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Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture: A cultural mega-event within a strategic vision for heritage development

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Chapter 2

GENOA 2004 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

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

by Zachary M. Jones

The Genoa 2004 ECoC case at a glance

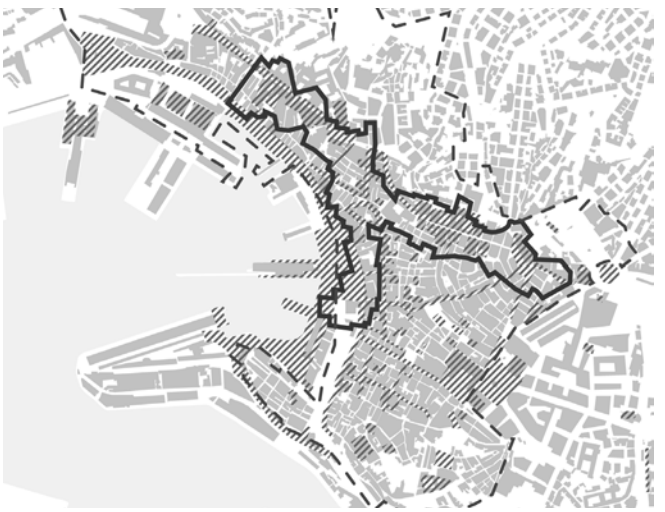


Fig. 2.0 Genoa city center: UNESCO site (black line), buffer zone (dashed line) and restoration/renewal areas (grey hatch) (source: Zachary Jones, 2020).

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

Key heritage issues and takeaways:

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

GE NOVA 04

Facts and figures

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

GDP per capita
National
€ 22,938.24 (2004)
€ 26,168.63 (2017)

City
€ 33,396.96 (2003)
€ 31,616.60 (2012)

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

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

Event attendance
2,835,960

Total no. of events
439

Total event cost
€ 252,000,000

Heritage project budget
€ 300,000,000 (G8 and ECoC)

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

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

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

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

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

Palaces and urban structure

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

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

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

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

The city and the sea

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

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

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

Building momentum for redevelopment

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

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

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

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

2.1.1 City and event facts and figures

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

City/Event	Genoa 2004 ECoC
Year	2004
City population	601,338 (2004) 583,601 (2017)
GDP per capita (local/ national)	Italy- € 22,938.24 (2004) Italy- € 26,168.63 (2017) € 33,396.96 (2003) € 31,616.60 (2012)[1]
Number of annual visitors before/ during/after event[2]	2000 (overnight) 492,498 2005 (overnight) 586,633 2014 (overnight) 801,833 2000 (visits) 1,083,244 2005 (visits) 1,230123 2014 (visits) 1,585,061
Event attendance	2,835,960[3]
Total no. of events	439[4]
Heritage % of events	-
Audience demographics (age, gender, etc.)	-
Total event cost	€ 220,571,679[5]
Infrastructure cost (event budget)	€ 0
Infrastructure cost (other budget)	€ 220,000,000[6]
Cultural/ Entertainment Program cost	€ 33,200,000[7]
Heritage project budget	€ 300,000,000 (G8 and ECoC)[8]
Public funding	€ 18,000,000 from EU, State and local entities[9]

1 https://knoema.com/CITIES2017/metropolitan-areas?tsId=1048250.
2 Comune di Genova, 2015.
3 García & Cox, 2013.
4 www.genoa-2004.it. (n.d.). BILANCIO CONSUNTIVO. Retrieved May 26, 2016.
5 Bompani, 2005.
6 Bompani, 2005.
7 Bompani, 2005.
8 Gastaldi, 2009.
9 Begossi, 2005.

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

10 Begossi, 2005.
11 Begossi, 2005.

2.1.2 Genoa 2004 timeline

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

	Bidding	Planning
	1994-1998	1998-2000
Public administration (state, local, etc.)	- Bid submitted under Mayor Adriano Sansa (l'Ulivo) - Giuseppe Pericu elected in 1997 (Center left)	- 1999 Strategic Conference Organized - 2000 City Center Operative Plan created - Municipality directs multiple funding sources towards heritage projects - Central government gives Genoa 2001 G8 Summit to host
Event organizers	- Genoa awarded ECoC in 1998	- Genova 2004 S.r.l. created, chaired by representatives from the Municipality, Province, Region, Chamber of Commerce, Port Authority and universities
Other actors (Heritage, private, etc.)	- Preparatory studies of palaces made	- MiBACT cooperates and supervises heritage projects

Implementation	Post-event
2001-2004	2005-2018
-Municipality funds projects through PUC, CIV, EU Urban II, and PRUSST programs with funding from regional, national and EU levels.	- Mayor Pericu completes term, Marta Vincenzi (PD) elected in 2007 - Municipality focus shifts towards city periphery - Marco Doria (Independent) elected in 2012 - Marco Bucci (Independent) elected in 2017
- 160+ heritage projects completed for both the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC	- Genova 2004 S.r.l. disbanded
- Banks and other private owners of heritage buildings privately restore structures - Genoa applies for UNESCO WHS status in 2004	- City center awarded UNESCO WHS status in 2006

2.2 A coordinated, multi-level and strategic event governance

2.2.1 Building on bid documents

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

2.2.2 Closely coordinated city plans and strategies

Strategic visioning and actions

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

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

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

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

New vision for the historic city center

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

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

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

2.2.3 Many actors involved in envisioning Genoa 2004

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A total of € 2,000,000,000[12] in projects was proposed in combined public and private funding. While these funds were not all specifically tied to the delivery of the event and its program, they were related to projects in some way connected to the delivery of the event, including several stops of the new metro line. As noted in section 2.1.1, the actual cultural program itself represented a quite small part of the overall investment associated with the event. Part of the strategy to recuperate the center also involved the diversification of inhabitants and economic activities located there. Particularly, the city hoped to attract more students, and student housing and economic incubators were intended to initiate new business opportunities in the center. Despite a complex web of projects and funding sources, the city used the strategic conference and the subsequent operation plan to succinctly guide the works completed. The major restrictions to implementing such projects previously were due to cost and feasibility.

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

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

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

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

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

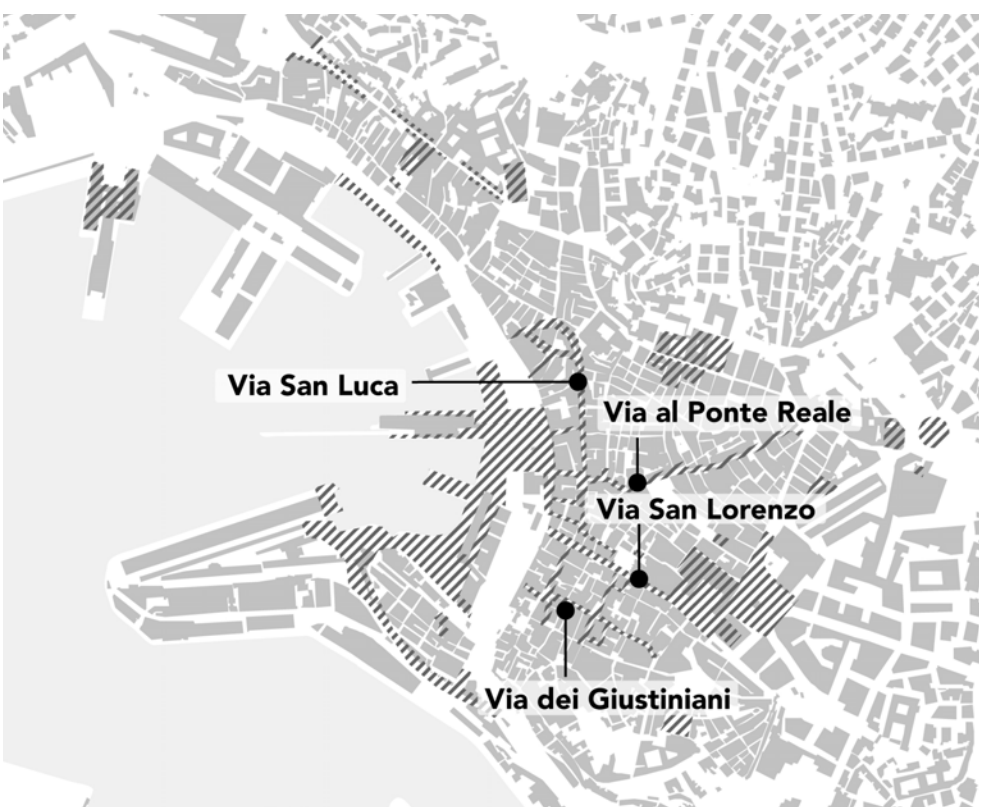


Fig. 2.8 The restorations and urban projects completed in preparation for the 2001 G8 (grey dash) (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).

2.2.5 Heritage threats and opportunities

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

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

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

PALAZZO BIANCO

CAMPIONE N°10

Stratigrafia del capitello al secondo piano nobile:
a) arriccio con spessore non determinabile;
b) arenino 2 mm.

a) ARRICCIO	
Legante	Calce aerea
Rapporto clasti/matrice	Medio
Composizione aggregato	Ofioliti, quarzi, calcari marnosi
Dimensione max granuli	3 mm
Classazione	Scarsamente classato
Morfometria granuli	Sfericità bassa subangolosi/subarrontondati
b) ARENINO	
Legante	Calce aerea
Rapporto clasti/matrice	Medio
Composizione aggregato	Marmo
Dimensione max granuli	0,4 mm
Classazione	Scarsamente classato
Morfometria granuli	Sfericità bassa, angolosi
Finitura	Liscia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 A legacy of a vast urban scale heritage regeneration project

2.3.1 Implemented heritage projects between the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC

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

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

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

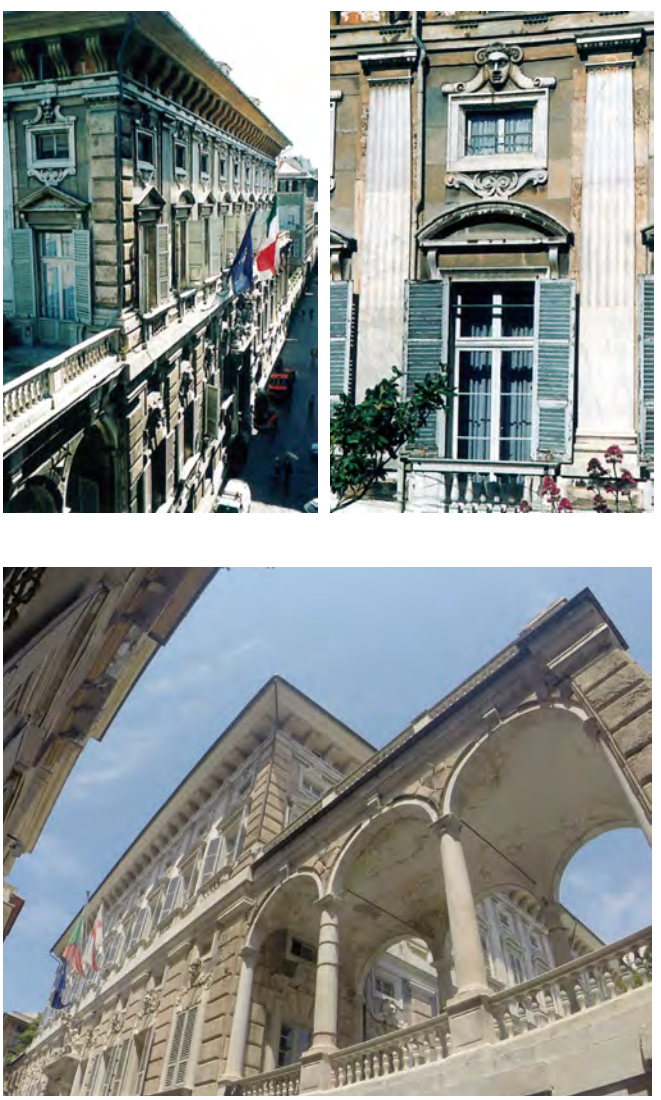


Fig. 2.12 Images of Palazzo Doria-Tursi prior to restoration works and after (source: Arkos 2001 Supplement n.1/2001 "Speciale G8" and Zachary Mark Jones, 2016).

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

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

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

relating to just the 2004 event (Gastaldi, 2009). The approximately € 300,000,000 that the city spent on its urban heritage between 2001 and 2004 equals the € 290,000,000 that Italy allocated to the Protection of Cultural Heritage for the entire country in 2016[13] (MiBACT, 2016). Therefore, this level of investment was not just significant for Genoa, but is unmatched by any city in Italy.

2.3.2 External projects aligned with the two events

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

2.3.3 Post-event trends

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

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

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

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

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

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

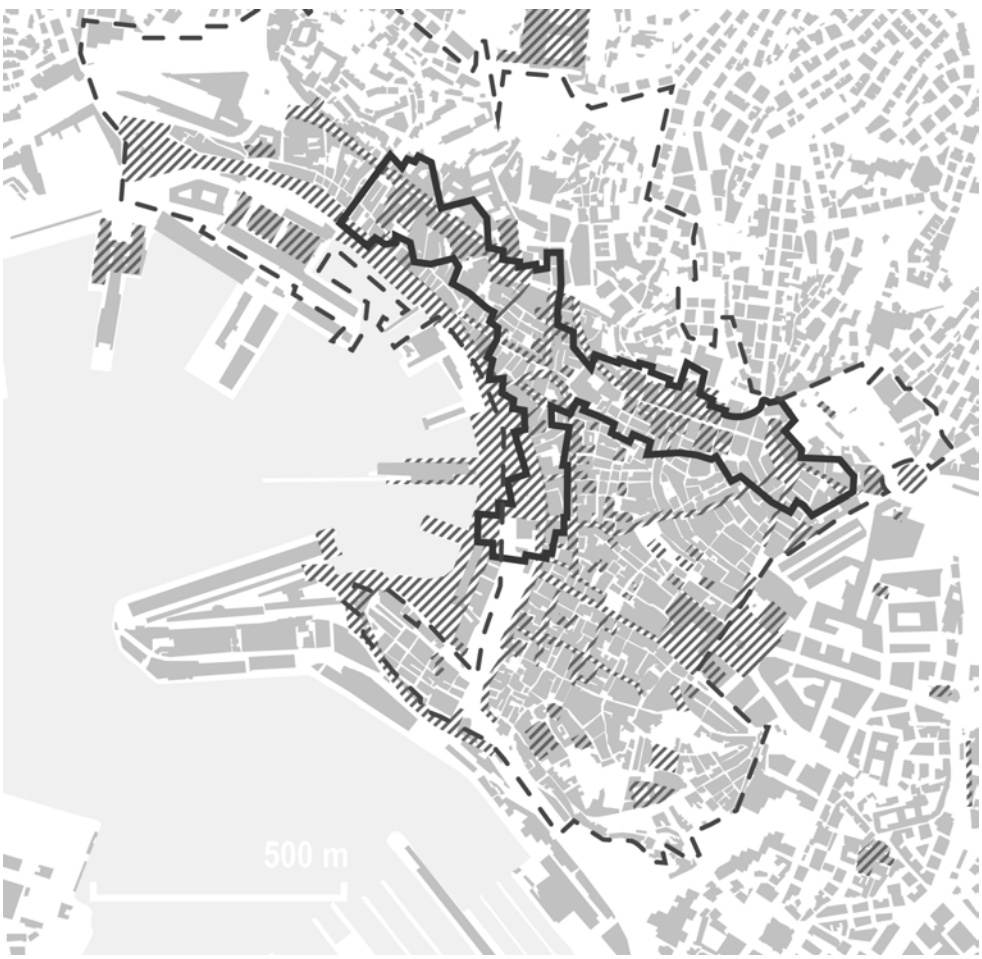


Fig. 2.14 The projects restored for the 2001 G8 and 2004 ECoC (grey dash) with the UNESCO World Heritage Site (solid black line) and the buffer zone (black dash line) (source: Zachary Mark Jones, 2020).

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

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

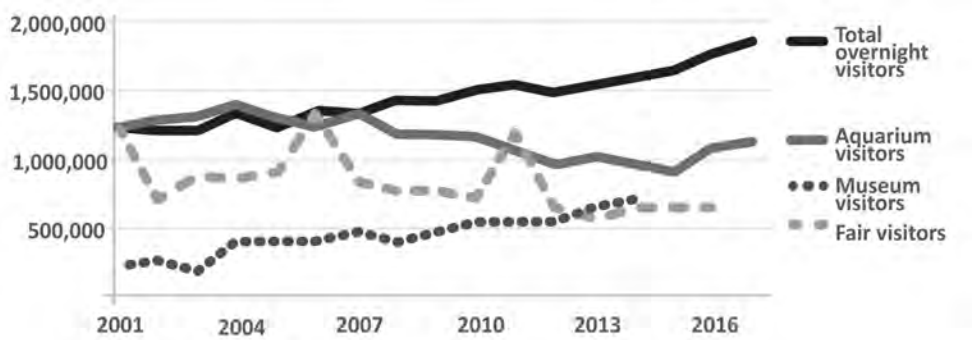
2.3.4 The general legacy over the last 15 years

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Threats

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

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

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

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

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

Opportunities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.1 A long-term vision and urban regeneration program

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

2.4.2 Tourism economies in the historic city center

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

2.4.3 Creating a new City Museum system

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

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

2.4.4 Becoming a World Heritage City

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

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Interviews

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