Ephemeral events and their traces in the urban structure: Zagreb's 1987 Universiade

Eventos efímeros y sus huellas en la estructura urbana: Universiada de Zagreb 1987

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Abstract

Organizing a mega event, even an ephemeral one, can leave many material and non-material traces in a city and a host region and can be a means of bringing to life development visions and urban policy strategy. During preparations for the event itself, numerous interventions are carried out that are directly or indirectly related to the event. Depending on the type and concept of the event itself, the interventions in the city and its region can become part of their permanent heritage, thus improving the long-term quality of life of their inhabitants. The aim of this paper is to show how a large sports event, the 1987 Zagreb Summer Universiade, contributed to the development of the city and the host region, and to the implementation of the urban policy strategy of the time. Although Zagreb has a long history of urban planning, emphasis here is placed on the spatial planning documentation of the second half of the 20th century that preceded the organization of this large sports event. This paper looks at interventions carried out during the preparatory phase of the event that were directly or indirectly related to the temporary event itself as well as at the cultural and social program related to the Universiade. It may be concluded that the 14th Summer Universiade was a significant sports and cultural event that served as an instrument for carrying out numerous projects aimed at constructing new and improving existing sports facilities, accommodation capacities and the urban renewal of the city centre. Since most of the interventions would not have been carried out in such a short period of time were it not for the Universiade, it can be said that the Universiade was a means of realizing urban development policies and renewing Zagreb. The event left a lasting legacy of elements of infrastructure, suprastructure and ecostructure that the inhabitants of the city and the region continue to use for the same purposes.

Keywords

Mega event, strategy, traces, Universiade, urban planning, Zagreb.

Resumen

La organización de un mega evento, aunque sea efímero puede dejar muchas huellas materiales e inmateriales en la ciudad y la región anfitriona, y puede servir como un medio para realizar las visiones de desarrollo y la estrategia de política urbana. En la etapa de planeación y preoperativos del evento se llevan a cabo numerosas intervenciones, directa o indirectamente relacionadas con el mismo. Dependiendo del tipo y concepto del evento, las intervenciones en la ciudad y su región pueden convertirse en un patrimonio permanente, mejorando así la calidad de vida de sus habitantes a largo plazo. El objetivo de este artículo es mostrar cómo un gran evento deportivo como el de la Universiada de Verano de Zagreb en 1987 contribuyó al desarrollo de la ciudad y la región anfitriona, y a la realización de la estrategia de política urbana de esa época. Aunque Zagreb tiene una larga historia de planificación urbana, el énfasis se coloca en la documentación de planeación de la segunda mitad del siglo XX que precedió a la organización de un gran evento deportivo. Este artículo investiga las intervenciones realizadas en el período preoperativos del evento directa o indirectamente relacionado con un evento temporal, así como los programas culturales y sociales. Se puede concluir que la Catorceava Universiada de Verano fue un evento deportivo y cultural importante que sirvió como instrumento para la ejecución de numerosos proyectos; mejorando los espacios deportivos existentes, la capacidad de alojamiento y la traza urbana del centro de la ciudad a través de remodelaciones y construcciones nuevas. Dado que la mayoría de las intervenciones no se hubieran realizado en tan poco tiempo se puede decir que la Universidad fue un medio para la ejecución de la política de desarrollo urbano y la renovación de Zagreb. Ese evento dejó en el patrimonio permanentemente diversas obras de infraestructuras, supraestructuras y ecoestructuras que los habitantes de la ciudad y la región todavía utilizan para los mismos fines.

Palabras clave

Mega evento, estrategia, huellas, Universiada, urbanismo, Zagreb.

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1. Introduction

For many years spatial and urban planners have been striving together with local government and the public to put city development visions and trends into practice through the elaboration of spatial planning documentation. Urban development and the implementation of city development visions are characterized by dynamics that are determined by many factors that often display unpredictable movements. Development visions as implemented in spatial planning documents often cannot be realized in the short term due to a variety of reasons (political, social, financial and other). Organising a large event, as a form of urban development through major projects and consequently the "festivalization" of city politics,1 can serve as an incentive to carry out the planned interventions within a strictly defined period of time that must be respected if the event is to be organized successfully. Kassens-Noor et al. (2016) point out that the challenge faced by cities is how to direct financial resources to desired legacies to support their pre-bid urban agenda. For event planners the goal should be turning mega-events into efficient development vehicles that serve public purposes, so that legacies are mainly focused on furthering existing planning objectives, not towards the achievement of private benefits.

Monclús and Guàrdia (2006) stated that strategic planning and large urban projects have led to a reconsideration of the economic, social and cultural dimensions in urbanism. Renewed attention should be devoted to planning modalities, which are to be understood more as a system of practices and as a process than as an activity focused on traditional zoning in urban architecture.

There is a renewed interest in utilizing large events (Expos, Olympic Games etc.) for the strategic purposes of renewing the image of the city, mobilizing diverse agents and resources and catalysing new urban projects. Monclús (2006) points out that there is no reason to limit these strategic planning projects to prestige or "emblematic" projects since the former allow for the encouragement of other urban regeneration-related developments. They can be converted into policies of image or to other policies that generate considerable economic and social benefits.

Organising a large event, including a Universiade, can serve as a means for realizing the visions and the urban policy strategy of the host city, thus allowing for the implementation within a short period of time of numerous interventions that are directly or indirectly related to the event. Depending on the form of the mega event, both specific interventions and interventions in the infrastructure, suprastructure and ecostructures of the city and its region in the long term leave their mark to become a lasting legacy improving the overall quality of life of its inhabitants.

The aim of this paper is to show how sports events like the Universiade contribute to the development of the host city and the region, with an emphasis on the 1987 Zagreb Universiade and the implementation of Zagreb's urban policy strategy of the time.

2. Mega events

Mega events are large-scale cultural events that have a sensational character, mass popular appeal and international significance. Usually they are organized by national governmental and international non-governmental organizations, so it can be said that they are important elements of the official versions of public culture. They can be considered to be urban events with important and distinctive urban level characteristics: they provide a model of the city in terms of its architecture, residential areas, public functions and services. Usually they are intended to

Hartmut Häußermann and Walter Siebel, Eds., Festivalisierung der Stadtpolitik — Stadtentwicklung durch große Projekte (Opladen: Westdeutcher Verlag, 1993).

ZARCH No. 13 | 2019

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LEA PETROVIĆ KRAJNIK DAMIR KRAJNIK

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- Maurice Roche, Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the growth of global culture (London — New York: Routledge, 2000), 10.
- 3 Colin Michael Hall, "The Politics of Hallmark Events", in *The Planning and Evaluation of Hallmark Events*, Geoffrey J. Syme et al., Eds. (Aldershot, England: Avebury — Brookfield, USA: Gower Pub, 1989), 219.
- 4 Lea Petrović, "Impact of World Exhibitions on urban and regional development" (Doctoral dissertation, Technische Universität Graz, Graz, 2009), 298-318.
- 5 Jens Alm et al., "Hosting major sports events: the challenge of taming white elephants", Leisure Studies Vol. 35, No. 5 (2016): 564-82. Flavio Stimilli; Mladen Obad Šćitaroci; Massimo Sargolini, "Turin, Sochi and Krakow in the Context of Winter Olympics: Spatial Planning and Territorial Impact of the Games", Prostor Vol. 24, No. 1(51) (2016): 74-89. Martin Müller, "The Mega-Event Syndrome: Why So Much Goes Wrong in Mega-Event Planning and What to Do About It", Journal of the American Planning Association Vol. 81, No.1 (2015): 6-17. Harry H. Hiller, "Post-event Outcomes and the Post-modern Turn: The Olympics and Urban Transformations", European Sport Management Quarterly Vol. 6, No. 4 (2006): 317-32.
- 6 International University Sports Federation (FISU), "FISU history", FISU, http://www.fisu. net/en/ (retrieved May 1, 2018).

physically transform a strategically important area in the city. They enable the city to position or re-position itself in the world of global comparison and economic competition.²

Mega events are usually not the result of a rational decision-making process. They could be considered to be a struggle for power.³ Armstrong (1984) made a comparative study of policies and planning processes, and of 30 prestigious projects and mega events in major cities around the world. Based on the study, he pointed out that the decision to carry out a project was most often made before any data had been collected, analysed, and evaluated or constraints determined. Extra-rational factors such as influence, creativity, intuition, vision and experience played a significant role in the planning of and/or the decision to undertake projects.

Mega events such as the Olympics and World Exhibitions, albeit short-term, have long-term effects on the host city. They are often linked to the construction of infrastructure, event sites and sites where accompanying events are held, or in general to overall city regeneration. The organization of a successful mega event generally generates a positive image and gives the host city special significance at the national and international level. Thanks to the newly-built infrastructure that remains an enduring legacy, quality of life in the host city improves and the city and its urban region become better connected. The approach to the subsequent use of suprastructure differs depending on the type and concept of mega events. In some cases, site construction can be planned for the event itself with the site being dismantled after the closure of the event and the area converted to a new purpose. If the site and suprastructure are planned for long-term use, suprastructure conversion plans for the period following the event must be made, which is a very important step in the planning process. It is one of the major determinants of success when it comes to redefining and integrating the area into the wider spatial context in the post-event period.4

Essex and Chalkley (1998) suggest a classification of the Olympic Games depending on their territorial effect, which is considered as a strategic variable, with special reference to changes made in the urban structure. The Games are classified into those that have a "small impact" (use of existing installations and structures), "medium impact" (hardly touch the city territory and mostly focus on sports facilities which are built *ex nuovo* or recovered) and "high impact" (strong territorial involvement).

In order for it not to become a "white elephant", the construction of new suprastructure and infrastructure for the needs of sport events requires a comprehensive study of cost-effectiveness and long-term use programming. Unfortunately, we often encounter examples of the excessive size of structures and investments and of the underestimation of the territorial impact of the Olympic facilities and infrastructure, a matter which is still far from being properly and sustainably addressed.⁵

Apart from the Olympic Games, the Universiade is the largest multi-sport event in the world. It is organized for university athletes by the International University Sports Federation (FISU). The FISU was founded within universities to promote sporting values and to encourage top performance in international competitions in harmony with and complementary to the values of higher education. The idea of a global international sports competition between student athletes was promoted by Jean Petitjean who in 1923 organized the First World University Games for students in Paris which thus pre-dates the 1949 formation of the International University Sports Federation (FISU). The first Summer and Winter Universiades were held, respectively, in Turin in 1959 and in Chamonix in 1960, and since then they have been held biennially.⁶

3. Zagreb urban development strategy in the spatial planning documentation of the second half of the 20th century

Although Zagreb's urban planning dates back to the second half of the 19th century, here we will focus mainly on the second half of the 20th century as the period preceding the organization of the Universide.

Zagreb's Urban Regulatory Basis (1947-1949, as amended in 1953)⁷ presented the vision of a modern 20th century city. Functional zoning based on the principle of single zones is applied, with division into the basic zones of industry, housing, landscape, sports and recreation and the introduction of modern transport solutions.

The 1965 Urban Planning Program served as the preparatory document for the 1971 General Urban Plan. The program envisaged the expansion of the city and the construction of a new part of the city, Novi Zagreb, south of the Sava river. Its hierarchy in terms of land use and spatial organization is visible in every city system. In the city area, territorial urban units are foreseen as new units of settlement so as to achieve a compact and functionally more economical agglomeration. Regarding green areas, recreation and sports areas, the intention was to preserve existing greenery and conceive areas for new parks, protective green belts, forests, and sports and recreation zones, with a green belt encircling the city. In the program, the area of the Medvednica Mountain in the north and the Sava riverbank in the south were zoned for recreational purposes.

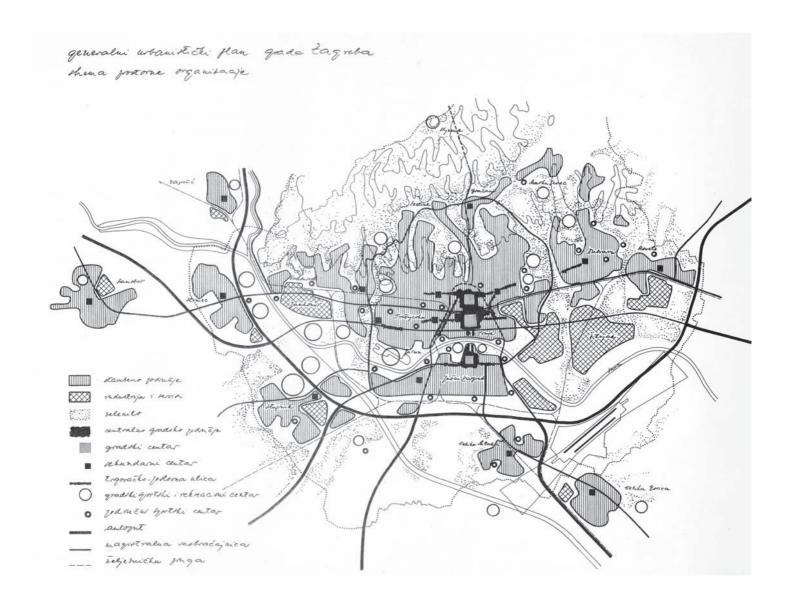
The 1971 General Urban Plan concept significantly enlarges the urban area, which is in accordance with the contemporary trends towards the planning of wider urban areas. The plan was still based on the zoning system, spreading the city center across the Sava river to Novi Zagreb. There were around 12 so-called secondary city centers conceived, which is an indication of the further concept of polycentric development being applied. The intention was to achieve a higher urban standard in the future, to reduce density in the central zones, and to increase the area of green and and recreational zones. The Medvednica Mountain and the areas along the Sava river were conceived as recreational areas. The Plan provided for a balanced development of the traffic systems in the city, thereby giving priority to public transport. Spatial expansion was planned along the communication axes towards the nearby satellite towns of Dugo Selo, Velika Gorica, Stupnik and Samobor.¹⁰

Spatial planning documentation categorized sports areas as special-purpose limited-use public areas. Public sports and recreation areas for smaller housing units were included within gross residential areas, while for larger housing units 30 locations for district recreational centers (5m²/inhabitant) were planned. In addition, the Plan envisages 18 major sports and recreational centers. Limited-use areas refer to areas adjacent to schools, facilities for children and young people and to areas intended for student purposes.¹¹

The period after the adoption of the 1971 General Urban Plan was characterized by the unequal development of certain areas, city systems and facilities. Peripheral areas mainly fulfil the housing function and lack adequate communal infrastructure, public transport and public facilities, while the urban area is characterized by urban use, urban morphology and physiognomy.

In order to expand the city across the motorway, new detailed plans for Velika Mlaka, Stupnik-Lućko and Strmec-Brestovje were elaborated which represented the implementation of the 1970 Spatial Plan of the Zagreb Region.

- 7 Urbanist Institute of the then National Republic of Croatia, urban planners: Vladimir Antolić, Josip Seissel, Stjepan Hribar, Antun Ulrich (Vedran Ivanković, "Koncept zelenog Zagreba u viziji arhitekta Vladimira Antolića / Concept of green Zagreb in the vision of the architect Vladimir Antolić", in Zelenilo grada Zagreba, Eds. Josip Božičević et al. (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2013), 26-36.)
- 8 Housing, workplaces, social and cultural institutions such as schools and hospitals, shops and other urban amenities and infrastructure throughout the city.
- 9 Urbanistički program Zagreba smjernice za razvoj / Urban Planning Program development guidelines (Zagreb: Town Planning Institute of the City of Zagreb, 1965).
- 10 Josip Uhlik, "U povodu prve projekcije generalnog urbanističkog plana Zagreba / On the occasion of the first projection of the Zagreb General Urban Plan", Arhitektura No. 107/108 (1970): 11-15.
- 11 Generalni urbanistički plan grada Zagreba / General Urban Plan of the City of Zagreb (Zagreb: Town Planning Institute of the City of Zagreb, 1971).



[Fig.1]. General Urban Plan of the City of Zagreb — spatial organization scheme. Source: Archive of the Department of Urban Planning, Spatial Planning and Landscape Architecture of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb.

- 12 Sonja Jurković, "Osvrt na prijedlog novoga Generalnog urbanističkog plana Grada Zagreba / Review of the proposal for the new General Urban Plan of the City of Zagreb", Prostor Vol. 8, No. 2(20) (2000): 75-278.
- 13 Slavko Dakić, "Ususret Zagrebu Uz novi Generalni urbanistički plan Zagreba / To meet Zagreb — Along new General Urban Plan of Zagreb". Arhitektura No. 189-195 (1984/1985): 124–31.
- 14 Ariana Štulhofer, "Sportski prostori u Zagrebu / Sports venues in Zagreb", http://uha.hr/pozivna-dvapredavanja-prof-dr-sc-ariane-stulhoferu-srijedu-11-4-2018-u-18-sati/ (retrieved May 2, 2018).

Based on the conclusions of the Social Council of the Town Assembly for Spatial Planning and Construction of the City reached in 1979, the 1986 General Urban Plan was not intended to be just a new urban plan but rather a new policy of city quality improvement related to the development of the wider city area. The basic aim of the Plan was the qualitative cohesion of the urban tissue, taking into account the necessity for intervention in the neglected city tissue and the preservation of existing urban values. Emphasis was placed on questioning the existing models of housing construction, the need for a strong orientation to public transport and railways, and the adoption of more complex measures addressing traffic problems. Reorganisation of urban facilities was planned in order to create mixed use zones. The plan sought to promote the principle of mixed land use, which would become the basic planning principle in the transition period.¹² Although the plan limits were reduced by the omission of the Medvednica Mountain and the Sava aquifers, Zagreb was portrayed as a metropolis boasting a wealth of city facilities, with an urban appearance, and offering a richness of experience and of human choices and opportunities.13

4. Traces of Zagreb's large sport event - 1987 Universiade

Throughout history some areas of the city of Zagreb, e.g. Maksimir — Svetice and Prisavlje, developed under the strong influence of sports and their specific requirements, and not according to preplanned urban planning ideas. Sports facilities were often constructed spontaneously by builders and architects who were also fans of various sports, though they were to a small extent the result of more systematic planning after the 1970s.

At the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, besides the 1987 Zagreb Universiade two other significant sports events were held in Yugoslavia: the 1979 Split Mediterranean Games and the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics, which were spectacles that contrasted starkly with the political and economic circumstances of the time. Their focus was political and cultural publicity for the country and the development of the infrastructure of the host cities.

The idea of Zagreb putting forward its candidacy for the organization of the Universiade dates back to 1979 when the Mediterranean Games in Split were held. The intention of the Zagreb city authorities was, as in the case of Split (1979 Mediterranean Games) and Sarajevo (1984 Winter Olympic Games), to solve urban problems by organizing a great sports event. The condition of Zagreb's sports facilities was poor. According to Nadilo (2014), the Cibona basketball club, which was a double European champion, did not have its own hall in Zagreb, and the water polo club Mladost, which was the European water polo champion, had to play in Ljubljana.

"The 1987 Universiade is a coagulator of aspirations, needs, and opportunities. It is a note of urgency to accomplish what is set in mid-term plans". 15

Following the proposal of the Universiade Preparatory Board of Zagreb as a candidate to host this event, in May 1984 the Executive Committee of the International Student Sports Federation (FISU) selected Zagreb as the host of the 1987 Summer Universiade.¹⁶

In June 1984, the Assembly of the City of Zagreb decided to establish an Organizing Committee, after which preparations began. The Universiade Workers' Association was established as well as a number of sectors responsible for various segments of the event's organization, coordination and realization (sports, construction, finance, marketing, accommodation, information and promotion, printing and publishing, culture and entertainment, traffic and communications, general affairs and electronic technology). In March 1985, the Program for the Adaptation and Construction of Sports and Accommodation Facilities in the City of Zagreb was adopted. In April 1985, a Concept for the Preparation of the Universiade was confirmed, and its implementation started.¹⁷

Besides the sports program, which was the priority of the Universiade, cultural events and the promotion of the state as a land of peace and tolerance through diplomatic channels all over the world were also of great importance.

In the period from 5 to 15 July 1987, contests in ten compulsory sports¹⁸ and in two additional sports as chosen by the organizers¹⁹ took place in Zagreb. A total of 1,299 competitions were held in 130 individual disciplines and 6 tournaments, with preparations and training sessions together with competitions having been held at 77 sports facilities.²⁰

4.1. Interventions carried out during the preparatory phase of the Zagreb Universiade - Directly related to the organization of the large event

The largest intervention carried out during the preparatory phase of the event was the construction of the Jarun Sports and Recreation Centre (SRC Jarun) on a total area of 230 ha (of which 70 ha is water). The idea of SRC Jarun's construction on an area previously used for gravel extraction was inspired by the student vision of Fedor Wenzler that was elaborated in his graduation thesis at the Faculty of Architecture in 1952. It thus laid the foundations of today's Jarun with its rowing complex and accompanying facilities. In the 1963 SRC Jarun Study, the Centre

- Mirko Orešković, "Univerzijada '87 Zagreb building program" (Branko Nadilo, "Izvješće o gradilištima Univerzijade '87 u Zagrebu Vrijeme ponosa, zanosa i graditeljske učinkovitosti / Report on the construction sites of Zagreb Universiade '87 Time of pride, fervor and construction efficiency", *Građevinar* No. 9 (2014): 863–68.)
- 16 Franjo Frntić, "Časopis Povijest sporta Univerzijadi Zagreb '87 / Journal of Sports History to the Zagreb '87 Universiade". Povijest sporta No. 72 (1987): 87-94.
- 17 Jasenko Zekić, "Univerzijada '87. drugi ilirski preporod / Univeriade 1987 — Second Illyrian Revival", Časopis za suvremenu povijest Vol. 39, No. 2 (2007): 299-318.
- 18 Athletics, gymnastics, basketball, fencing, soccer, volleyball, swimming, diving, water polo and tennis.
- 19 Rowing, canoeing and kayaking.
- 20 Zekić, Univerzijada '87. drugi ilirski preporod / Univeriade 1987 – Second Illyrian Revival, 312.

ZARCH No. 13 | 2019

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- 21 Ivo Maroević, Kronika zagrebačke arhitekture / Chronicle of Zagreb Architecture 1981-1991 (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2002), 99-101.
- 22 Complete infrastructure and utilities, including urban equipment and accompanying facilities.
- 23 Construction of two key cores along the west stands, replacing and extending the existing roof, repositioning of the central lodge, structural and technological renovation of the eastern stands, arrangement of the athletics track in the west and reconstruction of the entire infrastructure.
- 24 Ariana Štulhofer, "Graditelji sportskih zdanja u Hrvatskoj — Biografski prilozi / Designers and Builders of Sports and Recreation Facilities in Croatia — Biographies", *Prostor* Vol. 10, No. 2(24) (2002): 189-201.
- 25 Ariana Štulhofer, "Prilog istraživanju povijesti izgradnje sportsko-rekreacijskih objekata u Zagrebu / Contribution to the history of sports facilities construction in Zagreb", *Prostor* Vol. 3, No. 1(9) (1995): 55-72.
- 26 Nadilo, Izvješće o gradilištima Univerzijade '87 u Zagrebu — Vrijeme ponosa, zanosa i graditeljske učinkovitosti / Report on the construction sites of Zagreb Universiade '87 — Time of pride, fervor and construction efficiency", 864.

was envisaged as a western counterpart to the historic Maksimir park situated in the eastern part of the Zagreb urban area. The designs for the SRC Jarun complex, its rowing race course and administrative building were elaborated by Fedor Wenzler and Mira Halambek-Wenzler in 1976.²¹ The project was complex and included the spatial organization of the whole area.²² Its intention was to preserve as much of the natural landscape as possible. Special attention was paid to the construction of the entire infrastructure (roads, footpaths, parking spaces, bridges, plumbing and sewage etc.) SRC Jarun was proclaimed the largest and most well-thought-out architectural project of the Universiade due to the manner in which the surrounding urban settlements were connected to the complex.

The second major project involved the development of the Mladost University Sports Association facility, where an indoor Olympic-size pool (50 x 25 m) and a warming-up swimming pool were built with a capacity of 1,200 seats and a maximum possible enlargement of the seating area to 2,000 seats. An Olympic-size outdoor pool with an auditorium for 3,000 visitors was also built. Accompanying facilities were planned for the indoor and outdoor swimming pools as well as changing rooms. There were also plans to construct an athletics venue and implement larger infrastructure projects aimed at improving sports park facilities.

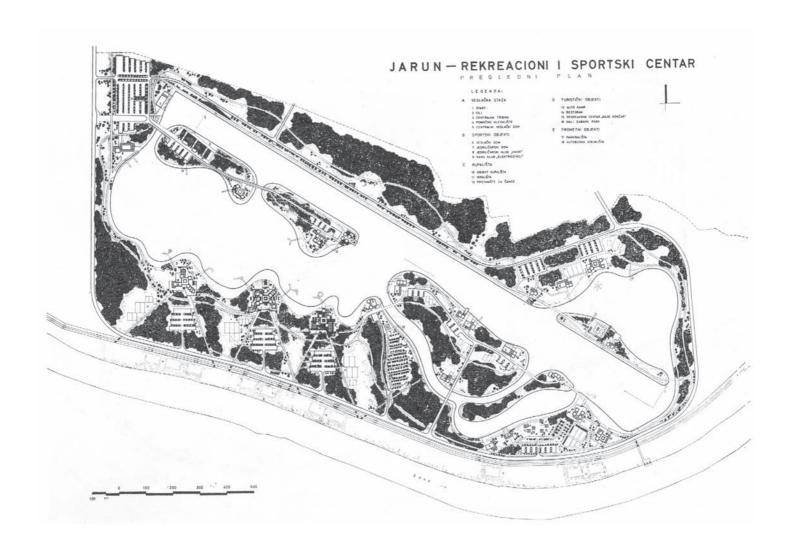
The basic concept of the Mladost Sports Park dates back to 1946, when architect Slavko Delfin conceived the project. The Mladost swimming pool complex was constructed on the basis of the designs of the architects Krešimir Rogina and Vinko Penezić in 1984. The two architects were awarded the silver medal at the World Architecture Biennale INTERARH in Sofia (1987) and the Grand Prix of Belgrade's Architecture Salon (1988) for the Mladost swimming pool. In the period after the event (1989-1999) the Mladost athletics stadium was built according to the designs of the same architects.

The Šalata sports and recreation centre, built according to the designs of Franjo Bahovec (1936-1966), had to be adapted to the organizational needs of the large event. The sports and recreational centre was redeveloped according to the designs of architects Nikola Filipović and Branko Kincl.

Preparations for the event included the reconstruction of the Maksimir Stadium of the Dinamo football club as the central Zagreb football stadium because its condition fell short of the requirements for hosting a world ranking event. Its construction had not been completed, and because of a lack of financial resources it had not been well maintained for years. Plans were made to implement a number of interventions that would improve the overall state of the complex. The Maksimir Stadium dates back to the 1940s and had been constructed according to the designs of architects Vladimir Turina and Franjo Neidhart. Its architectural value was recognised by a honorary diploma and Olympic medal at the 1948 London Olympics. London Olympics.

Interventions were also needed at Zagreb's *Dom Sportova*, the main indoor sports facility (construction 1964-1972 according to the designs of Vladimir Turina, Boris Magaš and Mladen Vodička), since its construction had not been completed and it had been constructed over an extended period.²⁵

The facility's construction condition revealed the need for emergency renovations. A total of 5,700m³ of damaged roofing was replaced on the Ice Hall, the interior space was renovated, and on the south, east and west side office spaces were built (2,300m²).²6



[Fig.2]. Jarun Sports and Recreation Centre. Source: Wenzler, 1974.

Other sports infrastructure

Six school sports halls (dim. 45×30 m, 9 m high) with telescopic stands were designed. The halls were planned to be constructed alongside the Mathematical Informatics Education Centre, Chemical Technological Education Centre and Faculty of Economics. Freestanding sports buildings were also constructed in the Martinovka and Peščenica districts.

During the preparatory phase of the event, the Zagreb Basketball Centre (now the Dražen Petrović Basketball Hall) was built and opened in June 1987 (architects Marijan Hržić, Borislav Šerbetić and Ivan Piteša). Adaptations were carried out in seventeen school sports halls as well as in the *Kutija šibica* handball/basketball hall in the Trešnjevka district and the *Dom odbojke* volleyball hall in the Mladost complex (east of the Olympic swimming pool building).

In addition to the Maksimir Stadium, football competitions were planned to take place at the Zagreb Football Club stadium as well as at numerous football pitches of clubs in lower divisions in Zagreb.

In addition to the works carried out in the city area, new sports grounds were built in the surrounding towns that were part of the Zagreb agglomeration (Bjelovar, Čakovec, Jastrebarsko, Karlovac, Kumrovec, Petrinja, Sisak, Varaždin and Sveti Ivan Zelina). Football stadiums were built in the satellite towns of Velika Gorica, Zaprešić and Samobor.

For the purpose of the subsequent use and management of the sports facilities of the city of Zagreb, the Associated Self-Managing Community of Interest for Zagreb's Physical Culture elaborated the "Study of Technology and Organization, Use, Maintenance and Management of Physical Culture Facilities of the City

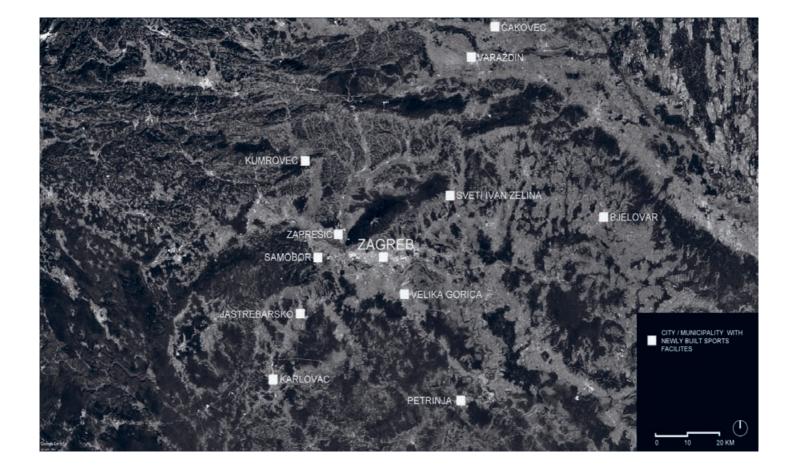




[Fig.3]. Interventions carried out during the preparatory phase of the Zagreb Universiade — directly related to the organization of the large event. Source: Author / Google Earth. [Fig.4]. Dražen Petrović Basketball Hall in 2019. Source: Author's Archive.

of Zagreb". According to this study, it was concluded that a highly centralized organization for physical culture should take care of sports facilities over a longer life span.²⁷

Two existing student villages, *Cvjetno naselje* and *Stjepan Radić* on the Sava river, were foreseen for the accommodation of sports event participants. Accommodating athletes, officials, referees, umpires etc. necessitated the adaptation and upgrading of existing facilities. The accommodation standard at Stjepan Radić student residence hall was raised (a separate sanitary node for every two student rooms), the fourth floor was upgraded and the existing restaurant with accompanying facilities was extended. In Cvjetno naselje, adaptation works were carried out on the five existing pavilions with the standard of accommodation being raised so



[Fig.5]. Cities and municipalities with newlybuilt sports facilities to be used for the Universiade. Source: Author / Google Earth.

that each room obtained its own sanitary node. Two new pavilions housing all the necessary facilities for accommodating the participants of the 1987 Universiade were built and these were to be used subsequently for student accommodation purposes.²⁸

4.2. Other interventions carried out during the preparatory phase of the Zagreb Universiade - indirectly related to the organization of the large event

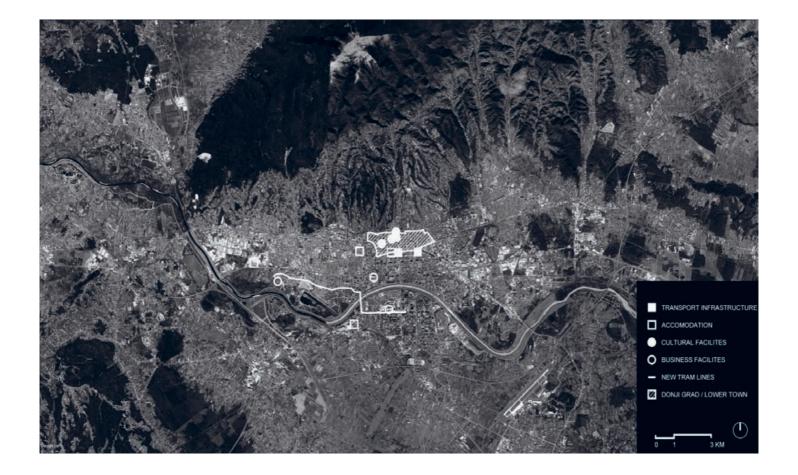
In addition to the construction of sports facilities in Zagreb during the preparatory phase of the event, the transport infrastructure also underwent modernization. A new bus station was constructed according to the project of Slovenian architects Edo Ravnikar and Majda Kregar (competition 1974, construction 1987), the Zagreb Railway Station was completely renovated, the tram line was extended to the western neighbourhood of Vrbani, and the Novi Zagreb tram ring was completed.

Three new hotels were built to provide additional accommodation capacities - Hotel Holiday, Hotel I and Hotel Panorama. The Esplanade Hotel was renovated and joined an association of the top two hundred hotels worldwide. The Zagreb Fair exhibition grounds obtained a new entrance, next to the Vjesnik skyscraper a press centre was built and the Automatic Processing Data Centre (CAOP) in Prečko was set up. Eighty new stores were opened, of which about ten were duty-free.

The Mimara Museum (architects Mihajlo Kranjc, Ivan Piteša, Matija Salaj, Berislav Šerbetić, 1985/1986) found a new home in a historic building on Roosevelt Square; the Archaeological Museum gained a lapidarium and the Zagreb Youth Theatre was renovated.

The renovation of facades was planned in Donji grad, Zagreb's historic centre, and the central city square was rearranged according to designs by Mihajlo Kranjc, Branko Silađin and Berislav Šerbetić (1978).

28 Nadilo, Izvješće o gradilištima Univerzijade '87 u Zagrebu — Vrijeme ponosa, zanosa i graditeljske učinkovitosti / Report on the construction sites of Zagreb Universiade '87 — Time of pride, fervor and construction efficiency", 865.



[Fig.6]. Interventions carried out during the preparatory phase of the Zagreb Universiade — indirectly related to the organization of the large event. Source: Author / Google Earth

4.3. Implementation of the Universiade's cultural and social program

Alongside large events a series of accompanying events is organized which contributes significantly to the image of the host city. In addition, in the 1980s culture became an inevitable part of almost every sports event. The Cultural Program consisted of two parts — the first concerned the organization of the Universiade and was led by persons responsible for organizing sports events, and the second represented the city cultural program²⁹ that was organized by the City Assembly and the City Board for Education, Culture and Science.

During the organization of the Universiade, Centres for Cultural Activity started to organize the International Theatre Festival EUROKAZ, which has become an annual event in Zagreb. During the Universiade a large number of museum and gallery exhibitions were held. A major cultural event was the opening of the Mimara Museum housing some of the greatest works of art by some of the world's most famous painters: Rembrandt, Goya, Murilla, Van Dyck and others.³⁰

5. Conclusion

It may be concluded that the 1987 Summer Universiade, although an event of a temporary character, left a great many material and non-material traces in the urban structure of Zagreb and its agglomeration. It was a significant event for the host city and the region that served as a means for carrying out numerous interventions directly or indirectly related to the implementation of the event itself. In contrast to some other types of major event, this example mainly focuses on dispersed interventions directly related to the event in the urban and regional structures and some grouped interventions in the wider city centre area indirectly related to the event. During the preparatory phase of the event interventions were carried out such as the construction of new and reconstruction of existing sports facilities and accommodation facilities for participants and visitors, as well as urban renewal

²⁹ Performances, concerts, film screenings, exhibitions etc.

³⁰ Zekić, Univerzijada '87. — drugi ilirski preporod / Univeriade 1987 — Second Illyrian Revival, 305.



[Fig.7]. Mimara Museum in 2019. Source: Author's Archive.

of the city centre. Furthermore, the Universiade was also a major cultural event promoting activities related to cultural events and the arrangement and construction of public buildings for the accommodation of cultural facilities. Significant traffic hubs were built and renewed to welcome the event's participants and visitors. A tram line was extended, which enabled easier access to certain areas of the city. In the long term, Zagreb and its surroundings gained many newly-built or renovated sports complexes, which improved the conditions for practicing most sports, provided a material basis for active lifestyles and provided the inhabitants with recreational opportunities. It is necessary to emphasize that the subsequent use and management of sports facilities after the end of the largest sporting event in Croatia was considered carefully, which was very important for their later successful use. It should be pointed out that all infrastructure, suprastructure and ecostructure projects implemented during the preparatory period are still in use today in line with their original purpose. Since most of the interventions would not have been carried out in such a short period of time (just three years) were it not for the Universiade, it can be said that the Universiade was a means of implementing Zagreb's urban development policy. Zagreb and its surroundings were, thanks to this ephemeral event, left a legacy of numerous sports facilities that in the long term contribute to the quality of life of its inhabitants and improve the image of Zagreb as a Central European city.

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104

ZARCH No. 13 | 2019

Las huellas de lo efímero The traces of the ephemeral

LEA PETROVIĆ KRAJNIK DAMIR KRAJNIK

Ephemeral events and their traces in the urban structure: Zagreb's 1987 Universiade.

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