OLYMPIC GAMES, OTHER MEGA EVENTS

&

CITIES

YOUNG PLANNERS WORKSHOP 2017

INDEX

PRESENTATION
By Joris Scheers, President of the ECTP-CEU

Dear reader,
Dear spatial planner,

Bringing 35 year old planning professionals together from different parts of Europe is one of the central objectives of our annual Young Planners Workshop. The European Council of Spatial Planners (ECTP-CEU) strongly promotes and supports this profession related activity by making it one of its most important activities. While working together, participants experience in a very direct way how different viewpoints and approaches of different planning cultures can bring on a variety of solutions to specific planning issues. Besides great networking opportunities, the workshop offers an on-the-spot learning by discussing and valorizing input from many young professionals. A variety of methods, instruments and techniques relevant for spatial planning is presented and discussed. This way, participants experience the relevance and dynamics of spatial planning as it is implemented in different cities and regions throughout Europe. By tackling real planning projects, the planning professionals can contribute to real improvements of our living environment, our social condition and our economy.

The added value a spatial planner can offer, is definitely the integrative approach. The way the young planners workshop is designed, entre alii by visualizing the different consequences sectorial decisions can have on the spatial development of a specific place, a real coherent set of solutions can be examined. At the occasion of the 12th Biennial of European Towns and Town planners last June in 2017 in Paris on Cities and Olympic games or other world events, the focus was evident.

The call for proposals led to a wide range of submissions from many different parts of Europe on European cultural capitals, world expositions, Paralympic and Olympic games, mega-events and international expositions. Projects and policies, effects on urban development and inhabitants were discussed from London and Grenoble over Rio and Milan to Flanders and Zaragoza. The 2017 edition was a true success. The Young planners working group pursued their discussions during a specific program item during the plenary session of the 12th Biennial in Paris. The conclusions are presented in this e-book.

Let me recommend the e-book to all - young and older - spatial planners, members of the ECTP-CEU member associations throughout Europe, not only to inform themselves on the impact of mega-events on urban development and the approach presented by the different teams, but also to encourage young planners to partake in the 2018 and following Young Planners Workshop events.

Finally, let me conclude by thanking Ignacio Peman, member of the ECTP-CEU Executive Committee and representative delegate from the Spanish association AETU, who not only initiated the young planner's workshop, but is the untiring promotor and organizer of the working group, as well as final editor of this e-book. Muchas gracias, Ignacio!

INTRODUCTION
By Ignacio Pemán Gavín, ECTP-CEU Young Planners Workshop Chair

1.- Mega events and its urban legacy for the cities

This publication contains the findings of the ECTP Young Planners on the topic "Urban planning, public space and mobility". The results were presented in Paris on June 29th June 2017 in the frame of the 12th Biennial of European Towns and Town Planners held 29 June 2017 in Paris & Plain Commune under the general title Cities and Olympic and Paralympics' Games,

According to Federica Busa, a general definition of Mega events can be given as follows:

A mega-event is a large-scale, internationally sponsored, public entrepreneurship activity engaging a long-term multi-sector organization within the host city and nation with the double goal of supporting overall local and regional development and advancing universal values and principles to meet global challenges

Large international events work as triggers for local development and bring tangible advantages to the host city and country. Olympic and Paralympics' Games, Exhibitions and other Mega events can be essential tools for a country to bring out its economy and image of political and social power.

Since more than 40 years, hosting international events such as Olympics and Paralympics' Games, EXPOs, World Cups, Cultural Festivals and others is an important mean to stimulate growth and development in the host cities.

The first modern Olympics took place in 1896 in Athens, and featured 280 participants from 13 nations, competing in 43 events. Since 1994, the Summer and Winter Olympic Games have been held separately and have alternated every two years. From the first modern Olympic Games to the last one held in Río de Janeiro in 2016, many researches have analysed their impacts.

The world exhibitions originated from France's tradition of holding national exhibitions. The first World Expo – L'exposition publique des produits de l'industrie Française, (The public exhibition of products from the French industry) – was held in France in 1798 and the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations", also known as "first World Expo", was held in London's Hyde Park in 1851. The most recent one, Expo 2015, hosted in Milan, explored the theme "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life" for six months, demonstrating that urban effects and legacy have evolved.

Other Mega events, such as the FIFA World Cup, Cultural capitals, International Exhibitions...etc can be considered and analysed in the same approach as they can also have a strong impact on urban development.

2.- Mega events and urban legacy: lights and shadows

The latest generation of Olympic Games are studied under the perspective of new paradigms such as urban regeneration. Urban regeneration is considered since the Barcelona Olympics of 1992 as it participated in Barcelona's re-development as a modern city.

The Olympic Games organisation has recently evolved and now includes environmental concerns. In 1991, the Olympic Charter was amended to reflect the importance of environment. As such, candidature questionnaires for cities vying to host the 2002 Winter Games revealed questions related to the protection of the environment. Following the adoption of Agenda 21 Sport for Sustainable Development in 1999, the IOC added environment to sport and culture to form the third pillar of the Olympic Movement.

In order to counter the social opposition due to the negative effect of globalization, the strategy of Mega events is also concerned by social effects; and therefore involving socially-disadvantaged communities in innovative ways to secure their engagement. This strategy is essential to align 'city-building' to the human values of 'Olympism'.

The potential short- and long-term impacts in terms of urban transformation can be considerable. Mega-events can be used as a strategy for urban renewal and regeneration of derelict industrial Brownfield sites, new airport capacities, new roads and rail links, housing, and tourist accommodation. This strategy can also contribute to a new image and identity ('symbolic capital') for the host city. — New 'social capital' in the form of new skills and organisations.

Amongst their tangible benefits, mega-events are catalysts for economic transformation, upgrading of urban infrastructure, strengthening the international image of the city and accelerating the implementation of desired urban policies.

But there are also a number of substantial problems, risks and difficulties for establishing a realistic budget a long time in advance. Public expenditure can be used to subsidise private accumulation (increased local taxes); economic impacts can be transitory; other forms of investment can be postponed or eliminated by staging a mega-event and therefore having a 'crowding out' effect (tourists discouraged from visiting) and gentrification.

Recently, negative effects have been underlined such as the processes of "urbanalisation" because the homogenization of the architecture and urbanism that these events leave as a legacy to the city. Frances Muñoz has pointed out that this is "Olympic urbanism".

As Frances Muñoz has said, the future of the urban mega-events of the 21st century need to be guided in terms of urban innovation and creativity, thus escaping the copy & paste urbanism typical of processes of "urbanalisation" .

3.- Challenges; learning from each other

Last researches and academic studies are focused on future challenges for urban strategies of mega events; and in particular on the importance of thinking the future legacy, tangible and not tangible.

In the report of Urban Investment Network titled The urban Investment Opportunities of Global Events we read: An important observation made in many of the reviews of the impact of global events is that a key variable is the capability of the local actors and managers of securing the optimum impact through focussed and careful alignment of the event and its amenities with the long-term development requirements of the city.

This workshop is about Mega Events and its impact on the cities and how to make a good urban strategy and it is therefore important to learn from each other.

This e-book talks about these same concerns, and articles included walk among theories and practical experiences from western and eastern European cities. The findings of workshop included face to public spaces and mobility from different perspectives although from the same point of starting: cities need liveable streets, public realm as wider perspective of public space, urban design from pedestrian experiences, bicycle as a alternative. Interesting proposals are showed on how to move cars from the core of the planning and introducing the vision of pedestrians, how seeking alternatives from car use and how to improve streets design, and finally how to give voice to citizens and their experiences.

4.- Papers, different mega events, different scales of cities under the same perspective: the long term legacy for the cities
Urban legacy from mega event has been analyzed by papers from different perspectives . So, different kind of mega events such as Olympic games, (London and Río de Janeiro), Winter Olympic Games (Sarajevo, Grenoble), Universal and International Exhibitions (Paris, Zaragoza), Universades (Belgrade and Zagreb) and finally European capital of culture (Matera) have been studied in the workshop.

Two particular features have let enriched the perspective and results of the workshop: In one hand, different scale of the cities (big, medium, small cities) and in different territorial context: so, mega cities as London París or Rio de Janeiro, big cities (at least regarding Europe) as Belgrade, medium cities as , Zaragoza Zagreb, and Sarajevo, or small cities

Grenoble and Matera have let to analyzed the different effects of the mega events depending of the different scale of the cities;

The other hand, the different origin of the participants -United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Serbia, Netherland, Hungary - has enabled to introduce in the debate different urban sensitivities.

In this framework, Daniel Radai in his work From Rio with concern: Mega Events for whom? develops an upon personal observation of Río de Janeiro Olympic Games, to shed an accurate light on some spatial and societal effects the summer games brought along to an already contested space.

Oscar Wong and Aigerim Rakhmetulina in Beyond the iron triangle and Olympic period: a legacy of London Olympics for future mega-events analyzes how we can better use the mega-events infrastructures and facilities after the event operational period under three main research questions: How mega events become agents of change and what consequential impacts have been brought and left to social, economic and environmental dimensions?; How successful has the London Olympic and Paralympics been in promoting as a long term agent of change? And finally , Where it has not been successful, and what are the main barriers hindering the effectiveness of the long-term use of Olympic-s infrastructures?

Maële Giard and Gauthier Avenas in "The 1968 Olympic games : a preview of forthcoming urban policies in Grenoble" analyze the urban legacy of 1968 Olympic games project of Grenoble trying to understand to

what extend this project and its implementation prefigure the concerns, new themes or even the standards of future urban policies.

Marta Ducci   and Giulia Maroni   have focused their work To be a culture capital city, in how other mega events can learn from these events and particularly how can be used this kind of principles as a starting point for all the others Mega Event, lining for example the selection system, to encourage proposals and strategies to promote the city beyond the single occasion.

Sarajevo, Belgrade and Zagreb mega events such as Winter Olympiads and Universiade are analyzed by Igić Milica, Vasilevska Magdalena, Ljubenović Milica and Đekić Jelena in Mega Events planning process as synergy of urban regeneration, tourism and heritage promotion, under a common perspective of their possibilities and problems because as the authors announce   regardless the location of these projects, ….many similarities and many problems are constantly repeated.

In The Mega-event(s) that formed Paris! World Expositions and the impact on the city Hans Smolenaers and Timo Cents try to find out how the former expositions where designed and how we can contribute to the nowadays planning methods. Specially to important questions are analyzed: What's the impact of ephemeral manifestations for the urban ensemble And Which spatial tools can we extract from temporary events

In London 2012 Olympics – An Inclusive Planning revolution? Harry Burchill explores the planning mechanisms leveraged by the London Games to improve inclusive planning policy and practice in London and nationwide and how influential megaprojects such as London 2012 can

be in changing attitudes among decision-makers, businesses and landowners towards inclusivity.

Finally, Beatriz Santos and Maria Martinez in their article Positive and negative effects of the 2008 International Exposition in Zaragoza analyze the positive and negative effects that the Expo has had to the city and its inhabitants regarding to urbanity, environment, economy and the image and values.

5.- Debate and conclusions.
Debate and questions raised by participants along the working on line (April-June) to prepare the final presentations in Paris were led by the facilitator of the workshop Jonathan Manns, who has also written the conclusions of the workshop.

To conclude, I would like to congratulate all participants for their excellent work; to thanks ECTP-CEU Executive Committee for its support, specially to Dominique Lancrenon, General Secretariat   for her tireless faith in this project from the beginning and to Julian Hills for his inestimable help and excellent photographic report.

I. BEYOND THE IRON TRIANGLE AND OLYMPIC PERIOD: A LEGACY OF LONDON OLYMPICS FOR FUTURE MEGA-EVENTS.

BY OSCAR WONG & AIGERIM RAKHMETULINA

Beyond the iron triangle and Olympic period: a legacy of London Olympics for future mega-events.

by Oscar Wong & Aigerim Rakhmetulina

1.   Introduction

1.1 Mega Event: London Olympics

In 2005, London confirmed winning a bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic, Sebastian Coe, the triumphant chair of the London 2012 bid, announced:

"Legacy is probably nine-tenths of what this process is about – not just 16 days of sport."

Indeed, mega international sports events have a huge impact on the functioning of the country's national economy, but the strongest impact they have is on the development of the region's infrastructure, the level of its provision with labour resources and investment attractiveness for potential investors.

The world experience of global sports events shows that such events are an incentive for further social and economic development (Andranovich et al, 2001). Mega-events, such as the Olympics, are always associated with large investments that serve as a catalyst for the construction of a modern transport system, communications and sports infrastructure. Transformations related to the creation of a well-designed infrastructure give a long-term economic, demographic and social effect throughout the region. The way public bodies - at the national, regional or municipal level - plan to use the constructed infrastructure facilities can influence the development of the region in the long-term period.

1.2 Aims and Key Questions

In order to help promote a more thorough understanding of the long-term transformations and their impacts to the sustainability's dimensions, it is crucial to investigate how successful and unsuccessful in promoting long-term sustainable changes, by employing a case of London Olympics 2012. The overall aim of this paper – is to advance an understanding of how we can better use the mega-events' infrastructures and facilities after the event operational period – will lead to our three main questions.

1   How mega events become agents of change and what consequential impacts have been brought and left to social, economic and environmental dimensions? A focus on the planning of post-event period.

2   How successful has the London Olympic and Paralympic been in promoting as a long-term agent of change? This question is divided into the following categories:

a)   The Transformational Uses of Infrastructures

b)   Governance and Strategic Plans

c)   Management and Operation

Finally, a concluding analysis will offer transferable lessons on how to resolve the identified barriers and what this means for future practice in a wider context of mega-events.

2. Context

2.1 A brief literature review

The scientists, such as Andreff (2006), Barney (1994), Blackshow (2012), Brown (1993) and others explored various aspects of the economy of sports and the Olympic games in their works. Much attention is paid to financing and management in sports, the impact of sport on macroeconomics and

GDP, the interrelations and mutual influence of sports and the labour market, while very few analyses the social and environmental impacts brought by the mega-events.

The works of Andranovich and colleagues (2001), Rose and Spiegel (2011), Malfas and colleagues (2004) were devoted to studying the influence of the Olympiads on the social and economic development of the host regions. In particular, Malfas and colleagues (2004) reveal the presence of significant positive influence of the Olympic Games in the socio-economic, infrastructural, cultural and political fields. Rose and Spiegel (2011) prove that there is an influence on increase of the export of goods of the host country by hosting the Olympic Games. Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001) describe the marketing effects of the Olympic Games associated with the formation of a new image of the Olympic capital and the host country as a whole. As such, there is a research demand in understanding how we can better use the mega-events structures and facilities at the post-event period.

2.2 Perspectives

(Olympic) legacy - is the long-term advantages of major sporting events that significantly change the society, the quality of life and infrastructure of the host city, region and country. There is a legacy of five categories - sports, social, environmental, urban and economic (Learning Legacy, 2012).
The legacy of the Games in London was the regeneration of the socially and ecologically unfavourable region called Stratford in the east of the city and the creation of a new urban centre on the principles of sustainable development. Within the framework of the legacy, the Olympic Park was created and at the same time the neglected lands, waterways and squares were regenerated, new workplaces and houses were created, transport and technological infrastructure was developed. Almost all construction waste was recycled and reused, half of the building materials were delivered by water, 20% of the energy was extracted from alternative renewable sources. The regulatory framework was supplemented by a new national standard for the planning and management of sustainable activities.

2.3 Opportunities and Challenges

The game triggered a massive regeneration opportunity in East London. Since the bid was partly legitimised by the idea of regenerating East London, the stadiums and infrastructures were seen as a long-term investment not only for the game itself but also for unlocking housing and employment opportunity in East London in 40 years' time (CBRE, n.d.). It was an opportunity to corporate four local boroughs to massively develop the 267-hectare site with the strategic planning power from the elected Mayor. Therefore, the key opportunity for London Olympics was not only about a short-term mega-event pride but also a long-term strategic regeneration for local East Londoners.

However, before construction, the city required to carry out a unique operation to clean up the territory. Since 1970s there were still buildings, fences, landfills in the area, soil and water channels were polluted. In preparation for the Olympics, 220 houses and buildings needed to be demolished (ODA, 2011). The Olympic complex was built in the Stratford - one of the most multicultural districts of the capital. Students from local schools speak 144 languages, historically migrants settled in the district, working areas, numerous factories were located there. Therefore, how to involve the local residents and capture the local characters in Stratford has always been a challenge in the regeneration project.

3. Event Description: London Olympics 2012

3.1 Duration

Since 2005 London won the Olympics bid as the 2012 host, all sectors from planning to construction were well prepared for the delivery of the Olympic Games by providing stadiums and their supportive infrastructures. Much light was shed on the delivery of the mega-event, but considering the London bid strategically identified that the game would help trigger a regeneration opportunity in East London, the urban planning at the post-event period is equally important to the delivery of the game itself. As such, unlike other mega-events such as the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the post-event period of London Olympics deserves an equal attention as event planning. The duration should therefore include from the bid preparation since 2005 to a long-term urban redevelopment time. Fig.1 shows a 'big picture' of London Olympics' timeline.

Fig.1 London 2012 legacy timeline
Adopted from Geographical Association

3.2 Institutional Framework

In terms of the delivery of the mega-event, the establishment of The London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) and Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) has been successfully deliver the London Olympics, which is a part of the learning legacy from the 2012 London Olympics. However, since the design of the LOCOG and ODA does not aim to deal with the planning and regeneration issues, the key question is to transfer the legacy of institutional framework and power from the event delivery organisations to a local planning authority. Considering the 267-hectare site involves four different local authorities, the Mayor of London set up a development corporation to strategically deliver this one of the largest regeneration project in Europe (see section 4.2 in details). Moreover, a set of learning legacy documents was prepared to identify and recommend 'next steps' and action plans after the mega-event. Since there was a solid foundation of the governance of the LOCOG and ODA at the event-delivery period, it is rather easy to translate the institutional strengths from the event to the post-event.

3.3 Objectives

In terms of The London 2012 vision sets out a broad aim for everyone to work towards. A number of objectives is identified in the London Olympics business case by the LOCOG. However, since the game provides a great opportunity for urban regeneration projects, five legacy goals are suggested in legacy development (Hill, 2012).

- Helps to local people secure the new jobs
- Housing must be truly affordable.
- Transport infrastructure should be bold as well as big
- A volunteer spirit that lasts
- A sporting legacy should embrace all

As identified above, the objectives provide a long-term vision for East London wide regeneration instead of solely for the short-term event period.

4. Analysis

4.1 The Transformational Uses of Infrastructures

Since the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, The London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) has connected the Park to surrounding

neighbourhoods and transformed the Park and venues into a permanent visitor destination, including appointing an operator for every venue.

The London Olympics bring forwards part of the biggest regeneration project in Europe by a regeneration (Smith et al, 2011). The Olympic infrastructures remain their originally functionalities and characteristics. Many stadiums have been used by other sport institutions for competition and training purposes and some other infrastructures have been transformed into different uses (see Table1 in details) (Dugan, 2013). The transformations of Olympic infrastructure continue to unlock housing and job opportunity in the East London. Fig.2 summarises transformational flow of Olympic infrastructures in long-term.

Fig.2 the flow of Olympic infrastructure transformations (Adpoted from Kintrea, 2012)

Fig.3 Fridge Mountain at pre-event period

Fig.4 Olympic Stadium during the event

Fig.5 West Ham as tenant at post-event period

Table 1 Existing Olympic Infrastructure transformation (adopted from Dugan, 2013)

Before transformations	Olympic Stadium	Key transformations
Brownfield wastelands, full of electricity pylons, polluted cannels, abandoned buildings	Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park	Provide about 8,000 homes to the area; Open parkland to the public for use (8 million individuals visited the Park since it opened in 2014)
	The Olympic Village	Rebranded the East Village, apartments in the former Olympic Village and 50% of the 2,800 flats will be affordable* housing. (*80% of the market rent)
	The Media Centre	Transformed into UCL East, Loughborough University and Hackney Community College are confirmed tenants.
Stratford Marsh	Aquatics Centre	Provide two 50m pools to the public for the same affordable cost as other pools in the host boroughs.
Stratford's 20-foot tall 'Fridge Mountain'	The Olympic Stadium	Agree with West Ham FC as the 'anchor tenant' from 2016 and host other sport events such as the Rugby World Cup and World Athletics Championships.

In addition to the high quality Olympic stadiums, other supporting infrastructure such as public transport intensifies the regeneration scheme in East London (ODA, 2009). The commitment of a huge investment in transport is vital to provide good connection between the London Olympic Park and other parts of London. 72% of £9.9 billion of capital investment is accounted for by the transport infrastructure (CBRE, n.d.). The Stratford International Station for the Channel Tunnel rail, the East London line and the extension of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) connects the Olympic Park to the rest of the London rail network with 10 rail lines (see Fig.7) (ODA, 2009). As a result, the transport infrastructures successfully connect the Olympic Park and other event venues across London (see Fig.6). However, the transport enhancements do not only aim to meet the transport demands of the Olympic Games, but also to support the future transport demands of new residents and employments attracted by the regeneration in long-term. Since

the new transport infrastructures help increase Public Transport Accessible Level (PTAL) widely within the opportunity area, they to a large extend also help unlock the housing and employment opportunity.

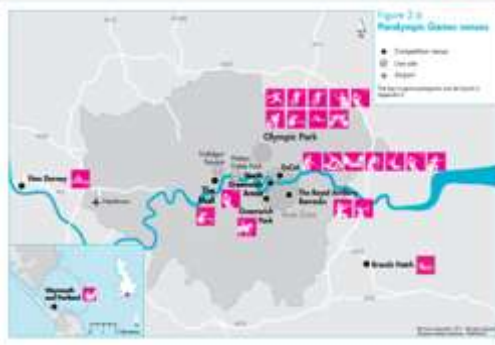Fig.6 Event venues across London in 2012 (ODA, 2009)

Fig.7 Map of railway infrastructure legacy in Stratford (ODA, 2009)

However, before transferring power from the ODA to the LLDC, much attention has been given to the delivery of the Olympic Game. Some key elements such as the Stratford International rail hub and Westfield shopping mall were in the pre-existing plan, There was also a Legacy Community Scheme submitted by the ODA in 2011 and approved in 2012 masterplanning how the Olympic Park will be transformed after 2012. Despite the fact that strategic plans and objectives have been prepared by the LLDC, some Olympic infrastructures and facilities have not been well used for over five years. Table 2 highlights some key delayed conversions. The transformational development of the legacy could have been delivered in a manner better if there is a clear timetable agreed at the pre-event stage.

Table 2 Existing Olympic Infrastructure transformation (Adopted from Wainwright, 2016)

Venue	Year of Transformations
The Media Centre	In 2017, 5 years after the Olympics, the former media centre is converted into Here East, a digital and technological innovation centre
The Olympic Stadium	In 2016, 4 years after the Olympics, an English football club West Ham United begin to be a tenant and play Premier league matches in the stadium
Land adjacent to Aquatics Centre (Part of QEOP)	In 2015, 3 years after the Olympics, UCL announced to build a new campus in the Olympic Park. It targets to open in 2022, 10 years after the Olympics.

Fig.8 Key Developments in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (Wainwright, 2016)

4.2 Governance and Strategic Plans

In London, the Mayor is responsible for the overall Greater London strategic planning, especially for mega urban/infrastructure projects. Given the complexity of the regeneration of the Olympic Park, the Mayor first time invoked the power of the Localism Act (2011) in the creation of a new Mayoral Development Corporations (MDC). The London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) was launched by Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London at that time, in 2012 to act as a local planning authority and manage the overall development of a 267-hectare site in the Olympic Park regeneration area (Thornley, 2012). It assumed the powers and assets of the Olympic Park Legacy Company (OPLC)/ London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) in April 2012 and the planning power of the ODA (see Fig.9). Having taken power from the OPLC and ODA, the MDC is at a unique position as the sole landowner, planning authority and budget-holder that would help plan for sustainable developments and more importantly strategically deliver citywide economic objectives such as unlocking housing and employment opportunities in East London. It would also ensure that the delivery of the projects continues to flow against the change of political leadership. As such, the body provides the ongoing long-term impact of the Games on the capital.

Fig.9 ODA, LOCOG & LLDC transformation Adopted from Murphy
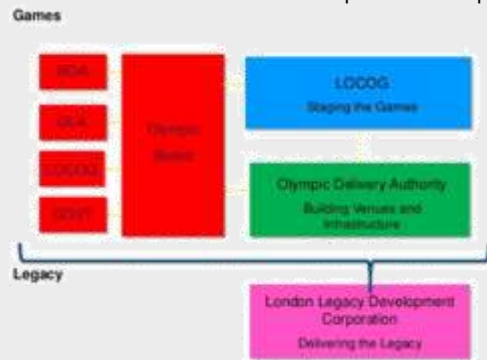
Fig.10 LLDC Local Plan 2015-2031 (LLDC, 2015)

Acting as a local planning authority, the LLDC is required to produce high-level strategies including a Local Plan, which set out long-term visions and strategies from 2015 to 2031 for the sustainable developments within the LLDC boundary (LLDC, 2015). The objectives in the Local Plan are in parallel with the ones in the London Plan set out by the Mayor, specifically within London Plan Policy 2.4 – The 2012 Games and their Legacy (GLA, 2016). This ensures that the Mayor will continue to work with and through the LLDC to promote and deliver strategic planning and regeneration in the Olympic Park and its surrounding areas. Alongside making high-level plans, its planning power also includes the fundamental local planning authority's responsibility of development control by approving and refusing planning applications until 2031. Similarly, to other London Boroughs, major planning applications are referred to the Mayor, who have a direct power to make planning decisions. As a result, the opportunity area is not only locally controlled by the LLDC as a local planning authority, but it may strategically be influenced by the decision-making of the Mayor. The long-term visions with direct planning power of development control lead to a positive transformation of Olympic infrastructure as a valuable Olympic Legacy.

4.3 Management and Operation

The below processes and effort and rigour with which they were operated, helped significantly in managing the whole project and keeping it on track. Five key management processes (Mackenzie and Davies, 2012)

• Up-front planning process: Scope, specifications and funding was included in the "baseline". This document was helpful for tracking procedures and amendments.

• Project and programme monitoring process: Monthly monitoring of all processes was carried out in order to have a general view of the situation. Identification of hidden trends was done by top managers through this step. The audit made by the ODA, EY, DP and government had further strengthened the monitoring process.

• Problem resolution process: The project monitoring helped to identify the issues that arose during the project implementation. Before mitigation process, the problem was identified, evaluated and then the 'best solution' suggested. It was done with the help of the relevant Tier One contractor.

• Change management process: If any changes arose, then they were discussed at the very early stages. In terms of changes having a big impact, then the 'change board' chaired by the ODA had reviewed them. The process included the definition, reason and all relevant documents along with the impact of the change.

• Integration management process: The integration implied the relationship and impact of a change in one project to another project. This process was undertaken during the whole life cycle of the project. So, the integration was of a great importance especially for Olympic Park infrastructure and other facilities.

For social and economic impact achievement there were more than "iron triangle" objectives only. The other objectives include the following areas:

health and safety, accessibility, equality, legacy, employment, and sustainability. There were strategy and principles developed for the six areas. The implementation was done by DP, TIer One contractors and others. The objectives were fixed but the ways to achieve them were different for each contractor.

Moreover, the new objectives had the same importance and significance as the traditional ones. Therefore, they were given careful attention and achieved within the framework of the programme. One of the best-achieved targets was the "Health and Safety". For instance, in terms of health there was a "park health" developed for people in order to get the first aid or any help in the area. For the safety reasons, the special committees were created. This resulted in no accidents or fatal issues happened during the Games.

Since the ODA had a temporary role, the special delivery partner was appointed in order to perform as a program manager. The main roles included to develop details of the project, manage the contracts and interfaces, use own experience to provide solutions, make sure that the project is done in the right way.

4.4. Transferable Lessons

As major component of the ODA's remit, the aim of Learning Legacy is to share the knowledge and lessons learned from the London 2012 Games. It has been 5 years of the London Olympic post-event period, and it may perhaps suggest a few lessons for future mega-events as a trigger of urban regeneration.

1. Transformations of Olympic Infrastructure – the sport venues in the London Olympic have been reused by businesses and other sport institutes.

The true value of London Olympic will only be recognised once the infrastructure has been transitioned to its permanent use.

2.   Supportive Transport Infrastructure – the most important influence in the decision to invest in existing systems was the opportunity to use the significant investment in transport to deliver benefits that will be felt not only by visitors during the Olympic period but also by passengers long after the 2012 Games (Learning Legacy, 2012).

3.   Post-event planning - Although the LLDC has made significant progress since it took ownership of the Park following the end of the Games, some Olympic facilities have not been well used for over five years. Perhaps a more reactive planning could be achieved by involving operators in the pre-event planning stage so that development/transformation process may start once the games finished.

4.   MDC - Although the success of the LLDC does not necessarily imply that mega-events require an MDC as the only delivery model of good governance, there is an increase of examples of MDCs such as Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (OPDC, 2016). Some similar joint development corporations were set up in other countries' mega urban projects such as Zuidas in the Netherlands (Guilini & Majoor, 2007).

5.   Long-term strategic plans - This coherence and integration was supported by the MDC which had the resource and space to think strategically about regeneration and how best to maximise the opportunity of the Olympic Legacy with vision and clear objectives (Grant Thornton, 2012).

6.   Management - To deliver the programme within the "iron triangle" framework, the project was managed by a Delivery Partner (DP). In this case, DP had an experience of working with megaprojects and knowledge about the relevant processes. Every month as a "best practice" the reports of project performance were created for the top-management, which made up the effective operationability of the programme.

7.   Trust – to maintain good relationships between the interested actors and work with those partners who are already known.

8.   Learning Legacy - To take previous experience to deliver large-scale projects, learning during the current project and creating the basis for the future similar projects.

5. Conclusion

As Boris Johnson cheers for the London Olympics, Londoners are already laying the groundwork for a lasting legacy following the Games. What the former Mayor of London actually meant is that a successful planning of London Olympic would not only be the delivery of the sport games during the event period but it would also be the transformation process of the lasting legacy. Without considering the long-term effects of the mega-event, it seems unlikely that any mentioned in this paper will be successful. Ideally, the sport venues could be kept its original functionality or be converted into other permanent uses.

Given many infrastructures in other mega-events were abandoned or demolished after the event period, it is important to reiterate that the majority of London Olympics infrastructures have successful been transformed into permanent uses. In addition to the sport venues, other

supportive infrastructure such as transportation upgrades would help trigger long-term regeneration at the post-event period. In the case of London Olympics, the establishment of the LLDC acting as the sole landowner, planning authority and budget-holder powerfully help retain the Olympic Legacy and transform them into permanent uses. LLDC has also provided the long-term strategic plans with clear visions and objectives. As a result, Stratford (and East London wide) has been transformed from a piece of wasted land to an opportunity area where is full of housing and employment opportunities. Although there are issues around the late transformation of infrastructures as well as gentrification, the paper suggests a number of lessons that may be transferred to other mega-events in the future. Perhaps the key recommendation is to bring operational and legacy team in place early, ideally at the pre-event period. This would help avoid the delay of transformation of infrastructure, the lack of planning visions and policy supports and the potential long-term management and operational issues.

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II. TO BE A CULTURE CAPITAL CITY

BY MARTA DUCCI & GIULIA MARONI

To be a culture capital city
by Marta Ducci & Giulia Maroni

1.   Introduction

Matera is a small Italian city of about 60.000 inhabitants and it's famous all around the world as "the city of rocks".

Declared UNESCO Heritage in 1993, it won the title of European Cultural Capital for 2019.

For a city like Matera, in which until after the Second World War citizens had lived in a backwardness and isolation status (farmers and artisans were still living in the rocks until '60), wins this kind of title is surely a great chance at redemption.

To be the Culture Capital City is probably the opportunity for many cities to invest in their self, into their institutions and their citizens, involving a large people target, sponsors and users, with a common shared vision.

To win this title means to focus on long term, about projects and events organization favouring the artistic-cultural mix with other European cities, betting on economic and organizational sustainability, enhancing anyway location identity and cultural product innovation.

Compared to other Mega Events like EXPO or Olympic Games, be the Culture Capital City lead to good things for the city itself, because it starts from a different precept: the promotion of the hosting city, of its culture and identity, developing the economy and the tourist attraction.

It maybe could use this kind of principles as a starting point for all the others Mega Events, lining for example the selection system, to encourage proposals and strategies to promote the city beyond the single occasion.

From the best European experiences like Marseilles and Linz emerge the positivity of a strategic planning that, placing the cultural project at the core of urban development, is able to integrate other sizes of intervention, from infrastructures to the mobility, from disused industrial areas renovation to the suburban interventions, through activities focused on culture and creativity and actively involved in civil society.

This way can rather become a real planning "methodology" for Mega Events, always aim to medium and long term but also to integrate different intervention models into the cities, that return the impact of the investments much greater than investment size.

Instead other Mega Events, like for example the Olympic games, tend to concentrate activities and funding into a unique place and sector, and usually, it triumphs the profit objective for sponsors, television stations and few others powerful characters.

Often it's built on not-urbanized fields, not focusing on the cost in terms of soil consumed or from a social point of view (think about what happened in Rio de Janeiro in 2016), resulting well connected, but not functionally and socially integrated with the rest of the town.

In these occasions, there is a great return only during the single event, without focusing on what these areas and structures will become in the host city.

It probably could use a different selection system of the awarded city to ensure a proper use of funding and money invested in the event, "forcing" candidate cities to make projects for distinct sectors and for the long term.

In conclusion, like it happens in the winner's cities of the award for European Capital of Culture, from both an economical and a methodological point of view, also others Mega Events could take advantage of international funds to introducing strategic planning instruments and an integrated planning, and also to make a fruitful connection between public and private, in order to obtain attractive results on urban regeneration, economic growth and on social inclusion processes.

Figure 2 – Matera's view from the rocks

Figure 1 - Matera Candidature's Logo

2. Context: European Capital of Culture

European Capitals of Culture are one of the most recognised EU projects. They started in 1985 on the iniziative of the then Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri.

The idea is to put cities at the heart of cultural life across Europe. Through culture and art, European Capitals of Culture improve the quality of life in these cities and strengthen their sense of community. Citizens can take part in the year-long activities and play a bigger role in their city's development and cultural expression.

Being a European Capital of Culture brings fresh life to these cities, boosting their cultural, social and economic development. Many of them, like Lille,

Glasgow and Essen, have demonstrated that the title can be a great opportunity to regenerate their urban centres, bringing creativity, visitors and international recognition.

Figure 3 – European Capital of Culture's list

The European Capitals of Culture initiative is designed to highlight the richness and diversity of cultures in Europe.
Celebrate the cultural features Europeans share, as well as increase European citizens' sense of belonging to a common cultural area and foster the contribution of culture to the development of cities.
In addition to this, experience has shown that the event is an excellent opportunity for regenerating cities, raising the international profile of cities, enhancing the image of cities in the eyes of their own inhabitants, breathing new life into a city's culture and boosting tourism.

Six years before the title-year the selected host member states publish a call for applications, usually through their Ministry for Culture. Cities interested in participating in the competition must submit a proposal for consideration. The submitted applications are reviewed against a set of established criteria during a pre-selection phase by a panel of independent experts in the field of culture. The panel agrees on a short-list of cities, which are then asked to submit more detailed applications.

The panel then reconvenes to assess the final applications and recommends one city per host country for the title. The recommended city will then be formally designated as European Capital of Culture.

The role of the European Commission is to ensure that the rules established at EU level are respected all along the way.

European Capitals of Culture are formally designated four years before the actual year. This long period of time is necessary for the planning and preparation of such a complex event. The panel, supported by the European Commission, has a continuing role during these four years in supporting European Capitals of Culture with advice and guidance and taking stock of their preparations.

At the end of this monitoring period, the panel will consider whether to recommend or not that the European Commission pays the Melina Mercouri Prize (currently €1.5m funded from the EU Creative Europe programme).

Phases	Host cities	ECoC policies and European policy milestones	
Phase 1 1985-1996 12 cities (1 for each Member State)	• Athens 1985 • Florence 1986 • Amsterdam 1987 • Berlin1988 • Paris 1989 • Glasgow 1990 • Dublin 1991 • Madrid 1992 • Antwerp 1993 • Lisbon1994 • Luxembourg 1995 • Copenhagen 1996	**1985:** Launch of the ECoC as annual event (Resolution 85/C/153/02) **1990:** Launch of the *European Culture Month* event, to be hosted by cities in non-EC countries between 1992-2003 **1992:** The *Maastricht Treaty* provides the legislative basis for further EC contribution to European culture (Article 128). **1996:** Launch of the *Kaleidoscope* programme, incorporating the existing ECoC action (Decision 719/96/EC).	**1983:** Informal proposal to Ministers of Culture **1990:** Conclusion 90/C 162/01 **1992:** Conclusion 92/C336/02
Phase 2 1997-2004 19 cities 2 non-EU members *(in italics)* 2 accession countries <u>(underlined)</u>	• Thessaloniki 1997 • Stockholm 1998 • Weimar 1999 • Avignon, *Bergen,* Bologna, Brussels, <u>Kraków,</u> Helsinki, Prague, *Reykjavík,* Santiago de Compostela 2000 • Rotterdam & Porto 2001 • Bruges & Salamanca 2002 • Graz 2003 • Genoa & Lille 2004	**1997:** Start of new ECoC cycle, allowing designation of cities in non-Member states as ECoC (Conclusion 90/C 162/01) **1998:** First application of Selection Criteria and bidding deadlines (introduced by: Conclusion 92/C336/02) **2000:** *Culture 2000* replaces the *Kaleidoscope* programme. ECoC remains under the umbrella of the new culture programme, as part of its third action strand for 'special cultural events with a European and/or international dimension (Decision 508/2000/EC). **2004:** Enlargement of EU with 10 new member states leads to much broader diversity in ECoC host cities.	**1999:** Decision 1419/1999/EC
Phase 3 2005-2019 29 cities 2 non-EU members *(in italics)* 10 new EU members <u>(underlined)</u>	• Cork 2005 • Patras 2006 • Luxembourg GR & Sibiu 2007 • Liverpool and *Stavanger* 2008 • Linz & <u>Vilnius</u> 2009 • Essen for the Ruhr, <u>Pécs</u> & *Istanbul* 2010 • Tallinn & Turku 2011 • Guimarães & <u>Maribor</u> 2012 • Marseille-Provence & <u>Košice</u> 2013	**2005:** Application of First legislative framework, establishes ECoC as a Community Action ; rotational system is established ; nomination must include projects with a European Dimension (Decision 1419/1999/EC) **2009:** New EU Member States included in the rota <u>(underlined)</u> (Decision 649/2005/EC) **2010:** Application of changes to Selection Criteria ; distinction between 'European Dimension' and 'Cities and Citizens' as two aspects of the Action (Decision 1622/2006/EC)	**2005:** Decision 649/2005/EC **2006:** Decision 1622/2006/EC
	Upcoming cities: • Umeå & Riga 2014;Mons & <u>Plzeň</u> 2015; San Sebastián & <u>Wrocław</u> 2016; <u>Aarhus</u> & Paphos 2017; <u>Valletta</u> & Leeuwarden 2018; Italy & <u>Bulgaria</u> (cities TBC) 2019		

Table 1 – Key phases in the ECOC Programme evolution, source *European Capital of Culture Success Strategies and long-term effects Study*, 2013

Being a European Capital of Culture brings real and lasting benefits. It has helped to:

- Create economic growth

We can see the example of Mons 2015 (Belgium) where each euro of public money invested is estimated to have generated between 5.5 and 6 euro for the local economy.

Or Marseille-Provence 2013 (France) attracted a record number of 11 million individual visits.

Or also Pécs 2010 (Hungary) experienced a 27 % increase in overnight stays, which rose to 124,000 during its year as European Capital of Culture.

- Build a sense of community

Just look at the "Foster the City" programme, where the inhabitants of Pilsen (2015, Czech Republic) identified public spaces that were in need of improvement, developed an Action Plan for each, chose which projects they wanted to fund and helped implement the improvements themselves, supported by expertise and funding from the ECOC team.

Or Liverpool 2008 (UK) had nearly 10 000 registered volunteers and all schoolchildren in the city participated in at least one activity during the year.

- Regenerate cities

We can think at Marseille-Provence 2013 (France) that transformed itself physically with additions such as the Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilisations. The European Capital of Culture was part of an investment project in new cultural infrastructure of more than €600 million - which was in turn integrated into a multi-billion euros effort to revitalise the city that spanned several decades.

Marseille 2013 raised €16.5 million in private sponsorship from 207 companies.

Or also at Košice 2013 (Slovakia), where the private sector and local universities worked together to transform an industrial city to highlight creative potential, new cultural infrastructure and establish Košice as a tourist hub for the Carpathian Region.

What it aspires, in addition to the event itself, is therefore a model of:

- Smart growth: urban integrated planning of a culture and knowledge city which combines economic development, culture, creativity and digital technologies;

-Sustainable growth: combining creativity and technologies for energy efficiency and better use of environmental resources;

- Inclusive growth: social inclusion and intercultural dialogue, taking into account the changes in Mediterranean basin and build a sense of community.
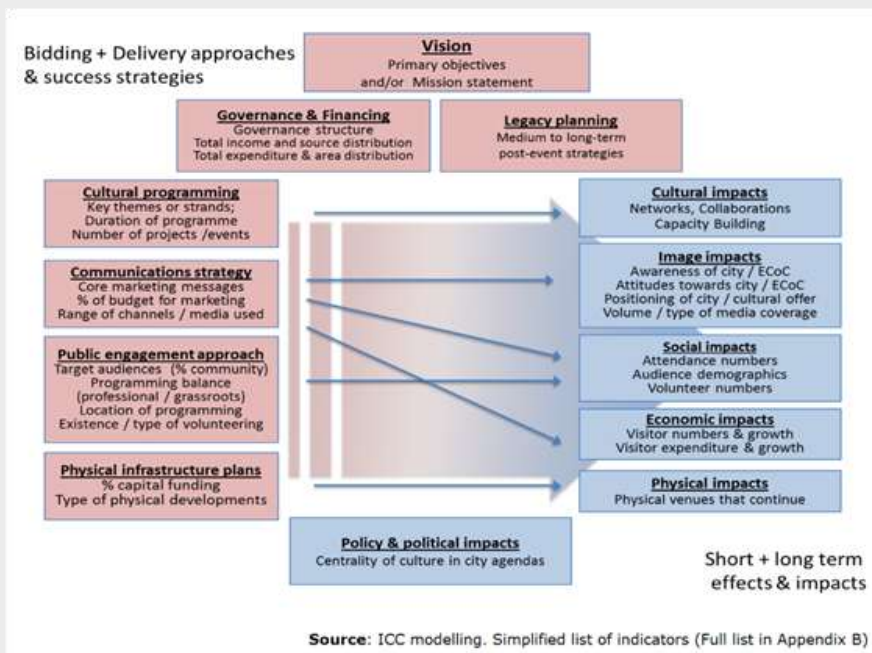
Figure 4 – Model of assessment, source *European Capital of Culure Success Strategies and long-term effects Study,* 2013

Criteria of selections

To achieve this kind of results, what we support in our research is that, from the selection criteria, the nomination to Capital of Culture, compared to other mega events, is based on principles that look beyond the event itself.

Below are some of the most important selection criteria:

1.   Local identity and proposals for the future
It is important for the programme to be forward-looking, without neglecting the history of the city underpinning its identity. This means that the innovative nature of the event and, in this context, the emphasis laid on contemporary cultural forms and the capacity to foster creativity by involving local and European artists, are of the utmost importance.

2.   The "European dimension" of the candidature
Cooperation between cultural operators, artists and European cities, highlighting the richness of cultural diversity in Europe and bringing the common aspects of European cultures to the fore.

3.   The involvement of the "city and citizens"
Develop a participative ECOC, actively involving the population's participation, at local, region level as well as and further levels.

4.   Sustainability
Devise a programme with lasting effects, a programme which impacts on the long-term development of the city. The cities are therefore asked to build on this event with long-term projects and cooperation, in which it is possible to identify elements of economic and organizational sustainability.

It is clear for us that a programme setting that responds to these requirements brings great benefits to the designed city, because it involve many sectors and actors.

Fist of all it's required a long-term planning, involving many scopes like:

- Urbanism: with this kind of planning and the infrastructure integration and the urban renovation;

- Society: involving directly the inhabitants since the beginning and creating the opportunity for a collaboration between private and public;

- Economy: It triggles a process, that start from the urban renovation and the offer increase and it lease to the economic growth of the city, like for exemples in the touristic sector.
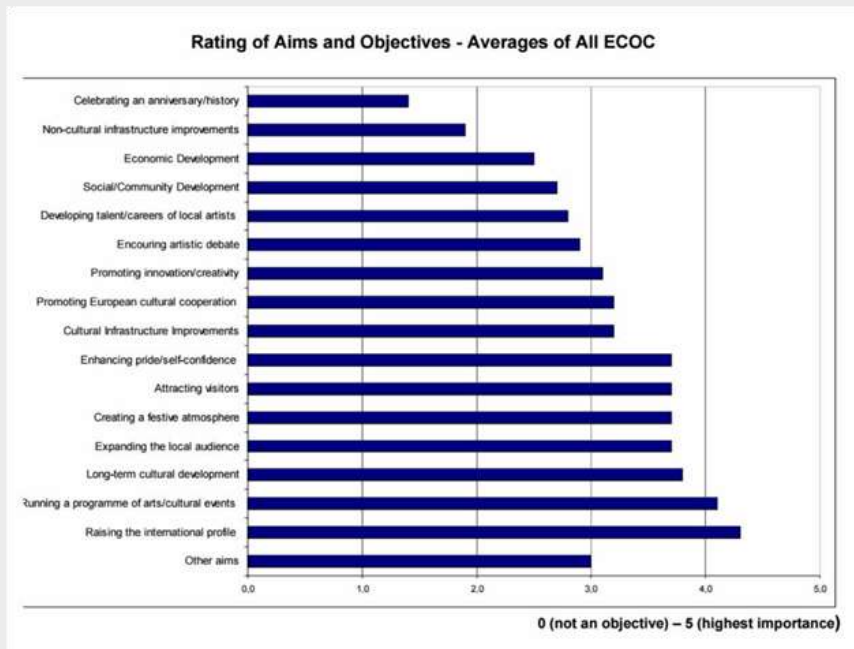
Table 2 – Raiting of aims and objectives – Averages of all ECOC, source *European Capital of Culture Success Strategies and long-term effects Study,* 2013
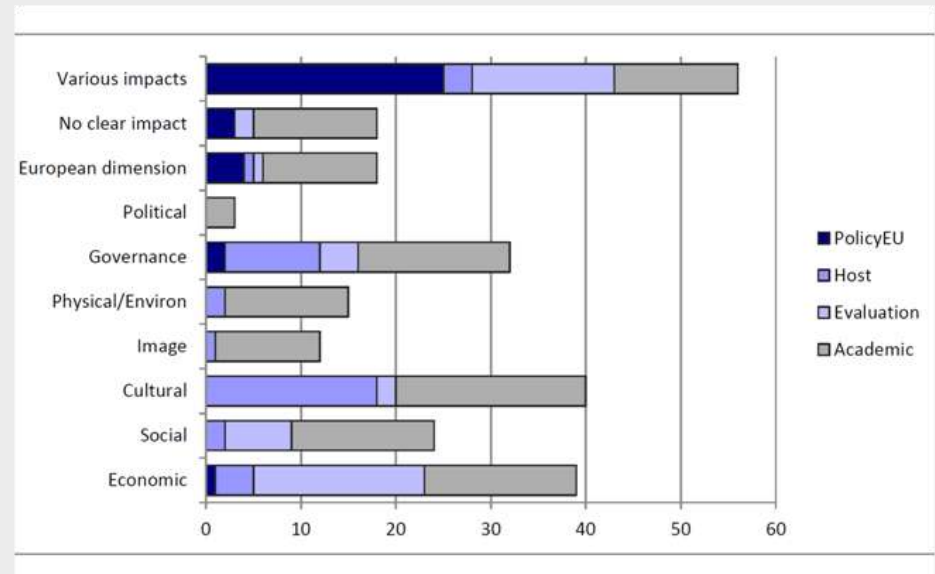
Table 3 – Document volume by impact area and type, source *European Capital of Culture Success Strategies and long-term effects Study,* 2013

3. Event description: Matera "Open Future"

We picked Matera because, even though it is a small city and, until recently, it was in a serious economic backwardness, it seems, thanks to this event, to finally be able to reborn.

But nevertheless, right now, the city is having trouble to mantain organisational deadlines laid down, but it is hoped that, through EU's inspections, it will be able to further use the event even with different and longer timetable.

3.1 The city

Matera is an Italian city located in Basilicata region of about 60.347 inhabitants, it's located at 401 metres above the sea level and it's 45 km from the beach.

The ancient urban centre is known as "città dei Sassi" (city of rocks) and as "underground city", it developed from natural caves carved from the rock. This peculiarity makes Matera one of the oldest cities in the world still inhabited.

In 1993 the UNESCO declared Matera's rocks a world heritage site. It has been the sixth site at the national level and the first in the south of Italy. In carrying out this registration, for the first time, UNESCO used in the criteria and reasons the concept of "Cultural Landscape", that, following, It would've been used to justify the registration of other sites in the world.

For a long time, Matera's citizens lived in troglodyte houses, were they gradually excavated wonderful churches, houses, gardens and a complex web of streets. The city reflects centuries of uninterrupted urban and social development. The courage and the resiliency are features of the creative heritage of this places.

During the 50s, who was living hypogaea of the Rocks, were imposed on moving toward modern peripheral districts. For over 30 years, Matera's rocks were abandoned and symbolised the "national shame" since their progressive recovery, that started in the 80's.

Matera represents the other side of urban and architecture usual categories defended by modernity. Marked with the past to forget and declared national disgrace was submitted, in the UNESCO entry report in 1993, as a brilliant landscape, a symbol of a diversity that represent the hope for a better and more sustainable future for the whole planet.

Matera counting on an increasing number of tourists, that are around 200.000 a year, without considering the increasing number of hikers.

Even the international tourism is increasing and represent the 30% of annual beings in town and the objective is to get the 50% after 2019.

Lots of accommodation facilities were obtained from the rocks with recovery operations that combine high-level technology to craftsman knowledge.

Matera 2019 wants to be the lab of a small city - but with deep attractiveness - in which it seeks to maintain a double balance: the touristic flow with a quantitative and qualitative accommodation; and the delicate rocks' environment.

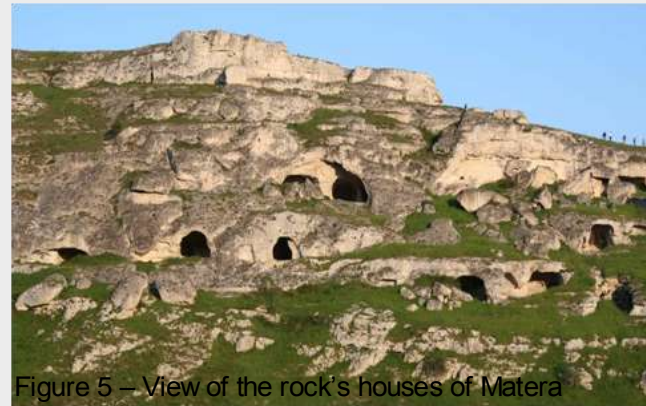Figure 5 – View of the rock's houses of Matera

3.2 The Programme
The project of Matera candidacy was "together, cultural inhabitants". Work together to create a new "cultural inhabitant", a responsible and aware citizen that means the culture as a common primary good, the ethic sum of humanistic, scientific and economic knowledge.

"Matera 2019 will be for us an opportunity to create an open culture, in all its forms: open because "accessible to everyone; open because "not obscurantist in respect of thoughts and sensibilities"; open because "open to discussions".

Candidacy topics were organized in 5 steps:

1. Remote Future

Matera has maintained economic practices and social and cultural traditions that now form the roots of a shared European development model. Ancient ecological practices and an agricultural economy based on sharing and co-working with neighbours, have been applied in a modern context. These principles have existed here for eight thousand years. Now it is time to think about the next thousand.

2. Roots and routes

Matera and Basilicata have long been lands of passage, exchange and transformation: They are part of ancient transhumance routes, cyclical rituals and influences of Ancient Greece, Rome, Byzantine, Lombard, Arab, Norman and Swabia. Enter the authenticity of "wild Basilicata".

3. Reflection and Connection

They aim to show that art, business, dwellings and environment are one. Theirs is perhaps not considered a major event, but rather one of cultural citizenship, allowing surprising encounters and the imagining of new ways of living, culturally and economically. In Matera the time somehow seems to flow more slowly than elsewhere, allowing us to carefully reflect upon life and consider existential questions and core values.

4. Continuity and rupture

The exodus of the Sassi in the 50s and 60s has become an emblem of a breakdown, a crisis, a collapse of community; however it should also be considered a symbol of a community's ability to resist, re-adapt and continue to live after sudden change. They want to complete the recovery together with Europe, offering the Sassi as a place of experimentation for new technology, economies and ways of living, thus making the city a laboratory for the European creative community.

5. Utopias and dystopias

Matera is meant to represent itself as a city of forgotten cultures and values that challenge the largely ineffective orthodox answers to the European crisis. By developing projects that create value both economically and ethically, the city has produced a new model for cultural and social development.

3.3 Event's fundings

From the candidacy of the city as European Capital of Culture, the amounts of money allocated by the municipality to cultural activities have doubled.

	Annual budget that the city has allocated for culture (Euros)	Annual budget that the city has allocated for culture (% of the total annual budget)
2010	709.304	1,7%
2011	716.491	1,7%
2012	804.874	2,2%
2013	1.276.632	2,8%
2014	1.403.307	3%

Table 4 – Annual budget that the city has allocated for culture, source *Matera 2019 Bid Book*

	Total incoming budget	Incoming from public sector	Incoming from private sector
€	51.980.000	44.700.000	7.280.000
%		86	14

Table 5 – Incoming budget sector, source Matera 2019 Bid Book

As we can see in the schedule above, the 86% of the project expenditure comes from public authorities and the 14% from the private sector, that, through an articulated fundraising plan, draw on private sponsors and innovative fundraising forms already successfully experienced in Matera.

The budget that comes from the private sector is underestimated if one considers the spontaneous mobilization of many companies on behalf of Matera.

	National Administration	City Administrationation	Regional Adminitration	UEI Administration	Other Territorial Entities
€	11.000.000	5.200.000	25.000.000	1.500.000	2.000.000
%	25	12	56	3	4
	pianificato	Garantito con Accordo di Programma	Garantito con Accordo di Programma	pianificato	pianificato

Table 6 – Budget resources, source Matera 2019 Bid Book

The schedule shows how almost the 70% (56% + 12%) of the budget for Matera 2019 is guaranteed by Matera's Municipality's and Basilicata Region's funds allocation. This agreement is the final result of 3 months work done by the Planning Office that together with Matera 2019 Committee have created an inter-institutional working group

Furthermore, should be highlighted that the Municipality is working on a real estate valorization planning for the city, that could generate additional resources for the program Matera 2019.

The operating budget distribution was constructed on a comparative analysis between other European Capital of Culture:

	Operating expensives	Promotion and marketing	Wages, general expensives, administrations
€	51.980.000,0	9.325.212,0	6.409.134,0
%	70	18	12

Table 7 – Expenditure sector areas, source Matera 2019 Bid Book

The calendar was drawn up in order to implement: the build-up actions until 2016 (14% of the budget), actions for the co-production and preparation of the two-year-period 2017-2018 (24% of the budget), culminating in the production and presentation of the event in 2019 (46% of the budget). reaching the legacy's consolidation also through measures for the distribution in the next three years 2020-2022 (15% of the budget).

2014	1.517.816	4%	311.880	3%	325.000	5%
2015	1.517.816	4%	311.880	3%	340.174	5%
2016	2.339.100	6%	374.256	4%	450.000	7%
2017	3.415.066	9%	748.512	8%	540.000	8%
2018	5.301.960	15%	2.297.516	25%	1.000.000	16%
2019	16.498.452	46%	4.303.944	46%	3.000.000	47%
2020	2.183.160	6%	561.384	6%	450.000	7%
2021	1.704.944	5%	207.920	2%	200.000	3%
2022	1.767.320	5%	207.920	2%	103.960	2%
Importi totali	36.245.654	100%	9.325.212	100%	6.409.134	100%

Table 8 – Expenditure calendar, source *Matera 2019 Bid Book*

The extended distribution of the budget beyond the event, recognise the effort, since the candidacy phase, towards a long-term planning, that is not restricted to the city but acts at territorial level, involving the whole Region. This is one of the major public financial contributors of the event (56%).

The candidacy has been used to identify new infrastructures and to share a new way of design them. The planned urban, cultural and touristic infrastructures share design specific requirements, that have been identified, negotiated and refined during the candidacy, and also through the Strategic Plan integration:

1. Give priority to recovery over new constructions,

2. Think about spaces consistent with the philosophy, the custom and the cultural projects planned,

3. Think about economical, social and environmental sustainability, provide with attention to operating and functioning cost,

4. Prefer "soft" and reversible actions, with an architectural and design, taking care of new production, fruition and participation models,

5. Involve all city's districts, not only the city centre,

6. Propose design solutions that serve as a privileged observer for other cities, that in   Europe are dealing with similar challenges.
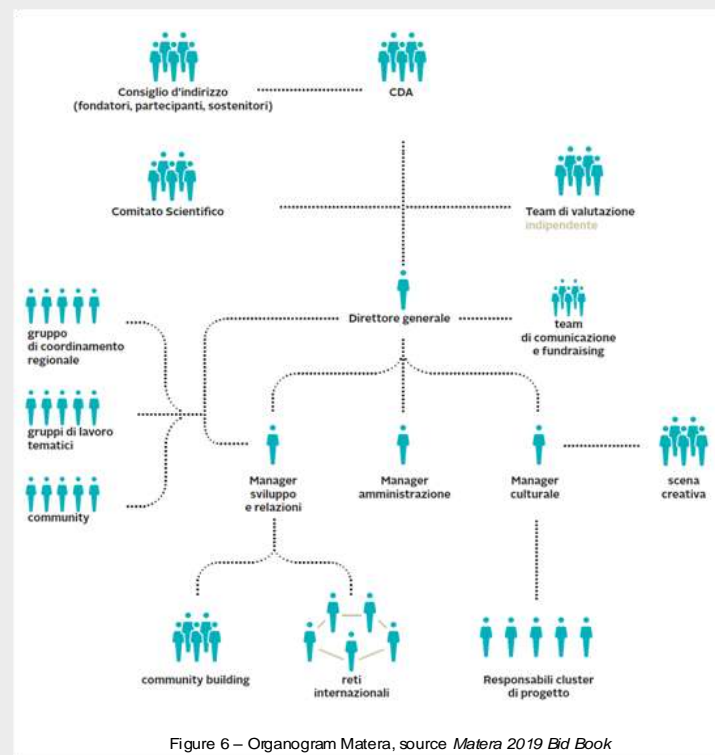

Figure 6 – Organogram Matera, source *Matera 2019 Bid Book*

Figure 7 – View of Matera

4. Analysis: A different precept

4.1 Matera and other ECOC

Now, we are going to compare Matera and other cities that in the past, have been designated Capital of Culture, about the done or programmed investment.

This is to highlight how the experience of this cities, that were intentionally chosen very different, for their dimensions and their types of investments, how these experiences have affected their development and what were the positive and negative elements.

Significant is the example of Marseille-Provence 2013, it was an experience of urban and social regeneration, that transformed deeply the city.

Named Capital of Culture 2013, Marseille was able to advancing its European project involving 97 municipalities in the Provence region and the surrounding area. With more than 11 million of visitors in 2013 for numerous cultural events (exhibitions, shows, meetings, concerts, etc ...), with a great urban renewal (such as the construction of MuCEM, the museum of civilizations in Europe and Mediterranean, the restoration of the Palais Longchamp - Museum of Fine Arts, the reorganization and improvement of the area of the old port of Marseille, etc.) and with a highlight of the naturalistic sites of the region (the natural and regional parks of the Camargue And Luberon), Marseilles has attracted artists and intellectuals from all over France and Europe, obtaining more positive and concrete results that will last over time. The Marseille-Provence 2013 program directly concerned all Marseilles, for which the urban renewal process has allowed the city to open in its own neighborhoods, so far forgotten or confined by the rest of the city's fabric. The "Les sens des quartiers créatifs" project ("The

Meaning of Creative Neighborhoods") has enabled a "Politics of Relationship" through the instruments of culture and artistic creation to offer to the inhabitants of the so-called "sensitive neighborhoods" (where poverty, delinquency and degradation are the rule and not the exception) the possibility of becoming, in fact, active and revitalized "creative neighborhoods". The many activities proposed within the project have thus meant that the artistic expression became for these neighborhoods a means of redeeming from a state of marginalization, not just physical, from the rest of the city.

Structure of the Marseille-Provence proposal	
Goal No.1: To enrich the cultural element of the Barcelona Process by creating a permanent hub for intercultural, Euro-Mediterranean dialogue in Marseille.	Goal 2: To develop artistic and cultural activity as a force for renewal in the city by conjugating four issues: quality of public space, cultural irrigation of the area, widespread citizen participation and the appeal of the metropolis.
Concept: "Les Ateliers de l'Euro-méditerranée"	
Strategy 1: "Le Partage des Midis" (Sharing the South): - European dimension - A cultural project for a Euro-Mediterranean project - Testing ground for cultural dialogue	Strategy 2: "La Cité Radieuse" (The Radiant City): - Local dimension - A cultural project for an urban project - Testing ground for urban renewal through culture
Themes: 1. Migrations and Memories 2. Values and Beliefs 3. Genders or Genres 4. The Sharing of Water	Themes: 1. Art in the Public Arena 2. Walkers – Nomads – Territories 3. One Thousand and One Nights 4. Everyone is Involved

Table 9 – Structure of Marseille-Provence proposal, source
Ex-post evaluation of 2013 ECOC, Final Report for the European Commission DG Educational and Culture, December 2014

Another example is the city of Linz in Austria. Linz 2009 GmbH draws a thoroughly positive balance as regards Culture Capital Year both in terms of

content and its various projects and in economic and financial terms. Linz09 was equally successful on the local, the national and the international levels. In the European Commission in Brussels and in ECOC, Linz09 is seen as a role model for a successful culture capital.

The programme attracted 600,000 visitors and approximately 5,000 artists. This surpassed all expectations. Linz09 was a success story in terms of tourism: more than two million day visits and an increase of 9.5 % in the number of overnight stays document the success of Linz09. The indirect returns generated by Culture Capital Year amounted to a significant impulse for Austria's economy. And also in terms of jobs, Culture Capital created or safeguarded a total of 4,625 jobs in Upper Austria between 2005 and 2011.

There were also a great benefits in terms of improved public image and self-confidence and in newly forged alliances between public and privates.

They created new urban qualities using buildings as building blocks. Linz, in fact, has undergone a lasting transformation also in terms of overdue construction projects, the make-over of urban spaces and investments in the city's infrastructure, both as regards hotels and other infrastructural projects. In most cases these projects were initiated and financed by the City of Linz and/or the Province of Upper Austria, but there was also scope for private investors.

 Linz09 Programme had long-term effects for the city. Parts of the legacy of Linz09 will have a lasting effect on the city. Several projects, including HÖRSTADT [Acoustic City], KEPLER SALON, TURMEREMIT [The Hermit of the Tower], the festival NEXT COMIC and the PIXEL HOTEL will be continued

beyond 2009. And the international programme has brought about a general broadening of horizons.
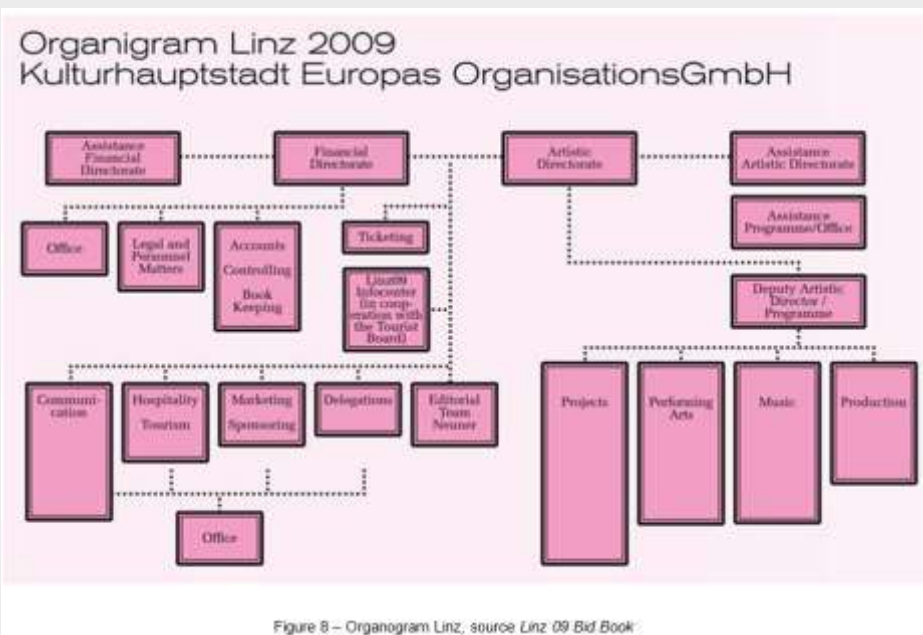
Figure 8 – Organogram Linz, source *Linz 09 Bid Book*

The case of Matera is still in progress, only after 2019 we will see if the intentions and proposals will be realized and respected. Currently, since the last European Commission report of June 2017, funds from the region and the state have not yet been used, and the massive work for the infrastructure network and the hospitality system is still far behind. Despite the good prospects that the city proposed when it won the nomination, the Commission now looks forward to the progress of the work, fears that the city will not be ready for 2019.

But this is also why the culture capitals system works well: thanks to the constant and continuous monitoring, the precise and punctual indication of what goes and what does not go, by which the candidate cities can straighten

the shot, and other cities can have continuous examples of good and bad practices.

So we hope that Matera will recover this delay, and that they will start work on infrastructure networks and hospitality system as soon as possible.

As we have seen in the previous pages, the Matera 2019 program has studied in detail the areas of investment and how to obtain all the funding needed, both from the public and private sectors, aligning with European demands and guidelines.

But as we can see from the diagram below, some planned investments are far superior to those of the other two examples.
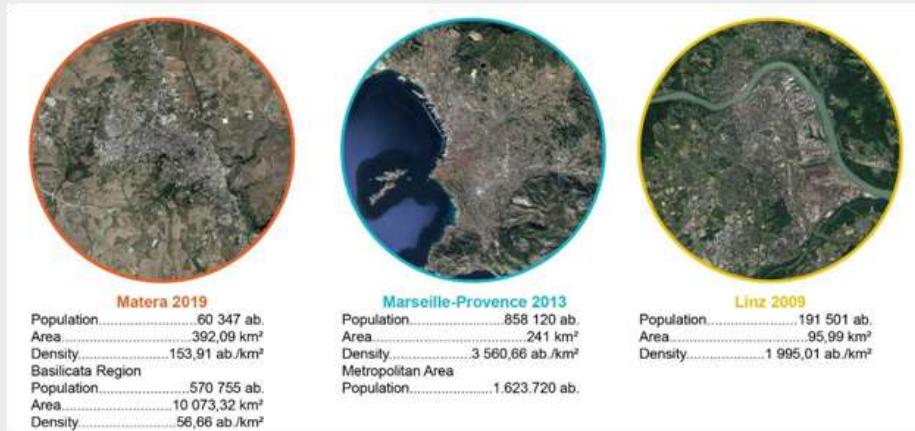
Table 10 – Comparison between the three cases: Matera 2019,
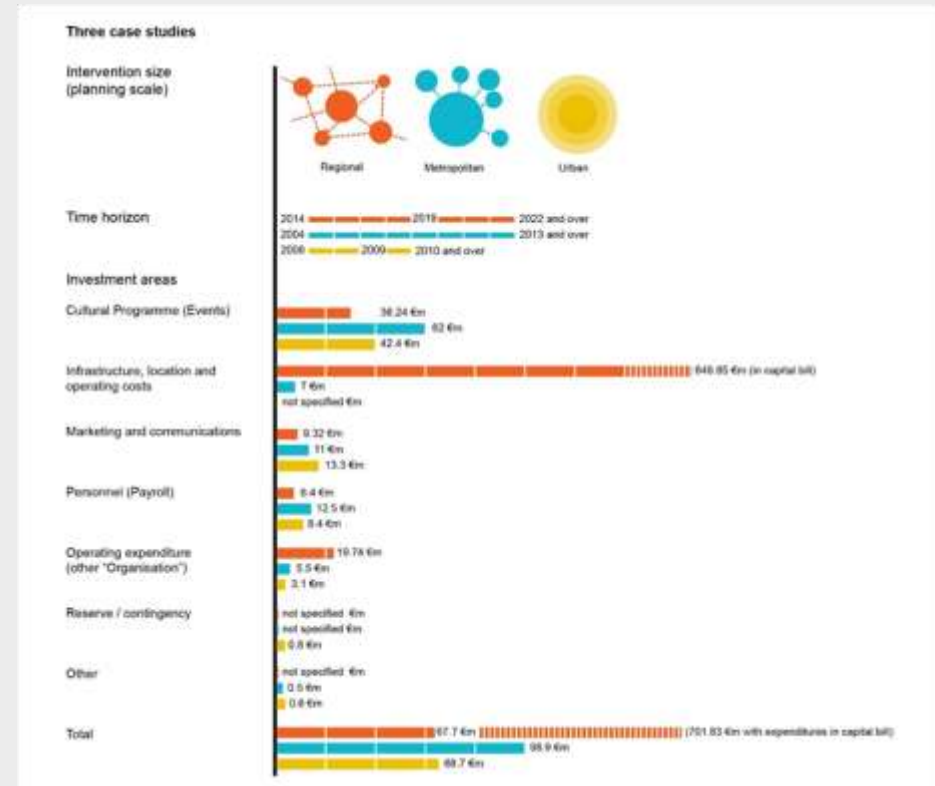
Although Matera is a city of about 60,347 inhabitants (and the Basilicata region has a total of 570,755 ab.), we believe that our proposal, to use the principles of the European Capital of Culture for other Mega Events, can be quietly applied even in much larger cities, as evidenced by other experiences in metropolitan cities, where usually Olympic Games and Universal Expositions are located. Also, as evidenced by the cases of Matera, and past examples such as Marseilles and the Provence region or the Rurh in Germans, such principles can become an opportunity to retrace not only the city in question but its entire Region.

Table 11 – ECOC population size (in millions inhabitants), source *European Capital of Culture Success Strategies and long-term effects Study,* 2013

A clear vision, set up from the start	Approaches to developing a vision, including key objectives and programming themes, vary significantly between ECoCs; however, clarity and consistency of approach seems to have been important.
Distinct programming	ECoCs are keen to ensure that programming is distinctive, reflecting the city's assets and history, and expressing the cultural identity of the area, as well as providing the opportunity for work that might be innovative and/or internationally recognised.
A balance between event programming and relevant infrastructure development	This is an area where marked differences exist, but a common issue is the city's ability to determine whether investment in infrastructures (either cultural or for supporting services) is required in order to maximise the benefits of the ECoC year, and whether this needs to be coordinated directly by ECoC teams or developed in parallel.
Clear lines of communication adapted to different constituencies	For instance, a distinction between local, national and international communication strategies.
Broad public engagement	Dedicated strategies to involve the local population and maximise their sense of ownership, from targeted community programming to volunteering schemes.
Strong governance & financing models	Governance and funding models that are independent of political interference, and that can provide a single point of clarity in terms of the management of an ECoC, are important.
A commitment to legacy planning	Actively planning for legacy, whether in terms of the long-term physical infrastructure for culture, engagement with communities or the nature of the cultural offer, is considered crucial.

Source: ICC elaboration

Table 12 – Success Strategies, source *European Capital of Culture Success Strategies and long-term effects Study,* 2013

4.2 ECOC and other Mega Event

These events are clearly different in content and shape, but they leave an important mark on lands that host them. Is it possible to limit these events' negative actions on the environment in advance?

We think that the substantial difference is the "origin" of the event, which is the selection phase of the city and its program; so we have collected and analysed the early stages of Olympic Games, Expos and European Capital of Culture. For a quick visualisation, we gathered their selection criteria in a schedule, that allows to instantly compare the Events under consideration.

	Olympic Games	Expos	European Culture Capital City
The appeal of the theme		✓	✓
Date and duration		✓	
Event program			✓
Location involved		✓	✓
City's accessibility situation and future infrastructure works	✓		✓
Number of expected visitors	✓	✓	✓
Provide public security during the event	✓		
Attitude of relevant authorities and interested parties	✓	✓	✓
Citizens' support and involvment		✓	✓
Environmental impact of the project	✓	✓	✓
Plans for the communication and promotion of the project		✓	
Total budget for the project and economic calendar	✓	✓	✓
The feasibility and viability of the project: financial indicators	✓	✓	✓
Future investements planned for post-event period			✓
Local identity			✓
Event's sustainability respect area's future planning	✓		
Proposals for the future	✓		✓
The "European dimension"			✓

Table 13 – Comparison schedule with selection criteria, Actual situation

From this comparison, it is clear that the organisation of the ECOC uses, since the beginning, a different kind of planning, that focuses more on the medium and long term.

During the candidacy phase, the ECOC applicant cities must present an economic development and feasibility plan for the event, comforting about its sustainability, but also a very detailed investment plan for the post-event phase.

Differently from other Mega Events, like Expos, that instead provides for the establishment of a team on purpose for the development of a recovery plan for the area of the Event but after the event itself.

In addition, ECOC is an international event, that looking to involve tourists on a larger scale, not forgetting the event local context.

Among the selection criteria, in fact, the development of local identity is very important and it should freely arise during all the event.
Ultimately, it is fundamental to point out the multi-sectorial of this kind of event.

Since this is not connected to a specific topic (see for example the sport for the Olympic Games and the main theme for the Expos), this event is free to branch off (and to finance) different sectors.

This heterogeneity assures the event diversified economic investments, avoiding a sectorial development of the city connected to the event.
Actually, the ECOC event is never a starting point or an only episode, but it is always a part of a wider route.

4.2.1 Financing

ECOC

European Capitals of Culture are formally designated four years before the actual year. This long period of time is necessary for the planning and preparation of such a complex event. The panel, supported by the European Commission, has a continuing role during these four years in supporting European Capitals of Culture with advice and guidance and taking stock of their preparations.

At the end of this monitoring period, the panel will consider whether to recommend or not that the European Commission pays the Melina Mercouri Prize (currently €1.5m funded from the EU Creative Europe program).

Table 14 –Average % income by source for ECOCs, source *Policy Department B. Structural and Cohesion policies*
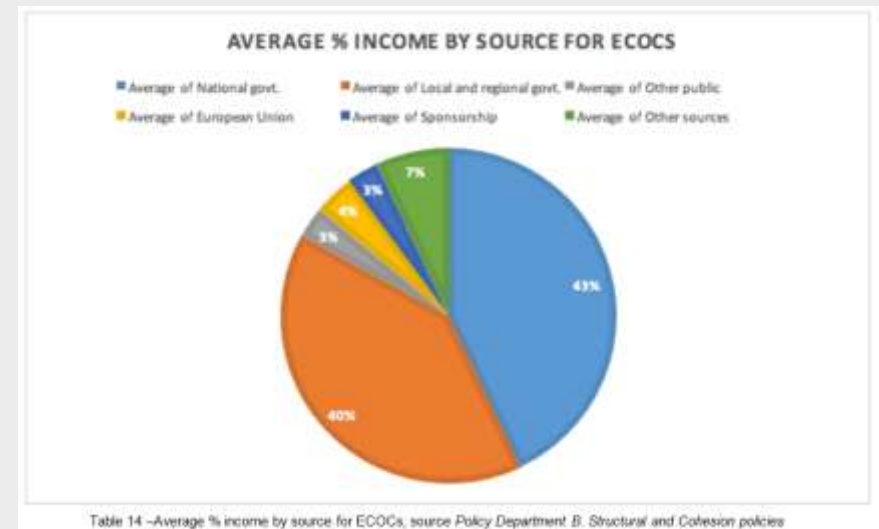
Clearly, foundings are different for each event, reflecting the average of the hosting nation and city government to invest facilities and funds.

From recent ECOC events analysis, we can say that the European budget is on average invested in the following fields:

-       Programme, including artistic and community-focused activities

-       Overheads, including administration, wages and salaries

-       Promotion and marketing

-       Expenditure

Table 15 –ECOC Expenditure, source *Report for the second monitoring and advisory meeting for the european capitals of culture, 2013*

Otherwise, we can see in the specific case of Matera that the majority of fundings will be invest in the infrastructures, but also in interventions in the city.
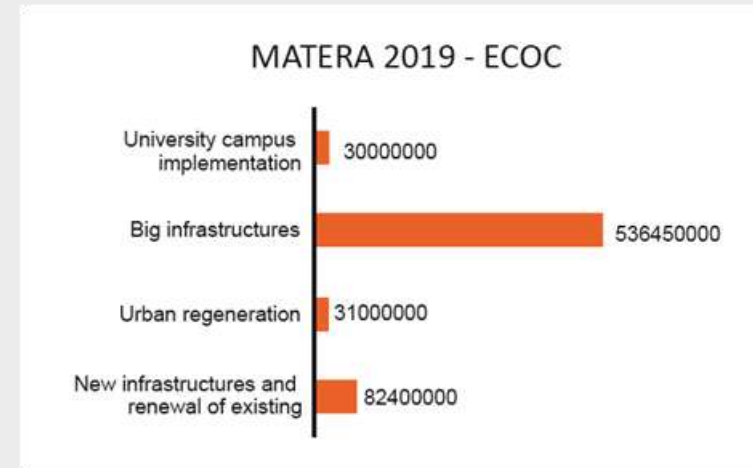
Table 16 – Matera ECOC 2019 expenditure's areas, source *Matera 2019 Bid Book*

EXPOs

The evaluation of the financial benefits of an International Exhibition is done in the short term by the assessment of participation by states and visitors and in the long term by the evaluation of the economic impacts, often associated with the boosted tourism or with the decision of corporations to set up business in a region that is newly globally-recognised following an Expo.

The financial and commercial elements of an Expo were among the most important in the past. It is for this reason that we have the facts of, for example, the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. It cost € 385,000, but received € 600,000 in revenue. With time it has become more and more difficult to keep such accounts, even if normally the revenue from the Expo covers the operational costs. Indeed the Expo also demands complex financing from state funds, local authorities and the private sector.

These funds are not often directly linked with the construction of the future site of the Expo, but with the infrastructure of the city or region. It is estimated that the final budget of the 2010 Shanghai Expo was larger than that of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, but there has been no talk of making a loss because the positive effect for the infrastructure of the city, the quality of life and the land value of the site was vast and impossible to calculate.

Finally, the revenue of an Expo is not always expressed in a monetary value. We could probably consider the 1889 World Expo in Paris as the most successful financially; on top of the 7.5m francs that were earned at the time, we can add all the money that has been spent by tourists who have visited the Eiffel Tower until the present day.

To clearly see how the event's fundings have been invested we present the specific case of Milan Expo 2015.

Table 17 – Milano EXPO 2015 expenditure's areas, source www.expo2015.org

OLYMPIC GAMES

The International Olympic Committee, and the organizations within the Olympic Movement, are entirely privately funded. The IOC manages the sale of media rights to the Olympic Games, the TOP worldwide sponsorship program and the IOC official supplier and licensing programs.

In the case of London Olympic Games of 2012 the event got $376 million (about €340 million) from international sponsors -two-thirds of that in the form of goods and services rather than cash. It also receives an additional $675 million (about €600 million) from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for staging the Games.

The IOC has 11 global sponsors who pay $957 (about €860 million) million for worldwide rights to market their products on the back of the Games. It distributes more than 90 percent of its income to host nations, national delegations and international sports federations.
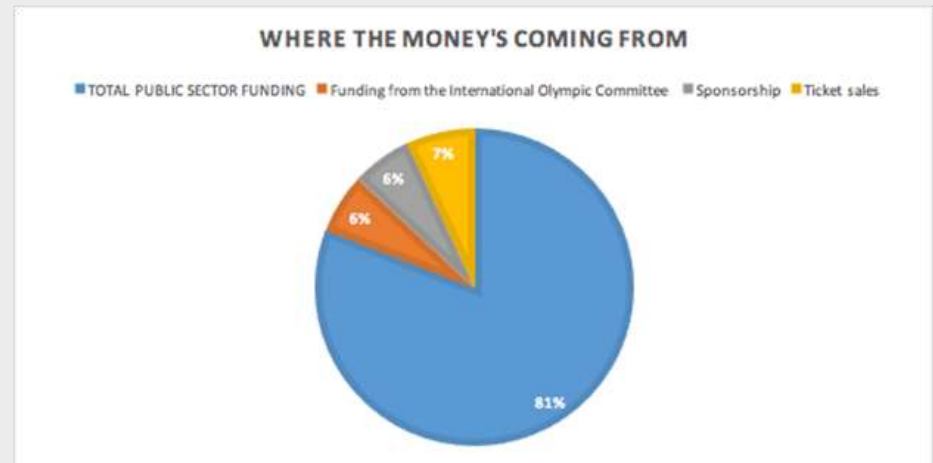
Table 18 – Olympics Games funding from, source www.olympic.org/loc-financing-revenue-sources-distribution

For a better comprehension of the investment's funding we present above the specific case of London Olympic games 2012:
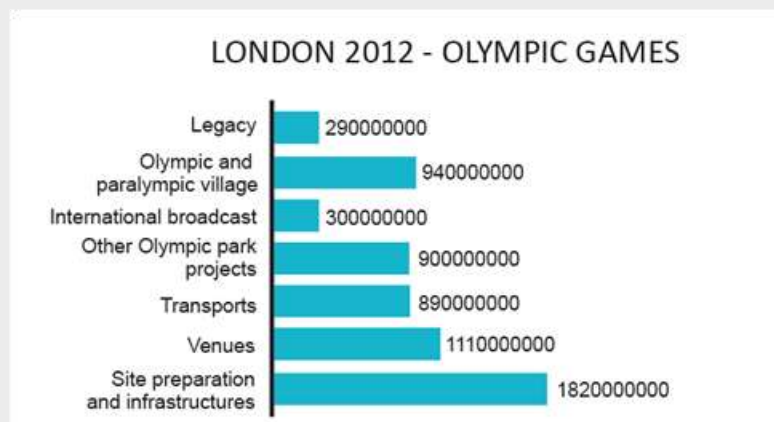

LONDON 2012 - OLYMPIC GAMES

Category	Amount
Legacy	290000000
Olympic and paralympic village	940000000
International broadcast	300000000
Other Olympic park projects	900000000
Transports	890000000
Venues	1110000000
Site preparation and infrastructures	1820000000

Table 19 – London OG 2012 expenditure's areas, www.theguardian.com

5. Conclusion: How to learn from culture capital cities

5.1 Proposal

Through the comparison done in this paper, we can assume that the ECOC approach has more positive long-term effects than other Mega Events. We believe that the substantial difference lies in the initial phase, the selection for the event's hosting city.

Comparing the selection criteria applied in the different events arise the difference in timing and ladders of interventions. Selected ECOC has a clear and programming vision of the event for a period longer than the event itself, and it offers a city field of application with different dimensions, involving, as in the Matera's case, a regional and territorial ladder.

We propose again the comparison schedule with selection criteria added that we consider important also for other Mega Events to improve and leave a mark more positive on territory that hosts them.

	Olympic Games	Expos	European Culture Capital City
The appeal of the theme		✓	✓
Date and duration	✓	✓	
Event program	✓	✓	✓
Location involved	✓	✓	✓
City's accessibility situation and future infrastructure works	✓		✓
Number of expected visitors	✓	✓	✓
Provide public security during the event	✓		
Attitude of relevant authorities and interested parties	✓	✓	✓
Citizens' support and involvment		✓	✓
Environmental impact of the project	✓	✓	✓
Plans for the communication and promotion of the project		✓	
Total budget for the project and economic calendar	✓	✓	✓
The feasibility and viability of the project: financial indicators	✓	✓	✓
Future investements planned for post-event period	✓	✓	✓
Local identity	✓	✓	✓
Event's sustainability respect area's future planning	✓		
Proposals for the future	✓	✓	✓
The "European dimension"			✓

Table 20 – Comparison schedule with selection criteria, Proposal

A further element in which we believe for the event's success and to avoid economic wastings is the constant monitoring from ECOC organisation. It controls the events progresses and annually asks the hosting city a report with economic specifics.

Unfortunately, this positive practice didn't stop Matera 2019 from fall behind in the organisation. Probably, in this case, the fundings planned for infrastructures and urban renovation were a windfall, and now they are late for the candidacy program proposed. Otherwise, it is hoped that the event

could still contribute to the city and region revitalise, having regard to the good programme and positive intentions, maybe running late on the calendar.

One last proposal regard investment sectors.
Comparing tree Mega Event examples (Matera for ECOC, London for Olympic Games and Milan for EXPO) it appears that they all invest more in infrastructures and in the event site's preparation, but only the ECOC provide investments for the urban area. Part of the funds is invested in urban renovation and connected cultural activities implementation, like for example the realisation of a University campus in Matera.

It would be good for all the events to involve part of the capital in different sectors, not only the event's specific one (like the sport for Olympic Games). These events have considerable size and sometimes extremely impacting for the hosting city, so it would be helpfully investing also in the city itself to let it takes benefit from the event and not only "wastes" to dispose of.

5.2 Conclusions
In conclusion, what emerges from our study and our comparison between the Capital of Culture and the other Mega Events is that ECOCs actually have some characteristics in the selection methods that play a key role in the success of these events, and which create the opportunity to inaugurate a series of transformations in the hosting cities that look beyond the needs of the event itself and have positive and long-lasting effects. This, along with constant monitoring, and the possibility of creating a structured collaboration between public and private partners, as well as involving citizens, are, in our view, some fundamentals elements that other Mega

Events should have, looking at the responsibilities and the impact that they have in the hosting cities.

The intervention scale and application fields can be very different, and of course, they have to be adapted to any situation in which they are applied, but we think that with a different selection system and the desire to look beyond the event itself, the role of these events in the cities may be very different and have very significant positive effects.

It would be useful for these other Mega Events, such as the Olympics and the Universal Expositions, a long-term Strategic Planning that involves many more areas and aspects that are currently not almost considered or left to the free will of the city in charge (such as a sport-cultural-economic-social program, infrastructure interventions and urban regeneration, identity creation and local development, etc ...). The committees that deal with the management and organization of these Mega Events should, however, first of all, be aware of the power that they have and to develop a sense of responsibility and almost civil duty towards the society, and only later, it will be possible to set up a new Program approach.

As for Matera, which was chosen by us as an example for its peculiar characteristics, what emerged from our study is that the city was started very well, its economic- financial- cultural- urban-infrastructural program was very detailed and highlighted possibilities and criticalities. Currently, however, it is not going very well, the jobs are late and probably, the fact that we have such great investments to be implemented in such a short time are a limit to the much larger program than we thought. In Italy, as it usually is , it is very difficult for an infrastructure system to be realized in such a short time, nor in a region of southern Italy such as Basilicata, which for

orographic features has certainly not been left without infrastructures till now without a reason. But it is possible that the fact that this program is monitored by the European Commission is a positive element, which influences the management of the work envisaged by the program, so that they are over, if not for 2019 at least later, and that for once time the things will be different from what it usually happens in Italy.

What we do is leave an open window, a hope for the future of Matera and Basilicata, the hope that an event such as being elected Capital of Culture 2019 can really lead to a development of this region, as it has done in so many past examples , that we have seen together.

Figure 9 – View of Matera during the sunset

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III. GRENOBLE'S WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES 1968

BY GAUTHIER AVENAS & MAËLE GIARD

Grenoble´s winter olimpic games 1968
by Gauthier Avenas & Maële Giard

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1. Introduction

Since 1992, with Barcelona Olympic games, a new model is taking shape : hosting important sporting events, can permit the city development and can be a solution to some of its issues. However, we can notice that well before, Olympic games were a response to a certain demand. That is the case, for instance, of Grenoble, that hosted Winter Games of 1968. Our approach is about seeing how the hosting of an important event permitted to reorganize this city, by promoting its development and by increasing tourism as an economic ressource. For this purpose, we used several different methods.

 First of all, we have adopted a historical approach, in order to understand the issues surrounding the hosting of the Olympic Games. Then, the point is to see how this is put into practice in the development of the city and its surroundings. In order to ensure this, we studied several maps and photographs. Finally, we inquired about the current conditions of infrastructures that have been created 50 years ago. Our hypothesis is as follows : the Olympic Games permitted to deal with some challenges faced by Grenoble, but paradoxically, the city is currently having new issues linked with its urban planning.

Consequently, the positive heritage of Olympic Games should be qualified. That is why we are going to study this heritage, and to analize the empowering effects (particularly at the regional level) permitted by the hosting of the Olympic Games.

2. Context

For the first time of its history, in 1968, Grenoble applied for the winter Olympic Games. The other rivals were Calgary (Canada), Lahti (Finland), Sapporo (Japan), Oslo (Norway) and Lake Placid (USA). It was the second French City to host the Olympic Games, after Chamonix in 1924. The French state supported the city in its submission because Charles de Gaulle (French president between 1959 and 1969), wanted to increase French prestige and to modernize ski resorts, in order to develop tourism.

But, at the time, the city was an industrial, rather the current mountain city. The application of Grenoble for the Olympic Games is based on its dynamism and modernism, added to its proximity with different sites. After Second World War, Grenoble knew a big population increase, as we can see on the graph below. With its University and its nuclear research pole, the city seemed very modern and dynamic.

Demographic increasing at Grenoble
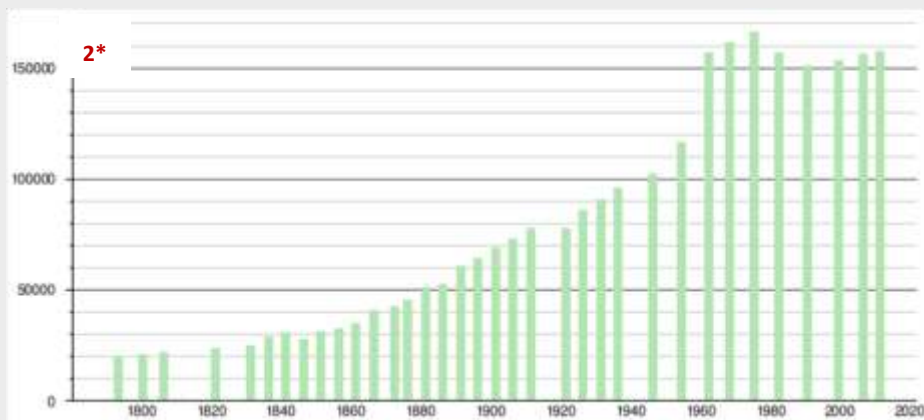
But, the city lacked urban facilities and transport networks. Indeed, in 1964, a ministerial report claimed that the urban equipment of Grenoble fitted for a city of 80.000 inhabitants, while Grenoble was home to 300.000 inhabitants. At the same time, the mountains near Grenoble were interesting for the French medical system. In fact, France was late in the fight against the tuberculosis. Mountains appeared as strategic places to put sick people far from the cities, in order to avoid contaminations. Furthermore, the good moutain air seemed beneficial to the patients during their cure. But, this solution, combined to exsting ski resorts, created poles of attraction around the city and prevented the city from having a material and a social unity. This preoccupation linked with Olympic Games explained why the sixties were a period of transition time for Grenoble.

Through its position in the mountains, the city had a potential for property development. The sports event marked the wishes of the both city coucillers and of national politicians to realise this potential. Unlike today in Stratford at London, the event did not aim at an urban regeneration of one district but at the creation of a new image for the city and the region. The city already projected istself in a future of skying tourism and chemistry research and industry. This event permitted the city to create a new economy. For instance, we can think of new international ski labels such as Rossignol and Salomon. But the modern morphology was not already designed, that's why, the urban challenge was to build the city intelligently according to its prospects.

3. Event description

First of all, the major characteristic of this event is that Winter Olympic Games of Grenoble took place in a valley for the first time, and not in a ski resort. The city is at 200 m of altitude. Consequently,it couldn't' host the majority of the winter activities. For that reaon, most of the competitions took place in ski resorts around Grenoble. Indeed, only disciplines on ice could be organized in the city center. Most of the sites which received this event were in Isère department.

Map with all sites of the Grenoble's winter Olympic Games event

These Games, organized during fifteen days, gathered more than one thousand athletes, representing thirty seven countries. It was the first time there were so many countries. That's why this event created new challenges.

First of all, France wanted to gain power in winter sports. In fact, with its material and geographic capacities, France was able to shine, and to beat Norway in order to obtain the games, France obtained the best results of its winter sports History. In addition, it was a means for the state to create a central place specialized in winter sports. For the city, this event marked the ambition to design a new morphology and it was the opportunity to become the capital of ski resorts.

Also, it was the possibility to create new buildings for the Olympic Games and then recycle them in order to meet the lack of infrastrucutures due to the population increase of the city.

For this event, the total budget was around one billion Francs, which is equivalent to 200 million euros. This investment concerns transport infrastructure, buildings for the competitions, buildings to host competitors, buildings for the media and all other equipments of the Olympic village.

The state has financed the majority of the budget. We can also notice that public organisms like SNCF (the national railway company) participated to the financing. In addition, the Isere department, Grenoble and all Olympic municipalities participated too. We can see the repartition of the budget below.

Repartition of the financing

5*
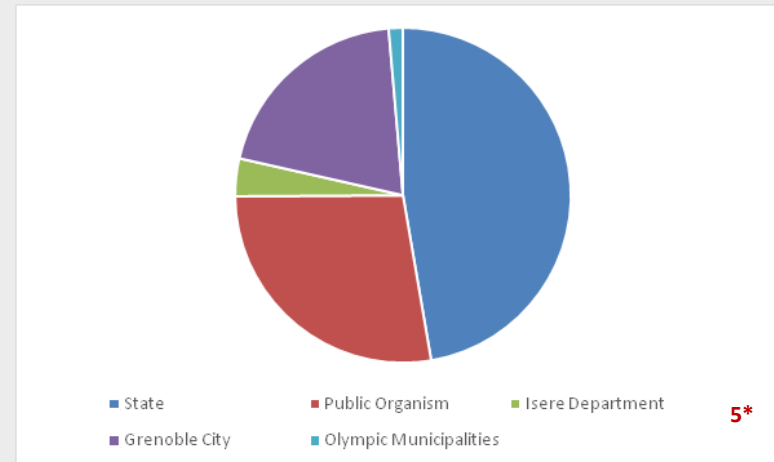
We can see, below, that the majority of the budget was invested in transport networks and other infrastructures. These buildings and infrastructures were intended to be used after the event to develop the city. So, we can deduce that more than half of the budget was invested for the future of the city and not for the event.

Repartition of the budget

5*
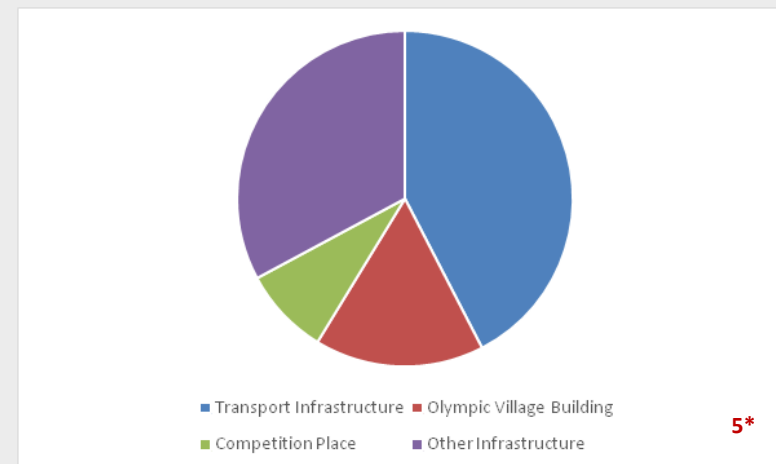
4 Analysis

4.1 Urbanity

This event changed the morphology of Grenoble. In fact, a lot of buildings were built for this event, thanks to the Olympic Games financial budget.

There were building of three types:

- Buildings for sports
- Buildings for Olympic Games Organization
- Buildings built not for the Olympic Games but to design the new morphology of the city

In addition, there were the infrastructures. If we loook at the map, we can realize that the number of transport infrastructures is mostly linked with the change of the city morphology.

Equipments realized for Grenoble's Olympic Games
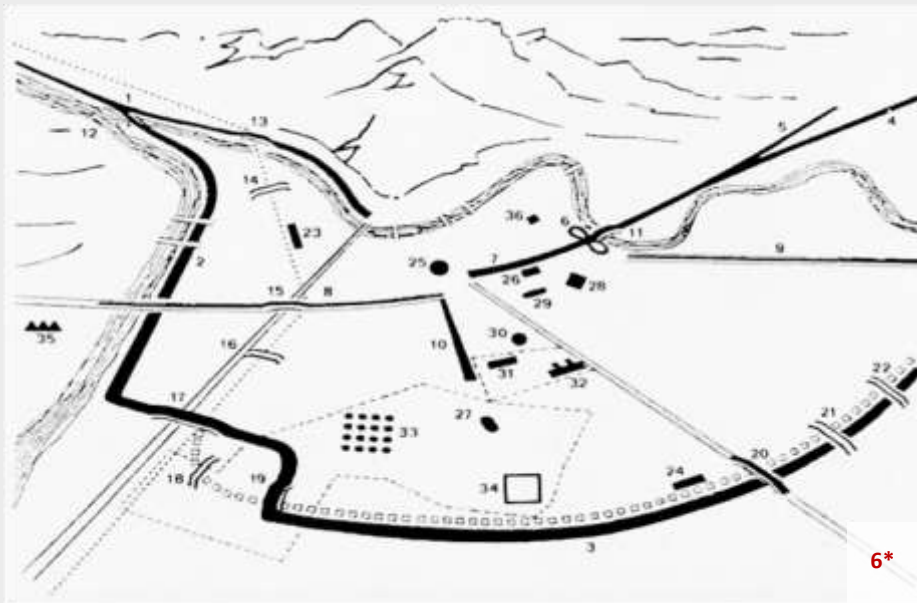
1. express way A48	14. bridge to cross over railroad network	26. hotel
2. expressway B48	15. higher passage	27. provisory opening Olympic Games stadium
3. belt highway U2	16. higher passage	
4. expressway A41	17. higher passage	
5. national road N90	18. higher passage	28. Olympic skating rink
6. interchange	19. higher passage	29. fast rink
7. Jean Pain Boulevard	20. higher passage	30. conservatory
8. Boulevards	21. higher passage	31. culture house
9. national road N 523	22. higher passage	32. district Malherbe
10. road Berthelot	23. higher passage	33. Olympic village
11. bridge "les Sablons"	24. rail road station	34. trade palace
12. bridge to cross Isere river	25. provisory Olympic road station	35. fire station
13. hotel		36. police place

6*

The link realized between Grenoble and Lyon, Grenoble and Chambery and the ring road are noticeable because after Olympic Games, the OG infrastructures permitted the development of the city. When we see the number of constructions realized, we can assume that the city could extend thanks to the construction. But, in reality, this only counters the lack existing since fifty years. Also, there were a lot of new road connections realized which linked Grenoble to the ski resorts. The map does not show the new "Grenoble-Mermoz" airport built for the Olympic Games, because the ancient airport was very small and old.

4.2 Social Cohesion

4.2.1 Spatial link

Infrastructures and housing were built rapidly for the event and the hurry due to population increase. But in particular the housing development, built during the games to host the athletes, did not correspond to the needs of the population of Grenoble after the event. That's why, there were a lot of social problem between 1970 and 1990.

Residential constructions, built as part of winter Olympics of 1968 express the implementation of the principles of the Charter of Athens for the urban project of Grenoble as a whole. Indeed, the construction of major urban

centres was unique to architectural and urbanistic forces of the time, and crucial in the progressive approach to urban development of high-rise housing units. Likewise, the separation of urban fonctions and of traffic is a key element in the model of residential realization provided by the Charter of Athens. "Malherbe" and "Ile verte", which are Olympic Village districts, have public places and green areas between buildings and the street.

As an example, we can highlight the hosting district of the Olympic village. It has been constructed by Maurice Novarina, as part of the Olympic Games (OG), in order to house athletes from all over the world. Planned to be a long-term urbanistic realization, and in the context of housing shortage, the Olympic Village benefits from financial contributions for sporting event infrastructures. This large urban area conceived for the post OG is ambitious and is one of the first implementations of the leading principles of progressive urbanism : social mix, integrated facilities, priority at public spaces.

The urban design is essentially developed in the southern part of the city, and we can notice that once the event was finished, these neighborhoods remain seperated from the rest of the city, creating new issues of urban development.

Within this zone of city planning, a distinction can be made between three subgroups shaping autonomous cores. Each of these new centers contains a high rise social housing estate, sporting and/or cultural facilities. In the case of the northern core, the presence of political and administrative structures is linked with the proximity of the city center. The three urban cores are located in the continuity of two strategic axes of the Grenoble road system, in order to ensure good access to the city center. Likewise, these axes permit to join new transport facilities, such as the bypass and highways, which connect new centralities to the rest of the territory. We can easily identify a will to put principles of the Charter of Athens into action, as the historical center is preserved and the sporting facilities are located near private dwellings, in order to limit journey times, for example. The urban design is meant to integrate in the same space the citizens day-to-day functions : living, working, circulating. Nevertheless, in the long-term, it has caused some problems, in particular the exclusion and segregation of some people.

4.2.2 Social link

Symbolic edifices are constructed to show the economical and cultural capacities of the city. Constructed in the interests of well-being, these infrastructures are based on high rise, and favoring luminosity, as the case of Sports Hall, which let in the daylight into the building. Hosting the Olympic Games also permitted to create social bonds in the city. Indeed, the city became the pride of its inhabitants, and attracted attention for one month. But today, we see more and more the hosting of Olympics as a moment of contest from the citizens (for example : the Rio OG in 2016).

However, we can notice that today, most of the inhabitants ignore that constructions are the fruit of OG. The urban landscaoe changed considerably, and only the tower hosting the Olympic flame appears as a last witness of this past.

4.3 Values, Identity & Image
Even if buildings constructed for the sporting event were rapidly reused to answer a certain demand, especially in accomodation, we can see that the olympic inheritance should be balanced.

First of all, the urban shape that has been realised is today outdated, at least in its architecture. Indeed, we notice that the lack of maintenance caused a bad ageing of the buildings, that are no longer the flavour of the month. Henceforth, they are concerned by several restoration projects, in order to be more attractive and better integrated to the rest of the city.

Moreover, the lack of attention form the politicians to these districts have lead the former « Zone urbaine prioritaire » to become a zone impacted by an exclusion process and subject to various social and urban issues since the eighties. Contrary to other comparable situations in France, Villeneuve district is not located at an important distance from Grenoble city center. However, it is completely excluded of this zone in the late eighties and early nineties. During this period, Villeneuve was totally ostracized, and this fact is the direct consequence of the functionalism realised in the context of the urban developments made in the sixties.

With the hosting of the Olympics, Grenoble asserted as the "capital of Alps". We can notice that before being selected for the winter olympic games, most of its inhabitants were workers who didn't know winter sports, too expensive for them. But with this event, an opening has been made towards this economy. Then, the image of the city and the identity of its inhabitants are renewed. Grenoble concentrates sporting activities, and all the structures linked with skying are located in the surrounding ski resorts. With the olympic games, Grenoble has built its metropolitan area and reinforced its central place.

4.4 Environmental Awareness
Today, Grenoble is known to be one of the most polluted cities in France. Its localization is the main cause for this. As a matter of fact, Grenoble is situated at the bottom of a valley fringed by mountains, that is why pollution is accumulating over the city. But this is also due to the fact that the city has notably developped its accessibility, especially by the roads, thus increasing road traffic.

Urban planning workers answered to increase of traffic flows in the city, so some infrastrutures conserved their functions after the end of the Olympics. Even if they were not modified in their structure after 1970, they were reinforced by complementary urban interventions, in order to accomodate the more and more important traffic flows. The hosting of OG is in line with a continuity from the politicians : making the city accessible by the roads.
Even if pollution is an important issue, we can notice a decrease of this nuisance in the long term, linked with the closing of polluting industries. Likewise, highways cause important noise pollution. What is more, during high crowded periods, we can see that Grenoble faces congestion.
In valleys around Grenoble, we notice an increasing urban sprawl. The city is stretching, and this fact brings to mind some questions. First of all, this creates issues about spatial segregation. Indeed, it is necessary to connect the different parts of the city, in order not to create exclusion and gentryfication phenomena. Finally, the urban sprawl can cause environmental issues.

4.5 Economic Competitiveness
Today, Grenoble appears as a door to the Alps Mountains. In fact, by the road, you must cross the city to go to ski resorts of the Isere department. Grenoble also developed the reputation of its University. What is more, it is a real national place for winter sports. Grenoble has also developed its ski industry and has become a European hub in this sector. Moreover, Grenoble currently develops summer tourism and this permits to offer jobs to the

inhabitants all the year long. in addition, ski resort villages were created and developped. It permitted to give qualified jobs to replace the industrial job in this region. Thanks to this development, villages near Grenoble don't suffer so much of the industrial activities diminution.

Moreover, in 2012, the city applied for the Olympic Games of 2018. But Annecy (French city) won the bid to go in final against Munich (Germany) and Pyeongchang (South Korea). As we know, Pyeongchang won. It is interesting to ask ourselves why Grenoble didn't win the possibility to host the Olympic Games against Annecy. First off all, politicians didn't support its candidature. Indeed, the mayor of the city presented this candidature like an ecological participation based on solidarity, democracy and environment. Nevertheless, ecologist politicians fought against this project because of the sustainable development. In fact, the hosting of Olympic Gameswas considered by some as a luxury method to waste more then one billion Euros. Ecologist politicians of Grenoble described this new event as a peril for social disparities and as an environmental damage. To understand these remarks we can see the picture below, that socialist-ecologist politicians published during the candidature.

Picture published by socialist ecologist politicians

Local residents who live near the ancient Olympic village have observed an increase of local taxes of 2.4 % each year since the event and during twenty seven year.

At the same time ecologist organisations did research about the economic situation of Grenoble during the preparation and after the Olympic Games of 1968. We can see the administrative account of Grenoble on the graph below. The debt of Grenoble, which appears between 1967 and 1968 is about 160 000 000 Francs (=191 355 761 Euros).

Debt evolution of Grenoble Between 1965 and 1968
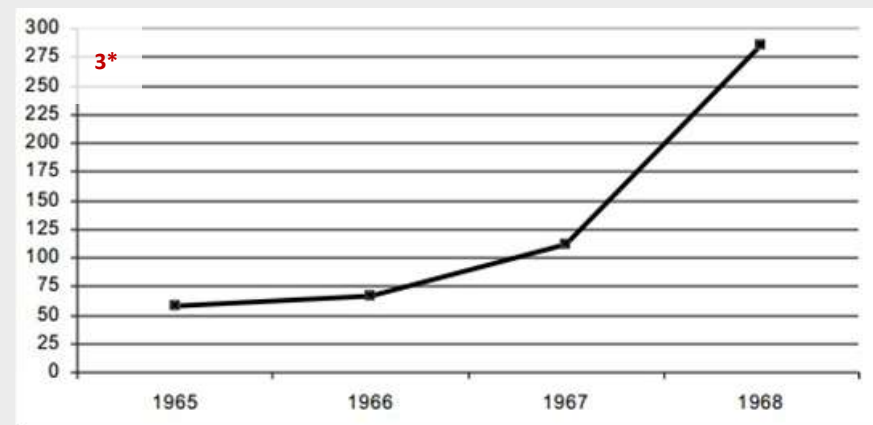
5 Conclusion

At that time, the event hasaccommodated different regional needs: housing, infrastructure, accesibility… Today it requires new investment to be refresh ageing equipments. The metropolitan area has switched to the tourism economy, particulary winter sport.

Furthermore Olympics Games create a real identity and an image for the city. However citiezens and politiciens do not seem to prepared an other event.

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IV. MEGA EVENTS PLANNING PROCESS AS A SYNERGY OF URBAN. REGENERATION, TOURISM AND HERITAGE PROMOTION – OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

BY MILICA IGIĆ, MAGDALENA VASILEVSKA, MILICA LJUBENOVIĆ & JELENA ĐEKIĆ

Mega events planning process as a synergy of urban. Regeneration, tourism and heritage promotion – opportunities and challenges

by Milica Igić, Magdalena Vasilevska, Milica Ljubenović & Jelena đekić

1. Introduction

> *„Mega-events are ambulatory occasions of a*
> *fixed duration that attract a large number*
> *of visitors, have a large mediated reach,*
> *come with large costs and have large impacts*
> *on the built environment and the population."*
> Martin Müller, 2015

Because of very complex planning process, mega events have very complex long term effects on city structure both physical and socio-economic. Our paper discusses examples from Balkans - Former Yugoslavian Republics and also Serbia (Fig 1.). Analyzing physical structure, we can determine the extent to which mega events affected city structure and changed urban pattern. Changing urban pattern caused change in spatial distribution of urban functions and great changes in social structure of population. All these events were followed with different degree of economic (un)development which will be also considered. The phenomenon of mega events will be considered not only from economic aspect, but also from planning, institutional, socio-economic, and design aspect. As architects, our main interests are effects of these types of events on city structure, both physical and socio-economic, which are considered as long term effects. Most of ex Yugoslavian Republics see all mega events as great economic opportunity for development and also as great money income which could solve

numerous problems. This paper discusses mega events planning process, which is very complex and could be observed as a synergy of urban regeneration process, tourism activities and heritage promotion. The research uses an analytical multidisciplinary approach in analyzing the planning process, which relies on methods of case study of three different examples Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade and comparative analysis between events held within these cities. Events took place in different political circumstances which affected level of their performance and impact on the city. Analyzing these events it is clear that some events had great impact on city development but their legacy did not.

Figure 1 – Map of mega events that will be analyzed

2. Problem setup/context

Mega events and cities that hosted these events, analyzed within this paper, are on the territory of former Yugoslavian Republics. Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) was formed in 1963 and consisted of six Republics. In 1992, followed by civilian war these federations fell apart and all six Republic became independent. All these Republics are located on Balkan Peninsula and even they are not within one country they have very similar culture and socio demographic structure (Meier, 1999). Some of the events that were analyzed within this research took place during „federation period"– Winter Olympic games in Sarajevo in 1984 and Universiade in Zagreb in 1987, and other after this period – Universiade in Belgrade in 2009. During „federation period", all the Republics had communist political structure and „brotherhood and unity" were main motivation for all the residents. Organization of any event was a milestone and it was a way to show their country to the world but also a chance to regenerate and construct new settlements and buildings. On the other hand, mega events that were organized had purpose to become brand of their own country. At the same time, all the residents that participated in organizing these events had sense of contributing their country where again ideology of unity was proved (Szondi, 2007). In order to develop tourism and to present their country in best way, former Republics are branding past and ongoing events which are interesting both for tourists and investors (Volčič, 2008).

After the death of the president of SFRJ in 1980, political and national problems began and entire federation was facing different challenges. In that period, federation was facing huge economic problems but still the idea for bidding for hosting Olympic Games existed even in 70-ies. Thanks to its location – mountains and favorable climate Sarajevo was the best candidate for winter sports and also Sarajevo had an airport and good connections with the rest of the country. Sarajevo is the city located in Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the mountain Jahorina and it was earlier known as the place where the assassinate that caused World War I occurred. In 1978 Sarajevo competed with Goteborg (Sweden) and Sapporo (Japan) and won with just two votes more. Even though financial situation was not very good, this was considered as the great chance to present federation and to show that it is not in crisis. Beside boycotts in the 80s, this Olympic Games were held, the organization didn't fail and they were characterized as synergy of Yugoslavian unity and Olympic ideology (Grandits et al, 2010).

Another great event that took place during the period of federation was Universiade in Zagreb in 1987. Zagreb is capital city of Croatia and it was significant economical center in SFRJ. This Universiade was organized in the years when federation was struggling with inner conflicts and when economical and financial situation was very bad. Regardless the city situation, this event was also considered as one way to present Yugoslavia as one of the great countries and also to prove that there is no inner crisis. City of Zagreb didn't have developed infrastructure that was necessary for hosting this huge event, but in short period – less than one year of hard work, city was ready (Podnar, 2010). Zagreb had only two years for preparations and all the organizers took this event very seriously which resulted in very well planned and organized event.

After the civilian war and final collapse of the federation, 90s were marked with communist period of each Republic and because of huge destructions all the former Republics were facing very difficult financial situation. After 2000, radical changes in political structure came,

especially for Serbia, which changed from socialist to democratic country. Also in XXI century on referendum, Crna Gora separated from Serbia and became separate Republic. First huge event that Serbia hosted as a single Republic was Euro song contest in 2008 and Universiade in 2009. For this music contest there were no significant changes in city structure – no new buildings were built and there were no changes in the cityscape except that there were significant financial costs for its organization because organizers had only one year for preparations. On the other hand, Universiade was very important event in that period and new facilities and entire new settlement were built. Preparations started in 2005 but during the period of four years there were many obstacles and one of the biggest was the budget but also many participants were canceling their involvement so entire organization was threatened (Milovanović, 2009).

3. Main characteristics of mega events - case study Sarajevo, Zagreb, Belgrade

In order to better understand the entire structure of organization process and also to analyze mega events, the general overview, organization structure, financial structure, built facilities and promotion process are presented for each case in tables 1-3. After each table a brief overview of state in the city after mega event was described.

Figure 2 – Map of Olympic Games in 1984
http://www.jahorina.ba/skimape-sarajevo.jpg

Figure3 – Olympic village
http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/8028057.jpg

„Sports were supposed to be above political influences, so it was not hypocritical to accept capitalist money to support the Olympics"

(Findling, Pelle, 1996)

XIV WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES (OWG) SARAJEVO 8-19. February 1984.	
General Overview	In competition with Japan and Sweden, Sarajevo was declared to be host for OWG in 1978. Olympic had total 1,439 participants from 49 nations (12 more than on the last games) (Kováč,2012) Focus was on development of new mountain resorts, for supporting their winter sports and tourism tradition and building new development instrument within their economic structure (Fig. 2,3)
Organization	Organizing Committee, ahead of president of the Sarajevo City Assembly Anto Sučić and Secretary General Ahmed Karabegović. The Preliminary Committee had 70 members, two thirds of which were appointed by the City Assembly and one third were delegates of sports and other organizations of the Federation and the Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomies - entire Yugoslavia was involved.
Finances	Sales of TV rights, sponsorship agreements with Yugoslav and foreign companies, donations other marketing activities, ticket sales in Yugoslavia and abroad. The credits from the bank helped in covering the first stages of construction. Based on the voluntarily adopted agreement, every employed citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina, contributed with 0.2% of monthly salary, and the citizens of the boroughs of the city of Sarajevo, 0.3% from 1982 to the end of 1984. Also over 1,200,000 citizens from whole Yugoslavia were involved in donations.
Facilities	Facilities that were constructed were: sports complex with Olympic hall, speed skating stadium, reconstructed „Koševo" stadium, the newly constructed part of the „Skenderija" cultural sports center, the main and training course, ski lift and infrastructures on Jahorina, the bob and luge run with complex accompanying facilities and infrastructure on Trebevic, ski and other sports trails, ski lifts and infrastructure on Igman mountain, the main and training courses for downhill, slalom, and giant slalom on Bjelašnica mountain with a ski lift. Road network of 160 km was constructed. Beside the competition facilities special facilities were built, such as: RTV building and telecommunications, reconstruction of PTT building, National Theatre, railway station, airport runways and airport building, hotels and catering facilities etc. The construction work of these facilities started in summer 1979. In 1982. began the construction of „Mojmilo" Olympic Village for athletes accommodation with the capacity of 2200 beds, and „Dobrinja" Press Village for the press for 8500 people. (Organizing Committee of the XIV Olympic Winter Games Yugoslavia)

Table 1 – Sarajevo Olympic games overview /table by authors/

Figure 4 – Objects for Universiade map
http://jna-sfrj.forum-aktiv.com/t3490p50-xiv-ljetna-univerzijada-zagreb-1987

Figure 5 – Sports and recreational center Jarun in Zagrebin/1987
http://i64.tinypic.com/ip30xj.jpg
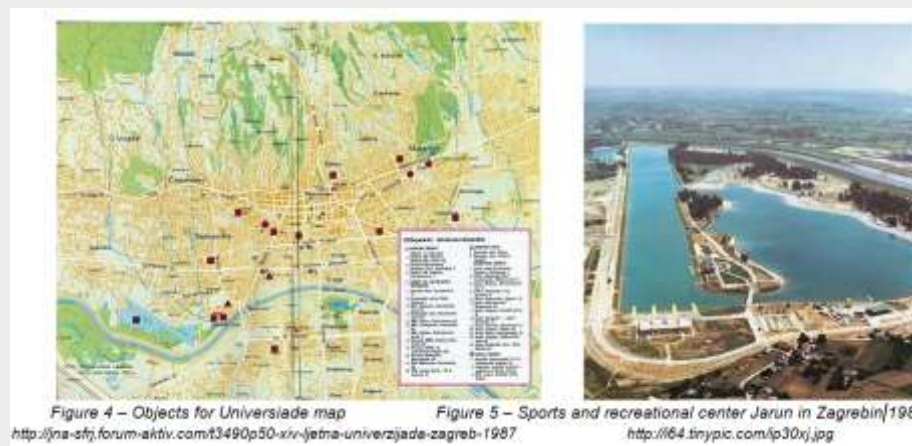
XIV UNIVERSIADE ZAGREB 8-19. July 1987.	
General Overview	In competition with New Delhi (India), Indianapolis (USA) and Brisbane (Australia), Zagreb was declared to be host for Summer student sports games – Universiade. Final decision for host was made in May 1984 because USA withdrew candidacy and Yugoslavia had more votes. Universiade had total 5,573 participants from 121 nations and that was greatest Univesiade by then. Focus was on development and construction of sport facilities because Zagreb did not have appropriate facilities and also this was a way to decentralize events and to organize events out of the capital (Fig 4,5)
Organization	City assembly established the Organizing Committee and for the president Josip Vrhovec was elected. Besides, the Executive Committee, there was also a Working Community of Universiade '87 with the function of the organization, coordination and implementation duties and tasks in all areas of activities and It was divided into sectors.
Finances	The Organizing Committee adopted Financial plan for Universiade organization, but unfortunately because of financial crisis and high rate of inflation this budget was not good. Inflation rate in period 1986-1987 changed for over 100% and that also changed prices not only for groceries, but also for all things and materials that were necessary for this event. First budget was calculated at 23,7 million Yugoslavian dinars but few months before event took place this budget was changed on 97,1 million dinars. Thanks to the main Financial organizer Josip Vrhovec, Universiade was financially positive and its organization did not crawled into debts. (Zekić, 2007)
Facilities	Facilities that were constructed were: Sport and recreational center Jarun, swimming and water polo center Mladost with athletic battlefield and Olympic swimming pool, Recreational Sports Center Šalata, Dinamo Stadium, Dražen Petrović hall, Sport center Zagreb, construction and renovation of school sport halls and building of 7 new school sports halls, accommodation and facilities for participants and other outdoor sports facilities. For Universiade '87 in Zagreb were also constructed new bus station, new entrance to the Zagreb Fair, gallery Gradec in the Upper Town, new hotels, Bana Jelačića Square… (Nadilo, 2014)

Table 2 – Zagreb Universiade overview /table by authors/

XXV UNIVERSIADE BELGRADE 1-12. July 2009.	
General Overview	In competition with Monterrey (Mexico) and Poznan (Poland), Belgrade was declared to be host for Summer student sports games – Universiade. Final decision for host was made in January 2005. In the beginning it was planned that Universiade host about 13,000 participants but at the end, because of lack of financial resources, Universiade had between 8,500 – 9,000 participants from over 128 different. During organization process it was considered for greatest project for renovating existing and constructing new facilities but at the end there were no new sport facilities.
Organization	As main organizers were Ministry for youth and sport and Organizing committee for Universiade whose president was Božidar Đelić former minister for finances. Beside official organizers, over 10,000 volunteers from all over the world helped in planning and organizing. Sport events were held not only in Belgrade but also in few cities around Belgrade so participants had to travel daily.
Finances	According reports of Ministry of finance, in this Universiade was invested about 75 million eur. Which is four times less than last host and ten times less than new host is planning for investments. State financed this event with 2/3 of total amount, city of Belgrade 25% and Vojvodina 10%. Most of the money was invested in Belville - University village where great number of dwellings and commercial space was built (Fig 6,7).
Facilities	Facilities that were constructed were within Belville settlement which was considered as greatest construction site in southern Europe. In the phase of using Blok 67 for the needs of Universiade 170,000 m2 of gross construction land was provided Between other matters, the traffic problem had to be considered especially concerning infrastructure within the city. New planned settlement Belville did not have good connections with the rest of the city and sport facilities so there was special motor and pedestrian traffic plan (Tašić, 2010). About 40 objects were renovated and one of the halls in Smederevo was adapted.

Table 3 – Belgrade Universiade overview /table by authors/

Figure 6 – Master plan for Universiade village Belville
http://www.belville.rs/sites/default/files/jednosoban-1.png
http://www.belville.rs/sites/default/files/styles/revolution_slider_full/public/slide5.jpg?itok=qgpplhLd

3.1. Day after tomorrow – state of events legacy

As Olympic Games were meant to bring people together, commemorating the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo has a large potential to connect the divided town of Sarajevo, since both sides identify with the event, and share the same traumatic experience of the 1992-1995 war, as well as the same social, economic and political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war had a big effect on the heritage of the Olympics and the site itself. Mountains Igman, Bjelašnica and Trebević were affected by combat, and mountain Jahorina was separated from the town of Sarajevo because it got under the control of the Army of Republika Srpska. (Moll, 2014). The Zetra arena suffered serious damage, but after the war it was shown that the foundations of the building were secure. So in 1997, with the donation of $US 11.5 million from International Olympic Committee, began the reconstruction of the arena which ended in 1999. The Olympic Museum, which location was in center of Sarajevo in prominent villa, was hit by grenades which caused severe damages to the building. But, big part of the collection was saved and later moved to Zetra Olympic Complex where the new Olympic Museum was opened on the 20th anniversary of the Sarajevo Winter Olympics. Now, the big part of

Olympic site still lies in ruins, abandoned, overgrown and covered in graffiti (Fig 8,9). The venue was frequently used by the forces for performing various operations. The city has "packaged the sieges as memorial and dark conflict sites that fall within the scope of dark tourism" (Dobscha, 2016). Artist Damir Nikšić, known for his satirical take on Bosnian life said: "In all these years since the Olympics, we haven't managed to host any relevant competition, cup or championship in any winter sport on any of the Olympic Mountains around Sarajevo. That shows we're incapable of setting ourselves long-term goals and working diligently to achieve them. The 1984 Winter Olympics were very successful only because they were short-term." (Huterer, 2014).

Figure 8 – Hotel Igman now and in 1984
https://s15.postimg.org/g7r3h2q2z/ZOI_Sarajevo_1984_-_16.jpg

Figure 9 –Bobsleigh track today
http://typical.if.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/1_1.jpg

After the Universiade, Zagreb was facing huge financial and economic crisis and in the 90s civilian war made life conditions very bad. In the end of the XX century Zagreb started to develop but still existing sport facilities were just renovated and there were no new built objects. All the halls and sport complexes are opened even today and some of them are not even adapted after Universiade (Fig 10,11). Zagreb has experienced boom thanks to the Universiade constructions and significant financial

resources were invested in city's infrastructure. Zagreb Universiade was the greatest by then and city was presented in a good manner and also unity of Yugoslavia was promoted. In 2016 Zagreb again hosted Universiade together with city of Rijeka, but this time the entire new village for participants was built. Games took place in sport facilities from 1987 and for this event only a pedestrian bridge and bike lines were built regarding sport infrastructure (Office for Strategic Planning and Development of the City Zagreb, 2013).

Figure 10 – Sports and recreational center Jarun in Zagreb today
http://www.najboljeuhrvatskoj.info/universalis/1823/slika/jarun2_391898389.jpg

Figure 11 – Dražen Petrović Basketball hall today
https://c1.staticflickr.com/3/2373/5717174214_32f6f4b574_b.jpg

Regarding Belgrade Universiade, today Belville is private owned mixed use complex and almost all the dwellings are sold (Fig 12,13). Plot next to it is displaced and it gives opportunities for future investments. Student dormitories were not renovated and none of the student facilities was fixed. City invested money according its possibilities, but only Belville construction was more than 210 milllions which is three times more than total cost of Universiade organization. On the other hand event was the chance for Serbia to prove itself as stable and developed country even after very vibrant political events in the past, because it was on the way of entering European Union. Serbia hosted participants from 170 different

worldwide countries and according to data there were more than 8,500 participants and volunteers.

Figure 12 – Belville complex today
https://www.kancelarijainfo.rs/media/cache/default_full/default/0001/13/12775_default_full.jpg
http://img.halooglasi.com/slike/oglasi/Thumbs/150506/Mokal-u-naselju-belville-3793249-6016919.jpg
Figure 13 – Belville mixed use

4. Discussion

In most cases, major international events have become a catalyst for qualitative changes in many sectors of the economy and social life. Hosting „mega" event in some developing countries stimulates the development of consumer activity, in others - contributed to the growth of employment, in the third - improved quality of transport infrastructure (Absalyamov, 2015). Event toursim represents sort of phenomen which is only considered as huge money income and its social and environmental effects are not considered. Huge events are great energy consumers and also air and soil pollutants, so it is obligatory that within planning strategies, environmental protection is taken into account (Getz, 2008). Nowadays it is very tense competition between states and cities for hosting different events especially "mega events". Special interest is for games and tournament events because they are followed by great number of visitors and they attract huge media attention and at the same time huge investments (Borchers, 2011). It is difficult to exactly define mega event and to make a classification of different events according to their size because different terms can be used in different countries. For some countries some events are classified as mega events not only by their extent, influence that they had on the city and economy defined scale of event (Müller, 2015). According to Bramwell (1997), for successful mega event planning strategic scheme that should be respected is: too limited use of formal strategic planning may hinder decision-making; research and monitoring are needed before and after a mega event; more strategic approach to the Games investment has evolved retrospectively; a mega event should be integrated with broad development planning; mega events require participatory planning processes & Importance of a long-term perspective on mega events. In the planning process, the main goal is to develop sites and cityscape, to use real possibilities and to implement theoretical knowledge in existing situation. Political approach has different point of view, sometimes it can be very critical to planners and it depends on higher interests of one country. So there is important influence of contextual societal change, urban leadership, and non-theoretical, non-rational planning and event production (Roche, 1994).

Examples that were mentioned above were held on Balkans, which has very specific socio-demographic structure. In global terms, these events are maybe not the greatest in the world, but for Yugoslavia, and after Serbia, they were more than mega events. Becoming a part of world Olympic map was a milestone for nation and, as governments have seen it, a way for people to unite in order to reduce inner conflicts. Promotion of the country and the cities that were hosts was something that Yugoslavia hardly needed in order to prove that beside the inner situation and the death of the president Tito it still was a powerful federation. For all the events, competition was hard and the other candidates offered much better proposals – plans for organization but anyway committees decided in favor of Yugoslavia. In that period, sports facilities were lack in

almost all the cities but these events were great chance to reshape entire cities.

Olympic Games were not only important in terms of politics and economy, they were milestone in tourism development because it was the first time that the city hosted that large number of people and showed its heritage both cultural and natural, and after this event it became important touristic center. Olympic urbanism model of the medium-size city, city of Sarajevo, that was implemented in the Winter Games of 1984, indicates that Olympic urbanism harmonized needs of the event and host territory within a multi-location spatial pattern (Kováč, 2012). Its natural resources, cultural heritage and very complex multi ethnic social structure helped city to improve its touristic offer and thanks to the enormous investments for Olympic Games, city received needed infrastructure which is used even today. This event was something that made Sarajevo very famous city but also the event that "drained" all financial resources and after which the city was hit by giant economic crisis which had more than one decade consequences (Donia, 2006). Sarajevo and its surrounding faced great "makeover" in the period of preparations for Olympic Games. City was presented in the best light and totally justified its role as Olympic Games host and also ideas of unity and communism that were main objectives of federation. Entire event was showing Sarajevo as a great winter ski center with rich natural and cultural heritage and also as a city with very heterogeneous demographic structure.

The idea of Zagreb hosting this event, was political because this way the idea of decentralization was shown, and beside Belgrade, which was capital city than, another city received the investments. Declaring Zagreb for host for this very important event was a way to calm tensions and to redirect finances to another Republic beside Serbia (Štulhofer, 1995). The program for Universiade started in 1984 and lasted until February 1988. This program consisted of the construction and adaptation on twenty locations and co-financing the construction of the infrastructure required for those locations, co-financing the construction and adaptation of buildings in seven locations, and the continuation of co-financing necessary adaptation of ten outdoor sports fields. This contributed to the improving the situation in the urban area and to the increasing the total urban standards in the city. According to the available financial resources, city has financed and co-financed the construction and renovation of many cultural facilities, children care, education, health, social protection and more (Zavod za prostorno uređenje Grada Zagreba, 2014). In the 1980s culture was considered an indispensable part of every sport event and so the exhibition space contemporary sculpture became an integral part of the Universiade program. (Sopina et al, 2011).

Belgrade Universiade was organized in the period 2005-2009. And still organization was not on the satisfactory level. Budget for construction was decreasing during years and from the very ambition plan to build new sport facilities, only construction of University village over private – public partnership was done. Political and economic situation in the country was very bad and Universiade, even great opportunity for self-promotion, was not priority for city plans. Lack of finances made hosts to reduce number of participants for more than 5,000 which in the beginning was not good move. Unlike other cities, Belgrade didn't use the opportunity to reshape the city and to revitalize its infrastructure. Universiade event created conditions and provided new profitable capitalist investment - the partnership between the city and company Blok 67 Associates Ltd.

Established for that occasion. This company built new business-residential complex for temporary accommodation for participants during Universiade which was intended for sale after the end of the event. Blok 67 is located near former informal cardboard settlement. Constructing this new complex endangered both existing settlement because it blocked all accesses to it but also it endangered luxury retail space. Because of that, in few occasions police forced people to move out of their homes and in 2012 finally these people where moved to another city part and left empty plot for new investments. In order to hide these "poor and seedy settlements, entire Belville was surrounded with tall fence on which were commercials for Universiade" (Vilenica et al, 2012).

For all the examples it is common that the main goal of hosting is self-promotion and huge opportunity for infrastructure development. In case of Sarajevo and Zagreb, highlight was on ideology of unity and power of federation and also opening to the world because communist countries were very closed for media. In case of Belgrade, hosting this kind of event offered global exposure, prestige and legitimacy for country which was on "waiting list" for EU. In the case of Belgrade, it is obvious that city had no profit and even University village was in way of private ownership and after Universiade this "legacy" was sold. Opposite of that, legacy of Olympics and Zagreb Universiade are still in public ownership and residents are proud of those facilities. In Zagreb, new sport facilities were built after 2000, and on mountains around Sarajevo ski infrastructure is still the same as from 1984. Because of huge economic crisis and civilian war, buildings that are legacy of Olympics in Sarajevo are abandoned and they are in public ownership but city lacks finances for their renovating. In period of federation, main word had politics and main members of organizing committees were from communist parties. This way the

governing party controls entire process and that self-promotion of the party also becomes one of the main goals. In case of Belgrade, situation was little different because that was the period of democratic political structure and in organizing structure were people with different political orientation. Besides positive impact it also had negative sides because organizers were often fighting over budget and finances and for every failure someone was accused with an affair of money fraud.

In case of all mentioned events, one of the goals was also tourism development. Before Olympic Games in Sarajevo, this area was declared as area with huge tourism potential for winter sports and also for culture tourism. When hosting Olympics, Sarajevo showed its best sides and many mountains – Jahorina, Igman, Bjelašnica became famous ski centers which were fully equipped. Missing infrastructure was constructed in that period and they became available and connected with Sarajevo – biggest city in surrounding. Rich cultural, religious and historical heritage of city was also presented to tourists. When Zagreb was hosting Universiade, in city was only one sport hall. Thanks to huge investments and ambitious plan, city became one of sport centers in former Yugoslavia. Natural and historical heritage helped city tourism improvement and mega event was opportunity for visitors to enjoy rich offer. During Belgrade Universiade, even though there were not huge investments in new buildings, existing heritage sites and touristic destinations were highly promoted which had huge influence on visitors. Entire organization of mega events is followed by process of urban regeneration of city scape and also of revitalization of existing sites and facilities that were not in good condition. In both Sarajevo and Zagreb, besides constructing new buildings, all existing facilities that were planned for use during events were renovated and city public spaces, parks and pedestrian zones were redesigned. In Zagreb

most of the residents as greatest impact of Universiade consider redesign of Bana Jelačića square and pedestrian zone because it presented huge makeover of ruined public space. Also, peripheral areas – located on city outskirts that were potential areas for recreational complexes were regenerated and equipped and the missing infrastructure was built. In Belgrade, mixed use complex was built and entire city neighborhood was regenerated for purpose of the games. In addition, entire traffic and accompanying infrastructure system was regenerated and good connection with rest of the city were established.

5. Concluding remarks

Summarizing results from comparative analyses, it is obvious that all the events have some specific characteristics even though they were within one huge Federation. Analyzed cities faced huge challenges for development and often these challenges were beyond their possibilities. Specific and very heterogenous socio – demographic structure showed many disparities in way of planning and thinking about urban space. Mega events are also seen as possibility for unemployment reduction because organizing and hosting these events needs new workplaces. Even these jobs are temoprary, they can have positive impact on people behavior and general mood of the nation and organizers can receive greater approval. Regarding legacy of mega events, it is clear that it has huge possibilities for contribution to sustainable development of the city in terms of tourism and cultural development. On the other side, this legacy in some cases has negative impact on social and environmental development because many sites are abandoned and they present problem for cities that are not having remarkable budget. Legacy of these events can be used for national branding in order to promote cultural and tourism development and also to maintain memory of past times. The facilities

and infrastructure that were built for purpoces of events, represent maybe the greatest legacy because it is not often that a city receives huge amount of investments. Zagreb and Sarajevo have great legacy from their events in opposite of Belgrade that has no legacy because Belville is private complex. On the other hand, legacy in Zagreb is very good used and city has profited from Universiade while Sarajevo has great legacy but Olympics just led to financial crisis and socio-demographic conflicts. This way it is obvious that legacy doesnot have positive effects in all cases. Cities were regenerated, tourism was developed, city heritage bot built and natural was promoted but still long term effects are not the same.

Based on above mentioned facts, it could be concluded that mega events are complex happenings in terms of organization and different influences. In order to successfully organize them, all the aspects must be considered – economic, socio-demographic, environmental, financial... Mega events planning process must be observed as a synergy of various areas especially economy, culture, tourism, urban regeneration and heritage promotion. All these areas are very close and there is unbreakable connection between them – one follows the other and together they help organizing mega events that have positive impacts on all spheres of city development. Urban development on the first place is achieved and city became part of worlwide map of cities hosts which opens new opportunities for large scale urban projects and interventions. Spatial and functional structure of the city changes and it can offer more services and activities for tourists which helps tourism improvement.

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V. LONDON 2012 – AN INCLUSIVE PLANNING REVOLUTION?

BY HARRY BURCHILL

London 2012 – An Inclusive Planning revolution?

by Harry Burchill

1. Introduction

This paper takes a focused look at the London 2012 Olympics from an inclusive planning perspective. It suggests that inclusivity has evolved from the incremental recognition of sustainable urban development in the Olympic bidding process. It looks at how an inclusive design strategy was used to plan the park and its surroundings in a way that considered inclusivity throughout the project, not just as a set of (sometimes costly) minimum standards to comply with at the end. It goes further, looking at inclusivity from a wider social perspective, finding that levels of deprivation and social exclusion have improved, but that issues of community alienation and displacement have not been entirely eradicated. From an economic competitiveness perspective, it highlights a statistical analysis to show how economically active disabled people as a proportion of the population in the host boroughs has increased, and how employability and access has improved more so than the rest of London. This has been attributed to the infrastructure put in place as part of the legacy of the 2012 games.

 It concludes that whilst the 2012 games have not sparked an inclusive planning revolution, the legacy has provided a strong platform to build on and set good examples for planners and other decision makers to aspire to.

2. Context

In 2003 London put forward a bid to host the London 2012 Olympic Games in Stratford, East London. Plans to regenerate East London were already in place at the time of the bid but the national government enthusiasm for hosting an Olympic games brought with it an opportunity to bring plans forward. The link between the regeneration of East London and the games was not understated and in such a close run competition between bidders, many have cited the emphasis on legacy as the reason London won the bid.

3. Event

3.0.1 London 2012 was the largest sporting event ever to be held in the United Kingdom. The London Paralympic Games were the largest Paralympic Games ever with 4,302 athletes from 164 National Paralympic Committees. 14 Countries appeared for the first time. There were 503 events in 20 sports and it was the first time since a suspension in 2000, that events for the intellectually disabled were also held in selected sports.

The lead up to the games emphasised the return of the Paralympic movement to its spiritual birthplace; in 1948 the British village of Stoke Mandeville first hosted the Stoke Mandeville Games, an athletics event for disabled British veterans of the second World War.

The 2012 Paralympic games were arguably the first to achieve mass-market appeal, fueled by the success of the Olympics, awareness of the United Kingdom's role in the history of the Paralympics a major marketing campaign and growing media coverage of Paralympic sport. It broke records of ticket sales, heightening the profile of the Paralympics in relation to the Olympics.

To enable delivery of the Olympic and Paralympic games, the Government passed the London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Act 2006. This allowed for the setting up of the London Organising Committee of the Paralympic Games (LOCOG), incharge of funding and staging the Games, and the establishment of the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) (Norris et al.

2013) with responsibility for planning and delivering the Olympic Park. The ODA took on planning powers in an area administered by 4 local planning authorities. This would, in theory, overcome local political barriers and provide a strong base from which to build and see the project through to its conclusion, including any planning strategy put in place. As part of the commitment to legacy, the Olympic Delivery Agency was to continue its powers after the Olympic Games had concluded, in the form of the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC).

The ODA was also responsible for acquiring land, achieving stakeholder buy-in, relocating businesses and residences and tailor the legacy plans in line with the concept of convergence; that is creating wealth and reducing poverty, supporting healthier lifestyles and developing successful neighbourhood (LLDC 2013).

The public sector funding package was £9.3 billion, increased from £4.1billion assumption when bidding. The figure cited to the public was £2.3bn (Norris et al. 2013). The justification was that there would be an overall saving to the public purse of £1 billion. CLM, the private partner for the Olympic's was estimated to have made £400 million but in fact made £650million (Hurst 2012).
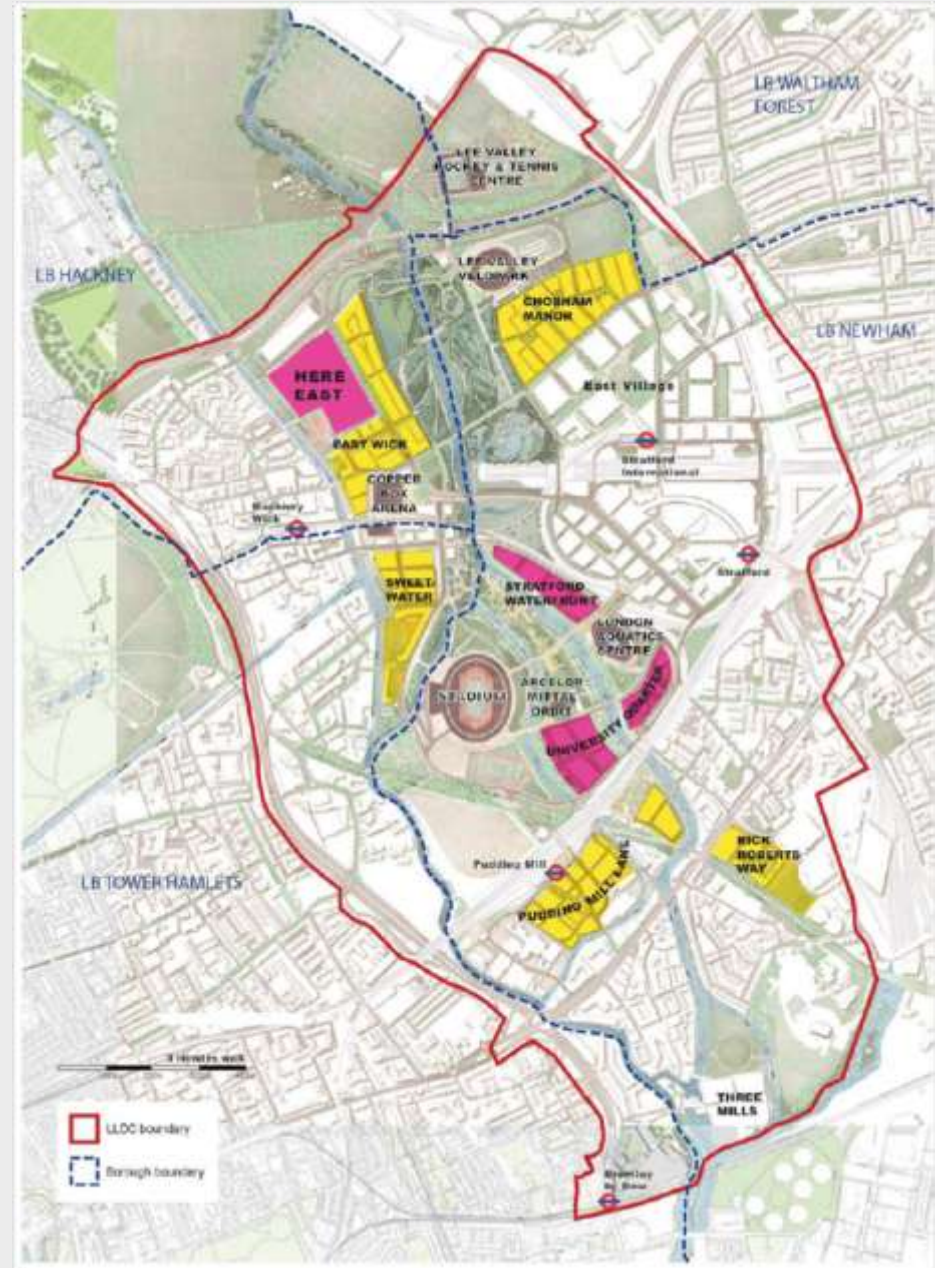
(SOURCE: London Legacy Development Corporation Master Plan)

4. Analysis

This paper analyses the 2012 Olympic events and legacy from the perspective of Inclusive Planning. This is because what made the London Games unique amongst others was the scale of the Paralympics and the celebration in policy and governance circles of how inclusive the games were and the knock on effect this had on the built environment. It is considered that looking at the games from this perspective cuts across the following themes identified at the ECTP Biennial;

Values, Identity & Image
Urbanity
Social Cohesion
Economic Competitiveness

4.1 Growing Link between values, Identity and Image of the Olympics and Town Planning

The IOC first recognised the necessity for a host city selection process for the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne. Since then, host city agreements and the bidding process have been incrementally modified to ensure successful games and as Wiltschko has observed, have increasingly concerned themselves with sustainable urban development. One particular reason for IOC's increasing concern with this issue is because of the damaging impact global media coverage of negative assessments of the games can have on the value and image of the Olympics and the IOC. For example, the Beijing Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (BOCOG) was labeled one of three Housing Rights Violaters of 2007 for the eviction and displacement of over 1.25 million people by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE 2008). Conversely, the positive development and place-making image that places like Barcelona 1992 have galvanized for the games is recognised as contributing to the value of the product "Olympic Games".

The link between Olympic branding and place making was arguably at one of its strongest points in the London 2005 bid. Linked to place-making and social outcomes, the mass-marketing of the Paralympic Games pushed the values of inclusivity into the public imagination, with a powerful strap-line that ran throughout the campaign, that the games would be the "most accessible games" ever. From the IOC's perspective, this focus on inclusivity was of significant value to the Olympic brand. The growth of the consciousness of inclusivity arguably laid the foundations for inclusive design to be embedded in the delivery strategy for the 2012 games, including planning policies.

What is Inclusive Planning?

According to the London 2012 inclusive design strategy:
"Inclusive Design is a process that aims to remove philosophical, attitudinal and procedural barriers in how people think and the way they design, build and manage the environment, building and transport. When something is inclusive, everyone can use it equally, confidently and independently, regardless of age, disability, gender or faith"

Whilst the London 2012 Olympics cannot claim credit for inventing the concept of inclusive design, it can be credit with raising its profile in design decisions. As the Royal Town Planning Institute later signed up to the UK Construction Industry Council's Inclusive Design Action Plan, it suggested that in planning, the concept of inclusive design can be expanded such that the issue of inclusivity should be looked at spatially and socially.

4.2 Urbanity – physical interventions in and around the Olympic Park

The inclusive design strategy was a document intended to inform the design of the Olympic Park and all development decisions within the responsibility of the ODA post-games. It arguably had a strong influence on the urban design of the park and has continued its influence post-games development. A key aim of the strategy was to embed inclusivity from the beginning of the design process so that inclusive measures such as disability access were not simply an afterthought, when they become too costly or impractical to implement.

The significance of this strategy in the UK context is that whilst most national and local planning policies have a general commitment to ensure development takes into consideration the needs of disabled, older people, children and other less abled people, these policies been criticized for being weak and having little influence over development decisions. The more stringent requirements for disability access is enshrined in legislation, but the legislative approached has also been criticized for encouraging compliance with minimum standards only (House of Lords 2016 p.57).

The use of a strategy would have the effect of focusing minds on inclusive design and could arguably reduce costs by "designing in" inclusivity rather than having to retrofit it. That said, the strategy acknowledged it would be a challenge to achieve its inclusive design aims as well as all London 2012 priority themes and that it would have to work hard to achieve the right balance between investment in physical features and operational and management measures, whilst meeting inclusive design measures:

"the optimum balance will vary for each ODA project and decisions are likely to be weighed against the longevity of investment and short-term value for money….the ODA will challenge its design teams and the planning, building regulation and licensing authorities to explore innovative solutions to overcome physical, operational and procedural obstacles" (LLDC 2013)

These encouraging and ambitious commitments in the strategy, to an extent, represent an embodiment of the inclusive place-making values expressed in the winning bid and recognized by the IOC. Through the strategy, the following was achieved:

Physical interventions as a result of the strategy

The agreed post-games use of the Olympic site was not unique; with its location on the Lea Valley River it would be an ideal setting for a new public park. Research has found that there are very positive outcomes associated with public space and the wellbeing of older people and dementia (RTPI, 2017). Therefore, the decision that the Olympic park should continue as an accessible park is a good indicator of the link between the impact of the Olympics on urbanity and its ability to improve the inclusiveness of place. Aside from the use, there were more specific inclusive design indicators:

Topography

It is generally accepted that good inclusive design should not be visible or obvious. Inclusivity should seem a natural part of the public realm. A good example of this within the park was achieved, in that, despite the uneven landscaping of the original site, the Inclusive Design Strategy ensured that nowhere within the park or the surrounding area would there be inaccessible gradients. The maximum gradient allowed was approximately 1:60. This principle carried through from the 2012 Games to the post-Games design of the parklands and the public realm.

The plans for the park also addressed

•   Transport and parking
•   Concourse and public realm
•   Way finding and signage
•   Entrances
•   Street Furniture
•   Sanitary provision
•   Information points
•   Spectator services
•   Emergency egress and emergency services
•   Regular resting places

The design was also sensitive to the needs of faith groups, allowing areas for prayer and indicating clear on maps, the direction of Mecca.

New Housing and Inter-generational homes

Part of the legacy plan included proposals for a new community of five new neighborhoods of approx. 11,000 homes one which is known as the East Village. Compliance with the Inclusive Design strategy and consultation with a Built Environment Access Panel was a pre-requisite to the design competition for the development, and reportedly "pushed" the architects to think innovatively about how to make the homes truly inclusive. 10% of the homes were required to be wheelchair accessible. This is a good example of how the Inclusive Design Strategy, as part of the Olympics, has impacted on the inclusivity, and how the design of the housing impacts on the Urban form.

(Source:LLDC)

One outcome of this design process was the introduction of the 'inter-generational' home, designed for large extended families. Each home includes an accessible annex living space ideal for a family with a disabled adult to provide independent living space.

Inclusive improvements to the wider City
As well as the tangible policies, the public discourse around the philosophy of inclusivity and its connection with the Olympic games spilled over into wider linked policy decision in London. The Greater London Authority (GLA) claimed that since 2005 bid it had committed to making London as accessible as possible, promising that:

•   All buses (8500) and 22000 licensed taxis would be wheelchair accessible
•   66 London Underground stations (1/4) would be step free
•   Dockland's Light Railway would be fully accessible
•   London Overground would be fully accessible

• Transport For London would make improvements to its audio and visual info
• There would be a £4m revamp of London's Southbank
• Leicester Square and Oxford Circus would be improved
• There would be improvements to a 4km stretch of street between Westminster and Tower bridge - relaying of cobble stones.
• A lift on tower bridge (Like lift at Acropolis and Great Wall of China)

Ongoing use of strategy

The Inclusive Design Strategy and practice associated with it still forms part of the planning policy and guidance informing local development decisions today. This enables local authorities to talk to developers about inclusivity at an early stage in the design process but also allows more leverage when it comes to securing improvements.

4.3 Social Cohesion

It is clear that the Inclusive Design Strategy has had a significant impact in creating an accessible physical environment, not least in terms of its use as a fully accessible park but also in the designing of streets and homes in areas taken over by the LLDC. It has also had a significant impact on political and professional discourse about how to design for disability. However, it would be remiss not to expand our analysis to look at the strategy's role in delivering socially inclusive outcomes, particularly as convergence, was a key stated outcome of the Olympic Legacy.

Measuring social cohesion is not straightforward. Conclusions will vary depending on the method of analysis used, at what scale and over what time period. It is also challenging to separate causes of changes attributed to the Games from external factors. However, a report by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) has been commissioned to conduct an Olympic Games Impact (OGI) assessment. This study conducted a statistical analysis using 67 indicators. The statistical analysis used Office of National Statistics (ONS) data and various social science research methods to build a picture of environmental, social and economic factors. Of particular relevance to our question is the comparison of "index of multiple deprivation ranking" between the host boroughs of the Olympics and the rest of London. The index of multiple deprivation is a statistical tool created by the UK government ranking indicators such as income, employment, health and disability, education, skills and training, barriers to Housing Services, living environment and crime in small geographic areas called "super output areas".

(Source ESRC 2015)
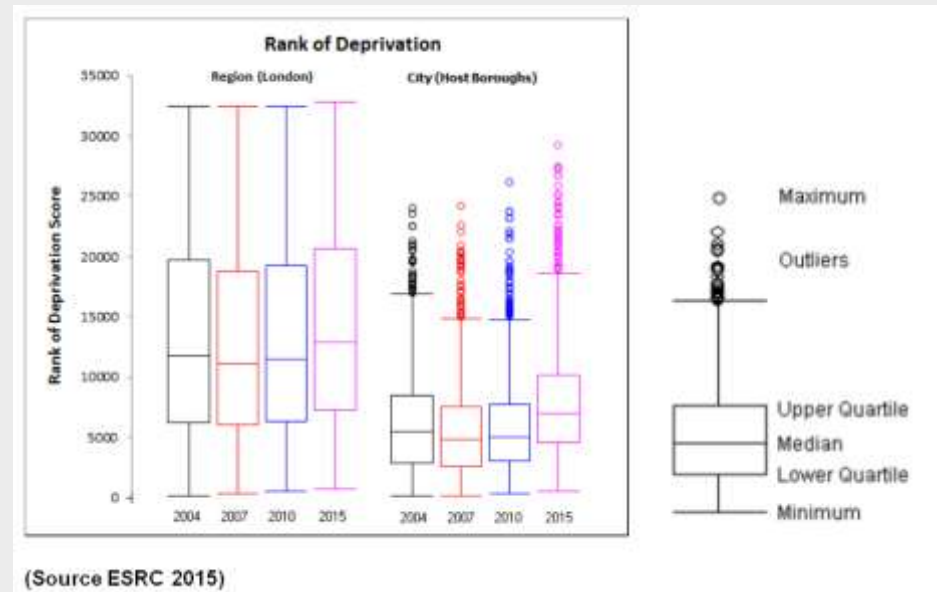
This box plot shows a comparison between London as a region and the Olympic host boroughs and how their deprivation ranking (1 being most deprived and 32,838 being least) has improved over 10 years. Comparing the

pink and blue boxes we can make out an improvement in the "medium rank" of the host boroughs, which underwent a sharp rise in 2015 when compared to the rest of London . The ESCRC report describes these as important markers in evaluating the transformation of East London as part of the legacy of the London 2012 games and concludes that overall poverty and social exclusion rates have reduced in part due to the legacy of the London 2012 (ESRC 2015).

The overall picture of the legacy of the games is that poverty and social exclusion have statistically improved as a direct result. However, to paint a more accurate picture it is necessary to look at other factors that may have contributed to this improvement. For example, how much of the improvement in deprivation is to do with middle-income residents moving into the area? It has been reported that whilst half the buyers of East Village live within a London postcode and within that number, half were from east London (White, A. 2015), it is not clear how many residents within East London are from the most deprived communities identified as being targeted to benefit from regeneration.

There has been criticism of the new housing in that there has been a gradual scaling back of the 50% 'affordable housing' target originally planned across the site. Whilst approx. 25% of the housing has been retained for social rent, 25% of the "intermediate" housing required potential buyers to achieve double the median income of the average family in Newham (Bernstock, P 2016). Targets for affordable housing have been revised down from 35-40% in 2010 to a minimum of 20% and maximum 35% in 2011 and a maximum of 31% in 2013 (Bernstock, P 2016). The importance of these findings are that housing generated through Olympic events are not immune from wider market activity. These affordable housing thresholds are not broadly dissimilar to the rest of the City.

London 2012 has not been entirely immune from criticisms associated with displacement of communities either. One of the most high-profile examples of this is the Carpenters Estate, to the south of the Olympic site, which 3000 new homes are planned and is close to new cultural and education district to the south of the site. Some commentators have concluded that displacement is taking place directly and indirectly as the local area changes so that existing residents no longer feel it is "their place" (Watt 2013 p.114).


(SOURCE: Google Maps – site of Carpenters Estate)

4.4 Economic competitiveness

Studies have shown that poor inclusive design has a detrimental impact on local and national economies (DWP 2014). The Olympic Park legacy commitments included a requirement that disabled people should be able to freely access services, jobs, homes and community activities. Again, using the

Index of multiple deprivation (described above), the ESRC report on the impact of the games included an assessment of georgraphical barriers for disabled people (below). It found that the host boroughs scored better (i.e lower) than the rest of London, and attributed this high performance to disability infrastructure that was put in place as a result of the games.
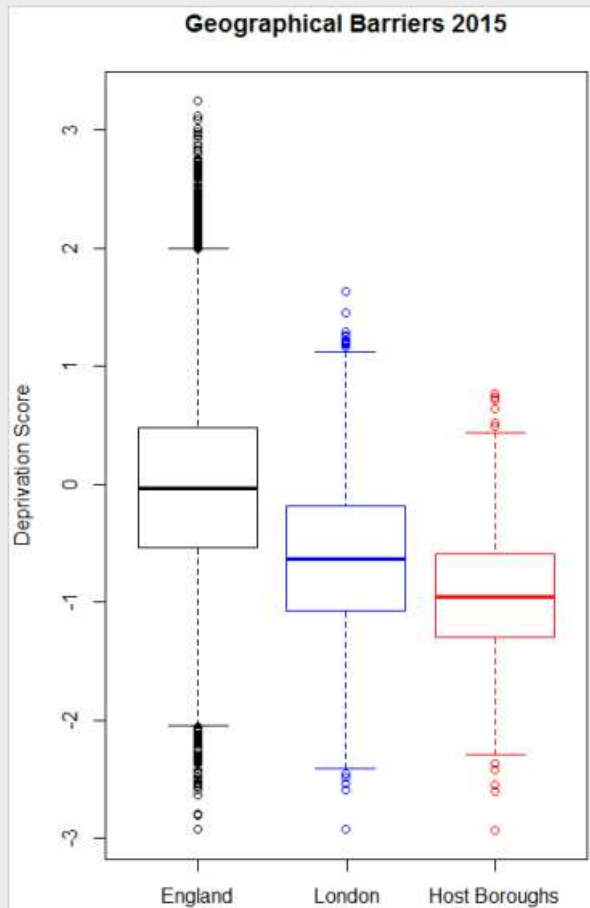
(Source: ESRC 2015)

It is less clear whether jobs provided as a direct result of the games have benefitted disabled people. However, in examining statistics on economic activity amongst disabled people, the ESRC report concluded that economically active disabled people, as a proportion of all disabled people, has risen "markedly" in the host boroughs up to 2015 (ESRC p5). It also made observations about indirect improvements in the employability of disabled people in London and in the host Olympic boroughs may arise from the investment in accessibility that is on-going in the city's transport provision.

5. Conclusion
Contribution to national level discussion on inclusivity

The Olympic Legacy has directly and indirectly been used to influence planning and discourse around the built environment in the United Kingdom. At a political level, the lessons learned from the Inclusive Design Strategy led the UK government to set up the Built Environment Professional Education Group (BEPE), made up of senior industry leaders whose aim is to improve inclusive design education among built environment professionals. The Construction Industry Council, comprising the professional built environment institutes agreed to an Inclusive Design Action Plan, with similar aims. In 2016 the Parliamentary Women and Select Committee launched an inquiry into the state of disability and the built environment, concluding that more needs to be done to improve the built environment for disabled people, but recognizing the Olympic park as a benchmark for which we should strive for.

The link between sustainable urban development and the Olympics has grown significantly over the years, particularly as the IOC have recognised the impact that negative media coverage can have on the image and values of the Olympics. Plans to regenerate of East London and the Lower Lea Valley

were in place regardless of the outcome of the successful Olympic bid. However, as the IOC concluded, the Olympics accelerated the process and ensured that sport would be the major focus of the project (IOC, 2005 p.64).

From being an important local planning project to a sporting event of national importance, this increased the incentive for national government to establish a development corporation to ensure that the regeneration aspirations of the area were realised. Whilst such models are not without their criticisms, a clear success as a result was for a comprehensive strategy of inclusive design, to run throughout the project and continue post games in all planning and development decisions.

Whilst inclusive planning was not born at the Olympic Games, the association with the wider accessibility agenda as part of the Olympic bid process vastly raised its profile and made it more of a consideration for those delivering than they otherwise would be. The physical features of the park are self evident, and public opinion in this sense seems to have supported the games as an overall success. The emphasis on the inclusive design strategy as a philosophy rather than set of minimum standards was an innovative way of framing planning discussions.

This report has also attempted to expand its analysis of the inclusive design success of London 2012 to look at social and economic exclusion too. Statistically, deprivation and social exclusion has improved in the host boroughs. This analysis does not take into account issues of displacement for existing communities. The examples of East Village and scaling back of affordable housing are examples of where the aspirations of LOCOG have not been realised as originally perceived in that, whilst there have been some exemplary inclusive designs for new housing, the prices of these houses and

scaling back of affordable housing is, to an extent, exclusionary. It is, however, equally important to acknowledge that this phenomenon is not intrinsic to Olympic-inspired regeneration but also to do with the overall housing pressures across London and the UK. There have been a number of qualitative studies and surveys of residents in certain high-profile areas around the park, such as the Carpenters Estate, which point towards feelings of exclusion amongst existing residents. It is therefore considered that the London 2012 Olympic project was limited in its ability to achieve urban renewal without the consequences of inflated property values. However, with these particular places, it should be acknowledged that urban renewal had always been the intention before the Olympic bid. The support of the Olympic project for the regeneration of East London arguably brought with it better standards and faster delivery than would otherwise have been the case. This conclusion is further strengthened when looking from an economic competitition perspective, in that there has been an improvement for people with disabilities in terms of access to services and employment, moreso than the rest of London.

The legacy of inclusive planning in the Olympics is having an ongoing effect in national policy making for the Built Environment and Built Environment Education nationally. This has been demonstrated by the setting up of the Built Environment Professional Education (BEPE) group by central Government, and a recent in depth inquiry by the Women and Equalities select committee into disability and the built environment, described above.

It is hard to say if the Inclusive Design Strategy would have carried as much weight or been in the shape it was had the regeneration of East London happened at a lesser momentum and without the commitment to legacy that came with its association with the Olympic Bid. There is therefore a strong

case to say the Olympics had a positive impact on place making and urbanity in London and in terms of shaping. It may not have sparked an inclusive planning revolution, but has certainly helped to improve understanding in planning and development and provide a solid base from which to build on in the future.

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VI. Positive and negative effects of the 2008 International Exposition in Zaragoza

BY MARÍA MARTÍNEZ & BEATRIZ SANTOS

Positive and negative effects of the 2008 International Exposition in Zaragoza

by María Martínez & Beatriz Santos

1. Introduction

Zaragoza, a medium city in the north-east of Spain, held in 2008 an International Exposition on the subject Water and Sustainable Development which supposed a huge economic investment mainly from the state. This event offered unthinkable opportunities for the city, in terms of new infrastructures, the recovery of the river banks and to improve the image and identity. Moreover, it raised important challenges, as other expositions: achieving a proper new urban development integrated with the city and the conversion of the area in a Business Park after the event. But almost ten years later the occupancy of offices in the reconverted buildings is only partial due to the difficulties of a public management together with the economic context and the lack of long-term planning results in empty and abandoned buildings in the area. The aim of this paper is to analyze the positive and negative effects that this International Exposition has had for the city and its inhabitants. On the one hand, the study examines the location and the specific design of the whole intervention area regarding to green areas, public spaces, significant buildings, current uses and connections, finding that the city lost the opportunity to bring together the recovered area and linked the central city with the new developments. The further use of the main buildings should have been thought before in order to provide equipments for the inhabitants and residential use is necessary to attract people and achieve a liveable area. On the other hand, it also refers to the investment and tourism and a comparison with the other Spanish Exhibition, Sevilla'92, has been done in order to make clear the differences between World Expos, also called 'registered' and Specialized Expositions, also called internationals.

Fig. 1: General view of the city transformation with the 2008 International Exposition.

2. Context

Zaragoza is the fifth largest city in Spain, and its population, around 700.000 inhabitants, makes it a medium-sized metropolis and the key reference of the regional urban network. Zaragoza is halfway between the two main metropolitan areas of Spain, Madrid and Barcelona, but it is also the centre of the northeast corner of the Iberian Peninsula delimited by Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and Bilbao. This strategic position was a key factor for the population, industrial and economical increased growth during the last third of the 20th century that explains the urban sprawl processes and the city transformations. The same factors are responsible for the new forms of urban development and large scale urban operations like the Logistic Platform or the High-Speed Rail which contribute to the metamorphosis of the city during this century.

With more than two thousand years of history, Zaragoza is the result of the influence of the four cultures that have marked its character and it still has some high-value symbols which represent the different steps and historical periods. The Roman walls, the forum, the theatre and the historical centre layout refer to the Roman Age. The Aljafería Palace, one of the most representative buildings of the city and also the most important Islamic palace from the 11th century in Spain, has an artistic relevance that can only be found in the Mezquita of Cordoba or the Alhambra. However, the most emblematic building is the Cathedral of El Pilar, which moreover is the most important visual icon on the banks of the river Ebro.

Zaragoza couldn't be understood without the presence of the river Ebro, the largest river in Spain with recurrent flash floods, usually between October and March, which hinder the river banks treatment and, consequently, the city has been developed back to the river.

Historical background: The Hispanic-French Exposition

Between the mid-nineteenth century until the middle of the 20th century, Zaragoza increases its population fourfold to reach 238.600 inhabitants. The new urban growth cycle and the role of the commercial bourgeoisie were reflected in the modernization and retrofitting of the city; the tram network allows the peripheral development and the expansion district configuration, which reinforces the urban landscape in a more hierarchical and contemporaneous way.

In this context, the Hispanic-French Exposition of 1908 had a prominent role in the modern urban design of the city. For about 100 years, the city had kept in the same traditional city boundaries, enclosed in its historical centre. The Exposition incorporated a new area to the urban fabric, and once the exhibition was closed, its venue would become in the first expansion area of the city and the origin of the further expansion to the south.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Exposition, a new urban area was designed with a large central square and several wide streets around it, lighting and sanitation facilities were installed and three stately buildings were built. The Fine Arts Museum, the School of Arts and Crafts and the Charity were allocated thereafter in that buildings and represent the seeds of the urban sprawl. When the Exposition was closed, what had been an isolated and non-appreciated place for the inhabitants was already one of the most valued urban spaces. In few years, the first housing blocks were built and in less than two decades the new neighborhood was completely finished.
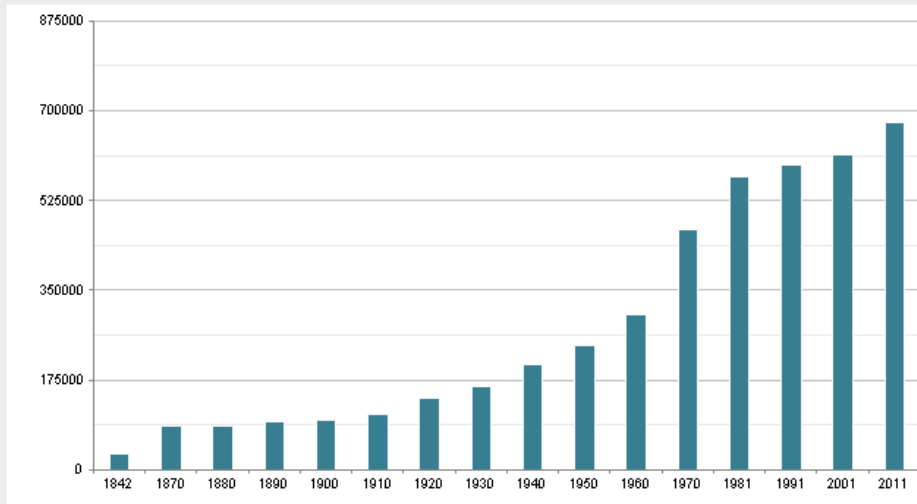
Fig. 2: Demographic evolution of Zaragoza

Since the end of the fifties and, particularly, in the 1960s and 1970s, Zaragoza experiences an explosive record growth as a result of the population and economic growth associated with the industrialization process and the construction of new infrastructures. One of the most relevant changes occurred in the urban structure arise from occupation of the left bank of the river Ebro, first with industrial activities, and slightly late with the residential development of an important area, called ACTUR (Urgent Urban Actuation), a project designed in 1972 with capacity for 100.000 inhabitants and which would be gradually completed during two decades.

However, in 2000 there was still a large area in the left bank of the river and close to the ACTUR that remains empty and needed to be transformed to complete the urban scene. Organizing an International Exposition, coinciding with the centenary of the Spanish-French Exposition, was the opportunity to develop that area and to solve the "pending issue" of the city: recovering the river banks.

This suppose a huge economic investment for a city subsidized by the state, which makes possible to build and dispose infrastructures and buildings which otherwise would be unthinkable for a city like Zaragoza.

3. Event description

The origin of the Universal Expositions goes back to 1851 with the first universal exposition opening in London under the title "The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations". The high success led to the repetition of the event several times and to create the Bureau International des Expositions (B.I.E.), an intergovernmental organisation in charge of overseeing and regulating World Expos, since 1931. It distinguishes two types: World Expos, also called 'registered' and Specialized Expositions, also called 'recognised or internationals'.

From 14th June to 14th September 2008 the first International Exposition organised according to the new model recognised by the B.I.E. was held in Zaragoza. This means to fulfill the following requirements:

• The duration may not be shorter than 3 weeks and not more than three months.

• It should have a particular topic.

• The total surface may not exceed 25 hectares.

• The constructions of the pavilions correspond to the organising country.

• It can be only one "recognised exhibition" in the period covered between two universal exhibitions (registered) that are held every five years. In this case, it is framed between Aichi 2005 and Shanghai 2010.

In order to understand the magnitude of this Expo in Spain, there is in the annex a comparative table between Zaragoza 2008 and the most recent exhibition held in the country, Expo Sevilla 1992.

Unlike Universal Expositions, International Expositions are based around a theme. EXPO Zaragoza 2008 aimed to be a cultural celebration of the fruitful relationship between water and human communities, in a global, efficient and ambitious project. From there, the project was constructed over an indissoluble concept: Water and Sustainable Development.

This event is framed between the exhibitions of EXPO Aichi 2005 "NATURE´S WISDOM" and Shanghai 2010 "BETTER CITY, BETTER LIFE", both organized by the BIE, whose titles attend to the guiding principles of sustainable and lasting development and in their respective fields of action, the same ones that EXPO Zaragoza 2008 assumes for WATER.

Project location
The International Exposition site is located within the Ranillas Meander, to the west of the city of Zaragoza, surrounded by the banks of the River Ebro. The Meander is divided into two areas:

•   The Expo site, occupying the space between the southern part of the Rabal ring road and the Ebro River (left bank). It covers a total surface area of 25 hectares.

•   The Water Park, a newly created park covering a surface area of 120 hectares, located to the north of the Rabal ring road, along the banks of the Ebro. It has become the most important and best equipped open green space in the city.

Fig. 3: Intervention area.

Objetives and fundings
The aims of the project were, firstly, the modernization and urban development of the city together with the spatial planning of the metropolitan area, and secondly, the recovery of the river banks and the canal by integrating them into the urban area.

Apart from that, the particular challenge was the conversion of the expo area in a Business Park after the event by conserving the current architectural philosophy, while achieving maximum versatility regarding its future exploitation.

The Universal Exhibition of Zaragoza supposed a total investment of 443,333,333 euros, Zaragoza's Town Hall only contributed with 66,500,000 euros (part in land plots and part in cash). It means 75% of the investment

came from Spanish government and only 15% came from the city, including land.

4. Analysis

4.1. Urbanity

Under the title "Water and Sustainable Development", the wide area Meandro de Ranillas became, along its surface of 250.000 m2, in a space for water and its importance with reference to this natural resource in most of the sites.

The International Exposition provided a major boost in infrastructures and also allowed the recovery of the river Ebro banks, integrating it into the city. With the commitment of hosting that event, the city embarked against time on a number of projects in order to achieve the best image and as in the description of the project wanted to convert the Ebro in the main street of the city.

The expo site was designed from the start thinking of the further architectural solution which would reform the pavilions into offices, business premises, and catering services. A new economic and financial centre that would benefit from lots of equipments, services and cultural offerings which formed part of the Expo, would be developed in the area.

The Project took this opportunity to raise two main direct strategic goals: on the one hand it developed the River Banks Project that was approved in 2001 but not started, and in the other hand it focused in the reconversion of the metropolitan park, later called Water Park, as a strategic urban piece placed in the riverside and closed to the Delicias Intermodal Station. This wide green area plays a key role linking the consolidated sectors of the city in both banks of the river and structuring the open spaces' system of the city.

Fig. 3: General planning of the area: Water Park and River Banks. Batlle i Roig architects.

At the same time, an Accompaniment Plan, developed by the three different levels of administrations (national, regional and local), was launched. It includes projects of infrastructures, equipments and open spaces directly or indirectly related to the activities in the expo site.

The chosen location, next to the ACTUR quarter, a relative new district and well established neighbourhood with young families, and closed to the Intermodal Station was a wise decision that would enable connection improvements and links between new and old areas. But in spite of the right location for the new intervention, the specific design of the new area and the established connections with the existing city has not achieved a real integration of the new urban development. The city lost the opportunity to

bring together the recovered area and linked the central city with the new developments. Moreover, the lack of urban structure and proper public spaces together with the scale of the area which has wide spaces without references make it difficult to feel that you are in the city.

4.2. Values, Identity & Image

Some of the most high-profile architects were charged to carry out the landmark buildings that were turned into a sign of identity of this international exhibit. One of them is the Bridge Pavilion, designed by the Anglo-Iraqui born architect Zaha Hadid, with links the site with one of the city districts and has a unique design of organic shapes. The Water Tower, a glass building 76 meters tall, whose shape reminds us a drop of water and at night, the lights served to enhance its image. The Conference Centre, with a singular contour, was thought to fill the gaps in conference tourism. The Spanish Pavilion, a climatically sustainable building whose cooling takes place in a natural way through rainwater. Finally, it is worth noting the Fluvial Aquarium, which with more than 3400 m2 surface, is the biggest freshwater aquarium of Europe with more than 7000 fishes and a coral reef.

However, there were too many "author projects" for a medium city and without a defined use or plan which has raised to the current situation with most of these buildings abandoned and its hypothetical use would require refurbishment works. There are two exceptions that have to be mentioned:

a. Aquarium: it has never closed his doors and it works at different working hours which vary in summer and winter. It stands out not only because of its tourist potential but also for many international contacts with other aquariums in outreach campaigns. In collaboration with the regional government, it develops different educational projects and they work together in some strategic lines from 2013.

b. Conference Centre: this building is now used at the initial planned rate and for the defined purpose. The Chamber of Commerce of Zaragoza has taken over the management for four years and at the moment this infrastructure is self-sustainable and economically viable.

As we mentioned before, one of the key points of the Exposition of 1908 was the construction of three important buildings with a permanent nature and a subsequent particular purpose -museum, school of arts and charity- that are still in use. However, the Exposition of 2008 did not think about the further use of the main buildings and, instead of providing adequate equipments for the inhabitants we find now empty buildings, excluding the two exceptions.

Fig. 4: Current view of the main Pavilions of the Expo, now empty and abandoned.
Left: Bridge Pavilion, Right: Spanish Pavilion.

4.3. Environmental Awareness

The exhibition was developed under the sustainable development approach that can be observed not only in the buildings design but also in the whole project for the city with the important increase of green areas as well as in the use of renewable energy sources and the bicycle lane network. Compared to the little more than 200 Has of parks and gardens that Zaragoza had in 2005, the green space for citizen's use has more than doubled, with presently more than 480 Has.

The Metropolitan Water Park (Ranillas) is the most innovative of the new green spaces. This is an essential element in the restructuring of the meander of Ranillas for Expo 2008. It takes up 125 of the 150 Has of the meander, with 8 Ha of lagoons and canals, and has been conceived as a dialogue between water, vegetation and human activity. All these elements served to change these former vegetable gardens into a park.

With an approximate length of 120 hectares, the Water Park is a new concept of urban park through a mix of green areas, facilities and activities for all the citizens. In there, leisure activities, features and services are promoted with a clear predominance of water. It is really well-preserved; more services have been progressively added and is increasingly popular between the local inhabitants and also becoming a national reference. With a National Award, it is the first European space that gets the "Green Globe" and it has shown that it meets the 320 required standards and has been chosen as a model project in the USA because it illustrates the urban parks capacity to make community and build sustainable cities.

On the other hand, Zaragoza decided on a Riberbanks Project composed of a set of urban, landscape and environmental interventions. The Ebro's river corridor is now a multifunctional area that allows easy discharge of water, preserves and promotes natural life, enables longitudinal and cross routes, makes possible to enjoy the sheet of water and is a factor for the urban revitalization giving a representative image. It has been one of the most important legacies of the Expo that has absolutely changed the relation between the city and the river.

Moreover, the criterion of sustainable development involves taking into account the reuse of the facilities after the event's closure. This meant designing the exhibition site so that once the Expo was over it could be transformed with as little rebuilding as possible into a service and leisure area that could then be completed and consolidated as an interesting area of the city.
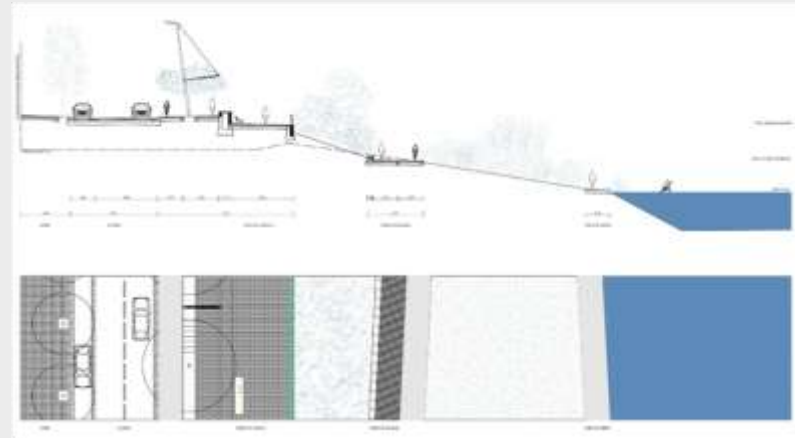

Fig. 5: Propose type section of the leftside of Riverbank. Batlle i Roig architects

4.4. Economic Competitiveness

The dossier for the BIE said that "After the Expo, the site will be turned out into a cultural and scientific park, alongside an adjacent area devoted to natural parkland and sports activities".

But the day after the event's closure a world financial crisis erupted and the Spanish economy fell into a deep recession that affected to all sectors and, of course, to the reconversion of the Expo site.

Almost ten years later of the Exposition the Business Park has not yet launched. The occupancy of offices in the reconverted buildings is around 67% which has considerably improved over the last years. This has been

possible by moving some administrative areas located in the city centre, such us the Education Department, the Regional Environment Institute or the Courts, to these new offices which at the same time has left empty buildings in the centre.

Fig. 6: Pavilion reconversion into offices. Left: City of Justice, Right: Administrative offices

Walking around the "business area" we find a huge space without references and it is difficult to get oriented there. However there are two recovered areas that have improved the image and quality of the city: the Water Park and the Riverside.

Even though the organization tried to avoid the repetition of Sevilla's Expo mistakes and planned the reconversion of the area, the post-expo was negatively affected by the context. At this moment the area is a combination of business space, empty buildings with no use defined and other buildings with intermittent activity.

Tourism

In terms of tourism, the exhibition was visited by 5,650,941 people, of whom 95,5% were Spanish citizens and then only 4.45% of the assistants were foreign visitors, which means approximately 251,466 foreign people. It is surprising the difference between the initial forecasts from the Organization (around 7,000,000 visitors) compare to the amount of final assistants, considerably lower. It suggests that the marketing campaign was insufficient nationally and international context. Specially if we compare this numbers with another Spanish Expo, celebrated in Sevilla 1992. That expo was a universal or registered Exhibition regarding to this, the surface, duration and investments were bigger but the most significant difference we can see is in the numbers of visitors. In Sevilla, there were 18.000.000 visitors of who 55% were Spaniards and 45% international (see annex I)

Zaragoza missed the opportunity to introduce itself to the world and produce a called effect to receive more foreign visitors and maybe future investors.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Which we learnt from Zaragoza:

• Having a strategic plan for the city before the expo is fundamental. This plan should contain a minimum of needs of the city in terms of: infrastructures, facilities and residential uses. The design of the expo should be subordinate to the needs of the city, using the expo investments as a tool for the cohesion and development of the city as well as clear business concept for the facilities.

• An international and good marketing campaign is essential to bring people to the expo and introduce the city to the world.

• In addition to this, it is needed to see what the urban planning allow to do in that area and, if we sure what to develop in that area, check which aspects of the urban planning could be modified or made flexible to make this approach a reality.

• It is essential to allow mixed use on the site, specially: leisure facilities and housing to bring people to the area. This strategy would avoid turning this area into a ghost space (current situation)

• It's needed to adapt the public transportation plan to guarantee a good connection with the expo site. This connection should keep working after expo to maintain this space.

• Flexible design for the expo site is needed to turn the space more human after the expo time. The scale of a mega event and the human scale for the city are different, and people needs references. Now in Zaragoza the expo site is a generous size space without references, which need to install a clear signage, so that people can feel comfortable and safe circulating this space.

• There is a need to involve the private sector before the expo, even in the design process of the event, specially the building design to offer them adapted facilities and ensure their commitment for the post-expo and collaboration for the built.

• A mixed organization (public-private) dedicated to manage the legacy issues need to be established. Private agencies are more flexible and experience to negotiate with private sector but this agency should be controlled by government.

• The funds needed to maintain the expo facilities and the surroundings after the event must be foreseen and reserved before the fair, to avoid that these facilities are totally abandoned before finding their use.

5.2. Which could improve the situation of Zaragoza:

It is not about filling 500 m2 of empty space with whatever, but thinking of a solid or at least logical business concept of what can be developed in this area and how its establishment can create synergies and relationships between the occupants which work out well to grow together.

It could be perfectly possible to establish an agreement between the University of Zaragoza and private business in order to support and collaborate for the development of technology project with young entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs could be also students of the university which also the personal career face to this work, establishing his offices an affordable co-working space, with the advantage of being close to the university and it's public property to offer acceptable rentals. Or it could be an artistic or cultural space that reflected the artistic inquisitiveness such as: artist studios, museums to show their works, design studios, shops, commerce in relation to this, etc. The important point is an unitary and clear approach.

Despite the time elapsed, it's possible to be optimistic and think that reality may improve and be different in some years.

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7. THE MEGA-EVENT(S) THAT FORMED PARIS! WORLD EXPOSITIONS AND THE IMPACT ON THE CITY

BY HANS SMOLENAERS & TIMO CENTS

The Mega-event(s) that formed Paris! World expositions and the impact on the city

by Hans Smolenaers & Timo Cents

1. Introduction

World Expositions have a rich tradition; there are world famous examples of building artifacts (like the Crystal Palace, the Eiffeltower, the Atomium) and useful inventions introduced during former editions. The organization of a World Exposition is not only an architectural event but it has a profound impact on the culture, economy, and urbanization of their respective hosts (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007). World's fairs attract millions of visitors around a theme, through the gathering of the international community. The impact could be so enormous because 'no other event has the same force of involvement' according to Gonzalez Loscertales, (Loscertales, 2008 cited in Findling & Pelle, 2008). 2008, p.1).

Ruijter & Nijhuis (2007) explains that the spatial organization and storylines of a World Exposition could have a lasting influence on the urban development. An important aspect is that we are 'dealing with a very dynamic rather than a static phenomenon' (Van Wesemael, 2001, p.19). This means that there is the ephemeral situation during the event, and referring to Den Ruijter & Nijhuis an impact for the long term in relation to urban planning. This can be illustrated in the form of inert urban structures and striking structures (Ruijter et al., 2007).

Contemporaries accepted the significance of World Expositions. Looking back at the World Expositions of Paris they World Expositions molded the fantasies and sharpened the expectations of several generations. They shaped national assumptions about the social functions of public spaces. They helped spawn a series of cultural institutions, from museums of art and science to amusement parks and convention centers. They spread a notion of structure: aesthetic, social, and racial. Pilgrimage sites in an emerging tourist culture, they provoked astonishing volume of souvenirs and memorabilia. Above all, they performed as sites tor self-discovery, camp meetings for a dominating middle class.
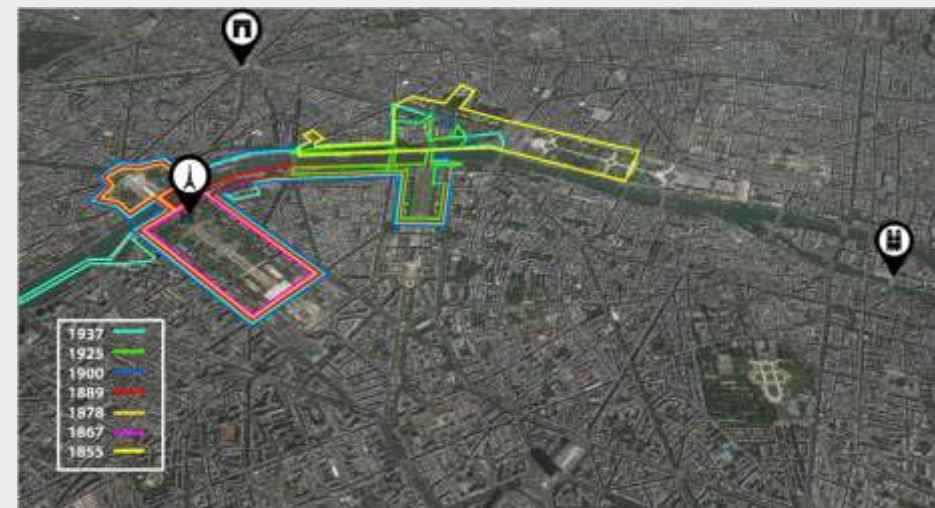

Fig. 01 Figure locations within the city

1.1 Literature

The main literature used in this paper is the Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions edited by Professor Findling & Pelle (2008) and the dissertation Architecture of Instruction and Delight (2001) by Professor Van Wesemael. The abstract of Ruijter & Nijhuis (2007) named: World expositions in urban planning written for an international seminar about urbanism is a starting point to work from. Different visions of renowned architectural offices as OMA and Herzog & the Meuron who are recently involved in the planning of World Expositions are reflected. The article about World Expositions of the Ruijter in the publication Need for Design (2013) (Vlug et al) showed a first spatial analyses to work from. The master thesis of Vrijaldenhoven Reaching beyond the gold (2007) of Delft University is reviewed as well.

The first part tries to clarify the definition of a World Exposition based on the various explanations of this phenomenon. Secondly the motive to organize a World Exposition as well as the spatial influence on the city structure will be addressed. In the last part the Expo City Paris (were 6 grand editions were organized) will be evaluated in relation to the spatial impact during and after the Exposition.

1.2 Aim

Academic literature treated in this paper will cover the fundamentals that are needed for hosting a World Exposition and its effects for the after-use. It is a very complex procedure to organize an attractive World Exposition for 180 days and at the same time structuring its urban effects on the long term. This paper will search for the most appropriate definition and description for the World Exposition in common. The aims and goals the city uses to acquire the World Exposition will be explained as well as the realization process to lead it to its success or failure. Next to that its role in the after-use will be described. Six European Expositions held in Paris are the casus material. The preceding chapters together with the cases are the fundaments for the analysis and the conclusions.

The next World Exposition will be organized in 2017 in Astana and in 2020 in Dubai. So it is important to reflect upon literature regarding the effects of World Expositions have had on their urban environment of former host cities, especially the ones that are recently held in Europe and in particular Paris. The aim of this paper is to reflect on the spatial strategies of former World Exposition cities by assessing the motives, visions and effects of the World Expositions by literature review. In this article we only represent the 1878 exposition with the GIS program and the space-syntax, because of the ordinary argument of the lack of space.

1.3 Definition of a World Exposition

To know the DNA of a World Exposition, it is important to go back to the first edition. But by doing so, it is good to start to formulate the specific definition for this event. The definition of a World Exposition is not that specific, according to Vincente Gonzalez (Findling & Pelle, 2008, p.1) who described a World Exposition as a 'platform for innovation' or Van Wesemael (2001) his questioned remark: '...How can one describe an encyclopedic universe?' Vrijaldenhoven (2007) mentioned that inventors and businessmen were looking for a platform to show and sell their inventions this in relation with the developments of the Second Industrial Revolution. Besides the content or the goal of this phenomenon, there are several terms for this international event. Findling (2008, p.8) explains it as follows, the United states uses the title, 'World Fair', Great Britain uses the term, 'Exhibitions' and the French called it, 'Exposition'. The last decades the popular abbreviation, 'Expo' rose

up. This paper tries to consequently use the term, 'World Exposition' because it etymologically bridges the gap between 'fair' and 'exhibition' as Findling explains in the Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions (2008).

1.4 A retrospective London 1851

In the first half of the nineteenth century, France's economic development underwent a dramatic upsurge, particularly in the fields of iron and steel production, rail and textile manufacture. The industrial revolution and the capitalist mode of production, led here too to a general advance of industry and trade as well as an expansionist colonial policy. Nevertheless, it was Great Britain which, being a s already mentioned the leading industrial country of the period, provided the initiative for an event in the form of the world exhibition, which acted as a focal point for the awakening aspirations in the fields of technology, science, education, art, social welfare, and in international relations.

The first official World Exposition was held in London 1851, Hyde Park. With the title: 'The Great Exhibitions of the Works of Industry of All Nations'. Davis cited 'It appeared to symbolize the optimism and success of the new industrial period', (Davis, 2008 cited in Findling & Pelle, 2008, p. 9). The whole exhibition was settled in one innovative building, named as the 'crystal palace' because it was completely made of steel and glass. The iconic value of this pavilion helped guarantee the success of the first modern world's fair. According to Davis: 'The final reason for the success was Joseph Paxton's building, which captured the popular imagination, and was seen by many as a primary reason to visit' (Davis, 2008 cited in Findling & Pelle, 2008, p. 11). A nice anecdote is the success of the transept it was not in Paxton's original concept, but was the result of practical discussions about how to build around Hyde Park's trees (Paxton was originally a Gardener). This iconic architectural feature founded a tradition of architectural adventure connected to exhibitions (Findling & Pelle, 2008). Davis states that a good deal of the event's legacy is due to the fact that many wished to perpetuate, recapture, or replicate its success, which resulted in the popularity of this phenomenon to this date. After the expo they removed the pavilion to Sydenham, a suburb in south London. Finally it was consumed by fire in 1936. World Expositions could be important catalysers for the hosting city. What are the motivations & goals for these cities and how is it organized? The important themes are discussed and relevance strategies will be explained.

2. The Motive of a hosting city

'From the very beginning, World expos have had a tremendous impact on their host cities' (Loscertales, 2008 cited in Findling & Pelle, 2008, p. 1). According to Andranovich (2001), hosting large scale festivals like the Olympic Games or the World Expo is an increasingly popular tool for urban change. It is an important motive for organizing a World Exhibition to give a region and city direct economic and planological injections (Wesemael, 2001). And more specific it even seems that the most recent World Exhibitions have been primarily initiated to realize planological policy (Wesemael, 2001). Concrete examples of these planological injections could be, city sanitation, improving infrastructure, city enhancement and city transformation (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007). World Expositions have with their 180 days duration; a profound impact on the culture, economy, and urbanization of their respective hosts. This is different than the impact of the Olympic Games, because the duration of this event is longer, and besides that people can watch the games behind the television.

There are three important aspects to organize a major event, like a World Exposition:

• The Cities cannot host a global event without financial support (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007). So many cities start a public-private partnership before organizing the event.

• The presence of state of the art components in the fields of Science, Art & Architecture. (Ruijter, 2007) and thus the possibility to be a breeding ground for these disciplines and the descend on the city.

• The organization has to deal with deadlines (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007). To cited Koolhaas 'there is no result without a deadline'.

The next paragraph will focus on the spatial aspects and influences of organizing a World Exposition, so which spatial tools are relevant for the realization of a World Exposition?

2.1 The spatial organization of the site

The choices of the location, the spatial layout and the architecture of the individual pavilions have played crucial roles in the didactics of the World Exposition. The location had to be large enough to accommodate hundreds of thousands of exhibits and millions of visitors (Wesemael, 2001). The influence of the location is very dependent on its size, concentration and structure (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007). And more important for the bigger scale: the rate of integration of the site into the urban fabric. It has direct consequences for the city's infrastructure. The spatial layout on the site is a reflection of the visual story being told. Ruijter et al. (2007) explains that the storyline of the Exposition becomes a physical construction. We distinguish five criteria that are important for the narrative theatrical aspect of the World Exposition:

• Situation; landscape scale

• Transformation; cityscape

• Composition; scale exposition

• Routing; scale exposition

• Program; scale exposition

Fig. 02 Research method World expositions in Paris

In the beginning it had been customary to use one central building like the crystal palace. The Exposition in Vienna (1873) was one of the first events that house the various exhibits in a number of separate buildings. A strategy that is still characteristic for the most recent World Expositions.

3. Expo sites in Paris

In France a long-established tradition of national exhibitions can be discerned. The French Revolution finally set the stage for the capitalist system of free competition and removed the fetters of feudalism which had held trade and industry in check. The proclamation de la liberte du travail of 1791 abolished the guild system in France and facilitated its citizens freedom

of trade and profession. This provided the decisive impulse for craft, trade, industry and commerce to develop in a capitalist manner.

Fig. 03 Geomorphology, height and the locations of the World Expositions within the city (Steenbergen e.a, 2014)

Following the glittering success of the London exhibition, not to be outdone the cultured and industrial French nation similarly sought to bring the world together in it capital. The country already had well over fifty years of experience in the exhibition field, although these had been more national than international in character.

Fig. 04 Historical map 1800 with the locations of the World Expositions on open grounds just outside the city
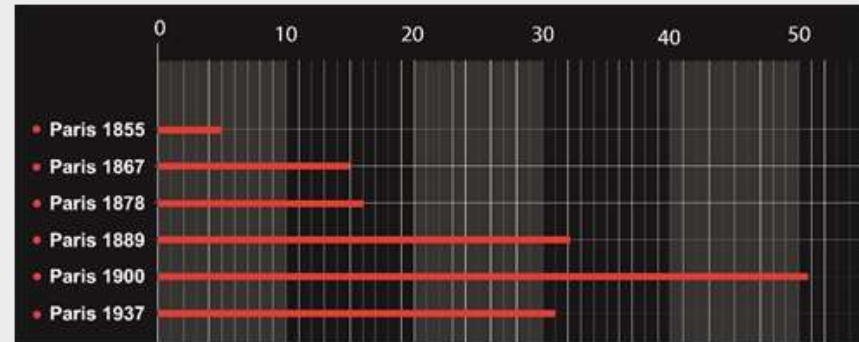
Fig. 05 Amount of visitors per Exposition, the horizontal line is visitors in millions.

3.1 Paris 1855
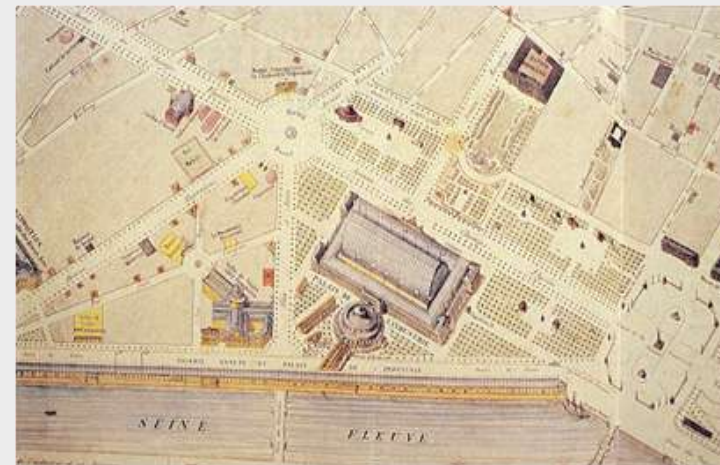
Fig.06 Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007
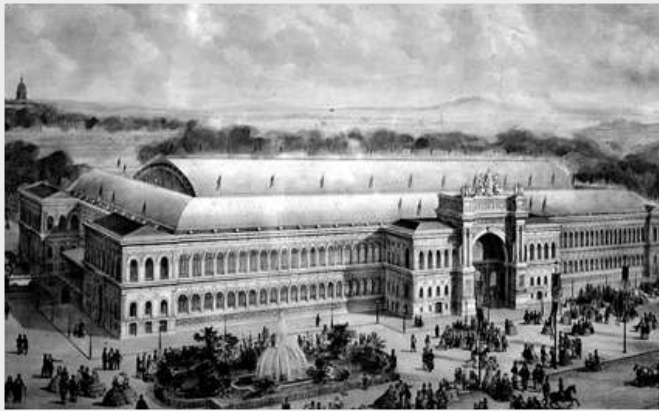
Fig.07   the palace of industry, Ruijter, 2007

The first decree calling for the exhibition was issued on 8 march 1852 by then Prince President Louis Napoleon who nine months later had himself crowned Emperor Napoleon III. The decree laid down that the exhibition would tak place from 1 May to 30 September 1855

- Length: 4 months
- Visitors: 5,1 million
- Costs: 23 million francs
- Countries involved: 13 (including Vatican state)

Situation: The choice of location for the palace was a masterstroke. To the north it was bounded by the Champs Elysees, to the east lay the Place de la Concorde with the adjacent Tuileries Gardens. To the south was the Seine with the Les Invalides bridge. It could not have been set in more historic surroundings. In contrast to the Crystal Palace, the Palace of Industry was intended as a permanent building.

Transformation: In fact it was to remain standing until 1897, only having to give way to the large and small palaces of art from the 1900 exhibition, which incidentally are still standing today.

Composition: The main building was orientated along the Tullieres axis, the south side of the building was orientated at the river Seine. The mainbuildig was the focuspoint of the whole exposition

Routing: The main entrance was situated on the north side of the building

Program: The exhibition space in the Palace of industry was totally inadequate. Even during the construction preparations the number of exhibition entries which had been registered from home and abroad was so high that the organizers were forced to erect another, temporary, building. The Galeries des Machines, which was set the bank of the Seine.

In the interior of the Galeries des Machines were situated a number of restaurants and seating areas providing exhibition visitors with an opportunity for rest and repose, as well as a number of fountains which freshened and cooled air.

As it transpired, this building also proved insufficient to house all the exhibits, and a number of items had to be put on display in the open or in small pavilions. Thus for the first time buildings were put on show in traditional regional styles with authentic interiors (Swiss chalets).
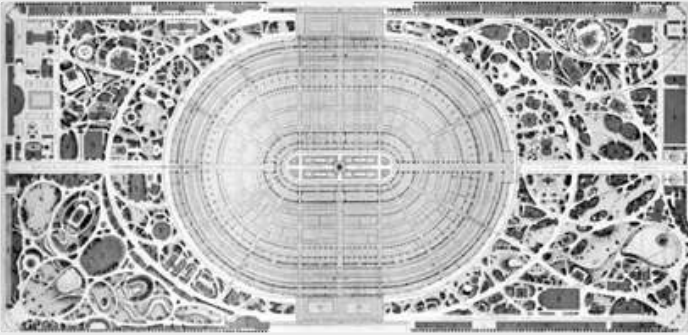
3.2 Paris 1867

Fig.08   Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007

Fig.09   the Exhibition palace, Ruijter, 2007

Five years had passed since the second London exhibition as Paris once again became the world's showplace. "Industrial progress nor the state of the world economy had provided any compelling necessity for a new exhibition. But the political situation in France made it desirable for the government to focus the attention of the laboring classes on the event, which by its success would enable the general mood of uncertainty to be distracted and even for some time assuaged (Friebe, 1985)

- • Length: 6 months
- • Visitors: 11 million
- • Costs: 20 million francs
- • Countries involved: 13 (including Vatican state)
- • Innovation: Hydraulic Elevators

Situation: Where could a building of such immense dimensions be located within the city? The only possibility was the military parade ground, the Champs de Mars, which at his time lay at some distance from the city Centre, just outside the former city walls.

Transformation: The Champs de Mars was bordered on the one side by the Ecole Militaire and on the other by the Seine. This was to be the location of all subsequent world expositions staged by France up to 1937.

Composition: The centered building was the focal point. The iron and glass palace took up one third of the Champs de Mars, and the remaining area was allotted to the participating coutries as sites which they could use as they wished in according with their requirements. All these sights, this superabundance of knowledge and information, adjoined a recreation park. It had been leaid out by French landscape gardeners in sweeping and breathtaking form. A contemporary observer concluded his account with words: "We turn around and pass once again through the memorable palace, salute the park for the last time, and set off home, richly edified, proud of many things, in many things wiser, and uplifted by everything" (Friebe, 1985).

Routing: This was one of the spectular routing through the buildings. A centered orientation with all main axis.

Program: Paris prepared herself thoroughly and well in advance for this exhibition. Much thought went into the allocation of the exhibition space for the attending countries. In terms of constructions and design the exhibition building was to be majestic and surpassing all previous buildings in its dimensions. A notable feature of this exhibition was the direct display of manual and mechanical manufacture in progress and the resulting finished products.

There were a whole number of etablissements which before the eyes of spectators rapidly and precisely produced decoratieve and functional items for purchase. The parkland area was mainly used for ethnographic displays and for buildings typical of the respective country. The more daring could try a jump from a parachute tower, and at another point a frogman dived into a water tower after coins thrown in by spectators who could then watch him through a glass window retrieving them.

3.3 Paris 1878

Fig.10   Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007

Paris remained faithful to its eleven-year exhibition cycle. The first decree calling for the exhibition was issued on 8 march 1852 by then Prince President Louis Napoleon who nine months later had himself crowned Emperor Napoleon III. The decree laid down that the exhibition would tak place from 1 May to 30 september 1855

- •   Length: 4 months
- •   Visitors: 5,1 million (Friebe, 1985)
- •   Costs: 23 million francs (Friebe, 1985)
- •   Countries involved: 13 (including Vatican state)
- •   Innovations: electric lighting and cooling and ice machines

Situation: Appointed commissioner general of the world exhibition was the chief designer of the 1867 Colosseum, Krantz. He was renowned in France as much as an engineer and writer as for his meritorious services in the military field. Violet le Duc (1814-1879) proposed that the exhibition grounds should comprise the Champs de Mars as well as the Trocadero Hill rising from the opposite Bank of the River Seine.

Transformation: The originality of the choice of site lay in the decision to incorporate the Seine with its banks and the steep incline up to the Trocadero Hill. Even today from this vantage point it is still possible to gain a view over the Champs de Mars and the major part of the City of Paris, although the place of the Trocadero Palace has been taken by buildings from the 1937 world exhibition, and instead of the great palace of Industry there now stands the Eiffel Tower surrounded by green parkland, affording a clear view to the Ecole Militaire.

Composition: The composition is still there at the Champs de Mars, only the Palace of Industry made way for the Eiffel tower. The use of the Trocadero Hill created a beginning and an end of the exposition. Down below you see the first digital drawning of the historical situation at that time.
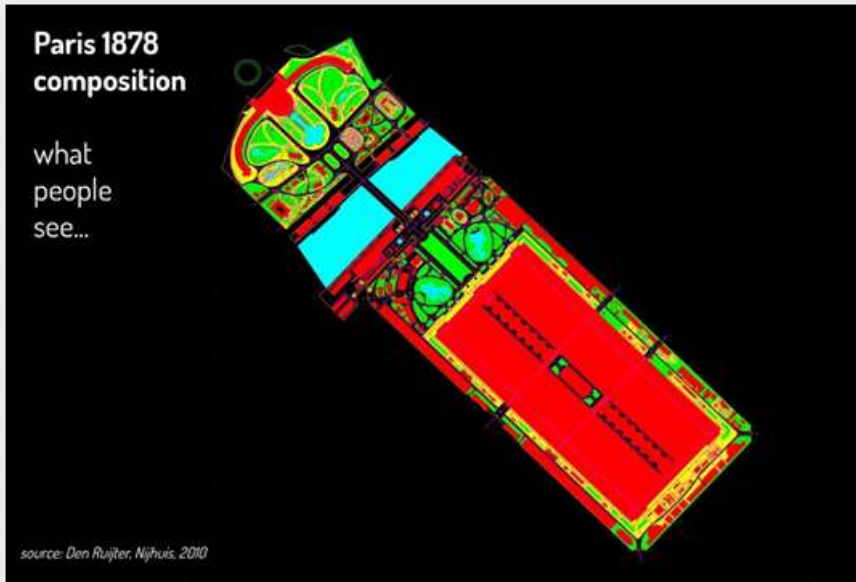
Fig.11   Composition, Ruijter, 2007

Fig.12   Connectivity; space syntax, Ruijter, 2007

Routing: The main axis was the life line of the exposition, the bridge across the seine connected the two sides. The Palace of Industry had his own routing. The Trocadero had a more Gardenesque landscape scale routing. You see with the Space syntax method that the bridge was heavily used (or well connected). The most people will be on the banks of the Seine.

3.4 Paris 1889

Fig.13   Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007
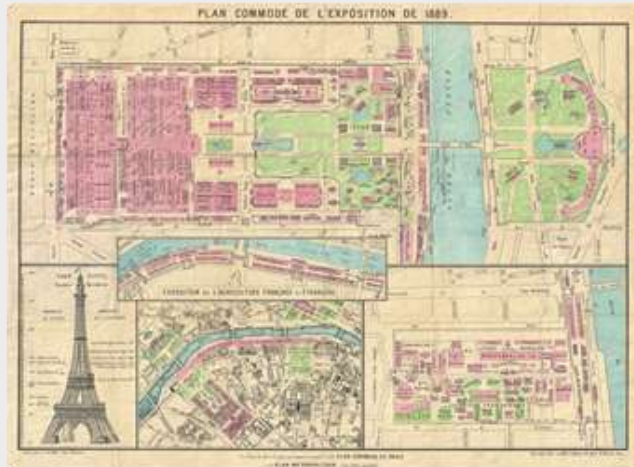
Fig.14   the palace of industry, Ruijter, 2007

It was held during the year of the 100th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, an event considered symbolic of the beginning of the French Revolution. The main symbol of the Fair was the Eiffel Tower, which served as the entrance arch to the Fair.

• Length: 6 months

• Visitors: 32 million (Friebe, 1985)

• Costs: 43 million francs (Friebe, 1985)

• Countries involved: 35

• Innovations: Edison phonograph, rolling bridges

Situation: Whereas the 1878 exhibition had covered an area of 70 hectares, for 1889 this was increased to 90 hectares. The urge for ever more spacious expanses is clearly apparent from the first world exhibition onwards. As had by now become customary, the centerpiece was the Champ de Mars, where the most important buildings were located.

Transformation: The 1889 fair was held on the Champ de Mars in Paris, which had been the site of the earlier Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, and would also be the site of the 1900 exposition.

Composition: If we look for the culminating point of a development, then we can say that the Machinery Hall built by Dutert and Contamin, as well as the Eiffel Tower, represent the climax of the development of iron constructions.
Routing: the routing was almost the same as the 1867 exposition except for the new attraction right in the middel the Eiffel Tower. The banks of the Seine were already crowded, but because of the Eiffel Tower the whole exihibition was almost focused on only one point.

Program: Here, the Eiffel Tower, the Palace of fine arts, the Great Gallery and the Machinery Hall bordered the Champs de Mars in the direction of the Ecole Militaire Extending in front of it was the Great Gallery and the Machinery Hall were erected together. The fair included a reconstruction of the Bastille and its surrounding neighborhood, but with the interior courtyard covered with a blue ceiling decorated with fleur-de-lys and used as a ball room and gathering place.

3.5 Paris 1900

Fig.15   Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007

Fig.16   plan general, Ruijter, 2007

- • Length: 6 months
- • Visitors: 50 million (Friebe, 1985)
- • Costs: 43 million francs (Friebe, 1985)
- • Countries involved: 35
- • Innovations: Diesel engine, telegraphone (the first magnetic audio recorder)

Situation: The 1900 exposition was the biggest of all. It found place on all the former Exposition grouds. The Champ de Mars, Esplanades des Invalides and along the river banks of the Seine.

Transformation: Many of the buildings constructed for the Exposition Universelle were demolished after the conclusion of the exposition. Many of the buildings were built on a framework of wood, and covered with staff, which was formed into columns, statuary, walls, stairs, etc.

Composition: The composition contains two focal points, the Champs de Mars and the Esplanades des Invalides.

Routing: The routing was more spread out than other exposition it took almost an hour to go from one side to another. De River banks of the Seine where the main corridors.

Program: The Exposition Universelle was where talking films and escalators were first publicized, and where Campbell's Soup was awarded a gold medal (an image of which still appears on many of the company's products). At the exposition Rudolf Diesel exhibited his diesel engine, running on peanut oil. Brief films of excerpts from opera and ballet were apparently the first films exhibited publicly with projection of both image and recorded sound. The exposition also featured many panoramic paintings and extensions of the

The Exposition Universelle of 1900 was a world's fair held in Paris, France, from 14 April to 12 November 1900, to celebrate the achievements of the past century and to accelerate development into the next. The style that was universally present in the Exposition was Art Nouveau. The staging of the first International Exhibition in 1855 was motivated by a desire to re-establish pride and faith in the nation after a period of war. The succession of exhibitions followed the same theme: the regeneration of nationality after war. Eight years before the launch of the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the Republic of France announced the exhibition to be one that welcomed and celebrated the coming of a new century. The 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle was not a financial success as only two thirds of the expected public attended. It is suspected that the Exposition Universelle did not do as well financially as expected because the general public did not have the funds to participate in the fair.

panorama technique, such as the Cinéorama, Mareorama, and Trans-Siberian Railway Panorama. The centrepiece of the Palais de l'Optique was the 1.25-metre-diameter (49 in) "Great Exposition Refractor". This telescope was the largest refracting telescope at that time. The optical tube assembly was 60 meters long and 1.5 meters in diameter, and was fixed in place due to its mass. Light from the sky was sent into the tube by a movable 2-meter mirror.

3.6 Paris 1937

Fig.17   Overview of the expo, Ruijter, 2007

Fig.18   plan general, Ruijter, 2007

The Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne (International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life) was held from 25 May to 25 November 1937 in Paris, France. Both the Musée de l'Homme and the Palais de Tokyo, which houses the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, were created for this exhibition that was officially sanctioned by the Bureau International des Expositions. The preparation and construction of the exhibits were plagued by delay. On the opening day of the exhibition, only the German and the Soviet pavilions had been completed. This, as well as the fact that the two pavilions faced each other, turned the exhibition into a competition between the two great ideological rivals.

• Length: 5 months
• Visitors: 50 million (Friebe, 1985)
• Costs: 43 million francs (Friebe, 1985)
• Countries involved: 35
• Innovations: Diesel engine, telegraphone (the first magnetic audio recorder)

Situation: The 1900 exposition was the biggest of all. It found place on all the former Exposition grouds. The Champ de Mars, Esplanades des Invalides and along the river banks of the Seine.

Transformation: The public space of the exposition grounds is still the public space of the city of Paris. The open grounds with the legacy of the exposition forms still the heart of the city of Paris

Composition: The exposition got more dispersed. All the former exposition grounds where included also with the riverbanks. You can say this was the first city exposition. A total event.

Routing: The routing was a complex one. The orientation on eye-level was more difficult, but the main attractors like the Eiffel tower formed focal points, or 'weenies' has been later used in the Disney theme-parks.

Program:Two of the other notable pavilions were those of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The organization of the world exhibition had placed the German and the Soviet pavilions directly across from each other.Hitler had desired to withdraw from participation, but his architect Albert Speer convinced him to participate after all, showing Hitler his plans for the German pavilion. Speer later revealed in his autobiographies that he had had a clandestine look at the plans for the Soviet pavilion, and had designed the German pavilion to represent a bulwark against Communism.

4. Conclusions

As the history revealed, the success of the World Exposition itself has the highest priority. The last decades the post-Expo phase gets more and more attention. Due to the fact that exhibitions grew larger and larger, it affects the choice of location to organise this major event. 'It was increasingly determined by the desire to use it for the benefit of urban renewal and expansion' (Wesemael, 2001, p.47). After the event, 'Most of the sites were transformed into a city park. And in some cases the event was just being reused for further commercially exploitation. (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007, p.38). A World Exposition also functions as an incubator for architectural styles and

experiments, building artefacts remained something of a tradition (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007).

There are several examples of buildings that were build just for the duration of the event, but because of the enormous symbolic value for the specific location, these building artefacts are still standing to this date. In most cases they choose for a construction system that could be erected and dismantled quite rapidly, this is inexpensive and re-usable (Wesemael, 2001).

The Post-War European Expositions can be seen as catalyzers of strategic planning. The strategic plan for the hosting city was often already drawn up and implemented before the event began (Vrijaldenhoven, 2007, p.54).
The World Expositions held in Antwerp at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century were turned into urban areas for residential purposes after the event. These cases are early examples of after-use strategies, but it is not characteristic for this period (Lombaerde, 1993). Another type is the reuse of the event site for a follow-up global event, again Antwerp 1894 is in this case a good example and also the fairs in Chicago and New York are double used sites.

Next Steps

To protect this very important legacy of the Expositions in Paris, we have the opinion that we need more events. The Olympic Games in 2024 are a wonderful starting point to show the special legacy and form the Mega-city that is called Paris.
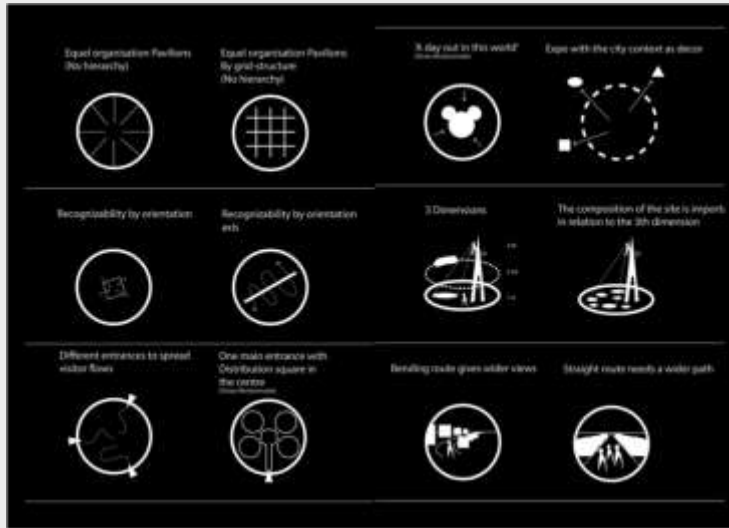
Authors

Hans Smolenaers

"Hans is a ambitious architect & urbanist and creates connections between building, public space and landscape"

He completed his studies at the IAHL Larenstein, graduating in Landscape Architecture, and in 2012 he got his degrees from the Delft University of Technology in Architecture and Urbanism.

In Delft he has researched the planning and design of World Expositions. This results in an after-use and building proposal for the next World Expo in Milan (Italy 2015). His MSc thesis 'Ephemeral Archipuncture' about the organization of World Expositions is pre-selected for the Archiprix.

In 2005 he was responsible for the Dutch participation of an International Exposition in the Czech Republic. Leading the design and realization phase of an 3500m2 site. In 2008 he took part in a design / research project, regarding the Newtown of Alicante, Spain.

For several years he is working interdisciplinary at Arcadis. ARCADIS is a major player in the area of design and spatial processes, and readily tackles 'mega projects'. Examples include the Floriade 2012, water projects like the weak links & room for the river projects, tunneling below the A2 motorway, the ring road around the Parkstad conurbation.

Timo Cents

"Timo is an inquisitive and driven landscape architect and Urban planner. "

He has won a number of prizes, including the Urban Interior Prize for the design of the Europaplein (RAI reception plaza) in Amsterdam. Through means of his study Landscape Architecture (TU Berlin) and Urban Planning (Utrecht University) he developed a sharp analytical capacity, and a good understanding of spatial processes and the management of such processes. Timo has experience in the design of well-appreciated urban plans. He is highly motivated to bring any assignment to a successful conclusion. He does that with a sense of humour and understands the overall work Selected projects:

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8. FROM RIO WITH CONCERN: MEGA EVENTS FOR WHOM?

BY DANIEL RADAI

From Rio with concern: Mega Events for whom?
by Daniel Radai

1. Introduction

In 2016 the city of Rio de Janeiro hosted the Summer Games of the XXXI Olympiad (Rio 2016). I was given the chance to work at the competition. However, while fulfilling a childhood dream as a water polo professional, I had to face the challenge of contributing to a heavily controversial event as an urban planner for sustainability. Eventually, I decided to seek out the experience to be able to gain first-hand experience of life and society around and behind the games.

'Mega Events', and particularly the idea of the Olympics, genuinely aim to showcase excellence and diversity in humanity. But, simultaneously, they tend to ignore some possibly negative externalities regarding the local population and can easily reach a struggling state. Before, during and after the games, Rio de Janeiro gave ample examples of how not to welcome Mega Events in a metropolitan area, especially in the developing world.

This paper examines some of the spatial and societal benefits and shortcomings, processes alongside the organisation of the event. Gentrification, mass evictions, the unresolved lack of suitable sewage and basic services as well as unsettled transportation challenges reveal that hosting the Olympics did not provide answers to some of the most pressing problems the metropolitan area of Rio faces. From an urbanist's point of view, this paper aims to summarise the motivation, processes as well as proven and foreseen outcomes behind a controversial development.

Initially, I planned to present my personal observations of the city to show what impression it had given last summer. However, observing the complexities of the background mechanisms, I eventually embark on trying to outline a more detailed overview supported by a broader literature and case study on a contested space, attempting to answer questions like: Why did Rio candidate? What happened in the city during preparations and afterwards? And eventually what can we learn from this case??

Figure 1. Contrasting realities in Rio de Janeiro. Image by author.

2. Context 1650

2.1 2.1 Sports, Mega Events and the city

Regardless of the increasing life expectancy, global population is in a rather disadvantaged shape when it comes to physical activities. Except for some of the welfare states where bicycle use or walking claim a considerable portion of the modal split, commuting by car and spending substantial time in traffic jams or on public transport similarly contribute towards an unhealthy society. Acknowledging that, politicians often refer to sports events as inspiration and nation building forces. The Olympic Games introduce and showcase phenomenal physical and mental performances, fair play and unity. It would be easy to assume that it could be a thriving inspirational experience for anybody and any organisation taking part, from athletes to spectators, from designers to contractors. However, the circumstances are vital to keep in mind. Are the Olympics a possible and relevant tool to

galvanise a population? Can many cities afford to direct their resources to host a mega event? Is it possible to include the marginalised who suffer a significant lack of financial, nutritional and physical activity?

Since the 19th century, cities have been using mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, to manifest their potential, as well as gain a chance to allocate funds to boost certain development areas. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2012) highlight some key areas in the matter as (1) catalysing economic transformation, (2) upgrading urban infrastructure, (3) strengthening the international image, (4) accelerating the implementation of desired urban policies and long-term plans, as well as (5) involving multiple stakeholders from international organisations to citizens. Ideally, by leveraging significant national and international partnerships, long-lasting and impactful multi-sectoral transformations can be achieved by the enhanced intellectual resources, ranging from infrastructure to education (UN DESA, 2012). Furthermore, regions aim to enhance their global potential and competitive force by catalysing their development via mega events (Silvestre, 2008, Lei & Spaans, 2009). Urban projects that normally would take a significant planning and implementation period can be realised on fast track by the set deadlines of the events. As a recent trend, global economic hubs like Beijing, London or Tokyo have taken over the candidacy from the common-host 'second-tier' cities, such as Barcelona, Atlanta or Athens (ibid, 2).

Lei and Spaans (2009) call these events 'tools for governance' as 'self-conscious collective efforts to re-imagine […] a wider territory and translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, strategic infrastructure investments and principles of land use regulation' (ibid, 1293). If we explore this notion, it seems a logical assumption that such

a political agenda and external corporate goals can lead towards a market-oriented, neo-liberal privatisation of public goods, spatial and financial assets. This holds the potential to create a new power order within the city (Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015, Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015).

While, a possible emerging status on the global platform can enhance the public morale and pride, the preparation phase can turn towards undemocratic spheres with a lack of appropriate civil negotiations and transparency of projects and budget. Furthermore, the development process, both theoretically and technically, ignores the potential shortcomings and negative impacts, while the positive ones remain estimates only (Silvestre, 2008). This is a particularly sensitive issue, considering that the proportions of public funds invested in mega endeavours so often ignore crucial public amenities that influence a larger part of the local population (Schissel, 2012).

Figure 2. Sports in Rio. A constant. Image by author

2.2 2.2 Societal recap on recent events
Barcelona (1992) was the first city that clearly directed hosting the Olympics to a new path in the European contest for capital and tourists. Among the

serious challenges were unemployment and various degrading neighbourhoods (Lei & Spaans, 2009). The local and central governments joined forces in a market-oriented manner while the PPP construction of the projects were also exemplary at the time catalysing significant private investments with public funds for long-term urban development (ibid, DeRogatis, 2015). Among others, some of the most famous interventions were a new transportation and sanitation infrastructure and the rehabilitation of the polluted coastal areas and new housing opportunities including the renewed Poble Nou neighbourhood with the Olympic Village (Silvestre, 2008, Maurrasse, 2012). However, the relatively fast developments hold a downside. During the preparation period, housing prices increased by more than 250% and gentrification processes started emerging. As a result, nearly 60,000 inhabitants left the city, while, the less central districts fell from the decision makers' eyes. No wonder, Barcelona has become a creative city facilitating global interests against its own residents (Marshall, 1996; Broudehoux, 2007; Silvestre, 2008; Lei & Spaans, 2009). This has a lasting effect on the cities' current social and spatial issues, such as the increasing housing prices, evictions and social unrests in the past decade.

Beijing (2008) was facing similar issues, even if the fast growth and development in China had already been providing infamous images of the evictions of native residents. As Lei and Spaans (2009) point out, the citizens were double-taxed, first by the public investments, then as exploited workers. Furthermore, benefits were not reaching the groups who ultimately became the victims of the decreasing welfare programmes. In contrast, London put significant efforts to use their 2012 candidacy to meaningfully improve a particular area and infrastructure while having a long-lasting societal legacy on youth development. Although, the initial cost estimates

significantly expanded, the various infrastructure and societal programmes are generally regarded positively. Still, gentrification and displacement are among the critical points against the developments (Poynter, 2012; Maurrasse, 2012). Concerned with Beijing's and further previous examples, Broudehoux (2007, 391) concludes that the most likely outcomes the majority of the respective regions' inhabitants can witness are 'inflation, restricted civil rights, and socio-spatial segregation'.

2.3 Planning challenges in Rio
Motivation
By the 1990s following the fall of Brazil's military regimes, the country witnessed a decentralising democratisation process and enhanced civic society with a promising picture (Williamson, 2004). However, simultaneously, this transformation shifted urban governance towards a new collaboration between real estate capital and the executive powers, with spatial planning limited to a promoting the role of privatisation. Consequently, this significantly hampered attempts to fight urban inequalities (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015).

In 1995 the Strategic Plan of Rio de Janerio (Plano Estratégico da Cidade de Rio de Janeiro), the first of its kind in Latin America, was adopted. It aimed to strengthen the role of tourism and foreign investments in order to enhance the city's position in the global economic competition with the help of Mega Events. One of the key consultants of the plan of the cooperation between municipality and private sector leadership towards an entrepreneurial city was Jordi Borja from Barcelona. Apparently, many Latin American countries were inspired by the 1992 Olympics and how it helped to involve private resources revitalising the urban areas and infrastructure repositioning the city globally (Braathen, 2013; Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015; Schissel, 2010).

As a result of the newly formed desire to become a global city, Rio de Janeiro first bid for the Olympics in 1996. Einar Braathen (2013) pointed out the trend that developing, emerging countries seek out the benefits of large sports events due to their "availability of resources; an ambition to strengthen their image […] worldwide; and relative weakness of institutions which protect the environment and human rights" (ibid, 3).

Democratic concerns

After the unsuccessful 1996 bid, Rio and Brazil went on. Chasing the global dream allowed new paradigms in the economy and urban development, a "neo-liberal mode of governance was marked by an authoritarian conceptualization of the exercise of power" (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2013, 135), with the growing role of the private sector in urban management and a selective participation. The market-led policies supported the private sector's interests over the wider social needs (Bankovacki & Damidaviciute, 2016).

Incidentally, it is vital to note that civic, local initiatives regularly turn out to be inadequate to fight against the urban conflicts of developing countries, such as mobility, drinking water and sanitation. In principle, Mega Events could hold the potential to mobilise resources towards resolving these issues. However, unfortunately, the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic preparations highlighted that the interest of a small private conglomerate managed to monopolise the directing of the development policies (Carvalho, 2016). In the case of the first actual bigger sports event Rio hosted, the 2007 Pan-American Games, the public-financed Brazilian Olympic Committee took over the role of planning, as DeRogatis (2015) points out.

The Committee suggested that the best urban project for sports development should be Barra da Tijuca, a growing upper-class, suburban, coastal neighbourhood east of Rio's famous Zona Sul. This, of course, excluded the surrounding city's interest. What is more, the planning of the different world games showed a marginal or complete lack of participative elements of local communities and public competitions activating Brazilian small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) (Padovano & Bertacchini, 2011). The initial support and pride a wider part of the nation felt for hosting the world for such events soon mixed with concern for corruption, spiralling costs turned out to be rather counter-productive for the country (ibid).

'City of Exception'

The World Cup in Rio influenced mostly one football stadium (to varying degrees of controversies), however, the urban governance was "effectively trapped in an Olympic grip" for public resources and private interests with the organisers overpowering local affairs (DeRogatis, 2015, 41; Schissel, 2012). The traditional values of urban planning were sacrificed on the altar of (Olympic) project urgencies by these "exceptional" da facto governing bodies. Laws were passed to modify the urban regulations in neighbourhoods and create new intergovernmental bodies (ibid). Many critical voices refer to Rio highlighting this trend as "the city of exception" as a new urban system based on Carlos Vainer, a prominent Brazilian sociologist and reflector of the term in his work "Cidade de Exceção: reflexões a partir do Rio de Janeiro" (Braathen, 2013; Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2013; 2015; DeRogatis, 2015).

In this city governed by neo-liberal forces, an authoritarian, selective participation of efforts and privately managed urban developments are the leading processes with disheartened debates on the issues and pacifying forces implemented for consensus. The global and local elites overshadow the importance of local interests and democracy, where categories of citizens

can be denied of their basic rights on demand. The "contract has become more important than the law, and bargaining power has got more weight than the application of the majority's decisions" with ad-hoc changes diminishing long-term plans (Braathen, 2013, 2; Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015).

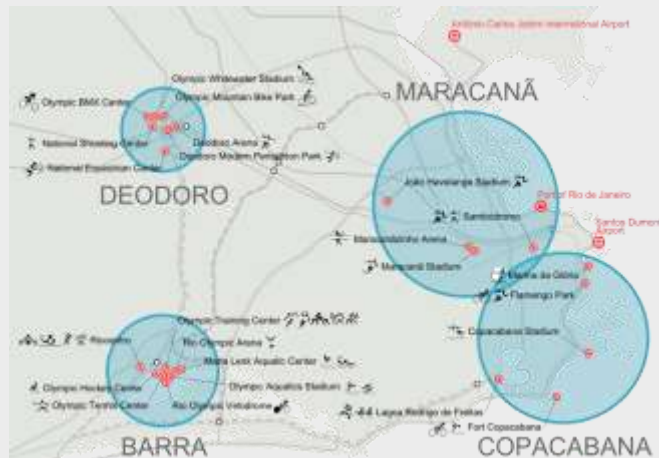Figure 3. Olympic Park and surrounding. © Miriam Jeske / Brasil2016.gov.br

Figure 4. Olympic venues in the region. © Felipe Menegaz

3. Event Description

Previously the author aimed to present the controversial planning and governmental processes that accompanied the Olympics' preparations. During August 5-21 the Games of the XXXI Olympiad were held in Rio de Janeiro. Rio 2016 was a major multi-sport event, Mega Event, with the participation of 11238 athletes from 207 countries in 306 events showcasing physical and mental excellence. Rio had won its bid for hosting against Madrid, after Chicago and Tokyo, host of the 2020 Games, had been eliminated from the process. The events took place in 18 already existing, 9 newly built and 7 temporary venues built specifically for the Games. Four main zones, that are completely scattered geographically, were hosting events, Barra de Tijuca, Deodoro (2 Olympic Parks), as well as Copacaban and Maracana, with the first one being the main Olympic Venue as mentioned previously (Figure 4).

In terms of budget, it can be confusing to leverage between information given on Rio 2016. There is a general agreement that the operational costs of the Games were above 4 billion USD, which is below the universal average of previous events. As assumed by many resources, the total costs of the project including infrastructure, housing and legacy were around 39 bn BRL, i.e. 12 bn USD. Unfortunately, there is some controversy depending on the sources of the investment. As said by Eduardo Paes, the city's mayor at the time, 58% of this came from entrepreneurs saving budget for tax-payers (Watts & Douglas, 2016). This governmental stand is confirmed by the World Cup and Olympics Popular Committee of Rio de Janeiro, "a collective of NGOs, popular organisations, researchers and students committed with the struggle for the right to the city". However, according to their calculations, if the IOC costs ⏤ private expenditures and revenue without public control ⏤ are excluded and the public money appearing in the PPP consortiums and tax

allowances are included, the 42,6/57,4% ratio changes to 62,1/37,9%, presenting a significant public investment (Popular Committee, 2015).

Rio's Olympic candidacy's aim with the Games was to show the city's economic potential on the global market. At the same time, in the beginning the city intended to enhance the sustainability of the region with (1) better public transport, (2) upgraded favela infrastructures, e.g. accessibility, water and sewage, (3) improving the city's sewer system overall and (4) decreasing the expected carbon emissions by newly planted vegetation and preserved natural areas (Plautz, 2014). Mayor Eduardo Paes called the Games Master Plan to be one with the city's own such plan in 2009 (Schissel, 2012). However, the scale of the event and the interventions made it fairly hard to clearly realise tangible results. What is more, some lack of clarity about the exact numbers makes it hard to evaluate most measures.

In the upcoming chapter the author makes an effort to showcase the perception of the results from both of a personal observation and local sources.

4. Analysis - Sensing Rio

Initially, my aim was only to shed light on certain details from the spatial and social point of view that particularly highlighted the terms of the actualities in August 2016. This chapter will present those experiences complemented by some background information, experiences of the locals and opinions to show contested realities. The author`s aim is not to simply give a negative reflection on the outcomes. Rather I intend to observe and offer a summarised insight into the realities compared to the original objectives. It shall be up to the reader to draw a conclusion concurrently. Needless to say, with a little time has passed since the event itself, some outcomes may have

not been born up to now and would come into light in the near future. Yet, various trends are clear. Four main categories, spatial and societal aspects, as well as economic and environmental outcomes will frame the presentation of the legacies of the games. Of course, we need to bear in mind that now we are one year after the event took place.

4.1   Urbanity - Spatial features

Poynter and Viehoff (2015) point out that the layout and positions of Mega Event venues, their relationship with the city is in heavy correlation with the potential success of the event. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the sports venues were clustered in four particular zones. Further influential development and defining area is the Rio port area, where the inner city had been going through heavy transitions and social processes. This theme is particularly concerned with Barra, the Port and the related infrastructure.

Case Studies

The Port Region, a fairly disadvantaged working class area just north of the economic centre, represents truly Rio Janeiro's desire to influentially step into the playground of global economic and tourist powerhouses. Parts like the Gloria Docks, have continuously been threatened with uncertain transformation scenarios but developers tend to fail on legal and economic grounds (Popular Committee, 2015). The city launched the programme 'Porto Maravilha', the marvellous port, coordinated by a private consortium towards a world class living, working and leisure environment (DeRogatis, 2015). Hotels, new transportation modes (the light rail, cable cars on the favelas) and public space developments have been shaping the harbour area. The Certificates of Potential Additional Construction (CEPACs) is a programme that allows reconfiguration of zoning. It catalyses increased floor-space index to be developed on a given land with the additional revenues being invested in the surrounding public infrastructures. As

Derogatis (ibid) sums up the controversies, it is a territory that is influenced by economic powerhouses (construction firms), while public capital - the main developer being a government owned bank – is both supporting and threating it at the same time.

Needless to say, the new light rail system (VRT) connecting the bus terminal to the domestic airport Santos Dumont through the centre will contribute to a more efficient traffic downtown, while the public space developments significantly improve the waterfront's environmental qualities. However, considering the potential cost expansion of rents and life, the lack of investment in the existing housing stock and in low-cost buildings, the local population will hardly be able to afford to stay in the area, practically by a 'planned gentrification' (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015).

Already in the candidacy period, the Barra de Tijuca district had been marked as a rapidly intensifying area with housing and infrastructure needs, not emphasising that most land properties were in the hands of a few private giants (IOC, 2017). Barra de Tijuca, a 'Miami-style vision' (Watts & Douglas, 2016) a former swampland today is characterised by motorways, malls, gated communities and constructions. DeRogatis (2015) raises a concern that 70% of the games-related investments are targeted in this area. A number hard to visualise, nevertheless, it is without a doubt that this affluent district is a primary benefactor of public funds. While it is believed to be beneficial to reduce the traffic jams on these motorways, it is primarily controversial, considering that in the working class districts in the north-west ⬜ with ten times bigger populations ⬜ the lack of appropriate transit hinders people to comfortably reach their workplaces (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015). It is even perceived that vital bus lines were deliberately cancelled to keep groups out of the popular urban flows (Popular Committee, 2015). Thus, no public-financed mobility boost can be perceived as an equally distributed amenity within the population (Williamson, 2016).

Transportation overall

Brazilian cities, while built on cultural and ethnic diversity, are struggling with unequal access to transport considering the price of cars and the insufficiently and unequally distributed public transport system. The city planners were following modernist trends by facilitating wide urban motorways within the inner cities that today are overbooked, with little or no appealing space remaining for pedestrians (Popular Committee, 2015; Carvalho, 2016). Some of the mobility goals marked in the plans were partially matched as the event areas did gain significantly faster transit connections to the centre than before. However, congestions remained not only in rush hours, but Rio's notorious traffic situation has not changed visibly for the better. One of the strikingly missing features is the lack of bicycle infrastructure and riders to help diminish congestions.

The Popular Committee agrees on this remark, in fact they further express continuously missing out on exploring waterway transportation (2015). They further emphasise, that while officially 63% of Rio's population was expected to use high-capacity transport utilities, such as the underground and the BRTs, this completely failed, with 10% of the regular bus journeys taking place only on the rapid system. The Committee blame partially the initial planning defects of for facilitating scattered areas, which contributed to an unnecessary expansion as well as property speculation instead of focusing on the densely populated zones and existing traffic demands (ibid). Some societal aspects of the mobility realities will be examined in the next section.

Figure 5. Congestions on Rio streets - a constant. Image by author

Figure 6. Favela-scape. Remaining problems. Image by author

4.2 Societal report

Favelas

When discussing societal flows in Rio de Janeiro, it is vital to understand what a favela means. The term is often mistakenly regarded as slums, however they are 'only neighbourhoods' responding the urgent need for housing (from 1897 onwards). They are informally developed by the residents without governmental regulation, hence, favelas continuously evolve based on access to resources. In Urbanism terms, they are low-rise, high density, mixed use areas of organic architecture with low speed transport, and residences close to workplaces. Favelados, the residents are famous for their collectivity and social ties. 95% of the buildings are made by brick and steel and comprises basic infrastructure, on the other hand, 30% is not connected to formal sanitation system and even if yes, a collective system may not be in place.

In Rio de Janeiro close to 1,5 million people live in a 1000 favelas (nearly a quarter of the population that is comparable to inexpensive housing percentage in cities world-wide). They are the only affordable options available from slum-like to highly-functioning neighbourhoods (Braathen, 2015, CatComm, 2017). By 2015, 65% of favelados belonged to the (lower) middle class of Brazil and 85% of the residents like the place they live in (ibid). This is important to consider when public authorities defend evictions by 'relocation to better places' (DeRogatis, 2015). According to Theresa Williamson (2017), Rio's favelas could transform Rio to a "cultural mecca [...] fostered through empowerment, participatory planning, and provisions to guarantee affordability."

Failing programmes

Plenty of the critical remarks the Rio 2016 process receives is driven from the way residents are treated. There were serious promises in the legacy

addressing favelas by the dedicated Moriar Carioca (MC) programme. It was aimed to join forces with on-going federal initiatives, the Growth Acceleration Programme (GAP) and Minha Casa Minha Vida (My House My Life, MCMV). Among other urban projects they have been bringing infrastructure and social housing possibilities to favelas, but often undesired and forced displacement as well. Morar Carioca, as part of the Olympic developments, meant to improve sanitation, water drainage, road infrastructure, recreation areas and social services as 'favela urbanising' projects before it fall from the political agenda in 2014 before having realised notable positive achievements.

Case studies

During the events' preparations favelas in the proximity or even perimeter of development areas were more endangered. For instance, Providencia in the vicinity of Porto Maravilha was strengthened by superficial interventions like a cable car system and some road-widening while it still lacks running water, sanitation and appropriate access to education and healthcare (Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015; DeRogatis, 2015; Ruvolo, 2015). This happened with the forceful eviction of squatters and low-rent payers without any democratic discussion. The remaining population is also facing heavy gentrification from the rapidly growing interest in the area, while the daily operation of the cable car faces uncertainty. In the meanwhile, downtown Rio has been facing a 200% rent increase the last few years (Gaffney, 2015; Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015).

Vila Autodromo in the shadow of the Olympic Park development in Barra was removed to be space for access roads while communicated to be a landscaping project initially. After a long battle with the authorities some of the residents accepted relocation to the nearby Parque Carioca apartments,

where their "social and cultural ties" could remain (DeRogatis, 2015). Some others had to leave to the outskirts of the city as their compensation was half the market value of their property (Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015). 20 families have not given up on their location and could remain in newly built houses on the plot that represents the one thriving place (Littlefield, 2017). The story of a small fishing community represented the autocratic process favela residents have to face. Participation in any stage of the project was missing, despite the village even had its own plan developed alongside the park. Their 'Popular Plan' was ignored while its implementation would have cost 4,5 million USD, 10% of the price the Parque Carioca relocation was (DeRogatis, 2015).

Figure 7. Vila Autodromo's Plan Popular. Source: http://www.rioonwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/4-vers%C3%A3o.jpg

Controversies

The Olympic project set the aim to "bring long overdue projects to life in order to benefit the major players of the 2016 Rio Games: the local population" (Rio Prefeiture, 2014). However, Morar Carioca did not realise big changes and the problem of housing has no longer been a legacy item since 2014 (Williamson, 2016). Furthermore, the federal programmes can acclaim numerous negative perceptions and they are accompanied by the Pacification Programmes 'UPP'. They are aimed to clean favelas of drug cartels but often fail to address the most affected neighbourhoods destabilising communities and creating insecurity (Gaffney, 2015; Gibson 2016). Unfortunately, pacified favelas usually do not gain access to new public infrastructure investments that leaves them vulnerable to private development interests (Gaffney, 2015; Bankovacki & Damidaviciute, 2016).

Socio-spatial conflicts

As this paper has already touched upon, in the case of Rio de Janeiro and developing countries in general, the usual controversies are born from investing massive public funds towards projects and common land that do not benefit the vulnerable. What is more, the ignorance of democratic public participation is often a lead-up to forced evictions and gentrifying areas.

Many territories of the previous large Rio events are around poorer, vulnerable communities. This meant that plenty of public sports facilities were threatened or taken over (Popular Committee, 2015). Besides, the city administration could widely practice displacement of lower-income groups, what they had had a long history of. Many were removed from the vicinity of the developments to remote areas most often far from their jobs or further working opportunities and hours of slow commute from the centre. In total nearly 80,000 people were displaced between 2009-2015 that also led to

citizens losing trust in public authorities and security forces. This was additionally stirred by the habit of authorities who negotiated with the residents separately to weaken their collective positions (Gaffney, 2015; Popular Committee, 2015; Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015; Almeida & Graeff, 2016; Bankovacki & Damidaviciute, 2016; Harris, 2016).

Plenty of the projects that catalysed the aforementioned gentrification and displacement were (1) road works and the BRT corridors, (2) Tom Jobin Airport's expansion and the renovation of sporting facilities as well as (3) urban renewals by the land speculations. In the last few years these processes were solely related to the Mega Events (Popular Committee, 2015). This means that they leave contested legacies, especially on the social sphere. Since the projects usually lack of any transparency and their aims are often untraceable, the suspicion grows that often only private real estate interests are targeting valuable land and locations (Gaffney, 2015; Timsit, 2016). Communities the Popular Committee visited were never in any possession of information on the projects concerning them (2015).

Normally in Brazilian cities there is a limited difference between ground rent payments on poor areas and the potential achievable ground rents due to the high number of ownership and resistance of the residents (Gaffney, 2015). However, the state-led, sponsored gentrifications to boost interventions and free land value created new dynamics in selected areas inspired by Mega Events. Funds that were to improve much needed amenities like water and sewage were used for cable cars for instance supporting real estate interests and the large engineering conglomerates (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015; Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015; Timsit, 2016). Adding the municipality's willingness to expand the zoning laws to elevate developments for higher building envelopes, it is clearly visible how

regulations were transformed at the sheer interest of the economic powerhouses. This presents how recent years Rio de Janeiro operated as a 'City of Exception' (Broudehoux & Sanchez, 2015; Derogatis, 2015; Vannuchi & Van Criekingen, 2015; Harris, 2016). Unfortunately, in contrast of Barcelona's gentrification in central areas, Rio residents were hit city-wide with heavily undesired changes.

The International Olympic Committee (2017) of course sees some aspects differently. They inform that sports in schools are now promoted with Olympic values of excellence, respect and friendship. Certainly, the plan of some arenas becoming schools afterwards is an appropriate one. However, in 2017 there are no proofs available any moves have happened. On the contrary, the Olympic Park venues mostly stand degraded and abandoned just like the 'White Elephants' in the case of most other Mega Events. Many blame the absence of thorough legacy planning. Still, the IOC still advertise these heritage plans, though without a mention of how they are keen on contributing. They have turned down the claim of the Rio organisers for a 40 million USD help. Various Favela Games particularly presenting sports for disadvantaged kids were organised by local and international NGOs prior to the games to indeed show some signs of inclusivity. The Olympic Village, developed by Carvalho Hosken on private soil but with significant public contribution, does not offer any affordable possibilities from its 3,100 apartments for sale that are now mostly abandoned (Gaffney, 2015; Kaiser, 2017). The IOC (2017) claims that 63% of the Rio population has now access to high-quality transportation compared to 18% in 2009. This is somewhat hard to be traced especially considering the adjustments the network has received.

Allocated funds spent on beautifying projects did not contribute to neither sanitary and transport infrastructure improvements, nor access to education and health as well as leisure areas life of the less privileged could improve upon. Both Brazil and Rio de Janeiro were hitting an economic recession already before the games, unemployment and crime rate have been rising ever since (CatComm, 2017, Kaiser, 2017). Considering how resources are limited, it is concerning to see what could change in notably positive directions in the near future.

Figure 8. Sanitation in the favelas – a remaining problem. Image by author

4.3 Economic Competitiveness

More than 24 bn BRL ie. 7,6 bn USD were spent on the Public Policy Plan, basically the legacy projects of the games. The budget has seen expansions since the bidding process, many vast projects had only opened days before the event kicked off. The economic recession is certainly to blame in the

matter, but miscalculations and private profiteering are also considered guilty (Popular Committee, 2015).

The International Olympic Committee (2017) claim varying economic legacies. Their numbers indicated that around 4,5 billion viewers had followed the tournaments and connected footages, which is certainly not bad publicity, even if numerous coverages highlighted controversial features. It is undisputable that the city's touristic qualities, central public spaces and hotels have expanded and strengthened.

According to the IOC, the revenues of SMEs rose with direct contracts of Rio 2016 but these rather seemed an opportunity for once than a sustainable steady course. At the same time, there are vast labourers with unpaid wages. They make a heavily provocative declaration that 'the base of the social pyramid in Rio' was primary benefactor since during the pre-Olympic period the income of the poorest 5% witnessed a growth of 29.3% against 19.96% of the richest 5%. Finally, the Olympic Committee is also proud of healthcare and education improving more in the preparation years than in the previous period. However, it calls for an observation whether the accessibility to these amenities has also changed.

Street life, the formal and informal economy is vital in developing countries. In Rio prior to the World Cup, street vendors were removed for renovation works from multiple public spaces and they could never return afterwards, which trend continued around the Olympics as well (Popular Committee, 2015). Aside of potentially violating democratic values of not allowing citizens to practice on public spaces, this is an economy hampering move.

The devaluation of public lands to enhance investment potentials without conciliations towards citizens, such as affordable housing greatly weakens the public assets of the city (Popular Committee, 2015). At once, it hides public funding for the developments while public expenditures tend to be omitted through unclear PPT consortia. The investments primarily supporting real estate and construction powers, the economic elites, and the lack of transparency of public control are a striking legacy of the games says local experts (ibid).

Mentioning the heavy involvement of the regularly scandalous Brazilian (global) giants in such events, they question the reason of their privilege "if the interventions related to the Olympics are not the expression of the transfer of public funds to certain private groups, the protagonists of power coalitions in the project of neo-liberalisation of the city of Rio de Janeiro" (ibid, 149). As Broudehoux and Sanchez were observing in 2013, a Mega Event project after the 2007 Pan American Games left a mark of another 'ad hoc' idea to solve the problems of a contested region rather than a crucial pillar in a consensus-rich future vision. The current state of Olympic venues and society clearly prove this assumption.

As Lei and Spaans (2009) share their concern, there are limited and insufficient tools to analytically and broadly evaluate the socio-economic and spatial-environmental influences of Mega Events. Currently we are not witnessing a city defying transformation like Barcelona, or a new green neighbourhood and renewal like London. Even positive outcomes of the facilities and projects, currently waiting for their unclear destiny, cannot overshadow the budgets taken away from welfare investments in this 'City of Exception' in urgency.

4.4 Environmental Awareness

While countries in the 'Global South' have been exploring their potentials for years, the emerging economies' "economic growth agenda continues to give signs of being incompatible with environmental sustainability" (Carvalho, 2016, 78). South America possesses vital natural resources for the planet but their heavy urbanisation and car use as well as global exports are a threat to these reserves. Hosting demanding shows like a World Cup or the Olympics hold threats.

As the Shanghai Manual notes, on paper Mega Events and the International Olympic Committee do have requirements for environmental awareness and sustainability measures (UN DESA, 2012). They declare though, that these measures are now "hallmarks" of the events. In principle, Rio 2016 did certainly have such goals and fulfilled many. As stated by the IOC (2017), kilometres of river courses were recovered and sanitation infrastructure - likely in Barra - was improved. 1,100 tons of waste was recycled, among others by specialised SMEs, and the last landfill in Rio was closed. A new waste treatment was installed to treat 9,000 tons of waste per day. This paper's scope limits an elaborate view on waste. However, the author felt constant distress in venues due to the minor signs of recycling games' territories showed.

The main concerns of local experts (Popular Committee, 2015) were driven from large scale environmental aspects. It is believed that the Olympic Park was realised without an Environmental Impact Study. What is more, the Olympic Golf Course of in the Marapendi Lagoon, while officially communicated as a restoration, was injected in the protected Jacarepagua Lowlands, a mangrove bay with endemic species of which some were threatened. The construction of the Transolimpica BRT affected the Atlantic Rainforest (ibid). The cleaning of the Guanabara Bay, the project that could have had the biggest influence if successful, failed to deliver its hopes as Mayer Paes already had announced it shortly prior to the games. Only 50% of the incoming sewage is treated (Watts & Douglas, 2016; Timsit, 2016)

Rio 2016 leaves mixed legacies in the environmental area. With unquestionable benefits came controversial projects and absolute failures such as the bay or sanitation in the favelas. And if we consider that environmental sustainability can never be achieved without targeting social equality and economic legacies (democratic values, procedures, institutions, people centred approaches; Mackenzie, 2001), the author urges to thoroughly plan and evaluate Mega Events that possess a heavy effect on citizens. It is a must to adhere complex plans on legible criteria taking all necessary aspects into account. The outcomes and motivations shall not indicate the sole favouring of a power-practicing minority. Just like the majority of the Brazilian public and experts believe long months after the games, contrary to the support the project initially enjoyed.

5. Conclusion

Mega Events without a doubt are particular influencers of a city's history with a unique chance of repositioning their brands and image. The euphoria of hosting the world at one's doorsteps can be matched with otherwise hard to fund and timed public projects. However, while taking a chance to boost the local economy and various actors from large companies to SMEs, it is vital to note that the privatisation of public affairs will overshadow the rainbow of support, decision makers so often ought to perceive for themselves. There is a widespread experience-based concern that these events are a great source of an autocratic, neo-liberal colonisation of urban developments that is bound to lead to the exclusion of various population

groups. The privatisation of land, properties, the top-down accumulation of the shared assets and the denial of goods of groups will never sustain itself long enough.

This paper aimed to present a compact overview of what processes accompanied the planning, development and real time realities of a Summer Olympic Games. A Mega Event hosted by a developing country, an emerging economy at bidding but crisis hit engine soon after. The choice of venues, the exclusive utilisation of public funds for debated benefits, as well as public-financed displacement and segregation from goods highlighted what jeopardise the chasing of an irresponsible dream. Many of the urban conflicts have not been addressed, while some sewage concerns, especially the ones related to the Bay area were only partially implemented. A significant amount of the population has no appropriate access to sanitation and drinking water yet.

It is concerning that while the Olympic project may have empowered a few, the long-lasting legacies of the event are yet to be seen. In the meanwhile, the current financial crisis hitting Rio does not offer hopes of any new large public spending on the infrastructure. No wonder, many scholars urge to address social sustainability when considering hosting Mega Events. Flashy mobility platforms can be a beneficial tool to convince the world of ability, however, more often than not, those are the societal conflicts that are occupying the news. There is something ironic in organisers advertising these events as "a vessel of healing, humanity and peace, all while members ride around in bulletproof cars, surrounded by armed guards" (Gordon, 2016).

A region simply cannot afford to embark on such public investment without transparently considering its population's tangible, accountable and sustainable future. Otherwise, hosting large events for the unprepared will not be so appealing for the citizens, regardless of the flashy keywords. Eventually, the city is always taken back by those whose future has been stolen.

Figure 9. A street opinion. Image by author

Authors

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FINAL CONCLUSIONS

By Jonathan Manns, ECTP-CEU Young Planners Workshop Facilitator

If there was only a single conclusion to be drawn from these papers, it's that whilst Olympic Games and other mega-events are not a substitute for good town planning, the exercise of town planning can certainly help deliver them more effectively and to the greatest benefit.

The link between planning and politics is well-known across Europe, but this relationship can blur discussions about what should be delivered and how. It's evident that, whilst large-scale events of any type can raise the profile of a settlement or region, they should not be relied upon to provide social goods. They are very rarely the sole solution to a problem, but can help to catalyse change which ideally brings that solution nearer. The extent to which mega-events can stimulate change depends, to a great extent, on the way in which such events are prepared for and managed, both before and after they occur. Take, for example, the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, which were marred by corruption and delay. Whilst a significant amount of infrastructure was constructed, it could be argued that the benefits were shared by only a small minority; not necessarily those who most needed support.

Even where clear social objectives are achieved, the interconnected nature of urban areas can create scope for unforeseen consequences to arise. London's acclaimed Olympic Games in 2012 are an example of just such an occurrence. Prepared in the midst a global financial crisis, they were delivered effectively and able to focus on issues such as inclusive design, but by changing perceptions of East London they inadvertently contributed to a rise in house prices and rents which has since had negative consequences for existing local communities.

Importantly, in these austere times, it's not only projects which require significant investment which have the potential for significant and positive impacts. This is shown clearly through the recent examples of cities which have to become Capitals of Culture. It is also the case with the hosts of the Universiade's of Former Yugoslavia. As with Olympic Games, these events have helped people to perceive of places in a new way, to celebrate collectively and to view their world differently.

Yugoslavia's Universiade's are an interesting example of where relatively small financial outlay was needed to both foster and demonstrate cohesion amongst its constituent nations in the years following the death of Tito in 1980. Such events were also immensely popular, with clear support for them taking place. In this respect, it's particularly notable that the Sarajevo Winter Olympics in 1984 were part funded by local residents who contributed 0.2-0.3% of their salary towards meeting the costs.

Yet again, however, there are often negative repercussions which follow the raised profile of settlements which host events. Designation of Matera, a mall Italian city of about 60,000 inhabitants, as a Capital of Culture for 2019 has attracted tourism to the "city of rocks" and bought new jobs, but in so doing increased house prices and traffic congestion. This seems a particularly common pattern for smaller settlements with less diverse economies, unlike larger regional cities such as Manchester or Lille.

What is crucial, irrespective of the event or the aspiration, is leadership. Bilbao's success is arguably no more about the Guggenheim than the museum's success relates to the city. Bilbao has spent 10 times as much money cleaning its river as building the Frank Gehry-designed museum. It's undertaken twenty-five projects in twenty-five years. At the Barcelona Olympics, 10 per cent of spending was on the buildings themselves whilst ninety per cent was on city-wide transformation through new transport infrastructure and public realm. Business lobbying resulted in Manchester's Commonwealth Games, which generated the expertise that contributed to the London Olympic bid. In this regard, there is a degree of path-dependency.

Leadership is needed, in each instance, on an on-going basis at the appropriate level. Zaragoza's International Expo in 2008 exemplifies that ability of a city to secure high-level political support but not enough "on the ground" leadership to ensure this was as effective as possible. The city secured new infrastructure but it wasn't fully integrated. This has meant that the long-term benefits have not yet been harnessed. So too, a fifteen-year overage agreement with landowners actively discourages short-term efforts to boost rental values as this would trigger further payments to the landowners from who the property was purchased.

So where, then, does this leave planning professionals? Perhaps unsurprisingly, the lessons reinforce the notion of planners as facilitators. Indeed, this is something which Jean-Pierre Duport (Prefet ancien Directeur de l'Urbanisme, Saint-Denis), working on the Paris 2020 Olympic bid, has also concluded. His suggestion is that what's required is akin to a pedalo: reflecting the fact that a pedalo sees people sat side-by-side with shared responsibilities for the direction of travel.

There is clear scope for planning professionals to help balance competing commercial and social objectives, ensure that decisions taken are made are in the interests of the city, and that they are responsive to both long and short-term challenges. In looking to the future, whether we seek to either return or celebrate the dignity of a community, planners undoubtedly have a significant part to play; perhaps, even, from the pedalo.

PARTICIPANTS AT THE WORKSHOP MEETING IN PARIS, ON JUNE 28TH 2017