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The Olympic Legacy
People, Place, Enterprise

Proceedings of the first annual conference
on Olympic Legacy 8 and 9 May 2008

Edited by James Kennell,
Charles Bladen and Elizabeth Booth

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Tourism Management at the University of Greenwich

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The Olympic Legacy: People Place Enterprise Proceedings of the first annual conference on Olympic Legacy 8 and 9 May 2008

The Olympic Legacy: People, Place, Enterprise conference took place at the University of Greenwich in May 2008. The first in a series of annual conferences, it brought together leading academics, policy makers and practitioners to debate the lasting legacy of the games.

The conference had four themes: social and cultural regeneration; Olympic tourism; enterprise, including social enterprise and skills development, and education, providing a multi-dimensional perspective on the likely impacts of the forthcoming London Olympics.

John and Margaret Gold examine how an ordinary English word like 'legacy' has become so central to Olympic discourse, outlining in particular the principle historical developments of the concern with legacy, its contemporary manifestations and its probable future. They deal with the meaning of 'legacy', locating it within a family of interrelated concepts addressing the consequences of staging sporting or cultural events, and then show how an initial implicit concern with sports legacy developed into a wider discourse that emphasises urban regeneration and sustainability. Finally, the future of Olympic legacy is discussed.

Chito Guala evaluates the legacy of the Turin 2006 Winter Olympic Games by considering the impact of hosting the Games on the image of Turin as a destination. The positive effects of this external analysis are considered alongside one of the largest ever surveys of public opinion carried out concerning the Olympics. A number of lessons for future games are drawn out from this paper, most notably that longitudinal surveys of public opinion can produce unexpected results and should be seen as a positive resource for planning to host the games and planning for their legacies.

Piervincenzo Bondonio and Alfredo Mela set out the conceptual framework of 'territorialization' as a way of thinking about and critiquing the spatial and socio-economic impacts of hosting an Olympic Games. In doing this they identify a number of contributions to the Olympic movement that have been made by the Torino 2006 Winter Olympic games. The contributions include innovative approaches to the staging of events and ceremonies and to the branding of the Games as a whole.

Pedro Moreira investigates the expectations and possible impacts of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. From a mega event perspective, he discusses the role of the event as catalyst for change across a variety of factors, which he argues comprise a legacy for a better world. He also contrasts these positive expectations with the potential for negative impacts that the Olympic Games will have on the economic dimensions and possible impacts on society, culture, international influence and the environment.

Patrick McGurck and Eva Tsahuridu investigate the possibilities for delivering a high skills legacy from the 2012 Games, drawing on stakeholder theory to conceptualise the problem of who will benefit from hosting the games, and how. They present a picture of the current situation as a dire one for the production of a successful community legacy and show how a normative application of stakeholder theory and social exchange theory can help in planning for a more successful legacy for the communities of the five host boroughs.

James Kennell and Nicola MacLeod outline a memetic framework for conceptualising the Cultural Olympiad programme of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic games, plotting the transmission of cultural forms and concepts within the context of the four year host-city period. This framework offers the possibility of an innovative research programme that can consider the organisational and policy aspects of the Games, as well as the cultural values associated with Olympism. They discuss the initial findings of a research project conducted within this programme.

Charles Bladen argues that past research into Olympic volunteering and repeat volunteering in general has over-relied on traditional positivist research approaches thanks to flaws in conceptualisation and operational and policy pressures. He identifies Olympic legacy as an area of nascent interest for academic researchers, locates the social legacy of repeat volunteering within the conceptual area of mega events, and concludes that more examination of the motivation for repeat volunteering is required, and should be embodied in a critical approach to foster desirable social outcomes.

Riding the Mexican Wave? Deciphering the meaning of Olympic Legacy

John R Gold
Oxford Brookes University
Margaret M Gold
London Metropolitan University

The word 'legacy', as John MacAloon (2008) recently remarked, has assumed 'magical properties' in Olympic circles. Despite the fact that there is no consensus on precisely what the word means, legacy is an ever-present element in current debate about cities staging the Olympics and is the touchstone for measuring their worth. Pronouncements from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) – the ruling body for the Olympic movement – are now routinely framed in terms of the 'legacy' that the Games will leave for sport and for the host city. The cities that bid for the Games frame their bids in terms of the legacy that the Olympics will bequeath. Those select few cities that then gain the right to host the Games routinely integrate the Olympic mega-event into their planning and place promotional agendas. Certainly, if one were to do a content analysis of reportage on the progress of London 2012, it would almost certainly show that the question of what was to come after the Games has received more attention than the Games themselves.

The aim of this paper is to examine how an ordinary English word like 'legacy' should have become so central to Olympic discourse. It is therefore less concerned with either the specific sporting or non-sporting legacies of London 2012 – which we have examined elsewhere (see Gold and Gold, 2008, 2009) – than with providing a portrait of the historical development of the concern with legacy, its contemporary manifestations and its probable future. There are four main sections. The first briefly deals with the meaning of 'legacy', locating it within a family of interrelated concepts that address the consequences of staging sports or cultural events. The next part looks at the development of thinking about the outcomes of the Olympics, showing how an initial implicit concern with sports legacy developed into a wider discourse that also emphasises urban regeneration, inward investment, place promotion and sustainability. The next section analyses the way that the word 'legacy' progressively took on meaning within Olympic discourse. The conclusion offers thoughts on the future of Olympic legacy.

The Meaning of Legacy

Recent debate about the results of staging sporting and cultural festivals has given prominence to the notion of legacy alongside a series of similarly loosely defined concepts, which include 'effects', 'consequences', and 'impacts'. Legacy shares a common focus with these other terms in identifying and, if possible, measuring outcomes, but differs from them by virtue of the types of outcomes analysed and the time frames that are considered. Most pre- and post-event evaluations of performance, outcome or impact deal primarily with direct and indirect economic consequences, which are viewed in the short- or medium-term (Brown and Massey, 2001; Langen and Garcia, 2008). By contrast 'legacy', with its close associations with 'inheritance' and the sense of transfer from one generation to another, has a purview focused on the long term, often decades ahead. This feature gives it parallels with the environmentalist notion of 'futurity' or 'inter-generational equity' – the principle by which present-day society meets its needs and aspirations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs and aspirations (Dobson, 1999)

'Legacy' also includes a wider range of phenomena than is the practice with alternative terms. Central to categorising the inclusiveness of phenomena is the distinction between 'tangible' ('hard') and 'intangible' ('soft') legacy. The former involves directly measurable outcomes (e.g. in terms of provision of facilities or reference to visitor numbers), whereas the outcomes included in 'intangible' legacy cannot usually be directly measured. Hence, sustained increases in numbers of tourists over time would be regarded as tangible legacy, whereas the improved image of an attractive tourist destination is an intangible legacy (Preuss, 2007, 211). Tangible legacy comprises, *inter alia*, sports facilities, infrastructure, urban and economic regeneration, jobs, promoting sustainability, barrier-free environments and cultural tourism. A similar listing for intangible legacy might include community spirit, memory, friendship, sports participation, skills, place promotion (city boosterism), a culture of volunteering, internationalism, inclusiveness, education, understanding, and inculcation of core values.

Yet a cursory glance reveals that even this extensive list tells only part of the story. Despite the penchant of organisers and official sources to emphasise outcomes that are planned and to accent the positive, this is not the only way that legacy can be construed. Many cultural and sporting festivals have been characterised instead by unplanned and negative outcomes (Preuss, 2007; Mangan and Dyreson, 2009), with a list that has included mountainous debts, environmental damage, displacement of communities and loss of housing, social divisiveness, regional tensions, and reinforcements of endemic corruption and inequality. Moreover, the balance between positive and negative appraisals for the same event can change over time. Events that earn initial praise for establishing a positive legacy may well be reappraised in the fulness of time. Sometimes too, widely criticised events may prove in retrospect to have a more positive legacy than first thought. Certainly the history of Olympic legacy shows many examples of such reappraisals (Gold and Gold, 2005).

Implicit Legacy

While the word 'legacy' did not appear explicitly in Olympic documentation until first used in the bidding documents for the 1956 Melbourne Summer Games (MIC, 1948; see McIntosh, 2003, 450), it may be argued that an implicit concern for legacy was present from the beginning of the modern Games (MacAloon, 2008, 2064). It should be stressed, however, that when Pierre de Coubertin and his collaborators revived the Games at the end of the nineteenth century they had little concern with the impact of the Games on host cities. After all, at this stage the Olympics were far from the mega-events that they would later become, initially being staged in temporary or renovated stadia. Instead, the Games were seen and appraised in sports terms. They were a vehicle that might leave a tangible legacy, in the senses of the development of sports administration in the nations where the Games were held, encouragement of spectatorship and promotion of participation in sport at both elite level, where they promoted excellence, and at grassroots level, where they encouraged health and well-being. The Games' ambulatory nature – moving from city to city every four years – helped to disseminate the Olympic message to the four corners of the world, thereby also helping to create an intangible sports legacy. The benefits arising from this attribute of the Games' organisation included enthusing spectators with a love of sport and spreading knowledge of 'Olympism' – the philosophy that underpins the Olympic movement and is loosely articulated in the Olympic Charter (Loland, 1995; Augustin. and Gillon, 2004).

Over time, the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) in each new location gradually changed the emphasis by steadily adding elements to the lasting inheritance that the host city (and nation) might also expect to receive. Tangible sports legacies appeared when the OCOGs began to supply permanent stadia for the Games rather than use either existing facilities or temporary venues. This practice began at London 1908 with the construction of the White City stadium. Seeking what has been described as the basis for 'a compact and independent Olympic festival' (Wimmer, 1976, 22), the organisers developed a stadium at Shepherd's Bush (West London) in partnership with the organisers of the Franco-British Exhibition. Although the initial intention was to demolish the stadium and provide 'no permanent addition to the athletic grounds of London' (Anon, 1907, 10), its continued existence after 1908 made it arguably the first instance of the 'limping white elephants' associated with the Olympics (Mangan, 2008) with the huge stadium remaining as an underused physical legacy of the event until its final removal in 1985.

The trend towards scale reached its pre-war apotheosis at Berlin 1936, with the construction of the Reichsportfeld, then the world's largest sports complex. The imposing scale of its development, however, was only partly associated with sports legacy. The Berlin Games were conceived and executed in a manner intended to turn the Olympic festival into a stunning endorsement of the resurgent Germany under the Third Reich. Moreover, the Reichsportfeld was far from just a sports complex, with the designers at least partly responding to Hitler's wishes to create the 'largest stadium, the largest assembly field, the largest open-air theatre' (Schmidt, 1992, 30, quoted in Meyer-Künzel, 2007, 169) to accommodate post-Games uses for military display and state ceremony.

Berlin 1936, therefore, provided a dramatic boost to the ideological strategy of deploying the Games in order to yield political advantage from showcase spectacle; a policy with lasting appeal, especially for authoritarian regimes. It was also a precursor of the widening approach to legacy issues that gathered pace in the postwar period. The Olympic festivals became notable for their supreme malleability, readily able to absorb the varying agendas of the municipal authorities that ruled the cities in which the Games were held. Progressively, too, the process of development changed qualitatively as OCOGs took a more systematic and programmatic view of development project that lasts for a minimum of 12 years from the award of the Games to final conversion of facilities for post-Games use.

Understandably, the characteristics of the new approach only emerged over time. The continuing provision of tangible sports legacy re-emerged after a spell during the years of postwar Austerity when renovated stadia were pressed into service. Since then, the OCOGs have routinely created major venues – still invariably referred to as *Olympic* stadia – which remain as permanent features in the Olympics' former host cities. Alongside the mounting expenditure on sports facilities grew an increasing emphasis on non-sports legacy. Rome 1960, the first Games held after the end of post-war Austerity, saw the dawn of the Olympics' full potential as an instrument of urban transformation. Besides the updating and improvement of two are as where relevant sports facilities were already available (the Foro Italico and EUR), there was conversion of the Village at Campo Paroli to private sector housing (Wimmer, 1976, 202) and extensive infrastructural work. This included new roads and bridges built to connect the Village to the main Olympic sites, modernisation of the airport, improvement of the telephone, telegraph and radio networks, and initiatives to expand hotel accommodation.

Rome's example was replicated by subsequent Summer Games and to a lesser extent by the Winter Games. Although a detailed discussion of the legacy left by individual Games lies beyond the scope of this essay (see Gold and Gold, 2007), the broad trajectory during the period from 1960-1992 was for an increasing emphasis on non-sports legacy relative to sports legacy and for cities to merge planning for the Olympics into their overall town planning strategies. Barcelona 1992 witnessed the city combining developments for the Olympics with a challenging package of measures designed to counter years of neglect under the Franco regime. In the process, more than 80 per cent of the total expenditure for the Games went into urban improvements rather than into sport (Varley, 1992, 21). *Inter alia*, this included extending the Metro, re-routing the coastal railway, opening access to the beaches, rebuilding the airport, modernising telecommunications, and converting the Olympic Village into substantial amounts of new residential, hotel and business accommodation. Barcelona also serves as an appropriate exemplar for the range of additional non-sports legacy functions now routinely sought from an Olympics, including promotion of cultural tourism, encouragement of inward investment and place promotion.

In the late-1990s, environmental improvement became as central to Olympic discourse as it was to other areas of urban and regional development. Concerned about the levels of expenditure needed to stage and sustain their mega-events and perhaps chastened by acquiescent embrace of commercialism in the 1980s and 1990s (Macrury and Poynter, 2008, 2007), the IOC recognised that development should be sustainable and accepted 'sustainability' as being allied to Olympism. Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004 both featured extensive attempts to use the Games as a catalyst for the rehabilitation and regeneration of brownfield land, albeit with no huge long-term success. Much was also made of the 'green credentials' for Beijing 2008, although the precise logic for associating sustainability with a Games that displaced an estimated 1.5 million people and extensively destroyed indigenous housing (Engel, 2007) is, at best, tenuous.

Explicit Legacy

This brief account sketches the wide range of elements that comprise what we now think of as 'Olympic legacy', although it must be stressed that before the last decade the term 'legacy' was not in common use. It certainly did not comprise the central focus for debate about the outcomes of staging the Games that it has now become. The question, therefore, is to understand how it has come to occupy a position in which 'the greatest emphasis is placed on the legacy and after-affects of the Olympic leverage opportunity, rather than the event, its content and purpose' (Evans, 2007, 299).

Chronologically, as suggested above, the term 'legacy' did not feature in Olympic discourse until it appeared in the bid documents for the Melbourne Games in 1956. However, use of the word in that context did not immediately augur an unequivocal new trend. For example, the word 'legacy' did not recur in the Official Report for the Games (MOCOG, 1957). The reason is unclear, but it is plausible to speculate that it was because the original wish to create a new Olympic stadium and surrounding complex close to the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) was scrapped in favour of using the renovated MCG as the Olympic Stadium. Indeed, as Tables 1 and 2 show, there was no consistent use of the term before the 1980s. In the case of the Summer Games, Los Angeles 1984 was the first Official Report in which it can reasonably be argued that there were more than incidental uses of the term. For the Winter Games, the equivalent was Calgary 1988. Once again, though, there was no immediate adoption either of the word 'legacy' or the ideas that it connotes. The succeeding Reports from the Summer Games at Seoul and Barcelona and Winter Games at Albertville, Lillehammer and Nagano made little reference to legacy. It was only when the Summer and Winter Games returned to the Anglophone world, after a gap of a decade or more, that 'legacy' clearly became firmly established as perhaps the dominant concept in thinking about staging the Games.

	Year	Mentions
Rome	1960	0
Tokyo	1964	0
Mexico City	1968	1
Munich	1972	0
Montreal	1976	4
Moscow	1980	1
Los Angeles	1984	11
Seoul	1988	4
Barcelona	1992	3
Atlanta	1996	71
Sydney	2000	43

TABLE 1 Mentions of 'Legacy' in Official Reports by hosts of Summer Olympic Games

	Year	Mentions
Calgary	1988	42
Albertville	1992	0
Lillehammer	1994	0
Nagano	1998	6
Salt Lake City	2002	55

TABLE 2 Mentions of 'Legacy' in Official Reports by hosts of Winter Olympic Games

To some extent, the reason for this seemingly slow diffusion of the term 'legacy' reflected the differing linguistic backgrounds of the organising teams in the relevant host cities. The English word 'legacy' roughly translates as the sum total of outcomes. This has a more restricted meaning, for example, than the French word héritage – which dominates Francophone Olympic discourse – with its 'semantic emphasis on the accumulated historical, cultural and moral capital that comes to the present from the past' (MacAloon, 2008, 2067; see also Cashman, 2003, 33). Nevertheless, only so much can be attributed to the differing cognitive constructions associated with linguistics. It is also true that the timing of Games being staged in Anglophone cities happened to coincide with the rise of increasingly critical public scrutiny of the real outcomes associated with events characterised by steadily escalating ambitions and matching expenditure. At this point – roughly in the late-1990s – 'legacy' came into its own as a word that captured the concerns of the moment.

Attempts to clarify precisely what was meant by 'Olympic legacy', however, quickly showed that it was then little more than a convenient *omnium gatherum* for diverse phenomena. In many ways, its value stemmed from being a taken-for-granted word that was not properly defined (Cashman, 2005, 15), since it could then act as an unproblematic point of convergence for the thinking of groups with widely-divergent views and agendas. An IOC-sponsored symposium (IOC, 2003, 2), for instance, noted that the term 'legacy' included a spectrum that ranged from:

> the more commonly recognised aspects – architecture, urban planning, city marketing, sports infrastructures, economic and tourist development – to others… that are less well recognised… the so called intangible legacies, such as production of ideas and cultural values, intercultural and non-exclusionary experiences (based on gender, ethnicity or physical abilities), popular memory, education, archives, collective effort and voluntarism, new sport practitioners, notoriety on a global scale, experience and know-how…

Various scholars have attempted to improve on the analytic value of the term by providing classifications that pinpoint important sub-genres within Olympic legacy (see Preuss, 2007). Richard Cashman (2005), for example, suggested six main categories of legacy: sport; economics; infrastructure; information and education; public life, politics and culture; and symbols, memory and history. For Jean-Loup Chappelet (2006; quoted in Preuss, 2007, 210), the list comprised five categories: sporting, economic, infrastructural, urban, and social. Holger Preuss (2007, 210-11) warned that these 'rather qualitative' categorisations ran the risk of emphasising only particular dimensions of legacy, especially that which was planned, positive and tangible. What was needed was to think of legacy less as a spectrum or list of categories rather than a three-dimensional matrix (or 'cube'). with the legacy of any event classified on three main axes: planned-unplanned, positive-negative, and tangible-intangible.

As part of an attempt to categorise and monitor legacy, the IOC introduced its own Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI) programme in 2003 (see IOC, 2006). The programme specifies around 150 indicators, broken down into three categories – economic, environmental and social. Using these indicators, host cities will produce a sequence of four reports at intervals over a period of 12 years in order to enhance the supply of information about impact. The reports are required at the time when a city's official Olympic candidacy is announced by its National Olympic Committee (Baseline Report), during the preparation phase, one year after the Games have ended, and three years after the end. The OGGI process may in due course help to codify the nature and characteristics of Olympic legacy, but it remains a work in progress given that Vancouver (which stages the Winter Games in 2010) and London 2012 are not due to publish their final reports until 2013 and 2015 respectively. Yet, there is a real sense that the OGGI process is directed towards the needs of the IOC movement rather than the host city, in that its essential purpose is to assist the flow of information from one host to the next and establish baselines for policy. Certainly, in the case of London 2012, the OGGI process is a discrete process, which has little direct contact with the far more intricate and delicate process of legacy planning being coordinated by the London Development Agency as the lead authority for all major aspects of the legacy arising from the Games (Gold and Gold, 2009).

The Future of Olympic Legacy

Seasoned observers of the Olympics will know that it is not unusual for there to be sudden changes in the thinking behind the purpose, organisation and function of the Games. Currently, 'legacy' occupies centre stage, but the recent history of debate about 'legacy' is in many respects analogous to outbreaks of the 'Mexican wave' at sports events, with repeated upwellings of enthusiasm as ideas flit into and out of fashion. To date, the reality of constantly evolving conceptions of 'legacy' – still essentially a loosely-defined concept that is being shaped by practice – makes it important not to regard current conceptions of legacy as fixed in stone and to question whether or not there are further significant changes to come.

If so, it is highly likely that a reason for continuing change may lie in the divergences of thinking on the subject of legacy between the IOC and the host city. Legacy is central to the outlook of both sides, but is conceived differently by each. There is little doubt that the IOC now sees active promotion of explicit legacy as part of its mission, rather than adopting its previous, more compliant stance towards accepting the host city's agendas (effectively as recompense for the costs of staging the Games). As the IOC President Jacques Rogge (CCGA, 2007) stated in a speech in Chicago in November 2007:

> Legacy is our *raison d'être*. It ensures that the Olympic Games are more than metres and medals… Values, partnership and legacy are all required to turn the Olympic Games into an enduring celebration of the human spirit. Once an Olympic City, always an Olympic City. Wherever the Games have appeared, cities are changed forever.

Yet, the IOC's notions of legacy can only be broad brush, just as their embrace of legacy can only be at arm's length, scrutinising legacy plans at bid stage and being involved in continuing dialogue with the OCOG and its associated agencies. By comparison, the host city's approach to legacy matters has an emergent and often more empirically-rooted quality – establishing the guidelines of policy on the ground through reconciling the divergent interests of the plethora of actors and agencies with a stake in legacy planning. It inevitably involves resolution of a formidable array of different interests and gains a complexity though the process of resolution. To elaborate, the stakeholders and participants in the host city and nation broadly want see an Olympics that is sensitive to cost, provides major infrastructural improvements and a better environment (cleaner, prettier, safer and barrier-free) at minimum of personal sacrifice to themselves (in terms of demolition, disruption and taxation). It is hoped that the Olympics will create an attractive place for investment, be able to elevate the city into the first rank of global cities, will promote respect for local culture and creativity, stimulate cultural tourism, and will provide ways of tackling inequality and spreading opportunity. And, lest we forget, it will also produce a nation of medal-winning athletes who will dominate the Olympics for decades to come in a nation where there is also a lasting surge of interest in sports at grassroots level.

These different positions inevitably create tensions between the host city and IOC with regard to legacy and will continue to generate tensions, especially over issues where pragmatic issues encounter ethical concerns, national priorities confront international concerns, tangible benefits conflict with intangible, and when the activity of talking about legacy makes inadequate connection with the business of managing legacy. However, the problem is not only one of conflict between OCOGs and the IOC. The insistence on comprehensive positive legacy, outlined above only partly in a tongue in cheek manner, will continue to haunt those with responsibility for staging the Olympics. The choice of legacy as a benchmark of success leads to constant scrutiny, and calls for justification, of what is already a logistically complex project for many years to come. Above all, there is the continuing debate – at least in democratic societies – not just about the availability of legacy but whether the cost of obtaining that legacy is justified.

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To bid or not to bid: public opinion before and after the Games. The case of the Turin 2006 Olympic Winter Games

Chito Guala
University of Torino

1. Introduction. Beyond the *One Company Town*

From the first discussions about the bidding of Turin to host the 2006 Olympic Winter Games, it was clear that the Games were a great opportunity for the city and the region of Piedmont. But there was also the consciousness that Turin had to change the "Fiat Company Town" stereotype, to be repositioned on the world map and "to show the world that there was an ancient and modern Turin (serving as a catalyst for accelerating change) which was innovatively immersed within its revalued past and open to international culture, a city seeking to receive and host visitors from around the world" (Castellani, 2006; Bondonio, Campaniello, 2006).

As has happened in many other host cities, Turin seized the opportunity of the Games for creating a new city devoted to tourism, sport and culture, performing a new image, promoting the city's cultural heritage, consolidating its cultural offer, getting and planning international events. That means that the tourism industry had to work not only for the traditional business arrivals, but also for leisure and cultural tourism; the Winter Olympic Games were expected to be a catalyst for urban regeneration, and a formidable tool to change the local identity and to promote internationally the city, as suggested by the international literature on Olympic Games and Legacy (De Moragas, 1996; Cashman, 2004; Preuss, 2006). Tourism and culture were the main tools for this regeneration process.

2. The lesson of previous research about the Games

In the first steps of the preparation of the Games, Turin authorities, local leaders and institutions began to think that public opinion had to be investigated, in order to understand expectations, problems and fears diffused among the population. In the history of the Olympics, this kind of experience is rather recent, especially considering polls and other research: "research" includes different kinds of approaches (urban planning, economy, tourism, infrastructures, public

transportation system, etc.).   Other modalities for verifying the intentions of citizens are available, such as referendums. A referendum obviously serves an institutional role with specific legal-administrative consequences: it may not retain the same "representative" nature which a sample investigation has (only motivated individuals will vote), but it does have a different legal weight, that must be taken into account by the political system. Even in the case of referendums there may be a variety of objectives; a distinction should be made between those involving a proposal and through which administrations are called upon to take into account the will of the voters; another kind regards those of abrogative nature, that are organized in order to eliminate a previously assumed political decision or to force policy makers or legislators to modify their decisions (Guala, 2006).

In the field of research, in the wide sense of the word, a special role is played by traditional surveys, that generally are conducted on a representative sample of population (from 400 cases and beyond). This experience is somewhat recent (it involves the last twenty years), but it is very important to understand the reactions of the local community toward a sport mega event;it is useful to see some examples and numbers from past polls.

2.1 Calgary 1988
Calgary is a well known example of the monitoring of public opinion before and after the Games: the expression "Olympulse" was used to describe the six different polls conducted on the population: in the post event research (March 1988, one month after the Games ended), nearly 98% of respondents said "yes" when asked if they thought it had been a good idea for Calgary to host the Olympics; only 1% said "no", and 1% were unsure; nearly 73% of respondents had ideas about how the city could built on benefits derived from the hosting of the Games. Advertising and promotion was mentioned by 44.3% of cases, followed by the sponsoring and hosting of a plurality of sport events, and regular utilization of the facilities for training and competitions (23.4%). Some elements of disappointments were the weather and the resulting postponements of the competitions 47%), the wind (16%), and the distribution and allocation of the tickets (15%) (Olympic Review, 1988)

2.2 Lillehammer 1994
On the occasion of the Lillehammer Winter Games (1994) two main samples were investigated each year, from 1991 to 1994 (one sample was national: Norway, another one local: Lillehammer); it was a poll based on longitudinal surveys, and public opinion had been investigated before and after the Games. Only 50% were in favour of the OWG in the first surveys, but after the Games ended the poll registered a very high positive response (80% in the national sample, and 88% in Lillehammer) (Lesio, 1992; Spilling, 1996).
The Lillehammer case is well known because of the "post event" situation; the legacy was not very positive, considering the high favour diffused among the interviewed population, and due to the lack of positive effects after the Games: this condition is known as "intermezzo" syndrome", as Spilling suggested; to say the full truth, this output could be expecteted, because a small city (26.000 inhabitants in 1994) could not transform itself very much because of the Games (in fact, maintaining its equilibrium was a stong legacy). But Norway obtained improved visibility, and increased its tourism.

2.3 Atlanta 1996

There were interesting polls in the Atlanta Olympic Summer Games (1996), where two samples were investigated from 1992 to 1996, with two polls per year: one was a national survey (Georgia), and one was local (Atlanta), with a total amount of 9,000 people interviewed; in Georgia and Atlanta a very simple questionnaire was produced, with only ten questions, to be ranked on a Likert Scale; the questionnaire had been originally used used in a research carried out by Ritchie in occasion of the Calgary Winter Olympics of 1988. Main results show that:

1. *before the Games* high fears were diffused among the population, with attention to traffic, inflation, security, high expenses for the local community
2. *after the Games* the % of fears dramatically fell: only 1 item remained steady, the security, because of a bomb explosion in the Olympic Park

Other research underlined:
1. limited urban regeneration in Atlanta downtown
2. limited improvement of the public transportation system
3. positive case of visibility for Atlanta and Georgia (repositioning of the city in the world)

Juloya, 2002; Mihalik, 2003

2.4 Salt Lake City 2002

Salt Lake City (Olympic Winter Games: 2002) is known as a case that made use of both referendums and polls:
- a referendum held in 1989 was in favour of the bidding competition (a majority of 57%) looking forward to the WG of 2002.
- in a *post event* poll, those interviewed were strongly in favour of having hosted the Games, and confirmed a much more favourable judgement
- in post event research, Utah Tourism measured positive shifts in tourism perception within key European markets after the OWG

Heinemann 2003, Ritchie, 1990

2.5 Referendums

The history of referendums about the olympics shows that the results were generally against the participation in the bidding competition (Chappelet, 2002; Preuss 2004); this instrument is usually used in Switzerland, and the results often show a differentiation between the Cantons and the Confederation: this internal opposition weakened the Confederation in organizing and winning the bidding; after two positive referendum in occasion of St. Moritz (1928 and 1948), the other referendums were generally uncertain or clearly against the bidding (Valais, Interlaken, Davos): only in Sion in 2002 was the referendum in favour, but Sion was defeated by Torino (Chappelet, 2002). In Italy the Aosta Valley in 1991 held a referendum about the bidding for the 1998 OWG : people said "no" (84.7%), rejecting the regional law of financing the Games.

3. Public opinion in Turin: from local pride to a new vision of the future

3.1 Research carried out in Turin (2002-2007)

To describe in a more comprehensive way the attitudes about Torino 2006 and its host city, as they have developed in a variety of contexts, we draw from the results of some surveys run before, during and after the Games, in the territory hosting this mega event.

A longitudinal survey on public opinion was started in 2002 and was completed at the beginning of 2007. It includes a group of studies which were conducted in the two primary areas which hosted the Games: the city of Turin and the Olympic Alp Mountains. Here we pay attention to the Turin surveys. Monitoring public opinion involved gathering information, recommendations and expectations from the population by means of various surveys, which were generally implemented as polls. This experience, that can be useful also for upcoming editions of the Games, not only serve the purpose of data collection, but is also as an opportunity for popular participation, useful, beyond any specific research aim, to start an open discussion on the future of the Olympic territories and their development model.

The surveys since 2002 discovered a so far hidden dimension of the Turinese collective mind: a deep sense of pride about the city, its history and what it was able to do and display, together with an optimistic view towards its future developments.

The high level of pride exhibited by the interviewed parties in Turin – ever since the first survey in November 2002 – is an indicator of a new mentality, a turning point and a moment of increased trust for the future of the city, overcoming the stereotype of a grey "one company town" which had always been associated with the image of Turin.

It should also be noted that research in itself—other than its analytical results—provided an opportunity for communication, discussions and envisioning projects; it could also have weakened or legitimated certain political choices, opened new scenarios for the future of the city or a territory. The surveys were presented in press conferences and in the media as well as in congress and during the many opportunities for discussing the outcomes of the research.

Summarizing, it is possible to state that surveys provide information to public decision-makers and feedback on current projects and the decision process; research facilitates participation processes which in turn can serve to define new forms of governance and the effective utilization of social capital, organized interests, intellectuals.

The surveys implemented within the territories of Torino 2006 from 2002 to 2007 provided data for the two areas from an overall sample base of 8,500 interviewed parties. In Turin, four surveys were implemented before the Games (in November of each year as of 2002) and two post-event surveys (March 2006 and January 2007), while within the Alpine Olympic valleys three surveys were conducted before the Games and one after the Games. Alltogether this research was one of the largest ever conducted in the history of the Olympics at an international level.

3.2 Positive answers, and a few problems.

The Turin answers followed a trend already registered in other previous surveys: pride and optimism at the beginning, then uncertainness and concerns two or three years before the Games (during the peak of public works, with queues and discomfort), then happiness and success during the Games - and shortly after -; one year after the Games a more realistic judgment is registered, but always positive about the experience done and the future purposes.

The monitoring of public opinion serves as a resource, and not a challenge as is occasionally imagined, for the Olympic movement. The population tends to worry about inconveniences caused by works on infrastructures (roads, etc) and sports facilities; often interviewed parties fear potential episodes of corruption, excessive costs and positive effects only being attained during the Olympic event without a stable impact in the medium to long-term. These results – verified even in Turin before 2006 – should not constitute parenthetical information but should serve as a set of indicators that are important for the local community as well as for public administrators and the organizational committee of the Games. This data must force the organizers to carefully plan both public works as well as communications which must carefully follow the operations implemented on the territory. In this manner, research on public opinion – in conjunction with other tools – will result in a more careful planning of the Olympic legacy and will aid to overcome the inevitable conflicts that always arise when organizing the Games and during post-event management: research simply recognizes the difficulties which often occur during the creation of the Olympic parks, the phases for assigning the facilities and the discussions to decide upon the new uses of facilities which must be re-converted for public use once the Games ended.

3.3 Bet on the Olympics!

Turin experienced challenges. But at the same time the city discovered the changing views diffused among the population on new horizons for tourism and culture: this is why the survey helps us to understand the effect of planning the Olympics, showing how also some ambivalent data can become useful to inform the planning process step by step. Since from the first two surveys (2002 and 2003) we can see a solid trust about the Games, and the pride of a community that won the bidding competition.

In the surveys conducted in October 2002 and November 2003, with samples of 900 interviews each, people agreed with the project of hosting the Games in Turin and Alp Valleys with a percentage of 79%; negative attitudes made up approximately 2% of the sample. And more than 90% said that they feel proud that Turin won the bidding competition for 2006 OWG (Guala, 2006).

The people's attitude towards the Games is clearly favourable, and people fell very proud of the bidding and the nomination. The positive answer about the Games is coherent with the main expectations about the material and immaterial effects of hosting the Olympics.

Other outputs from the first surveys show a balance between main goals and issues: people consider as good output the fame of the city, its possible repositioning in the international arena, the improvement of logistics and facilities. Differences between the first two surveys (2003 and 2002) are slight, which is an example of coherence among the interviewed population on the

various items during the years. Visibility of the city abroad and tourism appear to be the most important possible outcomes of the Games, together with the improvement of new facilities and infrastructures, the production of which can be accelerated thanks to the Games.

To sum up, since the 2002 survey the attitude of the population toward the 2006 mega event is favourable: 75.6% say that the effects of the Games on the local Community will be positive, with a peak of 16.0% of "very positive"; the negative perceptions correspond to less than 5% of respondents. The attitudes revealed in 2002 are confirmed in the second poll, and an "halo" effect draws the optimism towards the possible positive effects on the city: in 2003 data show that the "positive effects" of the Games will be "long lasting" for 44.0% of interviews (5% more than in the 2002 survey), "briefly lasting" for 34.4%; 19.1% of respondents think that Turin will face positive effects "only during the Games". On the one hand, the population shows more optimism about the future, but on the other hand many concerns appear about the real possibility that the city will adopt a new development model. This is one of the issues that pulled the local authorities and élites to define new governance tools (Guala, 2006).

3.4 Looking for a new development of the city
A positive evaluation of the city is rooted in positive expectations about Fiat, the "one company" that in the Nineties and at the beginning of the new century experienced a deep crisis: in 2003 answers to the question whether Turin could overcome the Fiat crisis are in a large majority "yes" (64%) (against 33.8% for "no" and 2.2% of "don't know"). This could be an indicator of optimism about the economic cycle, but also of confidence that what is Turin-based should, at last, overcome the crises. The evaluation is confirmed by the answers to another question, partially projective (similar to the "ladder of life" or the "sentiment thermometer"): people were asked which mark will Turin obtain in organizing the Olympic Games, from 0 (bottom) to 10 (top): the projection is still positive, in both 2002 and 2003 surveys: in 2002 the mark 8 is chosen by 30.9% , followed by 7 (27.6%), 6 (14%), 10 (10.15%) and 9 (6.2%). The positive answers are confirmed in 2003; the marks from 0 to 5 (negative evaluations) in 2003 only make up 7.6% of the overall respondents (this negative area gathered 16% of responses in the previous 2002 survey).

The main results of the 2002 & 2003 surveys are confirmed by the following ones (carried out in November 2004 and 2005), with homogeneous trends and with increasing expectations on the Olympics as catalyst of urban regeneration and promotion.

3.5 The surveys after the Games: the road to a diversified economy, tourism and culture
After the Games ended, two more surveys were carried out in Torino. The results are very positive, with some small differences between the first one (March-April 2006), totally enthusiastic about the olympic experience, and the second one (January 2007), when more realistic answers recognized that the Carnival was over and the city had to come back to the "normal" everyday life.

During the Games people experienced forms of participation, caused by the unique olympic atmosphere,   unusual in the tradition of the city: some behaviour, as testified by the following behaviours, that can be considered expression of pride, consent and participation: 65.9% of people went downtown and joined bars and restaurants during the Olympics, 42.6% visited the

the sport facilities and the Nation's Houses, and 58% joined theatres and exhibitions, and visited the museums during the "White Nights". The data shows a high degree of participation of the population to main events during the Olympics in Torino; Olympics were a cultural shock for the local identity, and the attitude toward the future of the city: when we consider that 88.6% of population interviewed would like that Turin continues to organize special events and opens the culture and leisure facilities as it happened in occasion of the Games , this is a turning point for the collective mind, something new in comparison with the traditional attitide of the Turin society.

This new spirit of participation draws an optimistic view of the future: in the post event survey (2006) people are confident that the "positive effects of the Games" will be long lasting after they ended, with increasing values in comparison with all the previous survey on the same issue; this confidence rises to 53% (2006), after swinging from 40% (in 2002 and 2003) to 30% (in 2004 and 2005). And this expectations, registered by the 2006 survey (carried out just one month after the Games ended) are confirmed by answers given to a question about the foreseen tourism inflows in the future, which are predicted as growing. This means that people are confident that Turin is facing a diversification of its economy, obviously without loosing the traditional industrial roots (mainly in the automotive industry, but not only): the future appears to be more complex, and supported by culture, tourism, and a "qualified" leisure.
It is interesting to underline that the positive attitude about Turin and its future is related to expectations in increasing tourism: but people think that tourism arrivals will continue to increase in Turin after the Games, also if the same people do not have any specific information about the tourism market. And this is exactly a cultural symptom of changing values and optimism (Bondonio, Guala, 2009).

4. Conclusions. Changing image and new perspectives
The visibility, and the ranking of a city in the international arena, depends on its image as it is diffused abroad: an unclear, or confused, or faded image, cannot help a city to reposition itself: for this reason some surveys on the image of Turin abroad were carried out by scholars, as Sergio Scamuzzi and Luca Davico, In research carried out at the end of the Nineties (but published in 2001), Scamuzzi found that the image of Torino, was linked to the Fiat Company, the Agnelli Family, and the Juventus soccer club, with different degrees of knowledge in Italy and abroad; but abroad the industrial image of the city was dominant: Torino appeared to be serious and organized city, but this stereotype was not favorable for a tourism destination (Scamuzzi, 2001).

A second piece of research was carried out by Luca Davico, with attention to four population samples, one in Italy, and the other three from France, Great Britain and Germany: the results were quite different, but the trend was similar: an exception is the Mole Antonelliana, a monumental building that from 2000 has hosted the National Movie Museum, was quite known in Italy, and not abroad, but the symbols and personages were in the same ranking. Davico also investigated the images of Torino abroad, considering words, values and stereotypes associated to the city; some data help to understand the difficulties of a city that has already an industrial character, and is searching for a new international image more actractive for tourism arrivals and for promoting its cultural offer. In this 2005 survey there is a balance between the industrial image and other labels, underlined by the majority of respondents, that recall the quality of life (50%), the food and

wine tradition (60%), the new opportunities linked to exhibitions and great events (45%); other statements on environmental issues occupy a secondary position (Davico 2005).

In a more recent the 2007 survey, done on the same samples and with a similar questionnaire, Sergio Scamuzzi found that some data were changing a little, with more presence of statements that recall art and culture (70%), quality of life (58%), food and wine offer and system (69%); less attention is devoted to science and technology, and the "industrial city" does not achieve very high scores (Scamuzzi, 2007).

Comparing the two research (Davico vs Scamuzzi), some numbers are shifting, but the trend is very similar: it means that the road toward a new Turin is clear; but it is not simple, and must be improved and planned with high accuracy.

Other surveys have been investigating the possible legacy of Turin becoming an Olympic district (focused on the territory of the metropolitan area of Turin and the Alp venues: in fact, more or less the boundaries of the Province district). This project requires once more the collaboration of the political actors (the municipalities, including Torino, the Provincia of Torino, and the Regione Piemonte). The project, called "Turin, capital of the Alps", underlines how a strong link between Torino and the Mountain is accepted and supported by the population: it recalls again the desire to "escape" from the stereotype of the One Company Town, and opens a reflection about the re-building of the local identity, more devoted to culture, leisure and tourism.

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Which legacies of Torino 2006 OWGs for the Olympic movement and the local society?

Piervincenzo Bondonio and Alfredo Mela
University of Turin, Italy

1. [A] Introduction

Three years have passed from the completion of the 20th edition of the Winter Olympics, which were held in Turin in February 2006. This period of time is certainly not sufficient long enough for providing a final assessment of the event which takes into account medium term effects; it is, however, sufficient for the purposes of providing a temporary assessment which goes beyond any evaluations linked to the immediate aftermath of the event and the subsequent return to "normality".; Such an assessment would attempt to determine state the effects of the Games at various levels, in and to determine which of the latter should be considered points of strength or weakness.

However, there two facets of the problem that must be taken into account in evaluating these effects. On the one hand, some effects of the Turin Olympics on the overall Olympic movement are visible, as legacies which Turin 2006 left for future Olympic events. These effects may obviously be of diverse nature: they may concern the organization of events; relations with the host territory and with public institutions of various types as well as with private sponsors; the spreading of Olympic values and so forth. In addition, these effects may be positive or negative, thus displaying "good practices" that could be emulated or, on the contrary, negative experiences and errors to be avoided.

On the other hand, legacies which the Olympic Games have left for the territory can be assessed. Here again, the elements which must be taken into consideration are multiple and heterogeneous. As a matter of fact, the territorial effects of the Olympics are both tangible in nature (increase in sports facilities, infrastructures, transportation, hosting system) as well as intangible, and as such even more important: economic (attracted investments, sustained costs) and social and cultural (renewal of the city's image, development of a network of international contacts, experiences in urban governance, acquisition of new competencies and approaches, etc...). In addition, these effects may be either positive or negative and may influence territorial development models in various ways.

2. Legacies for the Olympic movement of Torino 2006 OWGs

In the symbolic-diplomatic language of the Winter Games, President Samaranch typically describes each edition, at its closing, as the "best ever". Assessments on the part of President Rogge have been more articulate and less expected (Cashman 2006). Regardless of the terminology used during the closing ceremony of Turin 2006 (*"I Giochi sono stati veramente magnifici"* - the Games were truly magnificent") there is no lack of evidence with which to assess the Turin edition of the Winter Games from the perspective of an (actual or potential) legacy for the the international Olympic movement, as often very positive and only occasionally negative.

In what follows we analyze some organizational elements of a procedural, institutional, financial and communicational nature.

2.1. Some positive peculiar elements of Turin 2006

Torino 2006 distinguished itself from other editions of preceding Winter Games in numerous ways which can serve as novelties and therefore potential "acquisitions" of the Olympic movement, and future host cities. The novelties with the greatest impact include the following:

- the fact that the Games were implemented within a broad and structured group of venues (the city of Turin, the two towns of Pinerolo and Torre Pellice and five mountain towns and villages), with the ice-based sports located in the city and the snow-based sports based in the mountains, circa 80-90 km from the provincial capital;
- the fact that the host city was not located in a mountainous region and was of medium to large size (by European standards: circa 900,000 inhabitants, 1.7 million within the metropolitan area) thereby paving the way for candidacies of future cities with similar characteristics;
- the realization (not without initial resistance on the part of the IOC) of a significant number of award ceremonies in a location distant from race locations and within the heart of the historical center of the city: Piazza Castello (renamed Medals Plaza for the event, thereby becoming one of the symbols of the Turin Winter Games).; This provided very spectacular ceremonies and a high level of media coverage for the location and the city itself;
- the fact that certain Olympic symbols – personalized within the banners relative to the "look of the Games"– were coupled with symbols that were aesthetically designed as representative of the city ("look of the city") and created an excellent visual and communicative impact.

2.2. Several significant contributions of Torino 2006 to Olympic procedures

It is well known that the organizational process of the Winter Games is regulated in detail by the IOC (2007) and that the host city must scrupulously comply with these regulations,which facilitate the tasks of the local organising committee (OCOG) and, on the other hand, strongly constrain OCOG's operations.

In order to guarantee the direct transmission of experience from an OCOG to another, the IOC has established an Olympic Games Knowledge Management (OGKM) Centre. Within this function the OGOC of the Games just finished must hold an official debriefing in the next Games host city, under the direction of IOC officials. For Torino 2006, this occurred in Vancouver on July 10-14,

2006, with attendance of some 300 Olympic officials from around the world and reports were prepared by more than thirty Torino 2006 OCOG (TOROC) officials and managers (IOC and Torino 2006, 2006).

The Torino 2006 Olympic experience was presented grouped into three main areas: Torino Olympic product; management integration; Olympic stakeholder experience. The IOC also had internal debriefs and approved a final document, addressing 168 issues (from A, for *Accreditation,* to V, *for Vision/Promotion of the Games*).

Analysis and recommendations are intended to form "a key component of the IOC's long-term objective to facilitate the transfer of knowledge to future Games Organizers, as well as provide an opportunity to evolve the policies, processes and tools for Games management" (IOC 2006, p. 1).

It is possible to derive a rough but general idea of which TOROC's contributions have been, observing that 46.2% of the total issues of that document were raised by TOROC (42% by TOROC alone; 3% jointly with stakeholder representatives; 1.2% jointly with IOC).

On the other hand, it's at the issues raised by IOC (53.8% of total) that one has to look in order to find possible critical points of TOROC's organization.

2.3. Two critical elements of Torino 2006 which host cities should attempt to avoid: facts and explanations.
By means of numerous contributions, the OMERO centre has documented significant aspects of the success of Torino 2006 (Scamuzzi, 2007; Ceresetti et al, 2007). We are here taking into account two critical elements, which we propose as risks to avoid when organizing future editions of the Olympic Games.

a. Non-optimal relationships between TOROC and the central government and its indirect, negative effects on financial support and communications.
The first critical element concerns intergovernmental relationships between the national and local governments (in particular the triad composed of the Commune Municipality and Province of Turin, as well and the Region of Piedmont). Something here did not function properly, creating negative effects on both the economic budgeting of the Games and on the quality and intensity of the promotion of the event, mainly with respect to the Italian audience.

It should be noted that the preparation process for Torino 2006 was implemented between 1998 and 2006, when the national government was led by a center-left coalition from 1999 to the spring of 2001, followed by a center-right coalition (led by Mr. Silvio Berlusconi) from 2001 to 2006, while the Municipality and the Province were led by center-left coalitions and the regional government by a center-right coalition.

The national and regional governments (by means of Law no. 285/2000 and Article 21 of regional law no. 166/2002, respectively) provided financial support for the works which TOROC was implementing for the Games (Bondonio and Crivello, 2007): sports facilities, of course, but also

improvements in road and communications network as well as in accomodation and hosting facilities. An imposing collection of works, which qualifies Torino 2006 as an "expensive" edition of OWGs (Preuß, 2004, pp. 36-39; Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006), that were distributed in a balanced manner (from the perspective of post-Olympic utilization) across Turin and the Alpine locations (36% in the city, 64% in the valleys). From this perspective, it could be stated that Torino 2006 learned from the experiences of Barcellona 1992 by utilizing the Games as an opportunity for collecting the greatest possible amount of financial resources from the center and channeling these funds to the territory and the local economies (Brunet i Cid, 2004), although the financial contribution of private parties to overall investments, on the other hand, was weak, not exceeding 7% of total expenses. The works were implemented with great institutional harmony and in total compliance with the deadlines set by the IOC, as well as in general accordance with budget constraints (both events are not so common in the Italian institutional arena, as discussed in Bondonio, 2007; Piovano, Manto *et al*, 2007).

	L.285/ 2000	Other sources	Total costs
Infrastructures	479	544	**1023**
Homes, offices and shopping areas	308	215	**523**
Sports facilities	631	23	**654**
Environmental protection infrastructures	7	1	**8**
Totals	1425	768	**2207**
Of which private entities		**155**	

Table 1 - Total investments for Torino 2006: values (in US $, at 2006 prices), sources and types
Source: elaborations from Agenzia Torino 2006 data.

With regards to support for communications, events turned out to be quite different, producing a paradoxical and entirely anomalous situation when compared to the history of the modern Olympics: Torino 2006 was not presented effectively to the Italian public and was not experienced as a (major) national event but rather as a local event. This was true from the beginning (Segre, 2004), and remained true until the eve of the Games (as is well documented in Turco and Olivero, 2007; Ceresetti, Olivero et al, 2007; L'Eau Vive - Comitato Giorgio Rota, 2006, pp. 194-205).

Understanding the reasons for this situation is complicated; there are probably multiple causes, some of which are rooted in the history of the somehow troubled relationships between the first (Turin) and the current (Rome) capital of Italy, and others which are related to Italian politics.
The troublesome relationships with the central government are demonstrated by two issues which do not shed a positive light on the management of the Olympic Games held in Turin.

The first issue refers to the financial management of TOROC. Although TOROC, in March 2007 when its existence ceased, had almost completely eliminated the deficit showing in the Spring of 2006 (reducing it from 33 million US $ at 2000 prices to circa 4 million) this was not easily implemented and represents a negative economic result. This result was the intertwined effect, on

the one hand, of bigger than expected costs, which were caused by certain weaknesses in the local economic system (which, for example, did not guarantee, as had occurred in Salt Lake City 2002, the management of hotel structures during the Games) as well as in the Italian economic system (e.g. TOROC had to sustain the costs relative to the interchange parking for access to the Alpine locations). In addition – and this is certainly due to the "indifference" of the central government – TOROC was not provided with national public, or partly public, sponsors such as ENEL (the Italian main electricity producer), ENI (the Italian oil company), Poste Italiane (the Italian postal company), and Alitalia (the Italian flagship airways company), whose contributions had been foreseen by TOROC (according to its President, Mr. Castellani: Bondonio and Crivello, 2007, p. 155) to be in the range of 120 million US$ at 2000 prices.

The communications gap in the national press and within the national television networks failed to create an expectation amongst the Italian public for the event, and this can explain the limited interest on the part of Italian sponsors as well as the limited live presence of the Italian public. The latter factor was certainly more significant for the overall success of Torino 2006, and is documented by a somehow narrow total sale of tickets: 896,481 tickets (70% of the 1,133,481 available ones, with revenues of 91.6 million US $), of which 495,000, around 55%, were sold to the public (IOC, 2006b): these figures were significantly lower than the 1,525,118 tickets sold in Salt Lake City in 2002 (95% of the 1,605,524 available tickets: IOC, 2002).

b. An imperfectly planned legacy

The importance of planning the legacies of major events and the Olympics is a constantly repeated mantra, both in literature (de Moragas *et al*, 2003; for Turin 2006: Bobbio and Guala, 2002) and within the declarations of intent of candidate cities. The size of the financial effort which is required for hosting the Games requires that the event be considered a large investment; it is therefore rational to, to be carefully planned for in terms of its returns, while the size of the media exposure guaranteed by the event serves as an excellent requirement for beginning to plan any legacy.

At the time of its candidacy, Turin stated clear objectives, as one can read in the 1st candidacy file:

> "The Olympic Winter Games are a great opportunity for Turin and for Piedmont. The idea of Turin's candidature stems from the conviction – which is shared by all the local authorities – that the city and the region should let the world know how much the area has got to offer to tourists." (Comitato per i XX Giochi olimpici invernali 1998: 42)

These objectives were reiterated in the First Strategic Plan of the city (Torino Internazionale, 2000). The candidacy was incorporated within a process aiming for the economic and social transformation of the city, was not the first such an initiative during the city's recent history and would be implemented within the new urban master plan passed in 1995, during a delicate transition from its recent past as a "One Company town" within the automobile industry to a future involving productive diversification and urban regeneration (Winkler, 2007).

In other words: there were favorable premises and significant stimuli for the planning of legacies whose creators could have availed themselves of the organizational capacities inherent within the

local culture of (large-scale) industry, as well as the new skills which were being developed during the actual organization of Torino 2006.

The presence of a long-term vision beyond Torino 2006 (focused on a legacy) is certainly notable in the distribution of investments which the Olympic Games has made possible and has accelerated. In addition, one must note that total Olympic investment in urban areas subject to transformation represented no more than 38% of overall investments which were underway in Turin in 2002 (Catalano and Arresta, 2006) and that the ice-based sports facilities were designed in light of a non-exclusive and multi-purpose function.

This, however, does not imply that a legacy was consciously planned out. Planning a legacy is a complex process, and requires significant efforts at various levels and with different degrees of involvement of citizens.

With regards to Torino 2006, no grassroots organizations were created for discussing a post-Olympic legacy.
TOROC was not responsible for directly acting in relation to post-Olympic legacies. President Castellani states this point decisively:

> "I do not believe it would have been opportune for TOROC to retain competencies on post-Olympic matters, in accordance with the general principle that it is generally not a good idea to assign more than one mission to the same organization (particularly if the missions are challenging and could result in even partial or potential inconsistencies)"
>
> *Bondonio and Crivello, 2007, p. 159*

In 2007 the Region of Piedmont established a Foundation with public funds, open to private shareholders, to manage the "Torino Olympic Park" facilities. The Foundation's operative arm responsible for this is known as TOP. Its members are the three local governments and the Italian Olympic Committee (CONI). TOP is a streamlined structure of approximately 50 people, composed, primarily, of personnel from TOROC, and has a capital of 30 million Euros, to be used to balance foreseen deficits until 2011. TOP has recently taken the decision to tender for an international experienced partner for Parkolimpico (the in-house firm charged with most operational duties of the Foundation), to attract top level international shows in the Palahockey and Palavela Turin Olympic venues. This solution is put forward as an opportunity to enable the overall Olympic park to reach a status of economic viability.
The assessment of the first two year of operations of TOP is in line with expectations and is not discouraging: all facilities were kept open and operational, but run with an overall operating loss that was, however, lower than forecasted.
As of three years from the closing of the Games, Turin is therefore taking steps to manage the legacy of Torino 2006, although with a delay that would have been wiser to avoid; these operations have been and are currently subject to a debate that has not only involved experts, but also public opinion in general.

3. The Olympic legacy for the host territories

The analysis of the legacy of the Olympic Games of Torino 2006 should examine two different levels. The first level is local, and concerns the territories which hosted the event; the second level contains a broader territory, involving the entire range of northwestern regions of Italy. At the beginning a few remarks are useful, with reference to the analytical model used for considering the various components of an Olympic legacy.

The model we make reference to (Dansero and Mela 2008) for interpreting territorial transformational processes tied to mega events is based on the study is based on the study of territorialization processes (Raffestin 1984, Turco 1998, Magnaghi 2000). This model is linked to a tradition of studies which involves the transformation of the territory as the product of a process involving the "production of a territory", a tradition in which Lefebvre (1991) is a fundamental reference point. The territory is always the result of the interaction of a number of "territorializing actions" which are implemented by a vast number of individual and collective parties acting within a framework that is characterized by the pre-existence of stratified territorial elements as well as a group of opportunities and constraints. In this process of dynamic interaction between socioeconomic and territorial variables, coherent structures of reciprocal adaptation are formed;. These structures are defined as "forms of territorialization". At certain points of the evolutionary process, these forms undergo a radical transformation, hence losing their previous organisation, creating a phenomenon of "deterritorialization". This critical phase opens the way to the future formation of a new structure of relationships between the socio-economic and territorial variables, through a "re-terrtorialisation" process.

The "normal" cycle of territorialization – de-territorialization – re-territorialization (in short, T-D-R) is subject to a substantial alteration in the case that a major event such as the Winter Olympics is involved. In this case, an additional layer of territorialization is added which is due to the transformations linked to hosting the games. Unlike the "normal" dynamics which are only partly linked to the implementation of territorial plans, the dynamics generated by the Olympic events are thoroughly planned: the event must occur in a pre-defined period, in accordance with the standards that are established by the IOC. Thus a new "planned" territorialization is added to the "normal" territorialization; the two will interact in a variety of ways. In addition, the "planned" territorialization is meant to be followed by a deterritorialization phase which results from the dismantling of the organizational modalities of the territories hosting the Olympics just after their end. There are questions left open by this process such as how to re-utilize the facilities created for the Games and other types of material and immaterial Olympic legacies.

3.1 The Olympic legacy at the local level

Beside the sport facilities facilities, what are the fundamental legacies for the host territories? In what way can these legacies contribute towards a renewal of the socio-economic model of the territorial systems?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to once again note the specific elements of the territorial structure within which the twentieth edition of the OWG were held. The territory was, in fact, characterized by a strongly bipolar nature due to the concentration of the events in Turin, on the one hand, and in the upper valleys of Susa and Chisone, on the other. Apart from these two areas, the only intermediate territorial entity was the small city of Pinerolo, the site where the curling tournament took place.

For a short period of time from the beginning of the organizational phase to the end of the Games this territory represented an actual territorial system: really a new system becauset the territory itself could hardly be considered a particularly cohesive unit with a specific identity despite the historical relations existing between its different parts.

Three years after the Games, the effects linked to the organization of the Games of Torino 2006 underwent a large range of transformations in the various parts of the territory, so far without a stable re-definition of its structure as a system.

This statement is based on both objective factors as well as the results of interviews which we conducted before and after the event with a group of qualified witnesses (Dansero and Mela 2004, 2007):

First of all with reference to the city of Turin, the organization of the Olympic event fell within a period of an in-depth transformation of the economic base of the city as well as of a rapid re-organization of its territorial structure. On the one hand, in fact, the city was required to reorganize an economy which was previously characterized by a strong dominance of heavy industry, diversifying the productive structure and attempting to improve the services sector as well as attracting high-tech activities by operating on an international scale. On the other hand and from a territorial perspective, in 1995 the city had formulated a reference framework for its development, particularly within the new Urban Masterplan which was created by the architects Gregotti and Cagnardi: this plan, first of all, involves the creation of a new North-South axis (the "Spine") for hosting new high-level functions and thereby extending the traditional central nature of the historical center.

2. The planned territorialization linked with the organization of the OWGs occurred in an way which is consistent with this existing form of territorialization, accelerating the transformations define by the urban masterplan. The phsycial effects of the Olympics were both direct (the construction of new facilities, the Olympic Village, the media village) and indirect, providing a stimulus for public and private involvement in the completion of other buildings and works that had previously been planned (for e.g. the opening of an initial branch of the subway).

3. Overall, the Olympics represented a stimulus for the polycentric transformation of the city, contributing to the expansion and diversification of key service sector polarities and, in particular, effectively utilizing the southern area of the city. Moreover, even the historical center of the city received positive impulses from the cycle of Olympic territorialization. The most important effect is the renewal of the city's image (linked to the media coverage of the Olympics but also the choice to create the Medal's Plaza within the historical center for the purposes of hosting all award ceremonies); this allowed the architectural and urban assets of the city to become known given that the city itself had previously been exclusively known as a production center and was considered to be devoid of cultural and tourist attractions.

The strong media exposure of the city implied the weaker image of the mountains as a possible complementary attraction. The Games were externally portrayed as being essentially urban Olympics with the Alps serving as a frame for the overall picture. Within this picture, it is not surprising that there was a net difference in the perception of a positive legacy of the event within the assessments of the protagonists, depending on whether they assumed the viewpoint of "urban" or "Alpine" stakeholders (Table 2).

For alpine valleys	For the city
Renewal of sports facilities	Increase in self-reliance
Improvement of accessibility	A new international image of Turin (putting the city on the maps)
Improvement of touristic facilities	Urban renewal
More local identity	Increase in urban infrastructure
More collaboration between alpine institutions	New opportunities for urban tourism

Table 2 Main positive stakeholder perceptions of the Olympic Legacy

The difference in perception between "urban" and "Alpine" stakeholders is also seen in their assessment of the negative elements of the Olympics. Both kinds of stakeholders agree that there was a lack of capacity for defining scenarios to be pursued within the Olympic territory and that the collaboration between the city and the Alpine regions—which was implemented during the Games—immediately ceased after their completion. However, the emerging worries are largely divergent (Table. 3). From an Alpine perspective, this lack of visioning capacity is linked to a negative evaluation of the actual governance of Alpine areas. From this point of view, the increased endowment of facilities was not couple with a renewal of tourism models; the latter could have been favored by more incisive and broad-scale governance. From the urban perspective, worries are primarily related to the lack of financing sources which could allow the city's projects to be continued.

For alpine valleys	For Turin
No general vision for the future of the area has been created	After the games decrease in financing
The touristic model has not changed in a significant way	Lack of a lasting governance
Risks of cultural dependance from the mega-events	The local human capital and skills have not been absorbed by labour market in an adequate way

Table 3 Main negative stakeholder perceptions of the Olympic Legacy

3.2. The Olympic legacy at an interregional level

This divergence between the development models of the city and of the Olympic mountains does not seem to be reconcilable at the "local" level, i.e. within the territory which was affected by Torino 2006. However, it is possible to approach the problem from a different angle, by taking into account a broader territory corresponding to the whole northwestern regions of Italy. During the "Fordist" phase of economic growth, the 30 years following WWII, the economic and industrial activities of the country were largely concentrated within these regions and in particular within the three main cities (Turin, Milan, Genoa), the so called "industrial triangle" (Berta, 2008). In fact, in 1971, 58.6% of Turin' residents were employed in industrial firms (in Milan this figure was equal to 47% and in Genoa to 38%).

The 1980s were characterized by an industrial expansion in other areas of the country (in particular, in the northeastern districts) as well as an increase in the services sector; since then, the three cities of the "triangle" followed distinct growth paths and lost the leadership roles which they previously held. In Milan, the decrease in industry was balanced by the strong role played by the financial system as well as a specialization in certain areas with a powerful image, such as fashion. Genoa, after losing much of its industrial activities, implemented an urban renewal process, particularly in its historical areas, re-launching at the same time its role as a commercial center and port. Turin — more than the other cities — kept its industrial plants and expanded its role as a university and cultural center.

This diversification of the development paths of the three cities became more complex due to the emergence of an increased role for tourism, culture and the promotion of locally distinct products. This new role affected both the traditional areas of touristic interest (such as the Riviera, the shores of the major Italian lakes or the most important Alpine destinations) and new emerging areas, such as the Langhe, Monferrato, Oltrepo Pavese.

The promotion of major events played a significant role within these transformations that primarily affected (or will affect) the main urban centers. The table below highlights the primary events which have been realized since 1990 or will be organized in coming years.

Event	Year	Affected cities	Nature of the event	Size of the event
European soccer championships	1990	*Turin, Milan, Genoa (and other Italian cities)*	Sports	*European*
Columbian celebrations	1992	*Genoa*	Cultural	*National/ European*
G8 Summit	2001	*Genoa*	Political	*International*
European cultural capital	2004	*Genoa*	Cultural	*European*
20th Winter Olympics	2006	*Turin*	Sports	*Global*
Celebrations of 150 years of Italian unification	2011	*Turin (and other Italian cities)*	Political-cultural	*National*
Universal Expo	2015	*Milan*	Economic-cultural	*Global*

Table 4 – Main events in northwestern Italy (1990-2015)

These events are partly due to the success of the cities in an international competition for their assignment (Italia 1990, Torino 2006, Milano 2015), and partly due to other assignment criteria (Genoa 2001, 2004). For sure, the range and effects of these events are different, but they all retain a common feature: the attempt of transforming the socioeconomic and territorial structure of the three cities and of strengthening their infrastructural assets and their international image. It is unlikely that this series of events could be understood as the result of a common strategy: actually, they are the outcome of an activism typical of each city and aimed to resolve specific problems. Even if this common strategy has not existed so far, there is no doubt that, to a certain extent, each event is influenced by the others; in addition, it should be observed that subsequent events tend to utilize the competencies which were formed in previous events even if not derived from specific planning.

Given the above, it is possible to state that there appears to be a sort of interregional governance that is being formed with respect to a strategy for events. More than that: this form of governance could be included as an element of a broader cooperation process among the three cities as well as between these cities and their regional contexts. There are already signs of such cooperation: they could become more numerous and systematic in the future in order to create a stable relationship between cities (and regions) whose objective is strengthening synergies, despite the existence of competitive elements. This would serve the purpose of increasing the competitiveness of the entire northwestern macroeconomic region of Italy within European and international markets.

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A mega-event inside the Great Wall of China: Expectations and possible impacts of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

Pedro Moreira

Institute For Tourism Studies, Macau SAR, PR China

Introduction

"On November 25th, 1892, in the main lecture theatre of the Sorbonne, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Athletic Sports Union, Baron Pierre de Coubertin put forward a proposition which came as a surprise to everyone: the revival of the Greek Olympic Games. Two years later, on June 16th, 1894, also at the Sorbonne, it was officially decided to revive the Olympic Games. In 1896 the first modern Olympic Games were opened."

Callebart (1998:555)

The Olympic Games are, in dimension, exposure and international participation, one of the biggest events in the world today. It is therefore understandable that a lot of expectations are placed on the Olympiads and on its legacy, since the Games are associated with peace and progressive development of the links between countries and individuals: 'One World, One Dream'.

The Olympic Games have recognised economic, social and cultural impacts, identical to the impacts associated with tourism (Lee, Var, Baline, 1996). The Olympics can be considered a catalyst of change (May, 1995) and, following the world agenda international trends, climate change, global warming, sustainable sources of energy, environmental friendly products and production processes, recycling and pollution reduction are issues that naturally built expectations on the Olympic legacy of a better world. However, the past experience shows that the impacts of mega-events are not all positive and, considering that the impacts' forces are associated with the magnitude of the event, the effects have also a high negative potential.

This article will explore the expectations and possible impacts of the Olympic Games with a focus on the Beijing 2008 Olympiad. The initial comparison of the positive and negative impacts of the event will be followed by specific comments on the economic impacts, international influence impacts and environmental impacts.

Expectations and possible impacts of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

"The impact of holding the Games is far greater than simply the 17 days of the Games themselves."

Cochrane, Peck, Tickell (1996:1328)

On July 13th, 2001, in Moscow, from a final set of candidate cities including Istanbul, Osaka, Paris and Toronto, Beijing was selected by the International Olympic Committee to host the 2008 Olympic Games.

The first and perhaps the most important impact of the 2008 edition of the Olympic Games was turning the eyes of the whole world to China. China is now changing fast, assuming an important position in the world. Although "no one really does know what will happen next in China" (Wasserstrom, 2002:128) the fact is that the world is now more interested in China than ever before, and the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games are a major factor of that world wide interest. In the words of the President of the International Olympic Committee: "the world will come to know China more intimately after the country opens itself to welcome the global community in 2008" (Rogge, 2003:18). Hosting the Olympiad implies the recognition of a country's high level of organising capacity and economic resources and the 2008 Beijing Olympics is a clear sign of the importance of China to the world economy (Preuss, 2004) and a matter of national pride (Singh, Hu, in press). The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games can be understood as a catalyst of the change processes undergoing in China (Theodoraki, 2004), but if the event represents a unique opportunity is also associated with potential risks and negative outcomes. Figure 1 (overleaf) presents a summary of the positive and negative impacts of the Olympic Games based on a literature review.

Positive Impacts	Year
The Olympics as a catalyst of change	May (1995) Theodoraki (2004)
Media exposure and marketing value, promotion and global visibility of the destination	Law (1993) Bramwell (1997a,1997b) Weirick (1999) Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001) Burton (2003) Singh, Hu (in press)
National pride and recognition of global status	Preuss (2004) Sands (2008) Singh, Hu (in press)
Increase in the arrivals and expenditure figures and development of business areas of tourism as the meetings, conventions and exhibitions industry	Hall (1992) Euchner (1999) Dunn, McGuirck (1999) Eisinger (2000) Persson (2002) Owen (2005) Yuen (2008)
Investment attraction, trade increase and long term development	Hall (1989) Lee, Var, Blaine (1996) Weirick (1999) Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001) Singh, Hu (in press)
Development of sports, tourism, heritage, transportation, communications, construction of sports and convention venues and other urban infrastructures	Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001) Owen (2005) Ness (2005)
Job creation and increase in the individual income of the residents	Burton (2003)
Pollution control and environmental protection	May (2004) Ness (2002) Owen (2005) Sands (2008)

Figure 1a - A summary of the positive impacts of the Olympic Games

Negative Impacts	Year
Transitory economic impact	Baade, Matheson (2002)
Complex effects on international relations; uncertainty about possible beneficial or adverse effects	Sakamoto, Murata, Takaki, 1999
Debt risk for the host city and increased taxation	Marbach, Lambert, Huck (1981) Preuss (2000)
Inflation and prices rise that does not decline after the event ends	Preuss (2000)
The jobs created represent short-term opportunities	Preuss (2000)
Infrastructure construction, traffic, security and other inconveniences	Preuss (2000)
Risks of boycott or scandal	Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001)
Major conflicts over land use	Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001)
In some cases the Olympics did not lead to urban regeneration or revitalization in the post Olympic period	Andranovich, Burbank, Heying (2001)

Figure 1b - A summary of the negative impacts of the Olympic Games

One possible analysis of this summary can isolate three different categories of impacts: (1) economic impacts; (2) international influence impacts; and (3) environmental impacts. These three categories of impacts will have a positive and a negative potential representing opportunities or risks to the organisers and the citizens of the cities or country hosting the Games. The economic impacts are related to the exchange of goods and services and to the fluctuations of prices and values that can be linked to the event. The international influence impacts are associated with the exposure of the host city or country in the international media as a consequence of the organisation of the event and with the increase of the interest generated worldwide from the announcement of the winning hosts by the International Olympic Committee. The environmental impacts are linked to the changes in the living conditions of the populations of the host country and the host cities, pollution levels and the protection of the natural environment. These three categories of impacts are explored in the next sections.

Economic impacts

Mega events are among the determinants of tourism demand (Lee, Var, Blaine, 1996) and there are always high expectations about the numbers of visitors during the Games (Brown, 2000). The Olympics are expected not only to increase the arrivals during the games but to initiate a trend of sustainable growth in tourist and business travellers' arrivals (Euchner, 1999, Eisinger, 2000, Yuen, 2007) with a parallel development of the meetings, conventions and exhibitions industry (Dunn, McGuirck, 1999, Hall, 1992, Persson, 2002) and a boost in the overall exports base (Daniels, 2007). The investment figures involved in the organisation of the Olympic Games are very high (Persson, 2002) and therefore the promotion of the city as a global city is also intended to be an attractor of international investment (Weirick, 1999). In the case of the successful Seoul 1998 Olympics, the event lead to the development of tourism due to the media exposure and the promotion of a favourable image of South Korea and the increase in international business, trade and travel traffic following the contacts made during the Olympics (Lee, Var, Blaine, 1996). The Games can be a part of the strategy of cities competing in the world economic arena for jobs and capital, a mega-event strategy in competing for economic growth (Fry, 1995, Andranovich, Burbank, Heying, 2001), and as positive economic impacts, the Olympic Games are expected to produce a spillover effect on tourism demand after the event ends (Lee, Var, Blaine, 1996), extending the capitalization results in the long term (Singh, Hu, in press). As potential negative economic impacts, the city residents' expect effects such as rising prices and inflation due to demand increase and speculation (Preuss, 2004). These price increases will be felt before, during, and after the event since some prices will not correct after the event is over or will take a long time to recede to the pre-event figures. Allied with the price upward trend, the perception of a decrease in the quality of life due to the overload of general services should produce a downward pressure in the perception of value for money and might lead to negative behavioural reactions towards the event and the visitors.

Major sport events with a global impact are of short duration but involve large numbers of tourists and media exposure (Yuen, 2008), a fact that distinguishes the general characteristics of tourist attraction based on aspects of a destination non-material culture as festivals or events, either involving or not a sports component (Moreira, 2006). Mega events can change the image of destinations and enhance increased arrivals even after the event is over (Hall, 1989) if the image is well maintained and does not decay over time (Ritchie, Smith, 1991). Under the resource theory (Barney, 1991) the Olympic Games are comparable to an exceptional resource capable of producing sustainable competitive advantage for a destination (Singh, Hu, in press) but the opportunity that the Games represent needs to be transformed by the host city into long-term legacies (O'Brien, 2006). According with the central place theory, the sustainability of the post-event arrivals is fundamental for a city to maintain its position as a high order place. In a summarized form, "central place theory suggests that the location of economic activities is a non-random occurrence and that the highest order places, typically urban centres, offer the greatest diversity in goods and services (Barnes, Ledebur, 1998 in Daniels, 2007:335), transforming these cities in high attractors for residents, travellers and visitors.

Tourism is a leading industry in today's world (Lee, Var, Blaine, 1996, Eadington, Redman, 1991) and mega events have major impacts on the host destinations image and represent a high value for destination marketing (Bramwell, B. (1997a, 1997b, Law, 1993, Singh, Hu, in press); these large scale events and their potential must therefore be considered in the economic development strategy of tourism destinations. Finally, perhaps at the same level of the future value potential, the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games signify the confirmation of the economic impact of China's 2001 World Trade Organisation entry and were carefully presented to the world as a cover image of the new China, not only associating the event with the future economic triumph expected for the country in the global economy but also as a national celebration of the victories already conquered.

International influence impacts

The benefits of such a large scale event in terms of international image are extraordinary: at least three billion people worldwide are expected to follow the opening ceremony and more than 90 per cent of all adults with access to television will watch the games (Preuss, 2004).

The 2008 Olympic Games were meant to project Beijing to the level of a truly global city. Preuss (2004) identified a set of characteristics of a global city, characteristics which can be implemented or enhanced by the preparations to organise the Olympics: (1) easy access by air, rail and road; (2) international citizens and cultural complexity; (3) excellent telecommunication systems; (4) economic importance; (5) a first-class tourists destination; (6) high degree of knowledge and culture exchange; (7) mixed areas for 'living', 'working' and 'leisure'; (8) no major traffic problems. These characteristics summarize some of the expectations and possible international influence impacts of the event expected for the Chinese capital city.

The Olympics are also a matter of status and higher level development so even cities that are already established as top world cities as London, Paris and New York, competed to host the 2012 Olympic Games (Yuen, 2007:31). China included seven cities in the 2008 Games (Beijing, Hong Kong, Qingdao, Shandong, Qinhuangdao, Hebei, Shanghai, Shenyang, Liaoning and Tianjin), hosting the event at a truly national level (Sands, 2008).

The structures built for the Olympics have also a high visible impact and, in the case of the Beijing Games, The Bird's Nest National Stadium and The Water Cube most probably exceeded the world's expectations, and the final result was cheered both inside China and worldwide. Finally, a great step forward in promoting the international image of the country comes from the triumph of meeting successfully the enormous challenge of the organisation of such a monumental event. The success of the organisation and of the latest edition of the games is a recognised achievement, and the following organisers will undoubtedly have to try hard to excel and do better after Beijing 2008.

Environmental impacts

'Green Games' was a key theme for Beijing 2008 (Bidding Committee Beijing 2008, 2001 in Preuss, 2004) and environmental concerns were a constant throughout the Olympiad with innovative measures as the use of recycled materials in the construction of the Water Cube and the restriction to circulation of half of the cars in the capital with the odd and even plate numbers scheme.

Other strong measures were the orders given to coal power plants to reduce emissions, the compulsive halt of construction projects, the relocation of 200 heavily polluting factories outside of the city, the construction of new wastewater treatment plants and solid waste processing facilities, the creation of green belts for dust storms protection, the progressive use of clean energy sources and the elimination of ozone-depleting substances, the replacement of 47000 taxis and 7000 buses by new vehicles meeting the European Union emission standards, and the creation of 20 natural reserves (Sands, 2008). The environmental theme was considered at the highest importance level, with China's Premier Wen Jiabao assuming that the country would honour the international commitment to hosting the "Green Games" (Shi, 2008). In fact, in the month of August 2008, the air quality in the Chinese capital was at 'level one' for 14 days, according with the Beijing Environmental Protection Bureau (Macau Daily Times, 02 September 2008).

The environmental impacts of tourism and tourism development are difficult to anticipate although the planning process includes considerations about those impacts (May, 1995), and this planning is especially comprehensive in the cause of top events. Traffic and water quality improvements, along with planting new trees were identified as positive impacts of the Olympic Games for the host city (May 1995). In the case of the Beijing Games there were favourable opinions towards the maintenance of the special environmental protection measures that were in force during the Olympiad. With such a global importance today in the manufacturing industry, both in production and innovation, China faces a great opportunity and is now on a privileged position to establish new standards in the products and production processes and in the solutions found towards better and more efficient energy sources and the improvement of the general quality of life of the Chinese citizens.

End notes

"The memory of the Games, which took place at Olympia for ten centuries (from 776 B.C. to A.D. 394), was kept alive in the collective consciousness by the reading of Greek poets and prose writers, even after the very site of the Games had disappeared physically."

Callebart (1998:556)

The Olympic values are condensed in the Beijing 2008 slogan "One World, One Dream" (Sands, 2008). Throughout the editions of the Olympic Games of the modern era, in spite of the efforts to preserve the higher and more noble values "(...) it would be hard to find in the Games of our time, which bring together sport, spectacle, and commerce, the educational, spiritual and philosophical dimensions claimed for them by de Coubertin" (Callebart, 1998:555). Although the event can be considered a "highly commercial global sports spectacle" (Hoberman, 2008:23), and Coubertin himself visualised the Games as a big event, a universal festival (Callebart, 1998), the legacy of the Olympic Games as a legacy of values, a legacy of hope in a better world, renewed each four years, remains always one of the highest expectations. In the end "(…) the Olympic values are about respect: respect for universally-accepted rules, oneself, and others. In today's world, these values are increasingly relevant" (Rogge, 2003:17).

On a more material dimension, the venues and the infrastructure development also represent the legacy of the Beijing Games (International Olympic Committee Report, 2001). The stadiums

legacy is primarily a legacy to the development of sports and a healthier way of life for the new generations, but the infrastructures generated other positive and less expected effects and some of the most impressive venues, the Bird's Nest Stadium and the Water Cube, are already tourism attractions contributing for a large number of visitors immediately after the end of the games. This could begin to fulfil the sustainable development expectations that if the Games were successful in projecting a positive image of China worldwide the areas of tourism and investment would receive the most positive impacts meaning "enormous economic benefits to the host city not just during the event, but for years afterward" (Owen, 2005:2).

The future of the world for the next years is now uncertain. Known factors of turbulence and uncertainty, holding great risks but also great opportunities, are the global economic crisis, the prospects of recession, and the opening and modernisation of China. China was a successful host of the Olympic Games. That first challenge is already accomplished. Now, the greater challenge may be to transform all that was initiated in something sustainable that will have an impact on a better future.

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Winners, losers and hurdles.
A stakeholder approach to London 2012

Patrick McGurk & Eva E. Tsahuridu
University of Greenwich

"The facilities required to host major sporting events must leave a sustainable legacy in the host communities" and mechanisms must be put in place to ensure that benefits are felt in the host communities for years after the games (Vigor, 2005, p. 35). Such benefits are needed particularly in the host boroughs of the London 2012 Olympics. These boroughs in the Lower Lea Valley of the London 2012 Olympic Games (London 2012) have high levels of unemployment and educational underachievement (Vigor, 2005). They also suffer from below average self reported well being in relation to health. These characteristics together with the environmental impact of the industrial use of the region in the past make this area quite disadvantaged according to Vigor (2005).

The rhetoric about London 2012 makes a big production of the benefits that the local community will receive before, during and after the games and talk about their legacy proliferates. Owen (2002), however, commenting on the Sydney Olympics and hallmark events in general states that such events offer limited or tokenistic opportunities for comprehensive community consultation due to time pressures, increased centralisation of the planning process, and increased privatisation of government operation. Boroughs that have largely white collar, English speaking residents are more likely to be organised and have community activists than boroughs with non-English speaking residents. "Some communities are more able than others to form effective resident action groups, and these are typically the well-resourced, better educated, higher socio-economic communities" (Owen, 2002, p. 334). This reality, according to Owen, places a responsibility on councils of disadvantaged areas to ensure that communities are properly informed, involved and the negative impact of hallmark events is minimised on these communities.

In this paper we use stakeholder theory to develop a normative basis for community inclusion in London 2012. We argue that the community stakeholder needs to be perceived as people with faces and treated fairly in terms of processes and distribution of outcomes. Stakeholder theory is a theory of organisations. In order to understand the impact of London 2012 as an organisation on the communities of the host boroughs, we employ the Social Exchange Theory, which enables us to explore the Games through the communities' evaluation of the creation of benefit. We then adopt a specific focus skill-development to analyse the potential achievement of the sustainability and inclusivity objectives of London 2012. Using Brown's (2001) high skill formation model, and evidence from various Olympic-related reports, we analyse the London 2012 skills legacy using the elements of consensus, competitive capacity, capability, coordination, circulation, cooperation and closure.

Stakeholder Theory

Freeman (1984) is credited for developing stakeholder theory in the business context. He defines stakeholders as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of a corporation's objectives" (p. 25). Stakeholder theory, unlike other theories of management, relates to all outcomes of corporate activity not only to financial outcomes (Phillips et al. 1995). The theory (in its normative form) is deontological because it relies on the duties corporations have towards others (Gibson, 2000). For Freeman, rational people will develop a moral theory that "maximizes fairness of opportunity for all and an equal distribution of societal resources unless an unfair distribution would make at least someone better off without harming others" (Gibson, 2000, p. 249).

Stakeholder theory is multifaceted. Donaldson and Preston (1995) explain that the stakeholder theory is *descriptive* because it describes organisations as a constellation of interconnected interest groups. It is also *instrumental* because it suggests that organisations that adopt it, will be more successful than those that do not (other things being equal); *managerial* because it enables managers to identify options and solutions and *normative* because it can develop moral/philosophical guidelines for the operation of organisations. The stakeholder theory is a theory of organisational management and ethics (Phillips et al 2003). It examines the ends and means of organisations and as such it is concerned with both distributive and procedural justice. Phillips et al. argue that unlike other theories of strategic management, stakeholder theory prescribes that organisations ought to pay attention to the interests and well-being of stakeholders not only for prudential or instrumental reasons, but for ethical reasons.

Justice is a fundamental aspect of stakeholder theory. Justice emphasises not only who gets how much of the organisational outcome (distributive justice) but also procedural justice. Procedural justice is concerned with the process of achieving the organisational outcomes and with who has input in organisational decision making (Phillipset al. 1995). Research on justice shows that people are interested in procedural justice, as well as distributive justice and people are more likely to accept even poor outcomes if the process of distribution is perceived as fair (Lind & Tyler 1988 cited in Phillips et al., 1995, p. 487). This clarifies that "outcomes are not the only thing that matters in perceptions of justice. The fairness of the *procedures* employed is also determinative of fairness judgements" (p. 487). The fairness of the procedure is determined by the control people have; procedures that allow participation are generally perceived to be fairer because if "the perceived justice of outcomes is substantially determined by the perceived fairness of the process used in distribution, it follows that greater participation in decision making leads to an increase in the perceived fairness of outcomes" (p. 487). Procedural justice tends to be a better predictor of response to the organisation than distributive justice (Cropanzano et al., 2002).

Stakeholder theory involves a moral claim. This moral claim states that the corporation has duties towards others despite potential benefits (Gibson, 2000). Stakeholder groups, one of which is the local community, have the right "not to be treated as a means to some end, and therefore must participate in determining the future direction of the firm in which they have a stake" (Freeman, 1984, p. xx). A difficulty that has been identified in the literature is the definition of the community (Dunham et al., 2006). Dunham et al. explain that community as a stakeholder is not defined clearly and it generally is used as a default for a variety of interests that cannot be fitted in the primary

stakeholder groups of customers, employees or shareholders groups. This imprecise understanding of community leads to its superficial consideration and an inability to consider important and marginalised stakes. A clear definition of community is needed especially in relation to the Olympics. The influence of most corporations on their community is limited. This is not the case for the London 2012 and its impact on the communities of the host boroughs. The identification of community in terms of "names and faces" (McVea & Freeman, 2005) is required, something that can be achieved with the adoption and adaptation of mass customization.

Stakeholder theory provides the normative framework for London 2012 to identify its communities and engage with them to achieve fair process and distribution of outcomes. Social exchange theory enables the evaluation of events like London 2012 by the communities that have been affected.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory (SET) involves a sequence of interactions that create obligations (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). The central essence of SET despite the diverse views about it is that: "Social exchange comprises actions contingent on the rewarding reactions of others, which over time provide for mutually and rewarding transactions and relationships" (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005, p. 890). Relationships that are based on exchanges that abide by certain rules evolve over time into mutual commitments. These rules provide the guidelines of the process. Blau (cited in Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) distinguishes social exchanges from economic exchanges. He explains that social exchanges unlike economic exchanges entail unspecified obligations, gratitude and trust and they create enduring social patterns. SET was used to evaluate the perceived social impact of The Sydney Games by Waitt (2003). This theory, according to Waitt, suggests that residents evaluate events like the Olympics based on the relationship between the residents and the event organisers. The evaluations can be positive or negative, affected by the antecedent conditions of rationality, satisficing benefits, reciprocity and the justice principle (Searle 1991 cited in Waitt, 2003, p. 196). Rationality is related to reward seeking behaviour, satisficing of benefits relates to the perception that the positive outcomes outweigh the negatives, reciprocity is related to the perception that the resources exchanged between the parties are equivalent. The justice principle suggests that "each exchange be underpinned by norms of fairness to ensure the residents receive reasonable equitable returns for their support and participation" (Waitt, 2003, p. 196). Participation in the planning and trust in the organisers are likely to lead to positive perceptions by the residents.

The exchange relations between the residents and the organisers are not static but "residents constantly re-evaluate the perceived consequences of the exchange transaction within a dynamic social setting" (Waitt, 2003, p. 196). A positive perception is more likely when both parties on the exchange relationship have high levels of social power which is derived from access or control to resources.

A stakeholder model for a 'high skill' legacy

"If societies are characterized by social polarization, it is extremely difficult to build a society that furnishes all with the material, cultural and employment opportunities in which current skill levels can be significantly increased."

Brown 2001:33 – emphasis added

An interesting and illuminating lens through which to examine stakeholder relationships and social exchange is 'skills'. Skill-development is important to all key stakeholders, including individuals in the labour market, employers, training-providers and related state/municipal authorities. As well as influencing the quality and productivity of production and services, skills are related to the economic and social status of individual workers. Furthermore, an agreed definition of skill is elusive, and its meaning is socially constructed and politically contested between stakeholders. As Grugulis (2008) points out, skill is something of 'a moving target' (p.15) and part of 'a complex social system', with skilled work 'the product of the way different parts of the system related to one another' (p.16). In this second half of the paper, therefore, we treat the key legacy issue of skills as a prism through which to examine stakeholder relationships and social exchange in the case of the 2012 Olympics.

The history of training in the UK is one of a 'low skills equilibrium', in which organisations tend to compete on the basis of low-cost, flexible labour, rather than invest in high skill strategies across the workforce to compete on the basis of quality (Finegold & Soskice, 1988). Whilst not all jobs in the economy can be university graduate or 'high skill' occupations, it is well documented that the labour market in the UK (and the US) is more polarised in terms of qualifications and earnings than its EU counterparts and in many countries in East Asia (Grugulis, 2007). Consequently, a relatively small proportion of the UK workforce is employed in a way that demands a high level of education or formal qualification and a larger proportion of the workforce is employed in low-wage, low-skill and flexible jobs. The smallest skills-group in the workforce is comprised of people employed at the technical/intermediate level.

The roots of the low skill equilibrium in the UK's is a consequence of the institutional preference for a 'voluntarist' approach to training, in which employers have little or no obligation to invest in human resources. They also have no protection against losing such investments, which they fear will be wasted in the long term if internally-trained employees leave soon after training, or are poached by rival employers. The lack of real regulation or a serious financial incentive to invest in training encourages employers to rely on the state to supply the university-educated labour that they need for specialist and better-paid positions in their organisations and to train for the basic skills for the larger pool of lower-cost, flexible labour. Well-qualified migrant labour also provides a source of employment-ready individuals. Intermediate-level skills, on the other hand, tend to be more vocational and learnt through application in the workplace; yet training for these requires substantial investments of money and time by employers.

The recent rhetoric of the knowledge economy places an emphasis on high levels of skills, creativity and innovation, but the institutional conditions that perpetuate the low skills equilibrium remain largely intact. The UK continues to rely on a 'supply-side' solution to drive up its competitiveness, in which the chief responsibility for upgrading skills lies with individuals in the labour market,

taking advantage of learning opportunities provided by the state (Brown, 2001). Employers are encouraged to enter voluntarily into local agreements to co-ordinate demand for jobs and skills, but the institutional framework is not robust enough, particularly for small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and voluntary sector organisations with smaller training budgets, to help plan and deliver a higher skills equilibrium across the workforce. An upward shift in the skills equilibrium requires changes to the demand side, to the way jobs and work in organisations are designed. Higher skilled jobs, particularly at the intermediate level, present greater opportunities for people to demonstrate and use their talents and make real contributions to quality and innovation.

London 2012 presents a striking opportunity to practice an alternative model of skills-development to the voluntarist, supply side-driven, low-skills equilibrium. A genuine commitment to an inclusive and sustainable skills legacy requires an approach that will buck the trend in the UK of individualising responsibility for skills and contributing to the polarisation of society. The host boroughs for London 2012 are already highly polarised in socio-economic terms. If employees recruited from the local area are to become more than 'low skill' cogs in the Olympic machine - effectively disposable after the event or, at best, limited in terms of occupational mobility - then a broader, more transformational model is needed to address the structural inequalities in east London's labour market.

Phillip Brown's model of seven C's of high skill formation (2001) offers the most helpful and up-to-date model in the training and development literature, both in terms of analysis of the current situation and prescription for the future. The model is outlined below.

> *Consensus* – in which all major stakeholders are committed to upgrade the skills of the *whole* workforce.

> *Competitive Capacity* – in which organisations compete on the basis of 'value-added' and innovation, rather than cost.

> *Capability* – an assumption that the majority are capable of high-skilled work, not just an elite group.

> *Coordination* – of supply and demand for labour, as well as stimulating the demand for highly-skilled workers through partnerships between the state authorities and a range of different types of businesses and community organisations.

> *Circulation* – which diffuses skills, beyond a few 'best practice' organisations to the many.

> *Cooperation* – which avoids damaging competition between sectional interests and promotes high-trust relationships between stakeholders.

> *Closure* – which avoids blaming individuals who do not gain professional or managerial jobs and which reconsiders how 'work' is defined and rewarded.

> *Brown, 2001, pp.34-52; see also Grugulis, 2007, pp.52-53*

Brown's model may be usefully employed to analyse the prospects of an Olympic high skills legacy. The model originally deals with the whole-societal level in its analysis and prescription, but an application of its individual components to the local example of London 2012 sheds helpful light on the extent to which the aspirations of sustainability and inclusivity can be met. The Olympic project in East London is therefore treated in this paper as a case study of a near 'blank slate' – involving all the key stakeholders - upon which the wider issues of skill-development in the UK can be examined. In this paper, we briefly consider each component of the seven C's model, drawing on various Olympics-related publications, after which we arrive at our conclusions about the challenges facing those responsible for ensuring the Olympic skills legacy and the future research required in this area.

Consensus

For the Olympic project to meet the condition of a high skills legacy, a robust partnership is required between employers, the state authorities and other agencies, with all partners committed to the aim of creating high-skill employment with career progression opportunities, rather than a mass of menial, unsustainable jobs. Whilst the official rhetoric of 'providing quality, sustainable job opportunities' is encouraging (LEST, 2006, p.4), there are already three points of concern in terms of the approach to planning for skills-development. The first concerns the split of responsibilities between employers and the state. A voluntary group of employers under an 'Employer Accord' will guarantee interviews for their job vacancies to local residents and inform the design of training in return for a commitment from the public sector to provide 'job-ready candidates' (LEST, 2006). This is an explicitly employer-led strategy, which will determine the number and types of jobs offered. The public sector is being made responsible for the supply of skilled labour and it is not clear how the design of training will influence the nature of the jobs themselves. In other words, employers can demand a certain quality of candidate, but there does not appear to be an equal commitment demanded from the employer to ensure a certain quality of job. Secondly, there is no requirement for employers to actually employ the candidates filtered to them, only to guarantee an interview. This may serve to undermine the commitment to give preference to people from the host boroughs in job-appointments. The third concern is that the Employer Accord is a 'gentlemen's' agreement, involving only a minority of willing and 'good' employers. There is no compulsion for all employers involved with Olympic contracts to join and abide by the agreement. Therefore, whilst the partnership approach of the Employer Accord is a step in the right direction, it is not an equal partnership that all parties have to commit to. It is questionable that such a 'weak' partnership arrangement can sustain a strong consensus for a high skills legacy.

Competitive Capacity

For the condition of competitive capacity to be met, the 2012 Olympics will need to generate a range of jobs across several sectors and occupations that are focussed on 'value-adding' work, rather than low-wage, low-skill work. It is expected that the Games themselves will generate approximately 50,000 jobs and 70,000 volunteering positions in the short term. A rough breakdown of the short term jobs includes 12,000 Olympic Park site jobs, 27,000 temporary jobs to stage the Games and 7000 jobs in showcasing London, for example in retail, hotels, restaurants, transport and entertainment. It is also estimated that approximately 60,000 'person years' will be employed in construction (London Assembly, 2007, p.7).

In terms of the longer term legacy, the picture is less clear, but the Olympics are expected to create jobs through the regeneration of east London in the sectors of business, financial services, retail, construction and ongoing maintenance, hospitality, leisure, tourism, logistics and health (London Assembly, 2007). There is considerable potential in many of these jobs for value-adding, higher skill work. The opportunities for such work are more difficult to generate in some sectors (for example, construction) than in others (such as in entertainment). However, employers and training agencies have much room to advance a high skills legacy, particularly in view of the potential contribution of innovative SMEs. There is much rhetoric amongst public figures about making the 2012 Olympics a beacon of quality in sport events, indeed 'the best Olympics ever'. However, meeting this aspiration will require planning and a commitment to generating interesting, innovative and high-skill work for those people involved. Much more research is also needed to gain a greater understanding of the differences between jobs and sectors.

Capability

Related to the point above about the potential for high-skill work across the range of jobs created by the Olympics, is the necessary expectation that high skill work will apply to the majority rather than an elite. This is a major challenge in the five host boroughs, where a quarter of the 720,000 working population have no formal qualifications, and 60 per cent of these people are unemployed (London Assembly, 2007, p.9). The proposed investment in training in basic skills for 5,000 of the most disadvantaged residents of east London and customer service training for 20,000 is an important step (LEST, 2006, p.13, p.15). However, a high skill legacy will depend on taking this further.

Assuming that a mass of high skill jobs is created, residents of east London will require additional training in intermediate and technical skills in order to take advantage of the opportunities. The commitment to providing 4,000 public sector apprenticeships (LEST, 2006, p.10) is one small example of how this might be achieved. The aim of providing 1,200 media training placements combined with NVQ2/3 qualifications, the development of the Construction Skills Academy for 7,500 persons, and the Leisure Academy at Crystal Palace for 5,000 learners (LEST, 2006, pp.12-13) are also promising in this regard. But two important questions remain: firstly, whether the most disadvantaged quarter of the host borough population, currently without formal basic skills, will be able to access opportunities for intermediate skill development; and secondly, whether these opportunities will be sufficient in number to promote a 'critical mass' of high skill work across the region. On the basis of the existing rough forecasts on the demand for jobs, it does not appear that formal plans go anywhere near far enough to address the magnitude of high skill job opportunities that will be required for a high skills legacy.

Coordination

For a high skills legacy to be effectively coordinated, the supply and demand for Games-related positions, and the stimulation of high skill jobs in the longer term, requires a proactive, transparent and centralised partnership agency. The model being operated at present is a 'brokerage' for vacancies offered by Employer Accord members to suitable host borough residents through a national website, on the condition that they apply within 48 hours of the vacancy being advertised. The official aim is for 500 employers to join the brokerage (LEST, 2006, p.14). In March 2007, only 9 employer organisations had joined the Employer Accord (London Assembly, 2007, p.15). In October

2007, despite 5,000 referrals by candidates, only 90 matches with vacancies had been made, with less than 70 from host boroughs, out of a total of 850 Games-related jobs, found overwhelmingly in construction. A third of the 850 jobs so far have been given to the contracting firms' existing employees (Source: private information).

The imbalance between supply and demand is hugely disproportionate on the side of supply at the time of writing. It also seems that the actual expectation of providing local jobs to the most disadvantaged local people is relatively low. A target has been set for only 5000 people to be supported from worklessness into employment (LEST, 2006, p.11). The other remaining issue concerns the type and quality of jobs being offered through the coordinating brokerage. This appears to be driven by the Employer Accord members' job-designs, which may not be sufficiently diverse or flexible in terms of the range of work opportunities that could be offered to people. Indeed concerns have been expressed by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the current arrangements may not offer 'a level playing field for small and micro-businesses to work alongside big businesses and corporate sponsors' (London Assembly, 2007, p.16). Therefore, the effectiveness of the coordination of both the quantity and quality of Games-related jobs must be called into question with its current trajectory.

Circulation
The fifth condition for a high skills legacy is that skill development will be diffused beyond a small group of 'beacon' employers through institutional and other networks.
As noted above, the Employer Accord will need to attract many more members if circulation is to be more widespread. Also, for a truly sustainable diffusion of learning, the training activities of the employers and skills organisations involved will need to be embedded firmly in institutional networks, within which the sharing of knowledge can be maintained over time. The proposed academies for construction and leisure may be the most appropriate model of centres for the diffusion of learning. If the academy model were widened to include for example the retail, hospitality and media sectors, these could act as hubs through which a wider collection of organisations, such as SMEs, voluntary sector organisations and higher and further education institutions, might interface. There are already some interesting examples from the Sydney 2000 Games, involving business students in volunteering recruitment and IT and engineering students in broadcasting, from which lessons might be learnt when considering the circulation of skills for London 2012. Also, the London Employment and Skills Taskforce for 2012 (LEST) has planned to support 600 social and micro-enterprise developments (LEST, 2006, p.11). This is a welcome development from the point of view of skills-circulation, so long as the planned support satisfactorily meets demand and the recipients are able to access and benefit from wider networks and resources for learning.

Cooperation
In a high skills environment, a climate of 'high trust' relationships between stakeholders needs to be nurtured and maintained. This is the most difficult area to analyse and plan for in terms of the 2012 Olympic project as it is largely qualitative and subjective. Furthermore, relationships exist on many levels, between individuals, teams, workplaces and across institutions, often with deeply ingrained working traditions. It is possible, however, to insist on partnership-working and to design institutional structures and processes in ways that promote cooperation rather than

conflict. Brown rightly argues that 'Gains in productivity not only depend on a workforce that is committed, disciplined, hardworking and able to accurately learn and copy routine ways of doing things, but on employees who are creative problem-solvers, self-managers, enterprising and lifelong learners' (2001, p.48). The latter skills are most usefully learnt and developed in social contexts, rather than through individualised methods. Therefore, if learning activities are designed in ways that incentivise teamwork, collective problem-solving and reflective practice, then institutions can promote collaborative and cooperative relations through social forms of learning. Finally, and most importantly, across institutional networks themselves, it will be necessary to promote democratic and involving forms of governance that help to encourage initiative amongst workers, joint problem-solving and innovation.

Closure

The final integral component of a high skills legacy is the promotion of socially inclusive training policies. Brown purports that a high skill society would have 'at least 50 per cent of occupations categorized as technical, managerial or professional' (2001, p.49). It is inevitable that not all individuals in the local labour market will enter high skill employment. This is not to argue, however, that an inclusive approach, a 'positive-sum game' that ensures a foundation of high skills training for all, should not be taken (c.f. Brown, 2001, pp.51-52). LEST has rightly adopted an inclusive approach in its adoption of the London Development Agency (LDA) targets to address structural inequalities in east London's labour market, and in its commitment to focus the necessary resources in this area. The overall plan to ensure that total beneficiaries will be 40% black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME), 50% women and 5% disabled people is positive, if rather crude. More detailed targets and inclusion strategies for the different training initiatives need to be decided upon and made available, as is beginning to happen in the transport sector, where LEST has committed to 'measures to bring the ethnic and age profile of some of London's transport sector employees into line with London's demographic profile' (2006, p.6).

Yet a high skills legacy is not just about achieving certain levels of high skill paid employment, for which there is a finite demand. Other forms of non-paid, yet high skill work have to be promoted and rewarded. LEST is clearly aware of the potential of untapped talents and resources, particularly in terms of the knowledge amongst the east London community of a wide diversity of languages and cultures, that could provide 'competitive advantage' over other Olympic cities (LEST, 2006). How these skills are to be harnessed remains to be seen. The volunteering initiatives attached to the Olympics present an excellent opportunity to promote the value and collective benefits of non-paid work, particularly amongst those groups least equipped to compete for high skill paid employment. The challenge for the Olympic volunteering initiatives is to ensure a high quality experience for volunteers, that contributes to career progression and which is accessed primarily by those in the labour market who can most benefit from the opportunity. The London Assembly has recommended that at least 10,000 of the 70,000 volunteering positions, already seriously oversubscribed with expressions of interests from potential applicants, should go to graduates of 'pre-volunteering' basic skills programme, of whom 3000 should be from the host boroughs (2007, p.15). The danger is, however, that 'nine out of ten volunteers at the Games could be well-educated professional people from middle class communities around the UK and beyond' (ibid) and that the experience of volunteering reinforces the existing inequalities, rather than contributes to 'social closure'.

Conclusion

We have made the normative case for a stakeholder approach and an argument for the value of SET in helping us to understand the social processes involved in the Olympic legacy. As a development of this approach, we have demonstrated through an application of Brown's (2001) high skill formation model that fundamental strategic and structural changes will need to be made, alongside some smaller tactical changes and increases in specific investments, if London 2012 is to achieve its aims of sustainability and inclusivity in employment and skills. The employer-led nature of the job creation process, leaving the public sector responsible for closing the skills deficit gaps, is firmly in the voluntarist tradition that has been responsible for the persistent low skills equilibrium in the UK. The extent to which the public and other sectors will be able to participate in a genuinely equal partnership with employer organisations is unclear and the evidence so far is not encouraging. Certainly the voluntary brokerage arrangement for job vacancies is already showing signs of tokenism, rather than real labour market coordination. Isolated initiatives such as the sector-specific academies for construction and leisure look promising, but it is highly questionable that these will influence the skill content and quality of the 50,000 jobs created directly by the Games. Similarly, it is debatable that the investments made in intermediate skills training will be able to supply sufficient numbers of qualified workers from the local area. It remains to be seen whether the authorities will develop sufficiently robust strategies to deliver on their ambitious targets for inclusion.

An initial exploration of the arrangements for the skill legacy has been presented here, but better understanding of the stakeholder relationships, how they influence and are influenced by institutional arrangements, and how these change over time is needed to inform policy to deliver the high skills legacy. Labour market statistics will be helpful in understanding outcomes in terms of numbers of jobs, skill levels and workforce profiles. However, the changing nature of skills, and the stakeholder relationships through which they are developed, are best understood through a more qualitative framework. Therefore, we propose further research in the form of an in-depth and longitudinal investigation into stakeholder relationships and skill development, applying SET concepts to a representative sample of organisations and residents from across the five host boroughs. This research should observe social exchanges through the lens of skill-development activity in the periods pre-, during and post-Games, using focus groups to explore perceptions and experiences of change. At the same time, in the spirit of inclusion and community-development, we propose that local learners and students are actively involved as researchers, rather than 'objects' of research.

Left unchanged, far from delivering the 'best Olympics ever', the current arrangements for the legacy look sure to degenerate into a situation whereby polarised communities and poor employment conditions in many service sector industries, such as those condemned as intolerable and barely legal in a recent TUC (Trades Union Congress) report (2008), are perpetuated and even exacerbated by the arrival of the Games in east London. Despite this gloomy analysis, however, we contend that it is not too late to institute more robust partnership arrangements and changes to procurement contract arrangements (c.f. Community Links/nef, 2008). Such improvements will, we argue, oblige employers to commit to working with other stakeholders to develop, coordinate, share and participate in delivering social cohesion and high skills in east London. Political will, combined with a more sophisticated and evidence-based understanding of the social processes, is required to ensure these changes.

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A memetic understanding of the Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games

James Kennell and Nikki MacLeod
University of Greenwich

Introduction

The field of memetics has it roots in the coining by Richard Dawkins (2006 [1979]) of the term *meme* as the unit of cultural transmission, analogous to the *gene* in evolutionary biology in its properties of replication and heredity and, for these reasons, subject to the principles of 'universal Darwinism' (Blackmore 1999). This insight, although contentious, has nevertheless led to a flourishing of dedicated journals, books, websites and scholarly articles on the subject of a new perspective on the evolution and transmission of culture, the field of *memetics.*

Memetics has often been misunderstood as presenting a biological imperative for culture, or as part of the field of socio-biology. It is, in fact, a distinct approach to the understanding of culture as composed of memetic units which, in a weak analogy to the 'selfish gene' theory of evolutionary selection, can explain the propagation and evolution of ideas, behaviours, theories and cultural products. Seen from a memetic perspective, culture is transmitted through the imitation of cultural forms such as gestures, languages, methods of production and fashions. For evolutionary selection to take place it requires a replicator, a unit of information that can make copies of itself and which has the qualities of *longevity, fecundity and copying fidelity.* In the context of biological evolution, this replicator unit is the gene which is copied on DNA molecules every time a cell divides or in the process of sexual reproduction. It is the degree of inter-generational permanence of a gene, its copy-ability and the faithfulness with which it is copied that explain its relative presence within the gene-pool. The central argument of memetics is that these same qualities, when identified in units of cultural transmission – memes – can explain the relative prominence of cultural forms and products within the meme-pool, human culture.

In a world where there are more memes than there is time and space to express them in, and where some memes prosper whereas others disappear, the 'algorithm' (Dennett 1995) of natural selection first proposed by Charles Darwin of selection provides a powerful tool for analysing the transmission and apparent 'success' of cultural forms and concepts. This evolutionary algorithm requires three conditions to be met in order to be run: variation, selection and heredity (Blackmore 1999: 10). Where these conditions are met, evolutionary pressure will always operate to drive a

process of increasing complexity of form and function. asThe study of memetics is the study of this combination of meme properties and evolutionary pressure on memes.

The cultural phenomenon of Olympism provides a unique laboratory within which a memetic framework can be tested and explored in three contexts. The Olympic games are cyclical and have established mechanisms for evaluation and replication between games of delivery frameworks, promotional strategies, sporting and cultural content and policy innovations and rhetoric. This provides a 'generational' framework corresponding to each games period, across which it should be possible to plot the transmission of memes. Secondly, combination of the universal aims and values of Olympism and the specifics of each host nation and city also provide a changing, but conceptually coherent, environment in which evolutionary pressure can operate. Thirdly, the four year 'host-city' period provides a short Olympic cycle within which it should be possible to map the transmission of Olympic memes, whether those attached to the Olympic movement generally, or those generated during the bidding for and promotion of the individual games. Each of these three contexts suggest specific programmes of memetic research, but can also be integrated to develop a more thorough and historical memetic framework for the Olympic games.

This paper has the aim of outlining a memetic framework for conceptualising the Cultural Olympiad program of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic games as an example of the third context outlined above, the four year host-city period. This framework offers the possibility of an innovative research programme that can consider the organisational and policy aspects of the Games, as well as the cultural values associated with Olympism. What follows is a discussion of the initial findings of a research project conducted within this programme.

The Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games

The Cultural Olympiad is the four year cultural festival that attends the Olympic Games, beginning when the host city assumes the title of Olympic City. In London's case, the title of Olympic City will be passed from Beijing in August 2008 and this will mark the start of the Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, which will be publicly launched on 26-28 September 2008 with events in London, the four nations of the United Kingdom and the regions.

The Olympic Games have incorporated a cultural element from their classical beginnings and the nineteenth century Olympic revival of Pierre de Coubertin included arts competitions where winning architects, musicians, artists and writers received medals for their efforts along with their sporting colleagues (Gold & Revill, 2007). However, it has only been in very recent years that the role of culture has been formalised into the Cultural Olympiad, with the first of these festivals taking place in Barcelona in 1992, with the concept then extending to the Winter Games in Turin in 2006. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) Charter states that the host city 'shall organise a programme of cultural events' (IOC, 2007:80) and the Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 games is the first to have a national rather than a solely city-based remit. Along with the promise of tangible legacies, the strength of the plans for the 2012 Cultural Olympiad is among the key factors that impressed the IOC when surveying the Olympic bids for the 2012 games.

The three key values of the Cultural Olympiad have been articulated by the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games (LOCOG) and are as follows: to celebrate the cultural diversity of London and the UK, inspire and involve young people and generate a positive legacy. These values provide the inspiration for the objectives of the Cultural Olympiad which are to:

5. inspire and involve the widest range of London and UK-wide communities;
6. generate sustainable long-term benefits to our cultural life;
7. create outstanding moments of creative excellence across the full range of performing arts and creative industries;
8. connect future generations with the UK's artistic communities and with their peers around the world;
9. promote contemporary London as a major world cultural capital;
10. drive tourism and inward investment and use the creative industries to boost economic regeneration; and
11. embrace the Olympic movement values of 'excellence, respect and friendship' and the Paralympic movement vision to 'empower, achieve, inspire'.

LOCOG, 2007, p. 4.

Although the spectacles of the opening and closing ceremonies are well known and mediated across the globe, the Cultural Olympiad is much less familiar and well-understood not only by the general public but also by those organisations that may find themselves involved. Responsibility for planning and delivery is split across a range of organisations including government departments, non-departmental public bodies and a range of cultural agencies and organisations and cultural provision will take place across three tiers. These tiers incorporate the mandatory ceremonies, major bid projects and a UK cultural festival (LOCOG, 2007). There is, therefore, scope for much confusion, lack of awareness and inevitable problems in evaluating the cultural offering and its legacy. The potential of the cultural offering to effectively be merged with the sporting aspects of the games and to deliver tangible benefits has been limited in previous Games (Garcia, 2003; Garcia, 2004).

One of the strengths of the London bid was its emphasis on the national impacts of hosting the games and the cultural programme of London 2012 is the first attempt to deliver a *national* cultural programme to accompany the Olympic games, rather than basing the cultural events solely in the host city. Apart from the staging of some Olympic events outside of London, such as the sailing events that will be held in the south-west of England, the regional programme of the Cultural Olympiad provides an important mechanism for dispersing the benefits of hosting the games to the rest of the UK (Shipway & Brown, 2007). For the majority of the UK, and especially for those who do not participate in sport, the Cultural Olympiad will be the main local manifestation of the games.

The delivery structure of the Cultural Olympiad continues to emerge, but some of its details are becoming clearer as we move towards the start of the cultural festival in September 2008. Within LOCOG there is a senior management structure and officers who support the core cultural programme and provide a strategic lead for the UK-wide festival. LOCOG has responsibility for

producing the mandatory celebratory ceremonies and key flagship projects and is providing an unspecified amount from its core funding for this.

The programme of nation-wide major cultural projects is being delivered by the national cultural agencies, supported by central funding from LOCOG and the legacy trust (Legacy Trust, 2008). There are also thirteen 'creative programmers', one for each devolved nation and a further nine for each region of England, based in regional cultural agencies or consortia. These programmers will be carrying out mainly coordinating and enabling roles – as yet there has been no project funding announced for local projects. This difference in funding has emerged as a recurrent theme in the grey literature reviewed for these policy review notes, with many regional documents stressing the need for financial sustainability, efficiency and leverage in cultural projects associated with 2012 in the regions (e.g. Coventry and Warwickshire 2012 Opportunities Group, 2006; Croydon Borough Council, 2007; North West Regional Development Agency, 2007; Team South West, 2007). Working alongside the creative programmers and other coordinating agencies will be individual cultural practitioners and organisations, some of whom will be able to access grant programmes connected to 2012, but many of whom will be seeking to 're-badge' their existing or planned activities to benefit from potential increased exposure associated with the games.

The Cultural Olympiad Memeplex

Blackmore (1999) describes the collections of memes within particular contexts as *memeplexes*. These are co-adapted groups of memes who gain benefits (i.e. are replicated more successfully) by being present in combinations of multiple memes. An example of this might be the meme for studying in higher education and the meme for gaining employment. In our current neoliberal environment, the meme for entering higher education is more likely to be successful (to be passed on within families, workplaces and peer groups) if it is linked to the meme for gaining employment, rather than to, say, a meme for personal improvement. Working in this manner we would expect to find a memeplexes, or memeplexes, within the discourse of the Cultural Olympiad, made up of cultural units of transmission that will be replicated as the Cultural Olympiad is developed and delivered across the UK. In order to identify the memes involved in this memeplex, we began our research in early 2008 by reviewing the grey literature associated with the emerging Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 games.

Grey literature refers to documents that are not commercially published and usually incorporate reports, policy documents, local and national government documents, conference proceedings and other publications. (Mathews, 2004). The review involved the study of more than 50 documents relating to the Cultural Olympiad. These included guidance issued by central and local government, plans from national and regional cultural agencies and consortia and information from the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games.

A process of content analysis and frequency measurement led to the identification of five core memes that appear to be the backbone of the Cultural Olympiad memeplex, providing a toolkit for analyzing the emerging cultural programme as it evolves from a polycentric network of organisations spread across the UK. The majority of themes within the literature searched could

be reduced to these memes, whilst others are strongly related to them and gain support from being so. These memes are:

> Cultural development
> Developing institutional frameworks
> Social benefit
> Educational benefit
> Tourism benefit

The meme of Cultural development, which was very common within the documentation, has two aspects: social and institutional. The first was expressed in terms of the Cultural Olympiad's potential to promote a sense of entitlement to culture, to engage young people in culture, to link sport and art, to celebrate cultural diversity and to increase cultural participation. An illustrative quotation from the London Cultural Consortium posits that:

'an important ambition… is to leave a legacy of larger and more diverse cultural audiences, including younger generations' (London Cultural Consortium, 2008, p.8).

The second aspect is the much hope expressed in the ability of the Cultural Olympiad to further develop institutional frameworks by forging and strengthening partnerships, by promoting a sense of ownership of the Cultural Olympiad by cultural organisations, by using the Olympics as catalyst for accelerating or enhancing the delivery of existing projects, by developing international links, by promoting financially sustainable projects and finally by coordinating tourism and culture. The Museums, Libraries and Archives partnership (MLA), who have been very proactive in their planning for the Olympiad have stated that developing institutional frameworks is a key factor in their plans:

'the Cultural Olympiad…offers the chance to strengthen further the partnership between our three domains, and between them and the rest of the cultural, voluntary and community sectors' (MLA, 2007, p.4)

The authors found that the meme of social benefit was, inevitably, the most nebulous concept and yet was enthusiastically embraced within the literature. The potential social benefits of the Cultural Olympiad were thought to include increased social capital, promoting social inclusion, improvements to quality of life, improvements to well-being, increased community cohesion and the animation / enlivening of public space. With the possible exception of the latter, these are all notoriously difficult to define, differentiate and evaluate. However, DCMS have promised that:

'The Cultural Olympiad…will generate a positive legacy through cultural and sports participation, cultural skills, urban regeneration ... social cohesion and international links' DCMS, 2008, p.15).

The link between the Olympic Games and education (both formal and informal) is clearly emerging from the grey literature. Volunteering is a key theme both in terms of community involvement but also for the skills development potential of this activity. It is hoped that the Cultural Olympiad

will also increase creative industries training opportunities and provide educational programmes for schools. Sharing the values of the Olympic movement was also a key theme. The Culture and Creativity Advisory Forum announce that:

> 'the legacy had to be…about people… inspiring young people, improving skills and leadership in the cultural and creative sectors..'
>
> *Culture and Creativity Advisory Forum, 2006*

The final meme emerging from the literature review concentrates on the tourism benefits afforded by the Cultural Olympiad, mainly concerned with increased tourism flows before, during and after the games. One of LOCOG's expressed values is to:

> 'promote contemporary London as a major world cultural capital; drive tourism and inward investment…'
>
> *LOCOG, 2007, p.4*

Most regional documentation on the Cultural Olympiad supports the view that the increased international media profile of the UK during the games period will help each region to market itself as a cultural and tourist destination (Yorkshire Committee for the 2012 Games, 2007). By producing memorable moments through celebratory performances / events (both through the mandatory ceremonies and as part of the wider festival) it is hoped that there will be increased opportunity for attracting tourists and maximizing the tourism opportunity for the regions presented by the increased profile of London and the UK. Despite these aspirations, evidence suggests that Olympic Games do not necessarily deliver expected tourism numbers (Weed, 2007).

A memetic conceptualization of the Cultural Olympiad can help us to understand why some themes and terms have prominence within the literature.. All of the memes identified in this analysis share the necessary qualities for successful memes. Frequency analysis shows them all to be *fecund*, appearing many times and in many guises in (for example) policy documents, consultancy reports and promotional literature. Their *longevity* cannot yet be asserted, but certainly the memes identified as central to the memeplex at this stage can be identified in the London 2012 candidate file and in early materials from LOCOG and government. As this research progresses, consideration will be made of the longevity of these memes, but it is still possible for memes of low longevity but of high fecundity and / or *copying fidelity* to be successful, especially in combination with other memes. The final criteria of 'successful' memes is their copying-fidelity. We have identified the core memes as being copied with high fidelity as the move between the national, regional and local levels of planning for the Cultural Olympiad, with the highest level of fidelity being shown in the transmission of memes from the national to the local and regional levels, facilitated by an enabling framework of funding and policy. An additional spatial category is that of the host-borough, those five London boroughs within which the games themselves will be hosted. These boroughs will host many of the core events from the cultural Olympiad as well as promoting, jointly and also independently, their own cultural programme of events as part of the Olympiad. Transmission of memes from the host boroughs should be successful due to their prominence within media coverage of the 2012 games and the Cultural Olympiad, even though

the effects of this may be felt more keenly in future games. This is due to the specific funding and organisational contexts of the host boroughs which will reduce the fecundity and copying-fidelity of memes within the UK. It is possible however, that the fecundity of memes generated or popularized by the host boroughs will be seen in future host cities.

In addition to this spatial dimension of the Cultural Olympiad, we have also identified a formal structure that contributes to our memetic conceptualisation and which allows us to make predictions about the spread of memes between formal sectors of the Olympiad programming that we could expect to see as the programming develops and is delievered.. It is possible to split the programming of the Cultural Olympiad into formal, informal and independent categories. The formal category relates to those projects that are part of the core, national Cultural Olympiad programme. The core programme of celebratory cultural events directly attached to the sporting programme such as the opening and closing ceremonies, as well as the large national projects, funded by the ODA and the Legacy trust respectively, are time constrained and supported by specific delivery teams with their own evaluative remit. Informal projects within the programme are those that are associated with the official programme, but not part of it – these include those the 'inspired by' projects which can associate themselves with the cultural Olympiad and benefit from becoming part of the 2012 'brand family' (LOCOG, 2007) and are expected to number in the hundreds. Each of these projects will have to show how they meet the broad aims of the cultural Olympiad, but will not benefit from the same organisational frameworks and support as the core programme. The final categorization that can be made of the cultural Olympiad programme is that of independent projects. These are projects that are taking place within the context of the 2012 games, but that have no organisational connection to the formal or informal programme. Some of these projects take an oppositional position as regards the staging of the games and seek to highlight community tensions or displacement effects, for example, whilst others are more supportive but are being staged independently for ideological or pragmatic reasons. The tables below summarize our spatial and formal categorization and how this relates to the transmission and replications of memes within the Cultural Olympiad process.

Spatial	Formality	Project example
National	Formal	Opening and closing ceremonies
	Informal	The People's record – Museums Libraries and Archives Council national 'inspired by' project
Regional	Formal	Open weekends to launch the cultural Olympiad
	Informal	The inauguration of the Stoke Mandeville Archive – a museum that documents the history of the Paralympic movement
	Independent	Regional responses are emerging as regional delivery plans are made clear
Local	Formal	Handover event in Herne Bay, Kent that showcased local childrens' activities alongside a temporary 'live-site'
	Informal	Lyme Regis Artsfest – a recurrent arts festival promting itself along with the Cultural Olympiad
	Independent	These are numerous and diverse
Host borough	Formal	Create08 – the five boroughs cultural Olympiad annual festival
	Informal	Pudding Mill Lane - foraging on and around the Olympic site with funding from local authorities
	Independent	Hackney-Olympics – artsist-led parody of Olympic events on Hackney marshes

Table 1: The Spatial and Formal Categorization of the Cultural Olympiad

Meme origin	Meme destination	Level of meme replication	Memetic mechanisms
National	Regional	High	Policy and funding frameworks
	Local	High	Policy and funding frameworks
	Host Borough	High	Policy and funding frameworks
Regional	National	High	Regional programmers networks
	Local	High	Policy and funding frameworks
	Host Borough	Low	Informal networks
Local	National	Low	No obvious mechanism other than through regional fora
	Regional	High	Regional and sub-regional networks and joint programming strategies
	Host Borough	Low	Informal networks
Host Borough	National	High	Projects will be part of the national festival
	Regional	Medium	Projects will have an impact on regional programming decisions
	Local	Low	Disparities of scale suggest only extremely low copying fidelity would be possible

Table 2: Spatial transmission of memes within the Cultural Olympiad planning and delivery process

Meme origin	Meme destination	Level of meme replication	Memetic mechanisms
Formal sector	Informal sector	High	'Inspired by' programme ensures replication of core memes
	Independent sector	High	Formal sector defines the territory upon which the independent sector operates, even oppositionally
Informal sector	Formal sector	Low	Disparities in funding and organisation make this unlikely
	Independent sector	High	The independent sector will be responding to memes from the form al and informal sectors
Independent sector	Formal sector	Low	No obvious mechanisms at present, although it is possible that independent projects can be co-opted by the formal and informal sectors, e.g. the gradual acceptance of an 'independent media centre' for the games
	Informal sector	Low	The often oppositional nature of the informal sector makes this unlikely

Table 3: Predicted transmission of memes between formal sectors of the Cultural Olympiad

Conclusions

This paper has outlined a conceptual framework for understanding the Cultural Olympiad of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic games. This memetic framework has received early evidential support from a review of the literature in this area, but in order to interrogate its value as mode of enquiry, further empirical research will be needed to test the value of memetics for carrying out research in this field.

Any new theory should make testable predictions. At this early stage we do not have sufficient data to formulate thorough hypotheses, but our research so far indicates that that the meme of tourism benefit in particular is already being replicated with high fidelity and fecundity throughout the Cultural Olympiad planning structures, at all levels. This appears to be the case in spite of research that suggests that tourism impacts from the Olympics are contentious and not even always positive. We suggest that this can be explained best through seeing this meme as part of a memeplex that provides competitive advantage to memes that appear to confer economic benefit and that can be best understood within the contemporary neoliberal political context that emphasises inter-regional competitiveness and a core role for business within public policy frameworks.

If this continues to be the case then we would expect to see this meme featured prominently in the post-games evaluation structures at all levels, leading to the possibility of some Cultural Olympiad projects being judged as failing because of the memetic pressure operating on their design. A memetic framework of the kind we are proposing (if supported by research data) may provide insights into the planning and evaluation of projects, especially in the public arena, with more general implications outside of the field of Olympism.

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Towards An Olympic Volunteering Legacy

Charles Bladen
University of Greenwich

Introduction

Past operational emphases of planning committees, the academic focus of much of the related literature and the basic approaches of event industry managers, have prevented the production of a blueprint for an enduring Olympic volunteering legacy. From an event industry perspective, the obvious feature of such a legacy should be a significant number of repeat event volunteers. However, there are inconsistencies in the definitions of legacy and the relevant literature commonly cited to support discussions about the fostering of repeat event volunteering and its place in the social legacy of events. It is argued here that this is due to the nature and objectives of past research approaches, the relative nascence of events management as a credible, specialist research and industry field and a lack of overall acceptance of the distinctiveness of the Olympics as a mega event rather than merely a sporting event. The conclusion is that more examination of the motivation for repeat-volunteering is required, and should be embodied in a critical approach to foster desirable social outcomes.

Importance of volunteering to mega events

The Olympic Games are not a traditional sporting events, but "mega events," which are "short-term events with long-term consequences." Roche (1994, p.1). It is widely recognized by event researchers and planning bodies alike (e.g. Baum and Lockwood, 2007; Volunteering England, 2008) that without volunteers, mega events such as the Olympic Games would be impractical. This view was recently confirmed by Beijing's one-million volunteers. The 2012 London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games' (LOCOG's) bid focussed on the role of volunteers as a way to achieve greater levels of community involvement in the Games as a way to reach "hard to reach" social groups. However, to date, there appears little coherent planning provided for the future legacy of such volunteering expenditure, planning, and implementation.

Preuss (2007) provides a detailed discussion of a variety of different ways in which the concept of legacy may be defined in relation to the Olympic Games. Whilst "legacy" clearly differs from the short-term "shocks" of the actual event denoted by the term "impacts," it does refer to an event "left-over," which is not owned by the city or the organising committee concerned. Preuss divides legacy into "hard" and "soft" factors and emphasises that these may have positive and negative affects. In the London 2012 context, "hard" legacy could include measures of transport service improvement, such as the number of trains or tracks added to the infrastructure, economic revenues, number of volunteers hired, or jobs created as a result of the Games. "Soft" legacy could be in the shape of community pride, or volunteer involvement in repeat volunteering after the event. Preuss also argues the methodological difficulties associated with the accurate measurement of "hard"

legacy factors. It is suggested here that the measurement of the extent of post-event, community volunteer involvement is impractical. To further complicate the discussion of mega event legacy, Preuss proposes the following explanation of how such mega event legacies change from one event to the next as they move from tangible (hard) to intangible (soft) and the event type or event location changes.
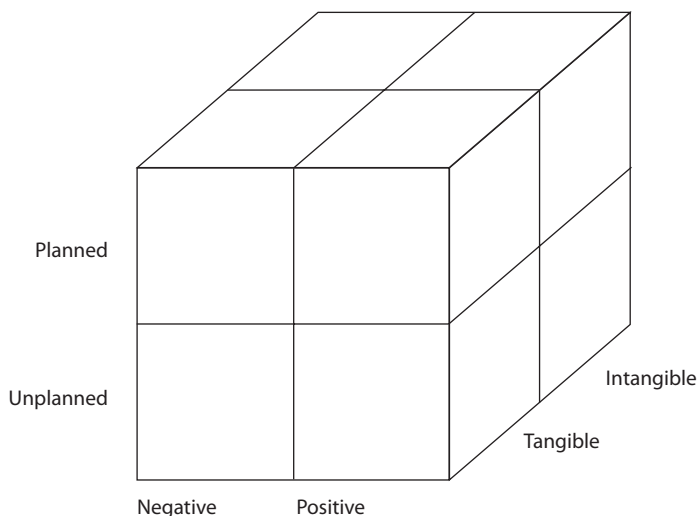

Figure 1 - Preuss's legacy cube (2007)

The official volunteering legacy planned for the 2012 Olympic Games, is:

> "London 2012 is an opportunity to inspire everyone to develop their interests and volunteer – in sport and also more widely within their community….We aim to create a 'family' of volunteers after the Games who would like to stay in touch with friends made during the course of their volunteering."
>
> *LOCOG, 2008*

This current absence of clear and tangible plans for the measurement of actual legacy supports Preuss's (2007) assertion and suggests that though LOCOG's focus understandably must be the initial success of the 2012 Games as an event, little allocation of planning emphasis or expenditure has been made to effectively measure the long-term effects of volunteering after the conclusion of the Games.

Volunteer motivation research

Various attempts in the event literature to explain volunteer motivations assist organisers little with the Olympic model. For example, McCurley and Lynch (1998) emphasise the non-event volunteer's commitment to the advancement of a cause or organisation. Others (e.g. Bowdin et al, 2006; Van der Wagen, 2007) have discussed various approaches to understanding volunteer motivation, mainly based on generic, human-resource motivation theories, which in the absence of further supporting research failed to provide practical explanations for Olympic volunteers' motivation. Event-specific studies (e.g. Elstad, 2003; Coyne and Coyne, 2001; Cuskelly *et al,* 2006) tended to focus on smaller, repeat events.

It is recognised here that repeat volunteering will be based to some extent on the favourable evaluation by volunteers of their initial experiences. This is particularly crucial as Bowdin et al (2006) stated that event organisations that used large numbers of volunteers tended to recruit far more than were needed and then shed the unsuitable ones. This process, if practiced by the Olympic organisers would obstruct the volunteering legacy. Additionally, it is proposed that an examination is made of attitudinal factors as potential predictors of volunteers' future behaviours. The general literature (e.g. Flashman and Quick, 1985; Cuskelly et al, 2006), tended to link the motivations of event volunteers to altruism. However, it generally found more of a relationship between altruism and initial volunteer attraction than the action of repeat volunteering. It is proposed here that the reported tendency of volunteers to be increasingly willing to volunteer only for shorter periods should be considered in the potential light of egoism. This was supported by Stebbins (1996), who found that core, or "career" volunteers were not altruistic, but continued volunteering due to the intrinsic rewards associated with the volunteering experience itself. The basic relationship between initial volunteering, repeat volunteering and career volunteering is illustrated in the following figure:

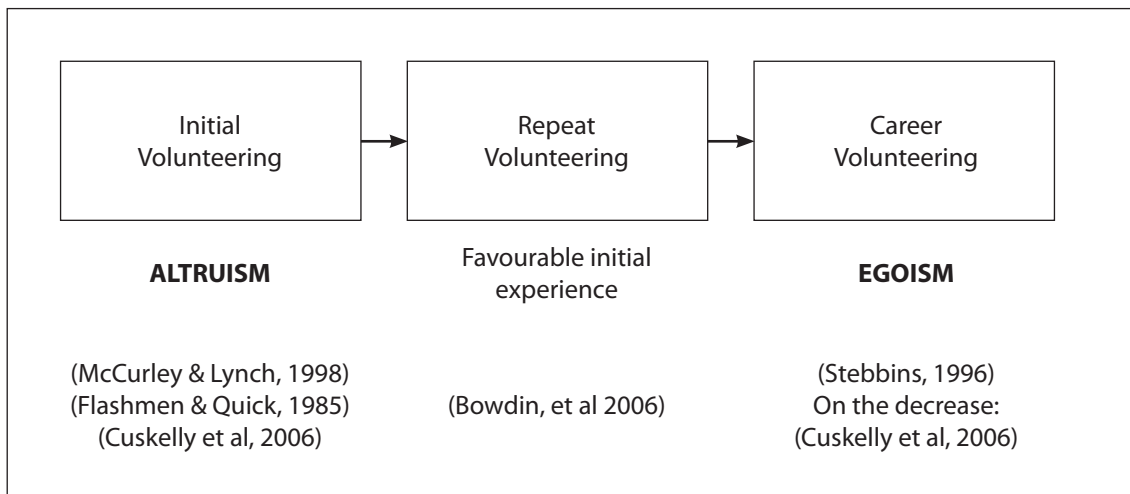| Initial Volunteering	→	Repeat Volunteering	→	Career Volunteering
ALTRUISM		Favourable initial experience		**EGOISM**
(McCurley & Lynch, 1998) (Flashmen & Quick, 1985) (Cuskelly et al, 2006)		(Bowdin, et al 2006)		(Stebbins, 1996) On the decrease: (Cuskelly et al, 2006)

Figure 2 - Different stages of volunteering

Implications for Olympic Games' volunteering legacy research

It is suggested that though previous focus on altruism as a motivator for suitable volunteers has generally not been provided in a specific Olympic (or otherwise mega event) context; what has been demonstrated is the association between repeat volunteering and the volunteers' feeling of self-interest, or egoism (Stebbins, 1996). Additionally, authors (e.g. Cuskelly et al, 2006) can find little reason for the trend that sports-event volunteers seem increasingly unwilling to commit for longer periods, preferring to restrict their support of events to the short-term. If this is not addressed at the planning stage, it is possible that the benefits of volunteers' training and experience will be lost by the events industry as a result of either an unwillingness to re-volunteer, or if their previously acquired skills are sold to employers. This would in turn impair the effective creation of a future event-volunteer pool or the development of its skills' availability for future events.

Supported by their extensive literature review, Baum and Lockstone (2007) clearly delineate the following (adapted) broad research questions related to volunteering mega events which still require investigation:

- What do volunteers do at the Olympics?
- Who are they?
- What motivates them?
- How does volunteering affect them?
- What else do they do at the event apart from volunteer?
- Is volunteering recidivistic?

This list highlights the shortfall of the current body of knowledge on the subject represented across the wide spectrum of academic disciplines as well as the vast task ahead required for the formation of an adequate, practical understanding of the Olympic volunteering problem.

Ethical concerns about volunteering

Ingerson (2001) sums up the ethical dilemma presented by the implications of current mega event volunteer recruitment, arguing that whilst the economic benefits to organisers are clear, the employment and other legacy-related outcomes are not. The last of Baum and Lockwood's research questions highlights the view that certain volunteering activities effectively may "destroy" the future legacy of repeat volunteering. There are certain potential negative implications resulting from LOCOG's current policy of attracting many more applications from volunteers than are feasible to accommodate. Applications at the time of writing were in excess of two hundred and fifty thousand, but the forecasted number required remained at approximately only seventy thousand (Volunteering England, 2008; LOCOG, 2008). This would feasibly involve a sizeable number of applicants being rejected or deterred by the further information regarding the nature of their proposed duties during the Olympic Games' event period. Whilst arguments for the justification of this approach seem to centre on expected attrition of numbers throughout the course of the volunteer training programme, as well as the need to utilise the most suitable candidates either in terms of skills or appropriateness to LOCOG's volunteer-related mission, certain ethical concerns remain. Rejected candidates are probably more likely in turn to reject future opportunities to

participate in events of similar magnitude and prominence. They are equally unlikely to volunteer for local sports, or other events. If these individual form part of LOCOG's "hard to reach" social groups, then this rejection may essentially work against the current plans for wider community participation in an event that is being heralded by the committee as "an Olympics for everyone."

In addition, there remains the question of whether volunteering is an appropriate staffing strategy for this kind of event. It can be argued that local people, who already experience a degree of inconvenience and disruption to their daily lives due to the scale of such a high-profile mega event should also be expected to participate in it as unpaid workers in order to make it possible. Adding to this the consideration of the high cost of transport service and other infrastructure developments, as well as a publicised influx of seven hundred million pounds of first-tier sponsorship funds (Scott, 2008), there remains the question of whether it is ethical to ask the local population to forego payment for their labour while others achieve high levels of income and other economic benefits due to the Games.

Limitations of the current volunteer-related mega event body of knowledge

The event management approach to the examination of the factors behind the motivation of mega event volunteers has been hitherto hampered by flaws in conceptualisation of the related research. These flaws relate to a variety of factors, including indecision about the place or relationship of events management to the theoretical field of tourism, non-progression of enquiry into mega events as a research area which is distinct from the vast heritage of sports' event literature, concern of mega event organisers with the production of concrete rather than "soft" legacy measures (e.g. Preuss, 2007) and an overall reliance upon traditional positivist rather than more critical approaches.

These shortfalls in understanding the distinctiveness of events management as a field of practice and enquiry, the place and stature of mega events compared to traditional events and the push to produce measureable, fundable statistical findings have, it is argued here, led to the production of a literature that is inconsistent in its approaches, findings and contributions to the important area of Olympic volunteering legacies.

Olympic planning for volunteering legacy is to date an oxymoron

It is argued here that planning for a volunteering legacy is an oxymoron in the sense that apart from physical numbers of volunteers recruited for such a mega event, most of the other conceivable measures of legacy success, such as those incorporated into the bid proposals of national organising committees are intangible and therefore difficult or impossible to review in quantifiable terms. As Preuss (2007) argues, this tendency of mega event planning towards the more tangible aspects of legacy, such as economic revenue outcomes, present already sufficient challenge to measure.

Part of the current plan for the volunteering legacy related to the 2012 Olympic Games as summarised by Volunteering England (2008) is:

1. Legacy of Future Volunteers – creating a new generation of people who are inspired by the Games and are volunteering for the first time to continue volunteering in their community after 2012;

2. Legacy of Education and Training – helping to create a better trained, better skilled workforce through the Personal Best Programme and generic training and accreditation offered to volunteers; providing a pathway into employment and further education for volunteers who choose this route;

3. Legacy of Diversity – creating a more diverse volunteer community by providing the opportunity for volunteers to work alongside people of a different age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, belief or disability status than themselves, thereby breaking down barriers and misconceptions and leading to greater social integration and cohesion;

4. Legacy of Partnership – creating new partnerships between businesses and public and voluntary sector bodies through a shared commitment to volunteering;

5. Legacy of Perception – creating a new image of volunteering as a force for social good and as a route for personal and professional development; raising the profile of volunteering within the Olympic and Paralympic movements and internationally;

6. Physical Legacy – creating a more integrated, stronger and more sustainable volunteering infrastructure at national, regional and local level; creating a more integrated and effective skills, training and qualifications sector.

Figure 3 - Defining the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympic legacy

Certainly, the measurement of the much "softer" aspects of legacy, such as those listed above possibly present insurmountable problems to evaluate. Without attempting to pre-judge the planning activities of planning bodies such as LOCOG, the practices of previous Olympic planning committees suggest that the practical involvement of such volunteers in future events, or their subsequent involvements in the host communities that have hosted the Games is too expensive and troublesome to accurately assess, so tends to be forgotten after they have ended.

The use of the most convenient rather than the most effective research approaches

Past volunteer research is fragmented, with mega events representing, apart from in a very few cases (e.g. Downward, *et al,* 2005; Downward and Ralston, 2005), a new, under-researched phenomenon, requiring specific study. Certain academic event writers evaluating various Olympic Games are grounded in the critical approach (e.g. Waitt, 2004). However, most (e.g. Downward, *et al*, 2005; Downward and Ralston, 2005) take a positivist approach, whilst few take an interpretive approach.

The positivist approach, initiated by Comte (Oldroyd, 1986; cited by Cohen *et al,* 2007) is according to the normative paradigm and holds that all genuine knowledge is based upon tested, sensory experience, furthered only via experimentation and observation using the scientific method, replacing reason alone as the central means of furthering knowledge. According to Duncan (1968, cited by Cohen *et al,* 2007), this approach is founded in an acceptance of natural science as the basis of all human knowledge. For this to be possible, the approach assumes that the social scientist has the role of observer of social reality, responsible for the generation of law-like generalisations used to explain past, human behaviour to outward or inward stimuli. This has proved problematic in practical volunteering research because of the complexity of volunteers' behaviours and interactions in events such as the Olympic Games. Positivism does however, produce concrete, quantifiable results which generally suit the preferred style of Olympic planning committees and associated event stakeholders such as business sponsors and other parties who prefer concrete data to be presented in a manner that more easily supports potential investment decisions. This is also probably the case for research funding agencies, which prefer to support academic research that produces tangible outcomes.

The interpretive approach is essentially anti-positivist and focuses on individual, not general human behaviours by resisting the imposition of general laws in favour of establishing behavioural intentions within the surrounding environment. The result of this approach is usually a set of varied explanations of behaviour depending on the particular individual and the setting in which they are being studied. According to Cohen *et al* (2007), three significant 'traditions' in this style of research are phenomenology, ethno methodology and symbolic interactionism. The type of motivations-related enquiry necessary to establish the required, clearer understanding of volunteers' behaviours, feelings and intentions would by necessity be better conducted using this approach. However, the use of the interpretive approach in the setting of an Olympic Games setting is hampered by serious limitations. The first is the access restrictions associated with a mega event. Security and the need for volunteer focus on the event-related activities essentially make the time required for the collection of the data types associated with in-depth interview, personal narrative and observations impractical to collect. The time, personnel numbers and skills required make such an approach unfeasible and cost-prohibitive. These factors, in addition to unsophisticated philosophical considerations, are probably the main reasons for the more historically-popular, quantitative approaches preferred by researchers. As a result, the vast majority utilise the traditional, self-administered questionnaire, incorporating scale responses and other easier to complete measures. Such data can be more easily collected after the event and is relatively inexpensive.

However, such limited data has yielded little clear indication about the deeper motivations behind volunteering for the Olympic Games. The sheer scale of volunteer participation at the Games has prompted more of a drive towards larger samples of respondents, in order to better reflect this concern. The international nature of the event and the fact that it is held each time in a different city, in a different country, has prevented a cohesive and ongoing attempt to develop crucial themes in volunteer research across successive Games. The results have effectively concerned different Games, organised in different countries, by different organising committees, with different bid priorities. It is therefore not a surprise that the results have also provided inconsistencies in our general understanding.

Management versus Olympiad

Before the discussion of a more critical approach to this problem is proposed, it is necessary to revisit the distinction between the Olympic Games as an international, sporting, mega event and the underpinning ideals of the Cultural Olympiad of the Olympic movement.

Most of the past research into the motivations of Olympic volunteers has focussed on the development of frameworks for the more effective attraction, training and management of the volunteering workforce. This has involved considerations of how to develop the best methods of profiling and attracting volunteers, at most with the underlying hope that they might somehow re-volunteer at future events. However, the Cultural Olympiad is not dedicated to the production of an effective sporting event, but instead to the furtherance of international values such as respect for the loser, fair play and human rights. This has been criticised by authors such as Ren (2008), who claim that these values represent little more than western-style homogenisation at the expense of non-western cultures. According to Tomlinson (2008) these international principles only came to bear on the spirit of the Games with the 1984 withdrawal of Tehran. He argues that prior to this the Olympics had been firmly rooted in the capitalist economic ideal and had not been effectively used as a vehicle for social change. The current approach to volunteering for 2012 by LOCOG states that its programme '...will aim to encourage a wide range of people to join in.... London 2012 is an opportunity to inspire everyone to develop their interests and volunteer – in sport and also more widely within their community.' (LOCOG, 2008). This objective, embodied in the initial, winning bid proposal for the Olympic Games reinforces the role of volunteering in its historical context of the Olympics, as a social activity, not a business one.

In order to adequately research phenomena relevant to the type of social change objectives embodied in the current planning declared by LOCOG, it is suggested that a critical approach should be adopted. This approach, furthered mainly by Habermas (1972, cited by Cohen et al, 2007), regards the more popular positivist and interpretive approaches to Olympic volunteering to be incomplete and adds focus to the political and ideological contexts in which the behaviours and motives of volunteers are being studied. The approach, according to Cohen et al (2007) is to prescriptively and normatively research and change behaviour in the context of its place in an egalitarian society, based on equality and democracy for all its members. In the Olympic context, it is argued here that such research has to focus on the emancipation of the individuals disempowered in the society, usually by power abuses of one group against another. These are the individuals included in LOCOG's "hard to reach" sub category of those they intend to target for volunteering

recruitment. As a transformative approach, critical theoreticians will need to put this legacy into its social context and will likely need to highlight the interests of the ruling party, question their legitimacy is an effort to transform the equality and democracy of this aspect of society. In this case, the exact nature of any purely commercial motives behind the Olympic Games as an event will need to be questioned and then placed into the context of the publicised social-mission of 2012 volunteering in relation to those individuals who are being asked to volunteer.

Future research implications

The common industry practice of event organisers pre-screening potential volunteers on the level of operational-related skills and qualities (Bowdin *et al,* 2006), rather than their motivation to repeat volunteer will continue to put immediate staffing needs before long term, repeat volunteering.

This paper has attempted to highlight by an albeit brief overview and critique of the general research, the problem of the establishment of a clear picture of mega event and Olympic volunteer motivations, with a view to achieving a credible and genuine legacy in this area. It is therefore proposed that a critical approach is adopted to facilitate the measurement of this intangible aspect of social legacy.

Such a critical approach would be better implemented using more time-consuming yet more valid methods to ascertain the motivations of the most important and distinct groups of volunteers associated with the 2012 Olympic Games. This will require the careful construction of a sample which needs to consist of the groups highlighted in the table below:

Characteristics		Research focus
1.	Those who do not volunteer.	*Identification of their perceptions / expectations of volunteering and reasons for not doing so.*
2.	Those who volunteer but are rejected.	*Identification of their perceptions of their experience and an assessment of their willingness to reapply in the future.*
3.	First time volunteers who are accepted	*Identification of their perceptions / expectations of volunteering and reasons for doing so.*
4.	Repeat volunteers – who already have at least one experience of volunteering at a mega event.	*Identification of their experiences of volunteering and reasons for repeating it.*
5.	Career volunteers – who spend larger proportions of their time volunteering.	*Identification of their experiences of volunteering and reasons for repeating it.*
6.	Post event volunteers.	*May include groups 1-5. Evaluation of their volunteering experience and an assessment of their future intentions.*

Table 1 – Proposed 2012 volunteer sample structure

It is proposed that the volunteers belonging to the above groups are interviewed by those skilled in the collection of respondents' in-depth, personal narratives and the resulting data content-analysed, codified and statistically compared to quantitative data related to their demographic characteristics. The cross-analysis and comparison of the responses of each group can then be compared and conclusions drawn throughout a traditional process of exploratory, pilot and final studies.

Conclusion

As has been previously discussed, the general shortfalls of the research related to volunteers' motivations at mega events, is due to the need for a change of view by researchers. Whilst Olympic planning committees no doubt continue to focus on staffing of mega events as cheaply and effectively as possible, it is the responsibility of those familiar with the process and importance of mega events who need to move from the measureable, easier to collect, positivistic research approaches, which produce fundable and sellable support for planning committees' measureable ideas of legacy, to an approach that centres more carefully on detailed collection of volunteer perception, expectations, motivations and personal outcomes of real event volunteering experiences. This will need to be done on a labour-intensive, specialised and timely manner in order that an effective pathway to an enduring Olympic volunteering legacy of social relevance can be understood and communicated to those responsible for its achievement at future events of this kind.

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The Olympic Legacy: People, Place, Enterprise conference took place at the University of Greenwich in May 2008. The first in a series of annual conferences, it brought together leading academics, policy makers and practitioners to debate the lasting legacy of the games.

The conference had four themes: social and cultural regeneration; Olympic tourism; enterprise, including social enterprise and skills development, and education, providing a multi-dimensional perspective on the likely impacts of the forthcoming London Olympics.

These conference proceedings will be of value to organisations and individuals involved in the planning and delivery of the Olympics in London or of its associated programmes across the UK, as well as to those researching the games and its legacy.

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