Creating social impact with sport events

Paul Hover (Mulier Institute)

Bake Dijk (Utrecht University)

Koen Breedveld (Mulier Institute)

Frank van Eekeren (Utrecht University)

Hans Slender (Hanze University of Applied Sciences)

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Commissioned by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport

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1. Sport events and social impact

1.1 Sport events: catalysts for social change?

Public authorities around the world are aiming to boost their ability to achieve social and economic objectives by investing in sport events. This means that sport events, varying from small scale local sport events to mega sport events with an international scope, are seen as significant tools for social and economic development (e.g. Kellet et al., 2008; Misener, 2015; Cornelissen, 2008).

Lately, however, questions have arisen on the degree to which sport events are able to fulfil this promise. As investments in sport events have increased, sport events have become the subject of public scrutiny. Demands for 'evidence' supporting the claims of sport event organisers that they contribute to the public good have started to accumulate (Hover et al., 2016). This demand for transparency was further fuelled by e.g. 'white elephants', corruption in sport organisations and budget overruns that accompanied at least some of the larger sport events in recent decades, and that brought into question the degree to which societies actually benefitted from organising sport events.

This demand for evidence has spurred research in the economic domain for quite some time. Over the years, a significant body of evidence has been built up on the degree to which sport events contribute to economic development. And even though economists still dispute the economic logic behind sport events (European Commission, 2016; Zimbalist, 2015; Kavetsos & Szymanski, 2010), this body of knowledge has led to more or less standardized practices and guidelines that steer research and allow for basic levels of comparability. The driving force behind this vast body of economic sport event research is that sponsors demand some sort of legitimation of their economic investments, and hence demand economic impact analyses, media-impact studies and the like.

In the social domain, however, things have not developed to quite the same extent. Even though it is not difficult to see how sport events elicit outbursts of enthusiasm and excitement, there is little research on how that energy translates and feeds into larger social processes, and may contribute to solving some pressing societal issues like integration, inequality and non-participation. To date, sport event impact studies have been mainly economic in nature, while thorough evaluations of the social impact are relatively scarce (e.g. Preuss, 2004)[1].

So far, no well-developed methods have been created to measure the impact that sport events have outside the economic domain. The social impact as a result of a sport event is, to a certain extent, obvious and unquestionable (e.g. Mourato et al., 2005). However, providing scientific evidence as to the sustainability of this impact, as well as its broader social significance, is very much another matter. As Van Bottenburg (2009) correctly states, the social impact that is generated by sport events is 'easy to see, but hard to prove'. Sport events may attract large-scale attention, live, on TV and via the internet (live streams and social media). Indeed, sport events are among the most broadcast and viewed

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[1] In one local overview, it was found that of the 33 sport events studied, 73 per cent of the events had performed an independent economic impact study while only 39 per cent touched on issues of participation and cohesion and 6 per cent touched on environmental issues. 'Touched upon' signifies that the quality of the research in participation and cohesion varied widely, and was not guided by standardized guidelines or research–practices (Hover et al., 2014).

television programs[2], they make for larger than life headlines in newspapers, and turn winners into national icons. But how exactly this 'magic dust of sport events' (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2013) may or may not transform the lives of participants, spectators, volunteers and local citizens in the long run, remains a question yet to be answered satisfactorily.

Against this background it is not surprising that the attention of academic researchers seems to gradually shift from establishing economic impact to measuring the social impact of sport events (e.g. Walton et al., 2008). The main reason for this shifting of attention is that sport event proponents, typically public authorities, aim to optimise positive social impact, while this is only occasionally measured. In addition, studies seem to indicate that the social impact of sport events should not be underestimated (e.g. Cornelissen, 2014). For example, Mourato et al. (2005) found that the expected 'intangible benefits' of the 2012 Olympics in London were seen as more important by citizens across the country, than the tangible benefits such as economic gains and improved infrastructure.

1.2   Goal of the project

Against this background, it is our aim to provide an overview of the current state of play as regards research into the social impact of sport events[3]. This paper intends to cluster the leading scientific literature on (creating) social impact from sport events, add to the debate and present possible directions and actions geared to obtaining sustainable positive social effects from sport events. The main questions that steered the project were:

- Definition: how can we define social impact, what types of social impact can be distinguished and how is social impact measured?
- Evidence: What scientific evidence is there for different types of social impact as a result of a sport event?
- Strategies: Which strategies contribute to creating a positive social impact; what are opportunities, constraints and pitfalls when aiming for positive social impact?

With this study we hope to provide readers, whether they are politicians, policy-makers, sport event organisers, sport federations, sponsors, journalists, researchers, students or interested citizens, with an overview of the relevant literature as regards social impact.

Given that the amount of space and time that was allotted for this report was limited, we do not claim to be comprehensive and to have covered all aspects and all research-material of social impact to the same degree. We trust that the extensive list of references in the back will guide those interested to more in-depth study and further reading.

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[2] In the Netherlands, Hover et al. (2014) found that 70 of the 100 most watched programs on TV are sport (event) programmes.
[3] The study was commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports, as part of the Netherlands presidency of the European Union, and is a follow up to an earlier study on 'Integrity and sport events' (Hover et al., 2016).

The work for this paper was undertaken from March to May 2016. Important sources for this paper were:

- Detailed analysis of the international literature, e.g. scientific journals and books (e.g. European Journal for Sport and Society, Leisure Studies) and presentations given at conferences (e.g. European Association for Sociology of Sport Conference, European Association of Sport Management Conference);
- Additional requests for information by mail and telephone to a selected number of experts;
- Input from peers at a thematic session 'Mega – events: is there a social legacy?' that took place on 6 May 2016 at the annual conference of the European Association for the Sociology of Sport EASS at the University of Copenhagen.[4]

Our research methods enabled us to draw together significant amounts of the international research. Still, as the amount of research on social impact remains rather limited, we will also draw significantly on case studies and research that was undertaken by the authors. As a result, the report includes different references to studies that were executed in The Netherlands. We do not feel that this hinders the relevance of the report for a broader international audience, as there are no indications that the processes surrounding social impact of sport events in The Netherlands are that much different to those processes in other parts of Europe.

1.3   Report structure

The definition of social impact and the types of social impact are central in the next chapter. In chapter three we describe scientific evidence for the appearance of different types of social impact as a result of a sport event. Chapter four focuses on creating positive social impact, where attention is devoted to opportunities and pitfalls. In chapter five we highlight our main findings.

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[4] See http://eass2016.ku.dk/ for more details on the conference and appendix 1 for more information on the workshop.

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2.   Definition of social impact

Before looking at the 'evidence' in favour of social impact deriving from sport events and strategies that may enlarge this social impact we need to first define what we mean when we refer to 'social impact'. First, the concepts of impact, legacy and leveraging are briefly described. Next, we look at the definition of social impact and the categorisations that are used in the academic literature.

2.1   Defining social impact

Impact and legacy

The impact of an event is what happens more or less automatically as a result of the event, and which is usually temporary by nature (fading out gradually, or sometimes very quickly, after the event has ended). If this impact is sustained, then this is referred to as a legacy (Taks et al., 2015). Gratton & Preuss (2008) define legacy as the planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible ('soft') and tangible ('hard') structures created through a sport event that remain in place after the event. A very recognizable example of a hard legacy are the sporting facilities that have been built especially for the event. Soft legacy refers, for example, to people's experiences, attitudes and behaviours as a result of the event (e.g. Holt & Ruta, 2015). Social impact is an example of a soft impact – we will come to this later. In addition, Dickson et al. (2011) argue that one should also consider the concepts of time and space when referring to legacy: legacies may change over time (e.g. can turn from negative to positive and vice versa) and may be quite different from region to region. For example, with regard to the evaluation of the 2008 Olympics in Beijing there are substantial differences in the evaluation of the legacy of the event between citizens in different Chinese provinces (Manzenreiter, 2014). In addition, the duration of the legacy might differ as emotions may only be felt briefly, while investments in infrastructure last much longer (Preuss, 2014). To summarize: legacy can be planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible and it differs in terms of time, space and duration.

Since the year 2000, the concept of legacy has gained increasing interest. The IOC organised its first conference on legacy in 2002 (Horne & Houlihan, 2014). Since then it has been mandatory to include legacy in bids for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. And in its Agenda 2020, the IOC has included leaving a sustainable legacy as a key-objective for future Olympics (IOC, 2014).

The legacy concept is now popping up in other sport event contexts as well. These days, sports events, especially mega events, are mentioned in the same breath as legacy. There are indications that this had led to excessive use of the 'L-word' (Harris, 2015). This excess is especially troublesome because promised or expected impacts and specifically legacies from event organisers and other event advocates either do not occur or cannot be demonstrated. A prominent example was (is) the ambition of the national government in the United Kingdom to 'inspire a generation' with the organisation of the 2012 Olympics in London (see chapter 4). But also in the case of smaller events, like European Championships and World Championships, there are high expectations among event advocates of the social goals that can be achieved with sport events.

Leveraging: planning for social impact from sport events

More and more professionals currently in the sport event industry realise that a sport event in itself does not *by itself* lead to all of the outcomes desired by the investing parties. In order to produce positive social impacts, leading to a sustainable social legacy, stakeholders must put mechanisms in place which anticipate on the momentum that a sport event offers. Strategic planning for event legacies is called leveraging. Leveraging refers to the way the event and its resources are exploited in order to produce

desired (social) effects (Taks et al., 2015; Chalip, 2004; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012). Thus, a prerequisite for generating legacies is that the organsations and stakeholders involved have planned for it (Tichaawa & Bob, 2015). In another domain of the sports industry, sport sponsoring, it is a well-established fact that any initial sponsor budget requires an additional activation budget for the financing of supplemental activities that allow for the initial investment to function effectively and generate desired results. A one-to-one investment ratio between the initial sponsor budget and the activation budget is not uncommon.

As far as the social impact of sport events is concerned, this is not the current practice. Even though social outcomes of sport events are generally hoped for and desired, this rarely means that such effects are also planned for and that leveraging processes are being put into place (Chalip, 2006). Successful leveraging is absent in a significant number of events, partly because of inadequate knowledge, and sometimes unwilllingness to invest time and money. Typically, the main event manifests itself as a 'greedy institution', absorbing all the time and money and leaving little energy for thinking about and acting on activities that extend well beyond the closure of the event (Breedveld & Hover, 2015).

Definitions

Legacy: the planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created through a sport event that remain after the event (Gratton & Preuss, 2008).

Leveraging: the implementation of strategies which are geared to creating social impact with sport events, regarding the event as a lever.

Leverage is relatively new discourse (Chalip, 2006; Chalip, 2014; Ziakas, 2015). As a result, there is very little understanding of how events could be used for more inclusive, positive social outcomes (Misener, 2015). In many studies the basic facts about the sport event (like duration, number of participants and visitors) and the impact it generated is what is presented. What happens in between – strategies separate from the organisation of the event itself, aimed at creating social impact - frequently remains a 'black box'. This is a significant finding as it is assumed that it is precisely this process that highly influences the intended social (and economic) effects. The question arises as to what has to be done - and how, when, and by whom - to be able to "use" a sport event to optimise positive social effects. This is the subject of chapter 4.

2.2   Social impact

In the scientific literature, impacts of sport events are classified in various ways. Reviewing the literature, four main categories can be distinguished, (figure 2.1):[5]

- Economic impact (e.g. contribution to GDP, employment, incoming tourism);
- Environmental impact (e.g. waste management, carbon foot print, CO_2 reduction);
- Physical impact (e.g. public transport infrastructure, housing projects, sport facilities);
- Social impact (specified below).

Figure 2.1 Types of impact of a sport event
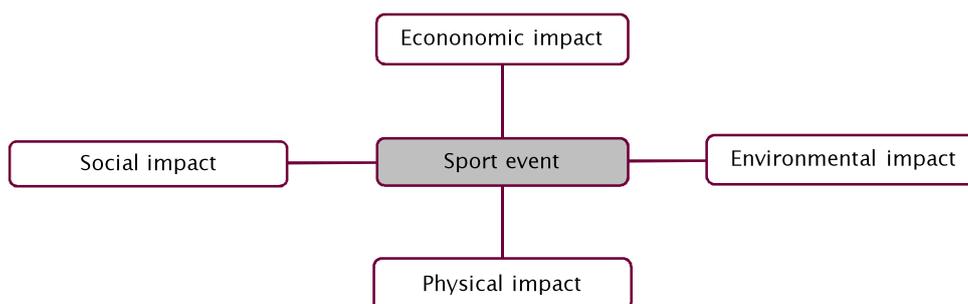
Clearly, there are large overlaps and cross-overs between the four categories. A sports facility that is not being put to use after the event will have an impact on the local economy as well as have meaningful environmental (and political) consequences; a sound economy with low unemployment will contribute significantly to a country's social state-of-being.

In this study we focus on social impact. Social impact refers to the manner in which a sport event prompts changes in the collective and individual value systems, behaviour patterns, community structures, lifestyle and quality of life (Taks, 2013). When aggregated, three main aspects of social impact can be identified:

- Sport and sport participation: the degree to which sport events stimulate the sport sector and especially stimulate participation in sport;
- Attitudes and beliefs: the degree to which sport events influence people's beliefs, attitudes, norms and values (e.g. pride, happiness, 'feeling good');
- Social cohesion: social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunities, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity (see Jenson, 1998), as a result of a sport event.

While attitudes and beliefs mostly refer to individual (psychological) characteristics, social cohesion in addition refers to social processes and interactions that are stimulated or initiated by sport events. This means that social cohesion is not limited to individual beliefs and values. Rather, social cohesion is the result, the sum, of the interactions of the many citizens that make up a (local) society. Part of that

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[5] Wilks (2013) distinguishes between social impacts at different levels: individual, family, group or community.

interaction occurs within and between individuals acting as part of local networks, organisations and institutions: schools, sport clubs and other voluntary associations, possibly churches and other local communities, local businesses, municipalities etcetera. Whether a society experiences 'social cohesion' comes in part from the degree to which such institutions exist and operate and the practices that they help shape. This implies that these networks, organisations and institutions need to be studied as well, if one intends to establish whether sport events generate some sort of effect on 'social cohesion'.

It is important to keep in mind that social impact is not always positive. In the scientific literature one finds positive and negative aspects of social impact. Positive aspects of impacts include: increasing mass sport participation and physical activity, increased health-consciousness, increased (national) pride, a feel-good factor, feelings of connectedness, increased social cohesion, social inclusion and social capital, increased social identity, getting the best out of yourself and psychic income (like feelings of euphoria and even transcendental effects). Negative social impacts include excessive crowding, safety and security risks (from petty theft to terrorism), transport delays (road blocks), social exclusion, vandalism, noise and litter.

Stakeholders

Given that social cohesion transcends the level of the individual, it should not come as a surprise that generating social impact involves the actions of a great deal of stakeholders. More specifically, social impact is often experienced and constructed by the same (groups of) people. For example, this is the case when feelings of cohesion arise among volunteers during the volunteer activities, or when local sport clubs are well integrated into the sport events (e.g. in organising side events). Overall, one can identify three groups of stakeholders (table 2.1). The rights holder and the event organisation are the principal production pillars, which are responsible for organising the main event. However, they create the event together with a great deal of co-producers; like sponsors, participants, suppliers, volunteers, and media. Typical 'consumers' of a sport event - and its social impact - are visitors and (to a certain extent) the national and local community.

Table 2.1 Common stakeholders of a sport event

'Production' of event	'Co–production' of event	'Consumption' of event
Rights holder	Public authorities	National community
Event organisation	Participants	Local community
	Sponsors	Visitors
	Sport federations	
	Sport clubs	
	National Olympic Committee	
	Schools	
	Health and wellbeing organisations	
	Suppliers	
	Volunteers	
	Media	

The number of stakeholders of an event may be limited in the case of relatively small sport events, like a single sports grassroots sport event which takes place on one day and is organised primarily for the local community. At the other end of the spectrum there are the mega sport events, which are the largest events in terms of size, investments and impacts (e.g. the Olympic and Paralympic Games and the FIFA World Cup).

Per definition, social impacts of sport events are unevenly distributed among stakeholders (e.g. Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Kellet et al., 2008). For example, while one part of the local community may experience

nuisance from the event (noise, litter, roadblocks) and cannot afford tickets for the event (social exclusion), another part of the local population may delight in enjoying the thrills of a full stadium.

2.3   Conclusion

Social impact refers to the manner in which a sport event effect changes in the collective and individual value systems, behaviour patterns, community structures, lifestyle and quality of life. Three main types of social impact, with both a potentially positive and negative side, can be distinguished: mass sport participation, individual attitudes and beliefs (pride, feel-good) and social cohesion.

Different stakeholders can be associated with sport events. Main stakeholders include the event organisation, the national and local community, media, public authorities, participants, rights holders, sponsors, suppliers, visitors and volunteers. Social impacts of sport events are unevenly distributed among these stakeholders and may arise in all four phases of the life cycle of a sport event: bidding, preparation, organisation and legacy. Stakeholders can both create and experience social impact.

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3. Evidence for the appearance of social impact

After having established what we mean when we refer to social impact and under which conditions the chances for the realisation of positive effects could be increased, we now turn to the scientific evidence base. Which examples of creating social impact with sport events can be found in the literature and what can be learned from them? Following our earlier three-way distinction, we look at mass sport participation, attitudes and beliefs, and the broader issue of social cohesion.

3.1 Sport and sport participation

Advocates of (elite) sport events repeatedly refer to the appearance of a 'demonstration effect'. A demonstration effect is a process by which people feel inspired by elite sport and the achievements of elite sportsmen and women at sports events to participate in sport themselves; to increase their sport participation or to take up new sports (Weed, 2009). In addition, one might be inclined to think that organising sport events may provide a stimulus to the sport sector as a whole (the federation, the clubs, the facilities, the budgets and the media attention).

Studies that focus upon the realisation of such effects are scarce. Systematic studies that explicitly focus on the effect of organising sport events on the sports sector are, to our knowledge, virtually non-existent. Our main focus here is therefore on the effect of sport events on mass sport participation.[6]

Studies that focussed on the effect of sport events on sport participation usually focus on temporary (and regional) increases in participation. For example, Perks (2015) found that the 2010 Olympics in Vancouver had almost no impact on national sport participation levels, but there was a temporary and modest increase in sport participation in the Vancouver area immediately after the event. Hanstad & Skille (2010, in Van Bottenburg et al., 2012) found a short term effect after the Lillehammer Games in 1994. As regards the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow in 2014, there is an indication that the Games appear to have had some behavioural influence, mostly on those already participating in sport rather than on new participants (Cleland et al., 2015).

In The Netherlands, the World Hockey Championships in 1998 in Utrecht are frequently referred to as a best practice. There was Dutch success (a gold and a silver medal for the Dutch men's and women's team respectively), the tournament ran smoothly and there was a great atmosphere in an innovative setting (it was the first time in The Netherlands that a hockey tournament was organised in a football stadium). The event was followed by years of substantial growth in hockey participation in the entire country, especially in the Utrecht region. A study by Hover et al. (2014) learned that the event did act as a catalyst for increasing hockey participation levels. But the increasing hockey participation levels were probably more a result of an effective policy implemented by the national hockey federation and a strong organisational infrastructure (clubs) than of the event itself. The main stakeholders in the hockey

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[6] It should be noted that sport events which attract thousands of recreational participants, typically large recreational road running and cycling races, influence the sport participation of the participants. Van Bottenburg & Hover (2009) showed that 95 per cent of the participants of the ten largest road running events in The Netherlands, including the city marathons in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, reported that they had the intention to at least maintain both the frequency and distance of running in the twelve months after the event. Moreover, eight out of ten of these participants stated that they trained for the event (see also Slender & Molenaar, 2015).

sector acknowledge that the event was of important value for the national hockey sector, but that a growth in participation was also subsequently achieved without the event later.

Besides these rather positive cases there are far more examples of the absence of a demonstration effect. Feng & Hong (2013) found no relationship between sport participation in cities in China and the 2008 Games in Beijing. In The Netherlands, during both the European Youth Olympic Festival (EYOF) in Utrecht (2013) and the start of the Tour de France in the same city (2015) visitors were asked whether attending the event stimulated them to become (more) active in sports. As regards the EYOF, 15 per cent of the visitors answered affirmatively and among non-participants in sports this share was 7 per cent (Breedveld et al., 2014). In the case of the start of the Tour de France, 24 percent of the visitors answered that they were stimulated to become active in sports. Among non-participants in sports this share was 18 per cent (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016). It should be noted that intentions for future behaviour have their value, but they are anything but a guarantee for future sport behaviour.

The distinction between participants in sport and non-participants among event visitors raises the question to which extent non-participants in sport visit sport events. In The Netherlands, 41 percent of sport participants visits a sport event at least once a year, as opposed to 18 per cent in the case of non-participants (Hover & Romijn, 2012). Clearly, sport events that have the ambition to boost interest in the event and aim for a demonstration effect among non-participants in sports set themselves a challenging task.

We will now zoom in on the 2012 Games. A significant reason for London's winning bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2005 was it's the focus on legacy (Manzenreiter, 2014). London 2012 was the first 'legacy Olympics' (Horne & Houlihan, 2014). No previous Olympic Games had been pro-actively used in an attempt to raise levels of mass sport participation (Weed, 2014). For a description of key leveraging activities, see paragraph 4.3. Sebastian Coe's charismatic speech to the IOC on the day of the host city election in Singapore in 2005 emphasised the potential of the Games to increase mass sport participation in the United Kingdom. The phrase 'Inspire a generation' summarised this ambition, which was aimed at inspiring the population of the United Kingdom to do (more) sports by 2012 (e.g. DCMS, 2010). This was subsequently specified as 'getting one million more people playing sport by 2012' (Burnham, 2009, in: Weed, 2014).[7] The time frame shows that the pre-Games period was crucial. The ambition to 'inspire a generation' was an ambitious one as, in order to be implemented successfully, it has to address not only people's behaviour but also deeply rooted social structures and relations (Girginov & Hills, 2010). The fact that no previous Olympics were used to stimulate mass sport participation is a meaningful finding as this indicates that there may have been missed (leveraging) opportunities to use the Olympics for stimulating mass sport participation in the past. So, the non-appearance of increasing mass sport participation as a result of the Olympics in the host nation in the past may not come as a surprise.

Inspiring a generation to become (more) active in sports was linked to challenges in society: obesity levels in the United Kingdom are amongst the highest in Europe. The cost of obesity to the U.K. taxpayer has been estimated at 20 billion GBP per year (House of Lords, 2013). The IOC values the (sport) legacy of the Olympics as well. The host city contract of the 2012 Games stated: "It is the

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[7] The detail of the commitment was to get an additional one million people participating in sport three times a week or more, thus targeting the very groups of people – those participating between once a year and twice a week – who had been shown to be most responsive to a demonstration effect (Weed, 2014).

mutual desire of the IOC, the City and the NOC that the Games (…) leave a positive legacy for the City and the Host Country" (IOC, 2005). Moreover, part of the motivation of Pierre de Coubertin in pursuing the revival of the Olympic Games was his concern about the lack of physical fitness of young Frenchmen (Veal et al., 2013). This motivation can also be found in the mission of the IOC which states that one of the roles of the IOC is to encourage and support the development of sport for all (IOC, 2015).

The results, however, are not very positive. According to Sport England's Active People Survey, the national adult sport participation (at least once a week) barely changed before and after London 2012. There was a slight increase in the run-up to the Games (2005/2006-2011/2012) when the participation rose from 34.6 per cent to 36.9 per cent (although it dropped to 35.6% in 2009/2010). Participation decreased in the years after the Games (35.8% in 2014/2015) (figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Adult sport participation in UK, 2005–2015, in %[8]
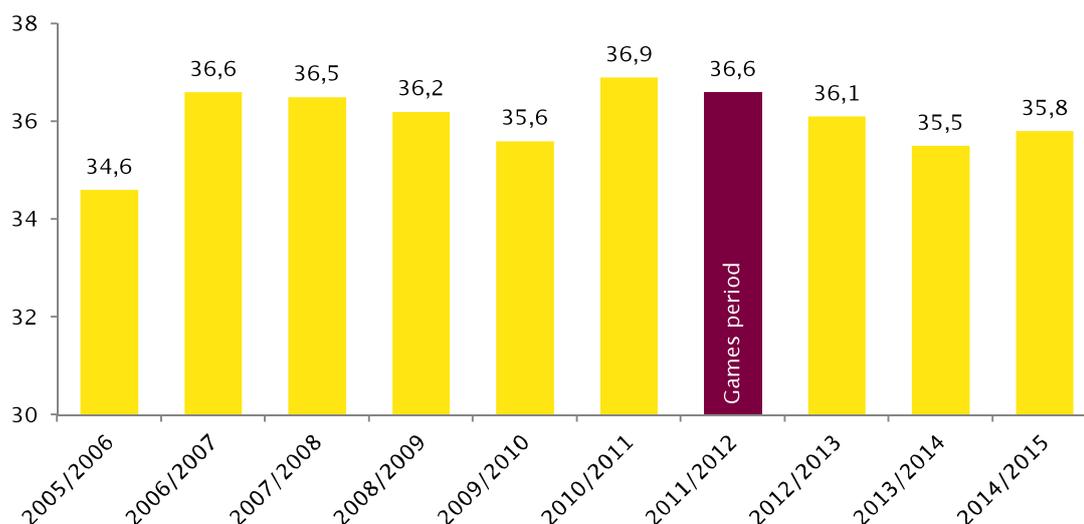
Source: Sport England's Active People Survey

What can we learn if we look at the level of sports participation per quarter between 2011, the year before the Games, and 2013, the year after the Games? The level of sports participation increased in the months prior to the Games (Q1 and Q2 2012), it peaked in the period of the Games in 2012 (38.7%) and decreased again in the last quarter of the Olympic year (figure 3.2). If we compare the development of sports participation in 2012 with 2011 and 2013 we conclude that this pattern is quite similar to the development of the level of participation in 2011 and 2013 and, as a result, that the increase in the first six months of 2012 is a seasonal effect.

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[8] Sport participation concerns at least four sessions of at least moderate intensity for at least 30 minutes per month.

Figure 3.2 Adult sport participation in UK, Q1 2011– Q4 2013, in %[9]
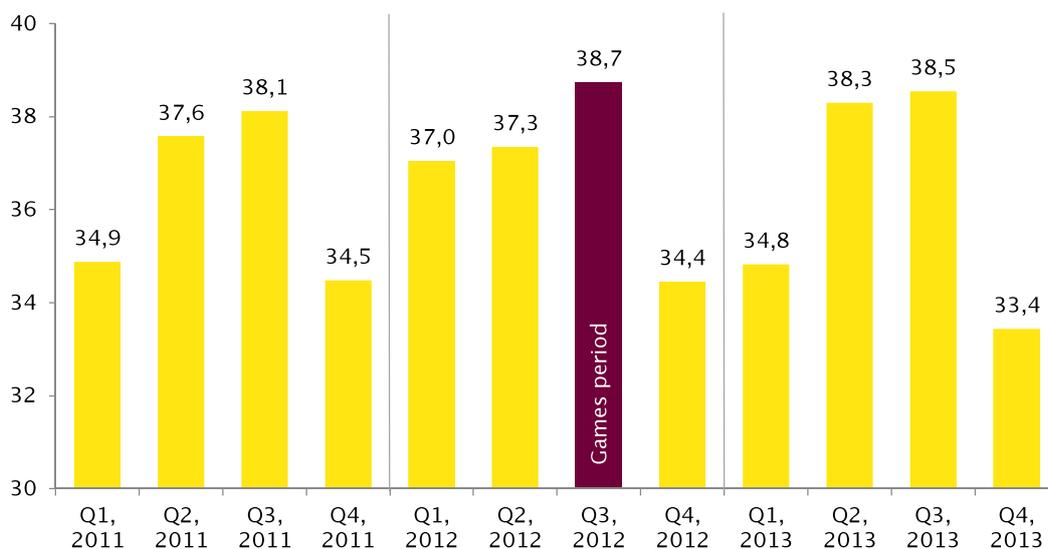
Source: Sport England's Active People Survey

The figures for children are not more positive. The sports participation of children (5-15 years) was slightly lower in 2014/2015 than in 2008/2009, although there was a minor temporary increase just after the Olympics (DCMS, 2015).[10] A source of concern is school sport. As young people are the future it is worrying that a substantial decrease in participation in school sport was reported in 2013 as a result of the loss of Olympic-related funding for school sports (The Smith Institute, 2013). This might have influenced the development of participation levels among youth. Although poor economic performance might have affected sport participation negatively, based on the presented evidence of the development of the level of sport participation it is not possible to speak of a satisfying increase in the level of national mass sport participation to date (e.g. House of Lords, 2013; University of East-London, 2015).

As regards sport clubs in 2013, 66 per cent did not feel that they benefited from the Games and 73 per cent say that the Government hasn't done enough to help community sport create a legacy of participation. On the other hand, the Games were a learning experience for the clubs (as well as for the national governing bodies) and 82 per cent of the clubs are expecting more people to take part in sport in the future as a direct result of the Olympics (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2013).[11]

Still, the 2012 Games do appear to have led to substantial investments in both physical infrastructure (venues, facilities) and soft sport infrastructure (volunteers, sport clubs, coaches, new events[12]) in London and in other areas in the country. These investments, and also the investments in sport promotion campaigns, continued in the post-Games period (Grant Thornton et al., 2013). Although the

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[9] Sport participation concerns at least four sessions of at least moderate intensity for at least 30 minutes per month.
[10] The participation levels in 2008/2009 and 2014/2015 were respectively 90.1 and 87.2 per cent (DCMS, 2015).
[11] The study does not provide insights in the reason for this expectation.
[12] In The Netherlands, both the start of the Tour de France in 2015 and the start of the Giro in 2016 elicited new sport events at the grass roots level. The same experience is found in the UK, for example the start of the Tour de France in 2014 (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016; Leeds City Council, 2014).

level of sports participation has not increased significantly to date, it is plausible that the improved infrastructure provides the necessary prerequisites for sport participation in the future. In addition, though this is not backed up by much evidence, London 2012, similarly to other successful (!) sport events, did generate a lot of attention from media and politicians. Though it is hard to label what this has meant to the UK sport sector, it seems hard to assert that the visibility and recognition of the sport sector has decreased because of London 2012. At least the elite sports sector profited significantly from the London 2012 project, rejuvenating the ambitions and self-esteem of the sportsmen and women in the country that is said to have invented sports.

In short

Taking all of the evidence into account, one can only say that the evidence for the manifestation of a demonstration effect is, at best, mixed (e.g. Frawley, 2013). If there is evidence for an increase in sports participation, the effects are often temporary, seldom created among inactive people and sometimes only in certain regions. When aiming for a demonstration effect there are two promising target groups: those who are already active in sports (raise their frequency of participation) and lapsed participants (re-engage them) (Weed, 2009). A demonstration effect rarely occurs among inactive people. Still, although sufficient knowledge is lacking, there are some clues that sport events generate an impact on the sport sector (e.g. clubs, facilities, federations) as a whole (Van Bottenburg et al., 2012).

3.2   Attitudes and beliefs

Pride

In countries around the world public money is invested in sport events with the objective being to promote feelings of pride and a sense of belonging to a local or national community. It is assumed that this local/national pride or sense of belonging influences subjective wellbeing positively (e.g. Pawlowski et al., 2014). Pride includes pride about one's city, region or country, or pride about the participating (national) team. But to what extent do these feelings occur? First we take a swift look at the extent to which achievements in sports result in feelings of pride in different countries. We then turn to the evidence for the occurrence of feelings of pride as a result of achievements at sport events. Lastly, we shine a light on the occurrence of feelings or pride and developing social identity as a result of a sport event taking place in one's city, region or country.

Evans & Kelly (2002) show that sporting achievements in general elicit feelings of pride in many people throughout the developed world. Their research shows that there is also substantial international diversity. The Irish and New Zealanders take the greatest pride in their sporting success. Nearly nine out of ten adult citizens in these countries is proud. The proportions in Poland and West-Germany (46 and 58 per cent) are relatively low.

Elling et al. (2014) found support for the belief that the international sporting success of Dutch athletes contributes to the testimony and expression of national pride and belonging. However, the extent to which national pride can be increased by national sporting success seems to be rather limited. The study also showed that national performance in international sport events may lead to small, short-term eruptions in feelings of national sporting pride and well-being, especially among people who participate in sports, men, and non-immigrants. Their results indicate that national pride is a fairly stable characteristic of national identification that cannot easily be increased by improving national sporting success. There is some evidence that the level of national pride correlates with sporting achievements. After the football World Cup in 2010, 82 per cent of the Dutch population was proud of the national

team. During this event the team reached second place, after losing in the final against Spain. After the European Football Championships two years later in Ukraine and Poland, this proportion was only a fraction of what it was in 2010: four per cent. In 2012, the Dutch national team did not reach the second round (Elling, 2012).

Correspondingly, there is evidence for the manifestation of feelings of pride as a result of national success in Germany. Hallmann et al. (2013) argue that 66 per cent of German citizens felt proud and approximately the same share is happy when German athletes are successful at sport events. National pride (and happiness) were largely explained through interest in elite sports, sport participation and socio-economic characteristics. Hallmann et al. (2013) indicate that the results show that the funding of elite sports can be considered as policy tool for social integration.

There is significant proof that elite sporting success can lead to substantial increases of feelings of pride due to this performance among citizens in the specific country. A next question is to which extent citizens of a host city (or country) are proud due to the event taking place in their 'back yard'. As for the FIFA 2006 World Cup in Germany, the feel-good effect in the country was intense and long-lasting (Cornelissen & Maennig, 2010). Some observers even spoke of a new era of national pride. A year after the tournament, 62 per cent of Germans expressed a lasting increased national pride, which they associated directly with the World Cup in the previous year (Luttmer, in: Cornelissen & Maennig, 2010).

Residents not only feel proud about the organisation of these events in their back yard, but they also identify themselves with these events. The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) is used to describe how sport events influence the individual identification with their communities, regions or nation. Certain values and emotional attachment towards a community, region or nation can be developed because people look at an event with hope and sense of belonging. Traditions, symbols and rituals such as raising a flag or singing national anthems play an instrumental role within the process of developing identity (Ashmore et al., 2004; Brown et al., 2014). Additionally, sport events provide outlets to experience belongingness to local or regional groups (Heere et al., 2013). Sport events can be used to promote values such as team spirit and discipline, but also, at a wider level, tolerance, multiculturalism and solidarity (Kersting, 2007). The relationship between a sport event and social or national identity can be perceived both by local residents (Bull & Lovell, 2007; Ohman et al., 2006), participants and visitors (Snelgrove et al., 2008).

The FIFA 2010 World Cup in South-Africa also offers interesting insights. Although there were threats of xenophobia, this did not deter many from celebrating the event as having resulted in a positive therapeutic effect that set the nation and continent on a new path of confidence and unity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). Interestingly, due to the work of a foundation which was set up to capitalise on the increased excitement about football in a non-host small-town community, the event also led to short-term increased levels of community pride in that region (Swart et al., 2011). In spite of the effect on national pride, the FIFA 2010 World Cup had marginal effects on the national identity experienced by local residents (Heere et al., 2013). The authors suggest that the success of the national teams during the tournament has more influence on national identity than organising the event itself. Research on stories from local residents in South African townships showed that they take a critical stance towards the World Cup's legacy, because personal situations and community structures were often disrupted, rather than improved. But still, many residents are positive about the event because they perceive changes in public safety, the image of their city and pride that such an event visited their country (Waardenburg, Van den Berg & Van Eekeren, 2015). This example shows that it

is possible to create feelings of pride in both host and non-host areas in the host country, even when the residents are critical towards the event. It seems plausible that long-term identity through sport events is more powerful at yearly hallmark or local events than through one-off events. But up to now, few studies have been conducted at hallmark and local sport events from a social identity perspective.

The 2012 Games in London also offer interesting insights. At the end of 2012, 38 per cent of the British adults was proud to be British because of Team GB (Ipsos MORI, 2012). Team GB, the national team, performed well during the Olympics in London. The national mood became particularly positive during the eighth day of the Games, on 'Super Saturday', when several British athletes won gold medals, including Mo Farah (10,000 metres) and Jessica Ennis (heptathlon). This proportion for Team GB is higher than the proportion of citizens that were proud of the Royal family (36 per cent) and the BBC (16 per cent). On the other hand, this is lower than the proportion that is proud to be British because of military forces (40 per cent) and – on top – healthcare (45 per cent).

There is more evidence from sport events in The Netherlands as well. In 2013, the European Youth Olympic Festival (EYOF) 2013 took place in Utrecht and in 2015 Tour de France started in the same city. As regards the EYOF, 95 per cent of the volunteers expressed pride in the event and 91 per cent argued that they were proud of their contribution (Breedveld et al., 2014). The start of the Tour de France led to feelings of pride among domestic and foreign visitors and local citizens. 92 per cent of the domestic visitors, 84 per cent of the foreign visitors and 78 per cent of the locals felt (somewhat) proud as a result of the staging of the event (Hover & Bakker, 2015; Van Bottenburg et al., 2016) (figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 Occurrence of feelings of pride as a result of the start of the Tour de France in Utrecht (The Netherlands) in 2015, in %
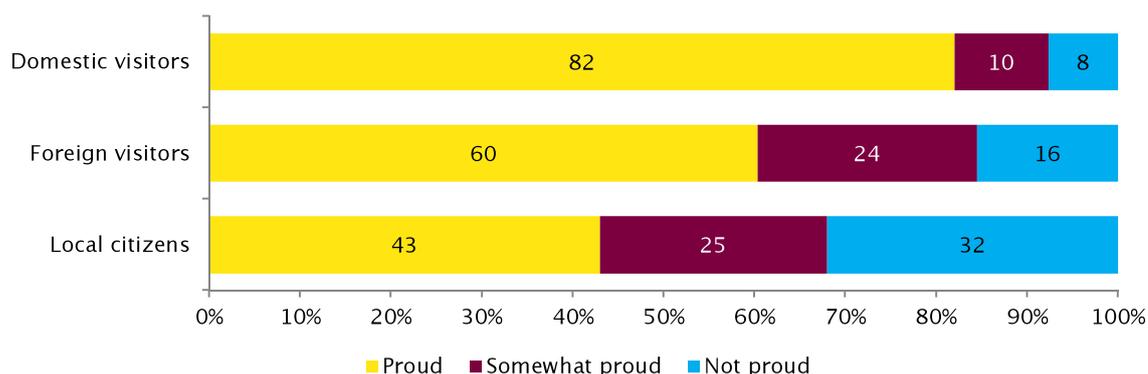
Source: Hover & Bakker (2015)

Feel–good

A 'feel-good factor' refers to senses of feeling good, (communal) wellbeing and happiness as a result of a sport event. It is used alongside the term happiness, which can be defined as 'a condition of psychological balance and harmony' (Theodorakis et al., 2015). These terms are also referred to as 'psychic income' (e.g. Gibson et al., 2014).

Cornelissen & Maennig (2010) distinguish three ways in which the feel-good impacts of sport events can be conceived. Firstly, in relation to economic outcomes that can be generated from positive feelings ('new positive energy'). Secondly, a feel-good effect may be important to socio-cultural contingencies. This refers to the manner in which feel-good is either expressed or coincides or conflicts with social markers and communal boundaries. Events provide a platform for sport fandom (and hooliganism),

communalism and nationalism. The last way in which feel-good is of significance for sport events is in terms of the political meaning. Widespread feel-good feelings help (public) investors to legitimise investments in sport events.

Kavetsos and Szymanski (2008, in: Cornelissen & Maennig, 2010) analysed the impact of hosting the Olympic Games, the Football World Cup or the Football European Championships on happiness in European countries over a thirty-year period. They found a significant and positive effect activated by World Cups, but not for the other events. This is an indication that a feel-good effect does exist even though it may not be an automatic positive effect of all (mega) sport events.

British citizens experienced an effect of the 2012 Olympics both during and after the event. During the Games 84 per cent experienced a positive change in the mood of the British public (3 per cent negative). In the year after the Games there still was an effect, although slightly different. In 2013, 70 per cent of the public still experienced a positive change in the mood (7 per cent negative) (University of East-London, 2015). A study among British youth (16-24 years) at the start of 2013, approximately six months after the closing ceremony of the 2012 Games, learned that quite a large majority had positive feelings when looking back at the Games in their capital (Legacy Trust UK, 2013).

As regards the 2000 Games in Sydney, Australians felt an increase in positivity among the population two years before Games, which increased further as the event approached. This 'buzz' was expressed in feelings of patriotism, community spirit and the desire to participate as a volunteer (Waitt, 2003). According to Waitt (2003), the significant psychological reward for many was that the imagined bond that underpins national identity became a lived reality during the Olympics. In particular, it was expected that the gold medal of Cathy Freeman – an Australian Aboriginal athlete - in the 400 metres contributed to this feeling of national unity. These effects were not shared equally among stakeholders. The euphoria aroused by the Olympics was not shared equally as the most socioeconomically advantaged in society were the most enthusiastic about the event (Waitt, 2003).

Kavetsos & Szymanski (2008) found limited support for the hypothesis that athletic success impacts on reported life satisfaction. However, they found that hosting major events is associated with increased reported life satisfaction in the period following the event. The researchers conclude that it is not winning at the event, but being the host, that creates the feel-good factor.

The feel-good effect was among the largest effects of the 2006 football World Cup in Germany as positive effects on tourism, income and employment were not realised (Cornelissen & Maennig, 2010). The effect was so large that the 2006 World Cup turned into one of the most significant events in Germany. The (unexpected) success of the home team was an important part of the feel-good effect among the domestic population. The creation of appropriate live-sites was one of the key ingredients for the German World Cup's feel-good effect (see also Frew & McGillivray, 2008). This implies that live-sites can contribute to positive feelings.

Feel-good experiences also occur among participants of sport events. Theodorakis et al. (2015), using three questions for measuring the level of experienced happiness, found that substantial proportions of the participants of an annual Greek running event (including an international marathon) felt happy when they thought about the event. Measured on a five point scale (1=not at all, 3=moderately, 5=very much) the mean value was 4.63 (figure 3.4). Importantly, the mean value for the question "To what extent did this participation to the race contribute to your overall happiness" was 4.02, indicating that the feelings of happiness as a result of participating contribute substantially to the experience of overall happiness

in life. That participation in a (running) event can lead to positive feelings and feelings of pride is exemplified by the statement of a participant in a running event: 'Since finishing, I have smiled so much my face aches more than my legs' (Shipway et al., 2012).

Figure 3.4 Happiness participants annual Greek running event (including international marathon) in 2012, result on scale 1–5 (1=not at all, 3=moderately, 5=very much)
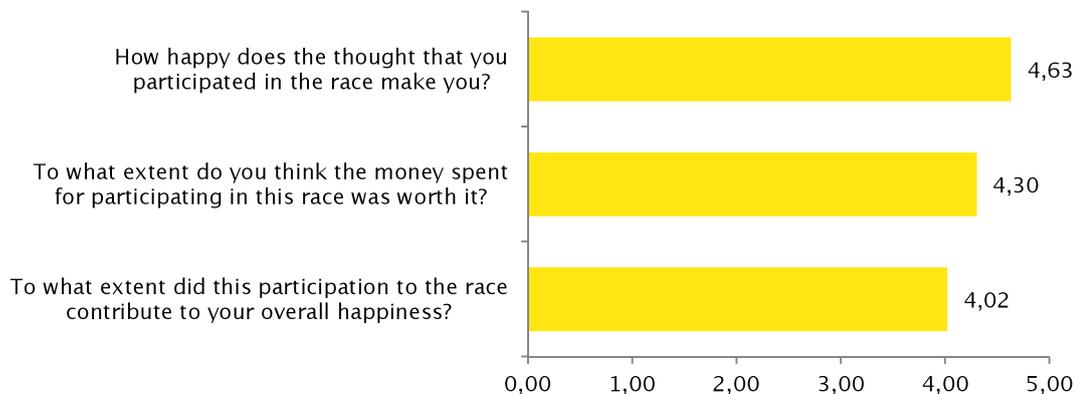
Source: Theodorakis et al. (2015)

Whereas the 'buzz' among the local population and other stakeholders was largely positive in the case of the events mentioned before, there are also other examples. Baviskar (2014) argues that the euphoria of the 2010 Commonwealth Games which were held in Delhi (India) was reserved for the well-connected, a minority among the citizens in the Indian city. Many citizens who had hoped to participate in the euphoria of the event in their city were disappointed. The high ticket prices resulted in exclusion of lower social classes, leading to anger and resentment against public money spent on the event.

Positive changes in attitudes and beliefs, like increases in feelings of happiness, have a value in themselves. In addition, there is evidence for a positive correlation between feelings of happiness and economic variables, such as the GDP and productivity (Di Tella et al., 2003; Oswald et al., 2013). Therefore it is not surprising that government policies that aim to promote happiness are often regarded as beneficial for societies and, correspondingly, an interest in governing happiness has grown in recent years (Pringle, 2015). Some even opt for the measurement of the Gross National Happiness (GNH), alongside the Gross National Product (GNP) (Mancall, 2004).

In short
Achievements in sports in general elicit feelings of pride and a sense of belonging to the local or national community. The staging of an event may also lead to increases in feelings of pride, for example among participants, visitors, volunteers, even among groups of people who are not related to the event. This implicates that sport events can have a non-use value. However, research indicates that national pride is a rather stable characteristic of national identity, one that is rather robust and not quickly influenced by national sporting success. Eruptions of 'sporting-pride' often concern small, short-term increases in feelings of pride, mostly among sport participants, men and non-immigrants.

There is, however, evidence for the manifestation of a wide-spread feel-good effect as a result of sport events. This positive mood can be substantial, and could be treated as an important sport event impact. However, positive effects are not guaranteed as there have been (mega) sport events in the past where no such effect was found. Research indicates that interventions aimed at involving citizens (live sites) –

as opposed to excluding them (e.g. high ticket prices) - provide fertile ground for the creation of a feel-good effect.
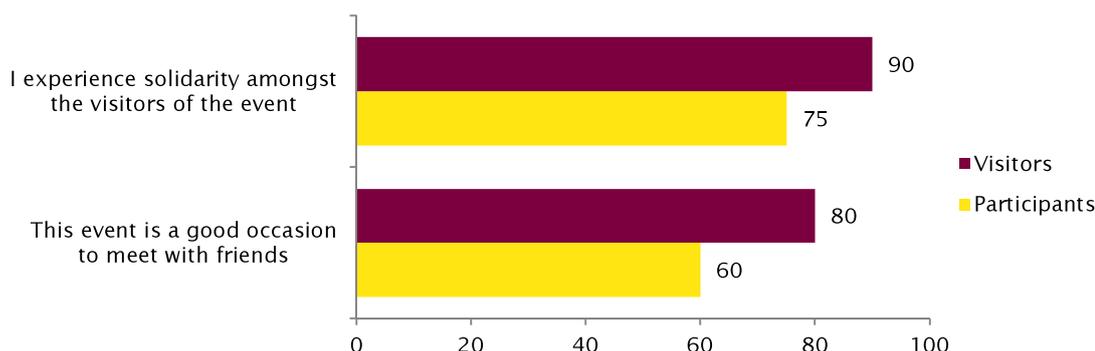
3.3 Social cohesion

Involving communities

Minnaert (2012) states that legacy goals are mostly based on the host population in general, instead of local community, residents or other private stakeholders. Misener and Mason (2006) emphasized the importance of embracing the core values of residents, community groups, and neighbourhood associations as a condition to create positive impacts from events, which are mostly ignored while preparing a bid and when organising a sport event.

When fun experiences during events (when normal social boundaries are broken and alternative social constructions are explored) engenders communities, additional social capital is activated as new social relationships are forged or existing relationships are strengthened (Chalip, 2006). Although social networks are widely regarded as a pivotal component of social capital (Portes, 1998), we know very little about how relationships are forged or strengthened via events. We do know, however, that social networks play a significant role in health (Poortinga, 2006), community development (Bull & Jones, 2006), and entrepreneurial success (Jenssen & Koenig, 2002). The unique feature of event communities is that they enable relationships to form across age, gender, and social class boundaries that are not normally broken outside the fun space of events. Borgmann (1992) claims that the coming together of people around a meaningful leisure activity presents a positive context for a 'community of celebration'. Within this context, sport programs and events are often seen as a promising way to encourage communication and communal celebration, as they have a certain 'intrinsic power' to activate people, remove barriers between groups and change people's attitudes and behaviour.

What makes the context of events attractive is that they are fun. There is a 'feel-good' outcome. That positive feeling is itself a leverageable resource, as it can sustain agendas for social and community action (cf. Goldstein, 1997; Hughes, 1999). Much of what was done to leverage the Rugby World Cup in South Africa represents an effective effort to capture and use the positive affect that an event can engender (cf. Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998). That was also the case in several running events in the Netherlands where around 80 per cent of the visitors and 60% of the participants agreed that the event was a good occasion to meet with friends. During the same running events, around 75 per cent of the visitors and 75% of the participants agreed that they had experienced a sense of solidarity during the event. See figure 3.5 (Van den Heuvel, 2014, Slender & Molenaar, 2015).

Figure 3.5 Social cohesion Tilburg Ten Miles 2013, % agree

Source: Van den Heuvel (2014)

We sometimes forget that fun can have social value. The good news is that by cultivating celebration and camaraderie at our events, we can enrich the social lives of our communities.

Another example of social cohesion is to involve the target groups of side-event programs in the development of these programs. In the case of the Inspire Program (the side-events program of the London Olympics) in the east end of London, several projects were developed with input from the local target groups (for example unemployed people or dropouts from school). These people are normally hard to reach and hard to involve in community projects. But when they were asked to play a role in the development of their own sports project they showed initiative in relation to cooperating with sports and welfare organisations (Brinkhof, Dijk & Van Eekeren, 2012). In the end, these target groups felt like they were part of the community again and showed a great sense of ownership over their program. This resulted in a greater chance that the program would become structural.

In the case of Le Grand Départ Tour the France 2015 in Utrecht, one of the main goals of the side-event program was to stimulate intersectoral cooperation in the city. The side event program focused on sports, culture, science and business. Usually it is hard facilitate cooperation between organisations from these different fields, in their all-day activities they do not meet each other and they do not have any interest in cooperation. With Le Tour the France as an ogling opportunity, organisations in Utrecht were stimulated to work together (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016). Creative thinking sessions were organised by the local organising committee and small budgets were available for new or larger-scale activities in the side-event program. This eventually resulted in lots of activities organised by organisations from different sectors like a spinning event in a church or a climbing time trial in a parking garage.

Over twenty thousand opportunities to volunteer were created by partners of the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow - at the Games, during the Ceremonies, in the city during the Games and through the Glasgow 2014 Cultural Programme. Research amongst different volunteer groups found recurring themes including the positive nature of the experience of taking part, the high extent to which participants felt pride in their role and the impact of the experience in terms of increased intention to volunteer in the future (Scottish Government Social Research, 2015). In the case of the Olympics in London in 2012, 70,000 people volunteered as a 'Games maker', 40% of which had never acted as a volunteer before (House of Commons, 2013 in Hover et. al. 2013). However, before the Games not one out of ten adults in Great Britain were motivated to do (more) voluntary work (7% in 2010/2011). After the Games it was still not more than one out of ten adults (9% in December 2012).

An evaluation of the European Youth Olympic Festival (EYOF) also provides valuable evidence. Nearly half of the volunteers (47%) reported after the event that they had made new friends. Moreover, 77 per cent of the volunteers argued that they were willing to act as a volunteer at a comparable event and 20 per cent said that they were possibly interested (Breedveld et al., 2014).

Sport events are not only occasions where 'fun' plays a central role. We also see that hosting sport events can have a negative effect on the degree of perceived social cohesion. We want to illustrate this negative effect with a case based on research by the Perikles Research Project (2015) carried out in the favelas of Rio the Janeiro in 2015.

Due to the need to build stadiums and other facilities for the 2014 FIFA World Championships and the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, people are being forced out of their homes. For example, the expansion of the airport in the district of Curitiba threatens 2000 to 2500 families. In Belo Horizonte, 2600 families are under the threat of eviction. Amnesty International (2011, in Perikles Research Project, 2015) claims that these developments systematically violate the housing rights of those involved. People are being chased away under political and psychological pressure and punishment.

Morro da Providencia

The Perikles Research Group, a selection of 28 students from Utrecht University School of Governance, visited Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 2015. Part of this group investigated the consequences of evictions for the Rio de Janeiro district, focusing on the favela Morro da Providencia.
The city of Rio de Janeiro aims to enhance the attractiveness of Morro da Providencia for tourists through investments in safety and accessibility. Four (potential) projects were under consideration in 2015: a cable railway, an elevator instead of stairs, a luxurious hotel and a highway. Because of these projects, residents were under threat of eviction (or already left). Researchers defined a direct link between these projects and the mega sport events. When the events were planned, development plans suddenly changed while they had been fixed for many years.

Results

Residents are often poorly informed about these new projects. They learned about them through the media and some even found their homes gone or marked for demolition upon arrival.
The developments seem to influence the social cohesion of Morro da Providencia. Many parties are involved: the central government of Brazil, the local government of Rio de Janeiro, UPP (safety police) and civilians, sometimes represented by unions. There are conflicts between and within these groups. For example, some civilians think that the unions don't represent their subgroup as well as others. Others think that the unions cooperate with gangs. Conflicts arise because different groups have different interests. The end result is that individuals get more suspicious about their neighbours. Another effect is that families are torn apart, as some are forced to live in a house too small for the whole family. Furthermore, families often have to leave the area of Morro da Providencia. Some 'iconic' families, i.e. people who enhance connection, are gone. Additionally, social meeting places are transformed into new facilities, like cable train stations. Civilians fear social interaction will diminish. The future for the inhabitants of Morro da Providencia is uncertain, leading to further tension among residents. There is, however, some good news as well, as residents also acknowledge enhanced interaction with others. The mutual fear of eviction creates a bond between them.

3.4   Conclusion

The evidence for the manifestation of a demonstration effect is at best mixed. If there is evidence for an increase in sports participation, the effects are often temporary, seldom created among inactive people and sometimes only in certain regions. In addition, there are clues that sport events generate an impact on the sport sector (e.g. clubs, facilities, federations) as a whole.

Elite sport achievements, during sport events, generally elicit temporary feelings of pride from those performances or athletes among substantial proportions of citizens in the specific country. This does not always automatically lead to increased feelings of pride of one's country. In certain cases, the organisation of sport events in a country results in feelings of pride among large groups of stakeholders, such as local citizens, volunteers and visitors.

There is evidence for the manifestation of a feel good factor as a result of sport events among the citizens of the host city or country. However, this effect is not guaranteed as there have been (mega) sport events in the past where no such effect was found.

There is evidence for a perceived increase and decrease in social cohesion by means of the organisation of sport events. A sport event incorporates a 'fun-factor' which can lead to the breaking of normal social boundaries and exploration of alternative social constructions. Additional social capital is enabled as new social relationships are forged or existing relationships are strengthened by means of visiting or participating in sport events or the side-event program. However, the organisation of sport events can also have a negative effect on social cohesion. Due to the need to build stadiums and other facilities for mega sport events, people in Rio de Janeiro are being forced out of their houses. This creates friction between (and within) several groups in the community: the central government of Brazil, the local government of Rio de Janeiro, UPP (safety police) and civilians, sometimes represented by unions.

Creating social impact with sport events

4. Strategies for creating social impact

After having focussed on the definition of social impact (chapter 2) and the evidence for the appearance of social impact from sport events (chapter 3), in this chapter we turn our attention to strategies that can be distinguished in order to create positive social impact. Opportunities, constraints and pitfalls when aiming for positive social impact are also described.

4.1 The state of research

Sport events vary in many ways. In order to get a better insight in the different sorts of sport events we distinguish eight aspects in which sport events can differ. These aspects are: frequency, number of sports, duration, target group, sporting level, scope, location and composition (table 4.1). Table 4.1 implies that numerous types of sport events can be distinguished, from one-off, local single sport grassroots sport events to recurring international multi-sport elite sport events.

Table 4.1 Sport event characteristics

Aspect		Scale
Target group	Spectator	Participant
Frequency	One-off	Recurring
Number of sports	Single	Multi
Duration	One day	Multiple days
Sporting level	Grassroots	Elite
Scope	Local	International
Location	One	More than one
Composition	Single event	Multi-event

The aspect 'composition' with the opposites 'component' and 'single' need a brief explanation. Component events (Chalip, 2014) consist of a package of events whereas a single event does not. For example, one refers to component events when there are ancillary events (side-events) which complement the main event.

From the perspective of social impact, table 4.1 offers valuable insights. As an example, we point to 'location' and 'duration': a one-day event which takes place at one location frequently has less power to reach a large audience compared to an event which takes place at several locations and is spread out over ten days. Moreover, as to the 'sporting level', a grassroots sport event might give spectators a higher chance of identification with the participants as the feeling of a competence gap is less likely to occur (Van Bottenburg et al., 2012), than in the case of an elite-sport event.

Research into the creation of social impact and legacy through sports events has primarily focused on outcomes (impact focus), but not on why those outcomes occurred (leveraging focus) (Chalip, 2006). Chalip (2006, p. 113) therefore introduced event leverage theory, which refocuses on event evaluation by making it useful for future bidding processes, planning and production of sports events. With studying event leverage, the aim is not merely to evaluate what has been done, but rather to learn from the past in order to improve future leveraging efforts. Applying anthropological research to the study of social leverage of sport events, Chalip (2006) argues that two key elements play a role in creating social value at events: a sense of celebration (rejoicing) and a sense of camaraderie (jointly appreciated and shared). The fact that event visitors enjoy an event, feel engaged by an event, or experience a positive effect does not indicate social impact. A feeling of celebration that breaks down social barriers, thereby

enabling behaviours and social interaction that might otherwise be unlikely or impossible during everyday life is essential (Chalip, 2014).

According to Chalip (2006) "events are more than mere entertainment, they are social occasions with potential social value" Rather than the traditional 'build it and they [benefits] will come' approach to sport events, the purpose of event leveraging is to be proactive in planning for the creation of specific event benefits for the host community and taking strategic measures to make those events sustainable (O'Brien and Chalip, 2007). It might be argued that leveraging is merely the collection of strategies and tactics employed to enable the generation of desired legacies (Chalip, 2014). In the following sections we will introduce the main barriers and solutions for creating (social) legacy.

4.2 Barriers and solutions

Barriers
Several scholars found barriers to the creation of social impact (Misener et al., 2015; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012). These barrieres have the tendency to turn to organisers when aiming for positive social impact. First, there is a lack of clear ambitions, what resources are available to support the ambitions and how the success will be appraised (Misener et al., 2015; O'Brien, 2006). Second, there is an absence of evaluation programs that assess or monitor the effectiveness of event leverage efforts (Misener et al., 2015). Third, there is a need for further research to identify strategies for maximizing benefits for different communities (Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012) and research into the characteristics of the community (Green, 2001).

Chalip (2014) goes into more depth on the (im)possibilities for event organisers to be responsible for creating (social) legacy. First of all, a distinction needs to be made between the main event and an additional side-event program which usually focusses on creating legacy. The difference between the responsibilities for organising a sport event and the responsibility for creating legacy creates some tension for event organisers. Event organisers primarily have an event to stage. Thatis their main goal and legacies are secondary to that goal. Adding a responsibility for legacy to event organising is not merely a distraction, it is an added expense and impediment for event organisers. Second, the event organising committee is normally disbanded shortly after the event, which can make legacy programs unsustainable. Third, since effective leverage requires that the event be integrated strategically into the host destination's product and service mix, it would seem natural and reasonable to assign responsibility for leverage to those who are responsible for economic development, social development, and/or environmental stewardship at the host destination. These include local business associations, government agencies, and service organisations. Event organisers have other foci (Chalip, 2014). In addition to the aforementioned points, Chalip (2006) also warns about the intention behind these strategies, because they can be used for merely commercial interests (more visitors is larger economic impact). He shows that when commercial objectives override the celebratory preferences, the attendance and support declines.

Solutions
Research found that there are a couple of practical planning tools to leverage the social leverage opportunities.

First, the core of tackling these problems is to be proactive in planning with regard to the benefits for the host community and taking strategic measures to make events more sustainable (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). For instance, Minnaert (2012) argues that attention should be paid to the legacy that can be

created before the event has started (during the 'pregnancy state'). After the event, funding resources might change (Minnaert, 2012). Moreover, O'Brien (2005) argues that with regard to mega events, the leverage strategy should start years earlier by learning from other events. A good example of a leverage strategy is the side-event programme carried out in a 100-day period before the start of the Tour the France in the city of Utrecht (Netherlands) in 2015. The event organisation was pro-active in organising brainstorm events for locals and local organisations up to two years before the event with the purpose being to establish cooperation in the city and organising capacity for the side event program. Locals and local organisations were asked what side-events they would organise in anticipation of the main event. The only input the event organisation gave them was to focus on three themes (sports, culture, knowledge) and to cooperate with organisations outside their own network. The organisers of side-events also had the possibility to obtain some financial resources from the event organisation, but the total budget was limited. One of the main findings in the evaluation of the event and its side-event program was that starting with a bottom-up approach for the side-event program two years before the start of the main event was a good strategy for creating social impact. Overall, the side-event program consisted out of 250 activities from which almost 70% of the activities were cross-overs of two or more theme's and that there was a great feeling of ownership of the side-event activities by the local organisers (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016). Multiple side-event organisers were willing to continue the cooperation and the organisation of the activities.

Second, building links with existing policies and networks (local governments and community organisations) (Minnaert, 2012; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007) and institutionalizing them (O'Brien, 2005). This leads to a good representation of community needs (Minnaert, 2012) and legitimacy (O'Brien, 2005). It is very hard to institutionalize the links between existing policies and networks (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016). In the case of the organisation of Le Grand Départ in the city of Utrecht, the event organisation was mainly in the hands of civil cervants and the relationship with the local government was very close. Leading up to the event the event organisation was intensifying its links with existing networks (e.g. local business, local cultural organisation, local sports organisations). But when the event was over, the momentum was gone and fewer civil servants were involved in maintaining the relationship with the local networks. Six months after the event, the event organisation was disbanded and only a few civil servants kept a position in which they are able to maintain contact with the local business, culture and sports networks. Misener & Schulenkorf (in press) adapted and applied an asset-based community development (ABCD) model as a means of developing a more action-oriented, community-based approach to leveraging the social assets of sport events. At the core of this ABCD-approach is the aim to shift the focus of event-led projects away from attempts to 'solve' social problems (deficit perspective) to enhancing the existing strengths of communities (strength perspective).

Third, the involvement of stakeholders (e.g. citizens, community organisations) in the overall hosting process, in order to e.g. ensure that community values are respected. Several scholars argue that involvement of different actors is needed in successful leveraging events (Minnaert, 2012; O'Brien & Chalip, 2007; Chalip, 2006; Chalip, 2014). For instance, involving local communities increases the public support and a sense of social impact. However, there has not been much emphasis into what influences these partnerships and the dynamics of these cross-sector and intra-organisational collaborations. Network theory and collaborative governance can be used to understand the uncertainties and complexities that arise in these kind of partnerships. Network theory (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004) elaborates on the uncertainties that arise in networks, such as substantive, strategic and institutional uncertainty. Collaborative governance is described as follows: "A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or

manage public programs or assets" (Ansell & Gash, 2007; p. 544). This definition clearly states that initiators of collaborations are public sector organisations.

Fourth, accountability, participation, performance, and transparency could be used to promote 'good' governance practices for event legacy and act as a reassurance to both internal and external stakeholders that appropriate decision-making is being accomplished (Horne, 2007; Leopkey and Parent, 2015). Leopkey and Parent (2015) suggest that in a Games environment, legacy governance processes should accommodate a broader definition and range of objectives so that it is possible to reflect the interests and perspectives of the multiple stakeholders involved. This could help reduce ambiguity and provide a clearer understanding of the process to everyone involved. In addition, the clear definition of roles and duties of the stakeholders would help promote 'good' legacy governance. This should occur early in the planning process through mechanisms like a Multiparty Agreement. Moreover, not only should stakeholders understand their role in the governance of legacy but they should be encouraged to be accountable for their actions and the related results. In addition, the responsibility of legacy should fall to those stakeholders who are involved in the Games long term from the initial bidding stage to post-Games. Moreover, the governance for post-Games legacy should be separate from the OCOG and the IOC as it is neither their role nor their responsibility once the Games are over (Leopkey and Parent, 2012).

Fifth, Ziakas and Costa (2011), Chalip (2006) and Weed et al. (2012) argue that events in different fields (e.g. music, theatre, sports) should bond, in order to reach a wider audience and create broader social impact. This is how an 'event portfolio' is created that serves as a "momentum of human and social interaction" (Ziakas & Costa, p. 421). Chalip (2014) goes further into the need to develope an event portfolio and stated that an effective leverage requires strategizing beyond a single event, which no one event-organising committee can do. When creating an event or when choosing an event for which to bid, there should be a vision for the ways that total trade and revenue will be optimized, how the host community's image will be benefited, the means to focus stakeholder attention on targeted social issues, and/or uses of event publicity to further social objectives. For events to make an economic, social, or environmental contribution, they must be leveraged individually and as a portfolio. Most work to date has focused on individual events. More empirical work is needed to explore the leverage of event portfolios, including the challenges of managing event portfolios in the presence of varied event organisers and stakeholders (Chalip, 2014). A good example of the value of setting up an event porfolio and learning from the organisation of one event to another is the organisation of events in Utrecht (Netherlands). In 2013, the European Youth Olympic Festival (EYOF) was oranized in Utrecht and the start of Le Tour the France in 2015. One of the main findings in the evaluation of the EYOF was that the connection between the extensive side event program and the main event was not well accomplished (Dijk & Van Eekeren, 2014). The side event program was called 'Achmea High Five Challenge', referring to a health insurance company (Achmea) which was the main sponsor of the side-event program. People in Utrecht couldn't make the connection between this side event program and the main event (EYOF), so every activity which was carried out in the light of the side-event program was on its own and didn't have a connection with the aims of the main event. The event organisation learnt from this evaluation when they were organising the start of the Tour de France in 2015. The side event program was then called 'Le Tour Utrecht' program, clearly related to Le Tour the France (Bottenburg et, al., 2016) and also clear for the inhabitants of Utrecht that this program was developed and carried out in the light (and for the same aims) of the main event.

Sixth, attention should be paid to the question of who is leading the leveraging process (public or private sector?) (O'Brien, 2005). In particular, the effective mix of events with the local product and

service mix requires formation of strategic alliances – not merely between the event and local business or government, but also among local businesses and between business and government. Although work to date has demonstrated the necessity of alliances to enable leverage, three clear impediments have also been noted (Chalip and Leyns, 2002; Taks et al., 2014). First, businesses that need to ally themselves may normally be competitors. Second, the leveraging that local governments and businesses undertakes may strike event organisers or event owners as being perilously close to ambush marketing. Third, local organisations may require substantial help to develop the skills and/or resources.

4.3   Leveraging the 2012 Games

As mentioned in chapter 2, a prominent example of event leveraging was (is) the ambition of the national government in the United Kingdom to 'inspire a generation', using the organisation of the 2012 Olympics in London as a lever. There were at least nine key legacy participation programmes leading up to the Olympic Games in 2012 (Grant Thornton et al., 2013) which can be regarded as leveraging activities. The projects Places People Play and the National Governing Bodies (NGB's) investments by Sport England were two of those significant projects and are described briefly below. Important to notice is that many of these programmes would not have gone ahead in the absence of the Games (Grant Thornton et al., 2013).

Firstly, out of the wide range of activities the Places People Play project was one of the most important projects. This project, a GBP 135 million initiative, is seen as the cornerstone of the strategy to create a mass participation sports legacy. The project included the upgrading of nearly one thousand local sports clubs and facilities, improving hundreds of playing fields across the country and preserving high-quality spaces for local people to play and enjoy sport. In addition, 40,000 Sport Makers, sports volunteers who organise grassroots sport activities, were deployed and numerous sporting opportunities were created, aimed at participants of all levels.

Secondly, there was the funding – 480 million GBP between 2009 and 2013 - of Whole Sport Plans of the NGB's by Sport England. NGB's, together with their sport clubs, were supposed to anticipate the momentum the Games were offering , in developing campaigns to raise participation levels in the specific type of sports. There were performance-agreements between Sport England and each NGB. When targets were met, the NGB were eligible for additional funding (when targets were not met, this was not the case). Sport England funded 34 NGBs between 2005-2009 and this was extended to 46 NGBs over the 2009-2013 period in order to ensure that all Olympic and Paralympic sports were included.

The alignment of the Olympics with a prominent social challenge (rising levels of obesity) was a worthy strategy starting point. However, the big picture is that there was an imbalance between investments in providing sport opportunities and investments aimed at creating demand, especially among the least active. Places People Play was primarily focussed on clubs, facilities and playing fields. As a result, it was a valuable project for the people who play sports. On the other hand, the project failed to reach and inspire a substantial group of non-participants.

The promotional role of the NGBs, delivering the national sport strategy, was relatively new for them (since 2005). It was apparently not easy to develop new '2012-based policies'. Especially just after the winning of the bid in 2005, the overall strategy of the NGBs was more a continuation of the existing strategy than a strategy aimed at 'the 2012 momentum'. According to Girginov (2013) for nearly two years after the Games were awarded "NGBs collectively experienced a 'now what?' moment where

everybody was talking about 'the once in a lifetime opportunity' but nothing substantial and strategic was done".

The 2012 Games taught us that an elite sport event can lead to large additional investments for grassroots sports (NGB's). Furthermore, the performance-agreements between Sport England and each NGB resulted in a certain degree of counterproductive competition between NGBs as each NGB aimed for a maximum number of participants, irrespective of whether these persons were already active in sports or not. From a societal point of view, the inactives should have been targetted more robustly and – as research suggests (Weed, 2009) - the lapsed participants are especially low hanging fruit.

As to the types of sport, between 2005 and 2009 numerous Olympic and Paralympic sports were not financially supported by Sport England. After 2009 there was an imbalance between financing Olympic and non-Olympic sports. This is illustrated by the fact that Sport England's top three funded sports between 2009 and 2013, cricket, rugby union and rugby league, were not sports during the Olympics (Sport Working Group, 2011). And many Olympic sports are minority sports with limited popular appeal (the more popular Olympic sports often do not regard the Olympic Games as their primary showcase, prime examples being football and tennis) (Sport Working Group, 2011). As for the local sport clubs, only fourteen per cent of them saw the Games as representing an opportunity for them (Sports and Recreation Alliance, 2013). As a consequence, it is problematic for sport clubs to develop a leveraging strategy to capture the Olympic moment.

Another major point of improvement in the leveraging process was the limited coordination, ownership and responsibility as regards the ambition to 'inspire a generation'. Therefore, the House of Lords (2013) suggested a year after the Games that urgent action be taken "to put in place clearly defined plans, under the lead of the single Minister for the Games Legacy, to inject more coherence into current efforts.".

4.4 The potential of non–mega sport events

More and more academic research is focusing on the legacy of non-mega sport events. Simply because of the fact that there are many more smaller non-mega sport events (Taks, 2013), but also partly because the presumed benefits of mega-sport events are routinely oversold, and the associated costs habitually understated. Moreove,r the distributional effects of mega-events are typically highly uneven, with some people and groups (associated with 'booster coalitions' of particular private and public sector actors) benefiting inordinately, while marginalized communities, along with accessible public spaces and benefits, are further compromised (Black, 2014).

According to Taks (2013), non-mega sport events (NMSEs) appear to provide more positive social impact and outcome opportunities (power relations, urban regeneration, socialization and human capital) for local residents compared to mega sport events. She also tries to explain why this social impact varies and she states that the nature of the planning of mega sport events does not start at the community level. The community usually reacts to plans presented to them (top-down strategy) rather than being involved in creating them and taking part in each step of the process (bottom-up strategy). This bottom-up strategy instills a sense of ownership, a solid foundation to support positive outcomes. A multiple case-study research conducted in order to gain insight in the legacy program of the 2012 Olympic Games revealed that one of the barriers in creating legacy was the translation of national aims of the side-event program to local side-events carried out by local sport/welfare/educational organisations (Brinkhof, Dijk & Van Eekeren, 2012). Creating legacy by means of a non-mega sport event is 'easier'. In

the case of the organisation of Le Grand Départ Tour the France in Utrecht local civil servants were involved. This makes it easier to relate local public policy goals to the overall goals of a sport event (Van Bottenburg et al., 2016). The hardest part of creating legacy, also in the case of non-mega sport events, is how local (public) organisations feel themselves responsible for the legacy goals of a sport event after the event is over. From the local organising committee of Le Grand Départ, the civil servants were working at their 'regular' tasks six months after Le Grand Départ was over. They have nothing to do with the legacy goals of the event most of the time.

Taks (2013) also states that mega sport events have a tremendous global reach with both global and local impacts. However, the negative social outcomes of mega sport events for local residents are more prominent than the positive ones, as they hold a high level of risk. Small and medium sized sport events, on the other hand, do not have this global reach, but their positive social outcomes for local residents surpass the negative ones. Black (2014) adds that event organisers and overseers – governments, organising committees, and International Sport Organisations – should be pressed to take a much more 'bottom up' approach to event planning. This would involve, for example, requirements for methodologically sound social as well as environmental impact assessments at an early stage of bid preparations, and requirements for plans that promote opportunity and inclusion for traditionally marginalized communities. Such an approach would be a clear departure from previous patterns and practices, and will require sustained pressure from civil society groups and other mobilized 'stakeholders' (arguably including athletes) if it is to occur. In the evaluation of events, this calls for a broader research agenda focusing on the true value of small and medium sized sport events for local communities. This research should focus on why social impacts of non-mega sport events vary from the impact of mega sport events and why non-mega sport events appear to provide more sustainable social opportunities for local communities. Fields such as community theory, social exchange theory, bottom-up strategy, processes of community cohesiveness and the creation of social capital, collaboration theory and partnership building are important in order to get more insights in the legacy mechanisms of non-mega sport events (Taks, 2013).

4.5 Conclusion

Several challenges occur when sport event organisers (and stakeholders) want to leverage a sport event. In response to that, there are six solutions for the creation of social impact by sport events and their side-event programs: first, the core is to be proactive in planning with regard to the benefits for the host community, and taking strategic measures to make events more sustainable. Second, build links with existing policies and networks (local governments and community organisations) and institutionalize them. Third, the involvement of stakeholders (e.g. citizens, community organisations) in the overall hosting process in order to e.g. ensure that community values are respected. Fourth, accountability, participation, performance, and transparency could be used to promote 'good' governance practices for event legacy and act as a reassurance to both internal and external stakeholders that appropriate decision-making is being accomplished. Fifth, link events in different fields (e.g. music, theatre, sports) in order to reach a wider audience and create broader social impact. Sixth and last, attention should be paid to the question of who is leading the leveraging process: public or private sector?

It seems that non-mega sport events provide more positive social impact and outcome opportunities (power relations, urban regeneration, socialization and human capital) for local residents compared to mega sport events. The bottom-up strategy in organising the event and its side-event program instills a sense of ownership by the local community, a solid foundation for supporting positive outcomes.

Creating social impact with sport events

5.   Conclusion

All over the world, sport events are seen as significant tools for creating positive social impact. This is understandable, as sport events have the power to attract enthusiastic participants, volunteers and to reach large audiences of visitors and followers via (social) media. Outbursts of excitement, pleasure and feelings of camaraderie are experienced among millions of people in the case of mega events. Still, a fairly large section of the population does not care that much for sports. Some may experience road blocks, litter and noise disturbance from the events. Sport events generally require investments, often from local or national authorities. Concerned citizens rightfully point at alternative usage of public money (e.g. schools, health care). Thrills and excitement are good things, but does that warrant public money being spent on? Or is there a broader social significance of sport events? Can sport events help alleviate societal issues (like cohesion, inequality and non-participation), do they generate a social impact beyond what spectators experience during the event?

In this report we have aimed to describe the state of play as regards the evidence for the occurrence of a social impact from sport events and the strategies that are required to enhance social impact from sport events. For the report, an extensive scan of the literature was performed and input was collected from a key group of international experts.

Evidence

As regards a <u>mass sport participation legacy</u>, the evidence for the manifestation of a "demonstration effect" is mixed at best. If there is evidence for an increase in sports participation as a result of a sport event, the effects are usually temporary, seldom created among inactive people, and sometimes only in certain regions. Sport events may persuade people already active in sports to do more sports, or take up a new sport; rarely will sport events be enough stimulus for non-active citizens to start participating in sport. Sport events may have a positive effect on how a sport functions as a whole (clubs, volunteers, facilities, events, federations, budgets), but little is yet known about how this translates into opportunities for sport participation.

As regards the impact of sport events on the <u>attitudes and beliefs</u> that people hold, there is some evidence that sport events do have an influence here. Achievements in sports in general elicit feelings of pride and a sense of belonging and identity, whether locally or nationally, among participants, visitors, volunteers, even among groups of people who are not related to the event. Still, research indicates that national pride is a rather stable characteristic of national identity that cannot easily be increased by improving national sporting success. Eruptions of pride generally concern small, short-term increases in feelings of pride, which are not equally distributed among the citizens in a country. In addition, there is evidence for the manifestation of a wide-spread feel-good effect or happiness as a result of sport events among the citizens of the host city or country and other stakeholders (e.g. participants). This positive mood can be substantial, adding to the Gross National Happiness (GNH), and is believed to influence the economy positively.

As regards <u>social cohesion</u>, there is evidence for a perceived increase in social cohesion by means of the organisation of sport events. This is especially true of events that allow the broader public to participate as well, as is the case in running events. An increase in social cohesion can exist because of the incorporation of a 'fun-factor' in sport events, which can lead to the breaking of normal social boundaries and exploration of alternative social constructions. Additional social capital is activated as new social relationships are forged or existing relationships are strengthened by means of visiting or participating in sport events. This holds true for individuals as much as for local organisations and

institutions that may become more intertwined and connected because of what occurrs during a sport event. Still, the organisation of sport events can also have a negative effect on social cohesion (for example due to forced house evictions).

Strategies

Which strategies can be distinguished to create positive social impact and what are opportunities, constraints and pitfalls when aiming for positive social impact? Social impact from sport events does not occur by itself and requires careful planning, additional actions ('leveraging') and the cooperation of a great number of stakeholders, starting well before the event and continuing well beyond the end of the event. In order to enhance social impact by sport events, we recommend the following strategies:

1. Be proactive in planning with regard to the benefits for the host community, take strategic measures to make events more sustainable;
2. Invest in building links with existing policies and networks (local governments and community organisations), institutionalise those networks;
3. Allow for the active involvement of stakeholders (e.g. citizens, community organisations) in the overall hosting process, respect community values;
4. Reassure internal and external stakeholders that appropriate decision-making is being accomplished by applying principles of 'good governance' (accountability, participation, performance, and transparency) to event legacy;
5. Bond events in different fields (e.g. music, theatre, sports), in order to reach a wider audience and create broader social impact;
6. Pay due attention to the question who is leading the leveraging process: public or private sector?

It seems that non-mega sport events provide more positive social impact and outcome opportunities (power relations, urban regeneration, socialization and human capital) for local residents compared to mega sport events. The bottom-up strategy in organising a smaller event and its side-event program instills a sense of ownership in the local community, a solid foundation to support positive outcomes.

The way forward

The big picture produced by this paper is that sport events do carry a potential for social impact, especially though not exclusively, for their primary target groups (participants, visitors, volunteers). Still, social benefits are not shared equally and effects are primarily short-term. It is believed that there remain unexploited opportunities to further utilise the social potential of sport events, beyond what is happening today. Promising next steps when striving for positive social impact from sport events include the involvement of groups of people beyond the *usual suspects* (e.g. non-participants in sports, socially disadvantaged), and considering the event as an element of a broader strategy in a way in which it contributes to solving societal problems. In the years to come it will become crucial to put this on the agenda of sport event organisers and of local and national authorities in order to develop a body of knowledge on strategies and best practices, and – not unimportant – to establish guidelines and models that help build evidence for the occurrence of social impact of sport events.[13]

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[13] So far,no research guidelines how to measure social impact of sport events have not been developed, though first attempts and initiatives have been made (e.g. Hover & Postma–De Groot, 2015) and some best practices do exist (e.g. evaluation of the European Youth Olympic Festival 2013, see Breedveld et al., 2014).

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Creating social impact with sport events

Appendix 1: Peer review

At the European Association for the Sociology of Sport (EASS) 2016 annual conference at the University of Copenhagen[14], a two-hour session was dedicated to social impact and sport events. At the session, first outcomes of the report were discussed with a group of 16 experts and interested researchers. The sessions took place following a key-note speech by prof. Joseph Maguire on, among other subjects, the social impact of the Torch-rally that had crossed the U.K. prior to London 2012. The session caused a very lively debate on different aspects of social impact. Noticeable topics discussed were:

- The importance of local pride; identity and a sense of belonging as related concepts;
- Negative connotations of the concept of pride, realizing that any sense of belonging also means the exclusion of others (countries, communities);
- The negative impact that mega sport events can also have; the viewpoint of citizens as regards how they experience sport events;
- Uneven media attention and how that may increase inequalities between sports; uneven distributions of positive social impacts (e.g. London 2012 Olympic Park);
- Overpromising: should we not be more satisfed with smaller, rather modest results; how much 'social impact' should you have to aim for; isn't a 'fun' event enough of a goal in its own?;
- Agenda 2020 and esp. the consequences of allowing multiple cities that act as co-hosts;
- Sport events as a stimulus for follow up local events;
- The importance of a sense of ownership when aiming for social impact;
- How to study social impact.

These and other, smaller remarks and suggestions, were integrated in the report. The table below shows the names of those present at the workshop.

Table 1 List of international reviewers

Name	Institution	E-mail address
Aline van Bedaf	Danish Institute for Sport Studies	aline.bedaf@idan.dk
Annette Winkelmann	Telemark University College	annette.winkelmann@hit.no
Arend van Haaften	Utrecht University	a.f.vanhaaften@uu.nl
Davide Sterchele	Leeds Beckett University	d.sterchele@leedsbeckett.ac.uk
Hans Slender	Hanze University of Applied Sciences	h.w.slender@pl.hanze.nl
Hiromi Nakamura	Japan Sport Council	hiromi.nakamura@jpnsport.go.jp
Jeroen Scheerder	KU Leuven	jeroen.scheerder@kuleuven.be
Jo Grønlund	Telemark University College	jo.gronlund@hit.no
Joan Babi	National Institute of Physical Education	jbabi@gencat.cat
Joseph Maguire	Loughborough University	j.a.maguire@lboro.ac.uk
Nils Asle Bergsgard	Telemark University College	nils.a.bergsgard@hit.no
Ninja Putzmann	German Sport University Cologne	n.putzmann@dshs-koeln.de
Pau Mateu	National Institute of Physical Education	pmsamblas@gmail.com
Rafael Tarrago	National Institute of Physical Education	rtarragog@gencat.cat
Tamas Doczi	University of Physical Education	doczi@tf.hu
Till Müller-Schoell	German Sport University Cologne	t.mueller-schoell@dshs-koeln.de

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[14] See http://eass2016.ku.dk/ for more details on the conference.