

Experiments in Place-Making: re-thinking Pafos for 2017

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Abstract

The network of spatial interventions proposed for the Pafos2017 “Open Air Factory” was not conceived as a mere series of sites for events, but as a place-making tool for re-defining the identity of Pafos and re-directing future development towards more sustainable practices. Pafos’ rich architectural heritage became the starting point for a plan that aspires to create a cohesive urban fabric by weaving together the spatial, cultural, economic, social and environmental threads in the place-making process. People from different cultural, social and professional backgrounds combined their expertise in order to draw a vision of a revitalized, well-organized and integrated city. The success of Pafos’ Bid demonstrated the effectiveness of this approach, and set it as the basis for the Municipality’s “Comprehensive, Sustainable Urban Development Plan”, consequently submitted to EU structural Funds.

Within the Plan’s framework, the process of applying for and allocating funding involves the development of spatial infrastructure and the organization of cultural events as means to address issues of social segregation, urban blight and unemployment. The Plan focuses on the rehabilitation of distinct buildings and landscapes in order to reshape a spatial nexus of collective memory, civic reference and economic vibrancy. It also seeks to provide social, cultural and fiscal incentives for relocating businesses (trade, arts and crafts, local products etc.) and people so as to achieve Sustainability by preserving community cohesion, inducing continuous occupation and social vitality, and stabilizing financial growth.

With Pafos as a case study, the paper questions the effectiveness of “Creative-Class” theories related to small cities, and instead explores the integration of “Community-based” arts, culture and creativity methodologies in issues of architectural cultural heritage. It discusses the sustainability benefits of re-purposing assets of place, involving residents in creating healthy environments, building social capital and civic capacity, strengthening social interaction, and shifting prevalent thinking to introduce social change.

Keywords: European Capital of Culture 2017; place-making; public spaces; sustainability; urban integration

1. Introducing a Model: The Open-Air Factory

When Pafos set out to become the 2017 European Capital of Culture (ECOC), it soon realized that this bid could be much more than an opportunity to invite world-class acts, gain international exposure, and build spectacular architecture; in fact, those who initiated the proposal had already chosen to regard it as a long-awaited-for platform for dialogue, for new ideas and for instigating much-needed change.

Grounding its ambitions on existing conditions rather than grand aspirations, the Pafos 2017 Working Group decided to acknowledge its most pressing problems –haphazard urban growth, social segregation, spiraling unemployment, artistic stagnation- and find ways to address them with culture as a starting point. Instead of a year-long series of events that the city would successfully host, Pafos embraced the ECOC application as a much-needed catalyst to engineer urban transformation, trigger economic development, bond its people (citizens *and* visitors), and ferment social change.

Note the phrase *Pafos embraced*; during the two-year long application process, what started as a series of meetings between a few selected specialists (public servants, academics, artistic directors, marketing experts and consultants) evolved, after a few rounds, into a city-wide endeavor. Pafos did have a small, yet fully qualified –educated and experienced- group of people who felt ignored and marginalized during the booming years of the touristic development, the Kassandras of the all-inclusive euphoria. With the ECOC application, a space was forming, where these creative forces could find expression and growth. The initial disbelief in the possibility of back-water Pafos becoming a Cultural Capital, left these forces unbounded, gave them free rein to pursue what at first seemed unattainable. And then more people, with no previous professional backgrounds, yet with a genuine interest, joined in. The concept of the Open Air Factory was widely presented, critically discussed, and steadily enriched in a series of volunteer workshops bringing the people of Pafos together: locals, expats and visitors. Invited through an open call, the workshop participants developed the proposal's cultural, infrastructural and marketing strategies, helped with all aspects of the application –from organizing and monitoring fringe events to welcoming the

Committee members, and communicated the bid's vision to an even larger circle of people. It is our belief that this *embrace* was a turning point and a key factor in the success of the bid, as, apart from its communicative and supportive aspects, it managed to coalesce the various social groups of Pafos around a common cause, creating a sense of joint ownership of the project and enhancing feelings of civic pride and a collective vision for the future of the city. It was also a step towards the accomplishment of one of the initial goals; this *embrace* formed a place where everyone was encouraged to express their ideas and participate in the decision-making process, producing fresh and innovative ideas that seemed to have a horizon of realization; in short, and most importantly, they began to believe that change was possible.

1.1 The Spatial Program

“...The influx of immigrants and tourists in the recent years and the ensuing unplanned growth, have aggravated the city's problems, creating a loose urban tissue and a tattered social fabric that need to be weaved back together again; away from single-minded ideas and nationalist sensibilities, culture can become the yarn and the title of European Capital of Culture can be the loom that will turn the rag back into a rich tapestry, part of the embroidery of a united Europe.” (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2011, 47)

This quote succinctly summarizes the Open Air Factory's spatial program: it is to be a woven fabric, a web, a network –the Greek word [*istos*] (*ιστός*) holds all three meanings together- of natural and man-made sites that will activate neighborhoods, routes and connections in between. It is to involve not only buildings built for cultural purposes, but also, and more emphatically, public and collective spaces that have been abandoned and neglected. It is to stitch communal and personal components into this material, in order to restore the past and add new urban, social and civic meanings. The concept of the “Open Air Factory” (OAF) is considered one of the most innovative concepts in the history of the ECOC institution.

Lacking a pre-existing comprehensive development plan, the selected projects, fulfill three basic criteria:

- they are regarded as components of a long-term development strategy for the area
- their implementation will benefit the area regardless of the ECoC outcome
- they satisfy a wide range of scales, bearing in mind that Pafos does not have and could not support large metropolitan-sized complexes in the long run (beyond 2017).

Inherent in the concept were ideas about sustainability and economy, a turn away from grand –and unnecessarily expensive– architectural gestures, and towards exploiting every asset of the city and district of Pafos as a potential stage: its historical sites and museums, the Akamas Peninsula National Park, its beaches, village and city squares, streets, parks, galleries, factories. Most of the infrastructure projects included in the program is not cultural infrastructure per se, but long-overdue work on public spaces and historic sites that have, until now, been left aside for the sake of traffic arteries or commercial schemes.

This paper will focus on the interventions planned within the urban fabric of Pafos, in order to have a more cohesive and clearer field of study, whilst at the same time acknowledging the importance of the more “remote” projects on the urban core. The part of the proposed network within the city of Pafos has two main clusters:

- Kato Pafos: The archaeological sites of Nea Pafos are to be integrated with the modern settlement, as an extended walk through the area’s history. An eco-corridor will link the two Natura 2000 designated areas, re-inserting the currently isolated open-air museum into the urban fabric and into everyday itineraries. This is expected to function not only as an enhanced tourist destination, but also as a public space used by locals and visitors alike, home to Pafos’ history and nature but also to contemporary cultural events.
- The center of Ktima: The administrative and commercial core of Pafos is also home to the city’s most historically significant and elegant buildings. The restoration of distinct buildings is combined with a remodeling of the public spaces that connect them, in order to form a coherent whole from Kennedy Square all the way to the cliffs of Mouttalos, the city’s historic Turkish-Cypriot quarter. This series of projects will upgrade existing cultural infrastructure (the Othello cinema and its connection with Palia

Ilektriki, the Markideion Theatre) and encourage pedestrian and bicycle traffic through the main market area of Pazari, which is currently under severe stress, bringing that most neglected part of the center into the foreground. From Pazari and Kennedy Square, the spine of the network will reach Mouttalos with an extensive urban regeneration program which is expected to generate interest in the area. This involves the pedestrianisation of the main street, Namik Kemal, the redesign of the squares at both its ends (the plaza around Hagia Sophia Mosque and Ismet Inonou Square) and a landscaped park along Mouttalos cliffs. The Open Khan is one of 2017’s flagship projects and involves the restoration of the Turkish-Cypriot Ibrahim Khan (an inn) in the city center, as a joint bi-communal project, and its reuse as a cultural center.

Both clusters place emphasis on establishing a network of open public spaces, in order to reclaim them as centers of activity, culture and environmental awareness, neighborly interaction, and social cohesion.

In brief, the Open Air Factory’s spatial strategy is based on the understanding that Pafos’ spatial features (historic buildings, natural beauty, urban character) need to be combined with its social potential to suggest a model for growth that does not require exorbitant financial resources but is based on those already in abundance; human capital, natural and man-made environment and historic continuity.

2. Underlying Hypotheses: Creative Class theories and Community-based methodologies

2.1. Creative Class theories

In his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida correlates Marxist theories of technological, industrial and economic evolution with Jacobs’ ideas about centrality of place, clustering and cities. He introduces the parameters of ‘people’ and ‘places’ to economic development, which until then had almost exclusively fixated on firms and industries. His later definition of creativity as “...an underlying construct or skill that links what were thought of as separate and distinct fields of science and technology, business management and the professions, and art, design and entertainment...” (Florida, 2014, 197) becomes the principle onto which the social, the spatial, the

scientific and the financial aspects of development can be articulated.

Thus emerges the 'creative class', the members of which *"engage in work whose function is to create meaningful new forms"* (Florida, 2003, 8): scientists and university professors, poets and writers, entertainers and actors, artists, designers, architects and engineers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion-makers, but also 'creative professionals' in knowledge-based fields and high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and health-care professions and business management. Florida's research in US cities and regions suggests that smart talented people are attracted to a 'place' specifically due to its natural, cultural and built amenities, and equally importantly to the presence of other talented people already residing there; they tend to concentrate in 'creative centers' that offer *"high-quality experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and most importantly the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people"* (Florida, 2003), not simply places close to transportation and market hubs or tightly-knit communities. In turn, industries become attracted by locations that have clusters of talent at hand. It then follows, as Florida hypothesizes, that by organizing people as well as firms, place itself -not firms- becomes *"the primary social and economic organizing unit of the postindustrial, post-Fordist age"* (Florida, 2008, 2004, 2002a, 2002b).

According to Florida, creative centers have four specific components of economic development: Technology, Talent, Tolerance and Territorial assets (Florida, 2012, 229-273 and 2014, 203), which are consequently linked with regional vitality, high economic outcomes and increases in regional employment and population. Furthermore, quality of place is recognized as a key factor in the emergence of a creative center, composed by the combination of the built and natural environment, the human makeup of the district, i.e. the diversity and openness of the community, and the dynamism of the area, that is, the variety and liveliness of cultural and social activities offered. Quality of place is also sustained by adopting strategies of bottoms-up regeneration schemes that are small, low-cost and community-initiated, and in turn reinforces such initiatives through building a 'people climate' (Florida, 2014); a not-so-vicious circle that attracts and retains

people across the board whilst preserving the natural and man-made spatial features and meanings of the land.

Florida's ideas about the 'creative class', creative centres and place-making have been integrated in urban development and regeneration policies and strategies as cities and regions increasingly compete against each other across the USA, Europe and Australia. Cities are focusing on art and culture to form culture-led strategies, which in turn are regarded as the point of departure for urban development. Culture is considered a key concept in terms of the creation and consumption of products, the acquisition of knowledge and information, innovation and value creation, and the formation of identity and lifestyle (Featherstone, 1994). On this basis, culture and creativity have appeared almost as a mantra in urban development worldwide in the last 20 years (Stevenson, 2004; Peck, 2005). But, as Lysgård points out: how has culture been interpreted and is incorporated into cities' development strategies (Lysgård, 2012)? When and how has creativity become equated with culture, and how have theories about the creative class been equated with a culture industry approach to urban planning?

Florida's insights have received tremendous criticism, not least based on the fact that, originating from a US metropolitan context, they may not be directly applicable to smaller-scale European urban formulations. His views of socially cohesive communities as potential barriers to newcomers –and subsequently, innovation- are questioned by findings in smaller size European city-regions and counties that exhibit less internal migration and immigration, less mobility in the labour markets and more active regional policies on equal distribution of welfare. There is, we believe, an inherent contradiction in suggesting that a 'people-climate' is conducive to the quality of place, its sustainability and its attractiveness as a creative centre, yet it could be detrimental to welcoming new people and new ideas. What are bottoms-up regeneration schemes depended upon, if not socially cohesive –which are not by definition exclusive- communities? And is there a potential for such place-making strategies and, most importantly, culture-led urban planning in the small cities of the European south and especially of the Mediterranean islands, where

tradition, strong family and community ties, as well as a certain vigorous 'business climate' are predominant and thus influential factors of economic regional growth?

From this perspective, it seems that more research in the context of small cities and regions - specifically in each particular local context- needs to be conducted before any theories and precedents are applied. This may be imperative in the case of Pafos, which has only just reawakened its small and dormant 'creative class' and employed it to spur an unprecedented sense of volunteerism among its citizens. It is this newly formed class that claims parentage of the first culture-led strategies and urban development plans to prepare the city for 2017 and for the years to come. The city has reached a crucial point in time at which it must decide on what and how to proceed in formulating long-term policies that will gradually build a sustainable future.

2.2. *Community-based methodologies*

There is another school of thought that veers away from Florida's notions of big scale and homogeneous creative centers, as well as phenomena of globalization and cloning: community-based movements and programs that derive from and are better applied to small cities. Instead of undermining, they build upon the distinctiveness of smaller urban places, and instead of threatening, they incite vitality. They instigate grassroots efforts, forge collaborations and networking within and among small cities in order to support local cultures and traditions, conviviality and hospitality, belonging and inclusiveness, sense of place and collective memory, so that small cities can overcome their inherent disadvantages of small size and lack of resources and ultimately reach sustainability.

Small cities have experienced decades of economic and demographic stagnation. Outmigration led to the flight of smart talented and knowledgeable people, leaving behind aging population that tends to become inward-looking and narrow-minded, lacking in vision and leadership and with limited capacity to understand and manage influences on their well-being and the consequent changes. Meanwhile, economic rationalization and globalization, increasing phenomena of uniformity of appearance and experience, competitiveness and place-marketing among small cities have led to a decline in locally-

owned businesses and ultimately to the loss of local distinctiveness, character and sense of place. Even with "counterurbanisation" as a tool to induce growth, small cities display increasing problems in equity (i.e. social justice, economic opportunity and income quality), overall economic growth and efficiency, and of environmental degradation, gentrification, neglect and encroachment of the cultural landscape. What needs to be understood and thus become the basis of any ensuing strategies and policies is the fact that different kinds of small cities, in different settings, have different needs, challenges and opportunities. Each separately and in relationship to each other, needs to be studied and assessed in order to select and apply the most suitable and case-specific measures for overall regeneration and growth, prosperity and liveability, and quality of life and place.

Research carried out in Britain and the USA shows that one of the most important factors of the sustainability of cities is liveability. The latter derives from the correlation and interdependence of the three key spheres of social life: economic growth and prosperity, social well-being and equity, and the man-made and natural environment (Campbell, 1996, Stein, 2002). Liveability is directly associated with quality of life and place, referring to easy and open access, safety and cleanliness, attractiveness and sufficiency of infrastructure and uses, dynamic and enjoyable activities, hospitality and vitality, historical and cultural continuity, and shared experiences that create a sense of belonging in a community and in a place (DCLG, 2006, Oldenburg, 1999). To achieve sustainability, however, liveability needs to extend in the future by adopting a long-term perspective so that it is not only concerned with the needs of present inhabitants, but it builds towards providing future generations with the ability to meet their own needs (Brundtland Report, 1987).

One essential element of social sustainability, which serves as the basis of community-based strategies, is the collective creative expressions of culture and heritage. Cultural heritage and traditions are woven into the social and spatial fabric of small cities and give meaning to their continued existence. Art, culture, the notion of heritage, and the sense of place preserve and further develop identity in small cities and rural

areas. In addition, they act as strong catalysts to socio-economic revitalization. They create vital opportunities for engagement among citizens, visitors, neighbors, friends and families. Last but not least, they provide ways for citizens to collaborate and create community-oriented solutions through diverse leadership (Cuesta *et al*, 2005).

Community-based methodologies targeting small city sustainability employ creativity, art and culture for development in a completely different manner compared to large city-regions and metropolises. Small towns cannot realistically compete with large cities in the race to attract members of the creative class, in order to reap the economic and social benefits associated with it. So instead of using creativity as an instrument, they build upon its intrinsic values to introduce social change and shift prevalent thinking. Community-based arts encourage creative expressions through participatory practices that empower community members. In return, residents and artists can visualize a different common future, establish a cultural identity, and activate social transformation and change. As a consequence, economic vitality and revitalization may follow. However, in order for these processes to be successful, they must focus on the communities' needs, aspirations and desires, engage all community members and establish social capacity-building practices in order to build social capital. They must also value the past through the use of traditional skills and expertise, history and stories of each small city. Creative expressions of small city cultural heritage "connects us to our histories, our collective memories, it anchors our sense of being and can provide a source of insight to help us face the future" (Landry, 2000, 6).

Community-based art and culture contribute greatly to place-making. Nowak argues that "*artists are expert at uncovering, expressing and re-purposing the assets of a place- from buildings and public spaces to community stories*" (Nowak, 2007, 1). That being the case, numerous small cities across the USA, Europe and Australia have incorporated into their urban development and culture-led policies specific cultural and financial incentives that encourage artists to purchase buildings and set up their homes, galleries and studios in run-down buildings in neighbourhoods and city areas that were neglected and degraded.

Some local banks mimic the gesture and offer artists fixed-rate mortgages and business stipends. In a sort of domino effect, underused cultural centres and abandoned theatres are renovated via city funding and/or through the fundraising efforts of communities. These revitalized neighbourhoods and renovated historic buildings especially in downtowns, become the nodes of a larger network of urban regeneration projects. Within this grander scheme, they energize the communities, reinstate civic pride, contribute to collective memory and redefine the image of the city. Cultural events are strengthened with continuous local artistic content, residents are enriched through quality programming and visitors start flowing towards these small cities to partake in all these offerings. In this perspective, art and culture become stable features and provide entrepreneurial vigour to small cities, and through their artists' business activities, they contribute to local economic and urban development.

The challenges that small cities face are numerous and problems are deeply embedded, such as corruption, illegal buildings, weak and economically-impaired governments, greedy individualism, exclusiveness and introversion. We believe that it is imperative for such small cities to adopt a completely different approach aimed at changing the prevailing culture from one of control to one of transparency and openness- an approach that focuses not on visitors and the economic benefits of tourism, but on its local residents and the well-being of its community. A long-term methodology needs to be formulated that uses volunteer efforts as creative triggers to bring change and increase involvement of residents and local government. Creativity and culture policies need to build upon the cultural heritage and collective memory by reinstating forgotten cultural institutions while establishing new ones, based on the local and natural assets, instead of investing on grand and foreign ones. Within this context, creativity and culture can become a different *modus operandi* that utilizes the potential of "smallness" to engage its residents in shared endeavours and empower them to instigate social transformation and change, upgrade their quality of life, reinforce a common sense of belonging and identity, and bring about civic renewal.

In contrast to large metropolitan regions, small cities will benefit more by taking advantage of

creativity and culture as tools for urban regeneration, implemented with greater attention to the community's needs and spatially dispersed in different neighbourhoods and throughout the entire urban fabric and rural region (Knox and Mayer, 2009). In this regard, creativity and culture can amplify the ambience and ability of places to facilitate social interaction and thus create a sense of place. Economic regional vitality and growth will come as a subsequent but greatly needed benefit.

3. Setting the Experiment: The Comprehensive Sustainable Urban Development Plan

The entire Pafos district has a population of about 85,000, of which about 30% is foreign-born. This diversity is currently a problem for the city's social cohesion, but it can be a blessing when it comes to cultural cross-pollination and fresh ideas. Every year Pafos welcomes about 700,000 tourists, roughly 30% of the arrivals in Cyprus. Again, this may be considered an advantage, but this influx adds severe strains on the sensitive social and environmental balance of the area. As a contender for the ECoC title, Pafos acknowledged its problem of scale:

"We know we are small: a small city in a small district in one of the smallest countries of the European Union. Yet we aim high. ... We strongly believe that culture can bring about social transformation and urban regeneration. ... Pafos and its district are small enough to apply ground-breaking ideas and implement innovative pilot projects that have a direct impact, but it's also large enough to bear interesting results;..." (Pafos 2017 Working Group, 2011, 46-47)

Granted, it's ambitious: Pafos proposes that it become a paradigm, a case for studying the effects and possibilities of applying creativity- and culture-led strategies towards both the social transformation and urban regeneration of a city that is not a traditional nor has become a creative center, yet it does have the human and spatial potential for adopting such a direction. The underlying goal is to use creativity and culture in order to re-establish Pafos' identity as a Place; a place with a distinct character composed of historic, social and spatial features, inviting people –creative, vibrant, socializing people- to live and produce here.

The intrinsic economy of the scheme (reliance on local resources, flexibility and independence from extreme investments) became apparent when the economic storm that had been brewing hit Cyprus in March 2013. Placed under extreme pressure, public contribution was put under question and private sponsoring was almost impossible. Due to the lack of funding, the list of projects was reorganized and prioritized in order to reflect the new conditions.

A parallel endeavor to ensure funding was conducted under the auspices of the Pafos Municipality. A comprehensive document was prepared based on the Sustainable Urban Development section of the Structural Funds Program (2014-20) that exclusively concerned the centers of the major cities, and submitted in November 2013. The projects for which financial support was requested were justified in terms of job creation, social cohesion, financial viability, protection of cultural heritage, enrichment of the tourist product and other urbanist parameters.

Once funding was secured, the municipality incorporated the document into its urban regeneration policy and created "The Comprehensive Sustainable Urban Development Plan" (CSUDP). The plan focuses on the centre of Ktima, and includes a wider area that spreads over Mouttalos and the most commercial parts of the city. A systematic effort was applied to map the age and value of the area's buildings as sites of cultural and architectural heritage, public buildings and green spaces, parking lots, transportation networks, land use, alongside other social and urban parameters and locate the ECoC projects in this context (Fig. 1). It is clear that the locations of the ECoC projects (Fig. 2) coincide with the area's most historically laden parts, verifying the bid's – and the volunteers'- most ardent aim: to take advantage of the ECoC opportunity in order to breathe new life into a historic centre that is in steady decline; an urban defibrillator. Emphasis is thus placed on remodelling the public space as well as specific buildings. As we already mentioned, the Pafos Municipality is studying ways to support private investment in the area, in order to further facilitate the resuscitation effort that the ECoC projects have begun.

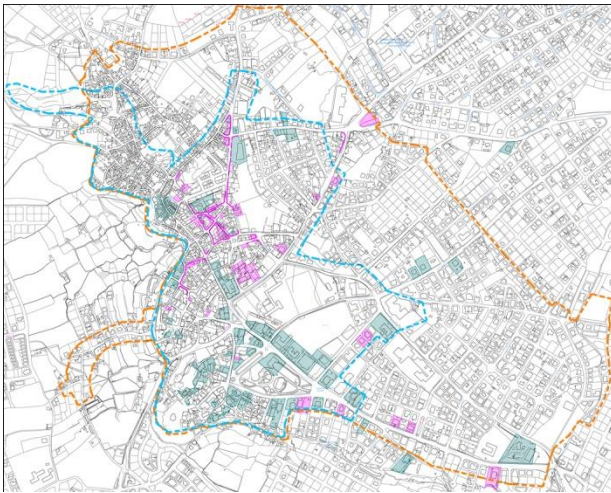


Figure 1. CSUDP 02: Listed and noteworthy buildings

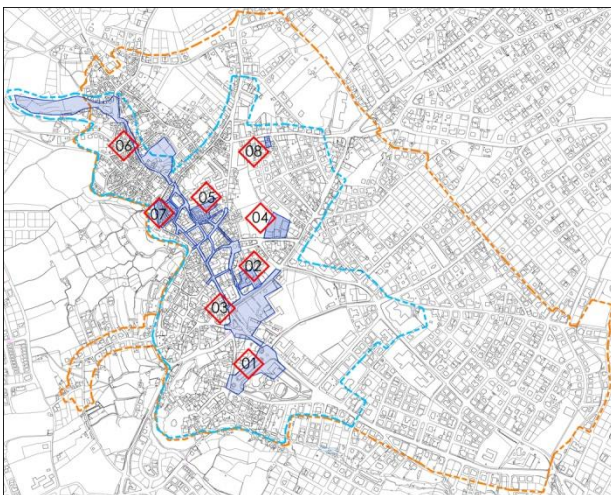


Figure 2. CSUDP 01: Projects in the centre of Ktima

4. Trials and Errors: Current results and long-term expectations

The idea of Pafos as ECoC and the CSUDP of Pafos Municipality has finally taken root. The process has had a slow start, aggravated by the economic crisis, but now things are moving quickly. The projects' implementation has begun: four international architectural competitions were organized and the winning designs are being prepared for tenders. As we speak, this process reaches its conclusion. Some of the projects will be delivered before 2017 while others will be delivered later. The reunification of archaeological areas, as an example, has a scope that extends into the next few decades. This may indicate a loose relation of the projects with the Pafos 2017 program of events, but it is also a sign of their tight attachment to a not-so-distant future that is shaped by conscious current decisions.

Yet Pafos is not waiting for the architects to finish in order to start building 'places'. The Pafos

2017 Organization has already turned the Factory's engines on. Despite minimal financial backing, a program of cultural events is using public and private spaces all over the District, to surprising effect. The Pafos 2017 Artistic team has been supporting, and has been supported by, old and newly-formed local creative groups and cultural initiatives, as well as individuals, and has developed a cultural program that is already running. The response has been heartwarming. Spaces and people that have been dormant all this time are beginning to show their potential: the garden of the Pafos 2017 HQ, the District Officer's Residence, is hosting theatrical and musical performances. Back yards and beaches become summer cinemas and dance venues. The Othello Theater, instead of a night club, is home to visual arts exhibitions, architecture workshops and stage plays. Aphrodite's Temple in Kouklia welcomes the Animafest festival of animation and music. The Pafos Archaeological Museum is opening up to contemporary art inspired by ancient technology for the 'Trauma and Therapy' exhibition, and hundreds of locals visit it for the first time ever. A treasure hunt animates the Municipal Market, together with the sounds of world music. Car repair shops transform into alternative scenes. And people are responding, as help, as audience, as artists, literally painting the town.

Alongside the official efforts, private entrepreneurship is also stepping up. A gastronomy center aims to showcase local products; cafes, restaurants and bars, architects', designers' and artists' studios relocate in abandoned buildings in the downtown area. This effort needs further support, since it is similar uses that can benefit from a place's identity, and in turn contribute to it. The commercial and historic heart of Ktima has taken a brutal blow by recent developments, and it will take more than a street beautification scheme to bring it out of its coma. Again, a strong spatial identity could pull people away from the anonymity and uniformity of ubiquitous shells and back to public and collective places.

This will require further planning and collaborating with other urban bodies, such as transportation authorities and commercial chambers, cultural services and creative organizations in order to formulate and implement

long-term urban development strategies directly relating to creativity and culture policies.

Such policies would be impossible without proper feedback, without a comparative and critical evaluation of put efforts and achieved outcomes, both short- and long-term. The Pafos Cultural Barometer is the umbrella-programme that was developed within the initial ECoC bid and has since been undergoing constant changes, yet its original objectives remain constant: the monitoring and evaluation of the quality of the ECoC events and infrastructure, the community involvement before, during and after the event, the impacts of cultural and spatial governance, the relation between investment and return, issues of training and increasing cultural and social capacity. The Pafos Barometer has already been set up, in order to lay the groundwork and provide a starting point for future research, with the participation of Neapolis University. In its current, rather abridged form, it will focus on three key Impact Areas: the Cultural System (assessment of programme structure, visibility and public participation), the Social Capacity and Active Local, National and European Citizenship, and the Economic indicators, using a variety of questionnaires, interviews, archival and public data. However, it is evident that issues of space have been left out. We believe that they need to be re-inserted into the formula, since space was the prime objective of the bid: the space of the city, the space between its citizens.

Expanding the existing or adding a new methodology for studying the spatial effects of the ECoC event can be set up, combining data from three distinct sources already selected:

- a. The economic data gathered- invested funds and returns, on the public, private and municipal level, on matters of spatial infrastructure, economic activity within the area of interest, employment and job creation indicators, strength and quality of the local business sector.
- b. The cartographic data compiled- the CSUDP has established the area's characteristics at the beginning of the transformation. Timely updates of this data, by the Municipality, academic institutions or professional bodies, will visually support the monitoring effort.
- c. The socio-cultural data collected- this is the main focus of the Barometer, which may easily include issues of spatial understanding and

connections, tourist perception, mental mapping and civic participation and pride.

Pafos needs to bear in mind that the ECoC opportunity is a chance to redefine its identity, re-shape its inward- and outward-projected image, and enhance people's sense of place and confidence. Urban space is where the cultural, the social and the economic merge to outline a sustainable -or failing- urban future. It is critical to avoid errors of the past, such as delays and organizational hick-ups, faulty steering mechanisms, lack of experienced and knowledgeable personnel and high dependence on volunteerism, total reliance on public financial backing, and misdirected political agendas. The focus needs to remain on the present and future communities' needs, aspirations and desires, engaging all community members from all walks of life and establishing social capacity-building practices. Only then will Pafos be able to achieve social, economic and environmental sustainability.

Pafos 2017 has begun the process of linking disconnected spaces, people and activities, of bringing down walls, real and imaginary, of opening up to unexpected associations and serendipitous matchings. For us, place-making is a continuous process, which requires more than just buildings, but a constant commitment and an on-going vision sustained by both the authorities and the local population.

6. Acknowledgements

The Pafos 2017 Urban Design and Infrastructure Workshop involved 54 volunteers at various stages, architects, engineers and other specialties, united by a shared agony for the future of Pafos. More than an ECoC bid, all participants regarded the workshop as a much-needed forum to discuss the city's problems and propose solutions. Their work was supported by the Technical Departments of Pafos and the District's other municipalities and communities. The authors would, once again, like to thank their fellow members for the privilege of this collaboration. The work of the Pafos 2017 Urban Design and Infrastructure Workshop was awarded an honorable mention by the Technical and Scientific Chamber of Cyprus in 2015.

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