

INTRODUCING A MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE PHASE FRAMEWORK FOR EVENT-LED URBAN DEVELOPMENT FORMATS

SARAH KARIC and CHRISTIAN DILLER

With 5 figures and 1 table

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Summary: Events as urban development formats have been relevant strategies for cities for several decades. They may have diverse economic, political, social and ecological effects on the host cities and are accordingly used in a variety of ways and closely linked to urban development and renewal. Complex processes can be identified in the context of the application, planning, implementation and after-use of an event. Furthermore, the planning of events is subject to an extensive multi-level governance of actor constellations and interactions. Against this background, in this paper we introduce a multi-level governance phase framework for formats of event-led urban development in order to create a better understanding of the structures and processes involved. For this purpose, we first use regional garden shows as a case study, which are event formats with a focus on small and medium-sized cities in Germany and on the (further) development of urban green spaces. We then generalize the framework using the governance capacity concept for events and approaches of event-led urban development. The model is well suited to illustrate the relevance of different actors in the process as well as the complexity of diverse processes that occur in the course of event planning.

Zusammenfassung: Events als stadtentwicklungspolitische Formate sind seit einigen Jahrzehnten relevante Strategien für Städte. Sie können diverse ökonomische, politische, soziale und ökologische Wirkungen auf die ausrichtenden Städte haben und werden dementsprechend vielfältig genutzt und sind eng mit Stadtentwicklung und Stadterneuerung verknüpft. Im Rahmen der Bewerbung, Planung, Durchführung und Nachnutzung eines Events sind komplexe Prozesse zu identifizieren. Des Weiteren unterliegt die Planung von Events umfangreichen Multi-Level-Governance Akteurskonstellationen und Interaktionen. Vor diesem Hintergrund möchten wir in diesem Paper ein Multi-Level-Governance-Phasenmodell für Formate der eventorientierten Stadtentwicklung einführen, um ein besseres Verständnis für die Strukturen und Prozesse zu schaffen. Dafür nutzen wir als Fallstudie zunächst Landesgartenschauen als Format der ereignisorientierten Stadtentwicklung mit Fokus auf Klein- und Mittelstädte in Deutschland, die sich auf die (Weiter-)Entwicklung von urbanen Grünräumen fokussieren. Anschließend generalisieren wir das Framework mithilfe des Governance Capacity Konzepts für Events und Ansätze der ereignisorientierten Stadtentwicklung. Das Modell eignet sich gut zur Darstellung der Relevanz verschiedener Akteure im Prozess sowie der Komplexität diverser Prozesse, die im Verlauf der Planung von Events auftreten.

Keywords: Event, urban development, multi-level governance, governance capacity, garden show

1 Introduction

Against the background of increasing global interurban competition and structural changes, the hosting of mega-events such as the Olympic Games has gained in importance for cities in recent decades. Events can have a great impact on urban development in addition to positioning them in location competition. While these effects have been intensively discussed since the 1990s under the terms of festivalization and event-led urban development, there has been increasing criticism on such formats. Regarding the lack of sustainability as well as negative ecological and social effects of mega-events, the hosting of smaller event formats in smaller cities is becoming more relevant. In this regard, *regional garden shows* (Landesgartenschauen) are a prominent

event format in Germany. Although garden shows and horticultural exhibitions have a great tradition in Germany and were already held in the 19th century primarily to provide information on plants and flowers and to present and distribute horticultural products (METZLER & JOB 2007), their focus developed greatly in the course of the 20th century. After World War II, garden shows made a substantial contribution to the rehabilitation of devastated urban spaces, to the development of green spaces (RICHARDS & PALMER 2010) and later to the conversion of various brownfield sites. Due to the increasing enthusiasm towards national and international garden shows, the federal states introduced smaller regional garden shows in the 1980s characterized by smaller site sizes and lower investment budgets (HOLDEN 1989, THEOKAS 2004). They are particularly popu-

lar among small and medium-sized cities to develop urban infrastructures in addition to open spaces (DILLER 2020) as they provide a relevant impetus for urban development. While these event formats show a high relevance for cities in practice, there remains a gap between their importance and the low scientific consideration. This results in a lack of understanding of objectives, processes, structures, interaction of different actors as well as a missing sophisticated knowledge of the various short-, medium- and long-term urban effects of regional garden shows and also of other event formats.

To develop a fundamental understanding of the governance, processes and actor constellations of regional garden shows, in this paper we aim to introduce a *regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework*. Furthermore, we show the development of an *event multi-level governance phase framework* for formats of event-led urban development in general based on the concept of governance capacities according to KIESSLING and PÜTZ (2020). This is suited to examine governance capacities at different levels of the analysis.

To guide the development of the two frameworks, we focus on three research questions. The first two questions address the regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework. In RQ 1, we ask for the processes that are crucial in the time course and whether we can superordinately structure them into phases.

RQ 1: Which processes and actions are fundamentally relevant in the time course of all regional garden shows and which phases can be defined? Which processes vary from garden show to garden show?

The second research question focuses on the actors, interactions and different actor levels. This results in the identification of actor constellations and governance structures relevant for regional garden shows.

RQ 2: To what extent can the actor constellations and interactions in the context of regional garden shows be represented in governance structures and which levels and changes in relevance should be differentiated? Which limitations are associated with the framework?

Finally, with the last question RQ 3, we refer to the generalization of processes, phases, levels and actor constellations for publicly funded and tendered event formats in order to figure out how these findings can be transferred into a general multi-level governance phase model for event-led urban and regional development formats. Here, the concept of governance capacities in particular supports the development and interpretation.

RQ 3: How can the multi-level governance phase framework of regional garden shows be used to analyze and compare other event-led approaches? Which explanatory context conditions can be analyzed using the governance capacities concept by KIESSLING & PÜTZ 2020?

The paper is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background the results are based on. Therefore, we first present and discuss the framework of (regional) governance capacities. We then highlight the role of events for research and practice and go into their historical background and life cycle. More specifically, we focus on the relevance, history and governance of regional garden shows for event-led urban development in Germany. In Chapter 3, we present the qualitative case study design, and the analyzed data. The results of the analysis and both frameworks for regional garden shows and for event-led urban development formats in general are presented in Chapter 4. Finally, in Chapter 5, we answer the research questions, discuss the presented results as well as the introduced frameworks and address potential fields of application, limitations and perspectives.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 The role of events for urban development

In the context of globalization, cities are facing the challenge of positioning themselves in the global urban competition of attracting new investments, funding, or businesses and visitors (HILLER 2006, SHIN 2014). Gaining the attention of key stakeholders, policy makers and investors plays a particular role for cities in this context (MÜLLER 2017, RICHARDS & WILSON 2004). Against the backdrop of increasing competition, place branding is an important strategy for cities to attract and retain social, cultural and economic capital (ANDERSSON 2015). The emergence of neoliberal urbanism to increase the competitiveness of cities is also related to rising global urban competition, such that cities are becoming more entrepreneurial through public-private partnerships and deregulation policies (SMITH 2012, WAITT 2008). Furthermore, cities are confronted with structural and demographic changes (SMITH 2012, HILLER 2000).

These underlying conditions are driving forces for staging events in cities (STEINBRINK 2013). In particular, inter-city competition is a trigger for the trend of festivalization (HAFFERBURG 2011), which can be understood as a modern, entrepreneurial type as

well as a re-staging of urban politics (HÄUSSERMANN & SIEBEL 1993). With the festivalization of urban spaces, not only tourists but also residents are addressed (CUDNY 2016). Equally significant is the increasing use of events as an impetus for urban transformation processes (MÜLLER 2015, EDIZEL & WARD 2016, WAITT 2008). Through the dynamics of planning, triggered investments, funding and time pressure, events may serve as catalysts of urban development (GAFFNEY et al. 2018). The term event-led urban development describes this trend (CHALKLEY & ESSEX 1999). A positive long-term legacy of events for cities is achieved by integrating them into wider urban development strategies (SMITH & FOX 2007).

To illustrate the relevance of events as a research topic in urban studies and regional and urban planning, Figure 1 shows the evolution of publications on events (search term: event, festival) in the research fields based on the literature and citation database Web of Science.

The first scientific articles on the subject were published in the 1970s. We observe an increase in publications from 1990 onwards. Despite the great importance of events and the complex challenges, they are a relatively young research field (WEISS 2008, GARCIA 2017). The effects of events on cities have at first been in greater focus since the 1990s with the EXPO in Seville and the Olympics in Barcelona 1992 (MÜLLER & GAFFNEY 2018). The German debate on events was initiated through Berlin's Olympic bid and the planning for the 2000 EXPO in Hanover

(MÜLLER & SELLE 2002, HÄUSSERMANN & SIEBEL 1993). With the increasing number of events held, (media-)interest, investments, and scientific attention continued to grow (KASSENS-NOOR et al. 2015). This is also evident for urban studies and regional and urban planning in Figure 2, which shows a continuous increase in the number of publications. Particularly from the mid-2010s, an extreme growth of scientific articles on events is apparent. Most recently, almost 250 articles were published in 2021.

The study of events is an interdisciplinary research area. Different scientific fields contribute to the understanding of planned events and their effects on urban society (GETZ & PAGE 2006, GETZ & ANDERSON 2010, ZIAKAS 2016). Most importantly, events are starting points for international urban research (GAFFNEY et al. 2018). Despite the interdisciplinary research on events, some research gaps remain. Event legacy is rarely focused or mainly used to examine positive effects of events, disregarding the downside (PEREIRA 2018, BILLINGS & HOLLADAY 2012, STEWART & RAYNER 2016). TU et al. (2023) show, for example, that Summer Olympics lead to an increase in urban green space coverage.

Nevertheless, negative event effects have received greater scholarly interest in recent years, and the sustainability of mega-events in metropolitan areas in particular is increasingly criticized (PERIC 2018, DILLER 2020). For example, displacement of communities and local businesses due to rising costs and rents are analyzed in the context of event planning

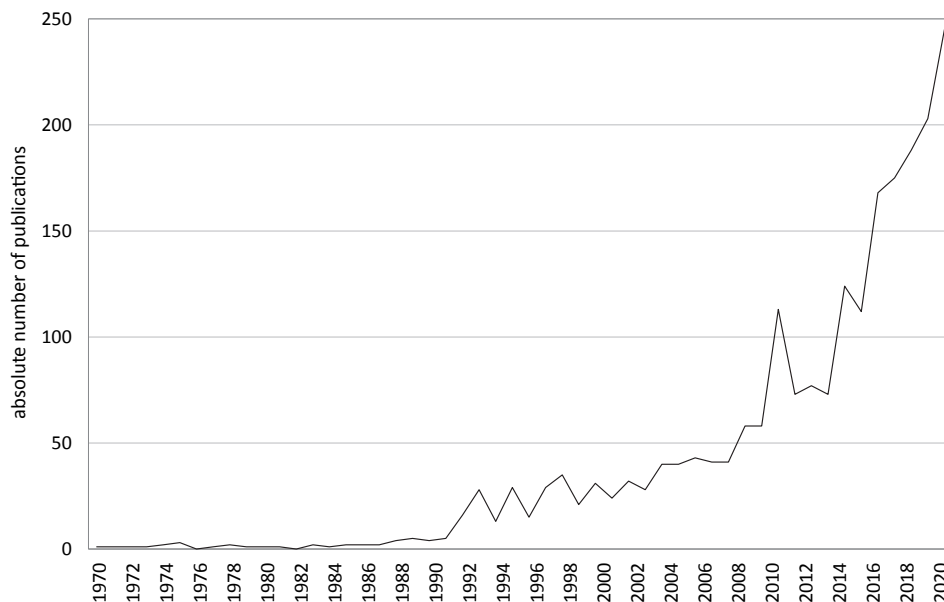


Fig. 1: Evolution of publications on events (search term: event, festival) in the research fields urban studies and regional and urban planning. Source: Own illustration, data base: WEB OF SCIENCE (2022).

(JAKOB 2012). Accordingly, better adapted and more sustainable smaller events in smaller cities should be in the focus of scientific consideration, but are less intensively studied (Diller 2020). Further research is also needed on comparative studies in order to understand interrelationships and enable theory building (MÜLLER & GAFFNEY 2018, Busetti & Dente 2017). A missing strategic-conceptual discussion on the structure and governance of events prevents an overview of their complexity (Weiss 2008).

2.2 Life cycle of event-led urban development

An approach to understanding the structure of events is to consider the time course and life cycle of events. By referring to the product and company cycle, Weiss (2008) identifies a two-stage process of event application and implementation. Assuming the product life cycle, phase-dependent marketing strategies are developed, whereby the duration of the phases is unknown ex ante. In the case of events, however, this is usually predetermined. Based on the model, it is possible to characterize the market-related position of the event over time. By focusing on the company life cycle, the change in size, organizational structure and strategic orientation over time are examined.

First, the *birth* and *growth* phases exist, when a company is founded and can evolve into a medium-sized enterprise. In the *maturity* phase, the company

is getting large and competitive. *Revival* describes a dynamic evolution and continued competitiveness in a heterogeneous environment. In the phase of *decline*, only few innovations emerge and growth declines. Based on the company life cycle, the life cycle of events is considered as a conceptualization of all tasks in the application, planning and implementation of an event and the organization of the implementation company. The feasibility study as well as the application concept are transferable to the phase of *birth* and *growth*, for example. We observe *decline* if a negative decision is made on an application or when the structures of the event are dismantled. The event life cycle according to Weiss (2008) is illustrated in Figure 2.

Nevertheless, Weiss (2008) does not consider a phase after the event. The dismantling of the event structures is integrated into the implementation phase and connected with the phase of decline in the company life cycle. However, there is no focus on the after-use and effects. By considering medium and long-term effects of events, the perspective is broadened from the short-term event to a longer-term process. Therefore, Hiller (1999) identifies the pre-event, event, and especially the post-event phase. He states that events must be understood as a process with the preparation and hosting phase as well as the post-event phase with impacts on the host cities. Apart from that, the bid phase is defined as fourth relevant phase after Hiller (2006).

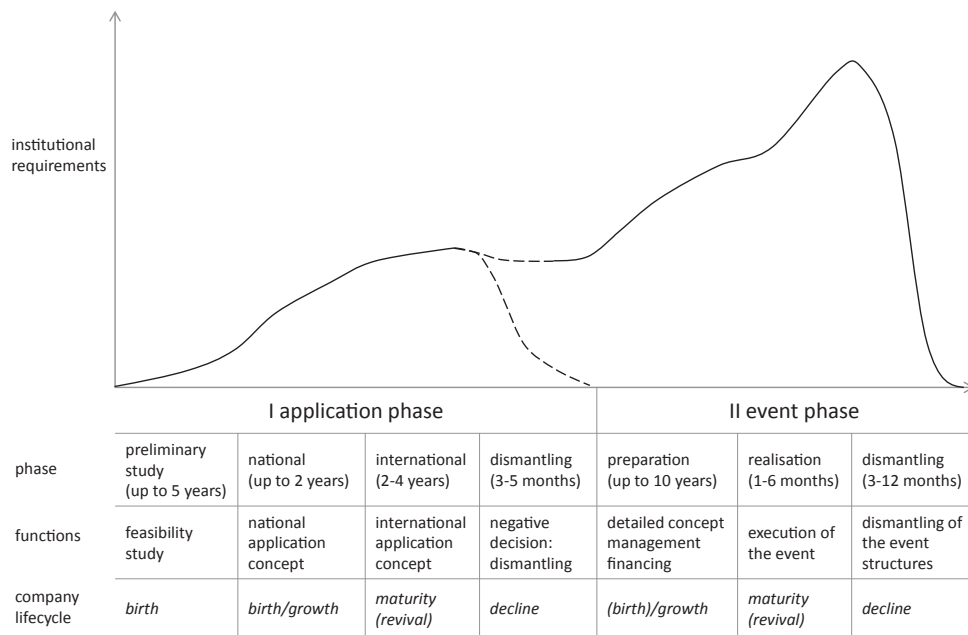


Fig. 2: Life cycle of mega-events. Source: Weiss (2008: 92), slightly modified.

The *pre event phase* is divided into the application (bid) and preparation (planning) phase (HILLER 1999). Due to the bid phase, events usually go through a two-stage process that depends on the positive or negative decision for the city. Before an event is accepted, a decision on the application is made (PFITZNER 2016). In the case of a failed attempt and a cancelled planning phase, the bid concepts can potentially still be the basis for urban development and contribute to a positive legacy (WEISS 2008, COOK 2011). With a positive decision, in the planning phase, the event is prepared and excitement and attention are generated by the already intensive media coverage (BETZ et al. 2011). The planning phase includes the planning of the event areas, infrastructures as well as accompanying measures (HILLER 1999). The one-time and short-term *event phase* comprises the climax of the planning with an opening and closing ceremony (BETZ et al. 2011). Visitors occupy the local cultural structures and cause additional income through spending in retail and hospitality (HILLER 1999).

The *post-event phase* focuses on the continuation of the planning as well as the subsequent use in the following years (BETZ et al. 2011). In this context, it is relevant to consider how the event changes the social and urban structures in the long term and has permanent effects on the host city (HILLER 1999, 2006). Although the post-event phase is of central importance, it is often neglected in the planning and implementation process due to the lack of monitoring and evaluation (ROCHE 1994). Throughout the event life cycle, there is strong competition in various areas. The bidding process as well as the awarding of contracts in the planning process and the evaluation of the development of the host city in the post-event phase are characterized by competition (SMITH 2012). In this paper, the pre-event phase will also be sectioned into the application and planning phase.

2.3 Garden shows as format for event-led urban development in Germany

Against the background of unsustainability and environmental issues of mega-events (see e.g. MÜLLER 2017), smaller event formats in smaller cities, such as garden shows, are moving into the focus of attention. Garden shows have a long tradition in Germany and have been organized since the 19th century. Initially, the focus was on the presentation of horticultural businesses and the distribution of

their products. National garden shows have been held in Germany every two years since the end of World War II (METZLER & JOB 2007, THEOKAS 2004). Over time, they experienced a functional change. Initially, the focus was on the reconstruction and the elimination of war damages. From the 1960s onwards, parks were renovated or new green spaces were created for the purpose of local recreation. In the 1990s, urban development and the conversion of brownfields became the focus of attention, especially due to German reunification. More recent topics are the ecological upgrading of cities and the development of urban green infrastructures (THEOKAS 2004, DEUTSCHE BUNDESGARTENSCHAU-GESELLSCHAFT 2023).

In the 1980s, based on the enthusiasm for national garden shows and international horticultural exhibitions and as a response to the “monopolization” of events on major cities, regional garden shows were introduced in smaller cities as a “smaller counterpart” at the federal state level. They are usually held on smaller sites, operate with smaller investment volumes and are accordingly typical formats for smaller cities (HOLDEN 1989, THEOKAS 2004). Nevertheless, regional garden shows provide important impetus for the implementation of infrastructure measures and are closely linked to strategic urban development (DILLER 2020). Like other events, they are characterized by a unique governance, as various actors cooperate in the context of planning and implementation for a limited duration and towards a defined goal. In addition, they are shaped by the competition processes in the federal states.

The relevance is reflected in their practical popularity. Since the introduction, more than 100 events were staged. Due to the spatial distribution across the federal states, several regional garden shows are thus held every year. They may have positive impacts on the development of urban green spaces by creating new parks or ecologically rehabilitating brownfield sites (NEFEDOV 2013, THEOKAS 2004). Furthermore, garden shows can facilitate positive economic development, e.g. in tourism and retail, and increase the quality of life by promoting the image (METZLER & JOB 2007). Urban society is positively influenced by new facilities, cultural offers and e.g. transport infrastructure due to public funding (THEOKAS 2004). They also have a great conversion history (NEFEDOV 2013).

Nevertheless, criticism, such as the commercialization (SMITH 2014) or measures that are not adapted to urban needs (THEOKAS 2004), leads to a partially low acceptance of regional garden shows

and conflicts in the planning processes. Despite their practical relevance, the academic focus continues to be on mega-events, which is accompanied by a lacking scientific understanding of the positive and negative effects, structures, processes and actor constellations of regional garden shows.

3 Methods

3.1 Literature and document analysis

In order to uncover the multi-level actor constellations and different phases regarding regional garden shows, we followed a mixed-methods approach. In a first step, we aimed to overview the relevant processes, structures and actors as well as their interactions in the context of regional garden shows based on a literature and document analysis. For this purpose, we first examined the application and implementation guidelines of the respective federal states ($n = 19$), that define duration, objectives, preconditions, selection of the cities, financing, organization as well as after-use and thus analyzed the underlying structure as well as differences between the states. The evolution of the guidelines over time is also significant in this context. We conducted the analysis using a deductive-inductive qualitative content analysis in the MAXQDA software for qualitative data analysis according to KUCKARTZ (2016).

In addition, we collected and analyzed literature concerning regional garden shows, and traced the history of garden shows in Germany. On this basis, we also developed a database of all the regional garden shows that took place to date (around 130). Furthermore, process documents and news articles regarding regional garden shows are relevant, for example to get an overview of cities that only went through the application phase and then did not continue the planning due to a negative decision. For this purpose, we constantly searched for and analysed documents recording the application process of cities. Accordingly, we present the entire planning process, effects as well as the organization and actor constellations of regional garden shows based on the review.

3.2 Multiple case study approach

Based on the database of all regional garden shows and a classification by means of a cluster analysis, we selected case studies for a further in-

depth investigation. We examined 13 host cities of garden shows in a multiple case study approach to better understand observed multi-level-actor constellations and different phases and underlying conditions. Four selected cases in this study were in the planning process for a garden show at the time of the analysis. We in addition examined nine ex-post case studies of cities that have hosted a regional garden show in the past and are now in the post-event phase, which gave us insights of mid and long-term effects as well as the after-use. Table 1 provides information on the 13 cases as well as the analyzed material. The upper rows show the nine ex-post case studies examined. The four on-going case studies are listed in the lower rows.

In the case study selection, we emphasized the spatial distribution of host cities to represent a wide range of different conditions based on the federal states and relating guidelines. Four of the case study cities are small towns below 20,000 inhabitants. The remaining nine case studies are medium-sized cities with populations ranging from 20,000 to under 100,000. The planning phases of the examined case studies, i.e. the periods between the positive application and the opening of the event, vary greatly between one and eleven years. We would like to mention here that the regional garden show in Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler 2023 was cancelled due to the terrible Ahrtaal flood disaster in 2021 and accordingly only the findings of the previously conducted case study are included in this paper.

To analyze the presented cases in detail, we visited all host cities for multiple days to conduct site visits and in total 61 qualitative expert interviews with diverse actors. We assessed the interviews using a qualitative content analysis approach. Furthermore, we examined several documents such as policy papers, press releases and internal documents that demonstrate the phases, objectives, effects and actor constellations of the case study garden shows encompassing 266 documents. For coding, we chose a deductive-inductive categorization method using MAXQDA (see KUCKARTZ 2016). The final analysis consisted of 210 categories and 6,500 coded text segments of the interviews and documents. Subsequently, we derived the differentiation according to phases and levels from the analysis and coded the relevant actors and processes by the defined levels and phases and developed the models on this basis, which we present in the results section.

Tab. 1: Overview of the analysed case studies and material

case	state	population (31.12.2020)	year of event	planning period (years)	case study material
Schwäbisch Gmünd	Baden-Wuerttemberg	61,216	2014	11	4 interviews, 13 documents
Gießen	Hesse	90,131	2014	6	5 interviews, 19 documents
Lahr	Baden-Wuerttemberg	47,551	2018	8,5	4 interviews, 20 documents
Bayreuth	Bavaria	74,048	2016	7	5 interviews, 16 documents
Bamberg	Bavaria	76,674	2012	10	6 interviews, 50 documents
Prenzlau	Brandenburg	18,849	2013	5	4 interviews, 8 documents
Eutin	Schleswig-Holstein	16,960	2016	4	4 interviews, 32 documents
Burg	Saxony-Anhalt	22,240	2018	6	5 interviews, 26 documents
Bad Essen	Lower Saxony	15,100	2010	1	4 interviews, 18 documents
Kamp-Lintfort	North Rhine-Westphalia	37,635	2020	4,5	5 interviews, 19 documents
Frankenberg/Sa.	Saxony	13,784	2019	4,5	5 interviews, 25 documents
Fulda	Hesse	67,980	2023	7	4 interviews, 19 documents
Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler	Rhineland-Palatinate	28,634	(2023)	(6)	6 interviews, 24 documents

Source: BBSR (2020), FEDERAL STATISTICAL OFFICE OF GERMANY (2021).

4 Results

In order to summarize the results of the literature and document analyses, database as well as the case study examination and to create a contribution to the understanding of the event format regional garden show in particular and of events in general, we present the two different developed multi-level governance phase frameworks in the following section. For this purpose, we present them graphically on the one hand and describe them in detail on the other hand. The frameworks combine governance research with event and urban research and are introduced in order to be able to transfer them to other event formats.

4.1 Regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework

The framework in Figure 3 presents the system of regional garden shows in its temporal and hierarchical extension. For this purpose, we made a dis-

inction according to the defined phases of events: the application phase, the planning phase, the event phase and the post-event phase. These emerge from the implementation guidelines of the federal states on the course of the event, the application concepts and the description of the process in the expert interviews. Hierarchically, the organizational levels of the citizens, the city, the state and in between the actual regional garden show institution are shown. We were able to identify all relevant actors by analyzing the documents and expert interviews in the various case studies. In addition, the model shows relevant actor constellations (boxes), prevailing processes (lines) and interactions over time.

First, there are specific objectives at both the urban and state level, such as urban and regional development, demonstration of the performance of horticulture and landscaping, and environmental education that are underlying the decision to tender for a future regional garden show in the federal state (see e.g. HMUKLV 2012). The cities have similar aims, which they are pursuing in response to the tender by deciding to apply. These include compensating of ur-

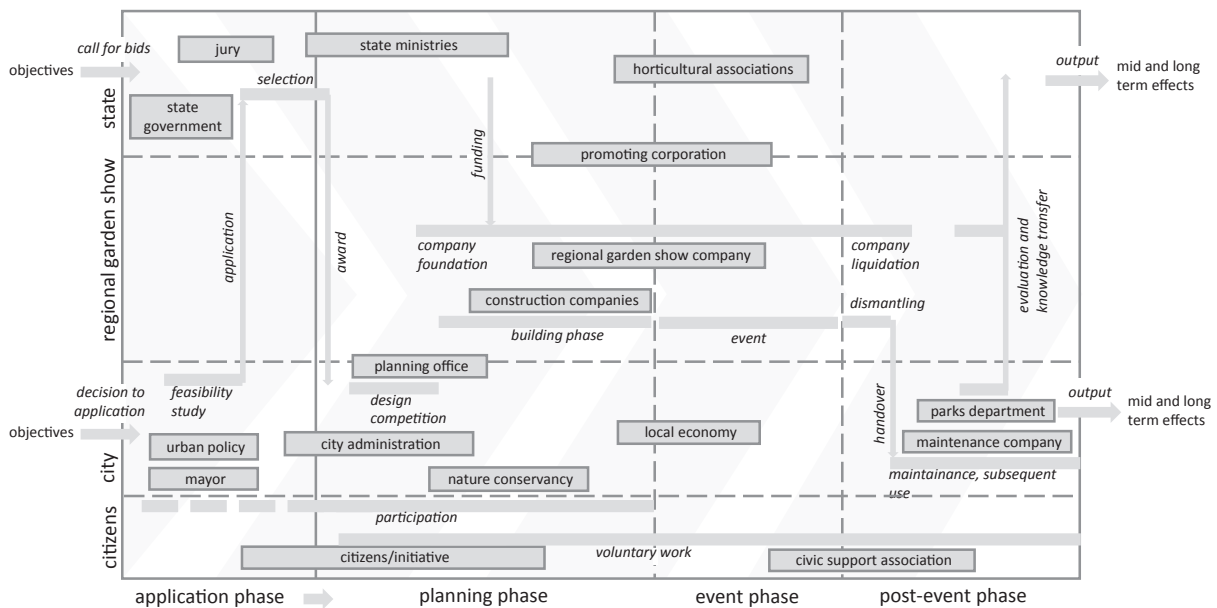


Fig. 3: Regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework

ban deficits, developing and protecting open spaces, and asserting in the urban competition. Accordingly, at the beginning of the application phase, the urban policy and administration carry out a feasibility study, which leads to an application if the city meets the requirements. At the state level, a commission consisting of ministries, associations and the promoting corporation makes a selection. Ultimately, the state government decides on the awarding to a particular city or region, which leads to a transition to the planning phase. At the local level, the participation of citizens and relevant stakeholders, e.g. the nature conservation, as well as bottom-up initiatives of citizens and the rejecting activities of critical citizens in the planning phase are significant to create acceptance and co-creation. They are either consulted as early as the application phase or only after the decision has been made. The same applies to the establishment of civic support associations who implement their own projects and contribute to positive opinion-forming. In one example of the case studies there was no support association founded. Public acceptance of regional garden shows and thus the formation of critical citizens into initiatives depends on various factors and varies from city to city. As another landmark, a landscape architectural design and realization competition is launched, in which planning offices participate. The design is awarded to one or several planning offices. A further important actor in the planning phase is the city administration, in particular urban planning and development offices.

At the level of the regional garden show, actors of the city administration and the promoting corporation found a regional garden show company a few years prior to the event. This company is responsible for the preparation and implementation of the regional garden show, the financing and the coordination of the building phase. The special role of this company is to be emphasized, as it combines the interests of diverse actors in one company and a clear roadmap for the foundation and temporary existence is set from the beginning. The company can be either profit-making or non-profit. We identified both cases in the study. However, the majority of the regional garden show companies are profit-oriented. In addition, the company takes on a growing volume of employees, reaching its maximum shortly before and during the event. In the building phase, elements of the application concept as well as of the design competition are implemented. Specific funding and other available funding pools at the state and federal level are usually provided for this purpose. These vary based on the state context and the situation and needs of the cities. After completing constructing work, the regional garden show is opened at a defined date for about six months and the transition to the event phase takes place in the framework. At the urban level, the local economy, e.g. retail or hospitality play a relevant role, as they are integrated in the project and can potentially profit from it. On a supra-regional level, the horticulture and landscaping sector and the related associations in particular

are significant in the implementation of the show and can present themselves at the exhibition. The regional garden show company coordinates the marketing and events during the realization. In addition, voluntary work by individuals and the civic support association is important for the implementation of the show by guided tours or the coordination of traffic and assistance for visitors.

After the event, temporary facilities are dismantled. After the liquidation of the company usually a few months after the event, the sites are handed over to the city for subsequent use. Both the park departments and external companies can be considered for care and maintenance. In addition, the possibly existing civic support association is also significant for the maintenance due to voluntary help. In very few cases, the sites are privately operated in the post-event phase, but this does not apply to the case studies in this analysis. The host cities use the sites in different ways. In most cases, green spaces are created for local recreation. Other (infra-)structures are also re-used and made accessible to the population. These include, for example, new roads and paths or housing. In addition, an evaluation of the achieved goals is relevant in the post-event phase. However, this does not apply in all cities and the evaluations carried out vary in quality and scope. The host cities transfer knowledge and experience gained to the state level and the promoting corporation as well as to future host cities. Which transfers arise depends on various circumstances, the federal states and urban relationships. The medium and long-term effects are the outputs of the regional garden shows in the framework. Ideally, these coincide with the objectives as inputs, which creates a sustainable system.

The framework illustrates the multi-level governance of regional garden shows and the importance of the intensive interaction of the different levels. The various top-down and bottom-up processes, enable the successful selection, implementation and after-use of a regional garden show. In order to examine the public acceptance towards the project, the citizens' level plays a relevant role in addition to the urban level. The early, intensive and continuous participation of the population in the planning of the regional garden show enables the success of the project by creating acceptance and identification. In this way, institutionalized and non-institutionalized voluntary commitment can be promoted, enabling citizens to support the planning with assistance and individual projects, as well as to support the after-use phase with own projects for the maintenance and long-term use of the areas. This contributes to

the sustainability of the event. Moreover, the defined time horizon of the regional garden show (call for bids, application deadlines, design competition, opening day and event duration) allows us to differentiate specific phases. This creates the opportunity for a solid overview of all relevant processes and their precise duration. With the entry into the post-event phase, city-specific irregularities arise, as the after-use and medium and long-term effects can take on different forms. Likewise, a holistic process only emerges with the transition into the planning phase, as the application phase can end with an unsuccessful application or a decision by the city against the application or implementation. On this basis, regional garden shows enable the initiation and acceleration of urban development processes through their temporal and hierarchical extension.

4.2 Event multi-level governance phase framework

The regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework presented here is very well suited to depicting the specifics of temporary approaches to urban and regional development in their individual phases and, above all, to capturing the interaction of different actors, which are sometimes also located at different spatial levels (multi-level governance). The model is very well suited to describing the dynamics of such processes and can be used to describe the extent to which the objectives pursued by the actors were realized and what effects they had. However, it only partially addresses deeper explanatory factors, in particular the role played by institutional framework conditions, the resources and power potential of the individual actors and which discourses were decisive in the individual phases of the process. For this reason, it is appropriate to complement the framework with an additional concept that has proven its value in empirical applications and takes these factors into account: The governance capacity concept. It is presented in the following section.

4.3 Governance capacities

Structural overstretching of cities with regard to their development in the wake of fiscal crises and rising social inequality make the integration of private and civil society actors in urban processes increasingly essential (BURMEISTER & RODENHÄUSER 2016). The relationship between state/city, society and

economy is shifting accordingly (FRIEDRICHS 2018). In this context, governance is used as a heuristic collective term to describe diverse arrangements of societal coordination and is understood as a counter-model of the classic hierarchical control relation between state and society. In practice, however, it is embedded in these classical hierarchies. This can lead to multi-actor constellations and new, hybrid forms of organization (EINIG et al. 2005). Hard state instruments are supplemented by softer instruments (MAJOUR & SCHWARTZ 2015).

A more recent and successfully applied model is the governance capacity concept (KIESSLING & PÜTZ 2022, 2021, 2020) illustrated in Figure 4, which has adopted elements of governance analysis, especially the policy arrangement concept (ARTS et al. 2006) and other political science approaches.

In addition to the two levels of institutions/rules of the game and actors, which are central to most political science frameworks presented in the last 30 years, the concept also includes the level of discourse as an important element, thus expanding the institutionalist perspective to include cognitive dimensions (ZIMMERMANN 2006). In addition, the question of power distribution is explicitly considered, which has so far been neglected in many governance approaches (PÜTZ 2011). The model also takes up the distinction between conformance and performance perspectives, which is important for planning, evaluation and implementation research. In the conformance perspective, the quality of a plan is measured primarily by the stringency of its implementation (BRODY & HIGHFIELD 2005, PERSSON 2020). The performance perspective is considered broader: it

also includes process effects and unintended effects in the overall assessment (FALUDI 2000, DE MONTIS 2016, OLIVEIRA & PINHO 2009).

The model structures an urban development policy process: As a starting point, the aspects of current topics and attitudes, policies, guidelines, laws, actor constellations, opportunities of exchange and resources companies are considered within the governance capacities on the four levels. The performative capacities include aspects of the process: learning processes, implementation acceptance, interactions and exerted influence. As a result of the process, the conformance governance capacity is also influenced by contextual factors. Against the backdrop of changing regional and urban conditions and the associated changes in governance, urban events are examined as they are associated with special structures, processes and actor constellations. We consider them according to the governance capacity concept. The concept was successfully applied for analyzing decision in spatial policy on a regional and local level for cases studies in Germany as well as in Switzerland (KIESSLING & PÜTZ 2022).

The concept is a process model as it analyses potential governance capacity factors such as the power relations of actors, institutional regulations and discourses as effective factors with regard to their actual significance in the processes. The approach can therefore be easily integrated into other process models. In the following, we show how the process model for regional garden shows (Fig. 3) and the governance capacity concept (Fig. 4) are combined to an integrated approach. The resulting event multi-level governance phase framework is present-

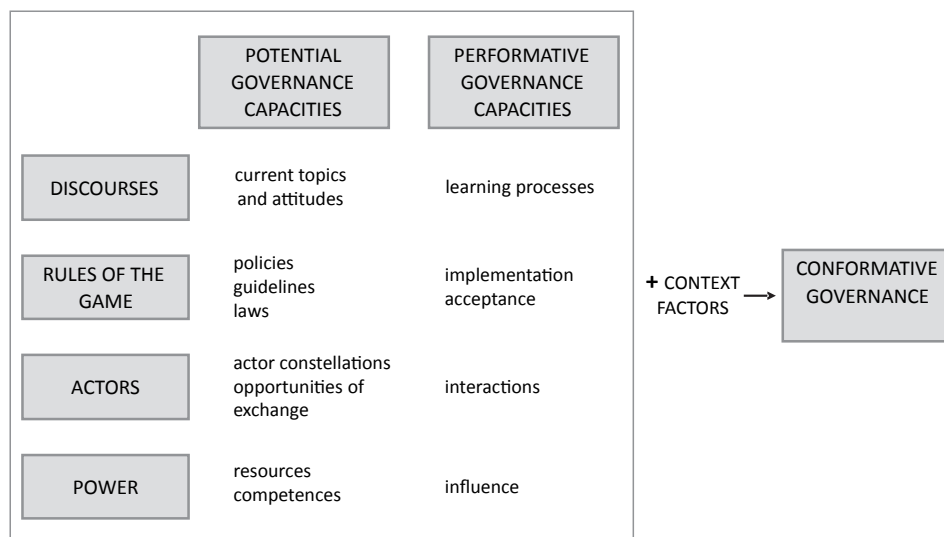


Fig. 4: Governance capacities concept. Source: KIESSLING & PÜTZ (2020: 190), slightly modified.

ed in Figure 5. From the framework developed for regional garden shows (Fig. 3), we primarily utilized the phases and the actors that are relevant in the different process phases. We transferred the phases and actor levels from the regional garden show framework, which build the basis of the model. We outlined actor groups and represented them in the model. Depending on the type of event, they stand for specific actors (example: actor group event organization -> regional garden show company), but they are structurally similar from event type to event type and can therefore be described as one actor group. The boxes represent their first occurrence and the arrows indicate their relevance in the further process. The process of the event-led urban and regional development approach is considered as its increasing specification of the initial idea (application phase, planning phase) and implementation of the concept (event phase, post-event phase) as well as the factors that are decisive for its progress and outcome.

As a result of the integrated governance capacities concept, the power resources available to the actors are now included (see Fig. 5 left). It is crucial that in this dynamic view, the potential governance capacities (see Fig. 5 top) are distinguished from the performative governance capacities that are actually effective in the respective situations (see Fig. 5 bottom). The potential governance capacities include institutional regulations first: these can be laws, but

also, for example, any implementation guidelines for the event. Depending on the phase, different regulations may be relevant here. Thus, building regulations are only important in later phases when individual projects are realized. Current topics and attitudes of the actors also represent an important element of the process: event-led approaches generally take up current trends in urban development, such as sustainability, energy and digitalisation, which can then lead to the setting of priorities in the further specification of the content, whereby the attitudes of the actors also play a role. The actor constellation of relevance for the respective phases is also central, whose dynamics are highlighted in the figure. The performative governance capacities address the actual processes characterized by the context: the interactions and the learning processes resulting from these as well as the acceptance of the negotiated results. The outcomes and impacts are then analyzed in the conformance process (see Fig. 5, right) and, if necessary, compared with the initial considerations in an evaluative sense.

The actors can be referred to as emerging actors in the framework, as they appear at different times or have different relevance and, in particular, influence on the process over time. In the model, potential governance capacities can be increased by the presence of financial and human resources, know-how and competences. Influence and power are impor-

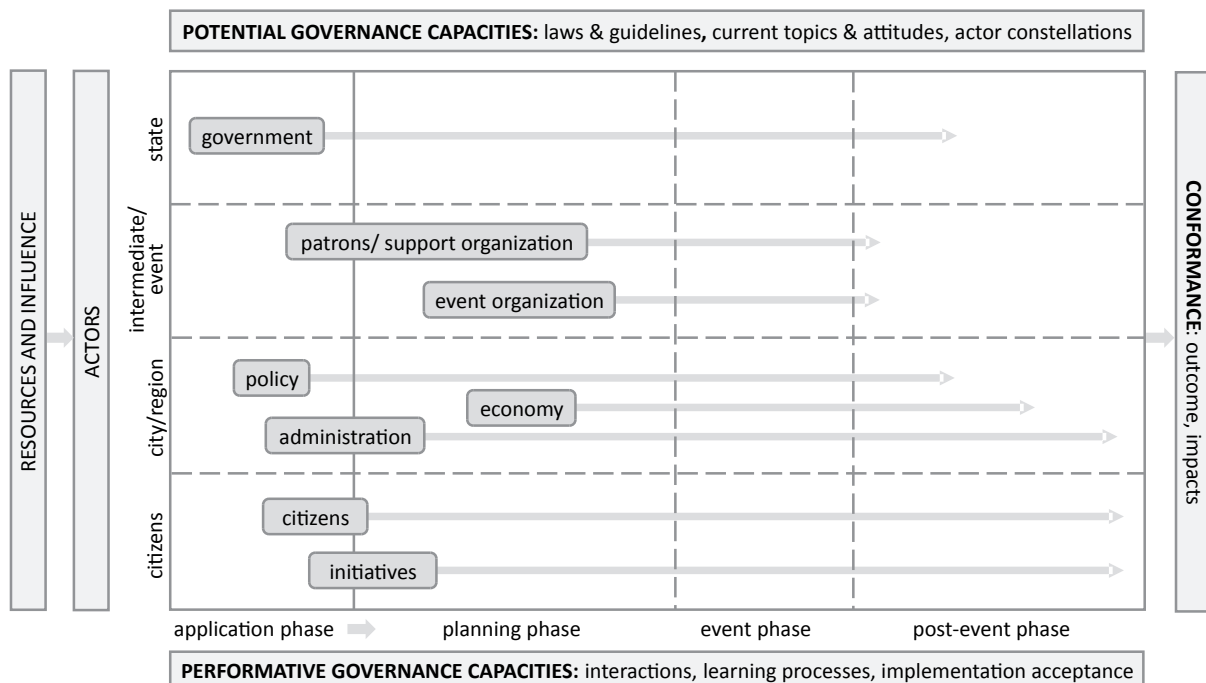


Fig. 5: Event multi-level governance phase framework

tant criteria for implementation. It is important that actors at different levels interact and cooperate. In the case of event-led urban development formats, the state level is the first relevant actor, since federal or state ministries or other institutions put the implementation of events out to tender. Subsequently, the idea is carried through the intermediary level to the urban and citizen level. After the community has been actively involved in the decision-making process in the application phase, the urban administration is central in the early planning phase for the initial planning of the measures and processes. Afterwards, the process is handed over to the event level, and especially in this phase as well as in the event phase, specific actor constellations in cooperation with the urban level and the citizens play a central role in the realization of the event. Due to the momentum at these three levels, the state is predominantly integrated through financial support and only takes on greater power again in the post-event phase through the evaluation and planning of a new future tender. It is also specific to events that the intermediary level, which has the peak of influence in the late planning phase and the event phase, is dissolved to a large extent in the post-event phase and hands over important responsibilities to urban actors who influence the after-use.

The medium and long-term effects of the events, described as conformative governance capacity or conformance, are influenced by overriding trends, socio-economic factors and structural conditions and is thus the congruence between the initially defined goals and the outcomes and impacts that emerge. This includes all objectives set in the context of the application for an event, which motivated the urban actors to apply and the higher-level actors to award the event to the city or region.

5 Discussion and conclusion

To conclude, we aim to answer and discuss the research questions stated in the introduction. This allows us to gain a deeper understanding of the event format of regional garden shows, which is typical for the urban and green space development in small and medium-sized cities in Germany. The main focus of the study was to present the multi-level governance of the event. In addition, we brought the results to a more general level of planned events using the concept of governance capacities. Finally, we give a short outlook, explain limitations of the frameworks, address relevant application fields.

RQ 1: In the course of the planning, implementation and after-use of a regional garden show, various processes and actions become relevant. In addition to the preliminary considerations in the early phase and the application process, more specific actions are required later on. This includes, for example, the event planning and the after-use strategy specific to each city in the later process. A further city-specific aspect is the involvement of citizens to create acceptance and cohesion. Based on the event life cycle (Section 2.3), we define the following phases for regional garden shows: The application phase describes the tender of a regional garden show by the federal states, the implementation of a feasibility study and the city's decision to apply. Subsequently, another process of this phase is the selection of a suitable host city. A successful application is followed by the transition to a planning phase with the planning of the measures through a design competition. In addition, a regional garden show company is founded, which is of central importance for the implementation and constitutes the special governance of regional garden shows, citizen participation processes as well as the building phase are carried out in this phase. The actual regional garden show is defined by the event phase, which is the shortest phase at approximately six months. The post-event phase describes the transition of the temporary event into a permanent after-use and goes hand in hand with medium and long-term effects of the regional garden show.

RQ 2: The actors operate at different levels, so that in addition to the urban level, the level of the citizens, the state level and the actual level of the regional garden show implementation are also considered and defined in a hierarchy. Through a multi-level governance, which arises in the context of a regional garden show, cooperation and interdependencies develop between diverse actors at different levels. For example, actors of the city administration closely cooperate with actors of the support association at the state level. Along with the development of the various processes, the importance of the different actors and their cooperation evolves in the course of the regional garden show. While the administration takes on many tasks at an earlier stage, these are handed over to the regional garden show company as the planning phase progresses and then transferred again in the post-event phase. In particular, the regional garden show level has a rather short period of extreme relevance and ceases to play a role after the event. We outline the various processes, actor constellations and their structuring

in four defined phases and levels in a regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework (Section 4.1). A limitation of the regional garden show multi-level governance phase framework is, that it does not enable the explanation of contextual factors and the role of institutional framework conditions for regional garden shows and their influence on the framework.

RQ 3: We generalized the structure of the framework for regional garden shows in order to transfer it to other event formats. This generalization is reasonable since garden shows are only one format of event-led urban development (see introduction) and certain questions can also be raised for other approaches and answered in a comparative perspective. All of these approaches share a temporal limitation, which results in relatively clear phase distinctions. However, no specific frameworks have yet been presented for such an approach. The framework developed here combines a tried and tested approach to the temporal structuring of events with a proven governance capacities concept (KIESSLING & PÜTZ 2020), which includes explanatory factors at the levels of institutions, actors and ideas. This resulted in an event multi-level governance phase framework (Section 4.2). We adopted the defined phases as well as the different levels because they can be easily transferred to different types of publicly funded, planned urban events. An intermediate level between the urban and state level is the implementation of the event format. For the promotion of events as formats of event-led urban development, this level is significant for the cooperation between urban, state and national actors. Accordingly, the conformative perspective, which focuses on the result and the implementation, as well as the performative perspective, which includes processes and unintended effects, are relevant for the understanding of events. Regardless of size and scale of the event, the citizen participation in the planning as well as in the after-use is crucial for sustainable development.

The most important limitation of the event multi-level governance phase framework is that it cannot be applied to all event formats. Accordingly, the focus is on events that are organized and promoted by an authority, similar to regional garden shows. In Germany, there are several events that are organized in this way and thus contribute to the urban development of host cities. The focus here is on application guidelines with requirements that cities or regions must fulfil to host the event, as well as a general long-term orientation of measures. At

the European level, for example, European Capitals of Culture or International Building Exhibitions are formats with similar conditions and objectives. In contrast, infrastructural measures are less ordinary urban development instruments in case of other event formats, but rather as a by-product or precondition for the hosting. These include various mega-events. In this case, the sustainability of the event is questioned. How many and which smaller event formats or formats that are promoted and introduced as urban development instrument by the state exist internationally needs to be determined through future research.

Finally, complex governance structures and phases in the course of an event can be unpacked and mapped based on the applied approach. In the absence of a basic understanding of the processes and multi-level governance of regional garden shows and events in general, the models resulting from this contribution are therefore of central relevance for research and practice. To give an outlook, it is important to acknowledge that the results presented can provide a basis for future event and especially event-led urban development research. In order to compare different types of events, we suggest to analyze different actor constellations and processes and to present them in a framework. The frameworks presented also offer the potential to pre-structure further research and provide a better way of contextualizing findings. We have established a way to illustrate the sustainability of events and to be able to assess it using the frameworks, in that any possible missing stringencies could be uncovered through such a representation in temporal as well as actor-related terms. In practice, it should be examined to what extent the advantages of the complex governance structures in the course of an event in a city can be key for further similar approaches and to what extent cities already have experience in such new processes. The visual representation gives actors a straightforward option to understand the multi-level governance of events, to position their own activities and scope of influence in the event context and thus to get involved in the implementation of the event in the best possible way, which can increase the sustainability of the event for urban development as well as its acceptance.

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Authors

Dr. Sarah Karic
Sarah.Karic@geogr.uni-giessen.de
ORCID: 0000-0001-5252-2925
Prof. Dr. Christian Diller
Christian.Diller@geogr.uni-giessen.de
Justus Liebig University Giessen
Department of Geography
Senckenbergstr. 1
35390 Gießen
Germany