbio 2005b). The ability to implement these strategies without the extraordinary funding the city provided by mega-events is identified as a key challenge to overcome (ibid.).

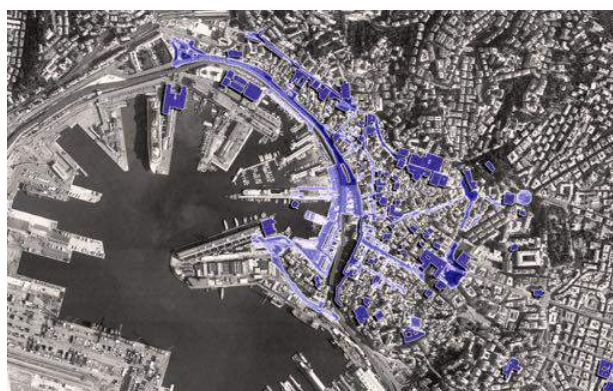


Figure 3) Map of the building projects and public spaces renovated for 2001 and 2004 (source: author, based on Osservatorio Civis).

2.1.2 THE LEGACY OF GENOA 2004

Of the nearly €650 million that Genoa invested in its heritage from 1993 to 2005, nearly a third was allocated for the 2004 event (Gastaldi 2009). To put this figure in perspective, the €200 million of the ECoC nearly equals the annual budget of the Ministry of Culture for restoration works for all of Italy (MiBACT 2017). 2004 represents a key point of change for Genoa in terms of tourism. Compared to the number of visitors 5 years prior to the event, there was a 20% increase during 2004 alone (García and Cox 2013). In 2005, the city received a total of 586,633 overnight visitors, which has since expanded to 801,833 in 2014, a 65% increase (Comune di Genova 2015). The heritage of the city has become a main attractor to draw visitors. Within a national context, the region that Genoa is located in, Liguria, is now the 4th most visited region in Italy. It seems quite clear, based on the available data, that the 2004 European Capital of Culture and the mass restoration works completed through the event have significantly and successfully contributed to establishing Genoa as a cultural destination. The other clearly stated goal for the city was the attainment of UNESCO World Heritage Site status, considered a seal of approval of the transformation of the city and its reputation. This achievement would confirm Genoa's place not only as an important facet of history, but also as an established cultural destination. In 2006, "Genoa: Le Strade Nuove and the system of the Palazzi dei Rolli", was recognized with WHS status. A majority of the listed palaces were restored during the works for the events.

Despite the significant number of improvements, the city yet continues to face a number of social and economic issues with the population continuing to decrease slightly. In large part due to the global economic crisis, the development projects of Ponte Parodi and the Erzelli Citadel have been significantly delayed and remain in the planning stages. The years following 2004 also witnessed a massive decrease in funding for preservation projects nationally (Bodo and Bodo 2016), thus the continued maintenance program has not been implemented as hoped. While the mega-event can therefore be a great force to organize and motivate actors, it often leaves a void that is difficult to replace. Therefore, the heritage-led approach can be effective in terms of rescuing the city's urban heritage and establishing a tourism industry, but, on its own, may not be enough of an attractor to revitalize all social and economic elements of a city. Therefore, while the significant investments in heritage throughout the city were well planned and implemented, this approach may have yet further benefited from greater integration with other innovative social and economic policies and strategies for the city to fully address the many needs of the city.

2.2 LIVERPOOL EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2008

At the outset, many similarities can be drawn between the cases of Genoa and Liverpool. The trajectories of both cities nearly parallel one another since WWII. They have long functioned as important ports within their national contexts, but were heavily bombed and never quite recovered their former position following periods of deindustrialization. The populations of both cities have been cut in half from the start of the 20th century and they have focused on reestablishing new economic footholds. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Liverpool also intended to use the ECoC to replicate the success of other cities. In particular, Liverpool chose to emulate Glasgow (The Liverpool Culture Company Limited 2002), which hosted the 1990 European Capital of Culture. However, heritage did not play a significant role within the preparations or execution of the event. Therefore, the relationship between the event and the urban heritage of the city is drastically different from what was observed in Genoa and makes for a valid comparison. Liverpool is often cited by academics and other bidding cities as one of the most successful ECoCs ever (García, Melville, and Cox 2010). The event has been noted as playing a key role in revitalizing the image and economy of the city. The main question then is whether there can still be any benefit for heritage when ignored by an event, or, is there a significant risk to the long term viability and value of these areas?

Liverpool has over 2,700 listed buildings and 36 conservation areas (CA) with a total of 9% of the city has been designated as a CA (Liverpool City Council 2017). The city was also recognized as "Liverpool - The Maritime Mercantile City" by UNESCO in 2004 with the site consisting of the waterfront areas and a section of the city centre, so the city has a significant volume of built heritage. By the late 1990's, a coalescing of political, institutional and individual efforts occurred, culminating in a unified vision for the regeneration of the city (Cocks 2013). This conglomeration of actors included the North-West Development Agency, English Partnerships, Liverpool City Council and the newly created Liverpool Vision (ibid.). It is during this period that the city bids for and wins the ECoC, aiming to move beyond the previous

decades of decline and negative stereotypes to establish a Liverpool poised to become the ‘Shanghai of Europe’ (Paker 2008).

Leading up to the 2008 ECoC then, the heritage of Liverpool found itself at an interesting point. After decades of decline and abandonment, it had come to play a key role in the rebirth of the city starting in the 1980s and culminating in the awarding of WHS. While much of the heritage of the city can be found concentrated within the center, many important historic areas can be found spread throughout greater city. The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage region. As the population of the city has halved over the last 70 years, many important structures and neighborhoods now find themselves isolated and lacking their original context due to sprawl and slum clearance during the 60s and 70s. In fact, by 2009, there were still 440 listed buildings considered at risk, so the city’s heritage did require further attention.

2.2.1 THE PLANS FOR THE CITY AND LIVERPOOL 2008

Like Genoa, the city also used a series of plans to create an overarching vision for the city, starting with the 20-year Regional Economic Strategy (RES). This strategic plan would provide the basis from which plans produced by Liverpool Vision and the city council would fit within with the 2008 ECoC coming to feature as a key deadline for the city to aim for and central to its regeneration. While plans like the City Centre Movement Strategy, Public Realm Implementation Framework, Townscape Heritage Initiative and other improvement schemes were created to guide public works, the program for Liverpool 2008 did not incorporate any restoration works. Therefore, while the city’s original bid recognizes the importance of the city’s heritage as a key asset that creates a ‘rich environment’ (The Liverpool Culture Company Limited 2002), it never comes to serve as a crucial component of the event itself. The intention of the city was that by reshaping Liverpool as an exciting and forward looking destination, the unused historic structures of the city would eventually benefit indirectly. Therefore, the protection of heritage areas was left to conservation focused institutions or the private sector, with the local government serving more as a coordinator or go between actor. While the city and event itself did not oversee the restoration of historic structures or areas, there were 10 restoration projects coordinated to re-open with the ECoC celebrations in 2007 (the city’s 800th birthday) and 2008.

The most important of structure restored was St. George’s Hall, a Grade I listed neoclassical building from 1854 that provided the city with law courts along with a town hall and concert room that came to serve as the site for many large public events during 2008. Liverpool University also created The Victoria Gallery and Museum in the original university building that has sat unused for the last several decades. There had been previous attempts to find a new function for the historic building, but the funding and motivation were never sufficient. With the announcement of 2008, the university felt an obligation to contribute and give something back to the city (Clough, personal interview, 2016). Therefore, the university agreed to restore the building and establish the gallery and museum, which unified pre-existing collections of the university in one location. Additionally, several historic buildings were restored as hotels in anticipation of the many visitors to the city during the year. While these physical works were nowhere as comprehensive as those in Genoa, the city did in many ways transform through the broader public rehabilitation plans and the opening of a new £ 1-billion private retail center, Liverpool One, which also aligned its grand opening with 2008.



Figure 4) The restored St. George’s Hall (left, source: Tony Hisgett, Flickr) and Figure 5) The Victoria Gallery and Museum (right, source: Author, 2016)

2.2.2 THE LEGACY OF LIVERPOOL 2008

Unlike Genoa, built heritage was largely absent from considerations of the event, yet that does not mean it has not been impacted as a result. With a rejuvenated interest in the city, the number of individual listed buildings considered at risk have been drastically reduced in recent years, despite the lack of restoration within the event itself. In 2009, there were 440 listed buildings at risk compared to only 66 in 2016. Many structures have been converted to hotels as well as residences, particularly student housing. Though the pure numbers are impressive, not all instances of buildings removed from this list would be considered conservation success stories. A series of renovations have led to the destruction and loss of historic buildings in the years since the ECoC such as the demolition of the Dale Street Georgian shops in 2015 and the Futurist Cinema in 2016.

The biggest development since 2008 for the heritage of Liverpool is UNESCO placing the city's WHS on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2012. The main factor in UNESCO's decision has been the proposed, but not yet implemented, development scheme for Liverpool Waters by The Peel Group. Liverpool Waters is a £5.5 billion proposed scheme covering 60 ha located in and around Liverpool's northern docks, with portions situated within the WHS itself as well as in the buffer zone. Specifically, plans for several skyscrapers within the site have caused the most concern. Despite several design changes, UNESCO continues to deem the height of the towers a threat to the OUV of the site (UNESCO 2012). While the city has enjoyed WHS status since 2004, it has struggled to properly promote this international recognition. There are no clear markings throughout the city or maps to allow locals or visitors to understand when they are within the site. While reminders of the Beatles are an inescapable part of the city, one could easily be excused for not knowing Liverpool is in fact a WHS city. In addition to the physical condition of the city's heritage, the last 15 years have witnessed a clear shift in official policy towards preservation. While the 2004 Heritage Investment Framework placed the city's heritage as a crucial component for future development, the 2010 update framework does not highlight heritage in the future of the city other than The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage through further cooperation with private developers (Liverpool City Council 2010). No replacement plan has been produced since its expiration in 2015. There has also been an ongoing reduction in the number of conservation officers devoted to the protection of heritage within the city council as faced with budget cuts.



Figure 6) The proposed Liverpool Waters Scheme (source: Chapman Taylor)

Liverpool maintains a tenuous relationship with its heritage. While it has a successful history of regeneration through heritage, that tradition has not been carried through the event or city plans. By 2008 there were still hundreds of listed buildings in need of repair that could have benefited from a mass program of restoration such as Genoa. Instead, the city chose to let the private sector take the lead in re-using and restoring its heritage through regeneration schemes. While this approach has at times resulted in projects that are well restored to a high quality, in others it has led to the demolition of sites. The main impact of the event can be observed through the secondary effects that have bolstered independent groups to align their actions with the event. This reliance on the intentions of external entities is a potential gamble that does not guarantee heritage protection or promotion. This case also suggests that the positioning of the event does come to impact long term thinking and policy of the city. Heritage has continued to take a backseat to the continued festivalization and new development of the city. The success of one mega-event may inevitably prescribe their future repetition as Liverpool now hopes to host future large cultural and sporting events. If this strategy comes at the expense of a long-term valuing of the city's heritage, instead of a coordinated effort, the results could be truly catastrophic. The current strategy in

Liverpool, as stated by the Mayor (Belger 2016), is that buildings are saved when viable. Therefore, regeneration seems to have become the ultimate motto/goal of the city. When heritage can benefit those processes it will be valued and included, but otherwise is viewed as a nuisance or something merely standing in the way of development.

2.3 ISTANBUL EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2010

Istanbul is a case of extremes. It is a city with an 8,000-year history and the sheer scale of the city tests the limits of a mega-event and its ability to meaningfully impact such a large city. A cornerstone of the 2010 Istanbul ECoC was the heritage of the city. However, the approach of Istanbul relied far more heavily on public participation in determining projects with the event not integrated into a set of city coordinated plans guiding the works, as seen in both Genoa and Liverpool. This case therefore additionally explores the benefits and risks of a public participatory model for planning large events, a particularly unique feature of this case. The framework of institutions responsible for the protection of heritage sites is a fractured and complicated network. In Istanbul, these layers range from the involvement of local municipalities, central ministries, and international organizations. Once again, the responsibilities and jurisdiction of these actors are often unclear to outside observers as well as to the actors themselves leading to frequent disputes. As noted by Marquart (2014), the management of heritage in Turkey is in a constant state of change and evolution.

Though new powers were given to local level authorities in 2004, most of the power remains with central ministries. Under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MoCT) exists the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums and the General Directorate of Religious Foundations that separately manages Ancient/Byzantine and Islamic/Ottoman heritage sites respectively (Bonini Baraldi and Shoup 2014; Bonini Baraldi, Shoup, and Zan 2013). Therefore, the newly created 2010 Agency, the body responsible for managing the event, became an additional institution responsible for heritage within this already complicated web.

The most noted heritage sites in Istanbul are included in the Historic Areas of Istanbul, the four WHS properties located on the Historic Peninsula recognized in 1985. While the buffer zone comprises the entire peninsula, the four main areas are the Archaeological Park, which includes Topkapi Palace, Hagia Sophia and the Sultanahmet Mosque (Blue Mosque); the Suleymaniye quarter and Mosque complex; the Zeyrek area surrounding the Zeyrek Mosque (former Pantocrator church); along with the massive Theodosian land walls. Parts of these historic areas have suffered severely from decades of decay and neglect. This current situation has resulted from a variety of factors, including lack of resources and funding, both publically and privately (Çelik 2010). Laws promoting urban renewal, tourism incentive and prevention of earthquake damage have also significantly impacted historic through either their 'touristification' or demolition and reconstruction (Bezmez 2008; Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008; Çorakbaş, Aksoy, and Ricci 2014; Dokmeci, Altunbas, and Yazgi 2007; Günay 2010; Günay and Dokmeci 2012; Keyder 2010; Kocabaş 2006; Marquart 2014; Somuncu et al. 2005). In 2003, UNESCO announced that Istanbul's four WHS would be considered for inclusion on the World Heritage in Danger List. Of particular concern was the lack of a proper site management plan for the 4 WHS areas as well as the whole of the historic peninsula. In fact, the mission reports by UNESCO suggest utilizing the 2010 ECoC as a tool to restore threatened sites, recognizing the additional funding and urgency of the event as potential heritage resources (UNESCO 2006, 2008).

2.3.1 THE ISTANBUL 2010 PROGRAM

The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage While the bid for 2010 started life as an entirely bottom-up proposal by several NGOs, the 2010 Agency was ultimately comprised of many central government actors with civil society groups losing much of their influence. As a result, there were varying intentions for the ECoC. For some involved, it was primarily seen as an opportunity to advertise the city on a global stage, with its heritage as the main attractor. However, other representatives of the 2010 Agency, proposed an alternative vision where arts, culture and heritage were localized to make them more accessible to local citizens in areas where they normally do not exist. In the end, both of these intentions are represented in some ways. The report by Ernst-Young (2011) notes that 49% (€ 137 million) of the total budget of the ECoC was devoted to the city's heritage. While a significant investment

for the city's heritage, Karaca (2013) argues that a mega-event should not have been necessary to ensure the financing of these restoration projects in the first place, but rather already regularly maintained and promoted.



Figure 7) The spread of restoration projects for Istanbul 2010 (source: author)

In total, the event was responsible for over 50 separate restoration projects, several of which were in a severe state of degradation. The works range from religious, civil, military and even industrial sites spanning the Republican, Ottoman and Byzantine eras and ranged from some of the city's grandest and most well-known built heritage to rather small and virtually unknown sites along with several urban pedestrianisation schemes. The most notable monuments of the city that were worked on include Hagia Sofia, Sultanahmet Square and Topkapi Palace, the former home of the Ottoman sultans and the most visited museum in the country. The 2010 event also served as an opportunity to revitalize structures like the Vortvots Vordomon Church, which had been abandoned for over a century. This important Armenian heritage property likely would have otherwise remained left to decay as prior attempts to raise funding for the project over the previous decade had been unsuccessful. Notably, this project was the first ever Armenian cultural property to be funded by the Turkish Government, representing a significant step in the recognition of the country's diverse past and heritage. The Historic Wooden Home Repair Program implemented in the Zeyrek and Süleymaniye areas was another important project that brought together several existing institutions to not only restore some of the iconic wooden homes of Istanbul, but also to develop training programs to provide the skill sets and knowledge of traditional construction methods (Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency 2011).



Figure 8) The Vortvots Vordoman Cultural Center (a) before and (b) following the restoration in 2010 (source: (a) Kevork Özkaragoz, (b) author, 2015)

In addition to the physical works completed, two important heritage plans were produced as part of the 2010 event: The Historic Peninsula Site Management plan (SMP) and the Sur-i Sultani Strategic Vision. These plans were both important attempts to secure the city's heritage for the future and generate a longterm vision that had been lacking. Unfortunately, neither plan has been implemented to the degree hoped for. The SMP seems to have lost the ability to cast a forward thinking vision for the future that could be effectively implemented. However, with the document's completion in 2011, UNESCO decided to

remove the Istanbul sites from consideration for the warning list. Additionally, the 2010 Agency was also able to bring together heritage actors from throughout the city that had previously not worked together. New networks were created between local actors with weekly meetings including academics, practitioners and elected officials to engage in conversations about the pressing issues facing the city and its urban heritage.

While the 2010 Agency was not exclusively a heritage body, it was in many ways able to ‘fill the gaps’ within the complex heritage network for a period of time.

2.3.2 LONG-TERM OUTCOMES OF ISTANBUL 2010

Overall, the 2010 ECoC contributed greatly to the city in terms of physical regeneration, management structures and promoting a culture of preservation of built heritage. However, while the event was used to impact a broad range of heritage, the hard deadline of the event and significant investments may not have been enough. First, over half of the projects were not finished in time for the event itself with many still left incomplete. In other instances, some completed structures have been left susceptible to future damage or excluded from public access. In 2012 the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality promoted its level support of restoration efforts with a report entitled “Istanbul: Reborn in the Historical City” (IMM 2012). It cites an 860€ million investment between the years 2004-2012 in culture and tourism. However, of that total figure, only 113€ million were spent on actual restoration works, with the rest going mostly to advertising. However, a 2014 report calls into question the state of preservation of Istanbul’s monuments and requests UNESCO to reconsider the properties for the World Heritage in Danger list. Specifically, the report sites ongoing practices at construction sites that have directly damaged the Theodosian Land Walls, one of the four WHS (Çorakbaş, Aksoy, and Ricci 2014). The urban regeneration schemes have continued to be implemented in historic areas, leading to their continued loss (Marquart 2014; Yetiskul, Kayasü, and Ozdemir 2016; Yildirim 2015).



Figure 9) Construction site at the Theodosian Land Walls (source: author, 2015)

The works completed as part of the 2010 ECoC represent an important turning point for Istanbul and the protection of its heritage, as recognized by UNESCO rescinding its possible inclusion on the Heritage in Danger List. In this case, the ECoC was responding to an emergency scenario in terms of the city’s heritage. Without a doubt, many of the heritage assets of the city would yet be decaying and abandoned if it were not for the event. In this sense, the event has been invaluable in ensuring the continuation of these heritage sites for future generations. The efforts made for inclusivity and a participatory approach should be applauded, particularly in a context like Turkey where such practices are not common. However, this structure, which lacked a single cohesive plan for the event and was divorced from other strategies for the city resulted in reduced efficiency. While the event can be an effective engine to address short term and immediate problems, like the restoration of a decaying structure, it was not as successful in addressing the embedded systematic shortcomings in the existing complex governance structure of the city’s heritage. Also, while the investment was significant, it was perhaps not adequate to meet the need of a city like Istanbul with such a vast heritage offering. Ultimately, in a city as large as Istanbul, it would be difficult for an event of any magnitude to dramatically impact in a cohesive and consistent way.

3 CONCLUSIONS: HERITAGE UTILIZING MEGA-EVENTS AS A TOOL

There are several key conclusions to be drawn from these cases that can be applied to historic cities hosting mega-events. As opportunities of great funding that allow for the promotion of the city and an occasion to unify actors within an accelerated timeline, they are capable of introducing a new heritage-centric focus to the city where one may not have previously exist. Genoa successfully used the event to first complete the necessary restoration of the urban core and then subsequently establish itself as a new destination, now known for its heritage and waterfront. While the city may yet have other issues it must continue to address, its heritage has been recognized by UNESCO and its tourism continues to grow. Therefore, for cities wanting to protect and develop their heritage sector, the event can be one tool to use. It can serve as a mechanism with which to protect heritage and address emergency situations of physical decay that otherwise might be lost. However, cities must be careful to properly manage and integrate such efforts into comprehensive and strategic city plans. While an event may be successful to initiate short term goals, a city cannot rely solely on the event, it must plan long-term to maintain and protect its heritage. Therefore, while increased funding and expedited delivery can benefit heritage, their focus and implementation are crucial.

While many physical restorations can be implemented, the event also can improve heritage management and policy. Istanbul included public participation, which could potentially broaden the scope and definition of heritage. However, when not connected to an overall plan, the outcomes can be diffused and not result in a cohesive outcome. Having the event embedded within larger plans also provides greater assurance that desired projects will be completed. Both a potential benefit and drawback of the mega-event is its restricted and steadfast deadline. While this aspect may motivate actors to work together and accomplish tasks on time, it can also result in rushed works that harm instead of protect heritage. Even if the physical restoration is properly carried out, but the long-term care, maintenance or use is not planned for, the site can quickly return to being at risk of degradation or abuse. Therefore, it's crucial to be well planned in advance and recognize the entirety of the task involved and adequately prepare with the appropriate research and planning for both the event and afterward.

Liverpool illustrates the potential for positive secondary effects for heritage from an event, but also the risk of sacrificing historic areas to development interests. Especially when an event is considered successful, but has not emphasized its heritage, it may lead to the city perceiving its heritage as being not as valuable an asset. Regardless of the inclusion of heritage as a focus of the event or not, each of the cases have faced their own struggles in the transition following the event, either in their ability to complete projects that were unfinished or in maintaining the overall initiative and drive following the event's close. While legacy planning is often mentioned as an important part of the process, it is typically far more difficult to implement, even when programmed in advance.

A clear issue in Istanbul, and a potential factor for many Chinese cities, is the greater the scale of the city, the more difficult to evenly distribute the impacts throughout the city while still creating a worthwhile outcome. While, the Shanghai Expo 2010 established a precedent for reusing industrial heritage The direct and indirect impacts of mega-events on European Urban Heritage (Sha et al. 2014), it was restricted to a single area. Therefore, the potential does exist for mega-events to serve as the impetus for innovative heritage renewal in vastly varying contexts, but these efforts can be greatly expanded upon. Ultimately, planning and preparation are a crucial element to best take advantage of the increased budget and time scale that mega-events provide. They can therefore indeed be a potential tool for conservationists and planners to use for the benefit of urban heritage while developing mega-events that are more sustainable and integrated into existing cities.

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