Exploring port-city relationships through event-led urban regeneration

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Abstract: Policy makers in European port cities have been keen on bidding for mega events (MEs) in the last thirty years, as a means to boost or sustain processes of urban regeneration and development. Despite MEs are an increasingly regular feature of urban and cultural policies in these cities, little effort has been put in exploring the outcomes of event-led urban regeneration on the conflicting and deterritorialised liminal space that is the port-city interface. This paper presents some of the findings of a PhD research about the spatial and socio-cultural relationships between ports and cities and the impact of event-led urban regeneration on these links. The experiences of Rotterdam (EURO 2000; European Capital of Culture 2001), Genoa (1992 Specialist Expo, European Capital of Culture 2004), Valencia (America's Cup 2007 and 2010; Formula One European Grand Prix 2008-2012) are put in conversation in relation to the recent case of Kingston upon Hull (UK City of Culture 2017). The analysis of these experiences helps to problematise a range of issues including the 'cultural' role of port authorities, the spatiality of event-led regeneration at the port-city interface and issues of authenticity and cultural demaritimisation.

Keywords: culture-led regeneration; European port cities; event-led regeneration; port-city relationships

Introduction

In the last thirty years, mega events (MEs) have become a key feature in urban policy in many European port cities, in relation to the opportunities that such events may offer in terms of urban regeneration and development. This appears to be particularly the case for European port cities, which had witnessed deindustrialisation and the migration of working port areas outside their traditional urban location. Glasgow (European Capital of Culture 1990), Barcelona (1992 Olympic Games and 2004 Forum of Cultures), Genoa (1992 Specialist Expo and European Capital of Culture 2004), Marseille (European Capital of Culture 2013) are examples of how MEs have been used to address waterfront redevelopment in a context of changing port-city relationships. Although there is a recognition that port-city relationships are rapidly evolving and possibly retightening after a period of growing separation between cities and ports, little attention is devoted to exploring how MEs, and their considerable transformative power, impact on these complex and changing links.

This paper presents the framework and key findings of a PhD research aiming at exploring port-city relationships from the perspective of regeneration triggered by MEs (event-led regeneration) and by cultural activity (culture-led regeneration). In particular, the study aims at investigating the mutual relation between MEs

and the spatial and socio-cultural components of these links between port and cities, through a comparative analysis of MEs in four European port cities.

Firstly, a selective literature review about the evolution of port-city relationships is connected to the growing body of literature about culture-led and event-led urban regeneration. Secondly, the research design and methodology of the study are briefly outlined. Thirdly, background information on the four case-study cities is provided. Fourthly, the connection between MEs and the socio-spatial and socio-cultural aspects of port-city relationships are explored and discussed, in relation to the evolution of port-city links.

Ports, cities, culture and MEs

Port-city relationships have been explored by geographers and port specialists in particular since the 1960s, when Bird (1963) proposed the Anyport model to interpret the evolution of these links from a spatial and functional perspective. The Anyport model assumed the migration of working port areas outside their traditional location at the heart of their cities as an inevitable step in the evolution of ports. This because ports would need wider spaces and increasingly specialised infrastructures that could not be provided within historic harbours. As a matter of fact, containerisation, increasing vessel size, the need of deeper waters and greater accessibility were amongst the factors that fuelled port migration in many European port cities in the late 20th century (Hayuth and Hilling, 1992). These technological developments produced redundant port facilities in central locations on the waterfront and made ports less depended from local labour markets (Hoyle & Pinder, 1992; Ducruet et al., 2010 in Hall and Jacobs, 2012).

Research on port-city relationships from the 1980s to the 2000s (e.g. Hoyle & Pinder, 1992; Meyer, 1999) tend to underline the growing physical and functional separation between ports and cities and the consequent weakening of traditional links. However, Hoyle (1988; 1989; 2000) developed a model of port-city relationships that, in its latest version, suggests a current phase of retightening of these links. The literature on port-city relationships in the last two decades acknowledges that these relationships are evolving on different grounds. Ducruet and Lee (2006) proposed a model based on the role of ports in transnational maritime trade (intermediacy) and the role of cities within global urban networks (centrality). Contemporary port-city links are understood as a combination of complex interrelation (Wiese and Thierstein, 2014; Daamen and Louw, 2016), where the spatial driving force is now the city (Wiegmans and Louw, 2011).

Hayuth (1982) first described the port-city interface as the liminal space between cities and ports, which raises issues of sustainability. This concept has been developed by further research (e.g. Notteboom *et al.*, 2013) towards a view of this geographical liminal space as "a pluralistic community of actors" (Daamen and Vries, 2013, p. 6). Since the 1980s, this space has been substantially transformed through processes of waterfront redevelopment. Pioneering experiences in US cities such as Baltimore and San Francisco inspired similar schemes in European cities such as London, Barcelona or Liverpool. Many of these schemes made use of culture-led urban regeneration (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Evans and Shaw, 2004), where flagship cultural facilities, activities or events were used as catalysts for waterfront redevelopment and strategic repositioning.

European port cities such as Barcelona and Genoa have also made use of event-led urban regeneration, where MEs were devices for concentrating investment and producing massive urban transformation. MEs can be understood as "large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance" (Roche, 2000, p. 1). Examples are the Olympic Games, the World and European Football Cup, the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). MEs can also be viewed as pivotal moments along long-term trajectories of urban development and regeneration through culture (Evans, 2011). Policy makers in European port cities appear increasingly keen on bidding for MEs with the aim of diversifying the local economy and changing external perceptions in relation to the negative image of ports associated with pollution and poverty. For example, the competition for the title of UK City of Culture 2017 involved eight port

cities in the country. Nevertheless, the literature on culture- and event-led regeneration does not recognise the specificity of port cities.

Methodology

A comparative case study analysis of port-city relationships in the context of MEs involved four European port cities, namely Kingston upon Hull, Rotterdam, Genoa and Valencia. The case of Hull was approached as a pilot study to test and further develop the research methodology and to benefit from the fact that the analysed ME was being celebrated in the early stage of the study.

The other three case studies were selected seeking commensurability albeit allowing a certain degree of diversity of instances, in order to avoid "theoretically uniformed choices" (Storper and Scott, 2016, p. 1124) and "self-fulfilling reasoning" (Abu-Lughod, 2007, p. 401). An initial scoping review of experiences of MEs in Mediterranean and Northern European port cities was followed by a shortlisting process which considered a range of issues including demographics, role of candidate cities in national and European urban networks, timeframes of MEs, language barriers. Ducruet and Lee's matrix (2006) mapping port-city relationships was also used.

Cultural political economy (Jessop and Sum, 2001; Sayer, 2001; Jessop 2010) was deployed as a high-level framework to explore power relations behind MEs at the port-city interface. A bespoke comparative strategy including elements of Tilly's variation-finding and encompassing comparative strategies (Tilly, 1984; Robinson, 2011) was adopted to perform the comparative analysis.

A range of practical research methods were used in the analysis. A preliminary desk research was followed by a traditional policy analysis, examining event programmes and relevant planning documents. Forty-four interviews with key informants across the four case-study cities involved senior officers from city councils, port authorities, major cultural organisations, culture companies and event teams, as well as experts and academics. A small number of street interviews – approximately 5 to 10 in each city – was also carried out in waterfront areas and at the port-city interface, involving residents and visitors. These interviews were not aimed at producing quantitative data. Rather, they were used to validate information from other sources and to outline research hypothesis to be tested through the other research methods. Finally, non-participant observations, photographs and mapping were also deployed.

Four examples of port cities of culture

This section presents a brief overview of the four case-study cities. Each sub-section briefly outlines geographical and historical settings, pre-event regeneration strategies and event-led spatial transformation at the port-city interface.

Hull

Kingston upon Hull, or Hull, is a port city on the Humber Estuary, in Northern England. After peaking at more than 300,000 inhabitants in the 1930s, its population steadily declined in the following decades and recently rose again to 260,000 inhabitants. This was due in particular due to migration from Eastern Europe, albeit the ethnic composition of local population remained predominantly white British. In its 800 years' history as a port city, Hull became the third largest port in the country in the 1930s. Shipbuilding – Hull is the port were the Bethia, later HMS Bounty, was built – and whaling were replaced by distant trawler fishing in the second half of the 20th century. However, overfishing and territorial waters disputes with Iceland – the so-called Cod Wars – led to the collapse of Hull's fishing industry since the 1970s. This caused a slow and steady socio-economic decline, which made Hull one of the worst performing UK cities in terms of employment, education, deprivation and

health figures. Because of this steady decline, negative external perception and preconceptions have characterised the image of Hull up until the mid-2010s.

Since the late 1980s, urban regeneration focused on the city centre – which had long been considered as underperforming in terms of retail activity – and the waterfront. The city's old docks were redeveloped and Hull Marina (Figure 1, left) was opened in 1983. Victoria Dock was redeveloped in a residential area in the late 1980s and 1990s, while the aquarium The Deep (Figure 2) at Sammy's Point opened in 2002. The regeneration of the city centre was nonetheless halted in 2010 due to the impact of the economic crisis. The early 2010s also heralded a major development for the port of Hull, where Siemens located a £300 million wind turbine manufacturing facility (Figure 2), which contributed to generating additional jobs in the city.

1. Hull Marina (left) and Humber Street at the Fruit Market (right)

2. The Deep (left) and Siemens' wind turbine manufacturing facility (right, background).

In this context, Hull City Council bid twice for the UK City of Culture, in 2010 and then in 2013. The UK City of Culture (UKCoC) was proposed in 2009 and launched in 2010 with the aim of allowing other cities in the UK to benefit from the positive impact of cultural MEs, as happened in Glasgow. European City of Culture 1990, and Liverpool, European Capital of Culture 2008 (DCMS, 2009). The first UKCoC was Derry-Londonderry in 2013, followed by Hull in 2017. Although no major regeneration schemes were part of Hull's UKCoC bid, the event did have a transformative impact and contributed to boosting investment (e.g. £100 million invested by the City Council only) in the improvement of public realm, the refurbishment of cultural facilities such as the Ferens Art Gallery and the New Theatre and finally the regeneration of the Fruit Market (Figure 1, right).

Rotterdam

Rotterdam is the largest port in Europe, stretching for roughly 50km from the city centre to the North Sea. It is the second largest city in the Netherlands, with a population of roughly 630,000 inhabitants, and it is part of the urban region known as Randstad, which includes the other three major cities Amsterdam, The Hague and

Utrecht. Nearly half of Rotterdam's residents are foreign born (Entzinger and Godfried, 2014), in particular from former Dutch colonies, Turkey and Morocco.

The city and the port of Rotterdam were devastated during the Second World War and went under a long process of reconstruction in the following decades. In the 1990s, Rotterdam was facing the typical challenges of a declining industrial city, including deprivation and unemployment, and was in the shadow of Amsterdam. The transformation of Rotterdam from an industrial port city to a culturally vibrant port metropolis was initiated by both the City Council and the Port Authority. On the one hand, the City Council adopted a long-term strategy of attracting middle-income households to balance the social composition of the local population; on the other hand, the Port Authority realised that port competitiveness also depended on the attractiveness of the city itself, as ports require more high-skilled professionals (Aarts et al., 2012; Vries, 2014). In both cases, enhancing the city's cultural attractiveness was recognised as a key step, while cultural facilities and events were the tools to achieve this aim. Waterstad (Hajer, 1993) and the Museum Triangle (Meyer, 1999), as well as the large-scale redevelopment project for the Kop van Zuid area (Doucet, 2013) are examples of this policy.

After a few pioneering experiences of cultural events, cultural policy became a "spearhead of urban development" in the city (Hitters, 2000, p. 188). In 2000, Rotterdam was the city that hosted the final match of the UEFA European Football Cup, along with other matches in the group and knockout stages. All matches in Rotterdam were played at Feyenoord Stadium, which was refurbished for the event. A metro line connecting Feyenoord district to the city centre was also built. The following year, Rotterdam was also the European Capital of Culture. The European City of Culture (European Capital of Culture since 2001 – ECoC) was proposed in 1985 by the Greek culture minister Melina Mercouri. The first ECoCs, such as Athens 1985, Florence 1986 and Amsterdam 1987 were cultural festival in established cultural city. Glasgow 1990 marked a watershed in the history of the programme (Bianchini *et al.*, 2013) as it was a year-round cultural event focusing on urban regeneration. Since then, ECoCs attempted to use the event as a catalyst for urban regeneration, city branding and tourism development. The ECoC 2001 in Rotterdam was conceived to celebrate the rebuilding of its cultural infrastructure (Hitters, 2000). Although the event had very little physical impact – the transformation of the Las Palmas building on Wilhelminakade (Figure 3, left) into an exhibition space was one of the few examples – the ECoC was more oriented at presenting Rotterdam as a cultural city.

3. The Las Palmas building (left, bottom right), which was refurbished for the ECoC 2001, and view of the Erasmus Bridge and Kop van Zuid (right).

Genoa

Genoa is the sixth largest city in Italy, with a population of 580,000 inhabitants, and one of the country's main ports. It is the perfect example of a historic Mediterranean port city, where the city centre faces the historic port. Demographic growth in the 19th and 20th century was sustained by industrialisation, as Genoa was part in Italy's

Industrial Triangle together with Milan and Turin. Population peaked at more than 800,000 in the early 1970s. Since then, the decline of state-owned heavy industry and of port activity more broadly, together with the effects of the 1973 oil crisis, contributed to a steady structural economic and demographic decline. The inner harbour was also partly abandoned, as it was no longer adequate to the needs of maritime practices.

In this context, Genoa hosted a series of MEs and other large events in the 1990s and 2000s. These included a few matches of the 1990 FIFA World Cup, a Specialist Expo in 1992 in occasion of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the Americas, the G8 summit in 2001 and the European Capital of Culture in 2004. These events were used as catalysts to trigger and sustain the redevelopment of Porto Antico – the inner harbour – and the city centre. Urban regeneration at the port-city interface can thus be considered as a result of a number of actions, rather than one single project (Gastaldi, 2012). Porto Antico was reconverted into a leisure port and open to residents and visitors for the 1992 Specialist Expo, albeit the event was not necessarily successful in terms of audience numbers. A €900 million investment included flagship facilities such as the Aquarium, Bigo and Piazza delle Feste and the redevelopment of the Magazzini del Cotone, while the Biosfera by Renzo Piano was built for the 2001 G8 summit (Figure 4). The European Capital of Culture 2004 included a €220 million investment in physical interventions, such as the restoration of a number of heritage buildings in the city centre and the construction of the Galata Museo del Mare (Maritime Museum) in a city-owned dock.

4. Flagship cultural facilities on Genoa's waterfront: the Biosfera, the Aquarium, Piazza delle Feste and Bigo; Galata Museo del Mare (Maritime Museum, right).

Valencia

Valencia is the third largest city in Spain, after Madrid and Barcelona, and the second busiest port in the country, after Algeciras. Its population account for more than 800,000 inhabitants. Unlike other Spanish cities like Barcelona, Malaga or Alicante, the city centre is located about 6km inland, while the port faces the Mediterranean Sea and it is surrounded by a few historical maritime urban districts.

However, Valencia was not an industrial port city. Its traditional economy was based on agriculture and horticulture, while the port served as a gateway to export agricultural products (Prytherch & Boira i Maiques, 2009). The deviation of the River Turia to the South – after the severe flood occurred in 1957 – and the 1988 spatial plan set the conditions for the development of contemporary Valencia. Since the mid-1980s, a linear park called Jardín del Turia was built on the dry bed of the river. Flagship cultural facilities were also built, such as the Palau de la Música in 1987, the Palacio de Congresos by Norman Foster in 1998 and the iconic Ciutat de les Arts i les Ciències from 1998-2002. Between the late 1980s and the late 1990s, a huge port expansion took place to the South, with the construction of the logistics zone. This generated considerably port-city tension to the South, where the port engulfed the district of Natzaret and caused the destruction of La Punta.

In this context, Valencia hosted the America's Cup 2007 and 2010. The 2007 edition saw more than €400 million invested in the transformation of the inner harbour, which was redeveloped as a leisure port and separated from the commercial port through the construction of a new exit channel. From 2008-2012, Valencia also hosted the Formula One European Grand Prix in a dedicated street circuit which was realised in and around the port estate (Figure 5).

5. Valencia's inner harbour during the America's Cup 2007 (left); part of the Valencia Street Circuit along the inner harbour (right).

MEs at the port-city interface

This section briefly outlines and discusses the findings in relation to the evolution of port-city relationships in Europe. The first sub-section explores questions of spatial outcomes and permeability of waterfront areas, while the second discusses issues of cultural involvement of port authorities and socio-cultural port-city links.

Socio-spatial port-city relationships

Although contributing to reversing the tendency of physical and functional separation between ports and cities, MEs in the four case-study cities have had rather different outcomes in terms of direct physical impact. Little or no transformation was produced in Hull and Rotterdam. In the former case, key cultural facilities were refurbished and public realm was renovated, while the event had only an indirect impact on the ongoing redevelopment of the Fruit Market. In the latter, the Las Palmas building and Villa Zebra were the only exhibition and museum spaces developed for the ECoC 2001. On the contrary, MEs were use for the reconversion – and reconnection with the city – of historic inner harbours in Genoa and Valencia. In both cases, these areas were partly or fully inaccessible by residents and visitors, albeit no longer used for maritime activities, and were transformed into public spaces through MEs.

In part, this has to do with geographical settings and traditional port-city relationships. However, adopting Evans's (2011) view of MEs as pivotal moments along the cities' trajectories of urban development and regeneration, the position of MEs along these trajectories becomes crucial. In the case of Hull and Rotterdam, MEs did not have significant direct physical impacts also because waterfront redevelopment was already at an advanced stage, since considerable transformation had taken place in the 1970s and 1980s. In these cases, MEs were used more as branding devices, in particular to tackle the negative aspects the port city image. Nonetheless, MEs produced considerable impacts in other domains of port-city relationships, such as the cultural involvement of port authorities (see next section) or in the intangible cultural links between cities and ports. Conversely, in the case of Genoa and Valencia, MEs were used to overcome the physical and functional separation that still characterised port-city relationships in the early 1990s and 2000s respectively, through a redesign of the port-city interface.

In either case, the concentration of investment and regeneration at the port-city interface through MEs risks producing "spatial dilemmas" (Bianchini, 1993, p. 201). In all four cities, waterfronts have become attractive areas, even for international tourism. However, this transformation has arguably widened the gap with the 'back city', which did not benefit from such regeneration processes. Examples are Hull's housing estates, Feyenoord in Rotterdam, part of Genoa's city centre and Natzaret in Valencia.

Whether MEs were used to achieve this reconnection or as branding devices, the permeability of the port-city interface represents a crucial issue. In Hull, Genoa and Valencia, waterfront spaces were used to host cultural events or redeveloped more or less directly through MEs. However, waterfront areas in these cities display rather different degrees of permeability. In Genoa, the pedestrianisation of Porto Antico and its reconnection with the nearby city centre was also facilitated by the fact that, back in the 1960s, a flyover was built to improve the accessibility of the port. Conversely, in Hull and Valencia, port ring roads are still used by road traffic. In Hull, Castle Street – part of the A63 road connecting Leeds with the port of Hull – separates the city centre from the Fruit Market and the waterfront (Figure 6, left). In the bid for the UK City of Culture 2017, £170 million were budgeted for road improvement, which were considered "critical to festival venues" (Hull UK City of Culture 2017, 2013, p. 77). However, the iconic footbridge that was designed to overcome this barrier is still under construction in 2019. Although much less busy because of port expansion to the South, the road that borders Valencia's leisure port still represents a barrier to permeability (Figure 6, right).

6. Castle Street in Hull (left) separates the Old Town (on the right) from the Marina, the Fruit Market and the waterfront (on the left); the port ring road in Valencia (right) also represents a physical barrier.

In this case, if the America's Cup 2007 was used to convert the inner harbour into a leisure port with the aim of connecting Valencia to the sea, the subsequent Formula One events contributed to retaining this barrier. As pointed out by one informant:

> "It's true that the port-city relationship was not optimised, because Formula 1 prevented that the road that every port city has, or had, between the city and the port… This road ring was kept because it formed part of the [F1] circuit. So, it wasn't pedestrianised." (Interview with academic, 2018, author's translation).

The case of Valencia also shows how the unmanaged legacy of MEs can worsened permeability and accessibility. After 2012, Valencia Street Circuit was abandoned, while part of it was fenced off (Figure 7). This contributed to further isolating Natzaret, which had been engulfed by port expansion and now is cut off from the city centre. A port-city agreement was reached to attempt to reconnect Natzaret to the rest of the city.

7. The impact of the abandoned Valencia Street Circuit on the permeability of the port-city interface.

Socio-cultural port-city relationships

MEs in port cities are also an opportunity to explore the 'cultural' role of port authorities. The disruption of traditional port-city relationships based on proximity and mutual dependence, technological developments, automation and securitisation are amongst the factors fuelling the "dehumanisation" of seaports (Van Hooydonk, 2007, p. 42). In addition, port cities still face issues of negative external image in relation to perception of poverty, crime and negative port externalities such as congestion and pollution. In this context, port authorities are increasingly interested to contribute to the city's development and branding to both legitimise port operations and to increase competitiveness. As noted by Vries (2014), the attitude of port authorities can be mapped between two extremes: port authorities as landlords, where they only manage the port and have little or no contact with the city, and as developers, where they take part in the political and cultural life of the city.

The study of MEs in the four analysed cities suggested that port authorities, not unlike other key local organisations, are interested in taking part in these processes, albeit this could be the result of pressures arising from expectations around their involvement in such important events for the city. Nevertheless, port authorities are positioned along the abovementioned spectrum. For instance, Valenciaport took part in the organisation of MEs, albeit retaining a landlord position. Havenbedrijf Rotterdam N.V. could be considered closer to the developer extreme, considering its key contribution to the cultural and artistic life of the city (for instance in the case of large-scale cultural events such as the Port of Rotterdam North Sea Jazz Festival). Genoa and Hull displayed milder attitudes, although the UKCoC 2017 in Hull did contribute to stimulating Associated British Port's interest in culture in an unprecedented way.

As cultural events of national and international relevance, MEs also raise issues of authenticity and commodification of culture (Getz and Page, 2016; Gruneau and Horne, 2016), which can negatively impact local heritage. In the context of European port cities, MEs and their homogenisation power operate in a context where traditional maritime practices and socio-cultural links are being eroded, through a process of demaritimisation (Musso and Bennacchio, 2002) which could include a loss of maritime culture.

In the case of Rotterdam, for example, the ECoC 2001 and the following event policy implemented by the City Council, together with waterfront redevelopment schemes, are arguably promoting a reconnection between the city and the River Maas. However, this reconnection appears based more on the use of water as an architectural element, rather than on recalling the city's history and present as a port. In Rotterdam and Genoa, historic port areas – either redeveloped into urban areas or still harbouring maritime functions – are spectacularised through iconic architectures or even panoramic viewpoints (albeit the latter involve 'clean' and saleable port practices and facilities such as cruise and ferry terminals, Figure 8).

8. Headquarters of Rotterdam's Port Authority and former terminal of Holland America Line, next to the cruise terminal (left). Panoramic lift on the Bigo in Genoa (right).

The study of MEs in the four selected port cities has also underlined how overlooking established socio-cultural port-city links and geographical settings in event-led regeneration processes may led to unintended consequences. For example, despite the massive investment and regeneration in Genoa's Porto Antico and city centre, the latter has witnessed a process of 'counter-gentrification' as migrants have concentrated in this area. In addition, informal economies have settled in the redeveloped leisure port. In Valencia, the top-down attempt of established a strong connection between the city and the sea, despite the traditional separation between Valencia and its port, led to years of underuse of the leisure port built for the America's Cup 2007.

Conclusions

This paper has explored port-city relationships through the impact of MEs and event-led urban regeneration, to suggest that these events play a role in the evolution of port-city links themselves. The experience of Hull UK City of Culture 2017, Rotterdam (ECoC 2001), Genoa (1992 Specialist Expo and ECoC 2004) and Valencia (America's Cup 2007 and 2010, Formula One European Grand Prix 2008-2012) have been analysed from a comparative perspective to shed light on the impact of such events on the socio-spatial and socio-cultural relations between these cities and their ports.

The paper has briefly outlined and commented the impact of MEs on the socio-spatial port-city relationships, suggesting that MEs, as culture-led urban regeneration more broadly, are factors contributing to the retightening of port-city relationships after decades of detachment. However, it has been pointed out that MEs may have considerably different direct impacts in relation to their position along trajectories of urban regeneration and that they can also produce spatial disparities. Permeability at the port-city interface still remains an issue, which can be considerably worsened by poorly planned MEs and their unmanaged legacy.

Socio-cultural impacts of MEs on port-city relationships were also discussed, showing the role of port authorities as either landlords or developers within these processes and commenting issues of authenticity, commodification of maritime culture, cultural demaritimisation and unintended consequences of event-led regeneration, such as underuse of cultural facilities and public space and counter-gentrification.

Further research should focus on the tension and spatial contradictions between cultural – and urban more broadly – uses that MEs – whether directly or indirectly - encourage at the port-city interface, in a moment where ports are still urban (Hall and Jacobs, 2012) and lighter maritime functions tend to locate on waterfront areas in proximity of city centres.

Acknowledgements

This PhD research is being funded by the University of Hull – Culture, Place and Policy Institute.

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