

ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN EVENT RESEARCH

Legacies and Mega Events

Fact or Fairy Tales?

Edited by

Ian Brittain, Jason Bocarro, Terri Byers,
and Kamilla Swart



Legacies and Mega Events

The use of sporting and other mega-events to bring about transformation of socially deprived areas of major cities is becoming an increasingly important part of the *raison d'être* for hosting such events, especially given the immense costs involved and the current economic climate. The tax-paying public increasingly has to be persuaded of the benefits, beyond the event itself, to spend the nation's resources in this way.

This edited book, written by international experts, critically explores these multiple facets of the Mega Event legacy looking at the various economic, environmental and social impacts and benefits in multiple continents. It considers topics such as volunteering, participation, economics, sponsorship, ethics and technology in relation to legacy.

This timely book provides a further understanding of the legacy discourse, as well as the potential pitfalls connected to legacy in relation to mega events. Filling a gap in the literature on legacy research, *Legacies and Mega Events* will be of interest to events, sports, tourism, urban development students, researchers and academics.

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Foreword

Legacy Research in the 21st Century

The populations of several bid cities in Europe and North America recently called for referendums that led to a number of cities withdrawing from Olympic bids. Some of these bids were stopped by politicians before referendums were even held. When Budapest withdrew their 2024 bid in March 2017, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had to accept the 10th bid withdrawal in just 5 years. The most common reason behind each withdrawal was that the expected costs of hosting the Games outweighed any potential benefits.

The high number of withdrawals indicates that the stakeholder interests' change and the host city population and local politicians did not see the inherent value in hosting the Olympic Games. What happened? The gigantism of the Games reached a point that makes it difficult to balance the public costs and often intangible benefits for the host. However, it is important to state that the Olympic Games are not solely an event to maximise profits. Cities whose sole objective is to maximise profits should invest in industrial parks. No, the Olympic Games are different. The Olympic Games are one of the world's greatest events that accrue other benefits. They are a Mega Event, where many different cultures meet, compete peacefully against each other and interact. As with other Mega Events, they are a festival in which every culture shares the same understanding of rules and where everyone meets in venues, media centres, city centres or the Olympic Village. That, in itself, is a high value at a time, when nations are moving toward greater isolation, building walls and investing in their military. The World Sport Minister Conference in Berlin 2013 (MINEPS V) has explicitly noted in its "Declaration of Berlin" that major sport events should be used as "platforms to raise awareness on societal issues and for opportunities for cultural exchange" (§2.36).

However, the increasing financial burdens associated with many Mega Events to provide security, accommodate new sports and serve ever more visitors and media representatives makes it difficult to keep the costs and capacity demands at a level that can be utilised after the event. Additionally, political and economic-driven opportunism in the host nation adds to the costs. Politicians like to piggyback additional infrastructure investments by using the argument that those are needed for the event to avoid delays in the start of construction or enact policies that prevent corruption. The choice of suboptimal locations for a venue or the bloated construction increases the costs. Two prime examples, Beijing 2008 and Sochi 2014, are evidence of extreme Olympic Games overspend with a range around US\$50 billion.

The withdrawal of bids, the financial burdens and other Mega Event controversies (e.g., doping, security, commercialisation, corruption) have resulted in organisers re-thinking the bidding process. For example, in December 2014, the IOC approved Agenda 2020, a strategic roadmap for the future of the Olympic Movement composed of 40 recommendations. One of the key areas of change is the bidding procedure, with a new philosophy to invite potential candidate cities to present a project that best fits their sporting, economic, social and environmental long-term needs. In other words, the IOC wants cities to prove that the investments they plan have a positive legacy. Thus, IOC president Thomas Bach created a new IOC commission for “Sustainability and Legacy” which has been working since 2015 to develop a legacy framework and legacy measurement.

At almost the same time, the European Commission incorporated “legacy” in its EU Work Plan 2014–2017 and established an “Expert Group on the Economic Dimension of Sport”. One of the three subgroups presented “Recommendations on Major Sport Events, in Particular on Legacy Aspects” in January 2016. These are based on the “Declaration of Berlin” which was signed in 2013 by 121 sport ministers. The following main points touch the need for a better legacy inclusion when planning an event:

§2.13 Stressing the importance of increasing the positive effects of major sport events in terms of participation in and through sport, creating new sport programmes and providing new and/or improved sports facilities;

§2.15 Acknowledging the data which shows that many oversized stadia are not financially viable post-events (while generating maintenance costs);

§2.28 Commit, when hosting major sports events, to the sustainability of sport infrastructure for physical education, sport for all and high-performance sport and other community activities, in order to ensure that all concerned stakeholders can participate in and benefit from such events;

§2.39 Ensure that investment in infrastructure and facilities for major sport events complies with social, economic, cultural and environmental requirements, notably through the reuse of existing facilities, the design of new venues for ease of dismantling or downsizing, and the use of temporary facilities.

Therefore, this book addresses a very urgent, current and important issue, particularly because legacy research is fairly new. The first paper published was on “tourism legacy” from cultural and sport events by Roche in 1992. However, for a long time, legacy was only seen as the value of sport facilities and public improvements turned over to communities or sports organisations after an event. Being aware of the importance of sustainable changes events such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup bring to a host city must be considered and has resulted in initiatives such as the IOC’s Congress on “The Legacy of the Olympic Games: 1984–2000” in 2002. However, although many cases were presented, no satisfying definition of any type of legacy was available. One reason is that legacy was often assumed to be self-evident, so that there was no need to define precisely what it is. However, after 2006, the research about mega event legacy became

more prominent and is now being fully acknowledged, as can be seen by the recommendations made by the European Commission, the UNESCOs “Declaration of Berlin” and IOCs Agenda 2020.

An often-cited definition of legacy was provided by me in 2007. Legacy is

irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself.

However, after reconsideration and several papers that followed as well as discussions in the European Commission and the IOC, I came up with a little more manageable version in 2016:

Legacy is any action (practice) in a given area (e.g., host city) and time driven from structural changes initiated by staging of the Olympic Games.

Therefore, one can say, that legacy derives from of all “structural changes” caused by staging the Olympic Games. The Games change a location (space) and people (humans). Legacies exist right after a change was made, which can be far before the Mega Event starts. The legacy exists as long as the “structural changes” exist which permanently offers opportunities for action. This makes measurement difficult because sometimes the change takes some time (sometimes years) to take effect. To me, it is important to not confuse legacy (actions driven from structural changes after) with the primary (direct) impacts of the mega event. These are the directly initiated activities due to the Mega Event, such as the economic impact from tourism derived from the event or advertising effects due to worldwide media interest during the event.

To not overlap the areas of changes, in detail, “structural changes” take place in space:

1. Urban development
2. Environment enhancement and in humans:
3. Policies, Governance
4. Human development (skills, knowledge and networks)
5. Intellectual Property
6. Social development (beliefs and behaviour)

These six fields are making up all possible legacies, which are mentioned in many of the chapters in this book. For example, the sport legacy is composed of new facilities (urban development), regulations to help high performance sports (policies) and more people practicing sports (social development). Furthermore, many people learn new sport skills (human development) and the national sport federations are better connected to other national federations or the world federation (networks in human resources). Another example is the economic legacy. It is achieved by higher productivity or new businesses based on better structures (better traffic systems, better labour policies, better-skilled workers, strengthened

networks). Some industries, such as tourism are more profitable for the Olympic Games legacy than other producing industries).

I congratulate the authors Ian Brittain, Jason Bocarro, Terri Byers and Kamilla Swart on this book “Legacies and Mega-Events: Fact or Fairy Tales.” The strategy of recruiting outstanding scholars from all over the world provides tremendous context and will help readers gain a deeper understanding of the ever-growing importance of this topic.

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Introduction

One Upon a Time . . .

Jason Bocarro, Ian Brittain, and Terri Byers

This is an exciting time to publish a book focused on Mega Event legacy given the increased focus and interest by both the research community and those involved in the various stages of bidding and hosting these events. Although the *potential* impacts of mega-events are significant and well documented (e.g., Fourie and Spronk, 2011; Kaplanidou, Al Emadi, Sagas, Diop, and Fritz, 2016; Tien, Lo, and Lin, 2011), the *actual* impacts realised by host nations and regions often fall far short of expectations in terms of economic and non-economic impacts in both advanced and developing societies (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Jago, Dwyer, Lipman, van Lill, and Vorster, 2010). For example, critics are already labeling the 2016 Rio Olympics as a legacy failure as expensive venues remain without owners and approximately 22,059 families were estimated to have been evicted from Rio's favelas because of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic games (Duignan and Ivanescu, 2017).

The use of sporting and other mega-events to bring about transformation of socially deprived areas of major cities, as well as a host of other legacy claims, are becoming an increasingly important part of the rationale behind hosting such events. The tax-paying public increasingly has to be persuaded of the benefits, beyond the event itself, to spend the nation's resources in this way. However, the facts suggest that previous widespread support for embracing these events has waned. For example, data suggest that potential hosts are becoming more reluctant to bid in that twelve different cities bid for the 2004 Olympics, whereas the 2020 Olympics elicited just five applicants (Zimbalist, 2015). After Oslo removed themselves from consideration, only two cities – Beijing and Almaty, Kazakhstan – remained as viable candidates to host the 2022 Winter Olympics. In looking at the hosts for upcoming Olympics and FIFA World Cups, it appears that the Dutch government's 2012 report that predicted in the future only non-democratic countries will pay up to host these events was correct (Zimbalist, 2015).

Hosting mega-events has also proved both costly and difficult to budget for with, for example, the Athens Olympic Games projected budget set at US \$1.6 billion and the games eventually cost nearly \$16 billion. For the Beijing Olympics projected costs for the organising committee alone were reported as \$1.6 billion with a final budget including facilities and infrastructure being \$40 billion (Sports Business Daily, 2009). Non-sporting mega-events do not often include a bidding

2 Bocarro, Brittain and Byers

process but also have the potential to produce considerable impacts for hosts. Cultural mega-events arguably produce less quantifiable economic impacts such as “trading opportunities for non-profit organisations and the contribution of the festival to local entrepreneurial culture” (Baker Associates, 2007). The fact is that mega-events are happening throughout the world and the costs associated with these appear to be increasing significantly. Another fact is that legacy has been promoted by organisations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as well as national governments on the basis that long-term impacts can be gained from hosting mega events. Yet increasingly, questions arise as to whether legacy is a fact or a fairy tale.

The genesis of this book initially stemmed from research carried out as part of a European Union-funded, four-year Marie Curie International Research Staff Exchange Scheme (IRSES) project (Carnival). The project investigated what factors impact upon the planned and unplanned legacy outcomes of mega-events and their implications for stakeholders and included researchers from Brazil, Germany, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. Research on mega events, and particularly mega sporting events, has grown considerably over the past 30 years. However, research and discussions specifically related to the legacy of these events is fairly new.

This edited volume is broken into two parts and provides a comprehensive summary of the issues related to many of the different facets of legacy of Mega Events. The first ten chapters were written by international experts covering a variety of facets of Mega Event legacy (e.g., economic, environmental, social, etc.). The book begins with a chapter by **Bocarro, Byers and Carter**, who report the findings from two systematic reviews of the Mega Event research literature (both sporting and non-sporting). The authors provide a summary of the work that has been conducted in this area and provide some recommendations for future research to advance this field of knowledge. **Laurence Chalip’s** chapter provides a critique of the ways in which Mega Event frameworks have failed to capitalise on long-term impacts and positive legacies. Chalip proposes a framework that can be adopted to examine how events might be leveraged for a variety of long-term legacies. **Solberg’s** chapter examines why cities continue to be enamored by mega events despite the questionable economic legacy. Solberg, through an intriguing examination of the stakeholders involved, shows how various stakeholders influence the bidding process. **Nedvetskaya and Girginov** examine the underpinning behind a volunteering legacy, a critical component of many Mega sporting events. Using the example of the London 2012 Games, they describe some of the shortcomings and successes of the 2012 volunteering strategy, describing how certain strategies can be highly beneficial for future bids and host cities. **Mike Weed’s** chapter provides a summary of the sport participation legacies associated with many sport mega events. Despite many claims that mega events are successful in getting more people to participate in sport, Weed questions mega events’ effectiveness at delivering a sport participation legacy. **Brittain’s** chapter shows that the success of the 2012 London Paralympic Games had a surprisingly negative legacy for people with disabilities. Ordinary people with a disability felt little connection, if any, to Paralympians, in terms of the issues they face in their everyday

lives. Furthermore, the perceived expectations by the non-disabled population that all people with disabilities can perform like Paralympians only accentuated this disconnection. **Gratton and Ramchandani** provide a useful framework for measuring economic legacy and demonstrate its application through the example of London 2012. They demonstrate how direct and indirect economic impacts should be considered and argue that whilst the immediate economic impacts of Sydney, Athens, Beijing and London Olympics seem minimal, there is some evidence that a London Olympic economic legacy is plausible.

As environmental issues have moved to the forefront of government policies and people's consciousness, there has been an increased interest in the role of mega events in ensuring an environmental legacy. **Kellison and Casper** describe how mega events, because of their sheer scale, provide unique sustainability challenges. Furthermore, "white elephant" stadia controversies in Brazil, Beijing and Athens have compounded the belief that many mega events are an environmental disaster. However, they also describe some successful strategies that mega event organisers have adopted to reduce a large environmental footprint from the event itself and educate and expose spectators to environmental practices that may influence sustainable behaviours within their everyday lives. Many developing countries have bid for mega events in order to change or enhance their international reputation. **Knott and Swart** describe how South Africa used branding opportunities created by hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup to go beyond just "gaining attention". Finally, **Koenigstorfer and Kulczycki**, in light of some recent high-profile corruption cases that have affected mega events, examine the ramifications of what they call a corruption legacy. The chapter examines the levels at which corruption takes place when mega-sport events are hosted and the short-term and long-term consequences of corruption for one particular group of stakeholders – the sponsors.

The final chapters consist of five unique case studies written by both early career (including PhD students) and experienced researchers from each of the partner institutions and associates of the Carnival project investigating a wide variety of different types of legacy claims made by hosts of different mega-events held in each of the partner nations. These include case studies of the London Olympic Games (**Thomas, Brittain, and Jones**), Rio 2016 Olympic Games (**Guerra, Ferreira, and Kipnis**), the 2015 Rugby World Cup (**Jones, Edwards, and Passenger**), the 2010 FIFA World Cup (**Swart, Linley, and Muresherwa**) and Mardi Gras (**Barrett**). The sixth case study, not written by a Carnival partner, is an intriguing examination of the Nagano 1998 winter Olympic Games legacy nearly 20 years later (**Takao**).

This book is a substantial contribution to understanding legacy of mega events and we would like to acknowledge all 29 contributors for their efforts to challenge existing ways of thinking, to produce detailed and thought-provoking discussions of existing evidence and new cases/data. This process involved the shared commitment with our contributors to create a scholarly account of mega-event legacy, with their limitations and potential (facts and fairy tales). We would also like to acknowledge the institutional support we were provided – particularly by Coventry University and the Centre for Business in Society and North Carolina State University and the College of Natural Resources.

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Part I

Main Chapters



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1 Legacy of sporting and non-sporting mega event research

What next?

Jason Bocarro, Terri Byers and Libby Carter

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of current research on legacy and mega-events, reporting and comparing the findings of two systematic reviews of the literature: one on Mega Sporting Events (MSE) and one on Non-Sporting Mega-Events (NSME). By examining the key trends in these two reviews, we identify key strengths and weaknesses of research on mega event legacy and develop recommendations for future research to advance this field of knowledge. To address the question of whether legacy of mega events is ‘fact or fairy tale’, the discussion section of this chapter applies a Critical Realist analysis of the concepts and themes presented in each of the systematic reviews. Our findings reveal that research on mega event legacy, both sporting and non-sporting, has been underpinned by a commercial ideology that perpetuates the justification of mega events through the measurement of legacy. We suggest that legacy in the context of mega events is both fact and fairy tale. On one hand, legacy is very real to governments, nations, and a variety of stakeholders involved in, either the planning or production of legacy or impacted positively and/or negatively through the mega event (e.g., new opportunity, skill development, homeowners who are displaced or business relocation). On the other hand, when we examine the concept of legacy and identify gaps in the literature at a deeper level, we see that legacy as a means to justify mega events, has been the predominant focus of the research, revealing that legacy is a fairy tale, socially constructed, deconstructed, and defined to appeal to a wide range of stakeholders.

The chapter begins with a brief background as to why systematic reviews of sporting and non-sporting mega events are needed. We then briefly explain the methods and research protocol behind the reviews. An overview of the results of each review is presented along with a comparative discussion of the similarities, differences, strengths, and weaknesses of the mega event literature. Finally, suggestions and implications for future research and practice are discussed.

Background and rationale for systematic reviews

The rising cost of hosting mega sporting events (MSEs) (Gibson et al., 2014; Madden and Giesecke, 2012), controversies over host government spending (Lundy,

2013; Newman, 2012), allegations of corruption (Broudehoux, 2007; Mason, Thibault, and Misener, 2006), and increased scrutiny by a variety of stakeholders (Hall, 2006), has led to concerns over the sustainability of MSEs (Coakley and Souza, 2013). This has resulted in a significant growth in MSE legacy research, which some have attributed to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) mandate in 2000 (Girginov and Hills, 2008) that stipulated hosts produce legacy plans.

Similarly, within mega-events more generally, researchers and policy makers point to these events as having the potential to provide significant economic, environmental, and social benefits (Raj and Musgrave, 2009). For example, mega events are expected to produce non-economic impacts in the form of “cultural legacies, variations to tourism culture and to the community’s national and international perceptions.” (Lamberti, Noci, Guo, and Zhu, 2011, p. 1477). As a more applicable example, legacy impacts of Expos include public museums, art galleries and new department stores for the host city (Roche, 2003). Although legacy has been examined and dissected theoretically and empirically, there has been little consideration of synthesising current knowledge to consider inherent strengths and weaknesses of current approaches as well as the contradictions that may prevent advancing knowledge on the legacy of MEs more generally. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to report the findings of two systematic reviews of the legacy of MEs that examined ME articles with regard to (a) the conceptualisations of legacy, (b) the evidence for legacy, and (c) the evaluation tools used in legacy research.

Methods

Systematic reviews are important in identifying trends, synthesising findings, and setting directions for future research agendas (Jackson, 2004). They are viable strategies for analysing literature focused on inferring generalisations about substantive issues from a set of studies that address these issues (Jackson, 1980). They can be used to provide an objective account and description of the state of a particular body of literature by assessing the quantity of articles published and identifying predominant themes or gaps in existing research and methodologies used in examining specific phenomenon (Floyd, Bocarro, and Thompson, 2008). Systematic reviews include three key activities: (1) identifying and describing the relevant literature, (2) critically appraising the literature in a systematic manner, and (3) bringing the findings together in a coherent synthesis (Gough, Oliver, and Thames, 2012). We conducted a narrative synthesis of the reviewed literature to identify determinants of mega sporting and non-sporting mega event legacies. A descriptive analysis identified the methodology employed, country of origin, and mega sporting event studied. Finally, a content analysis (Babbie, 2012) was used to understand how legacies of mega events were conceptualised, as well as the key findings. Overall, we sought to explore the approaches to studying mega events by identifying various thematic dimensions related to the process and mechanisms behind the legacy of mega events.

Using similar initial search queries to Preuss (2007), our multi-national research team searched ten academic databases (Academic Search Complete, Business