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Osservatorio dell'agribusiness

105

LUIGI SCROFANI, MARCELLA RIZZO, PASQUALE M. PICONE
Verso una gestione sostenibile del patrimonio culturale e paesaggistico

138

MARIA LODOVICA DELENDI
L'arte del paesaggio dall'estetica all'etica

148

FRANCESCO BORTOT
Mindscapes learning e partecipazione nei distretti locali

Controsservatorio ambiente e territorio

97

FILIPPO ANGIUCCI
The Limen as a New Experiential Boundary of Technological Innovations for the City

121

GINEVRA BALLETO, GIUSEPPE BORRUSO
Sport in the City

156

MARGHERITA PULCRANO, STEFANIA MONACO, MIRKO SICONOLFI, SIMONA SCANDURRA
Interpretare l'architettura attraverso metodologie di rilievo 3D

Paesaggio e risorse

92

LIVIO C. PICCININI
The Landscape-cultural Mosaic: an Itinerary for IPSAPA Conferences

113

TEODORO SEMERARO, ROBERTA ARETANO
Percezione e condivisione pubblica per lo sviluppo del Piano di Potenziamento del Polo Urbano Universitario Salentino

129

ORNELLA ZERLENGA, ANTONIETTA CERRETO, LUCIANO LAUDA
Landscape Portrait "in the Dark"

164

CHRISTINA CONTI, S. GRIMAZ, G. LA VARRA, A. PECILE, L. PETRICCIONE
Portis, da paese abbandonato ad accademia internazionale

Recensioni e informazioni

172

Premio PAN IX Edizione 2019

174

Associazione IPSAPA

175

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Sport in the City

Football games without frontiers The case of the Cagliari stadium (Sardinia, Italy)

GINEVRA BALLETTTO*, GIUSEPPE BORRUSO**

Sport in the City. Football Games without Frontiers. The Case of the Cagliari Stadium (Sardinia, Italy). Sport and stadiums have always been closely linked and related. Sport understood as authorizing, educating and controlling the population, both for good and for bad, has been used since ancient times as propaganda and as a currency of exchange, for truces of war and to amplify the differences between ethnic groups. While sport refers to recreational, educational and social aspects, stadiums, on the other hand, have the task of spectacularization. The present paper represents an effort by the authors to reflect on some of the changes intervened in stadiums. The idea is to understand if, and in which terms, something 'not new' is actually ongoing, learning lessons from the past, when sport facilities were tightly connected with urban dynamics, and stadiums - as major 'temples' of to-date sports, can play again this important role. Some considerations are provided in general terms and following the recent operation - on going - of refurbishment and reconstruction of the new Stadium of Cagliari.

Keywords: sport, Cagliari, smart urban planning, street sport, smart stadium

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GINEVRA BALLETTTO

Stadiums were born as containers of events: they evolved following on the one hand the sport and on the other one following the gradual and growing connection between population towards sport, attracted by the will to attend and participate to sports event more and more - to date - flanked by a progressive contribution of sponsors (Eddy, T., et al., 2017). The stadium, since ancient times, is

one of the means by which the public city manifests, whose origin is closely linked to the dawn of the city, through the political bond and the city (Cottino, P., 2009).

Nowadays, the game of football in particular, namely the most relevant form of sport using stadiums for its exploitation, overcome the problems of after-game re-employment typical of the well-known phenomenon of the Olympic city (Weinstein, A., 2018). That happens through the many highly distinctive events, also through a 'branding city' (Vanolo, A., 2017) approach, not strictly related to the traditional, standard calendar of the matches.

Recently, the consideration of stadiums as

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elements not strictly related to the pure sport events, to be watched just during match days, but as stable elements in the society and urban landscapes, has been expressed by the UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) guide to quality stadiums. This represents a fundamental reference to orientate the quality of the stadium itself with the city, which it belongs, reinforcing the historic bond that unites them, not only from an architectural, but also from an ideological point of view (Bolognini, M., 1981), and at the same time, reinforcing the more recent industrialization and massification of leisure time (Codeluppi, V., 2014).

In particular, the industrialization of free time in Italy can be found in the private management of large plants such as stadiums, legitimated by the DL 50/2017 and converted with the Law 96/2017.

Urban transformation, deriving from the renewal of sports real estate, takes place at the hands of football clubs according to a trend already outlined in other countries, according to a mix of functions (retail, conference events, receptive), so as to activate processes of urban regeneration and impacting therefore on urban policies (Gastaldi, F., Traverso, M., 2018).

The project of the new stadium of Cagliari

follows this process. A real smart stadium in the city that changes in the direction of environmental sustainability and quality of life.

1. Stadium and socio-urban changes

It should be noticed that the arena or stadium, since ancient times, has been one of the ways in which the public city is expressed, through the link between political propaganda and the city, which has always characterized the most remote urban configurations and related articulations of the social structure up to the present day (Di Biagi, P., 2014).

Sport has, in fact, often been used by dictatorships as an instrument for the celebration of presumed superiority and has characterized several historical moments that have reached the point of fascism up to the cold war.

The stadiums are real devices that fall between the infrastructure of the public city and the public city. In the last 20 years the urban trends have been multiple: in general the current international design trend, also supported by the organizing committees of the games, is that of a highly convivial urban place, perfectly integrated to the city scale, through the activities of the trade and of free time. A stadium is designed and thought as surrounded by houses, restaurants, bars, shops, offices, cinemas, hotels, all the various urban functions that characterize the compact city.

Italian football suffers from a deficit with the rest of Europe and the world in terms of sports infrastructure, as multi-purpose sports facilities that in addition to the game refer to well-being and health and growing experiential trade.

In recent years, sport has undergone a transformation becoming more and more business associated with emotion, essential to involve more and more fans, taking advantage of the potential deriving from the show of events related to sport (Cho, H., et al., 2018).

Furthermore, the EU is responsible for developing policies based on concrete elements, as well as for promoting cooperation and the management of initiatives to support



Fig. 1
Sardinia Region and the Municipality of Cagliari

physical activity and sport in Europe. In the period 2014-2020, a specific budget line was made available for the first time under the Erasmus + program to support projects and networks in the sport sector.

According to Pine and Gilmore (1998) Emotional experience favours the creation of a competitive advantage, a sort of new category of offer that is increasingly imposed on the market (Hu, H., Jasper, C. R., 2018). All this generates new socio-urban effects that are expressed in everyday life and in correspondence with the ever-increasing number of major events that also affect developing countries (Muller, M., Gaffney, C., 2018). Another aspect to be considered is that in Italy the partial use of stadiums is due to old works and recent regulations on safety standards. This led to a gradual disinvestment, leading old structures into the category of Italian disused assets. Moreover, the disinvestment or abandonment is also the main risk to which the sports architectures connected to major events are subjected: Olympics, games and international exhibitions, trade fairs, generally leave many empty spaces – apart from the case of Berlin games (1936) – de facto violating the ethics and integrity of sport (Andreff, W., 2018). Although the organizing committees of the CIO and UEFA have introduced particular strategies for the assessment and containment of impacts during sporting events, a high amount of unused assets remains. According to the research conducted by the Milan Polytechnic Observatory (presented on 24 May 2018), it results that the average age of the

Italian stadiums is 64 years for the major A League and 68 for the B League, with the last major restyling made almost 30 years ago, on the eve of the 1990 World Cup. Since then, the interventions on the stadiums were limited to a small number of facilities, - Allianz Stadium in Turin, Mapei Stadium in Reggio Emilia, just to name a few ones - leaving instead old and not welcoming stadiums, far from those that are the new international standards. An example for all is represented by the San Nicola stadium in Bari, designed by Renzo Piano in 1990 as one of the symbols of Italian architecture, few spectators and high management costs to ensure full usability.

Even the stadium of Cagliari for the World Cup in the 90s has had significant works of reorganization, but since then the decline has begun, until it come to a total abandonment (2014). Focusing in particular on the Cagliari Stadium we can remind the main dates and transformations of the stadium Sant'Elia (Table 1).

Although the numerous highly distinctive events of the World Cup express a real 'branding city', Cagliari with the World Cup in the 90s has not activated any of this as even an 'after game' vision. In fact, the stadium arrived in the days as a large container opened only 1 day every 15th, producing the effect of 'closed doors' (ref!) in a nodal part of the city of Cagliari.

Recently, the consideration of stadiums as elements not strictly related to the pure sport playing and watching just during match days, but as stable elements in the society and urban

Year	Event	Capacity
1965	Construction	35.000
1990	Restructuring and Expansion (Italy 1990 FIFA World Cup)	40.919
2000	Restyling (safety issues)	23.486
2017 (ongoing)	Concept for the new stadium	24.000 -30.000
2017	The Last Match (Then in Sardinia Arena)	16.000

Source: our elaboration

Tab. 1

Main dates of the Sant'Elia stadium

landscapes has been expressed by the UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) guide to quality stadiums. It represents a fundamental reference to orientate the quality of the stadium itself with the city which it belongs, reinforcing the historic bond that unites them, not only from an architectural, but also from an ideological point of view, and at the same time, reinforcing the more recent industrialization and massification of leisure time.

This is also the process followed for the new stadium of Cagliari, which ended the international competition in February 2018, with the winning concept by the Sportium consortium. In addition, the city through its paths - green or blue - in urban parks and / or on the coast is increasingly hosting new behaviours related to the practice of sport, a real revolution similar to that of street food, called street sport (Clark, P., et al., 2018).

The city more and more often becomes 'stadium', offering showcases for the street, from running, skateboarding, biking to urban climbing, are some of the sports offers through which the city shows off and animates new urban behaviours (Turner, D., Carnicelli, S., 2017).

2. Stadium and urban regeneration possible

The outcome of the direct and indirect effects deriving from the stadium shows that, alongside the construction of new stadiums, there is also an urban regeneration. A trend, that of modernizing the great cathedrals of football, which has taken hold in Europe in many ways.

The main reasons depend on the historical ties and on the contextual and necessary reinterpretation of the stadium, deriving from the environmental and commercial needs in urban smart stadium (Panchanathan, S., et al, 2017).

Stadiums although presenting themselves as megastructures, they do maintain and present a human scale of aggregation, socialization, trade, helped to-date also by a massive use of ICT, from augmented reality to bitcoins, at the same time maintaining a strong

relationship with the (local) landscape and the place, sometimes techno-landscape integration, appearing sometimes as landmarks (Matthews, J., et al., 2018).

In this sense the contemporary architecture of the stadiums is often the architecture of relationships rather than just that of objects, of dynamic spaces for a mix of functions (Parlato, S., 2018).

Contemporary architecture and urban planning therefore offer the possibility of organically planning physical and spatial connections, between city and stadium, between public and private uses, between open and covered, between nature and artifice, and making these connections the primary meaning of the project of urban regeneration (Nuvolati, G., 2018).

In this paper, also, we want to demonstrate how the recent multifunctional stage represents the overcoming of all the previous models. It also constitutes the evolutionary synthesis of exhibition fairs, shopping centres and theme parks, which in their formal diversity are nevertheless united by the same need, that of centralizing the complexity of the 'Roman ludum' offer in a physical space (Hegetschweiler, K. T., et al., 2017).

This was also the approach followed for the concept of the new stadium in Cagliari.

In fact, the authors participated in the elaboration phases, providing the elect of environmental and social integration with the context. This is also the procedure followed for Cagliari stadium, which has as its winner Sportium, a specialized design consortium that has signed (10 September 2018) a memorandum of understanding with the University of Cagliari for all the design phases.

The Sportium group together with the University of Cagliari started from the condition that many European countries (Germany and England above all) the sports facility has evolved into a multi-purpose structure able to offer diversified services.

The stadium is increasingly becoming a key element of urban regeneration, a striking example is found in Groningen where the construction of the new stadium led to the

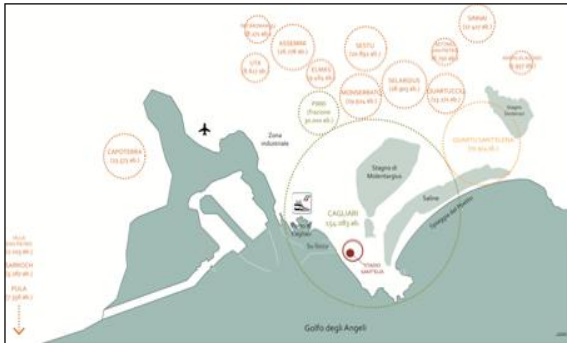


Fig. 2
Location of the new stadium in Cagliari

construction of residences, shopping centre and the strengthening of infrastructural connections between the North of Holland and the rest of the country. In the concept development stage the challenge was to dialogue between different urban scales, between local and global (Figure 2).

The goal was to root the new stadium of the Cagliari territory in which, and at the same time being a nodal point in the network of services on a local-global scale.

3. Stadiums and networks

The case of Cagliari Stadium is an interesting one in recalling a wider debate over networks

and their characteristics. The circumstances that led to the realization of the project before, and - hopefully - of the stadium afterwards, are interesting in shaping the role that Cagliari as a city can play on one side at a national and international level, and on the other side at local level. Football stadiums are traditionally known for hosting matches at national level, following a yearly timetable, and an international one, following a less regular international competition calendar, related to the European premier leagues as well as some events related to the national teams facing each other. These elements alone are capable of attracting people from different distances: mainly from local, metropolitan - and regional - level for the regular national championship, to a lower extent from the other regions, considering the supporters of the visitor team (Figure 3). Different is the case of international competitions or special events, as concerts or other happenings where a wide number of people gather. Here the distance participants will be willing to travel is not limited to the local and regional context, but can be longer, as people can be attracted from a wider national and international level.

Here there is the need to introduce another stage of thought related to the role of privileged node played by the city of Cagliari at different levels, related to the quality of its connections.

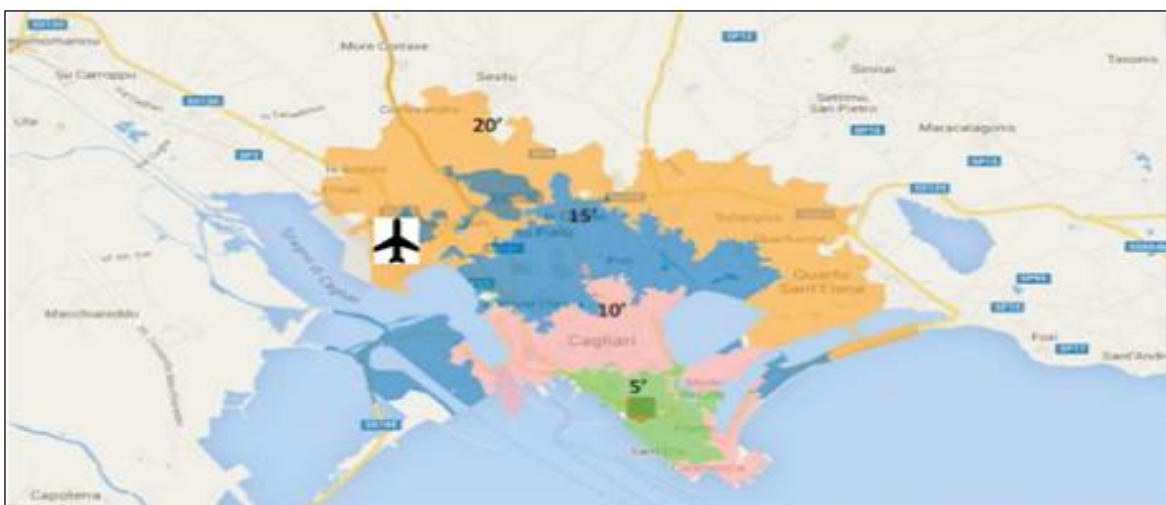


Fig. 3
Isochronous with car - Mobility study, Municipality of Cagliari 2016

**Fig. 4**

Map where people run and swim - Cagliari June 2018 (Source: elaboration to G. Borruso)

Beyond the overhead connections there are also the most recent street sports with parks, squares, tree-lined avenues, promenades. Cagliari in this sense has a significant liveliness in the street sports (green and blue), related both to running and to swimming.

4. Results and discussion

The planning process of the new stadium of Cagliari following the recent legislation (a real deregulation) specific for the stadiums is part of the great social-urban change about sporting practice. The sport is increasingly expressed with the spectacularization and gradually feeds tourism, known as sports tourism. Sports and cities are united in places traditionally intended for practice such as the stadium (nodes) and both in the articulated network of streets, parks and promenade. Cagliari in this sense presents an urban fabric whose street sport effect (green and blue) is strengthened more and more. From this consideration, together with the morphology of the places, have allowed to formulate the concept of the new stadium of Cagliari privileging the choice of the stadium without podium, so as to give continuity to the street sport network, where the new stadium

is an important node without frontiers. The stadium - and its connected facilities - appears therefore as a logistic node in the transport and transit system in the Southern portion of the city of Cagliari. Its accessibility - already existing and to be enhanced and improved by the realization of the new facility - seem to be providing and igniting a set of potential benefits not only referred to the sport initiatives and examples, but also to the other services and collateral activities related to the area. Among the multi-purpose activities, not only those strictly related to sport and retail need to be mentioned, but also those related to a change in the mobility and accessibility of the city itself. A facility as a football stadium is characterized by a need for accessibility and the 'capacity' of creating its own accessibility. That is, an increase in the number of car parks, generally to remain free for a considerable amount of time - being thought for peak times during match days - , an eased accessibility - in terms of connection to the street and road network - as well as a connection with the transit system and with a pedestrian street. These elements kept together, together with a semi-central location, make the area an interesting site from a logistic point of view. The nodal area of the Stadium, in fact, is expected to become possibly an interesting

interchange area. First of all, the number of car parks foreseen once the new infrastructure is built will be lower than the seats available, making the facility to be reachable, hopefully, by means of public transport, and particularly transit system. The planned light metro-railway in fact is planned to connect the city centre (Via Roma) with the Stadium area, before heading towards the Poetto beach area. Such area can therefore become an interesting interchange logistic node, allowing a 'park and ride system' in ordinary times - of course far from the peak days of the football matches - between cars - coming from the Median Axes and with passengers heading to the city Centre - Via Roma and the Poetto Beach - and buses and trams, de facto limiting the pressure of cars towards the Poetto beach area, on one side, and on the city centre on the other side, as well as allowing an interchange for the people heading to and from the sport services, the promenade on the waterfront, the city centre. Another important function can be that of a (flexible) node as a city logistic centre. City logistics is growing of importance, given the need to supply in an atomized way retail areas that area active on a nearly 24/7 basis and therefore needing frequent replacement of the goods as well as disposal of waste. The extension of pedestrian streets as well as that of narrow streets in central areas implies more and more relying on small vehicles, in the future maybe based on electric propulsion and therefore not emitting pollution locally. A system based on that concept and technology could find in the area an interesting application.

As mentioned above, the area is also interesting as a certain concentration of sport facilities is present, this set being characterized by point facilities, both indoor and outdoor. However, the city of Cagliari is also important for the 'low cost' and 'open air' sports, as running and swimming - not to mention cycling, as in triathlon - where activities are done in the streets (together with parks and squares) as well as in open waters.



Sommario

Lo sport e gli stadi sono sempre stati strettamente collegati e correlati. Lo sport inteso come mezzo per educare e controllare la popolazione (sia nel bene che nel male) è stato usato fin dall'antichità come azione di propaganda e moneta di scambio, per tregua durante le guerre o per amplificare le differenze tra gruppi etnici. In questo quadro, il presente lavoro rappresenta una riflessione sui principali cambiamenti intervenuti negli stadi, con particolare riferimento alla proposta del nuovo stadio del Cagliari, sia in termini di capacità attrattiva (funzioni e fruitori) e sia come acceleratore di rigenerazione urbana. L'obiettivo è comprendere se, e in quali termini, il "nuovo", attualmente in fase di progettazione sia strettamente connesso con le dinamiche urbane (locali e globali) e quale ruolo più gioca per favore l'integrazione e inclusione sociale.

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