The Governance of Olympic Games Legacy

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to understand the governance of Olympic Games legacy. *Legacy* is broadly described as "all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created by and for a sport event that remain for a longer time than the event itself" (Preuss, 2007a, p. 86). The specific objectives of this study were: a) to map the historical evolution of legacy throughout the modern Olympic Movement (OM) (i.e., 1896-current day) in order to contextualize and conceptualize the major trends (e.g., changes in legacy, network actors/stakeholders, governance structures and processes) over time; b) to understand, explain, and compare/contrast the network governance of Olympic legacy, using Australian and Canadian case settings; and c) to critically analyze the overall structure and process of the governance of legacy within the OM focusing specifically on the aspects of performance, transparency, accountability, and participation to build a framework and provide policy recommendations for the governance of legacy in mega-events. In order to accomplish these objectives, a historical review of legacy within the OM and two descriptive case studies (Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010) were built using interviews and archival materials.

Findings showed how the growth of the Games has culminated in the increased use and importance of legacy, leading to greater concept complexity. This resulted in the emergence of several trends including: new legacy themes, heightened interconnectedness, and formalization of governance mechanisms. Institutional theory was then applied to further explore the emergence of legacy and its habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation as an accepted norm in the Olympic Field. The examination of the legacy governance networks in the two cases showed four legacy

network governance phases: legacy conceptualization, legacy planning and implementation, legacy transfer, and post-Games legacy governance, as well as a number of governance mechanisms (e.g., contracts, policies) that had an impact on the overall governance of the event's legacy. Finally, a critical analysis of the governance of Olympic Games legacy was completed. The end result of the research project was a theoretical framework detailing the levels and fluidity of legacy governance in the OM.

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Statement of Author Contributions

The author of this dissertation was responsible for the development and design of this project on the governance of Olympic legacy. She was the lead researcher in the data collection, data analysis, and the writing of all three of the individual articles, as well as the introduction and conclusion sections. The author acknowledges the help of her co-supervisors Dr's Milena Parent and Christian Rouillard in the discussion and review of the project, its subsequent findings, and preparation for the publication and submission process. Dr. Eileen O'Connor is also thanked for her review and helpful comments with regards to article one, which investigated the evolution of legacy from a historical perspective.

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List of Abbreviations

2010 BC	Vancouver 2010 Bid Committee
2010 FS	2010 Federal Secretariat
2010 LN	2010 Legacies Now
AAF	Amateur Athletic Foundation
AOC	Australian Olympic Committee
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
ASLF	Amateur Sport Legacy Fund
BC	British Columbia
BODA	Beijing Olympic City Development Association
CA	Commonwealth of Australia
COC	Canadian Olympic Committee
CODA	Calgary Olympic Development Association
COV	City of Vancouver
CPC	Canadian Paralympic Committee
EC	Endorsement Contract
FHFN	Four Host First Nations
FIFA	*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*
FINA	*Fédération Internationale de Natation*
FO	Focal Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOC	Government of Canada
GOT	Games Operating Trust

HCC	Host City Contract
IF	International (sport) Federations
IOC	International Olympic Committee
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
LA	Los Angeles
LAOOC	Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee
LEF	Legacy Endowment Fund
LIFT	LIFT Philanthropy Partners
MPA	Multiparty Agreement
NAO	Network Administration Organization
NC	New Contract
NOC	National Olympic Committee
NSO	National Sport Organization
NSW	New South Wales
OC	Olympic Charter
OCA	Olympic Coordination Authority
OCOG	Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
OGI	Olympic Games Impact
OGKM	Olympic Games Knowledge Management
OM	Olympic Movement
ORTA	Olympic Roads and Transportation Authority
Part_Orgs	Legacy partner organizations
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RMOW	Resort Municipality of Whistler

ROI	Return on Investment
SLOC	Salt Lake Organizing Committee
SOBL	Sydney Olympics 2000 Bid Limited
SOCOG	Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games
SOP	Sydney Olympic Park
SOPA	Sydney Olympic Park Authority
SSC	State Sport Centre
SSO	State Sport Organization
VANOC	Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games
WAC	Whistler Athletes Centre
WLS	Whistler Legacies Society
WOP	Whistler Olympic Park
WSC	Whistler Sliding Centre
WSL	Whistler Sport Legacies

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The growth and increasing complexity of the Olympic Games has resulted in a

heightened interest on the part of the academic community. Research on sport events is found in

many fields, including history (Guttman, 2002), sociology (Toohey & Veal, 2007), and

management (Parent, 2008). In recent years, one area receiving frequent attention has been

event legacy, especially as it pertains to the Olympic Games. This chapter will first introduce the

concepts of event legacy and governance followed by the overall purpose of this dissertation.

Next, brief reviews of the event legacy, governance, institutional theory, and network theory

literatures are provided. The methodology is then described including the research contexts and

data gathering and analysis aspects of the project. The chapter concludes with details regarding

the outline of the dissertation, as well as contributions of the overall research project.

Event Legacy

Legacy is broadly described as "all planned and unplanned, positive and negative,

intangible and tangible structures created by and for a sport event that remain for a longer time

than the event itself" (Preuss, 2007a, p. 86). The expanded importance of event legacy is

reflected in the fact that stakeholders are increasingly scrutinized and held accountable for their

policies and actions in hosting a sport event. For this reason, the issues of event impacts and

event legacies are now incorporated into the planning and delivery processes of these events.

Early research on event legacy has mainly focused on the economic impacts of sport

events, such as tourism (Burgan & Mules, 1992; Crompton, 1995; Walo, Bull, & Breen, 1996).

Although the financial outcomes of hosting a sport event continue to be of interest (Allmers &

Maennig, 2009; Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2006; Preuss, 2005), additional research has also

explored different types of legacy (Cashman, 2006; Gold & Gold, 2007; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor,

Mean, & Tims, 2004), including urban (Pillay & Bass, 2008; Pillay, Tomlinson, & Bass, 2009), social (Raco, 2004; Smith, 2009: Waitt, 2003), and environmental (Chappelet, 2008; Collins, Jones, & Munday, 2009; Levett, 2004) legacy to name a few. Although other events such as the World's Fair in New Orleans (e.g., Dimanche, 1996), and sporting events including the Commonwealth Games (e.g., Nichols & Ralston, 2012; Smith & Fox, 2007; Matheson, 2010), the FIFA World Cup (e.g., Cornelissen, Bob & Swart, 2011; Preuss, 2007a), and local events such as triathlons (e.g., Sallent, Palau & Guia, 2011), have been examined, there tends to be a strong research focus on Olympic Games related impacts (e.g., Cashman, 2006; Girginov, 2011; Gold & Gold, 2007; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor, Mean, & Tims, 2004).

In November 2002, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) held the *International Symposium on Legacy of the Olympic Games (1984-2000)*, to identify potential inconsistencies in event legacy management and planning for long-term legacy (de Moragus, Kennett, & Puig, 2003). Following this call for more research to investigate managing the long-term sustainability of legacy associated with the Olympic Games an increase in management research began to surface. For example, Doherty (2009) explored the volunteer legacy at large-scale events and its impact on event policy and management. Agha, Fairley, and Gibson (2011) looked at event legacy as a multidimensional construct and discussed implications on stakeholder management and event delivery. Additionally, event and sport event management books have begun to include chapters that focus on legacy such as Masterman's most recent book on strategic sport event management that dedicates a section to impacts and legacies (2012).

Girginov (2011) connected the concepts of legacy and governance in research that examined the lead-up to the hosting of the 2012 Olympic Games in London. During this research he explored the creation and sustainability of Games legacy by examining four modes of

governance (coercive, voluntarism, targeting, and framework regulation) and testing a range of policy instruments. Although Girginov (2011) explored the governance of Olympic legacy, he only focussed on the upcoming London 2012 Games, an event that has yet to occur, and as a result, did not take into consideration post-Games legacy issues. In order to better understand the concept of legacy governance, it is important to look at previous editions of the Games to understand the institutionalization process of legacy and the specific forces that played a role in shaping the structure. As a result, the governance and sustainability of event legacy remains under-investigated. As such, the research presented in this dissertation further explores the connection between governance and Olympic event legacy by filling some gaps in the literature such as the historical evolution of the concept, its adoption into the OM, as well as the characteristics of its governance, including both the structure and process.

Also notable is the more recent link between event legacy and sustainable development. For example, a Centre for Sport and Sustainability at the University of British Columbia was established in connection with the 2010 Games to help capture and transfer knowledge on how sport can create sustainable benefits locally, regionally, and internationally (UBC, 2010). Van Wynsberghe, Kwan, & Van Luijk (2011) went on to argue that sustainability mandates now play important roles in the event delivery process in their research which focused on community capacity building during the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. As such, it is suggested that future of legacy research will continue to advance in this direction with connections between sustainable development and governance.

Within this research project, several legacy issues will be highlighted. Conceptually, there are many terms used to describe the notion of legacy in the literature, from benefits and impacts to heritage and outcomes. There remains, however, a lack of consensus on a definition

of legacy and how to measure it (Mangan, 2008; Preuss, 2007b). Timing plays an important role in the development and planning of an event's legacy. Previous experiences of Olympic Games hosts have shown that legacy should be incorporated from the beginning of a bid for the Games, and should remain important throughout the planning and delivery, in order to maximize benefits (Cashman, 2006). As such, legacy planning has evolved from a reactive process to a proactive one (Girginov, 2011). Financial concerns have also been raised in conjunction with event legacy. The implementation of legacy constructs, such as programming and maintenance of infrastructure, are costly and generally require support before they can become self-sufficient in the longer term, if at all (Ritchie, 2000; Searle, 2002).

Governance

When discussing governance in this project, the reference will be made to Girginov's definition of governance in relation to legacy at sport events, the system responsible for guiding and steering the collective action of an event's legacy over the long-term. Complications associated with the process of governance stem from the fact that some of the central actors in the delivery of a sport event have only short-term involvements (Sallent et al., 2011). An Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG), for example, is a temporary organization that is generally disbanded within two years of the event's end.

Additionally, the need to include a variety of stakeholders in the planning and participation of Olympic events creates coordination issues as a result of varying perspectives. Girginov advised "it is this tension between what is being done in the name of legacy, for whom, and at what cost and to what effect that turns legacy into a governance issue" (Girginov, 2011, p. 3). Although the aforementioned issues have an impact on the overall governance of an Olympic event's legacy, there continues to be a lack of empirical research investigating their implications.

In order to better understand a phenomenon, it is often necessary to explore its historical underpinnings and how it came to be within the field in question. Interestingly, no research was found that has specifically examined the historical evolution or the organizational governance of event legacy from the perspectives of host cities, organizing committees, or other stakeholders within an event's network (cf. Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984). This is an omission in the literature as many trends have emerged with the increased importance of legacy within the Olympic Movement (OM). Environmental and educational themes are becoming new forms of legacy, and different types of legacy are being promoted, such as closer links to a host city, increased regional planning initiatives and legacy sustainability. As a result, many stakeholders continue to struggle with the concept of legacy, are unable to articulate its various meanings, and are uncertain as to its proper governance (de Moragas et al., 2003). Further, there is a requirement to show a return on investment (ROI) of public dollars. It has also been noted that most research on sport events has failed to look specifically at the event legacy process as a governance issue (Girginov, 2011). This research is important as it will help facilitate the event legacy governance process by identifying the legacy governance phases, importance of governance mechanisms, as well as the roles and responsibilities of legacy-related stakeholders.

Accordingly, the purpose of this study was to understand the governance of Olympic Games legacy. The specific research objectives are the following: a) to map the historical evolution of legacy throughout the modern OM (i.e., 1896-current day) in order to contextualize and conceptualize the major trends (e.g., changes in legacy, network actors/stakeholders, governance structures and processes) over time; b) to understand, explain, and compare/contrast the network governance of Olympic legacy, using Australian and Canadian case settings; and c) to critically analyze the overall structure and process of the governance of legacy within the OM

focusing specifically on the aspects of performance, transparency, accountability, and participation to build a framework and provide policy recommendations for the governance of legacy in mega-events.

In order to meet the objectives of this research project, a variety of organizational perspectives including institutional theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983), and network theory (Knoke & Yang, 2008; Scott, 2007) will be used as a theoretical framework. The use of institutional theory in the second part of the research allowed for the investigation of the means by which the concept of event legacy has become an accepted norm within the Olympic field. The third part of the research used network theory as a foundation from which to conduct analyses, take measurements, and examine the balance of power among key stakeholders within event legacy networks. The application of network theory provided a deeper understanding of the characteristics of the governance of legacy, including the stakeholders/actors involved, the types of relationships between them, and the controls used to guide the delivery of the Olympic Games' legacy. The final part of this research project critically analyzed the governance of legacy within the OM.

The next section will discuss sport event legacy and present the main concepts associated with governance. It will then examine the connections between sport and governance that currently exist in the literature and within the field of sport. This is followed by a review of institutional theory and network analysis.

Literature Review

Sport Event Legacy

Over the past 20 years, much research in the sport event legacy literature has focused on the legacies of mega-sport events (Cashman, 2006; Preuss, 2007a; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor, Mean, & Tims, 2004). *Legacy*, according to Cashman, "is an elusive, problematic and even dangerous

word" (Cashman, 2003, p. 33). Within the English language, the word legacy may refer to a gift or property left by will through an inheritance, or it may be anything remaining from a time period or event (Cashman, 2003; Preuss, 2007a). The second and broader definition of the word is the usage within Olympic scholarship and discourse (Cashman, 2003). Event legacy has only officially been part of Olympic discourse since 2003, when the IOC amended its charter to include a 14th Mission Statement focusing on a positive legacy for Olympic hosts (Chappelet, 2008).

The participants of the 2002 IOC symposium on legacy recognized legacy as embracing different cultures and languages. According to de Moragus et al. (2003), this broader conceptualization of legacy has contributed to the ambiguity of the word. OCOGs continue to associate event legacy with positive results, while tending to disregard negative outcomes (Cashman, 2006). Both positive and negative legacies have been identified (Cashman, 2006; Lenskyj, 2002; Mangan, 2008; Preuss, 2007b). For example, benefits can include new infrastructure, urban revival, enhanced international reputation, increased tourism, business opportunities, heightened community spirit, improved public welfare as well as education and volunteer training opportunities. At the same time, the negative aspects of event legacy associated with mega-sport events are significant: financial debts linked to the construction and production of the event, unused infrastructure after the event, overcrowding, overuse of local resources, housing issues, and relocation of inhabitants (Cashman, 2006; Lenskyj, 2000, 2002; Preuss, 2004, 2007a; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor, Mean, Tims, 2004; Zimmerman, 2007). Despite the negative aspects of legacy and the risk of experiencing cost overruns, municipal, regional and national governments continue to submit bids and pursue various types of sport events, particularly the Olympic Games (Cashman, 2006; Higham, 1999; Lenskyj, 2000; Ritchie, 1984).

Since its emergence, legacy has evolved from a concept reflecting the general benefits and impacts associated with hosting a sporting event to proactively planned sustainable long-term legacies. The increased use and formalization of the term has resulted from the need for bidders, organizers, and event organizations themselves to justify the expenditure of scarce resources on the perceived gigantisms and excesses associated with hosting a major sport event. A number of special issue journals (e.g., 2008 special issue in the *International Journal of the History of Sport* on "Olympic Legacies: Intended and Unintended", and the forthcoming special issue from the *International Journal of Events and Festival Management* on "The Impacts and Legacies of Sport Events", as well as legacy specific conferences (e.g., Legacy Lives conference which focuses on event benefits), have been dedicated to the topic.

A review and synthesis of the literature on sport event legacy offered an initial typology as a starting point throughout this research (See Table 1-1). It is important to note that these categories are not distinct from each other and exist with significant overlap. Legacy may be characterized by type, by whether it is tangible or intangible, by its positive or negative impacts, and by whether it is planned or unplanned. Both tangible and intangible legacies have been highlighted by the IOC as being important effects of hosting the Olympic Games (de Moragas et al., 2003).

Tangible legacies include the more recognized forms such as infrastructure, tourism and economic development, whereas intangible legacies refer to ideas and cultural values, intercultural experiences, education, collective effort, and notoriety on a global scale (de Moragas et al., 2003). Tangible legacies can serve to generate the development of the more intangible long-term legacies (de Moragas et al., 2003; Koenig & Leopkey, 2009). An example of an intangible legacy would be how the development of the Calgary Oval for the 1988 Winter

Olympic Games led to increased employment, training, and education opportunities (Koenig & Leopkey, 2009).

Event legacy may be planned or unplanned. One of the major research debates on the subject is the challenge of capturing its impact. The measurement of legacy is a complex issue. Pentifallo (2010) discussed key elements (e.g., environment, economics, brand awareness, image) or indicators across all events that remain constant in the context of a mega-event. In contrast others (e.g., Cornelissen, 2010) have argued that it is not useful to have a general template for planning and measuring event legacy as there are fundamental differences that exist between developed and developing countries. Event legacies occur in cities around the world and as such both the uniqueness and complexity of the local context, culture, and political climate makes it very difficult to use benchmarks to predict and identify potential legacies (Preuss, 2007b). Preuss (2007b) argued that 'a bottom-up approach', which measures all hard and soft structural changes caused by an event, is the most feasible method to use. This method takes into consideration all (both hard and soft) alterations of structure resulting from the event to measuring legacy is proposed (Preuss, 2007b). Despite how legacy is measured, there remain three major barriers facing researchers collecting and analyzing data: the difference between net legacy and gross legacy, decisions regarding the positive and negative contributions of legacy, and the measurement of legacy over time (Preuss, 2007b).

In order to overcome these barriers, planned, unplanned, tangible and intangible factors are considered in this study. While many event stakeholders continue to view legacy from an economic or physical infrastructure point of view there is common acknowledgement that other forms of legacy do exist (e.g., Cashman, 2006; Ritchie, 2000). Although physical and financial legacies may be more commonly talked about in the literature, it has been argued that, in fact,

some of the more valuable, yet hard to measure (e.g., intangible), types of event legacies are

social and psychological in nature (Ritchie, 2000).

Table 1-1

Event Legacy Summary

Type of event legacy	Tangible/ Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	References Examples
Sporting legacy (increased participation, program development)	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Carmicheal, Grix & Marques. 2012; Cashman, 2006; Cashman & Hughes, 1998; Chappelet, 2006; Coalter, 2004; Cornelissen, 2011; Girginov & Hills, 2008; Toohey, 2008; Zimmerman, 2007
Economic legacy (tourism, economic development, business development, profit)	Tangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Andersson & Solberg, 1999; Cashman, 2006; Cashman & Hughes, 1998; Chappelet, 2006; Kasimati, 2003; Fourie & Santana-Gallego, 2011; Maennig & Zimbalist, 2012; Preuss, 2004, 2007a; Ritchie, 1984, 2000; Solberg & Preuss, 2006; Terret, 2008; Toohey, 2008, Weed, 2008; Zimmerman, 2007
Infrastructure/ physical legacy	Tangible	Planned	Positive/ Negative	Cashman, 2006; Cashman & Hughes, 1998; Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Chappelet, 2006; Davies, 2011; Essex & Chalkley, 1998, 2004; Jones, 2001; Kissoudi, 2008; Matheson, 2012; Preuss, 2007a; Ritchie, 1984, 2000; Searle, 2002; Zimmerman, 2007
Information and education legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Cashman, 2006; Griffiths & Armour, 2012; Halbwirth & Toohey, 2001; Preuss, 2007a; Ritchie, 2000; Shipway, 2007; Toohey, 2008; Zimmerman, 2007
Cultural legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Cashman, 2006; Cashman & Hughes, 1998; Khan, 2004; Kidd, 1992; Preuss, 2007a; Ritchie, 1984, 2000; Shipway, 2007; Stevenson, 2012; Zimmerman, 2007
Symbols, memory and historical legacy	Intangible	Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Cashman, 2006, Cashman & Hughes, 1998
Urban legacy (city transformation and urban regeneration)	Tangible	Planned	Positive/ Negative	Carlsen & Taylor, 2003; Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Chappelet, 2006; Essex & Chalkley, 1998, 2004; Herculano, Rezende, & Carvalho, 2011 Ritchie, 2000
Psychological legacy (community pride, public life)	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Cashman, 2006; Preuss, 2007a; Ritchie, 1984, 2000; Zimmerman, 2007
Social legacy (housing, social programs, volunteers)	Intangible/ Tangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Carey, Mason & Misener, 2011; Chappelet, 2006; Doherty, 2009; Lenskyj, 2000, 2002; Nichols & Ralston, 2011, 2012; Raco, 2004; Ritchie, 2000; Shipway, 2007; Toohey, 2008, Waitt, 2003

Environmental legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Briese, 2001; Chappelet, 2008; Levett, 2004; Toohey, 2008, Zimmerman, 2007
Political legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Cashman, 2006; Ritchie, 1984; Rowe. 2012; Toohey, 2008
Destination image legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Brown, Chalip, Jago, & Mules, 2004; Dyreson & Llewellyn, 2008; Knott, Fyall & Jones, 2012; Morse, 2001; Preuss, 2007a; Preuss & Alfs, 2011; Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Whitson & Macintosh, 1993; Xing & Chalip, 2006
Health legacy	Intangible	Planned/ Unplanned	Positive/ Negative	Carmont, 2012; Shipway, 2007; Sim, 2012; Tew, Copeland & Till, 2012

It has been widely accepted that sporting events can help transform a city, or local host region in a variety of ways. However, some researchers (Cashman, 2006; Mangan, 2008) argue that success in this area is directly related to the amount of strategic planning undertaken by the host organization in order to realize these potentials. Planning for post-Games legacy planning is critical as it facilitates the realization of targeted goals for event organizers. For example, Ritchie (2000) described legacy planning as "ensur[ing] that the hosting of a short-term mega-event such as the Olympics can contribute to the development and consolidation of facilities and programs that will benefit destination residents for many years" (p. 155). Girginov (2011) positioned Olympic legacy planning as a forward thinking activity and that this process is shaped through the collective action of state, market, and society. Despite interest in the area of legacy management little research has empirically investigated this event issue. This research will help fill this gap by closely examining the governance of legacy of two previous Olympic host cities (Sydney and Vancouver).

Most recently, event hosts have begun to link the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development to legacies in order to help justify the ROI of public monies in the sport event's delivery (Smith, 2009). This is particularly evident in the area of urban studies where for example, Essex and Chalkley (2004) examined mega-events as a tool for urban and regional

regeneration, Frey, Iraldo and Melis (2008) investigated the sustainability reporting and the impact of sport events on local development, and Smith (2007) provided principals for hosts on how to maximize the sustainable regeneration legacy resulting from hosting large-scale sporting events. As such it is suggested at the end of this dissertation for future research to follow in this direction in order to further understand the connection between legacy and sustainable development.

Governance

The term governance is a broad concept and has been used in numerous ways in the literature. Governance may apply at many different levels, some of which include the field of economic development, with 'fair and good governance' being a requirement for receiving money from the World Bank, and global governance, which deals with international issues such as the environment and drug trade. Corporate governance refers to management, accountability, and transparency, whereas state and political governance focuses on the growth of management strategies (Hirst, 2000; Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007).

In the early 1980s, governance reappeared in the public domain (Argyriades, 2006; Bovaird, 2005) as a result of several factors: the managerial revolution, which created a new model based on integration rather than hierarchy and isolation; the increased use of performance assessments; the growing importance of global issues; and research which focused on network societies (Bovaird, 2005; Pierre & Peters, 2000). Due to its participatory nature, governance required increased regulation of outside partnerships responsible for providing services during periods of fiscal restraint. It also produced an improved perception of legitimacy through the use of private sector 'best practices' (Pierre & Peters, 2000).

An important factor in this project concerns the use of governance as a balancing mechanism in networked societies. Whether in theory or in practice, governance continues to be

a hotly contested idea (Bovaird, 2005). One topic needing further study is influence mapping, or power balancing, of actors in the network. This aspect is examined in the network analysis section of the research.

Democracy is essential to 'good governance' (Rhodes, 1997). The basic concept of democracy is that the decisions of the majority reflect the will of the public; in other words, majority rules (Deleon, 2005; Pierre & Peters, 2000). In this research, when referring to the concept of governance as defined earlier using Girginov's (2011) work on event legacy, actions associated with democratic governance will be implied. *Democratic governance* is defined as "the management of societal affairs in accordance with the universal principles of democracy as a system of rules that maximizes popular consent and participation, the legitimacy and accountability of rulers, and the responsiveness of the latter to the expressed interests and needs of the public" (Nzongda-Ntalaja, 2004, p. 2). One of the main challenges in the democratic governance literature is that the focus tends to be on governance as a structure, with little research on the actual process required. In this project, both structure and process are investigated.

The key aspects of democratic governance (i.e., accountability, transparency, performance and participation) help frame the critical analysis of the governance of Olympic Games legacy presented in the conclusion chapter of this dissertation. They are described below.

Accountability. Public accountability is crucial to governance and is part of good governance in public and private sectors (Bovens, 2005). *Accountability* is defined as "a social relationship in which an actor feels an obligation to explain and justify his or her conduct to some significant other" (Bovens, 2005, p. 184). Included in the various types of accountability are organizational, political, administrative, market, constituency relations, and professional

accountability. Each differs in terms of legal attributes and to whom stakeholders are accountable (Bovens, 2005; Jabbra & Dwivedi, 1989). Accountability results in a more democratic balance of power and greater integrity among planners and participants, which increases performance and enhances the legitimacy of the event in the eyes of the public (Bovens, 2005).

Transparency. According to the literature, transparency is a fundamental element of democracy and organizational accountability (Grigorescu, 2003; March & Olsen, 1994). The term reflects the open accessibility and flow of information among all interested stakeholders (Grigorescu, 2003). In order to ensure that transparency is being achieved, it is essential that organizations inform the public of their actions and provide monitoring mechanisms. As early as the 1960s, it was held that greater transparency leads to increased public trust, which means a greater rate of survival for democratic organizations (Almond & Verba, 1963; Grigorescu, 2003).

Performance. In this project, performance relates to organizational effectiveness (i.e., the level to which an organization achieves its goals), and organizational efficiency (i.e., the extent to which resources are applied to achieve goals). Performance is linked to accountability by means of justification. Initially, governments used performance management to justify their actions to the public (Talbot, 2005). Not only do stakeholders need to be given information on the organization's actions, they must also be privy to the results achieved by the organization (Talbot, 2005).

Performance is an important aspect of governance, in that it provides a means by which an organization is held accountable. In this project, performance is examined from three perspectives of the organization under investigation: overall organizational performance, individual performance, and activity, program and policy performance (Chelladurai, 2005;

Talbot, 2005). The ability and degree to which the organization is able to meet the needs of the different internal and external constituents determines the overall organizational effectiveness (Slack & Parent, 2006). Accordingly, the politics surrounding the exchange of critical resources and stakeholders' actions were taken into consideration during data gathering and analysis.

Participation. Participation is a significant dimension of governance. Event stakeholders should have the opportunity of openly sharing their opinions and contributing to the decision-making of the organization. Whether through expression in the public domain or direct representation in the organization's political process, stakeholders deserve the chance to make their interests and concerns known (Talbot, 2005).

In this project, particular attention is paid to stakeholders involved from the beginning phase of a sport event through to the conclusion. Issues of power, and the extent to which each stakeholder has had an impact on the event legacy in the long-term, is also examined.

Sport and Governance

As a result of the increased funding dollars allocated to sport organizations, the importance of proper governance has been increasingly endorsed by governments. In Canada, during fiscal year 2011-2012, Sport Canada provided over $148-million to sport organizations through the Sport Support Program, and contributed $23-million through the Hosting Program (Sport Canada, 2012).

Governance-related research in the field of sport management appears to be on the rise: Slack and colleagues (Kikulus, 2000; Kikulus, Slack, & Hinnings, 1995; Slack & Hinnings, 1992) focused on national sport governing bodies in Canada, Shilbury and Kellett (2006) studied organizations in Australia, and Thoma and Chalip (1996) explored governing bodies at the international level. A number of researchers have conducted sport governance-related research on the National Collegiate Athletic Association (Baxter & Lamburt, 2005; Kuga, 1996;

Washington & Ventresca, 2008), the IOC and other Olympic sport organizations (Camy & Robinson, 2007; Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008). Much of the existing research is descriptive in nature and focuses heavily on boards, organizational structures, decision-making, and the policy aspects of governance.

In 2011, Parent, Rouillard, and Leopkey examined issues and strategies linked to the involvement of municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government in the coordination of the Vancouver 2010 Games. The research highlighted the complexity of the governance system. It concluded that matters of time, geography, funding, resources and political situations must be coordinated with event planning, operational and legal requirements, accountability, lines of authority, interpersonal relationships and management issues. Although Parent et al.'s study provides a starting point for the investigation of governance and coordination issues at the Games it examined only one type of event stakeholder, the government, and did not include the issues of individual stakeholders. The latter category has unique complexity in its own right and would benefit from further study.

A number of theories have been applied to the study of organizational governance: agency theory, stewardship theory, institutional theory, resource dependence theory, stakeholder theory, and network theory (Cornforth, 2003). In this project, the use of institutional theory helped frame the emergence of event legacy and its related governance system within the OM. Network theory provided an analytical tool with which to study the governance of legacy in the Olympic Games. It also facilitated the in-depth analysis of the relationships that influenced the decisions, actions, and information flow of the organizations and their stakeholders.

The subsequent section of this study will present the main concepts associated with institutional theory and network theory.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory measures the impact of the external environment on an organization. In the literature on organizational theory, institutional theory is one of the foremost approaches to analyzing organizations (Washington & Patterson, 2011). Institutionalization is the process by which events and structures become established habits of social behaviour within organizations over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). This results in what is known as institutional isomorphism, whereby similarities exist in the structures of institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Tolbert and Zucker (1983) contended that this homogenization of actors happens regardless of its impact on organizational performance.

Several important tenets of institutional theory have been highlighted in the literature. Washington and Patterson (2011) summarized the principles in four fundamental understandings: organizations exist in institutional settings, organizations with unclear technologies and conflicting beliefs can be influenced by institutional forces, isomorphism occurs as a way of developing legitimacy but is often accompanied by inefficiency, and institutional practices are difficult to alter once embedded within the field.

In 1996, a general model of the institutionalization process was devised, from the initial emergence of a custom or habit to its full acceptance as an institutional norm (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). These phases included *habitualization* (courses of action created in response to organizational issues), *objectification* (the diffusion of the structure across the field), and *sedimentation* (when structures develop a reality of their own and are established as fact). Deinstitutionalization can occur when there is a reduction or weakening of the institutional norms. For this to happen, a major fluctuation in the environment is required. Oliver (1992) described deinstitutionalization as a fourth phase of the institutional process.

Within the sport management literature, Washington and Patterson (2011) held that applying institutional theory to the field of sport tested the boundaries and central tenets of the theory and brought greater understanding to organizations within the sport context. In this study, institutional theory was used as a means to explore the institutional process of event legacy. Tolbert and Zucker's framework helped describe the process through which event legacy became institutionalized within the OM. This is addressed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Network Theory

Network Theory is the study of relationships among actors within a network. This approach helps researchers to understand and measure the characteristics, qualities and evolution of stakeholder interactions within a specific field (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The purpose of network analysis "is to examine relational systems in which actors dwell, and to determine how the nature of relationship structures impacts behaviours" (Rowley, 1997, pp. 893-894). Quatman and Chelladurai (2008) offered several reasons for applying the unique analytical tool of network analysis to the study of sport organizations. The researchers found that this type of analysis helped to measure complex and difficult constructs, and made it possible to analyze multiple levels of relations simultaneously. They also noted that the advantage of integrating qualitative, quantitative and graphical data sets helped to produce a richer analysis of the setting.

A *network* is a structure or configuration composed of actors (stakeholders) who are connected via one or more relations (Knoke & Yang, 2008). In the past, networks gained recognition due to popular cultural phenomena, such as the John Guare play and film, entitled *Six Degrees of Separation*, and the *Kevin Bacon Game*. Each is based on Stanley Milgram's idea of the 'small world' concept: That everyone is linked to everyone else through relatively few connections (Knoke & Yang, 2008; Watts, 2003). The historical roots and usage of networks have been connected to many disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, sociology, and

physics. These disciplines have applied network theory to sociometry, connecting bloodlines, and determining friend networks (Freeman, 2004; Knoke & Yang, 2008; Watts, 2003).

With the key principle of network analysis being structural relations, its main objective is to "measure and represent these structural relations accurately, and to explain both why they occur and what are their consequences" (Knoke & Yang, 2008, p. 6). Accordingly, there are three underlying assumptions to consider when using network analysis: the concept of structural relations assists in understanding observed behaviours; networks have an impact on perceptions, actions, and beliefs; and structural relations are continually changing (Knoke & Yang, 2008).

Actors and relations are the main elements of a network, and may be represented by a sociogram, which is the mapping of the structure using lines and nodes (Knoke & Yang, 2008). On a sociogram, actors are reflected as dots or nodes, and can be either individuals or groups. Relations refer to the type of tie or connection experienced between the two actors, and are reflected as lines on the sociogram.

According to Knoke and Yang, the most important elements in a research design are the setting and entities to be analyzed, the frequency, strength and direction of the connection between the actors, the ties between them, and the level of data analysis (Knoke & Yang, 2008). Network theory offers a way to further understand organizations and how they interact with their environments. As an analytical approach, network theory will be used to study the impact of stakeholders on event legacy and will provide a more in-depth exploration of the complex relationships and governance processes within the legacy networks.

The application of institutional theory and network theory in this research contributes to a greater understanding of the governance of Olympic Games legacy.

Methodology

In order to properly justify the selection of methodology and specific methods used in this proposed research project on the governance of Olympic legacy a quick review of my research philosophy is provided. This includes my epistemology (i.e., how I know what I know), as well as, my theoretical perspective.

Epistemology is defined as "the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology" (Crotty, 1998. p. 3). Epistemological views include objectivism, constructionism, and subjectivism (although a contested topic (i.e., some (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) see the divide only between objectivism, and subjectivism)). Objectivists believe that reality exists separate from the consciousness (i.e., there is one truth), whereas subjectivists see reality as a creation of the mind (i.e., everyone has their own reality and therefore there is no truth) (Crotty, 1998; Trochim, 2001). Constructionism, a combination of both traditional epistemologies, provides a view where truth is seen as something that is constructed through engagement and experiences with realities. Employing a constructionist view permits me to see the event as one reality made up of various network actors who have varying levels of knowledge regarding certain facets of the event.

A theoretical perspective is "an approach to understanding and explaining society and the human world, and grounds a set of assumptions that […] researchers typically bring to their methodology of choice" (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). Various examples of theoretical perspectives exist including for instance positivism/post-positivism, interpretivism, critical theory, feminism, and postmodernism (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Positivism, usually associated to the hard sciences, is a position that believes that scientific inquiries can only be made and validated through direct measurement and experience (Trochim, 2001). Post-positivism is a critique or

rejection of positivism, post-positivists believe that they can make inferences based on theoretical reasoning and experience-based evidence (Trochim, 2001). A common form of post-positivism is critical realism (Trochim, 2001). Critical realists believe in the existence of reality independent from our knowledge of it but are critical of its assessment (i.e., we can never understand reality with exact precision) (Frauley & Pearce, 2007; Trochim, 2001). A critical realist perspective allows me to see the governing and hosting of a major event legacy as the interaction of network actors working together to produce the end result. This is not going as far to suggest that each individual within the case setting legacy network have completely different views of the event but that their observations are considered biased or theory-laden due to their cultural experiences and worldviews. As a result, this critical approach means that there can be a superior interpretation of the data (i.e., there is a search for the Truth but it is actually unlikely to be found).

The purpose of this study was to understand the governance of Olympic legacy. In order to meet this purpose, institutional theory and network theory were used in order to guide the data collection and analysis of this research. Institutional theory provided a frame to look at the adoption of the concept of legacy and how it became an institutionalized norm within the OM. Moreover, it provided an outline of general actions (cf. Tolbert & Zucker, 1996) to investigate the stages and forces involved in this process within the OM. Network theory was utilized in the third part as it provided a foundation for conducting analyses, taking measurements, and examining the balance of power among key actors within two event legacy networks under investigation. The application of network theory over other types of organization theories, for example stakeholder theory (cf. Clarkson, 1995) allowed me to go beyond the relationships between the focal organization and a stakeholder and to look at the overall impact of the network

structure on power and the decision-making process involved in the governance of legacy. Moreover, it provided a way to more deeply understand the characteristics of the network governance of legacy, the stakeholders/actors involved, the types of relationships between them, and the controls used to guide the delivery of the Olympic Games' legacy. Network theory also allowed for the investigation of the networks over time in order to explore how they have changed from the Sydney 2000 Games to the recently hosted Vancouver 2010 event.

Methodology is the practice of how you know what you know (Trochim, 2001). More specifically, a research methodology is "the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes" (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). Experimental research, case studies, surveys, ethnographies, grounded theory, heuristic inquiry, action research, discourse analysis are examples of methodologies employed throughout research (Crotty, 1998; Yin, 2003).

First, a historical review of event legacy in the modern Olympic Games was conducted. Then, following my research perspective, a case study approach (see Yin, 2003) was used. Case studies allowed me to focus on the specific event legacy actors and network structures in addition to the relationships between them. More specifically it allowed for and in-depth investigation the hosting experiences of a Canadian and an Australian Olympic Games in order to understand, explain, and compare/contrast the network governance of Olympic legacy (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). The following paragraphs highlight the overall research contexts, the general methods used, and the techniques applied in data gathering and analysis.

Research Contexts

Australia and Canada have many common political, economic and social characteristics. Conversely, many differences exist. The countries vary not only in their location, size, and population, but also in sporting history, cultures and political perspectives.

Australia. The Commonwealth of Australia (CA) is located in the southern hemisphere and exists as the world's smallest continent. Initially used by the British as a penal colony, a federation consisting of six colonies was formed by 1901. Australia is now governed by a democratically elected Parliament and is worth an estimated $40,200 gross domestic product (GDP), based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) per GDP (IMF, 2011). It is divided into six states and two territories, with a total population (as of October 1, 2012) of 22.7-million people, concentrated on the coastal fringes of the country (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

As a country, Australia takes sport very seriously and it has played an important role in the development of the nation since the early colonial period (Stewart, Nicholson, Smith, & Westerbeek, 2004). Australia also has a strong history of players, spectators and political leveraging of sport, which is part of its collective national identity (Stewart, et al., 2004). Sport is linked to the country's international image, and Australians have experienced sporting success at the highest levels. The country has played host to many of the world's top sport events, including several editions of the Commonwealth Games (most recently the 2006 edition in Melbourne), the 1956 (Melbourne) and 2000 (Sydney) Summer Olympic Games, and the 1992 Cricket World Cup.

In the 1970s, the Commonwealth Government became more involved in the governance of sport and the reshaping of the sport landscape in the country (Stewart, et al., 2004). The Australian Sport Commission (ASC) is the federal governing body responsible for the funding and strategic guidance of the Australian Institute of Sport (Australian Government, 2009).

The Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) is an independent, non-profit organization, both financially and in terms of decision-making (AOC, n.d.). Among its responsibilities are selecting and preparing national teams to attend Olympic-related events, such as the Summer,

Winter and Youth Olympic competitions. Spending in the lead-up to the 2012 Olympic Games in London was reported as being over $380-million, and $39-million was provided to encourage youth participation in sport in the fiscal year 2011-2012 (CA, 2012). In addition, state and territorial governmental organizations are responsible for sport within their jurisdictions.

  Canada. Canada, a parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy founded in 1867, still maintains ties with the British Commonwealth. It is the world's second largest country by area, and is worth an estimated GDP of $40,500 based on PPP per GDP (IMF, 2011). The country is subdivided into 13 primary jurisdictional regions, including 10 provinces and three territories, with a total population (as of January 1, 2012) of 34.7-million people (Statistics Canada, 2012).

  Sport plays an important role in Canadian culture, whether through participation in national pastimes, such ice hockey, or as players and spectators in municipal, provincial, and federal levels of competitions (Morrow & Wamsley, 2005). The popularity of sport in Canada is a political means by which to increase cultural and national unity and to define the country on the international stage. Canada has played host and has learned from its participation in the preparation of several large-scale sporting events over time including the first British Empire Games (now Commonwealth Games) in Hamilton, Ontario in 1930; the 1976 Summer Olympic Games in Montréal, Québec; the 1983 University Games in Edmonton, Alberta; the 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary, Alberta; the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria, British Columbia (BC); the FINA (*Fédération Internationale de Natation*) championships, 2005, and the U-20 FIFA (*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*) World Cup, 2007, in Montréal, Québec; and, most recently, the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver and Whistler, British Columbia. The 2010 Federal Secretariat (2010 FS) was an administrative unit responsible for

the federal government's legacy investments for the Vancouver Games (Government of Canada, 2008).

Sport in Canada is governed at the federal level by Sport Canada, an agency of the Department of Canadian Heritage. The role of Sport Canada is to encourage and facilitate the pursuit of excellence in sport (Canadian Heritage, 2009). During the fiscal year 2011-2012, Sport Canada disseminated over $148-million to sport organizations through the Sport Support Fund (Sport Canada, 2012). Sport-governing organizations also exist at the provincial and territorial levels.

The Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) is an independent entity responsible for the country's involvement in the OM. Areas of involvement include participation in Olympic and Youth Olympic Games, Olympic educational programs, and the selection of host city candidates for Olympic-related events (COC, n.d.). The COC receives the majority of its funding from private resources, such as sponsorships (COC, n.d.).

Case Study Approach

In this project, case studies were used as a way of gaining further insight into the governance of Olympic event legacy (Denscombe, 1998; Yin, 2003). Comparing two cases allowed for a closer look at the relationships and processes between the main stakeholders and the Organizing Committee within the event network. Additional advantages for using case studies include their compatibility for dealing with naturally occurring events where the researcher has no control over them and the suitability for small-scale research, that is, studies in which researchers concentrate their efforts on a few sites (Denscombe, 1998; Yin, 2003).

Setting Selection. The research examined the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic Games (hereafter the Sydney 2000 Games) and the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games (hereafter the Vancouver 2010 Games). Both editions of the Games were selected based on a set of similar

and differentiating characteristics in the countries. These included their federal systems, geographies, economic situations, cultural backgrounds and sporting histories. The selected cases and settings were also chosen based on their timing of the Games, and their winter versus summer event status.

The Sydney 2000 Games was chosen as a case because of Sydney's apparent success in hosting the event, although some would contest this point (cf. Lenskyj, 2000, 2002). The Vancouver 2010 Games was selected because of the Games' timing with regards to the concept of legacy and its inclusion in the Olympic Charter (OC). Vancouver was the first Olympic host city to have a legacy plan prior to receiving the Games, and the first host city to experience the effects, if any, of the incorporation of legacy into the OC.

Finally, all settings had to be accessible by the researcher. Since the Vancouver 2010 Games were held in the researcher's home country, data collection was aided by connections made through the doctoral supervisory team and the Olympic Academy of Canada. The Sydney 2000 Games data collection was facilitated through a post-graduate fellowship at the Australian Olympic Studies Centre, situated at the University of Technology in Sydney. This fellowship provided access to Sydney 2000 Games contacts and archival material. The details of the two case studies follow.

Comparative Case Studies
Case Study 1: Australia (Sydney 2000 Games)

The Sydney Organizing Committee for the 2000 Olympic Games (SOCOG) was responsible for organizing the XXVII Summer Olympiad, which took place in Sydney, Australia, between September 15 and October 1, 2000. The largest Games at the time, Sydney played host to over 10,600 athletes from 199 different countries, participating in 300 events in 28 different sports (IOC, 2008). The Games attracted over 16,000 media representatives and required the

efforts of more than 16,300 volunteers (IOC, 2008). This edition of the Games was the last

recipient of former IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch's famous accolade of 'best Olympics

ever' (Lenskyj, 2002).

SOCOG was governed by a Board of Directors comprised of key constituency groups

involved in both the bid and the production of the event (SOCOG, 2001). Representatives

included significant players in the OM, sport administration and commerce (SOCOG, 2001).

The Board was responsible for major policy decisions, directions of the Games, and budget

approval (SOCOG, 2001).

A year after the conclusion of the Games, the Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA)

was created as the governing body responsible for the legacy space located in the larger

Homebush Bay development area. Its mission was to "develop and maintain, to international

standards, a unique and integrated township called Sydney Olympic Park" (SOPA, n.d., para. 6).

Although private operators managed all venues within the park, SOPA directed the day-to-day

activities in the public places within the park, including tours, educational programs, security,

and the enhancement of visitor experiences. SOPA was governed by an eight-member Board of

Directors with representation from various constituents and stakeholders, such as labour,

environment, municipal government, and the AOC (SOPA, n.d.).

Case Study 2: Canada (Vancouver 2010 Games)

Canada hosted the XXI Vancouver Winter Olympic Games from February 12 to 28,

2010. More than 5,500 athletes and officials from over 80 countries participated in seven

different sports and 86 events during the 17-day period. The Vancouver 2010 Games attracted

over 10,000 media representatives and three billion television viewers (IOC, 2012).

The mandate of the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Winter Olympic and

Paralympic Games (VANOC) was "to support and promote the development of sport in Canada

by planning, organizing, financing and staging the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games" (VANOC, 2008, para. 2). A 20-member Board of Directors nominated by the various Games partners governed VANOC. Representatives of the Multiparty Agreement (MPA) included the COC, the Canadian Paralympic Committee (CPC), the city of Vancouver (COV), the Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW), the province of BC, the Government of Canada (GOC), and the Four Host First Nations (FHFN).

To coincide with the bid for the Games, 2010 Legacies Now (2010 LN) was developed to ensure lasting legacies for BC, whether or not Vancouver won the right to host the Games. 2010 LN was dedicated to strengthening various aspects of event legacy within the province, including arts, literacy, sport and recreation, physical activity and volunteerism (2010 LN, n.d.). In 2002, 2010 LN became an independent, non-profit organization and launched its first program, following the official announcement in 1993 that Vancouver would host the 2010 Games.   A nine-member Board of Directors governed the organization, which represented various stakeholders and members of the OM, including the COV, VANOC, Olympians, and the local business community. Following the conclusion of the event, 2010 LN became LIFT Philanthropy Partners (LIFT).

Methods are the specific techniques or procedures employed to gather and analyze the data related to the project (Crotty, 1998). An exhaustive list of potential methods exists including: interviewing, observing, textual analysis, focus groups, questionnaires, content analysis, and statistical analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In order to build the case study, interviews, content analysis, and network analysis were used. These data gathering techniques allowed for the incorporation of various individual observations of the event even though they are not autonomous from each other as they exist in the legacy network. Data gathering is a

medium between collecting data that is already available (e.g., IOC documents) and creating data to interpret the actor's experiences (e.g., interviews). This terminology fits within the constructionist perspective that falls between the objectivist and subjectivist approaches.

Data Gathering

The building methods of standard case studies generally include the creation of data through interviews. In this study, key members of the focal organizations (FO) and stakeholders were consulted, and archival material of annual reports and minutes of meetings was collected (Yin, 2003).

Interviews were the primary source of data for the Sydney 2000 Games case study, since website information was not as prevalent during the late 1990s and early 2000s. For the Vancouver 2010 Games case study, archival material was the primary source of data. Interviews complemented this information by reinforcing the findings in the archival material, in addition to providing clarification where required. Using more than one method of gathering data (called triangulation) gives a more balanced picture and increases the credibility and trustworthiness of the results (Guba, 1981). Each data source is described below.

Archival Material. Archival material includes any type of documentation, such as newspaper clippings, letters, memoranda, agendas, minutes of meetings, and reports (Yin, 2003). Archival documentation is known to be a good source of evidence because it is precise, can be reviewed, and provides broad coverage (Yin, 2003). As well, archival material was used to provide a historical perspective. The data for the case studies were a combination of newspaper articles, Organizing Committee documents, and website information. Also examined were books written about Olympic Games, such as *Patriot Hearts: Inside the Olympics That Changed a Country,* by John Furlong (former CEO of VANOC), and documents and final reports retrieved

from the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, Switzerland. In total, 320 documents were studied.

Interviews. Using interviews as a form of data collection was an essential part of the methodology of this project. Obtaining the perspectives of the participants increases insights and understandings (Yin, 2003). Material from the interviews was transcribed verbatim and analyzed for content following guidelines described by Denscombe (1998).

The interview guide was based on the information retrieved during the archival material search and the theoretical applications. This general guide was updated as the study progressed (See Appendix A for the interview guide used). A letter of information, detailing the proposed research project, and a consent form approved by the University of Ottawa's Ethics Committee, were provided to the interviewees (See Appendix B). Duplicate copies were given to each participant so that both the interviewee and the researcher would have a signed copy for their records. Participants interviewed over the phone received the information by fax, e-mail or letter prior to the actual interview, and consent was granted by returning the signed form by one of the aforementioned methods.

At the onset of the interview, interviewees were asked if they agreed to having the interview recorded. In Canada, the official languages are French and English. However, due to the locations of the interviewees, all interviews were conducted in English. No participants requested that the interview be conducted in French. The interviews for both cases focused on three key areas: a) event legacy, b) the network of decision-making and power, and c) governance practices as they relate to transparency, participation, performance and accountability.

Individuals representing key organizations for each setting were identified and contacted for an interview. Only those identified in the literature, or from snowball sampling (a technique whereby study subjects are asked to refer the researcher to other people who fit the requirements of the study) were interviewed (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Parent, 2008). In total, 28 interviews were conducted. In each case, saturation of the data (meaning that no new themes emerged) occurred midway through the data collection (cf. Miles & Huberman, 1994). For additional information regarding the interviews, see Table 1-2.

Table 1-2

Interviewee Information

Interview #	Stakeholder	Interview Method	Length
1	SOCOG/AOC/International Federation (IF)	In-person	51 mins
2	SOPA	Phone	60 mins
3	City of Sydney/SOCOG	In-person	55 mins
4	IOC/Sydney 2000 Coordination Committee	Phone	36 mins
5	State Sport Organization (SSO)/-Venue Operator	In-person	112 mins
6	AOC/SOCOG/IOC	In-person	119 mins
7	SOCOG	In-person	33 mins
8	ASC	In-person	45 mins
9	Community Member, Sydney	In-person	46 mins
10	Contractor, SOCOG	In-person	21 mins
11	Paralympic Games, Sydney	Phone	110 mins
12	SOPA	In-person	103 mins

13	SOCOG	In-person	30 mins
14	SOCOG/IOC	Phone	55 mins
15	SOCOG Volunteer	In-person	120 mins
16	SOCOG	In-person	128 mins
17	Community Member, Sydney/-SOCOG Volunteer	In-person	36 mins
18	State Sport Centre (SSC)/Venue Operator	In-person	107 mins
19	SOCOG/Venue Operator	In-person	109 mins
20	CPC	Phone	43 mins
21	VANOC	Phone	54 mins
22	Whistler Sport Legacies (WSL)	Phone	57 mins
23	COC/VANOC	In-person	123 mins
24	IOC/VANOC	In-person	32 mins
25	2010 FS	In-person	59 mins
26	National Sport Organization (NSO)	In-person	43 mins
27	COC/International Delegation	In-person	20 mins
28	Community member, Vancouver/-VANOC volunteer	Phone	27 mins

Interviewees were contacted directly by the researcher or another interviewee. An interview was set up either in-person or over the phone, depending on what was logistically possible. See Table 1-2 for a breakdown of interview types. Face-to-face interviews were preferable because they are more personal than telephone interviews. Telephone interviews have some disadvantages, as it may be difficult to engage the interviewee in conversation, and there may be a potential lack of trust between the parties (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). When a face-to-face

interview was not possible, a telephone interview was conducted. In order to help mitigate the drawbacks of phone interviews, interviewees were provided with interview questions prior to the session to help them prepare for the interview.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was in the form of a content analysis (Yin, 2003), using ATLAS.ti 6.0 and ATLAS.ti 6.2 software for the qualitative data, and UCINET 6.0 and Netdraw software for the network analyses. ATLAS.ti facilitated the coding and retrieval of the data by allowing the researchers to highlight themes that appeared in the transcribed interviews and archival material. UCINET aided in the building and analyses of case networks, and Netdraw was applied to create the network illustrations.

As data were collected and created, they were inductively and deductively analyzed according to guidelines set out by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Yin (2003), and comparison techniques formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Content analysis was used over other methods (e.g., discourse analysis) due to its ability to base coding on previous knowledge (e.g., legacy typology) (Denscombe, 1998). These approaches aided the content analysis by identifying themes and ideas in the archival material and interviews.

The first step of data analysis for the case settings involved open coding of the archival material and interviews about legacy and governance practices. These initial codes reflected types of legacy, network stakeholders, and information related to the governance of legacy, both during and after the event. Axial coding was the second step of analysis and furthered the identification of patterns and relationships between the open codes. This resulted in a more in-depth analysis of the initial case findings, through the development of higher-order coding for each setting. The data were coded using simple descriptive phrases, such as social legacy, governance-accountability or network stakeholder-media (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Leopkey &

Parent, 2009). A comparison was made between the raw interview and archival data and the

analysis and findings derived from the institutional, network, event legacy and governance

literatures. This was accomplished by using the constant comparison technique; that is, referring

back to the literature in order to ensure consistency (cf. Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The first part of the data analysis centred on all available documents from Olympic bid

cities and host cities, including event plans, organizing committees, stakeholder communications,

and committee final reports. The time period was from the first modern Olympics in 1896, to the

present day. In an attempt to identify the major trends in event legacy evolution, the data

analysis encompassed occurrences that were planned or unplanned, positive or negative, and

tangible or intangible. At the same time, all data relating to the governance of legacy as it

pertained to transparency, accountability, participation and performance were coded.

The second part of the data analysis was a description of the governance of legacy as

adopted in each case. Both the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 case studies were analyzed

separately, followed by a cross-case analysis. This method of analysis unveiled the common

themes between the two cases, to illustrate their similarities and differences (Yin, 2003).

Subsequently, a network analysis was conducted, using UCINET 6.0, and visualized, using

Netdraw, in order to view the legacy networks in each case. Visualization involves looking for

meaningful patterns in the characteristics of the network. In order to visualize the network, data

regarding the relationships between the stakeholders were translated into a matrix, using Excel.

The quantification of the data was achieved through sociomatrices, using algorithms to measure

the strength of each network's ties.

Quality of Research

In order to create high-quality findings in research, it must be trustworthy. According to

Guba (1981), trustworthy research is credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable. In this

study, in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the qualitative data (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), ATLAS.ti was used as a qualitative data manager for the interviews, archival material and contacts. Credibility is the ability to produce believable research results. The credibility of this research was reinforced through the inclusion of multiple sources of data (e.g., interviews and archival materials) in order to ensure converging lines of evidence. In addition, the consistent use of case study protocol served to amplify its credibility. Transferability relates to the potential for transferring the research results to other similar contexts, and, as in this case, back to theory. The researcher was conscientious in adhering to the theoretical terms used in the literature, case boundaries, as well as the limits of the ability to generalize or transfer the results when drawing conclusions. The dependability of the findings of the study, or the degree to which they may be regenerated by different researchers from the same data, was facilitated through peer debriefings of emergent themes. Confirmability of research findings refers to the objectivity of the interpretations of the researcher. The preliminary findings of this study were presented to experts in the field of sports management at several conferences, thus exposing the material to close scrutiny. Moreover, two of the three articles presented in this dissertation have been accepted for publication, and as such, have been accepted through blind peer review by researchers in the field. In sum, the overall trustworthiness of the research findings was considered throughout the duration of this project.

Dissertation Outline

The objectives of this research were accomplished through the preparation of three separate articles and a final discussion and conclusion chapter. An article-based format was used in the dissertation for the following reasons: to answer the overall purpose of the study, to

address the three specific research questions detailed earlier, and to engender a wider and earlier dissemination of research results.

The three articles are cumulative and build on the findings and discussions of the prior ones. In the first two articles, there is an introduction, a literature review and theoretical framework, a methodology, findings and conclusions. The third article is an exception to this style, as it has not yet been submitted for publication. Some sections were omitted from Chapter 3 in order to reduce repetition in the manuscript. Chapters 2 and 3 are the journal articles written as a part of this research project. It is important to note that each of these two articles was written with the intention of standing alone in the publication process.

Article 1

The first article, entitled *Olympic Games Legacy: From General Benefits to Sustainable Long-Term Legacy*, was accepted for publication in September 2011, and published in the *International Journal of the History of Sport,* Volume 29, Issue 6. The aim of the article was to address the first objective of this dissertation: To conceptualize and put into context the evolution of event legacy over time, using bid and final report documentation from Olympic Games hosts and candidate cities.

It was found that as a result of the increased importance of legacy in the modern OM, many trends have emerged. Examples of modern trends included numerous new legacy themes (e.g., environmental, information, educational), changes in the types of legacy being emphasized (e.g., closer links to city and regional planning initiatives and legacy sustainability), increasing complexity and interconnectedness found within the typology of legacies, and legacy's overall governance including major influencers and decision makers.

Article 2

Entitled *The (Neo) Institutionalization of Legacy and its Sustainable Governance within the Olympic Movement*, the second article is forthcoming in an issue of *European Sport Management Quarterly,* Volume 12, Issue 5. The purpose of the article was to build on the response to the first objective of this dissertation.

The material in this article analyzed the historical findings of the first article regarding the emergence of legacy within the OM, and, through the application of institutional theory, examined the process by which legacy has become an accepted norm. More specifically, this paper reviewed why and how legacy was adopted and the subsequent implications on Bid and Organizing Committees and other actors within the OM.

Findings suggested that the adoption of legacy in the OM was a response to coercive, mimetic, and normative institutional pressures placed on Bid and Organizing Committees in response to criticisms regarding the money being spent on the Games and a way to justify its ROI, as well as the need to increase the allure of the Games following the poor turnout the late 1970s and 80s. Legacy followed the institutional phases of habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation as described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996), and as such, has become fully institutionalized in the Movement. This resulted in the need for its long-term sustainable governance.

Article 3

The third article, entitled *The Network Governance of Olympic Games Legacy: A Look at the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Models*, speaks to the second research objective: To compare the network governance characteristic of legacy in two case studies of the Olympic

Games (Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010). This material included the identification and comparison of network governance mechanisms used throughout the Games legacy process.

As a result of the analysis, four network governance phases of legacy were identified: conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games governance. Two types of legacy governance mechanisms influencing the network governance of legacy were stakeholders and controls. The network governance characteristics of the research emphasized the changing prominence of stakeholders, relational ties, and the evolving nature of the network over time.

A concluding chapter summarizes the findings of this dissertation, and provides a critical analysis of the overall structure and process of the governance of legacy within the OM focusing specifically on the aspects of performance, transparency, accountability, and participation to build a framework and provide policy recommendations for the governance of legacy in mega-events. This is followed by a personal reflection on the doctoral process. The dissertation concludes with a discussion on the future of Olympic event legacy and its governance, and offers directions for extending research in the area.

Contributions of the Research

Findings from this dissertation will benefit research in the sport event realm by increasing the understanding of the governance of legacy. From a theoretical perspective, insights related to the literature on institutions, networks and governance were highlighted and tested in the context of sport event management. From a practitioners' point of view, organizers and hosts of Olympic Games will be better prepared to plan for and govern the long-term legacy of the Games.

Many aspects of this research project were new to the study of legacy. Institutional theory, for example, was used to explore the broad acceptance of the concept of legacy, which included the historical evolution of legacy and its emergence in the field of mega-sport events. Another indication of research advancement was the use of network theory to investigate and compare the network governance of legacy in two editions of the Olympic Games. These approaches are at the forefront of event legacy research. The findings from the within-case and cross-case comparisons (see Yin, 2003) in this study will contribute to the sport management literature by narrowing some of the gaps associated with the governance of legacy. The conclusions of the research will lead to a deeper understanding of legacy governance, which is integral to the future advancement of the OM and the overall sustainability of the Olympic Games. Additionally, the research will broaden the applicability of institutional theory, network theory and the governance literature to the field of sport event management. This is directly tied to the exploration of the limits and boundaries of each theory in the sporting event context, and, more specifically, within the OM.

Historically, the literature on governance has focused on corporate organizations and various forms of government. This research has expanded on both the structure and process of governance specific to managing legacy at an Olympic Games. The application of the governance literature to sport management will extend its usefulness in the sporting and non-profit fields, as well as the mega-sporting events. In addition, it opens up new avenues for extending the network theory and governance literatures by identifying peculiarities associated with short-term projects and temporary organizations both of which are currently under-investigated.

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CHAPTER 2

Paper 1: Olympic Games Legacy: From General Benefits to Sustainable Long-term Legacy

Leopkey, B., & Parent, M.M. (2012). Olympic Games legacy: From general benefits to

sustainable long-term legacy. *International Journal of the History of Sport, 29(6), 924-*

943.

Sport event legacy has been emerging as a key concept for Bid and Organizing

Committees of large/mega sporting events since the late 1980s and is generally tied to the

outcomes associated with the hosting of an event (Hiller, 2000; Thomson, Leopkey, Schlenker &

Schulenkorf, 2010). The growing importance of legacy within sport events has resulted in a

heightened interest in the concept of legacy by various Olympic Games stakeholders especially

the IOC, host cities, and governments who have financed the Games. The study of legacy is

increasingly important, especially from a management perspective, as the issue of ROI and the

ability to acquire sustainable long-term benefits of hosting is central to a city's decision to host

or bid (Allen, O'Toole, McDonnell & Harris, 2007).

Research on sport event legacy is relatively new, however coverage of the topic can be

found in the literature of a variety of academic disciplines including history, management and

sociology. For example, sporting event legacy and Olympic legacy have been touched on in the

sport (event) management literature—though not necessarily using those terms—early research

has typically focused on the economic impacts of these events (Crompton, 1995; Daniels &

Norman, 2003; Horne & Manzenreite, 2004; Preuss, 2004). In 2008, this journal (*International*

Journal of the History of Sport) even had a special issue devoted to the topic where articles

critiqued the good and bad, intended and unintended legacies associated with previous Olympic

Games. Despite the topic's growing popularity the lack of research on the evolution of legacy is a critical omission by the academic world given the importance now placed on the impact of legacy (e.g., new local infrastructure and increased international profile) by Bid committees, local politicians and event organizers in addition to the financial costs associated with past editions of the Olympic Games (Thomson et al., 2010). In order to fully understand the evolution of legacy, it is also important to analyze how legacy has been governed from its inception. Governance is a broad concept that has been used in numerous ways throughout the literature. Uses of the term have been seen within the field of economic development, global and corporate governance to name a few however, this paper will focus on the actual management system used to govern Olympic legacies (Hoye & Cuskelly, 2007; Hirst, 2000)[1].

In order to address this gap, the purpose of this paper is to investigate the evolution of legacy throughout the modern OM in order to examine and contextualize major trends (e.g., usage of the term, changes in legacy, governance structures) over time. Although this paper touches on the benefits and impacts of the Olympic Games from their modern origin in 1896, the majority of it will focus on the evolution of the legacy concept from its emergence in the early 1980s to present day.

Olympic Legacy- The Emergence of a Concept

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[1] A document analysis of the bid collateral, candidature files, and final reports retrieved from the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, Switzerland were used as the main source of data in this study. In total, 185 documents were consulted. Data analysis occurred in the form of a content analysis using the qualitative data assessment software ATLAS.ti 6.0., which facilitated the coding and retrieval of the data by allowing the researcher to highlight themes that appeared in the archival material. These approaches facilitated the content analysis by helping to clearly identify themes and ideas in the archival material. This resulted in a greater analysis of the initial findings through the development of higher order themes, which are discussed in the emerging findings. Textual analysis was also used as a technique to help analyze the use and emergence of the term legacy within the data. All mentions of the word legacy in the data were captured and coded.

Although the concept of legacy did not gain popularity among scholars and practitioners until the middle of the past century, early references to legacy were commonly discussed as benefits or as motivation to host the Games and emphasized the successful organization of the Games through the provision of necessary competition venues with the eventual inclusion of their expected post-Games use (Gold & Gold, 2007). From the very beginning, Pierre de Coubertin hoped that the world would benefit from the revival of the Olympic Games by bringing "athletism to a high state of perfection, and [by infusing] new elements of ambition in the lives of the rising generation" (Athens 1896 Organizing Committee, 1896-1897, p. 128). According to McIntosh, prior to the use of the word legacy in the bid process, examples of purposefully benefiting the local area through the hosting of the Games can only be described as:

> …vague and fleeting in their pattern of inclusion. Instead, the early potential candidate city hopefuls largely wrote of how suitable and capable they were, of what an "honour" it would be to serve the Olympic Movement in this capacity, or of what their promises would include in order to ensure that the celebration of the Games would be a success (McIntosh, 2002, p. 451).

As the Games increased in scale over time, especially from the 1950s - 60s onwards (due mainly to TV coverage), legacy became a more important aspect to the hosting the Games (Gold & Gold, 2007). As a result of this growth, other issues occurring in the OM raised concern about the future existence of the Games. In the 70s and 80s, the OM attained such importance that the organization shifted to become globally politicized as reflected in the terrorist attack at the Munich Games (1972), and the boycotts associated with Montreal (1976), Moscow (1980) and Los Angeles (1984) (Gold & Gold, 2007). In addition, the Games have become increasingly commercialized, the number of doping incidences has risen, and the scandals associated with the selection of host cities, namely the Salt Lake City Games (2002), have provoked a more critical perspective of the movement (e.g., negative press).

Following the Centennial Games, legacy began to receive heightened focus by organizing committees (e.g., Sydney); and by 2002, a conference on legacy was organized by the IOC in conjunction with the Olympic Studies Centre of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Subsequently, in 2003, the IOC amended its Charter by including a 14th mission statement that focuses on a positive legacy for hosts and as such legacy established itself in the discourse of the Olympic family (Chappelet, 2008). Scholarship on event legacy has continued to garner increased interest as a result of the growing importance of legacy trends within events. The manifestations of legacy trends are also found at the many conferences that have also been hosted to discuss event legacy including the *Legacy Lives* international conference series that focuses on event benefits.

Legacy- The Debate

Although research has been conducted focusing on the legacies of mega sport events, there remains a lack of agreement on a clear definition and measuring techniques to conceptualize the term (Cashman, 2006; Ritchie, 2000; Preuss, 2007; Vigor, Means & Tim, 2004). Despite the risk of experiencing cost overruns and other negative aspects of legacy (e.g., overcrowding, deficits, and oversized, unused facilities also known as white elephants), governments of cities, regions, and nations continue to submit bids and pursue various types of mega sporting events including the Olympic Games.

Legacy has been considered as "an elusive, problematic and even dangerous word" (Cashman, 2002, p. 33). Within the English language, legacy has multiple meanings. More specifically, it is related to a gift or property left by will through an individual's bequest (i.e., an inheritance) or more generally anything remaining from a time period or event (Cashman, 2002; Preuss, 2007). The second and broader definition of legacy is the usage seen within Olympic scholarship and discourse (Cashman, 2002). The concept can also be problematic because

Organizing Committees continue to associate it with positive results, completely ignoring

negative outcomes (Cashman, 2006). Mangan suggests that this occurs for three reasons: A

positive legacy provides evidence of a successful event, it justifies the use of public funds, and it

motivates others to bid for and host the events in the future (Mangan, 2008). Therefore, it is

important to note that, in addition to identifying the positive aspects of legacy such as sport

infrastructure, urban regeneration, increased tourism, business opportunities, renewed

community spirit, enhanced destination image, and volunteer training, negative types of legacies

can be associated to mega sporting events including local and national debts linked to the

construction and production of the event, unused infrastructure after the event, overcrowding and

strenuous use of local resources, housing issues, and relocation of inhabitants (Cashman, 2006;

Gold & Gold, 2007; Lenskyj, 2000, 2002; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor et al., 2004; Zimmerman, 2007).

Another issue associated with sport event legacy is the fact that Organizing Committees are

temporary organizations and are generally disbanded within two years of the event's conclusion

when in reality it takes several years before legacies can be properly evaluated (Gratton &

Preuss, 2008). This reinforces the need to further investigate the governance of sporting event

legacy, especially post-event.

Legacy and the Modern Olympic Games

The first time the word legacy can be found in bid documents dates back to the

Melbourne 1956 candidature (McIntosh, 2002). The Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the Honorable

James S. Disney stated that the city of Melbourne was ready to "establish, as a legacy of the XVI

Olympiad, an Athletic Centre perpetuating in Australia the high ideals in Amateur Sport and for

which that movement stands" (Melbourne Invitation Committee, n.d., p. 6). Between the time of

the Melbourne candidature and bids for Games in the 80s (e.g., Los Angeles 1984, Calgary

1988), the only use of the term legacy was made in the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games final report with reference to their Mayan past and cultural links to dance.

It was not until the early 80s that legacy as a formal concept took off as a means to justify the hosting of the event. See Table 2-1 for a breakdown of the usage associated with the term legacy within bid documents and final reports of Olympic hosts and hopefuls. Los Angeles 1984 demonstrated to the world that it was possible to turn a profit from hosting an Olympic Games by realizing a $232 million dollar (US funds) surplus though a groundbreaking worldwide corporate sponsorship initiative ((AAF)Amateur Athletic Foundation, 2004). Learning the hard way (i.e., from Montreal's massive debt from hosting the 1976 Games), Calgary's bid book for the XV Winter Games reflected the country's interest in hosting due to the potential to provide a permanent legacy (e.g., facilities and an Olympic Endowment Fund) to the people of Canada ((CODA) Calgary Olympic Development Association, 1981, p. 6). In addition, the final report described more idealized and intangible concepts of legacy such as talent, people, tourism, business, and sport development (XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, 1988). Following this lead, some bid books and final reports in the late 80s and early 90s touched on various legacy elements, more notably, Anchorage's bid for the 1992 Winter Olympic Games (which had a small section in the bid book dedicated to legacy), and Barcelona's final report from the 1992 Summer Olympic Games (See Table 2-1).

Table 2-1

Usage of the word legacy in Olympic bid documents and final reports

Edition of Olympic Games	Bid Collateral (BC)*/Final Report (FR)* *multiple documents and volumes for each edition of the Games	Cultural	Economic	Environmental	Image	Informational/ Educational	Nostalgia	Olympic Movement	Political	Psychological	Social	Sport	Sustainability	Urban	Other
Melbourne 1956 (S)	BC											×			
Mexico 1968 (S)	FR	×													×
Montreal 1976 (S)	FR						×	×				×			
Moscow 1980 (S)	FR														×
Los Angeles 1984 (S)	BC/FR	×	×		×	×	×			×		×			×
Calgary 1988 (W)	BC/FR	×	×			×	×	×		×	×	×			×
Seoul 1988 (S)	FR	×	×		×	×		×		×					×
Nagoya 1988 (S)	BC					×									
Anchorage 1992 (W)	BC		×									×			×

Brisbane 1992 (S)	BC											×			
Barcelona 1992 (S)	FR	×				×		×				×			×
Anchorage 1994 (W)	BC											×			
Manchester 1996 (S)	BC		×					×			×	×			×
Toronto 1996 (S)	BC	×	×	×	×	×		×			×	×		×	×
Melbourne 1996 (S)	BC							×				×			×
Atlanta 1996 (S)	BC	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×			×
Salt Lake City 1998 (W)	BC		×		×			×				×			×
Nagano 1998 (W)	FR		×	×				×				×			×
Sydney 2000 (S)	FR	×	×	×	×	×				×	×	×		×	×
Québec 2002 (W)	BC														×
Salt Lake City 2002 (W)	FR	×	×	×		×	×	×			×	×			×
Stockholm 2004 (S)	BC		×					×			×		×	×	
Cape Town 2004 (S)	BC													×	
San Juan 2004 (S)	BC						×				×	×			
Istanbul 2004 (S)	BC		×												
Athens 2004 (S)	**FR**		×		×	×		×		×		×			×
Turin 2006 (W)	**FR**	×	×	×		×						×	×	×	×
Seville 2008 (S)	BC											×	×		
Istanbul 2008 (S)	BC					×		×			×	×			

Toronto 2008 (S)	BC		×	×					×			×	×	×	×	
Bangkok 2008 (S)	BC											×	×			
Berne 2010 (W)	BC														×
Salzburg 2010 (W)	BC		×									×			
Pyeong Chang 2010 (W)	BC											×			
Vancouver 2010 (W)	BC	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
New York 2012 (S)	BC		×	×			×					×		×	×
Madrid 2012 (S)	BC	×		×								×		×	
Paris 2012 (S)	BC		×	×				×		×	×	×	×	×
Moscow 2012 (S)	BC		×		×					×	×	×			
Rio de Janeiro 2012(S)	BC									×	×		×	×
Istanbul 2012(S)	BC		×	×	×	×			×	×	×	×		
Leipzig 2012(S)	BC			×						×	×			
Havana 2012(S)	BC										×		×	
London 2012(S)	BC		×	×		×				×	×		×	×
Pyeong Chang 2014 (W)	BC		×					×		×	×			×
Almaty 2014 (W)	BC		×	×						×	×	×	×	
Jaca 2014 (W)	BC	×		×										×
Sofia 2014 (W)	BC													×
Salzburg 2014 (W)	BC									×	×			

Sochi 2014 (W)	BC		×									×	×			×
Doha 2016 (S)	BC	×						×				×				
Tokyo 2016 (S)	BC						×					×	×	×	×	
Chicago 2016 (S)	BC		×	×								×	×	×	×	
Prague 2016 (S)	BC									×		×				
Madrid 2016 (S)	BC	×	×	×	×	×		×				×	×	×	×	×
Rio de Janeiro 2016 (S)	BC											×	×			×
Annecy 2018(W)	BC							×			×	×				×

Toronto's 1996 bid motivation had a strong focus on sharing their social and physical legacy with the people of the city. In order to ensure this, *The Toronto Legacy Commitment* was adopted by City Council. It called for:

> The Olympic Village to become a new neighbourhood of affordable housing after the Games; the Olympic venues to be available in the future for wide community use; and the facilities themselves to be designed and built in harmony with their environment (Toronto Ontario Olympic Council, n.d., p. 24).

Legacy continued to garner increased attention during the preparation phase of the 1996 Atlanta Games as a result of the Organizing Committee's yearning to leave something behind to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Games.

The new millennium witnessed a change in the use of the concept and the governance of legacy (a point that will be discussed in depth later in the article). By the early twenty-first century legacy had made a permanent mark on the bid phase and the hosting of the Olympic Games. Legacy has now increased in importance so much so in recent years that it has become a re-occurring theme for an OCOGs' overall mission. For example, the mission of the Athens 2004 Olympics Games repeatedly highlights legacy related themes:

- To organize technically excellent Olympic Games and provide the best possible conditions for the athletes to compete.
- To provide to the Athletes, spectators and viewers a unique Olympic experience and a legacy for Olympism.
- To present and promote the Olympic Ideals in a contemporary manner through their traditional Greek symbols.
- To promote and implement the Olympic Truce through the Torch Relay
- To control the commercial aspect of the Olympic Games.
- To leave a lasting legacy for the people of Greece.
- To re-position and promote the culture and historical heritage of Greece to the eyes of the world.
- To showcase the achievements of modern Greece and its potential for the future.
- To protect and enhance the natural environment and promote environmental awareness

- To spread the benefits of hosting the Games throughout the country.

<div align="right">(ATHOC, 2005, p. 313)</div>

Prior to this time, bid information provided by the IOC in bid manuals focused on the principal motivations of the bidders and their major objectives for hosting the Olympic Games. Early 90s candidatures for the 2000 and 2002 editions of the Games discussed expected and possible benefits of hosting the Games in section 2 of the candidature questionnaire. By 2003, the year of the bids for the Vancouver 2010 Games, a specific question under the first section of the bid book, *Motivation, Concept and Public Opinion*, queried bidders about the impact and the legacy of hosting the Games. All bidders for the following editions of the Games (i.e., 2012, 2014, and 2016) were required to discuss the concept of legacy within their bid documents in the first section of their candidature file under the theme *Olympic Games concept/motivation and legacy* a departure which is reinforced by the inclusion of the concept in 2003 into the OC, the pinnacle governing document of the Movement.

The increasing significance of legacy within the OM has also led to the development of an analysis tool that aims to assess and quantify the worldwide impact of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games Impact (OGI) tool collects information on 150 indicators from three broad dimensions of impact (social, environmental, and economic) over a period of 11 years (IOC, 2006). Data collection, which began at the Salt Lake Games in 2002, is now a foundational aspect of the transfer of Olympic knowledge that has been key within the IOC since the millennium (IOC, 2006). Even more recently, in recognition of the need to focus on sport development and community capacity building within the province of BC, 2010 LN (now LIFT, which is the organization that succeeded them following the Games) was created in conjunction with the Vancouver 2010 bid before obtaining the right to host the 2010 Winter Olympic Games

in order to ensure that sustainable (i.e., maintained over the long-term) legacy was a viable

possibility even if the city was not awarded the Games (2010 LN, 2009).

<div align="center">**Legacy Trends**</div>

Expanding Types

Early impacts of the Games are typically associated with sporting or local infrastructure.

Although evidence suggests that Athens also benefited from sport development programs and

national pride as a result of hosting the Olympic Games in 1896 (Athens 1896 Organizing

Committee, 1896-1897). As a result of the growing formalization of legacy within the OM, a

variety of new kinds of legacy have emerged over the past one hundred years. The following

legacy themes were highlighted in the content analysis: cultural, economic, environmental,

image, informational/educational, nostalgia, OM, physical, political, psychological, social, sport,

sustainability, and urban related legacy (see Table 2-2). It is important to note that similar to the

reviewed literature both tangible and intangible types of legacies existed for most categories;

however, the more tangible types of legacy such as physical infrastructure tended to be

highlighted more extensively.

Olympic Changes- Changes in Emphasis Over Time

The Olympic Games have become an important milestone in the history of any city that

has hosted the event. Early references to a candidate's motivation to host the Games and the

benefits associated with this bequest are associated mainly to the construction and rejuvenation

of sporting infrastructure such as the restoration the ancient Panathenian Stadium during the

1896 Athens Games. Although not explicitly stated in the documents analyzed, additional

research (Gold & Gold, 2007) has shown that Olympic cities from the 1930s to the 1960s used

the Olympic moniker to promote the images and local regimes associated with their countries

(e.g., Berlin 1936 and the Nazi regime and the re-emergence of Tokyo 1964 following the

Table 2-2

Description of Legacy Themes Identified in Bid Documents and Final Reports

Legacy themes	Examples (both tangible and intangible)
Cultural	Legacy elements related to cultural programming, and opportunities
Economic	Includes financially legacies such as jobs, tourism, funding, hosting opportunities, and marketing
Environmental	Environmental legacies are comprised of aspects such as environmentally friendly architecture and engineering, policy, and education
Image	Legacies associated with heightened international awareness and image enhancement of the host destination and region
Informational/educational	Informational and educational legacies are ones that embrace opportunities for gaining experience, knowledge, personal development, research, and governance capacity/processes
Nostalgia	Takes into account personal experience, and memories associated with the event
Olympic Movement	Embraces impacts important to the Olympic Family such as global harmony, influence on youth,
Political	Encompasses policy and policy development instruments
Psychological	Includes personal and community wide feeling of national pride, enthusiasm, and emotions
Social Issues	Legacies related to these issues consist of social progress, health, impact on the general population and special populations, new opportunities, and civic engagement
Sport	Sport related legacies are sport development, sport facilities, increased participation, and health improvement
Sustainability	Includes long term planning, environmentally friendly, economically viable legacies
Urban	These legacies include rejuvenation of Sport facilities, transportation, city services, planning, and recreation spaces

Second World War) (Gold & Gold, 2007). By the late 1970s, the Olympics were being used as a

stimulus to spark urban regeneration and local economies for the host region through the use of

mega-event strategies (Burbank, Andranovich & Heying, 2001). For example, the financial

success of Los Angeles 1984 showed the world that is was possible to make a substantial surplus

and affect the tourism industry by hosting a mega-event ((LAOOC) Los Angeles Olympic

Organizing Committee, 1985). A prosperous urban regeneration model was also made available

following the success of the Barcelona 1992 Organizing Committee's efforts to modernize the

city. As a result, proposals with a strong link to city planning agendas have garnered increased

attention in candidature bid books from the mid 90s onwards and have become increasingly

established in the bid process. For example, Rio's 2004 bid reflected the mega-event strategy of

using the Games as a catalyst to speed up existing urban plans:

> The Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, host of the projected Olympic Village,
> will benefit from the completion of an architectural and urban planning centre
> that was started decades ago, but left in an unfinished state, and the addition of
> an advanced technological centre. In addition to having a direct impact on urban
> planning, the Olympic Games will be a catalyst for the total restructuring and
> modernisation of the highways connecting the Olympic areas (Rio de Janeiro
> Bid Committee, 1996, p. 36).

Wanting to ensure that the Torino 2006 Games would be seen and remembered as the eco-

sustainable Olympics, TOROC set itself two major objectives as far back as the candidacy

stage:

> to guarantee the environmental sustainability of the Olympic Programme during the
> planning of the Games, construction of the Olympic Venues and actual staging of the
> Olympiad; and to hand on a new way of thinking, planning and organizing major events
> (TOROC, 2006, p. 261).

Following the turn of this century, candidatures for cities vying to host the Olympic

Games not only engaged the environmental movement, but the notion of sustainable

development (i.e., maintaining over the long-term) which also emerged as a legacy theme.

Even though the concept of sustainability with regards to hosting an Olympic Games emerged

hand-in-hand with the environmental movement, it is now seen as a much larger concept which

relates to many of the legacy themes and the overall leftover benefits of the Games and as such

was included as a separate legacy theme. The concept of sustainability can be seen throughout

candidatures of the new millennium. Discussions linked specifically to the construction of

facilities that are aligned with the needs of the community, environmental protection and

sustainable development policies, as well as long-term city planning. Chicago's 2016

candidature showcases the city's sustainable development initiatives:

> In creating its plan, Chicago made the post-Games use of venues
> a priority, utilized existing and temporary facilities where possible
> and planned on building new facilities only where justified by long-
> term community needs and financial viability. The design for the
> Games also took advantage of the city's existing transportation
> infrastructure, which includes an extensive subway, bus and train
> system (Chicago Bid Committee, 2008, p. 11).

Similarly, London 2012's overall long-term objectives are:

> to develop London as an exemplary sustainable world city, with
> strong, long-term and diverse economic growth, social inclusion, and
> fundamental improvements in the environment, and use of resources.
> It focuses investment and growth in the east of the city, recycling
> brownfield land to create high quality new mixed sustainable
> communities located around strategic transport nodes (London Bid
> Committee, 2003, p. 23).

Other issues linked to the sustainability of the Games legacy include temporary versus

permanent structures and the movement away from sole sport to non-sport use.

For example, London has limited the number of permanent venues to five and is utilizing

a number of temporary venues such as swimming pools and a shooting range to meet the needs

of the Games but will be dismantling and/or selling them post Games in order to minimize the

number of white elephants associated with hosting (House of Commons Culture, Media, and

Sport Committee, 2007). However, this has not occurred without objections, as there have been criticisms that some sports are benefiting much more than others from permanent legacy installations, creating a disparity among sports (Hart, 2009). In addition, it is possible to see a shift in legacy venues from Olympic sport use to non-Olympic sport use and participation-based venues. It is even common to see facilities shift from sport use to non-sport use and employed for cultural and business events. For example, the Sydney stadiums used in 2000 are now used mainly for concerts and other cultural events, and parts of Sydney Olympic Park (SOP) have been transformed to capitalize on popular community-based sports such as skateboarding. Since London was awarded the 2012 Games, sustainability has risen to another level illustrated by the development of a British Standard entitled *BS8909 Sustainability Management Systems for Events* (Pelham, 2011). This prompted the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) to develop an international standard (ISO 20121) which focuses on promoting sustainability in event management by helping to identify key sustainability issues such as venue selection, operating procedures, and procurement (Pelham, 2011).

It is also important to note that both the candidature files and the final reports focused mainly on positive aspects of legacy, and as such reinforces Cashman's belief that one of the major issues associated with legacy is that the potential negative consequences are generally ignored, especially by host organizations (Cashman, 2006). Although, this is not to say that OCOGs have not learned from the previous experiences of their predecessor's as there are several occurrences where hosts referred to previous Games and final reports for guidance. For example, Calgary 1988 focused on providing the city with an economic legacy through the Olympic Endowment Fund as a result of researching the financial problems of the Montreal 1976 Games.

While not explicit in documents, a definite legacy theme that emerges relates to the politically themed legacy category. Toohey and Veal (2001) suggest that political Olympic legacy can be traced back to Coubertin himself who said that the Games provided both an athletic and political affect. Much of this type of legacy is associated with contemporary political problems such as the human rights protests around the Beijing Olympics. However, a different type of political legacy including the actual transformation of the political landscape of the hosts (i.e., changes in government/governing parties, head politicians, and movement in leadership) in addition to policy and policy instruments related to winning and hosting the Games emerged. Within the data this legacy theme is not necessarily seen as a benefit but more of a consequence of hosting and can lead to the creation of benchmarks and implications for future hosts. For example, amendments in sport hosting programs and development of Games-specific Bills (e.g., *The Olympic and Paralympic Marks Act 2007* for the Vancouver 2010 Games) have been seen as a result of hosting the event (Leopkey, Mutter & Parent, 2010). The resulting experience can be beneficial for the main Games stakeholders (e.g., government) as the administrative experience from hosting the Games can act as an accelerator in the development of organizational capacities and the emergence of effective leadership.

Legacy Complexity and Interconnectedness

From the first modern Games in 1896 to the candidature files for the 2018 Winter Olympic Games, the notion of Olympic Games legacy has become increasingly complex. All 13 emergent legacy themes have become progressively interconnected over time, and as such, are not distinct from each other and exist with significant overlap.

For example, the economic legacy theme is tied to 12 of the other legacy themes identified. The Chicago 2016 bid exemplifies the link between the provision of proper sport facilities (i.e., a physical legacy) and the economic, social, and environmental/sustainability

themes. 'The plan gives priority to the use of existing facilities, and new construction is limited

to those structures justified by significant community needs and long-term commercial viability'

(Chicago Bid Committee, 2008, p. 25). The link between a destination's image, urban plans and

economic benefits are demonstrated in the Madrid 2016 bid:

> Economic benefits are central to our legacy plans through interaction
> with the business community. Madrid 16 is working with Madrid
> Global, a department within Madrid City Council focused on urban
> renewal and other key stakeholders to raise the city's profile on the
> world stage, encourage business and tourism opportunities (Madrid Bid
> Committee, 2008, p. 5).

A degree of interconnectedness (i.e., amount of overlap with the other legacy themes) exists

within all the legacy themes although not at the same extent. The above findings reinforce

arguments made by Brown and Massey (2001), Parent (2008), and Koenig and Leopkey (2009)

who purport that existing legacy types although distinct are not mutually exclusive.

Governance- Short Term Individual Support to Strategic Long-Term Governance

Early editions of Games legacy reflected individual donations as in the case of M.G.

Averhoff, a private citizen who donated the entire amount of funding required to restore the

ancient Panathenian Stadium during the 1896 Athens Games, the control of the Games by World

Fair committees in the early 1900s, and the direction by small sub-committees responsible for

the building of facilities as key influencers and decision-makers for the Games and their legacies.

As the Games increased in scale over time, legacy became a more important aspect to hosting

successfully and the evolution of the governance of legacy reflects these changes. In 1976, Greek

Prime Minister Constantinos Karamanlis suggested that Greece become the permanent home of

the Games as he recognized the sporting and cultural benefits for the country including building

on the historical connections to the Games of antiquity and the renewal of sport through the

construction of new facilities and urban infrastructure in addition to the facilitation of planning

that would occur if the event was held the same location every four years (ATHOC, 2005).

However, this did not occur, and Greece did not submit a bid until the Golden Jubilee Games of

1996, eventually receiving the honor to host the 2004 edition. More recently, Burbank,

Andranovich, and Heying (2001) argued that a growth regime (i.e., existing informal network of

business leaders within a community) plays a significant role in the strategic approach a host city

takes in securing the Games, its success, and the event legacy.

As a result of following a 'no frills' strategy and creating a successful privately funded

Games, Los Angeles 1984 provided a turning point for legacy governance. Originally the AAF,

now the LA84 Foundation, a non-profit organization, was founded in 1985 to manage southern

California's share (40% of the total profit) of the legacy funds generated from the hosting of the

Games (the other 60% went to the United States Olympic Committee) (AAF, 2004). The LA84

Foundation represents the first independent organization of its kind specifically created to

manage the legacy resulting from the Games. In addition to the $11 million raised by Los

LAOOC through the torch relay to support youth sport programs, the LA 84 Foundation has

spent over $140 million, dramatically impacting the sporting landscape both in California and the

world through educational opportunities (e.g., research, library and academic database), funding

initiatives (e.g., grants for sport organizations and the support of new sporting infrastructure),

volunteer engagement, and the promotion of Olympic sports since its inception (AAF, 2004). As

legacy became more routine and profiting from hosting the Games became a reality, bid cities

and future hosts began to prepare for life after the Games. During the bid process, Calgary 1988

and the Canadian federal government planned for and provided funding for both CODA (now

WinSport) and the Canadian Olympic Association (now COC) even without the $260 million

financial legacy (XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, 1988). The Canadian

federal government used an approach that was developed specifically to go beyond the needs of

the Games.

> In addition to providing essential services, the Canadian government
> provided a direct funding commitment to the project, undertook to build
> or fund certain facilities for the Games and established a legacy fund to
> ensure the longer-term benefits for the Canadian community (XV
> Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, 1988, p. 511).

This was the first time in history that an Olympic fund was proposed prior to the Games (in the

bidding process) specifically to support long-term training opportunities and continuous upkeep

of the facilities. Barcelona 1992 spread the responsibility for Games legacy over three

organizations: the Olympic Galleria, the city library, and the Olympic Studies Centre (Cashman

& Hughes, 1999). Following in Calgary's footsteps, Toronto's 1996 candidature proposed the

creation of a $70 million dollar fund to help maintain facilities, continue programming, and to

share their Olympic experience with people from other parts of the world, especially third-world

countries (Toronto Ontario Olympic Council, n.d.). Salt Lake City (2002) budgeted for a $40

million legacy fund to be split between the IOC, United States Olympic Committee, and the Utah

Athletic Foundation, an organization charged with taking care of the legacy facilities of the 2002

Winter Olympic Games.

> The end goal for the Salt Lake 2002 Games budget was zero-deficit,
> which essentially meant to break even. In order for SLOC to
> accomplish this, the cost of staging the Salt Lake 2002 Games and
> Paralympics needed to be offset primarily by sponsorships,
> broadcasting fees, ticket sales and merchandise sales. In addition to
> covering the cost of the Games with income from these sources,
> SLOC established a Legacy Fund to maintain Olympic Venues after
> the Games. The Legacy Fund was a monetary gift to the state of
> Utah that was earmarked to support youth sport programs and keep
> the spirit of the Games alive in the community (SLOC, 2004, p. 387)

The Sydney 2000 Games created their governing organization, SOPA one year following the

Games of the XXVII Olympiad, whereas Vancouver 2010 was the first candidate city to create

an independent organization (2010 LN) mandated with conceptualizing the legacy of the Games even if they were not awarded to the city. 2010 LN has now evolved into LIFT an organization that uses a venture philanthropy approach to sustaining the event's legacy and is aiming to facilitate the effectiveness of not-for-profit organizations in the country (LIFT, n.d.). As detailed in the MPA prior to bidding and receiving the 2010 Games, the Games Operating Trust (GOT) is responsible for the management of the Legacy Endowment Fund (LEF) for the 2010 Games and oversees the distribution of the money to the Richmond Oval, Whistler Olympic Park (WOP), and Whistler Sliding Centre (WSC) for operating expenses and maintenance costs (Government of Canada, et al., 2003). The same strategic bid phase approach was taken with the Whistler Legacies Society (WLS) that became the organization that owns and operates the Games legacy facilities in the RMOW (WOP, WSC, and the Whistler Athletes Centre (WAC)) following the conclusion of the Games.

London 2012 has claimed that their legacy planning for the London Olympic and Paralympic Games has been more intensive than any other previous host city (House of Commons Culture, Media, and Sport Committee, 2007). This preparation included the development of an action plan to help stimulate the potential long-term benefits associated with hosting including impacting sport development throughout the country, transforming and regenerating East London, inspiring the younger generation, developing sustainable facilities, and boosting the local image (LOCOG, 2007). This reveals a shift in legacy planning post-Games to strategically planning from the bid phase, and suggests that legacy is not something that should accrue only post-Games, but from the initial bid, through to planning and Games implementation. This change from thinking about legacy post-Games and post-bids to planning

for it pre-Games is one of the most significant evolutional adaptations in the governance of legacy within the modern Olympic Games.

Organizations have been created to stimulate legacy prior to and during the bid phase of host city candidatures even if the cities are not bestowed the opportunity to host in order to garner potential positive benefits for the local region. The Chicago 2016 applicant city committee created a living legacy in the form of an organization entitled World Sport Chicago which continues to help support and promote Olympic and Paralympic sport among the youth of the city despite the fact they were not awarded the Games (Chicago Bid Committee, 2008).

Legacy Decision Makers and Influencers

Early Games legacy was associated with the success of the Games in terms of the provision of facilities and programming. Key influencers/actors were the local Organizing Committees, individual donors, and associated organizations such as the governing committees of World Fairs.

Since the Sydney 2000 Games, the inclusion of various levels of government (federal, state, and municipal) as lead stakeholders has become the norm. Vancouver introduced the concept of a MPA, a binding document that stipulates the roles and responsibilities of the main Games partners during the lead up to and following the Games; a practice now mandated by the IOC. In the case of the Vancouver MPA, the governance of legacy is stipulated in section *29-36* where details about the responsibilities associated with the winding down of the OCOG, distribution of assets, physical legacy, surplus from the Games, intellectual property, the LEF, WLS, and Games legacy administration are laid out (Government of Canada et al., 2003). The Olympic Park Legacy Company (once the London Development Agency) is controlled in collaboration by the central government and the Mayor of London. For the 2012 Games, the "responsibility for delivering the regeneration legacy for London rests clearly with the Mayor of

London" (House of Commons Culture, Media, and Sport Committee, 2007, p. 32) with the help and support of local authorities suggesting that multiple players need to be involved in the governance of Games' legacy. One thing that is clear in the data is that the sustainability of Olympic Games legacy is a shared responsibility between many stakeholders. Since the OCOG is a short-term organization and ceases to exist following the Games, stakeholders who remain for the long term should definitely be involved. What is left to be established is who should take on the lead role and to what degree should the other Games stakeholders have influence in the strategic planning, decision making and post-Games sustainability of the event's benefits.

Conclusion

Experiencing or acquiring benefits as a result of hosting the Olympic Games has existed as a concept since the proposed reinvention of the modern Games by Pierre de Coubertin. Since then, various net positive benefits have been put forth as motivation to pursue and justify the hosting of the Games. These have evolved from general benefits and impacts of the Games to sustainable long-term legacies, which have been strategically planned from the time of the bid. The growth of the Games has resulted in the increased use and importance of the event legacy concept within the Olympic lexicon, so much so that it is now a key component of the host selection process and governance of the Games.

The extent to which the discussed legacies actually happen is debatable as the bid and final report documents are self-reported by the organizations seeking to host and organize the Games and are, therefore, questionable at best. For example, Sydney was said to be a 'Green Games*',* but to what degree 'green-washing*'* occurred merits additional review and should be further analyzed.

One key question that still remains to be addressed today is who has the responsibility for delivering and sustaining post-Games legacy? This shared responsibility needs to be investigated further in order to determine the accountability and the degree of participation of other Games stakeholders throughout the legacy process.

The norms and standards that have emerged over time in relation to the concept and governance of legacy link us to the notion of institutionalization. *Institutionalization* is the process by which events and structures become established habits of social behaviour within organizations over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). As demonstrated in this paper, many forces and agents such as the IOC, previous bidders, successful Games candidates, and other Games stakeholders have played a role in the institutionalization of legacy within the modern OM. Although, beyond the scope of this paper, the use of institutionalization theory to further explore the formalization (i.e., increase in characterization of the concept through the writing down of rules, definitions, policies, and governing procedures) of legacy is needed and therefore suggested as a future step for this research (Slack & Parent, 2006).

Although Olympic legacy has been explored and contextualized in this study, there is still much research to be undertaken. One area worthy of deeper discourse analysis is that of the use of the word legacy versus the term heritage since they are sometimes used interchangeably especially in other languages (i.e., legacy in French is typically translated as *héritage*). Further research into the interconnectedness of the legacy themes is also important in order to investigate the relationships and complexity of each. In addition, specific case studies of legacy organizations will also help provide more information on the topic and allow for a much deeper analysis of the governance of Olympic legacy specifically, transparency, participation, performance and accountability elements of both the structure and the process.

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CHAPTER 3

Paper 2: The (Neo) Institutionalization of Legacy and its Sustainable Governance within the Olympic Movement

Leopkey, B., & Parent, M. M. (2012). The (neo) institutionalization of legacy and its sustainable governance within the Olympic Movement. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 12*(5), 437-455.

One of the more recent trends that has manifested itself within the sport event bidding and hosting landscape and the field of sport management is the concept of legacy. Legacy has often been used to justify the involvement of the public sector and to show a ROI for their contributed dollars in the sport event (Thomson, Leopkey, Schlenker & Schulenkorf, 2010). Generally, legacy is associated with the potential spin-offs associated with the hosting of an event such as economic, tourism, and social benefits. Preuss (2007) broadly defined it as "all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created by and for a sport event that remains for a longer time than the event itself" (p.87). More recently, research into the concept shows that legacy has evolved from early perceptions of acquiring general benefits from hosting to the current trend of strategically developing sustainable long-term legacy plans (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). This gravitation towards a proactive approach to sustaining legacy benefits over the long-term can be associated with the need for legacy governance (i.e., the need for long-term structures and controls responsible for monitoring and managing Olympic legacies created as a result of hosting the Games).

Research on sport event legacy has become a popular topic among sport scholars from a variety of disciplines including sociology, history, and management (e.g., Cashman, 2006; Ritchie, 2000; Preuss, 2007; Vigor, Mean & Tims, 2004). Upon reviewing Olympic bid

candidatures, final reports and previous event and Olympic legacy related research, Leopkey & Parent (2012) identified several emerging trends in the evolution of modern Olympic Games legacy. These included the expanding types of legacy (e.g., political, environmental) and their change in emphasis over time, legacy's complexity and interconnectedness, as well as major influencers and decision-makers, and legacy's overall governance. The norms and standards that have emerged over time in relation to the concept and governance of legacy are related to the notion of institutionalization. Institutionalization is the process by which events and structures become established habits of social behaviour within organizations over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Many environmental forces and powerful agents such as the IOC, previous bidders, successful Games candidates, and other event stakeholders have played a role in the institutionalization of legacy and its governance within the modern OM. Washington and Patterson (2011) suggested that one way institutional theory can help expand the sport management literature is by speculating on the emergence of a sport related institution (e.g., the adoption of more professional and business-like management practices in NSOs).

Relatively little research has focused on the governance of Games legacy; and as such, following a suggestion by Girginov (2011), the current state of the event legacy related literature needs to be further considered. In response to this gap, the purpose of this paper is to further explore the emergence of legacy and the process through which it becomes a taken-for-granted institutional rule that has impacted how organizations plan and implement the Games. More specifically, this paper reviews why and how legacy was adopted, the forces at play, and the subsequent implications on Bid and Organizing Committees and other actors within the OM. These include increasing awareness of the difficulties associated with modifying a structure once it has been fully sedimented in the field, the decoupling of effectiveness and efficiency in the

institutional process (i.e. event organizers need to be aware that increased effectiveness does not necessarily lead to heightened efficiency), and the need for flexible post-Games governance practices that are created locally by remaining stakeholders.

The outline of this paper is as follows. First an overview of sport event legacy research and the institutional literature is provided in order to outline the theoretical framework being used to analyze Olympic Games legacy. Next, the methodology is detailed followed by a discussion on the results and findings. Finally, the paper will conclude with the managerial implications of the institutionalization of legacy and its governance within the OM, as well as suggestions for future research.

Legacy and the Olympic Rhetoric

Although the idea of accruing a myriad of general benefits such as sport infrastructure as a result of bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games have been discussed and experienced since the first modern Games in Athens, Greece in 1894, the formal concept of legacy did not emerge onto the Olympic scene until the 1980s (MacIntosh, 2003). For example, Los Angeles (LA) turned a profit from hosting the Games in 1984 with the help of a ground breaking corporate sponsorship program and was able to secure a large financial legacy post-Games. The 1988 Calgary Bid Corporation discussed permanent legacies in their candidature in order to reinforce the potential for a ROI from hosting the Games. More recently, Vancouver 2010 and London 2012 have used the concept of legacy as a central tenet of their bid and Games implementation strategies. While Vancouver focused on sustainability, London has identified a number of legacy opportunities including sport, social, economic, and environment to be of critical importance (LOCOG, n.d.).

Several issues have been highlighted with regards to the concept of legacy including its definition, measurement, and management (Cashman, 2006, de Moragas, Kennet, & Puig, 2003).

In addition, both positive and negative legacies have been emphasized, but can fluctuate

depending on the stakeholders' perspectives. Girginov (2011) suggested "it is this tension

between what is being done in the name of legacy, for whom, and at what cost and to what effect

that turns Olympic legacy into a governance issue" (p. 3). In order to maximize the opportunities

and minimize the risks associated with hosting the Games, the IOC facilitates the organization of

the Games by providing knowledge and experience to organizers. Much of this is done through

their Olympic Games Knowledge Management System (OGKM). The IOC has also developed a

Guide on Olympic Legacy that is available to Games stakeholders through the OGKM. The

Guide

> is not prescriptive. It is intended to assist Organizing Committees and their partners by
> providing direction and highlighting the almost unlimited array of possibilities and
> opportunities that the staging of the Olympic Games can provide (IOC, n.d., p. 23).

It provides a general overview of the concept and focuses on reviewing many of the different

types of legacy; however the document only dedicates one chapter to managing Games legacy.

OCOGs which are responsible for planning and implementing the Games once they are won by

the candidate city are temporary organizations and are generally disbanded within two years of

the event's conclusion causing many implications on the overall governance and sustainability of

Games legacies (Gratton & Preuss, 2008). As a result of these issues, legacy is increasingly

being presented as a prospective concept rather than a retrospective one, and one that needs to be

strategically planned with the involvement of a number of actors including the state, market, and

society in order to benefit both the local and global community (Girginov, 2011).

Although, the connection between events and governance concepts has begun to emerge

in the literature (e.g., Governance of the IOC- Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008) including the

impact of hosting the Games on urban governance processes (cf. Newman, 2007), little research

(with the exception of Girginov, 2011; Leopkey & Parent, 2012) has looked at legacy as a governance issue. However, the IOC has recognized the importance of governance for the sustainability of the Movement and as such developed a document entitled *Basic Universal Principals of Good Governance of the Olympic and Sports Movement* (IOC, 2008a). This document, framed the conversation on good governance and ethics at the 2009 Olympic Congress, an event that only takes place every fifteen years and debates topics that are considered of critical importance to the Games. As a result of the conference, the IOC called all members of the movement to adopt the principles of managerial integrity, accountability, and transparency detailed in the document as a minimum for their governing practices. This is a step forward for an organization that has been affected by governance-related scandals in the past (e.g., Salt Lake City) in order to ensure the sustainability of the movement, and thus the legacy of the Games; however repercussions for not adhering to the principals seem to be minimal to non-existent.

Leopkey and Parent (2012) identified the governance of legacy as one of the more recent emerging trends in the evolution of Olympic Games legacy and maps its evolution from short term individual support to strategic sustainable governance as the Games have increased in scale and complexity over time. The AAF now the LA84 Foundation was the first organization founded to manage legacy following the hosting of an Olympic Games. Calgary 88 outlined CODA and the related Olympic Endowment Fund during the bid phase in order to ensure long-term and continuous upkeep of the physical legacy associated with the Games in Canada. By the time of the Vancouver 2010 Games, Olympic bid candidates were planning for legacies even if they were not awarded the Games. Leopkey and Parent (2012) suggested that this change in thinking (reactive to proactive) is one of the most significant evolutionary adaptations in the

governance of legacy within modern sport events. This history article was explorative and descriptive in nature and did not delve deeply into the details about why or how this occurred and the resulting managerial implications. As such, this paper will attempt to explain these unanswered questions by exploring legacy through the application of institutional theory.

Girginov (2011) explored the creation and sustainability of Games legacy at the London 2012 Olympic Games. He suggested the "delivery of any social, economic, or sporting legacy entails designing systems of governance to guide and steer collective actions towards a consensus amongst various parties concerned" (p. 2). Furthermore, he investigated the governance of the London 2012 Games legacy by examining four modes of governance (coercive, voluntarism, targeting, and framework regulation) and exploring a range of policy instruments. In the London case, the national legacy is steered predominantly by public actors where unequal power relations and resource dependency issues between policy makers and stakeholders exist. Of the eight public actors discussed (e.g., Legacy Trust, Host Boroughs Strategic Unit, Olympic and Paralympic Games Cabinet Committee), four were public bodies, while the rest had varying degrees of state involvement. As a result, the British state was able to control much of the legacy process associated with the Games. Girginov (2011) suggested that this challenged a central tenet of the concept of governance and rather than hollowing out the government legacy planning was actually "rolled out" (p. 11). In addition, he found that public participation, collective action, accountability and transparency played important roles in the governance of legacy. Although Girginov (2011) explored the governance of Olympic legacy, he only focussed on the upcoming London 2012 Games, an event that has yet to occur, and as a result, did not take into consideration post-Games legacy issues. In order to better understand the concept of legacy governance, it is important to look at previous editions of the Games to

understand the institutionalization process of legacy and the specific forces that played a role in shaping the structure.

Theoretical Background

For the past several decades, institutional theory has become a dominant approach to analyzing organizations within the organization theory literature. Institutional theory has been used to investigate a wide range of phenomena from the adoption of civil service reforms (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983) to investigating change in governance and decision-making in Canadian NSOs (Kikulus, 2000). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) defined an organizational field as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life" and can include suppliers, consumers, regulatory agencies and other relevant actors (p.148). Research of phenomena within organizational fields permits scholars to go beyond a more strict organizational setting or industry level analyses.

Institutionalization refers to the process through which events and components of formal structure become widely adopted and implemented by organizations within a field and serve to legitimate them over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Pressures from competition and the fight for survival cause organizations to look to other organizations that have been successful in their field and adopt their best practices and strategies (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As such, organizations within a field will converge and develop many similarities. This is understood to occur regardless of the impact on organizational performance (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983).

Washington and Patterson (2011) argued that there are five fundamental tenets of institutional theory: "(1) organizations are in institutional contexts; (2) institutional pressures affect organizations with unclear technologies; (3) organizations become isomorphic with their

environment to gain legitimacy; (4) practices to gain legitimacy are often decoupled from practices for efficiency; and 5) once a practice becomes institutionalized it is often hard to change" (p. 9).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggested that organizational fields in the early stages of their lifecycle exhibit substantial variety in approach and form to organizational problems; however once a field becomes well established, "there is an inexorable push towards homogenization" (p. 148). Institutional isomorphism results from environmental pressures on organizations that cause them to adopt specific practices and processes in order to survive. Meyer and Rowan (1977) purported that the adoption of these practices functions as myths depicting rational means as solutions to organizational problems. Over time, organizations will become increasingly similar as they implement comparable solutions to similar issues. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) described three mechanisms that lead to this outcome: coercive (political and authoritative pressure and legitimacy), mimetic (responses to uncertainty), and normative (impacts of professionalization).

The process of social change occurs in different ways: endogenously (from within, gradual and not required) or exogenously (externally, required) (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). These processes are not incompatible and can be identified throughout the course of institutionalization. Tolbert and Zucker (1996) provided a general model of institutionalization from initial emergence of a habit to the full institutionalization of the structure as an accepted norm. They suggested the process of institutionalization includes the habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation, and that the degree of institutionalization is variable based on the level of embeddedness of the structure within the social system. *Habitualization* (the pre-institutional stage) involves the creation of courses of action in response to new organizational issues and

their formalization or association to particular stimuli. *Objectification* (semi-institutionalization) relates to the diffusion of the structure for the particular issue and its acceptance by other organizations. *Sedimentation* (full institutionalization) occurs when the actions used for dealing with a particular organizational problem have developed a degree of exteriority (i.e., they possess a reality of their own) and thus are fully accepted and considered social givens by organizations within the field. The opposite of this process is termed deinstitutionalization, which is considered the attrition or delegitimation of fully institutionalized ideas and generally requires a major fluctuation in the environment (Oliver, 1992).

The adoption of a particular structure can also be seen as strategic. Oliver (1991) provided a typology of strategic reactions to institutional processes towards conformity in the organizational field. The proposed strategies (acquiesce, compromise, avoid, defy, and manipulate) vary in organizational agency from indifference to active resistance. These actions will depend on a number of circumstances from why, how, to what pressures are being employed.

Institutional Theory and the Sport/Sport Event Context

Since all types of sport organizations are entrenched in organizational fields (O'Brien & Slack, 2003), it is not surprising that research within the sport management literature utilizing institutional theory to explore various industries can also be found. For example, researchers (Amis, Slack & Hinings, 2004; Slack & Hinings, 1994) investigated isomorphic changes to NSOs in Canada due to pressure from their national federal regulatory agency Sport Canada, whereas Kikulus (2000) looked at continuity and change in governance and decision-making in the same context. MacIntosh, Doherty, and Walker (2010) found that environmental forces from regulation and competition caused fitness organizations to replicate and imitate best practices across the industry in order to conform to their institutional environment. Washington and

Patterson (2011) purported that the sport landscape provides an optimal empirical setting to utilize institutional theory for furthering our understanding of a topic in the field but also to test and extend the basic underpinnings of institutional theory.

Girginov and Hills (2009) examined the creation of sustainable Olympic sports development legacy and provided three prevailing assumptions: 1) the creation of inter-subjective meanings which go beyond individual beliefs, 2) participation and, 3) a mandate for action which in combination has spawned an environment for the institutionalization of legacy. They suggest that "the Olympic legacy framework turned the idea of sustainable sports development into an enterprise rationalizing and legitimizing its major stakeholders, organizations concerned with monitoring and measuring the legacy and myriad of delivery partners" (Girginov & Hills, 2011, p. 5).

Research Design

In order to meet the objectives of this study, institutional theory is applied as a theoretical framework to investigate the emergence of legacy and the process through which it becomes a taken-for-granted norm that has impacted actors within its institutional field including how organizations plan and implement the Games. More specifically, this paper reviews why and how legacy was adopted, the forces at play, and the subsequent implications on Bid and Organizing Committees and other actors within the OM.

In this research, the organizational field under investigation consists of the committees involved in the bidding for and hosting of the Olympic Games, the IOC as the main rights holder, and other actors within the OM which impact or can be impacted by the event's legacy (e.g., national and international sport organizations, and sponsors).

Data and Analysis

The following paragraphs highlight the key sources consulted and the research methods that were used in this study, including the data gathering and analysis techniques.

Archival material is the primary source of data for this study. This included multiple types of documentation such as bid documents, candidature files, and final reports retrieved from the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, Switzerland, the Australia Centre for Olympic Studies, in Sydney, Australia, and from key stakeholder web sites. It is important to note that these types of data sources are biased towards discussions of positive legacy types due to their primary purpose. For example, bid books suggest the potential successes of the Games in order to win the event and final reports detail the outcomes of the event in order to demonstrate a ROI to the stakeholders involved. Negative instances that have lead to the institutionalization of legacy and its governance including the Montreal 76 deficit, as well as resistance groups and lack of legacy planning in Sydney were identified in the literature and as such also considered in this research. In all, over 185 documents were reviewed. These documents were converted into an electronic file (i.e., a PDF), if not already the case, for subsequent analysis.

Data analysis occurred in the form of a content analysis using the qualitative data assessment software ATLAS.ti 6.0 that facilitated the coding and retrieval of the data by allowing the researcher to highlight themes that appeared in the archival material. As data were gathered, they were inductively (open coded) and deductively (based on theoretical framework) analyzed following guidelines set out by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Glaser and Strauss (1967). This approach facilitated the content analysis by helping to clearly identify legacy and governance themes and trends in the archival material. The analysis began with the open coding of legacy and legacy governance themes in the archival material and the grouping of them into categories. The data were coded using a simple descriptive phrase such as legacy- types, legacy-

influencers, legacy-planning, legacy-governance. The next step looked for relational aspects or patterns between and within the initial open legacy coding. These trends were then deductively coded using concepts (e.g., pre-institutionalization, semi-institutionalization and full institutionalization) described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996) as they were helpful in categorizing the evolution of legacy within the modern OM; and as a result, used as a foundation. The proper management of the data using qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti 6.0 as well as the peer-debriefing by authors regarding emergent codes and findings helped to ensure the trustworthiness of the research. In addition, a comparison between several sources of data including archival records such as final reports, bid documents, official documents, and stakeholder information helped to strengthen the data by providing converging lines of evidence confirming each other (Yin, 2003).
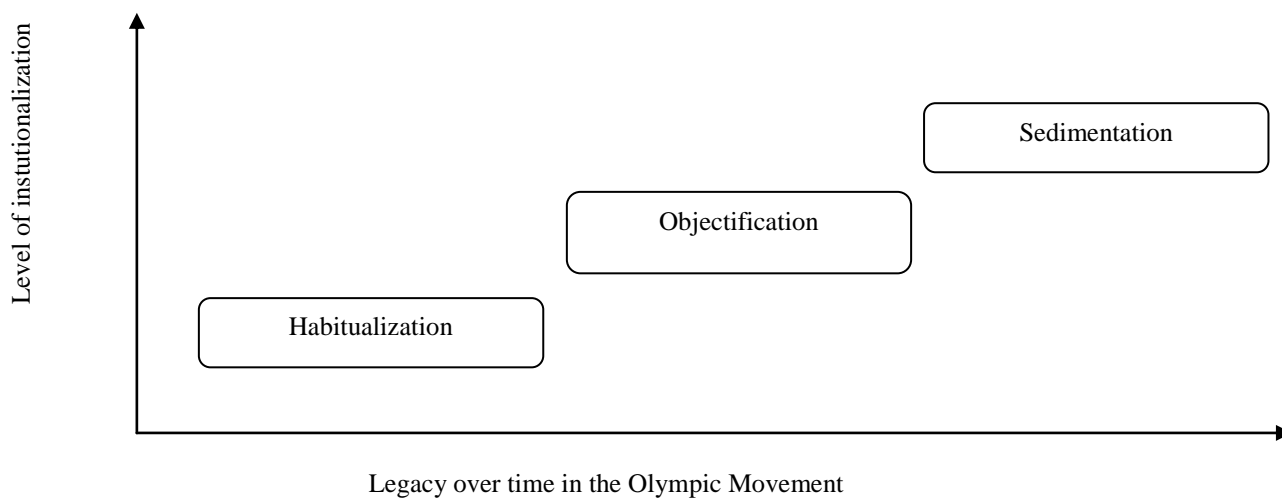
Results and Discussion

Institutionalization is an ongoing process (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). As such, in order to further understand the adoption of legacy into the OM, the evolution of the concept is broken down into the pre-institutionalization, semi-institutionalization, and full institutionalization phases as described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996) and discussed in terms of is habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation within the field. Figure 3-1 illustrates these phases of legacy in the OM.

The Habitualization of Olympic Legacy

It could be suggested that many of the problems (e.g. gigantism, political, financial) of the OM are in fact products of the success of the Olympic Games rather than fundamental flaws belonging to the Games themselves (cf. Gold & Gold, 2007). During the late 1970s and early

Figure 3-1

Institutional phases of legacy within the Olympic Movement

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Level of instutionalization
  ^
  |                                                    ┌──────────────────────┐
  |                                                    │    Sedimentation      │
  |                                                    └──────────────────────┘
  |                          ┌──────────────────────┐
  |                          │    Objectification     │
  |                          └──────────────────────┘
  |       ┌──────────────────────┐
  |       │    Habitualization     │
  |       └──────────────────────┘
  |
  +─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────>
              Legacy over time in the Olympic Movement
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80s several of these issues threatened the long-term existence of the IOC. The 1976 Summer

Olympic Games in Montreal ended in financial disaster as the city ended up with a debt of

2.8 billion dollars as a result of construction issues associated with elaborate infrastructure

and took over three decades to pay off the bill (Burton, 2003). In turn, this contributed to a

lack of interest in hosting, as it seemed that potential hosts did not see the feasible benefits

associated with holding the event. Moscow had already agreed to host the 1980 Summer

Games, however only one city, LA, entertained the idea of hosting the 1984 Summer

Olympic Games. In order to deal with the financial problems of the Games, the LA Bid

Committee had stipulations regarding the financing of the event. This situation led to the loss

of power by the IOC as they had no choice in who should host the Games, and as a result,

allowed for the generation of a new financial model by the LA Organizing Committee that

focussed on more private financing and less public support for the organization of the

Games. The resulting financial structure and monetary legacy attributed to the city following

the Games led to a new juncture for interest and competition among cities to host the event.

This is demonstrated by the significant rise in the number of cities bidding to host the Games

in subsequent years. The 1992 and 1996 Summer Games both had six world class cities in

the final bid competition to win the rights including Barcelona, Paris, Amsterdam,

Melbourne, Toronto and Atlanta to name a few.

In order to understand the habitualization of legacy, it is important at this point to discuss

the quandary of the Olympic Games cycle. The Olympic Games are a mega-event that takes

upwards of seven to ten years to bid for and then implement. For example, the IOC divides the

Games life-cycle into six phases; bidding phase (9-10 years before event), foundational planning

(7 years prior), operational planning (5.5 years out), operational readiness planning (3.5 years),

Games-time, and post-Games dissolution (up to 1 year post event) (IOC, 2009). Keeping the

Games life-cycle in mind, candidature files for the 1988 editions of the Games were submitted in

1981 (three years prior to the successes and financial legacies associated LA 84 Games).

Although LA touched on legacy briefly in their candidature file, it is in the bid documents for the

1988 Games where it is possible to see the emergence of legacy as one of the reasons for

pursuing the right to host and a reaction to the financial outcome of the 1976 Games. This is

particularly evident in the Calgary 88 bid, where the concept was discussed in terms of a

permanent legacy to the people of Canada (CODA, 1981). Although the idea for hosting

stemmed from wanting to develop amateur sport in the city, CODA was sensitive to the financial

mismanagement of the Montreal Games that continued to burden many within the country at the

time. Since their plan was to access funding from all three levels of government it was important

to justify a ROI for the dollars that were to be spent on the Games should they be awarded the

event (King, 1991). In early 1979, Frank King discussed the legacy of the Games at Calgary's initial press conference as something that "will endure long after the Olympic flame has been extinguished. Canadians of all ages will use and enjoy superb facilities for years into the future. The Games will be more than an immediate benefit. The Games will provide a heritage for our children" (King, 1991, p.17). In order to compete with Vancouver, the other Canadian candidate, legacy became a main goal of hosting the event in Calgary. The bid organization furthered the concept by envisioning it in three forms: new sport facilities, financial, and people beyond just the athletes (e.g., coaches, and officials) (King, 1991). In order to heighten their competitive advantage in the Canadian selection process, they developed a legacy fund valued at 5 million CAN$ at the time that would contribute to the continued maintenance and use of the facilities, as well as athlete development post-Games should they be awarded the right to host.

As a result of several pressures, both LA and Calgary, along with other candidates at the time (e.g., Seoul, and Nagoya) used the concept of legacy, although not to the same degree, for similar problems relating to the justification for hosting. As such, Calgary and LA can be seen as innovators in the field of legacy with their successful legacy practices and led to the habitualization by early adopters in the field. This is consistent with Tolbert and Zucker's (1996) notion that there may be multiple, independent adopters and innovators during the pre-institutional phase. Various forces pressured bid and organizing committees at the time, and as a result, facilitated these developments (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The lack of demand in hosting the 1984 Games provided LA with an opportunity to negotiate with the IOC and change the funding platform for the Games, which resulted in significant financial legacies. In the Calgary case, government supporters (at all levels) can be see as a normative and coercive forces that pressured Calgary to be innovative in their bid in order to justify the expenditure of public

dollars on the event. These pressures were heightened due to the previous hosting experiences in the country.

The Objectification of Legacy

Before changes in formal structure are mandated, they are appropriated through a process of diffusion by early adopters (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Following the financial success of the LA 84 and Calgary 88 Games, the concept of legacy began to diffuse throughout the OM as cities bidding for the Olympic Games objectified the need to include legacy as a fundamental element in their bid in order to be considered legitimate contenders for the Games. Although, there are numerous examples of candidate and host cities attesting to the benefits and positive impacts of hosting the Olympic Games in their bids and reports, according to Leopkey and Parent (2012), there were very few examples explicitly discussing the concept of legacy before the 1980s. The objectivity of legacy increases as the concept is passed along to new generations of candidate cities. Within the OM, the pressure to compete and win the right to host the Olympic Games created an environment for the semi-institutionalization of legacy whereby candidate cities monitored previous hosts and other competitors, and as a result, copied successful legacy structures in order to legitimate their candidacy to the members of the IOC (i.e., the individuals who are responsible for voting for the host cities). In an interview with Public Service Co. UK, Andrew Altman, Chief Executive of the Olympic Park Legacy Company stated that they have scrutinized previous hosts to learn from prior experiences. The

> long-term vision beyond 2012 is key […] The legacy company was set up three years before the Games and the whole site was planned with legacy in mind. The Olympic park was always conceptualised as a regeneration project, so that it is not an afterthought, it was built into its whole nature. It is essentially a huge infrastructure project that is building a new piece of the city. And I think that is a lesson learnt from other host cities that haven't done that in the same way. (Thomas, 2011, para.4)

The more rules and structures are adopted by organizations within a particular field, the more likely the structure is perceived to be a favourable action (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). As such, legacy continued to garner attention from other bidders and hosts in the late 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Anchorage, Toronto, Sydney) (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). This was a result of mimetic forces that were experienced by stakeholders in the Olympic field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Due to the uncertain outcome tied to the selection of host cities, candidates looked to previous bids and successful candidatures for structures that would help them gain legitimacy from the IOC members, who ultimately vote for the winning city. It is evident in the data that numerous candidate cities made an effort to mimic many of the bid and implementation efforts that resulted in successes associated with for example, the LA, Calgary, Barcelona, Lillehammer, and Sydney editions of the Games, which were considered exemplary at their time. This transfer of knowledge from previous hosts to future organizers is exemplified in the *Royal Bank of Canada 2010 Legacies Now Speakers Series* which was an educational opportunity provided to local Games stakeholders that allowed them to learn best practices from and engage with (face-to-face or on-line) international experts in the field in order to perfect the delivery of the Games (2010 LN, n.d).

The Sedimentation of Legacy

In organizational networks where control over resources and authority is centralized in a few powerful organizations such as the IOC, OCOGs, and major Games stakeholders, the institutionalization of an event or formal structure is largely dependent on its legitimation by those organizations. In November 2002, the IOC in conjunction with the Olympic Studies Centre of the Autonomous University of Barcelona held the *International Symposium on Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984-2000*. As a result of the conference, fundamental issues surrounding the concept of legacy were highlighted as needing further inquiry included the management of

legacy and its sustainable long-term planning process. Following recommendations from the conference, legacy officially became part of Olympic discourse in 2003 when the IOC amended its Charter, the cardinal governing document of the movement, by including a 14th mission statement focusing on a positive legacy for hosts (Chappelet, 2008). According to Leopkey and Parent (2012), although previous questions discussed benefits and impacts of the event, it was not until 2003 and the bids for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, when a question specifically addressing legacy was included in the candidature questionnaire and officially part of the bid process. This trend has followed in subsequent bids (e.g., 2012, 2014, 2016), which also addressed questions relating to the potential legacy of the event. Moreover, during the 2016 candidature evaluations, cities vying for the Games were rated on the legacy vision within three different areas: sports concept and legacy (under sports venue criteria), Olympic Village legacy, and the overall project legacy (IOC, 2008b). As a result of this change in the candidature questionnaire, all interested candidate cities for the Olympic Games must now discuss the potential legacy associated with hosting the event and thus reinforces the full diffusion of the structure across all members of the organizational field. The inclusion of legacy into the OC and the bidding process supports the historical continuity and exteriority of the structure in the Movement. Once legacy was mandated, dependent organizations generally respond by rapidly incorporating the element into their formal structure (cf. Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Consequentially, legacy has become embedded in the OM.

When some organizational elements become institutionalized, that is when they are widely understood to be appropriate and necessary components of efficient rational organizations, organizations are under considerable pressure to incorporate these elements into their formal structure in order to maintain their legitimacy (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Both

coercive and normative pressures were exerted on interested cities by the IOC. As the rights

holder, they have the power to sanction candidate cities that best suit their needs as future hosts.

Their coercive power is mandated in the OC and through legal agreements such as the Host City

Contract (HCC), which provides the IOC Executive Board with final say on all matters related to

the hosting of the Games. Normative pressures are also high within this field and are influenced

by the Games lifecycle and the Olympic network that exists within the field. The IOC staff, who

are dedicated to the implementation of the Games and spans several OCOGs at one time,

provides an environment that is optimal for the diffusion of previous experiences and best

practices. For example, the IOC disseminates the *Guide on Olympic Legacy* to bidders and

Organizing Committees as part of the knowledge transfer process through the OGKM system. It

describes the concept of Olympic legacy, discusses tools, and provides examples of best

practices for legacy issues. The *Olympic Caravan* is the term used by Cashman (2008) to

describe the nomadic workers, experts, advisors, consultants and contract winners which travel

from Games to Games once their work has been completed. He suggested that this leads to the

unofficial transfer of knowledge and the further globalization of the Games as individual cities

seek out international expertise to help implement a successful Games, given that the event has

reached such a high degree of complexity.

Collective resistance groups (e.g., groups of actors who perceive the impacts of the

structure to be negative) can also have an impact on the institutionalization of a structure

(Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). In the case of Olympic legacy, many activist and Games watch groups

have emerged for different reasons, forcing legacy issues and coercing OCOGs and other Games

actors to be cognizant of the potential negative impacts of the event. *Bread not Circuses* was a

powerful group that raised concerns over social issues such as housing and environment impacts

to the IOC regarding the Toronto 2008 bid for the summer Games (CBC, 2001; Lenskyj, 2000). Although the degree to which this actually occurred is still being debated, Greenpeace played a role in ensuring that the Sydney 2000 Organizing Committee followed through on their promises of a 'Green Games' (Greenpeace, 2000).

Meyer and Rowan (1977) argued " institutional rules function as myths which organizations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability, and enhanced survival practices" (p. 340). The legitimacy of legacy, as a myth or reality, has also been contemplated by academics and practitioners in the field. For example, Coalter (2004) said there was little evidence "that suggested that the presumed 'trickle down effects' of general increases in sports participation and a general improvement in fitness and health are unlikely direct outcomes of a successful Olympic Games Bid" (p.12). This creates a double myth, where the myths associated with event legacy leads to the creation of institutional rules that also function as myth. Institutional fields that are based on rules which function as myths result in structures "that are decoupled from each other and ongoing activities. In place of coordination, inspection, and evaluation, a logic of confidence and good faith is employed" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 340). As such, it could be argued that it is even more important for Bid and Organizing Committees to have an understanding of the concept and knowledge of how to manage legacy issues in order to deal with the implications of this double myth.

Sedimentation of the norm results in it being seen as essential for legitimacy; therefore, once a practice becomes institutionalized it is often difficult to alter (Washington & Patterson, 2011). It has been suggested that this is linked to the survival or persistence of the values, ideas and practices even when other formal processes change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). This also has implications on future bid cities, especially those from emerging countries or different
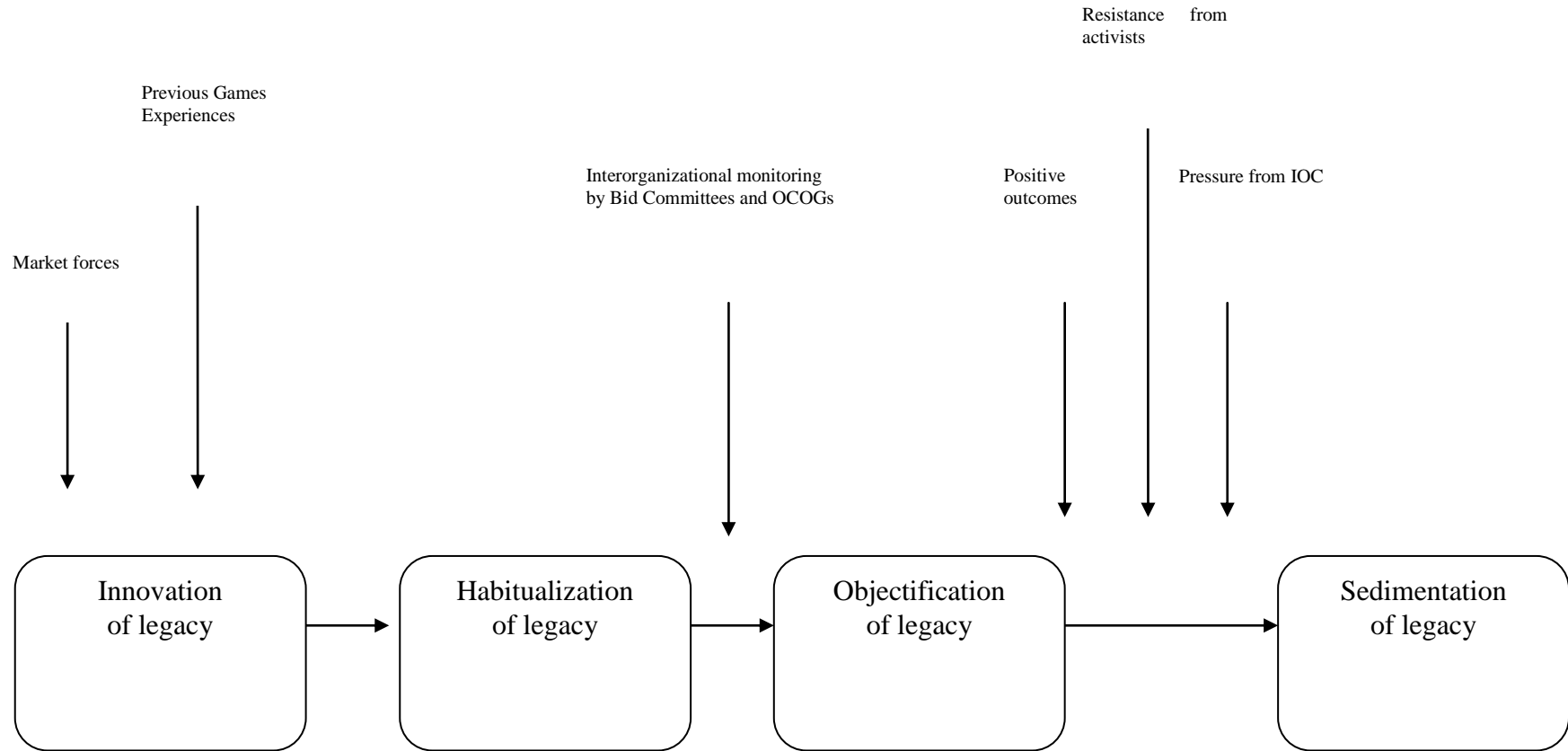
cultures as many of the actors involved in the institutionalization process are from wealthy or Eurocentric counties. The imposed view of the importance of legacy post-Games could result in numerous issues (e.g., financial, political) for countries who might require more flexibility in the bidding and hosting process with regards to legacy and post-Games impacts. In addition, extreme changes to an institutional environment could result in a fourth phase of institutionalization, deinstitutionalization. For instance, actors within the field could determine that creating a legacy from hosting the Games is no longer a viable option to justify their ROI, as it is too expensive to maintain; and as a result, search for an alternative approach. Also, actions taken by organizations to gain legitimacy in their institutional field are often not correlated to efficiency (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Although, the organization's effectiveness increases—in this case, the bid cities are viewed as capable hosts for the Games in the eyes of the IOC (at least when it comes to post-Games impacts)—this is decoupled from organizational efficiency as the planning for and ensuring of positive legacies, especially tangible ones, are expensive and require additional manpower. Figure 3-2 illustrates the institutionalization process of legacy within the field, including the various forces and pressures.

The Emergence of Legacy Governance

Legacy can be a contentious topic as there is an ongoing tension between who is benefiting, how much it costs, and what is being done in the name of legacy (Girginov, 2011). As a result of the concept of legacy becoming institutionalized within the OM, a new organizational problem has arisen. The adoption of legacy as a structure to reinforce the ROI of dollars required for the event, as well as institutional pressures to conform to the adoption of legacy, results in the need for a legacy governance system.

Figure 3-2

The Institutionalization of Legacy within the Olympic Movement

Resistance from activists

Previous Games
Experiences

Interorganizational monitoring
by Bid Committees and OCOGs

Positive
outcomes

Pressure from IOC

Market forces

| Innovation of legacy | → | Habitualization of legacy | → | Objectification of legacy | → | Sedimentation of legacy |

The delivery of legacy, especially post-Games (once the OCOG is dissolved), requires a system of governance in order to control, monitor, and manage the new assets, as well as to steer collective actions towards consensus regarding the direction of the legacies of the Games.

The first example of a legacy governing organization emerged from the financial successes of the LA 84 Games. A surplus of $232.5 million resulted from hosting the Games; and as a result of a prior agreement, this was divided between the United States Olympic Committee (60%) and the AAF (40%) (AAF, 2004). Still in existence, although it re-branded in 2007 as the LA84 Foundation, the organization is responsible for distributing southern California's portion to support youth sport programming (e.g., grants program, and library resources).

CODA was originally founded in 1956 to bid for the Olympic Games (CODA, 2008). Eventually, it won the right to host the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and following the completion of the Games, which resulted in a $90 million dollar profit, CODA was restructured to deal with the legacies of the Games (CODA, 2008). It's original mandate following the conclusion of the 88 Games was "to ensure continued use of the Olympic venues long after the Games" (CODA, 2008, para. 3); however, as of 2009 and with its name changing to WinSport, its role has evolved into a new sporting vision for the country which focuses on developing and sustaining facilities to help Canada excel on the international sport stage (CODA, 2008).

The 1980s and 90s also saw other planned legacy governance systems in both the bid candidatures and winning cities of the Games emerge post-Games to deal with mainly the leftover sporting facilities legacies. These included the 1992 Barcelona Games, the 1996 Toronto bid, and the 2002 Salt Lake City Games (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Even though legacy had become semi-institutionalized by the time of the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney,

SOPA did not become operational until the one year anniversary of the Games in 2001 (SOPA, n.d.). Similarly, Beijing established the Beijing Olympic City Development Association (BODA) following the Games on the 6th of August, 2009 in order to meet their sustained legacy needs by ensuring a humanistic, high-tech, and green long-term city development strategy. Its purpose is "to carry forward the Olympic spirit and make full use of the legacies of the two [Olympic and Paralympic] Games for better development of the city" (BODA, 2011, p. 2).

As the discussions around legacy began to increase, so too did criticisms about the concept. One of the main findings and recommendations from the legacy symposium was that the management of legacy required further analysis including the need for long-term legacy planning. The Symposium participants also included a call for the establishment of "Post-Olympic planning, integrating the institutions in charge of the post Olympic Games legacy from the beginning, taking into consideration legacy in the context of sustainable development and highlighting that the Games are a community project, involving the host population" (de Moragas, Kennett, & Puig, 2003, p. 493). Around the same time, the 2010 Vancouver Bid Corporation (2010 BC) was developing their bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The concept of the 2010 LN organization was conceptualized in 1999 to help gain favour over other Canadian contenders (Calgary and Quebec City) for the right to vie for 2010 Games (2010 LN, 2010a). By 2000, in partnership with the government of BC and the 2010 BC it was formalized "to help build support for Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, while ensuring a strong and lasting sport system for BC" (2010 LN, 2010a, para.1). Once Vancouver was selected to host the Games, 2010 LN expanded its mandate beyond sport to include arts, volunteerism, healthy living and literacy related programming (2010 LN, 2010b). This was a turning point for the governance of legacy in many ways. Not only was this the first

time an organization was established in the bid phase and was to continue its existence regardless if Vancouver won the bid, but is also focussed on legacies beyond sport, infrastructure and financial legacies by including social legacies.

Other candidate and successful cities have followed in these footsteps. London has combined the Sydney and Vancouver approaches by planning for legacy early in the bid and planning stages and by establishing The Olympic Park Legacy Company to help fulfill many of legacy promises made by the Mayor of London in their candidature file (Olympic Park Legacy Company, n.d.). It is also possible to see similarities in the Vancouver 2010 and Chicago 2016 bid which both had planned for legacy benefits regardless of the outcome of the bid. In the Chicago case they did not win the right to host the Games; however World Sport Chicago continues to promote sport and Olympic ideals to the people of the city thereby sustaining the legacy of the bid (World Sport Chicago, n.d.).

As the idea of leaving something behind as a result of hosting became increasingly important, more formal structures were seemingly required to provide heightened certainty in dealing with governance issues such as the coordination of the collective effort of stakeholders within each case. The governance of legacy has also become objectified in a sense that the structures are diffused to other interested candidate and future host cities as a legitimate way of dealing with legacy issues pre, during, and post-Games. After reviewing the data, it is possible to conclude that while legacy governance traditions have been adopted by bid cities and host OCOGs, these ideas have not reached the breadth and depth of acceptance in these organizations where they have become standardized norms to the same degree as the concept of legacy. As such, they are not considered fully institutionalized within this field. This is due to the fact that legacy governance has not yet developed exteriority nor has it been mandated by the IOC in the

OC; overall the IOC is still fairly vague on the topic which allows the flexibility that is required to deal with contextual factors including organizational strategy, culture, and political climates. In order for this to occur, the IOC would need to mandate the governance of legacy since it is the rights holder for the event. Considering that OCOGs dissolve within a year of the conclusion of the event and the IOC moves on to dealing with the future editions of the Games, it could be argued that the IOC is in fact not the best regulatory body for post-Games legacy. Therefore, we may further suggest that good legacy governance should not necessarily be its role. As such, the governance of legacy will likely not become fully institutionalized in this field and remains flexible. This provides the opportunity for local stakeholders (e.g., local governments and sports community, etc.) who remain after the Games conclude to adapt the post-Games legacy needs to the local context. It could also be considered to be somewhat hypocritical for the IOC to impose good governance practices on other organizations when it has been criticized for how it has managed and monitored its own practices (cf. *Sport in Society* Special Issue on Olympic Reform 10 years later, volume 14, issue 3, 2011) nor should it be imposing western colonial views on emerging countries.

Conclusion and Managerial Implications

The purpose of this paper was to further explore the emergence of legacy and the process through which it becomes a taken-for-granted institutional rule that has impacted how organizations plan and implement the Games. More specifically, this paper reviewed why and how legacy was adopted and the subsequent implications on Bid and Organizing Committees and other actors within the OM.

The adoption of legacy in the OM was a response to coercive, mimetic, and normative institutional pressures placed on Bid and Organizing Committees in response to criticisms

regarding the money being spent on the Games and a way to justify its ROI, as well as the need to increase the allure of the Games following the abysmal candidate turnout the late 1970s and early 80s. It has been shown that legacy followed the institutional phases of habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation as described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996), and as such, has become fully institutionalized in the Movement. As a result, the need for its long-term sustainable governance arose. However, the governance of legacy has only reached the semi-institutionalized stage. It was argued that governance of legacy should and will probably not become fully institutionalized (or mandated by the IOC) in order to allow for the flexibility required to deal with post-Games legacy issues specific to the context. By applying institutional theory to a new context (i.e., Games legacy in the OM) the emergence of a double myth where the myths associated with event legacy leads to the creation of institutional rules that also function as myth.

Managerial Implications

The institutionalization of legacy within the Olympic event field does not come without implications on the stakeholders within the Movement. As a result, managers must be aware that it is often hard to change a structure once it has been fully sedimented in the field; therefore, having an understanding of the concept and knowledge of how to deal with its issues is extremely important. Although institutionalized structures are hard to change, there is still a possibility that legacy could be delegitimized and replaced with an alternative approach to dealing with similar issues. This could be a result of political or social pressures or shifts in organizational functioning (e.g., decreased performance). The institutionalization of a structure, in this case legacy, is linked to increasing an organization's effectiveness, for example, winning the right to host the Olympic Games; however Bid and Organizing Committees need to realize the implications of this do not correlate to an increase in efficiency. Oftentimes the

institutionalized practice is more time consuming and expensive. The semi-institutionalization of the governance of legacy provides flexibility for the local area to formulate plans that are better suited to their context. In addition, the responsibility of legacy should fall to those stakeholders who are involved in the Games long-term from the initial bid stage to post-Games. Moreover, the governance for post-Games legacy should be separate from the OCOG and the IOC as it is neither their role nor their responsibility once the Games are over.

Future Directions

In order to further understand the governance of legacy, the exploration of more Games cases is suggested (Olympic Games and other major/mega sports events), especially those editions of the Games that have already occurred and are in the post-Games governance phase. This would provide the opportunity to delve deeper into the decision-making process regarding legacy and it governance, in addition to its evolution post-Games.

Another avenue to explore Games legacy would be to research cities that have bid for the Games but lost out to other successful candidates. Questions focussing on what kind of legacy do cities experience without the rights to host the Games, do they plan for this, and how does the loss of the Games bid affect the cities' legacy vision, and what are their future plans would provide new insight in the area.

The transfer of knowledge has also become a popular topic and area for research in regards to the Olympic Games. As such, an investigation focussing on how the transfer of knowledge between editions of the Games impacts legacy plans pre and post-Games would be beneficial and further lend itself to increasing our understanding of the topic. Of interest would also be what types of information are useful for organizations that are responsible, how they implement the information, and what types of modifications need to be made to apply it to their local.

From a theoretical standpoint the exploration of the double myth created by the institutionalization of legacy could also be further developed in order to understand it more in-dept. It might also benefit from a comparative analysis to other examples of this phenomenon if in fact they do exist.

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CHAPTER 4

Paper 3: The Network Governance of Olympic Games Legacy: A Look at the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Models

The hosting of an Olympic Games is a complex project requiring an extensive collective effort and multilateral coordination. Of primary importance is the sharing of resources among the various event stakeholders (or actors) within the OM's organizational network. An effective and efficient network of stakeholders is crucial to the successful hosting of a sporting event (Erickson & Kushner, 1999; Getz, Andersson, & Larson, 2007; Sallent, Palau, & Guia, 2011). Added to the complexity of this process is the responsibility and authority of the central stakeholders, whose aim is to ensure a positive and sustainable event legacy as a result of hosting the Games (Girginov, 2011).

From general benefits to planned sustainable legacy, the evolution of event legacy emphasizes the need for a governance system to monitor and manage the legacy being accomplished. What must be determined is who will benefit from the event and what will be the overall costs throughout the pre- and post-Games time periods (Girginov, 2011). Within this governance system are stakeholders who affect the actions of the event organizers and are, in turn, affected by those actions (Freeman, 1984). Stakeholders provide pressures and controls to influence decisions related to legacy governance. In order to ensure the sustainability of event legacies, it has been suggested that the strengthening of stakeholder relationships and networks should be a strategic priority (Sallent et al., 2011).

It is important to understand how legacy is governed, taking into consideration its complexity, changing nature over time, and the network of stakeholders involved in the process (Leopkey & Parent, 2012a). Researchers have begun to examine the stakeholders

of an event (Parent, 2008), the stakeholder network during the bid (Hautbois, Parent, & Seguin, 2012; Turner & Westerbeek, 2004), and the governance of Games legacy (Girginov, 2011; Leopkey & Parent, 2012a, 2012b). Sallant et al. (2011) have recommended the continued exploration of networks and stakeholder relationships, and the mapping of their evolution over time. *Network governance* refers to the use of institutions and structures of authority to allocate resources and coordinate and control joint action across the network (Provan & Kenis, 2007, p. 231). Although crucial to sustainable post-Games legacy delivery, the network governance of Olympic legacy has not yet been explored in sufficient depth.

The purpose of this study is to understand, explain, and compare/contrast the network governance of Olympic legacy, using Australian and Canadian case settings, in order to better understand the positions of the various stakeholders in the network and how these affect the governance of legacy throughout and following the hosting of an event.

This investigation consists of the identification and comparison of network governance mechanisms. Two case studies of specific editions of the Games were used to illustrate the stakeholders, controls, and network characteristics. The Sydney 2000 and the Vancouver 2010 Games provided a foundation for the identification and analysis of the network governance of Olympic Games legacy. The research extends the current sport management literature by highlighting four event legacy governance phases: conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games governance. Also highlighted are two types of governance mechanisms (stakeholders and controls) that play a role in the governance of legacy at an Olympic event.

This chapter begins with an overview of the current state of Olympic legacy within the OM and sport and event management. This is followed by a description of the theoretical framework, which includes a review of network theory and network governance. An analysis of the networks is provided in the findings and subsequently discussed, followed by concluding remarks, implications, and future directions for research.

Olympic Legacy

With the increasing importance of accountability in hosting an Olympic event, and the need to show a return on money invested, an atmosphere has been created whereby bidders, organizers and supporters depend on the legacy of an event as justification for hosting it. The heightened significance of legacy in hosting the Olympic Games and its increased use in Olympic discourse has resulted in considerable changes in the concept of legacy over the last 30 years. Leopkey and Parent (2012a) summarized several trends regarding the evolution of legacy, including its expanded breadth of new legacy themes, their interconnectedness, and the formalization of mechanisms by which to govern event legacy.

Planning for and delivering an Olympic Games entails not only the concentration of resources required in one region and city, but also the many planning phases over a 10-year period of time (Dubi, Hug, & van Griethuysen, 2003). Several event-organizing classifications are provided in the literature. For example, the IOC divides the Games into the following project lifecycle stages: bidding, foundational planning, operational planning, operational readiness planning, Games-time, and post-Games dissolution (IOC, 2009). Parent (2008) identified three modes of operation of the Organizing Committee: planning, implementation, and wrap-up. Dubi et al. (2003) specified four phases of the

Olympic event in their research and development of the Olympic Games Global Impact

(now the OGI tool): conception, from initial decision to bid until the host is selected;

organization, from the awarding of the Games to the actual opening of the event; staging,

from the opening to the closing of the villages; and closure, following the conclusion of

the Games and wrap-up of the local OCOG. In general, these classifications cover the

bid, planning and implementation of the event and wrap-up periods. However, in order

to foster greater sustainability of event legacies in the longer term, more attention is

required in the post-Games period.

Recent research has begun to explore the overall governance of event legacy.

Girginov (2011) investigated the governance of legacy at the London 2012 Games, and

found that the national legacy was largely influenced by public actors with ties to the

state. As such, Girginov suggested that the relationships between state, society and

global actors needed to be further considered, in order to provide a truly balanced

sustainable legacy for the country. It was his view that the development of Games-

related legacy "provides a new policy space where old and new actors interact in order to

negotiate the meaning of legacy and how particular visions are to be achieved" (p. 3).

Leopkey and Parent (2012b) explored the institutionalization of event legacy and

its related governance practices within the OM. They found that legacy was adopted as a

standardized norm by stakeholders of the Games in order to legitimize themselves within

the field. As a result, their findings reinforced the need for long-term legacy governance

practices.

According to Cashman (2009), "legacy planning is now enshrined in the Olympic

cycle of host cities" (p. 134). He proposed four overlapping stages in the development of

Sydney's Olympic legacy: the Olympic vision before the Games, the years immediately

following the conclusion of the event, the planning and implementation of strategies to deal with legacy issues after the Games, and adaptations and modifications of the evolving needs of the region. Cashman did not examine legacy planning in the period between the bid and post-Games wrap-up. In order to better understand the entire process of legacy --from the bidding stage through to the post-Games wrap-up -- this research investigates all phases of the Sydney 2000 Games and Vancouver 2010 Games.

Within the field of major sporting events, the examination of stakeholders has helped researchers to better understand the organization and management of events. Stakeholders play an important role in bidding, planning and delivery of an Olympic event (cf. Parent, 2008; Leopkey & Parent, 2009a, 2009b; Parent & Deephouse, 2007). One issue to keep in mind is that event stakeholders frequently have different objectives and conflicting interests, which may have a negative impact on decision-making and the attainment of goals (Preuss & Solberg, 2006). These differing perspectives will be considered during the network analyses of the cases.

Also important for this research is the growing interest in governance practices by sport organizations. Governance research has been surfacing on the part of the IOC and other sport organizations (Camy & Robinson, 2007, Chappelet & Kübler-Mabbott, 2008), although they are descriptive in nature and provide only a broad perspective on the management of the overall Games. As such this research delves deeper into both the structure and processes of governance practices by investigating a specific issue (legacy) that has an impact on these organizations using a combination of network theory and the network governance literature.

Theoretical Framework

Network Theory

The study of relationships among actors within a network can be best accomplished through the application of network theory. This approach helps researchers to understand and measure the characteristics, qualities and evolution of stakeholder interactions within a specific field (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Due to the generality of its structural approach, the application of network theory has been used widely across many different disciplines and contexts, from studying occupational mobility, health and illness, to group problem-solving (Freeman, 2004; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

The historic roots of network analysis can be traced as far back as the 8th century, when kinship structures were drawn on trees in order to figure out who was a descendent of whom. More updated contributions emerged in the 20th century. Moreno explored sociometry, a quantitative method for measuring social relationships, in the 1930s; and, in the 1970s, White and students at Harvard continued to study the complexities of networks (Freeman, 2004).

When investigating a phenomenon using network theory, the unit of analysis under investigation can range from the various stakeholders and the linkages between them, to the network as a whole. Modern analysis relies heavily on the graphic representation of the network (i.e., the sociogram) to illustrate the structural ties linking actors together (Freeman, 2004). The connections between network actors may represent many different types of relationships, such as economic, political and social (Knoke & Yang, 2008; Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

Granovetter (1973) argued that varying intensities of network ties are beneficial for different reasons. It was his view that, to be more effective, networks must include a

variety of relational ties. Knoke and Yang (2008) provided a number of typologies for relational content, among them transactions, communication, boundary penetration, power and authority, and kinship. Networks should also be considered as dynamic entities, because they are continually changing, with actors entering and exiting the network over time (Knoke & Yang, 2008).

There now exists a new policy field, whereby event stakeholders interact to construct legacy visions and coordinate the subsequent activation plans (Girginov, 2011). This brings about a significant aspect of this research: the role of power. Power is a complicated and highly contested topic in the literature (Astley & Sachdeva, 1984; Morgan, 2007). It is seen, by some, as the ability to influence changes in the behaviour of others, whereas more complex views emphasize its structural relations (Alvesson, 2002; Pfeffer, 1992).

The distinction between authority and responsibility is also critical, since the two are usually used interchangeably. Responsibility is acknowledged as an obligation to achieve specified goals for which an actor can be held liable, and it is often linked to accountability (Johnson, 2006; Thomas, 2008). As such, responsibility cannot simply be assigned to an actor. Rather, the actor must be willing to take on this responsibility. In contrast, authority may be delegated and is considered the legitimate right of an actor to exercise influence or power to act. As well, authority tends to arise from interpersonal relations rather than formal hierarchies.

Many sources of organizational power have been identified. These range from formal authority and the control of knowledge and information, to the ability to deal with uncertainty (Morgan, 2007). Astley and Sachdeva (1984) suggested that inter-organizational power, or actor power in a network, is the joint product of three sources:

hierarchical authority, resource control, and network centrality. Hierarchical power is the official authority provided to actors as a result of formal positioning, and is generally acknowledged as a right or a privilege. The ability of one actor to control the acquisition or distribution of resources over other actors is considered an important origin of power within a network. Friction in these exchanges can sometimes lead to the unequal distribution of power between network actors (Alvesson, 2002). The network position or centrality of an actor is also related to power (Brass, 1984; Brass & Krackhardt, 2012; Glaskiewicz, 1979). As their positions increase, actors gain power from their augmented involvement in the exchange process, making them more functionally indispensable (Astley & Sachdeva, 1984).

Rowley (1997) used density and centrality measures to provide a framework for describing stakeholder influence, based on the structure of the network. *Density* measures the extent to which actors in the network are connected. *Centrality* measures prominence or how visible and important the actors are within the field. According to Rowley, the main FO in the planning of the event attempts to resist stakeholder pressures in the following four ways: commander (high centrality/low density- the FO will try to control and influence stakeholders), compromiser (high centrality/high density- the FO will attempt to balance stakeholder needs), subordinate (low centrality/ high density- the FO is vulnerable to influential stakeholders), and solitarian (low density/low centrality- the FO will avoid stakeholders).

In this research, both density and centrality measures are used to further investigate the power and influence of stakeholders within the network. It is understood that multiple sources of organizational power must be considered to better understand the network governance of Olympic legacy. Hence, the findings of Astley and Sachdeva

(1984) that hierarchical authority and resource control play a role in the emergence of inter-organizational power within a network will advance the discussion.

The application of network concepts to sporting events has yet to be explored in any depth. Quatman and Chelladurai (2008) offered several reasons for studying networks within the field of sport management. They submitted that networks make it possible to measure complex and difficult constructs and to analyze multiple levels of relations simultaneously. As well, networks can be used to integrate qualitative, quantitative and graphical data sets, making it possible to conduct a wide-ranging analysis of the setting.

Several authors (e.g., Jones, 2005; Misener & Mason, 2006; Turner & Westerbeek, 2004) have looked at networks of stakeholders, communities, and sport tourism within sporting events. However, none has focused on the overall structure and design of the network to show how the network influences the exchanges between actors. As a result, our understanding of Olympic Games stakeholders and their network governance remains under-researched. A notable exception is the work of Sallent et al. (2011), who examined sport tourism networks. In their research, the generation of effective networks was studied, using social network analysis theory and techniques. The results reinforced the usefulness of applying network theory to identify the roles and relationships of event stakeholders as they became more complex in the time period before and after the event.

Network Governance

Networks, or groups of organizations that work together towards a variety of goals, have been increasingly accepted as a legitimate form of multi-organizational governance by academic researchers (Jones, Hesterly & Borgatti, 1997; Provan & Kenis, 2007;

Roloff, 2007). Jones et al. asserted that, under certain conditions, network governance will emerge and thrive. These situations include uncertainty, task complexity, and the manner in which stakeholders interact (1997). Ultimately, the efficient use of resources, effective coordination, the ability to deal with complex issues, and the ability to adapt to the environment reinforce the relevance and advantages of network governance (Jones et al., 1997; Provan & Kenis, 2007).

Network governance relates to the coordination of activities through networks and partnerships, for example, those associated with an edition of the Olympic Games. Various terms have been used to describe coordination among organizations: network organization (van Alstyne, 1997), network forms of organization (Podolny & Page, 1998), inter-firm networks (Uzzi, 1997), organization networks (Ottaway, 2001), inter-organizational linkages (Thibault & Harvey, 1997), inter-organizational relationships (Babiak, 2009), and multi-stakeholder networks (Roloff, 2008). For the purposes of this research, the term network governance is used to describe the norms and structures in the coordination of exchanges and the control of actions across a network (Provan & Kenis, 2007).

Network governance is a dynamic process of organizing which changes over time (Jones et al., 1997; Roloff, 2008). Membership in a network consists of select representatives from different areas of society (e.g., business, community, and government) who unite to address a specific issue or concern (Roloff, 2008). In most cases, multi-organizational networks emerge with a smaller number of actors and evolve to include more diverse actors over time (Roloff, 2008).

Difficulties with network governance have been highlighted in the literature. One of the dangers is the opportunity for power abuse by actors in the network, in order to

increase their personal gains (Bogason & Musso, 2006). There may also be difficulties in gathering data on the scope and cost of full networks, in addition to the consumption of time involved in studying them (Sallent et al., 2011).

Two types of organizational networks have been identified (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003): goal-directed and serendipitous. Goal-directed organizational networks are formal mechanisms used to achieve a specific outcome, and are purposely set up by the actors in the network to improve coordination efforts. Serendipitous organizational networks, by contrast, develop randomly and are established without any formal planning to guide them.

The type of governance used in each network varies, from shared governance, to a brokered network where a central network administration organization (NAO) governs. In keeping with this multidimensional view, Provan and Kenis (2007) identified three types of network governance: shared governance by the existing organizations in the network; lead organization governance, where one organization takes the lead role; and NAO, which is a separate entity established to govern the network. In the present research, the network governance of legacy is investigated throughout the Games life-cycle phases of bidding, planning, implementation, transfer and wrap-up. The research also includes visualization of event legacy through the application of network governance theory, and a comparative analysis of the specific stakeholders and controls influencing network governance at both the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Games.

Method

In this research, a comparative case study approach (Yin, 2003) of the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Games, and their legacy-related organizational network governance systems, was used. For further information on this approach, and the setting

of the two case studies, please refer to *Chapter 1: Case Study Approach* (p. 34)*, Setting Selection* (p. 35)*, Case Study 1: Australia* (p. 36)*, Case Study 2: Canada* (p. 37)

Context

An effective way to study legacy governance within the OM in this study was through a comparative approach of two actual editions of the Olympic Games. At the time of the bid and hosting of the Sydney 2000 Games, legacy was a fairly new aspect of Olympic discourse. The Vancouver 2010 Games were the first Games to experience the inclusion of legacy in the OC and subsequent institutionalization into the OM (Leopkey & Parent, 2012b). As a result, for the first time, legacy officially became part of the bidding, planning and the delivery of the Games. The formal recognition of legacy heightened the need for stronger planning and governance initiatives, and required increased scrutiny of more complex legal contractual agreements (Leopkey & Parent, 2012a).

Data Gathering

The data for this research was collected through archival materials and interviews. For further details, please refer to *Chapter 1: Data Gathering* (p. 38) and *Interviews* (pp.38-40). In order to gather relevant data, interviewees were selected and questioned using a relational strategy approach, as described by Knoke and Yang (2008). Specifically, knowledgeable informants were questioned about other actors in the network in addition to questions for this portion of the research project focused on how legacy influenced decision-making, the Games-related legacy network, and the governance of legacy in general.

Data Analysis

The objective of the data analysis was to identify emergent and recurring themes relating to the network governance of the Games' legacy. All documents and transcripts

were reviewed twice before coding began, using ATLAS.ti 6.2 software. Following the

identification and grouping of initial codes, axial coding was used to further explore the

relational aspects between the coded data (Corley & Gioia, 2004). Determining similar

patterns was achieved through the comparison of archival material and interview

transcript coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The data analysis revealed trends related to

the main stakeholders forming the network for the event, the controls and documents that

influenced the governance of legacy, and the changes in the governance structure and

process.

The boundaries of the networks were determined through the identification of key

legacy stakeholders in both archival material and interview transcripts. There was both

formal (i.e., required to participate through contractual obligations and official

partnerships) and informal participation by network actors. The data were then translated

into a matrix using Excel to showcase the existing relationships among the actors.

Network characteristics of centrality and density were analyzed by means of the

social network analysis software UCINET 6.0 (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002).

These characteristics were visualized in the form of sociograms, using Netdraw. In each

figure (shown in the next section), a node is connected to one or more nodes by lines

representing a relationship. This graphical representation of the network, according to

Sallent and colleagues (2011), makes a comparative analysis and the identification of

critical stakeholders more intuitive. Moreover, it helps portray the evolution and

dynamics of the network and the changing role and prominence of the key stakeholders.

Preliminary findings were subsequently presented at the 2011 European Association of

Sport Management Conference for peer review and recommendations, which included
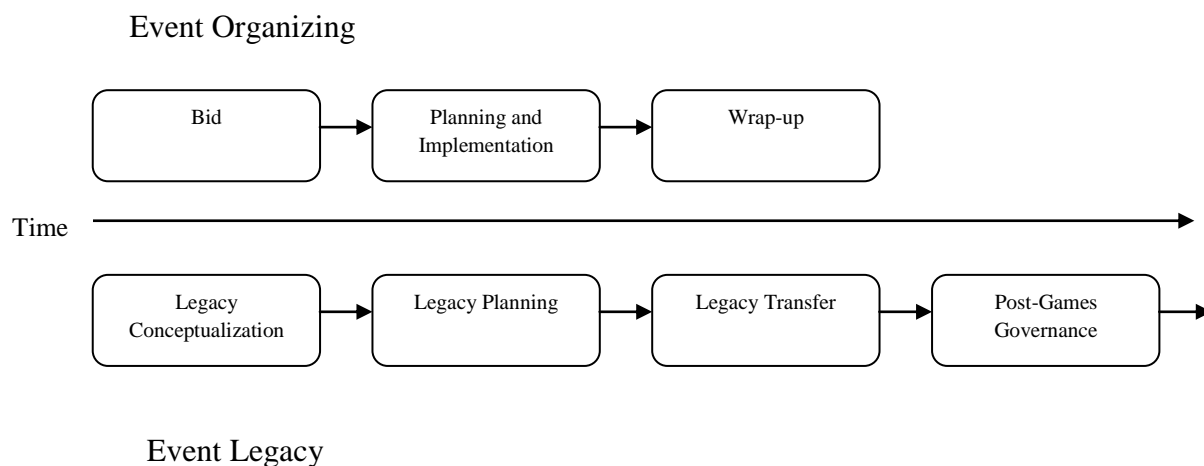
the condensing of the figures.

Results

The findings of this research on the network governance of legacy were based on two trends that emerged during the data analysis. First, the four Olympic event legacy governance phases were identified as conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games governance. These were interconnected via a similar timeline, but were distinct from the general event organization phases of bidding, planning and implementation, and wrap-up. Secondly, two types of governance mechanisms had an impact on the overall network governance of legacy in each phase: individuals and organizations; and controls, in the form of laws, contracts and policy documents. Sociograms were completed for each of the network governance phases for the Olympic Games in the study.

The following section presents a more detailed discussion of the four network governance phases identified in the data analysis. This is followed by the presentation of the network sociograms for each identified phase for both cases. Network characteristics, such as density and centrality, and emergent governance mechanisms, including stakeholders and controls, are also presented.

Event Legacy Phases

The archival documents and interview transcripts alluded to different phases of network governance within each case. See Figure 4-1 for an overview of the emergent event legacy network governance phases over time in comparison to the event organization phases.

Figure 4-1

Olympic Legacy Network Governance Phases

Event Organizing

```
┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
│     Bid      │ ──▶ │ Planning and │ ──▶ │   Wrap-up    │
│              │     │Implementation│     │              │
└──────────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘
```

Time ──▶

```
┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
│   Legacy     │─▶│   Legacy     │─▶│   Legacy     │─▶│  Post-Games  │─▶
│Conceptualiza.│  │  Planning    │  │  Transfer    │  │  Governance  │
└──────────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────────────┘
```

Event Legacy

At the beginning of the legacy process, the network governance phases followed similar timelines to event organizing phases. However, the network governance continued beyond the conclusion of the Games. Once the Games were over and the OCOG completed its tasks, assets were transferred and the final long-term governance mechanisms were established and put into place. As the Games evolved, the differences between the two processes and the changes in their overall goals became more evident.

Legacy Conceptualization. In both case studies, the legacy conceptualization phase began before the candidate cities decided to formally bid. The purpose of the conceptualization phase was to develop a legacy vision for the Games specific to the needs of the candidate city. This was done to maximize support from other Games stakeholders, including the general public and government, in each region.

As the official rights holder of the Olympic Games, the IOC holds the central position within its own network. Thus, the attainment of a positive, sustainable legacy following the hosting of the Games is of significant interest to the IOC. In the legacy conceptualization phase of this research, much of the power came from the IOC, which

holds the ultimate authority over the event and is responsible for the selection of future

hosts. One IOC member, reflecting on the legacy and bid process, commented, "if we

think that a city has not given proper thought to the legacy, it weighs against them in the

recommendations that go forward to the Executive Board and the final vote". The IOC

regulates bid corporations and all OCOGs throughout the Games life-cycle. It stipulates,

through the OC, the rules and statutes that inform the organization, actions, and

operations of the OM. The IOC also determines the fundamental principles of the

Olympic Games, and characterizes the rights of the main stakeholders within the field.

These stakeholders include the IOC, the IFs, the National Olympic Committees (NOC),

and the OCOGs (IOC, 2010). The bid city selection process for each edition of the

Olympic Games is coordinated through an *Evaluation Commission for Candidate Cities*,

set up by the IOC President. Applicant cities are accountable to the conditions prescribed

under the bid guidelines, decisions made by the IOC Executive Board, and any technical

norms required by participating IFs (IOC, 1993).

Legacy Planning and Implementation. The purpose of the legacy planning and

implementation phase is to devise and exercise the legacy vision. This stage is critical.

When the Games are officially awarded to the host city, the legacy vision developed in

the conceptualization phase is activated. A representative of the IOC described it this

way:

> the Organizing Committees understand that we all have to live with the success or otherwise of the Games themselves, and what is left in place afterwards. We do as much as possible with an Organizing Committee, and the Organizing Committee itself is very conscious of this, not to leave white elephants in place.

Throughout the legacy process, power via hierarchical authority and resource control

continues to be maintained by the IOC. This is done through contractual agreements and

the sharing of information, in the form of knowledge transfer and 'best practices'.

The OC is an important document because it is the permanent reference guide for all things Olympic. Following the awarding of the Games, the host city, along with the host NOCs and the IOC, enters into a special HCC, which is largely responsible for guiding the delivery of the Games. This document outlines the legal and financial obligations of each partner and is specific to each edition of the Games. Should a conflict arise between the OCOG and the contract, the terms of the HCC take precedence (IOC, n.d.).

Additional direction is exerted by the IOC in the form of information dissemination. Technical manuals on specific Games functions, such as the impact of the Games, Games management, and information management, are considered as annexes to the HCC and are contractually reinforced (IOC, n.d.). Although publications, such as the *Guide on Olympic Legacy,* provide added guidelines, 'best practices' and recommendations for the optimal staging of the Games, they are not binding.

It is important to note that any final decisions made by the Executive Board of the IOC have an impact on the overall organization of the Games because this Board is the highest authority on all Olympic matters. A Coordination Commission is made up of representatives from the IOC, the IFs, the NOCs, and the staff of previous OCOGs. The Coordination Commission is used by the new OCOG to facilitate the planning and organizing of the Games (IOC, 2003). Furthermore, the Commission evaluates the overall event planning process to ensure that the new OCOG adheres to the overall plan. The Commission also provides educational resources through what is now called the OGKM.

Legacy Transfer. The goal of the legacy transfer phase is to distribute and

transfer, to the proper authorities responsible for the post-Games phase, any legacy assets accumulated during the Games. For example, a representative from the WLS discussed how they worked with the VANOC on their legacy plans "formalizing all the agreements that would transfer the facilities to us, transfer furniture, pictures, and equipment to us". The IOC has much less power during the legacy transfer stage due to the fact that its main function of successfully delivering the Games has been achieved. There is, however, some final reporting by the OCOG, which is still contractually obligated under the terms of the HCC.

Post-Games Legacy Governance. The post-Games legacy governance phase lasts indefinitely. Jacques Rogge, President of the IOC, said Vancouver "set a new standard for legacy planning based broadly on a vision that aims to ensure that 16 days of competition will continue to benefit the community 60 years into the future" (Rogge, 2010, para. 7).

The purpose of post-Games governance is to preserve the legacy of the Games by ensuring that the long-term investments made by stakeholders are properly managed and monitored. While the IOC has no contractual involvement in this phase, it could be argued that it's members continue to be concerned with the organization's image once the Games are over. A positive Games legacy maintains heightened competition on the part of future hosts, and guarantees a continuing interest on the part of sponsors, such as the *The Olympic Partner* program.

Network Governance Characteristics

The following section presents the results of the visualization and subsequent network analysis of the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Games legacy governance networks. Both cases consisted of a group of organizations working together towards (a)

the collective goal of hosting a successful edition of an Olympic Games; and (b) the provision of a positive and sustainable legacy after the event.

Some stakeholders and controls within each of the cases were already playing a role within the larger network of the OM. These included the IOC as the main rights holder of the Games, and the NOCs for each of the countries under study (i.e., the AOC in Australia, and the COC in Canada). In addition, the OC, as a key governance document, had a far-reaching impact on the governance of the OM. It is also important to consider the external forces, such as the general public, the local and global economic markets, and the media. The following quote conveys the impact of the general public on the network governance of legacy:
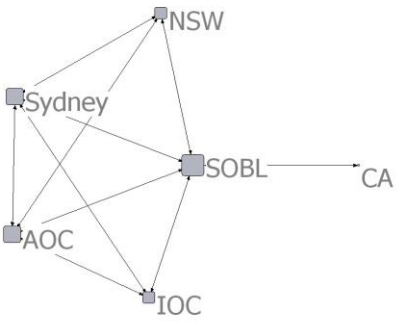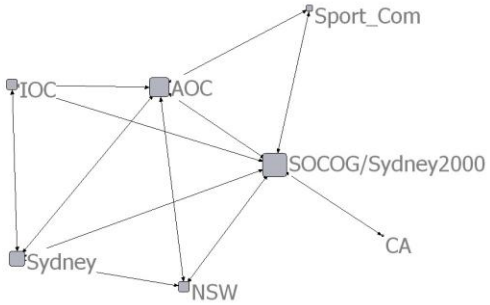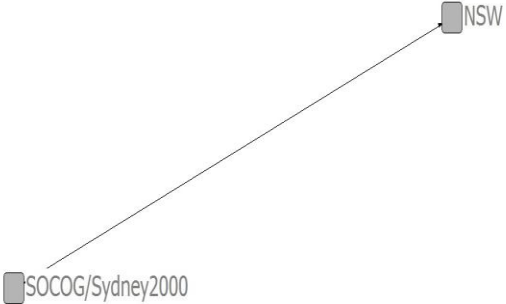
> […] public opinions rise after getting the Games. You have the highs of winning the bid and then you have the lows of the ultimate reality of staging the event. The cost increases inevitably take place, and a whole range of other factors, and finally the staging of the Games. So there is the euphoric level up there again and the communications division in particular that need to be able to manage the process and to wade through it, and to keep the public informed. (SOCOG representative)
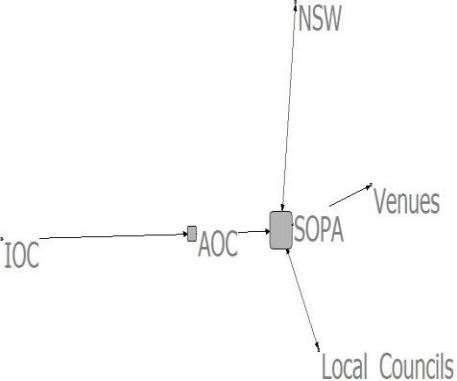
The figures presented below are based on the degree centrality measure, in order to help illustrate the more central and prominent actors in the network. The larger the node, the more central the network actor, based on the number of direct connections to other actors in the network.

The Sydney 2000 Games. Table 4-1 represents the Sydney 2000 Games network in each of the legacy governance phases.

Table 4-1

Sydney 2000 Legacy Network Governance Phases

Conceptualization	**Actor Centrality**: 1) SOBL
	2) Sydney
	3) AOC
	Density: 0.6667
	Entered: SOBL, Sydney, NSW, CA
	Controls: EC, 2000 Bid Guidelines, Technical manuals and guides, local, state, national laws, IOC Board decisions
Planning and Implementation	**Actor Centrality**: 1) SOCOG/Sydney2000
	2) AOC
	3) Sydney
	Density: 0.5714
	Entered: SOCOG/Sydney 2000, Lobby Groups, Sport Commission
	Exited: SOBL
	Controls: EC, HCC, Technical manuals and guides, local, state, national laws, IOC Board decisions
Transfer	**Actor Centrality:** 1) SOCOG/Sydney 2000
	1) NSW
	Density: 1.0000
	Entered: none
	Exited: IOC, CA, Sydney, Sport Commission, AOC
	Controls: HCC, local, state, national laws, SOPA Act

Post-Games Governance	Actor Centrality: 1) SOPA
	2) AOC **Density:** 0.337
	Entered: SOPA, Local councils, venues, AOC **Exited:** SOCOG/Sydney 2000
	Controls: local, state, national laws, SOPA Act, Strategic Planning documents

Early in the Sydney bid process, at the local level, two main actors had the majority of responsibility in the shaping and development of the bid and subsequent hosting and legacy of the Sydney 2000 Games: the AOC and the New South Wales (NSW) Government.

In 1990, the AOC agreed to endorse the Sydney bid, subject to several conditions: a) the bid proposal and eventual submission to the IOC had to be satisfactory; b) an agreement regarding the structure and leadership of the OCOG had to be signed between the key organizations involved (known as the *Endorsement Contract* (EC)); and c) the NSW Government had to stay true to its promise to build the International Aquatic Centre and State Athletic Centre in Homebush Bay, regardless of the outcome of the bid process (AOC, 1990).

In 1991, the AOC, the NSW Government, and the city of Sydney signed the EC to bid for the Games. The main purpose of the contract was to make the NSW Government legally responsible for the cost of staging the 2000 Games if the bid were successful (Barbazon, 1999). The Sydney Olympics 2000 Bid Limited (SOBL) was formed to

prepare the bid, to promote Sydney as the ideal location to host the 2000 Games, and to facilitate the respective application and bid processes in hopes of winning the IOC vote. Sydney's bid emphasized an environmental legacy and the redevelopment of two primary areas in Homebush Bay: the SOP and the Sydney Harbour (SOBL, 1993). The bid included contemporary environmental designs to help gain support from local activist groups, one being Greenpeace Australia.

Upon winning the right to host, the HCC was signed by the AOC, the Mayor of Sydney, and the IOC. The HCC articulated the requirements of hosting the Sydney 2000 Games. Once the contract was signed, the Government of NSW passed legislation, entitled the *Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games Act* (*SOCOG Act)* (NSW, 1993). This act of Parliament designated SOCOG as a statutory authority of NSW. According to the *Act*, SOCOG was legally obliged to organize and host the Games, including preparations for the sport, cultural and marketing programs, as well as elements of host broadcasting (SOCOG, 2001).

The SOCOG was comprised of a 15-member Board of Directors, based on the requirements stipulated in the HCC, the EC, and the SOCOG Act. The Board of Directors was responsible for major policy decisions, strategic directions in the planning of the Games, and approval of budget items (SOCOG, 2001). As a result of being a statutory authority, SOCOG was also subject to a number of pieces of state and national legislation (e.g., the *Public Finance and Audit Act*, the *Annual Reports Act*, and the *Freedom of Information Act*) (SOCOG, 2001).

In 1995, a change in government (from the Liberal Party to the Labour Party) prompted some changes in the governance of SOCOG and the overall planning for the Sydney 2000 Games. One of the major changes was the appointment of a full-time

Minister for the Olympics, who would eventually become the President of SOCOG.

Prior to this time, coordination of services and construction of facilities were overseen by

several government ministers and agencies.

Decisions were also made to streamline Olympic-related activities into one

department, the Olympic Coordination Authority (OCA), under the *Olympic*

Coordination Act 1995. The Government of NSW started out with three main agencies:

SOCOG, OCA, and the Olympic Roads and Transportation Authority (ORTA). These

agencies began as interdependent organizations and eventually became part of the

Sydney 2000 banner by the end of the planning and implementation stages.

The *SOCOG Act* and the EC provided a significant amount of authority for the

AOC, as the NSW Government had to have approval of the AOC regarding the hiring of

senior leadership positions and certain budget items. Disputes grew over the issue of

control and affected the organization of the Games. A meeting was set up (dubbed in the

media as *The Knight of the Long Prawns*) between the heads of the AOC and the

SOCOG. A new arrangement was ultimately agreed upon in the form of the New

Contract (NC). The AOC settled for $75-million and the establishment of a Sport

Commission, in exchange for the budget veto rights and potential profits of the Games.

This cash settlement enabled the AOC to have financial autonomy beyond the Games.

The combination of the EC and the HCC gave the AOC a powerful authoritative position

in the Games network. The contracts provided the framework for the development of

Games preparations, and, to a lesser degree, Games legacy.

The inclusion of legacy concepts in the Sydney bid was seen by a SOCOG

employee as "a very strong selling point of the bid". Nevertheless, the planning and

implementation of the vision was criticized. A representative of SOPA described the

legacy process as "they just said we have got a vision and we are going to produce positive legacies for our city but they weren't required to spell it out". Although legacy was discussed throughout the bid and planning phases of the Sydney 2000 Games, no specific steps were taken to ensure effective and efficient legacy planning. A SOPA representative went on to say:

> Well to tell you the truth when I was at SOCOG, there wasn't or there didn't seem to be a great deal of discussion about legacy. Of course there were points that were made about legacy […] I cannot remember seeing any particular or formal strategic plan or strategic legacy plan.

According to a representative from the OCA,

> legacy was forgotten about during the Games or at least during the critical stages because they were at that point focused on putting on a successful Games and worried about more pressing issues like ticketing, scandals, and the Asian financial crisis.

Following the wrap-up and subsequent dissolution of the Sydney 2000 organizational unit, which included SOCOG and the OCA, many issues arose regarding the management of the long-term investments of the NSW government and the people of Australia. Although the concept of legacy was discussed throughout the bid and planning phases of the Games, no formal legacy plan was put in place.

Even though the government of NSW was committed to taking on the responsibility of overseeing the site's future development, it was not until almost one year after the completion of the Sydney 2000 Games that a legacy organization in the form of SOPA was established (NSW, 2001). This is reflected in the following quote from a representative of SOPA:

> We didn't have a legacy plan, we had a NSW government that committed resources and funds to create the authority and to create the Act and then told us to come up with the plan sort of thing and that is how it transpired.

An agency of the NSW Government (i.e., OCA) was largely responsible for the development and management of Homebush Bay and SOP for the 2000 Games. This organization was dissolved by 2002, and all remaining assets relating to the land were transferred to SOPA (NSW, 2001).

SOPA was established specifically by the NSW Government to manage the administrative and developmental needs of the district. This role was previously performed by organizations within the Sydney 2000 grouping, mainly the OCA. SOPA is governed by a seven-member Board of Directors representing a mix of private and public stakeholders appointed by the NSW Government, many of whom were involved in the Sydney 2000 Games through the OCA.

Under the *SOPA Act 2001*, SOPA was required to maintain prior arrangements with Olympic organizations, including the IOC and the AOC. However, no direct relationship between SOPA and the IOC exist, and specific issues are dealt with through the AOC. The focus of SOPA was on local councils and municipal governments to ensure similar objectives and to enhance collaboration on development projects (SOPA, n.d.). The governance of SOPA was influenced by several strategic documents, which served as blueprints for the future development of SOP. These included the *2002 SOP Master Plan, Parklands 2020, Vision 2025,* and the most recent strategic document, *Master Plan 2030*. The NSW Government and the Minister responsible for the Olympic Park had the ultimate decision-making authority, the ability to control resources, and the qualification to select Board members within SOPA.

When discussing the post-Games governance of the Sydney Games, a SOCOG representative stated:

> There is going to be some lag before those facilities become better and fully utilized and we anticipated that with Homebush Bay. We developed an authority in that respect, and certainly for the first five years or so the Sydney Olympic stadium and the large indoor stadiums weren't being used to full capacity. We also realized that we had built out in a location well away from the centre of the City and that would be part of the developing area of Western Sydney so we knew that time would have to elapse before commercial activities and extended domestic buildings and neighbourhoods would develop around the site.

This quote illustrates the importance of developing realistic expectations in terms of post-Games legacy governance. It takes time for the post-Games legacy to develop its full potential and adaptability in order to become self-sufficient and viable. A SOPA representative talked about the evolution of the organization over the past 10 years:

> [The] focus of the area has really opened-up and changed over the years. It really depended who was in charge […]. In the beginning SOP was trying to be everything to everyone and then it changed and focused on a strategic plan.

In the Sydney case, much of the legacy governance network was informal. There were no specific legacy documents outlining the roles of organizations in its planning and development. At the conclusion of the event, the *SOPA Act* formally mandated the creation of SOPA to govern activities at SOP. The organization had the following functions:

> To promote, co-ordinate and manage the orderly and economic development and use of Sydney Olympic Park, including the provision and management of infrastructure, (b) to promote, co-ordinate, organize, manage, undertake, secure, provide and conduct cultural, sporting, educational, commercial, residential, tourist, recreational, entertainment and transport activities and facilities (including the Sydney Olympic Park Sports Centre), (c) to protect and enhance the natural and cultural heritage of Sydney Olympic Park, particularly the Millennium Parklands,(d) to provide, operate and maintain public transport facilities within Sydney Olympic Park, (e) to liaise with and maintain arrangements with Olympic organizations, such as the International Olympic Committee and the Australian Olympic Committee Incorporated (NSW, 2001, para. 13)
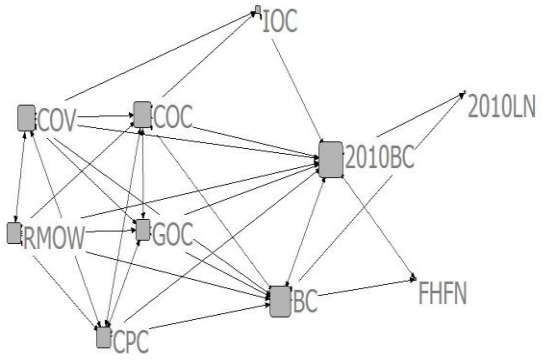
The general public and media played a large role in this process, as indicated in the following quote from a representative of SOPA:
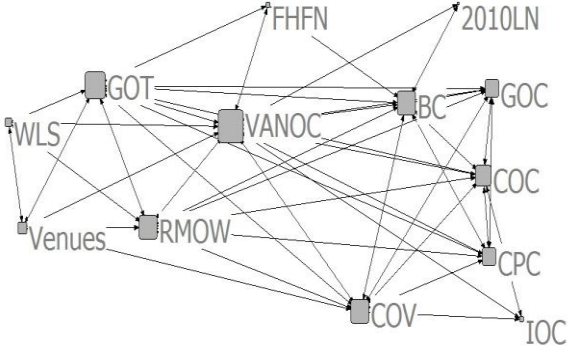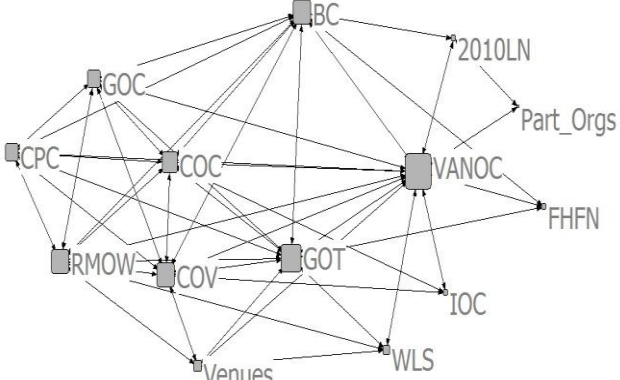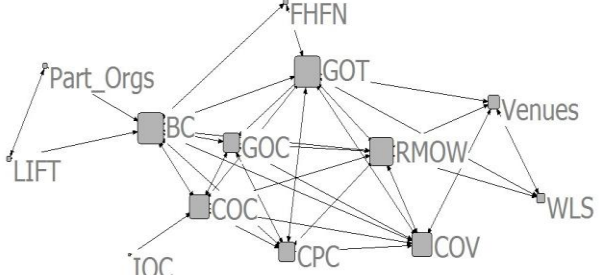
> In hindsight we needed to have established a SOPA prior to the Olympic Games not after the Olympic Games and then so what happened that within sort of one or two years, the period within which the expectations of the media and the public in terms of post Olympic performance were very high but the organization still hadn't really got its plans together and wasn't ready to run with the bat sort of up rather than it being a relay and starting to run before we took the bat and started the post Olympic exercise we were kind of sort of working off a standing start and we were just late out of the blocks.

The Vancouver 2010 Games. Table 4-2 represents the Vancouver 2010 Games network in each of the legacy governance phases.

Table 4-2

Vancouver 2010 Legacy Network Governance Phases

Conceptualization	Actor Centrality: 1) 2010 BC 2) BC 3) COV, COC **Density:** 0.6222
	Entered: 2010 BC, COV, RMOW, GOC, CPC, 2010 LN, FHFN, BC
	Controls: MPA, 2010 Olympic Bid Guidelines, local, provincial/territorial, and national laws, IOC Board decisions, Technical Manuals and Guides
Planning and Implementation	**Actor Centrality**: 1) VANOC 2) GOT 3) BC, COV, RMOW **Density:** 0.5577

	Entered: VANOC, WLS, GOT **Exited**: 2010 BC **Controls:** MPA, HCC, local, provincial/territorial, and national laws, IOC Board decisions, CFHP, VA, LEF, LA, Technical Manuals and Guides
Transfer 	**Actor Centrality:** 1) VANOC 2) GOT 3) BC, COV, RMOW **Density:** 0.500 **Entered:** Legacy Partner Organizations (Part_Orgs) **Exited:** **Controls:** MPA, HCC, local, provincial/territorial, and national laws, CHP, VA, LEF, LA, Wind-Up plan
Post-Games Governance 	**Actor Centrality:** 1) GOT, BC 2) RMOW 3) COC, COV **Density:** 0.4167 **Entered:** LIFT **Exited:** 2010 LN, VANOC **Controls:** MPA, local, provincial/territorial, and national laws, CHP, VA, LEF, LA, Wind-Up plan

The idea of Vancouver, BC, hosting the Olympic Games first surfaced in the 1960s. In 1976, the district of Vancouver/Garibaldi submitted a proposal for the Winter Games, and Vancouver unsuccessfully bid for the 1980 Winter Games. Several individuals were credited with instigating the bid for the Vancouver 2010 Games, including a Vice-President of Tourism Vancouver, and a Director of Parks and Recreation for North Vancouver (Furlong & Mason, 2011). Plans were launched for the domestic bidding rights following support from Sport BC, on a high after successfully hosting the BC Games. After competing with Quebec City and Calgary to win the domestic privilege from the COC, the 2010 BC was established in 1999. At the time, John Furlong, future CEO of the VANOC, said he

> realized that to win our bid had to centre on people. We had to reject the traditional model that this was about building infrastructure and boosting the local economy. Those were benefits undoubtedly. The physical and financial legacies of the Games would be enormous. But that wasn't a vision. That wasn't going to get people to buy into what we were selling. (Furlong & Mason, 2011, p. 33)

Vancouver's vision was "to leave behind an emotional legacy for the country" (Furlong & Mason, 2011, p. 96) and focus on sustainable legacies for communities. In addition, infrastructure improvements were of interest, particularly the Sea-to-Sky highway between Vancouver and Whistler and the construction of the Canada Line to link the Vancouver airport to downtown areas.

The Vancouver proposal presented many innovative ways to facilitate the delivery of the Games. One was the idea of a separate legacy organization, to ensure positive outcomes of the bid for the province of BC, regardless of whether the bid was successful. The concept of a legacy program surfaced in 1999, when the 2010 BC committed $5-million to the *Legacies Now* Sport Program in its proposal to the COC (2010 LN, 2010).

Following Vancouver's selection as the Canadian bid city, the program transitioned into 2010 LN. 2010 Legacies Now was tasked with acquiring support for the Vancouver bid and focused on securing a productive and sustainable sport system for BC (2010 LN, 2010).

Another progressive idea was a MPA signed well in advance of the 2010 Games host selection on November 14, 2002. The MPA was a binding legal agreement between the main Games partners, and was subject to the HCC and the OC. It stipulated that VANOC would be responsible for the planning, organizing, financing and staging of the Games, as well as ensuring a positive tangible legacy in the form of facilities and funding for amateur sport (Government of Canada et al., 2002). An entire section of the MPA was dedicated to the legacy of the Games, from the winding down of VANOC to the distribution and governance of physical and financial assets. Several key legacy governance stakeholders and controls were identified and defined in the MPA, including the LEF, the GOT, and the Amateur Sport Legacy Fund (ASLF).

New partners emerged as the process of the Games continued. Given that VANOC was responsible for delivering both the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the CPC was included as one of the official Games partners. Although the Olympic and Paralympic Games had previously been held in conjunction with each other, Vancouver took the integration of the two events to a new level. The RMOW played a significant role as a partner in the staging of the Vancouver Games and was designated *Host Mountain Resort* by the IOC (Whistler, 2011). As the Games were taking place on four of the traditional territories of the First Nations Peoples of Canada (Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh), the FHFN were involved from early in the bid process. This was the first time in Olympic history that the IOC recognized Indigenous peoples as

official partners in the hosting of the Games (FHFN, 2009).

In Canada, the Federal Government recognized that a coordinated approach to hosting sport events was necessary to maximize the benefits of hosting. The *Federal Policy for Hosting International Sport Events* outlined a number of stipulations for the use of the support provided, including the sound use of federal funds to provide event legacies, and an approved legacy plan. Additionally, the policy stated that the Federal Government would not be the sole financial supporter of event legacies, thereby encouraging other collaborative partnerships, such as the LEF (Canadian Heritage, 2008).

In 2002, after the election of a new Mayor in Vancouver, a plebiscite was held to determine citizen's views on Vancouver's hosting of the Games. Although a variety of activist groups worked hard to inform the voting public of the potential downfalls associated with hosting the Games, results showed that 64% of the Vancouver population positively supported the bid (Furlong & Mason, 2011).

Immediately following the announcement of the 2010 winning bid, the IOC, the COV, and the COC entered into a HCC. This contract encouraged environmental protection and sustainable development as can be seen in the following quote:

> The City, the NOC and the OCOG undertake to carry out their obligations and activities under this contract in a manner which embraces the concept of sustainable development that complies with applicable environmental legislation and serves to promote the protection of the environment. In particular, the concept of sustainable development shall include concerns for post-Olympic use of venues and other facilities and infrastructures. (IOC, 2003, p. 9)

In accordance with the HCC, the MPA and the OC, the VANOC Board was composed of 20 members representing various Games stakeholders. The legacy vision and governance structures outlined in the bid phase were implemented by these network actors.

GOT was created to oversee the LEF, which consisted of equal financial legacy

contributions from both the provincial and federal governments. The GOT was responsible for the administration of the LEF, in the amount to 60% of operating surplus of the Games, if there were one. Each government contributed a total of $110-million to the maintenance costs of three legacy facilities (Richmond Oval, WOP and WSC). Further, each government was committed to supporting the ongoing development of high performance sport in the country (Government of Canada et al., 2002).

The WSL organization was established to own, manage, and operate the venues in Whistler beyond the Games. Its purpose was to provide world-class facilities, encourage healthy lifestyles through program development and implementation, and devise a sustainable business model, which would work for generations to come. In June 2012, the WSL took possession of the venues from VANOC (WSL, n.d.).

Under the terms of the MPA, VANOC, the governments involved, and the COC were required to develop extensive wind-down plan a year before the actual hosting of the Games. The purpose of this plan was to manage the dissolution of the OCOG, including the transfer of any rights, responsibilities, requirements and assets, and the identification of appropriate post-Games governing bodies (Government of Canada et al., 2002). This is depicted in the following quote:

> The OCOG will transfer to the extent possible, all the intellectual property that it develops or acquires to the 2010 Games Operating Trust, unless such intellectual property belongs or must be reverted back to the IOC and/or the COC as a result of an agreement between the IOC and/or the COC and the OCOG. (Government of Canada et al., 2002, p. 16)

Special attention was paid to the transfer of archival material from VANOC to the IOC, a requirement of the HCC.

The MPA also required venue arrangements concerning facilities constructed or updated with federal funds, to ensure that they would be available for use by developing

and elite athletes (Government of Canada et al., 2002). VANOC negotiated specific terms and conditions with venue owners and renters to allow access by amateur sport groups to those facilities (Government of Canada et al., 2002).

In 2008, 2010 LN began to study life after the Games (Weiler, 2011). The Board of Directors and senior management team realized that the organization would require a new business model if it were to remain a leading social entrepreneur. On the first anniversary of the Games, 2010 LN announced an evolution in its legacy programming and unveiled LIFT Philanthropy Partners. LIFT is a "venture philanthropy organization that aims to improve the impact, accountability and effectiveness of not-for-profit organizations in Canada" (LIFT, n.d., para.1). The new organization expanded its scope to include not-for-profit organizations across the country. It also narrowed its focus to target organizations that support sport and healthy living, literacy and lifelong learning (Weiler, 2011). As a result of LIFT, 2010 LN transferred the responsibility for successful programs to other proven partner organizations, such as Hosting BC, Volunteer BC, and Tourism BC (2010 LN, 2010). Following the announcement of continued support by the provincial government, the *Hosting BC Grant Program* and its web site advocating opportunities for sport tourism in the province was transferred to the BC Games Society (Weiler, 2011).

A year after the conclusion of the Games, VANOC announced that the Vancouver 2010 Games had been delivered on budget. The $1.884-billion operating budget had broken even (VANOC, 2010). The ASLF was to have been financed by a breakdown of the surplus realized from the Games. However, since there was no surplus and therefore no funds available to support the ASLF, the post-Games legacy was affected.

Roles of Central Actors in Legacy Networks

The purpose of this section is to discuss the intricacies of the network governance of Olympic Games legacy. It will focus on the use of the network form of governance for legacy at the Games, and the density and architecture of each network. Also included will be the influence of stakeholders and the evolution of the network over time.

A framework by which FOs may predict stakeholder influences and responses was developed by Rowley (1997). Contingent upon the structure of the network, Rowley used a combination of density and centrality measures to determine how actors in a network would behave. Each FO in the Games' network was specifically formed to bid for, plan, deliver, and govern the post-Games period in each case study. A FO was determined to have high centrality if it was one of the top two central organizations in the overall network. This ranking was calculated using UCINET 6.0. High densities were readings over 0.5, while low densities were readings less than 0.5. Measures of 0.5 (neither high nor low) were determined to have moderate density (Rowley, 1997). See Table 4-3, which describes the role of the main organizations within the network, based on Rowley's theory.

Discussion

The purpose of this section is to discuss the peculiarities of the network governance of Olympic Games legacy. It will focus on the use of the network form of governance for legacy at the Games, as well as the characteristics of the network including density and centrality, actor influence, and its evolution over time.

Table 4-3

Focal Organization Roles in Legacy Network Governance Phases

Network Governance Phase	Focal Organization	Level of Centrality and density	Focal organization strategy
Sydney 2000 Conceptualization	SOBL	High Centrality/ High Density	Compromiser
Sydney 2000 Planning and Implementation	SOCOG/ Sydney 2000	High Centrality/ High Density	Compromiser
Sydney 2000 Transfer	SOCOG / Sydney 2000	High Centrality/ High Density	Compromiser
Sydney 2000 Post Games Governance	SOPA	High Centrality/ Low Density	Commander
Vancouver 2010 Conceptualization	2010 BC	High Centrality/ High Density	Compromiser
Vancouver 2010 Planning and Implementation	VANOC	High Centrality/ High Density	Compromiser
Vancouver 2010 Transfer	VANOC	High Centrality/ Moderate Density	Compromiser/ Commander
Vancouver 2010 Post Games Governance	GOT	High Centrality/ Low Density	Commander

Network Governance

The use of network governance enables the cooperation of multiple organizations and stakeholders to address unique problems (Roloff, 1997). In the case of Olympic Games legacy, a number of challenges led to the development of the network form of legacy governance. These challenges included environmental uncertainty, a complex planning process, and the need for adaptation of legacy structures and governance mechanisms specific to the local context, all in combination with the requirement for a positive post-Games impact. In each of the Sydney and Vancouver case studies, the legacy process involved frequent exchanges and sharing of information and financial resources, along with transfers of knowledge. This was done within a short period of time, with no flexibility in extending the Games delivery window. Jones et al. (1997) suggested that these exchange conditions among stakeholders provide a comparative advantage for network governance over other forms. According to Jones et al., network

governance allows for the stakeholders to develop a higher degree of structural

embeddedness, which enhances cooperation within the network and results in stronger

social mechanisms. The reference to social mechanisms includes restricted access,

macro-cultures, collective sanctions, and reputation (Jones et al., 1997).

Restricted access, or the strategic reduction of actors within the network, can

minimize the implementation costs and increase communication between stakeholders.

This issue should be resolved in the preliminary stages of the network development

process. Although limiting the number of actors is important for efficient coordination

(Rowley, 1997), a balance is required in order to ensure new information is transferred

into the general network (Granovetter, 1973).

Macro-culture, or the development of a system of broadly shared assumptions

across the event, is also critical. Pertaining to the development of a common knowledge

that guides behaviour, macro-culture may be difficult to establish and may take several

years to evolve (Jones et al., 1997). The legacy planning process of the Games takes

place over a relatively short period of time. In the two Olympic legacy cases under study,

formalized documents, policies and contracts served to reinforce the notion of macro-

culture by detailing the authoritative roles and responsibilities of the stakeholders in the

network.

Collective sanctioning, where group members punish other actors who break

network standards, is another way to enhance cooperation and safeguard exchanges.

Although specific sanctions by network actors were not explicitly evident in the data of

the two cases in this study, legacy promises were ensured by some external forces,

including lobby groups, the general public, the global market and the media. As the

ultimate authority of the OM, the IOC has the final say on everything related to the

Games. The influential role in the network may help to explain the absence of conflict and the inaction of some stakeholders, since power may be perceived as insurmountable and unreceptive to opposition (Alvesson, 2002; Lukes, 1978). As a result, collective sanctioning could be further discussed and emphasized in legacy delivery in order to help improve overall network effectiveness. In order to elicit a response from the network actors, the strength of the sanctions, monitoring capacity of the stakeholders in the network, and the efficacy and cost of intra-group control must be taken into consideration (Heckathorn, 1990). However, given the types of actors involved in the legacy network (e.g., governments and the "apolitical' nature of the IOC) this social mechanism will unlikely be the main conduit to coordinating, adapting, and safeguarding exchanges in the Olympic event legacy network.

Reputation is associated to the estimation of an actor's attributes (e.g., skills, reliability) and important in networks as these behavioural characteristics are passed on between actors (Jones et al, 1997). The deterrence of unsatisfactory or unacceptable behaviour can improve cooperation through the development of trust. For example, many individuals and organizations involved in previous Games are recognized as industry experts. They have subsequently been involved in future Games on Evaluation Commissions or have been hired by event Organizing Committees to help in the planning and implementation of the event. It is important to realize that reputations can also have drawbacks, as they may be incorrect or distorted (Jones et al., 1997). As such, Games planners and event stakeholders should not become overly reliant on reputation, and should instead balance their experiences with the inclusion of new partners.

In sum, the use of network governance to study the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games provided the opportunity to shed light on and see nuances that exist with

the current network governance literature. For example, it was possible to identify specific challenges (e.g., complex planning process, adapting to local context, and frequent transfer of resources and information between stakeholders) associated with the attainment of a positive legacy post-Games, which led to the development of the network form of governance. The social mechanisms used to facilitate the network governance of legacy included restricting access to the network, the development of a macro-culture through formalized governance mechanisms, and the maintenance of actor reputation. The use of collective sanctioning to safeguard network exchanges in the legacy network was minimal. This finding was linked to the influential role of powerful actors in the network such as the IOC.

Network Actors

Due to the increasing magnitude and organizational complexity of an Olympic event, the hosting of the Games is pushed beyond the scope of a single entity and requires the support of other stakeholders in the local network. The findings in this study suggest that the position (centrality) of the organization and the role of stakeholders in the legacy governance network change throughout the evolution of the Games from legacy conceptualization to post-Games legacy governance.

Based on the centrality measures in Table 4-1 and 4- 2, the FOs in both cases played prominent roles in the legacy conceptualization, planning and implementation, and transfer phases. They were not involved, however, in any post-Games governance, since they dissolved following the wrap-up of the events. This is consistent with Sallent et al. (2011), who found that different public and private stakeholders became more prominent during different phases of an event.

In the Sydney and Vancouver cases, legacy stakeholders included a variety of

formal and informal actors representing municipal, provincial and federal governments, sponsors of the Games, and other legacy partner organizations. Unlike Sallent et al.'s (2011) study, public actors continued to play key roles throughout the legacy governance in both cases. This is similar to Girginov's (2011) London Games findings, where the national legacy from hosting the event was largely influenced by public stakeholders. It is the government stakeholders who are ultimately held accountable for a mega-event like an Olympic Games, with massive budgets and global media coverage. Thus, it would logically follow that government stakeholders would want to ensure the proper governance and sustainability of their large investments over the long-term. The NSW Government, for instance, continued to support the SOP beyond the Olympic Games.

According to Roloff (2008), the number of actors in the network should be limited, to ensure optimal functioning of the network environment. She suggested that a small number of area experts would be preferable in representing the larger stakeholder groups. In the context of event legacy governance, the two cases studied showed that some stakeholders continued to be involved in the legacy governance process over time. The IOC and various levels of government were involved in both locations. In the Vancouver case, the Olympic and Paralympic events were organized by VANOC. The new actors in the legacy network included the national Paralympic committees, which played a more prominent role in the legacy process. It is reasonable to assume that local Paralympic Committees will continue to be involved in future Games legacy networks, as long as the Paralympics events continue to be organized by the same OCOG.

Since event legacy is still relatively young, new network actors will emerge over the future editions of the Games. It has been reinforced that the legacy process should be adapted to meet the needs of the local context (Leopkey & Parent, 2012b). As such, for

each edition of the Olympic Games, local legacy governance stakeholders will be involved in the process. An example of this would be the inclusion of the FHFN in the Vancouver network for the Vancouver 2010 Games.

The number of stakeholders needed for an edition of the Games depends on the size of the network and the complexity of the issues; however, this research suggests that these actors would be relatively consistent between editions of the event. It is important to note when dealing with stakeholders to the need balance the level of participation in the network with the level of efficiency required to ensure successful post-Games legacy delivery.

As such, the key innovations from this research with regards to network actors involved in the governance of legacy are the changing nature of the network and composition and the architecture of the network. In the case of Olympic Games legacy, a combination of constant, emergent, and context-specific actors appeared in the structure. For example, unlike smaller sport events that have been investigated (Sallent et al., 2011), public actors (e.g., government) continued to be engaged throughout the process. It was also noted that the actors' position and roles in the network were not static but rather changed over time; the legacy governance network is dynamic.

Network Actor Influences and Focal Organization Strategies

Network density and centrality influence the power balance between the FO and the other network stakeholders (Rowley, 1997). Following the identification of network configurations in each network governance phase it is possible to further understand the behaviour and interaction of the different stakeholders.

In the two cases studied, the structure in the first three network governance phases had similar characteristics in terms of density and centrality scores (high density and high

centrality). Efficient communication and information flow was characteristic of this type of network configuration (Rowley, 1997). As such, the production and shared behaviour expectations between network stakeholders were augmented. Moreover, main organizations and stakeholders were able to influence each other.

The bid committees and the OCOGs were able to influence the flow of information, due to their location in the network. However, they faced an uncertain local environment and were susceptible to stakeholder actions. As a result, both network actors and the FOs held the power to influence each other. In this situation, according to Rowley, the FO occasionally takes on the role of a compromiser and will negotiate with and pacify the stakeholders within the network in order to reduce any environmental uncertainty (Rowley, 1997).

In the Vancouver 2010 transfer phase, there was less of a need for compromise due to the density score being only moderate in Vancouver. As a result, the network environment was more stable, and VANOC gained influence in the larger network and moved closer to a commander role. This could have been the result of the formalized governance structures (e.g., MPA legacy requirements) that were implemented in the Vancouver case which were not in place for the Sydney Games.

In the post-Games governance phases, both focal organizations (SOPA in Sydney and GOT in Vancouver) took on a commander role due to their high level of centrality in a less dense network. Low density in a network may inhibit information flow and the formation of shared norms. As a result, stakeholders become more passive and are less likely to actively participate in the legacy process (Rowley, 1997). Moreover, the high centrality of the FO in question enhances its resistance to stakeholder pressures, thus influencing information flow, network behaviour, and at times co-opting stakeholders in

order to safeguard core organizations in the structure (Rowley, 1997). Furthermore, network power and influence may shift to benefit the FO.

In sum, the legacy network governance configurations in the pre-Games governance phases provide more opportunity for stakeholders to influence each other. The implementation of formalized structures, as well as the structure of the legacy network post-Games, enhances the power of FO's following the conclusion of the event.

Changing Nature of the Network

The Vancouver and Sydney cases highlight the changing nature of the legacy governance stakeholder network. This is due to varying regulatory and contractual obligations and changes in organizational purpose and goal achievement, as suggested by Jones et al., (1997) and Roloff (2008). Network governance is generally characterized as an informal social system used to coordinate approaches in dealing with complex problems without bureaucratic structures. Jones et al. (1997) held that, although formal contracts exist between certain stakeholders within the network, they do not detail the relations between all stakeholders involved. Rather, cooperation is enhanced through the development of social mechanisms (Jones et al., 1997).

In this study, contractual agreements played an important role in the overall network governance of legacy. At times, the power bestowed under the terms of the agreement would be beyond the position of the stakeholder within the network. This resulted in a power imbalance and an inequitable distribution of influence. The EC in the Sydney 2000 Games, for example, provided a substantial amount of power to the AOC. As a result, the NSW Government ended up compensating the AOC, in order to relinquish some of its authority and to promote more efficient organizational decision-making at the level of the OCOG.

Modifications in the formal hierarchy were also evident, as network stakeholders had different levels of influence, based on the phase of the network governance. Authority was transitory and shifted between network stakeholders. This was affected by the timing of the Games, stakeholders' control over resources, and their position in the network. In the legacy conceptualization phase, the IOC holds much of the authority over the Games. As the Games approach, the majority of resources are transferred to the local OCOG, which becomes increasingly central in the network exchanges. Accordingly, the IOC has considerably less control over the network. These findings align with the research of Astley and Sachdeva's (1984), which suggested that inter-organizational power was made up of a combination of hierarchical authority, resource control, and network positioning. It is important for the stakeholders of Olympic Games to realize that they have different levels and types of power, based on each phase of network governance. Being aware of this can help them to capitalize on their positions within the network.

The findings of this study also support the assertion of Astley and Sachdeva's (1984) that these types of power are also highly interconnected and interdependent. When resources were transferred from the local OCOGs to the proper post-Games bodies, the authority and responsibility of the OCOGs consequently diminished. Although the impact of the three sources of power (e.g., mutual reinforcement, dominance over each other, and the creation of tension between stakeholders) was beyond the scope of this study, it is recommended as a subject for future research.

Roloff (2008) suggested that a multi-organizational network alternates between deliberation and action in its life-cycle. To be successful, a network must review the issues, agreements and action plans over the course of its existence, to ensure that they

are consistent with long-term objectives and meet stakeholder expectations. Event legacy has been discussed as a dynamic and enduring construct (Leopkey & Parent, 2012a, 2012b). Within the legacy governance process, it was shown that various actors entered and exited the network over time, which has a potential impact on the overall legacy objectives. It is important, therefore, for the stakeholders involved to continually review and adapt the legacy plan so that it meets the needs of all stakeholders. This is especially relevant in the post-Games governance phase, because it lasts indefinitely.

SOPA illustrates this point. As it has continued to grow and become more established, it has evolved to meet the needs of the local area. In Vancouver, the 2010 LN organization evolved into LIFT, a philanthropic organization aimed at increasing the impact, accountability and effectiveness of non-profit organizations in Canada. As part of a post-Games evolution, LIFT has narrowed its focus and broadened its influence to include national and international levels in order to maintain its position as a social entrepreneur.

The changing nature of the legacy governance network was influenced by several factors including regulatory controls and changes in organizational goals. It was also evident that inter-organizational power within the networks consisted of a combination of formal hierarchy, resource control, and network positioning. However, contracts played a particularly important role with regards to the legacy of the events as they reinforced some stakeholders' authority in the network.

Conclusions, Managerial Implications and Future Directions

This research has examined how the network governance of legacy has evolved over time, from the 20 years since the Sydney bid to the post-Games legacy governance in Vancouver. Through the case studies, it has become evident that the Olympic legacy

governance network has increased in complexity and has become more formalized since the Sydney 2000 Games.

The modern Olympic Games have grown to be so large and intricate that success can only be achieved by a strong joint effort by all actors within the Games' environment. The study of the network governance of legacy in the Sydney and Vancouver cases provided the opportunity to expand the sport event management literature with the identification of four distinct network governance phases: legacy conceptualization, legacy planning and implementation, legacy transfer, and post-Games legacy governance.

Stakeholders played a prominent role in the Games, and their influence was based on a combination of factors, including the phase of the event, control over resources, position in the network and the formal hierarchy. According to the data, the centrality and role of network actors changed throughout the evolution of the event. In order to ensure effective decision-making, network stakeholders should be aware that authority is transitory and that they have fluctuating power and control at different stages of the event legacy lifecycle.

The stakeholders studied in the two editions of the Olympic Games were representatives of the state, the market, and society at large. From the data, it is clear that, for optimal performance of the network environment, it would be preferable to have a small number of key experts as stakeholders, rather than a larger group.

Studying the network configuration using centrality and density measures provided an opportunity to further understand the behaviour of network stakeholders. There were two similar network characteristics that emerged in the first three phases of the network governance of legacy in both of the cases: high centrality and high density. As a result, the FOs adopted the role of compromiser that consisted of negotiating with

and pacifying other stakeholders in the network. In the post-Games phase, due to the change in network density, power and influence shifted to favour the FOs. The result was that these organizations took on a leadership role and were able to resist network pressures.

The network form of governance enabled the stakeholders in each case to increase cooperation and adaptation, and to safeguard exchanges. It was evident, from the data, that social influences were involved in the governance process. These included restricted access to the network, the development of a macro-culture aided by legal agreements and formalized legacy documents, as well as actor reputation. However, no specific examples were found to support the use of collective sanctioning in the legacy governance networks. In order to increase network effectiveness, social influences should be discussed from the beginning and emphasized.

A more formalized process of legacy has facilitated transfer of information and knowledge. Evaluations and observations of the legacy process in other Games provided valuable material on managing the sustainability of the legacy and helped to identify gaps in the system and areas needing improvement. It is important to note that legacy planning is sensitive to the needs of the local area, and adaptations must be customized in each case and as such limits of the ability to generalize or transfer the results when drawing conclusions on future editions of the event must be considered.

Along with sensitivity to local needs is the importance of the formal transfer of knowledge between host cities. Along with the transfer of legacy 'best practices' in the OGKM, more formal requirements are needed in reporting functions. Games reports and the OGI tool only cover a short period of time following the conclusion of the event, whereas the legacy governance process is indeterminate. Although, the OCOG ceases to

exist, the IOC as a consistent actor in the Games could become more involved and aid in the collection and distribution of this information over the long-term.

Managerial Implications

Legacy is a living concept, in that it continues to develop after the Games. Thus, the governance mechanisms should evolve in order to continue to be relevant. The experiences of Sydney and Vancouver provide a number of lessons for future Olympic host cities.

In order to properly manage the governance network, event stakeholders must be aware of the other stakeholders in the process, their prominence during the different network governance phases, and their changing roles over time. Not only should stakeholders be familiar with the formal network actors during the process, they should also take into consideration the informal actors, as well as the potential pressures from external forces, such as the media and the general public. While it is true that the restricted access of stakeholders in the network can help to optimize coordination, overly restricting a network can impede the flow of new information from the rest of the industry, and as such, a balance is required.

This study demonstrated that stakeholders may have differing objectives and conflicting interests which affect the overall effectiveness of collective network decision-making and goal achievement. The development of formal legacy plans and the use of contracts involving network stakeholders is a recommended method to address this concern.

Any formal documentation should stipulate the authoritative roles of the actors and the types of relationships throughout the phases of legacy governance. Stakeholders should be aware of any contractual elements bestowing excessive amounts of power to

individual actors, since this can result in an uneven balance of power within the network. From a managerial standpoint, those individuals, groups and organizations wishing to assess a Games for its legacy potential must prepare to do so during the legacy conceptualization phase, before the event bid is finalized.

Recognition of the network governance phases of legacy and how their purposes evolve over time in the lifecycle of a Games is crucial for successful legacy delivery. Not only does network governance of legacy occur in four phases, but the stakeholders and controls change in each phase. As such, it is important to understand which actors have power in each phase.

A variety of different governance controls (e.g., legal agreements, formal policies) may be needed to address the different types of legacy (social as well as physical) arising from hosting an Olympic Games. While legacy plans might look good on paper, there must be an active follow-up plan that includes procedures for evaluation and implementation. This should be done by those individuals and organizations charged with managing and guiding the long-term legacy of a specific event. Since stakeholders change over time, the responsibility should fall on those stakeholders who were involved in the planning process and continue to be involved the post-Games process. In Vancouver, for example, the GOT Board of Directors is made of representatives from the governance network.

Future Directions

Using the network governance approach to study the governance of legacy in the Olympic Games proved to be a valuable analytical tool. It provided the opportunity to analyze the stakeholders and relationships that influenced the governance of Olympic Games legacy in the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Games. Future research using

this approach is suggested and encouraged. For example, Cashman (2006; 2009; 2011) has continued to investigate the evolution of the legacy associated with the Sydney 2000 Games from a historical context. However, the study of the evolution of legacy, from the perspectives of management and governance, remains limited and a gap continues to exist in the literature on this topic. Thus, there continues to be a need for more research on the governance of legacy at other editions of the Olympic Games as well as differing levels and forms of events.

The findings in this study confirmed that multiple sources of organizational power contributed to the overall governance of Olympic Games legacy in the Sydney and Vancouver cases. In accordance with Astley and Sachdeva (1984), these sources of power were a combination of hierarchical authority, resource control and network centrality, and were highly interdependent. Although the sources of power were important in examining the governance of Olympic legacy, it may be useful for future research to focus on the interdependence of the three sources of power by examining the degree to which they mutually reinforce each other, dominate each other, and create tensions between stakeholders within the network.

Democracy is considered to be essential to good governance (Rhodes, 1997). *Democratic governance* is defined as "the management of societal affairs in accordance with the universal principles of democracy, as a system of rules that maximizes popular consent and participation, the legitimacy and accountability of rulers, and the responsiveness of the latter to the expressed interests and needs of the public" (Nzongda-Ntalaja, 2004, p. 2). Key aspects of the democratic process include accountability, participation, performance and transparency (Leopkey, 2009). After determining the characteristics of legacy governance in the two case studies above, it would be important

to investigate the impact of elements on the overall governance of legacy in order to have

a more complete picture of the process.

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CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Conclusion

The overall purpose of this research project was to understand the governance of Olympic Games legacy. The specific objectives of this project were threefold. First, the historical evolution of legacy and its governance was mapped throughout the modern OM (i.e., 1896 - current day) in order to contextualize and conceptualize the major trends (e.g., changes in legacy, network actors/stakeholders, governance structures and processes). Second, the governance of Olympic Games legacy (including timing, structure, and processes) was examined and compared in two case settings (Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010). Finally, the overall structure and process of the governance of legacy within the OM was critically analyzed. The findings from the research objectives provided a foundation for the development of a theoretical framework for legacy governance, developed below, as well as policy recommendations for event stakeholders.

This doctoral dissertation was compiled using an article-based format. In total three articles were completed in order to help fulfill the overall purpose of this project. The first two articles (Chapters 2 and 3) tackle the first research objective. Article three (Chapter 4) examines and compares the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Games cases in order to better understand the timing, structure, and processes of legacy governance (research objective two). This chapter concludes the dissertation by reflecting on the state of legacy and its overall governance within the OM (research objective three).

The chapter will unfold as follows. First, the historical evolution of Olympic legacy and it governance will be reviewed. This will include discussions on the sophistication of the concept and the resultant trends and types of Games legacy, the emergence of legacy governance, the

institutionalization of the legacy within the OM, and the introduction of legacy governance

structures and processes. Next the governance of Olympic Games legacy in the Sydney 2000

and Vancouver 2010 cases will be summarized. Legacy governance phases, mechanisms,

stakeholder networks, as well as issues will be detailed. A critical analysis of legacy governance

within the OM will be presented next. This will include an analysis based on the following

elements of democratic governance: accountability, participation, performance, and

transparency. A review of these concepts is found in the *Governance* section in Chapter 1 (p.

12). Finally the dissertation will conclude with policy recommendations for event stakeholders,

a reflection of the research process, and avenues for future research.

The Historical Evolution of Olympic Legacy and its Governance

In order to better understand the concept of legacy and its governance in the Olympic

Games, it is important to investigate its historical roots in the Movement and the reasons why it

became a taken for granted norm adopted by stakeholders within the field. The first article in

this dissertation *Olympic Games Legacy: From General Benefits to Sustainable Long-term*

Legacy touched on benefits and impacts of the Games from their modern origin with the

majority of it focusing on the evolution of the legacy concept from its emergence in the early

1980s to present day. The next subsection will review the evolution of the concept, the

emergence of the governance of legacy, and finally the research implications of this paper.

The Evolution of the Legacy Concept

In the early Games, legacy was commonly discussed in bid books and final reports as

benefits or as a motivation to host the event. As the Games increased in scale over time (1950s

onward - TV coverage, etc.), the concept played a more important role in bidding for and

hosting the Games. Legacy emerged in the early to mid 1980s following the bid for the Calgary

88 Games and the financial successes associated with LA 84. As the new millennium

approached and passed, legacy had become a reoccurring theme for Bid and Organizing Committees.

The increased sophistication and subsequent formalization of the concept resulted in many legacy trends within the OM including expanding legacy themes, changes in emphasis of the these types of legacies over time, increased complexity and interconnectedness between the themes, as well as the emergence of legacy governance structures.

Initially legacies associated with the hosting of the Games included more concrete and tangible forms such as sport or local infrastructure; however, the concept has evolved to include more idealized or soft forms of impacts and benefits. Following a review of available Games bids and final reports at the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, Switzerland, 13 legacy themes were identified. These included: cultural (e.g., programming), economic (e.g., tourism, jobs), environmental (e.g., policy, education), image (e.g., international awareness), information/educational (e.g., knowledge, research), nostalgia (e.g., memories, personal experiences), OM (e.g., global harmony), political (e.g., policy, leadership), psychological (e.g., national pride), social (e.g., health, civic engagement), sport (e.g., participation, facilities), sustainability (e.g., long-term planning, viability of legacies), and urban (e.g., transportation, rejuvenation).

Early motivations to host the Games began with the yearning to build or rejuvenate sport infrastructure. As the Games became more prominent, they were used to promote the image and local regimes of an area (e.g., Nazi Games in 1936). LA 84 proved that hosting the Games could be economically valuable to a local region. By 1992, the Games were being used to stimulate urban regeneration. As environmental concerns became a reality, hosts began to focus on the provision of a 'Green Games' (e.g., Lillehammer 1994, Sydney 2000), and most recently,

sustainability and sustainable development have become core principles with regards to legacy and hosting (e.g., Vancouver 2010 and London 2012).

With the emergence of several new themes in recent years, legacy has become increasingly complex and interconnected. As such, it is important to realize that these legacy themes are not distinct from each other and exist with significant overlap; thus not mutually exclusive. However, the research suggests that the level of interconnectedness between each type is mixed.

The Emergence of Legacy Governance

In early editions, donations were made by private citizens to ensure the successful hosting of the Games. As the Games gained prominence internationally, the benefits of hosting became more evident. Eventually, the incorporation of legacy in the event's delivery became routine and profiting from hosting the Games became a realistic potential. As such, bid cities and future hosts began to prepare for life after the Games. This resulted in the development of governance structures such as post-Games legacy organizations, and strategic legacy plans that were conceived during the bidding process. The creation of 2010 LN can be considered a turning point for the governance of legacy in many ways. Not only was this the first time an organization specific to legacy was established in the bid phase but it was also to continue its existence regardless if Vancouver won the bid. A similar organization, World Sport Chicago, was developed for the Chicago 2016 bid and has continued to exist and benefit the local region despite not winning the right to host.

This shift in legacy planning from not planning at all (i.e., reactive) to proactively strategizing for legacy is one of the most significant adaptations that occurred in the management of legacy in the era of the modern Olympic Games. Additionally, it was recognized that influencers of Games legacy include a number of stakeholders including

sponsors, local OCOGs, as well as various levels of government to name a few. This finding suggests that legacy and its governance is a shared responsibility, which will be discussed later on in this conclusion.

Research Implications

The present findings extend the current literature on event legacy by looking at the evolution of the concept over time, as much of the previous research has focused on individual types (e.g., Chappelet, 2008 (environmental); Preuss, 2004 (economics)) and specific events (e.g., Cashman, 2006 looked just at the Sydney experience). In addition, this research also linked event legacy to the concept of governance, which had been for the most part previously overlooked. This connection is important as it contributes to our understanding of the tension between what is being done in the name of legacy and how these decisions are made and influenced. As a result of this article, researchers examining event legacy can have a deeper understanding of the historical foundations of legacy and how it evolved over time to help inform future legacy planning. This article also contextualized and informed the remainder of this research project on the governance of Olympic Games legacy.

The Institutionalization of Legacy within in the Modern Olympic Movement

After exploring the evolution of legacy from a historical perspective, Article two *The (Neo) Institutionalization of Legacy and its Sustainable Governance within the Olympic Movement* further investigated the reasons behind why legacy was adopted as an accepted norm within the OM. It also identified the phases through which legacy became institutionalized, as well as the forces at play within the field.

In order to better understand the uptake of legacy into the OM, its adoption process was broken down into the pre-institutionalization, semi-institutionalization, and full institutionalization phases described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996). The adoption of legacy in

the OM was a response to several coercive, mimetic, and normative institutional pressures placed on actors in the field to help justify the expenditure of public monies on the event and to help increase the allure of hosting future Games.

The success of legacy innovators such LA 84 and Calgary 88 led to the habitualization of the concept in the field. As a result, legacy began to diffuse to other actors within the Movement; bid cities objectified the need to include legacy as an important element of their candidacies in order to be considered legitimate contenders for the Games. The inclusion of legacy into the OC in 2003, as well as legacy-related questions in the bid process helped support the historical continuity and exteriority of the structure in the Movement. This resulted in the sedimentation (i.e., full institutionalization) of legacy within the OM. The subsequent section will summarize the emergence of legacy related governance mechanisms and the research implications of the second article.

The Introduction of Legacy Governance Mechanisms

The increasing sophistication of the concept, as well as the full institutionalization of legacy within the OM resulted in the development of a legacy governance system to control, monitor, and manage the new assets, as well as to steer collective action towards consensus regarding the direction of the legacies of the Games. A reactive legacy governance organization emerged following the financial success of the LA 84 Games and CODA was restructured to deal with the venue legacy from the Calgary 88 Games. Subsequent Games (e.g., Sydney 2000, Beijing 2008) rolled out legacy organizations post-Games; however, as legacy became objectified and sedimented in the OM, legacy governance structures became part of bid strategies. Moreover, Games legacy became important to cities even if they did not win the bid; 2010 LN and World Sport Chicago (from the 2016 Chicago bid) were to remain in place regardless of the bid outcome.

Although, the governance of legacy (e.g., structures and processes) has been habitualized and objectified by actors within the OM as a legitimate way to deal with legacy issues pre, during, and post-Games it has not become fully institutionalized. This is reflected in the fact that the governance of legacy resulting from the bidding for or hosting of the Games has not become a standardized norm. Findings suggested that this is not necessarily negative as it allows for the flexibility that is required to manage contextual factors including organizational strategy, culture, and political climates.

Research Implications

No previous research was found that has focused on the process through which legacy became an accepted norm within the OM, and as such, this paper served to extend the event management literature by applying institutional theory as a framework to identify the forces at play and the subsequent implications of the institutionalization of legacy on Olympic event practitioners. Moreover, it also contributed to the event literature by further examining the link between event legacy and governance, suggesting that the governance of legacy has only reached semi-institutionalization in order to maintain relevant flexibility for local contexts. As such, this research reinforced the usefulness of institutional theory for explaining the adoption of norms within the field of event management and more specifically within the OM.

Thus event managers must be conscious of the impacts of institutionalized norms such as legacy on the planning process. For example, it is often hard to change a structure once it has been fully sedimented in the field; therefore, having an understanding of the concept and knowledge of how to deal with its issues is extremely important. In saying this, it must also be acknowledged that deinstitutionalization is not impossible and that legacy could be replaced with another approach (e.g., event leveraging) to dealing with similar issues as a result of political or social pressures. Moreover, although the adoption of legacy in the case of the Olympic Games is

linked to a bid organization's heightened effectiveness (e.g., winning the right to host), it does not necessarily correlate to an increase in planning efficiency as this practice could be costly and/or time consuming.

The Network Governance of Olympic Legacy

Following the exploration of legacy and its governance from a field level perspective of the OM, the investigation of two Games case studies provided a more in-depth view of legacy governance from the level of a host city. The purpose of article three *The Network Governance of Olympic Games Legacy: A Look at the Sydney 2000 and Vancouver 2010 Models* was to investigate the network governance characteristics of legacy at the Olympic Games in order to better understand the positions of the various actors in the network and how this impacts the governance of legacy throughout and following the hosting of an event. This consisted of the identification and comparison of network governance mechanisms, the influence of central actors, and the changing nature of the network throughout the Games legacy process. Findings were based on two emergent trends in the data: four event legacy governance phases and two types of formal legacy governance mechanisms.

The next subsection reviews the emergent legacy network governance phases, legacy related governance mechanisms, and the network governance characteristics associated with Olympic events. Research implications from article three will wrap up this section.

Legacy Governance Phases

Four Olympic event legacy governance phases were identified: conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games legacy governance. The phases were interconnected via a similar timeline but distinct from the general event organization (bid, planning and implementation, and wrap-up) especially with regards to the fact that legacy governance continues after the conclusion and wrap-up of the Games.

Legacy conceptualization commences in the bid process, even before cities developed a formalized plan and candidature for the Games. During this time, the legacy vision for the event is developed specific to the needs of the stakeholders from the local region. Moreover, it was evident that many strategic choices were made during this time that resulted in the establishment of foundations that informed and/or impacted decisions regarding the future of the event's legacy. Following a successful bid, legacy governance focused on the actual planning and implementation of the event's legacy; the legacy vision was activated. Once the event was over, new assets are distributed or transferred to the proper authorities responsible for them post-Games since the local OCOG dissolves once all final reporting is completed. Unlike the event planning itself, legacy governance lasts indefinitely as the benefits accrued as a result of hosting the Games needs to be governed and sustained over the long-term. As such, the purpose of the post-Games governance phase is to ensure that the long-term stakeholder investments are managed and monitored.

Legacy Governance Mechanisms

Although only 20 years have elapsed between the bid for the Sydney 2000 Games and the actual hosting the of the Vancouver 2010 Games many changes with regards to the concept of legacy and its overall governance have occurred. Since the Sydney 2000 Games, legacy has become more formalized as a result of its increasing complexity and institutionalization within the OM. Several forces had an influence on the governance of legacy in the two case studies under investigation. These forces were classified as actors (both organizations and individuals) within the event legacy network, and controls (including laws, contracts, and policy documents). Although the Sydney 2000 Games legacy network was impacted by several formal governance controls, they were not specific to legacy, but rather they focused on the successful delivery of the event. By the time of the Vancouver 2010 Games, legacy-specific governance controls had

surfaced and were perceived to work in combination with the general Games delivery controls to ensure a sustainable and viable legacy post-Games. As legacy has increased in complexity and become more formalized within the OM over time, the use of contracts (e.g., the EC, MPA) to determine responsibility of actors within the legacy network has become more significant.

Network Governance Characteristics

The Olympics have grown to a point where a coordinated effort by all actors within the event's environment is critical. It was evident in the findings that both cases consisted of a group of organizations that worked together towards the collective goal of successfully providing positive, sustainable legacies post-event. It was also argued that the network form of governance emerged as a result of environmental uncertainty, context specific adaptation, frequent exchanges between event stakeholders and the complexity of the event planning process in relation to the governance of legacy at an edition of the Olympic Games.

Prior to the bid, it was evident in both cases that local stakeholders were aware of what types of legacies were required in the region. Although many projects (e.g., transportation and local infrastructure) were part of the cities' long-term development plans, actors pursued the Games as a catalyst to bring these activities forward, sometimes by many years. In each of the cases, findings showed how network actors entered and exited the legacy network over time. These actors included representatives from a variety of stakeholder groups including government, sport, and the local community. Moreover, these actors represented constant actors that were involved in the governance of legacy in each case (e.g., government, bid committee, OCOG, IOC), emerging new constant actors (e.g., national Paralympic organization), and context-specific actors (e.g., FHFN in the Vancouver Case). Additionally, their centrality and roles changed based on the overall purpose of the legacy governance phase in question. As a result of the changing network actors throughout the Olympic event, it is even more important

to ensure that the network continues to alternate between deliberation and action stages in its lifecycle in order to ensure that stakeholder needs and long-term objectives are being achieved. This study highlighted that this is especially important in the post-Games governance phase as it continues to evolve once the event is over and can last indefinitely.

It was also noted that an actor's position in the network is an important source of power for organizations; however, it is crucial to recognize that this advantage gained from the network structure works in combination with hierarchical authority and access to resources. As such, it is important for actors to better understand the network configuration and all sources of power in order to be able to capitalize on their involvement.

Rowley's (1997) framework was used to determine how the legacy network actors would act based on the density of the network and the centrality of the FO. It was found that the first three phases in each case had similar characteristics – high centrality and high density. As such, it was possible to argue that efficient communication flow was occurring during these phases of network governance. This structure provided an environment where both stakeholders and the FO could influence each other. This resulted in the FO taking on a compromising role where it tried to negotiate and pacify the actors in order to reduce environmental uncertainty. In terms of the post-Games governance phase, the network structure changed to one of high centrality and low density. This had an impact on the behaviour of the network as the FO became more powerful and the stakeholders more passive. As a result, the FO could resist stakeholder pressures, and as such, more heavily influence decision-making.

Research Implications

This research extended the current event management literature by highlighting four event legacy governance phases (e.g., conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games governance) and two types of governance mechanisms (actors and controls) that

played a role in the governance of legacy at an Olympic event. It was also evident that studying

the network configuration (e.g., actors, characteristics) provided a lens to further understand the

legacy stakeholder behaviours in each of the cases. This research also contributed to the

historical perspective of legacy by looking in greater depth at the evolution of the network

governance of legacy from the Sydney bid (1993) to the post-Games legacy in Vancouver.

Findings in this research also provided a preliminary examination of short-term projects and

temporary organizations and their implications on the network theory and governance literatures.

These areas remain under examined and therefore are suggested as avenues for future research.

It was suggested that the network form of governance provided several advantages to the

actors in each case including better cooperation, increased ability to adapt, and the capacity to

safeguard exchanges. Therefore it is important for event managers to discuss the social

mechanisms (e.g., sanctions, reputation) that will facilitate this from the outset. Moreover, to

ensure effective decision-making, an understanding of power in the network is critical. Actors

should be aware that authority is transitory and that different actors will have more power and

control at various stages of the event legacy lifecycle. Results from this study also reinforced the

point that event legacies continue to evolve post-event in order to ensure their viability, thus

stakeholder expectations need to be managed with regards to legacy before, during and after the

Games, as it takes time for some Games legacies to reach their full potential.

The Democratic Governance of Olympic Games Legacy

As discussed in the introduction (see *Governance*, p. 12), governance is a very

comprehensive term that has been applied in numerous ways throughout the academic literature.

These examples range from corporate governance, to state and political governance, to global

governance. In the case of mega-events like the Olympic Games the coordinated effort by all

event stakeholders is critical to ensure the effective (i.e., the level to which an organization achieves its goals) and efficient (i.e., the extent to which resources are applied to achieving goals) delivery of the event. As a result of several factors including environmental uncertainty, adaptations to the local context, frequent contact between actors, as well as the complexity of the Games planning process it was argued above that a network form of governance was employed in both cases to distribute resources, and guide collective action by stakeholders towards the provision of a sustainable legacy post-event.

In order to achieve proper governance it is important to consider the democratic elements of this process. To paraphrase Nzongda-Ntalaja (2004), democratic governance is the ability to steer societal affairs in accordance with the foundational principles of democracy. Democratic governance usually includes the following concepts: accountability, participation, performance, and transparency. For a review of these terms please refer to the introduction sections entitled: *Accountability* (p. 13), *Transparency* (p. 14), *Performance* (p. 14), and *Participation* (p. 15). As such, the following section will critically analyse the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games by investigating the four democratic governance concepts.

Accountability

The concept of accountability is complex, multifaceted, and controversial. Thus, there has been no agreed upon understanding or approach to achieve optimal accountability (Thomas, 2008). Moreover, multiple types of accountability exist including hierarchical, legal, professional, and political, all of which have differing requirements. In general, accountability can be defined as "a social relationship in which an actor feels an obligation to explain and justify his or her conduct to some significant other" (Bovens, 2005, p. 184). Accountability is considered central to democratic societies as it serves as a basis for preventing the abuse of power by promoting responsiveness and providing a sense of assurance (Johnson, 2006; Thomas,

2008). It can also be used to ensure organizations behave responsibly and respond appropriately to issues.

In the case of the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games, interviewees regularly associated accountability to the delivery of objectives. This is illustrated in the following quote: "accountability to me, is basically that you are going to deliver on what you said you were going to deliver on, your objectives" (Representative from VANOC). The data suggested that the heightened use of accountability measures in the OM were linked to the increase of funding dollars and burgeoning costs associated with hosting the Games. The need for accountability was also reinforced by the increased scrutiny on the IOC as a result of unethical practices in the bid process most commonly associated the 2002 Salt Lake City Games (See Martyn, 2003; Wenn & Martyn, 2008). These impacts were felt in the Sydney case and beyond as demonstrated in the following quote:

> There was a controversy about the son or daughter of one of our IOC members coming to down to do a University degree in Sydney and whether that was a buyoff. So I think the Sydney Games represented a much greater onus about accountability as a whole big process. The IOC came under a lot more pressure as well, so accountability was another thing that emerged at that time partly coincidentally, but it was difficult for us because we were really concerned. There had also been all sorts of rumors about Atlanta, we were up against Beijing, and there were rumors that Beijing was doing all sorts of side deals with African countries to get their votes. So we really had to steer a line between keeping IOC votes on board and not crossing that line of unethical behavior (SOCOG representative)

As a result, actors in the legacy network saw accountability as essential, and without proper mechanisms expressed they would feel "exposed and uncomfortable" (Representative from SSC). Furthermore they did not want to be associated with unethical behaviour.

The concept of accountability was also regularly linked to the notion of responsibility, so much so that it was often used interchangeably. For example, when asked about the meaning of accountability, one representative from SOPA responded, "as opposed to responsibility". An

individual from VANOC said, "I guess [it means] responsibility". According to the literature, there are clear delineations between the concepts of accountability and responsibility (Johnson, 2006; Thomas, 2008), and as such, they need to remain distinct for analytical purposes. In the case of legacy, it is important for stakeholders to understand the difference between the two and the implications they have on the effective and efficient functioning of the network, as the confusion of the terms could lead to a reduction in one's accountability. For instance, responsibility must be bestowed (i.e., given or received) to an actor; however, this does not ensure accountability, as the actor must agree to be held accountable for that task. As such, it is important to not only define roles and duties for actors in the legacy governance network, but taking accountability for actions and results must also be encouraged.

Network governance implies a shift towards less formal modes of policy-making where one central authority is replaced by a group of actors working together towards an end result. It has been argued that the appeal of a network design is that it involves low levels of supervision by and accountability to elected political principals (Klijn & Skelcher, 2007). Girginov (2011) argued that the British state was able to control much of the legacy process associated with the 2012 Games in London as the majority of actors were public bodies or had ties to the state. Similar results were seen in the two cases studied in this dissertation as many government-related actors played prominent roles in the legacy networks. These results challenge one of the central tenets of governance; 'the hollowing out of the state' or decreasing central role of the government in societal matters. Rhodes (2000) argued that networks in public administration "resist government steering […] and have a significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organizing" (p. 61). Evidence in this research suggests that although actors in the network were accountable to multiple audiences

including domestic stakeholders (e.g., local community groups), funders/sponsors, athletes, the

IOC, and the OM as a whole, many network actors also felt directly accountable to various levels

and forms of government. This is represented in the following quote:

> SOCOG even at the end of the Games was accountable to the NSW government, and partially accountable to the federal government because they invested in the Games, and it was partially accountable to the AOC because they still had some legal rights. SOCOG was also accountable in some ways to the IOC because the IOC is regarded as the event owner and you could possibly argue in some ways that SOCOG was accountable to the IFs as well (Representative from SOCOG)

This is consistent with what Rhodes (2000) called fragmentation of accountability when being

accountable to many entities potentially provides the opportunity to play one or some actors

against others, creating ambiguities, and thereby reducing overall accountability. Moreover, it

could be argued that being accountable to all stakeholders could be the same as being

accountable to no one.

As in many large bureaucratic organizations, it was also evident that accountability

associated with the governance of legacy was hierarchical. For example, actors regularly noted

that they were accountable to their superiors and other members of upper management who were

ultimately held accountable by the Board, and then by their membership. A representative of

SOCOG described the hierarchy as follows:

> I reported mainly to a program manager, all right so you had general managers and there were about 20 or 25 of them, then under them you had a range of program managers, and then under those program managers you had project officers, project managers, administration, managers, coordinators, and supervisors.

Multiple types of accountability were also evident. For example, stakeholders were

concerned with providing opportunities for athletes, meeting objectives and deliverables, revenue

and overall finances, as well as behavior (both from an organizational level and individual level).

In both cases, accountability for legacy was reviewed at all levels including individual, program and organizational. This was accomplished through regular reviews, the development of formalized plans, and contractual obligations. As was shown in the earlier chapters, contracts played an important role in the overall structure and behaviour of the legacy governance network. It has also been suggested in the governance literature that formal contracts can help increase accountability (Thomas, 2008). However, it is important to note that there are some problems to consider if taking on this approach including a decrease in flexibility, creativity, and productivity as result of the establishment of rigid rules and regulations, the potential for poorly specified objectives and standards, and inadequate monitoring of productivity towards final goals and outcomes (Thomas, 2008). As such, it is important to understand the role that contracts and formal mechanisms can play on the accountability associated with the governance of legacy at the Games.

An interesting element relating to governance of any aspect in the Olympic Games is the role of the IOC. In the Games environment, the IOC is seen as the ultimate authority; and as such, many network stakeholders are formally accountable to them with regards to hosting the Games and the subsequent provision of a positive legacy for both the region and the OM. However, this position does not come without implications, as the IOC must continue to meet the needs of event stakeholders, especially those possessing attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency in order to survive (cf. Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). This is represented in the following quote from a representative of SOCOG:

> The IOC is the end authority, but in being the end authority, the IOC has an obligation to each of the sports federations on the program because the IOC doesn't own any sport. It is not like an Australian Football League who owns the Australian Football code or an International Rugby Union, which owns a rugby code. [The IOC] doesn't own any sport, so whilst they are the ultimate authority for the staging of the Games they have to rely on the sports federations to take part, the NOCs to send athletes, and the state and city

authorities to underwrite and provide facilities. So at the end of the day whilst the IOC is the final authority it can only survive by satisfying all stakeholders.

One of the main purposes of establishing an accountability system is to help prevent the abuse of power by central stakeholders (Johnson, 2006). An accountability system can help ensure that power in the network is directed towards the effective and efficient achievement of the collective organizational goals. For example, the IOC as the constant network actor between different Games should strive to provide a better example in terms of democratic governance. The document *Basic Universal Principles of Good Governance of the Olympic and Sports Movement* is a start; however, there is still much to do. In order to improve accountability in the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games, all members of the network must be held accountable for their actions through scrutiny, review/analysis, and discipline. This can be accomplished through the provision of formal and informal rules, regulations, controls and sanctions. However, this is not enough, as the development of a system or an organizational culture that encourages good behaviour through a shared value system of ideals and beliefs is also required to establish a solid foundation for decision-making. Thus, this behaviour must become institutionalized. If responsibilities are not properly fulfilled, formal controls and disciplinary action should be imposed on responsible actors.

Participation

Participation is an important element of democratic governance as all stakeholders should be able to take part in or have a meaningful impact on the decision-making process. As was demonstrated in this dissertation, a variety of stakeholders were involved in the network governance of legacy. It was also evident that these actors changed over time as they entered and exited the network throughout the various legacy network governance phases. Moreover, it was also clear that each actor represented not only themselves in the network but also their

membership. Membership included a variety of different stakeholders such as athletes, sponsors, and local community members. Not only did these actors have a responsibility to ensure opportunities for their own organization but also for the individuals they represented.

The engagement of stakeholders in the legacy governance process was accomplished in several ways including via participation in meetings, consultation, working groups, and direct contact. In both cases, the local OCOG had a number of consulting/board committees to deal with specific issues and local stakeholders. It was considered important to keep stakeholders informed and sometimes this was done proactively. For instance, a member of the IOC discussed the importance of keeping the media informed:

> Good organizing committees have regular meetings and press conferences with local representatives of the media and international representatives of the media and so there is a conscious effort by any good organizing committee to keep all the stakeholders informed including the public within the city itself.

Networks can contribute to the democratic governance of legacy at an Olympic Games by creating new avenues for actor engagement, decision-making, and resource exchange. However, since the structure of the governance network changes over time, it is especially important to ensure clarity in the assignment of responsibilities, evaluation of performance, transparency, and accountability requirements in order to ensure success. Although the formation of governance networks can heighten the democratic process through increased participation, it is important for event legacy stakeholders to be aware that this type of governance structure can also provide the opportunity for dominant actors to achieve their goals. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the architecture of the legacy network can provide advantages to certain actors within the structure. For instance, central actors are in a more powerful position and therefore can have a bigger impact on the decision-making process. This is a result of greater knowledge about network actors, access to resources, several alternatives that result in stronger negotiation

platforms, as well as the fact that they can benefit from the perception that other network actors

simply perceive them as more powerful (Brass & Krackhardt, 2012).

Network actors in Sydney and Vancouver cases impacted decision-making both directly

and indirectly. For example, actors in the legacy networks were influenced by the membership

they represented. These members held power over the network representatives, as they were

responsible for re-electing these individuals to the Board. This is reflected below:

> In one respect [our members] are the voting delegates of our Board so if they didn't like
> the decisions that the Board was making they would simply vote and elect a new Board
> so they have decision making-power in that regard and then certainly. (Representative
> from the CPC)

In addition, the media played an important role in stakeholder engagement. For instance in the

Sydney case, public pressure on decision–making was exerted via talkback radio:

> There are two or three remarkable examples where public pressure primarily through talk
> back radio changed dramatically some of the decisions made. For example like in the
> torch relay, about the whole route of the torch relay and where it would go and where is
> would start and stop etc. (SOCOG representative)

As a result, it is important for event managers to proactively engage event stakeholders.

Moreover, their feedback should be considered important as they do exert both direct and

indirect influence on legacy decision-making. In doing so, event organizers should strive to get

stakeholders involved in the process as early as possible.

The changing nature of the governance network also reinforces the need for the shared

responsibility of event legacy among the actors. One issue that was noted was the turnover of

OCOG and stakeholder staff following the conclusion of the event and the subsequent

breakdown of the legacy governance process. This was felt to some degree in the Sydney case:

> A lot of the sport people after the Paralympics went off and did other things, so even if
> there had been the intent and some effort, the fact that they're not actually there to
> implement [legacy programming], that is where the system breaks down (Representative
> from SOCOG).

As such, the development of an independent legacy organization was suggested.

> If you really want a sport legacy, you actually need to keep people on for a while after the Games that have that as their responsibility, you know, to ramp up the sport legacy […] because it is certainly clear that legacy planning should start with the bid and carry through, I mean when you plan for the bid right and be part of it all the way through, then you should have a dedicated team that stays after the Games to ensure that it is implemented (Representative from SOCOG).

This was an approach that was subsequently adopted by the 2010 BC and is represented by the establishment of 2010 LN. Moreover, many of the Board members on 2010 LN (now LIFT), as well as GOT and WLS are made up of the many actors who play a role in the legacy governance network including government partners and the FHFN. It was also evident that the successful delivery of legacy following the hosting of the Olympic Games is context specific and as such should include those actors who remain over the long-term.

Performance

Performance is also an important aspect of democratic governance in that it provides a means by which organizations can be held accountable. The documentation of performance and explicit determination of outcomes became popular in the public sector in the 1990s (Heinrich, 2003). Performance measures in many organizations are used to promote the efficiency and effectiveness of organizational decision-making and actions. In order to demonstrate good governance an actor must be able to answer for their performance whether good or bad.

In general, performance is linked to the evaluation of the achievement of goals and standards (Talbot, 2005). This was consistent with the view of actors involved in the network governance of legacy at the two editions of Olympic Games examined in this research. Many network actors discussed how performance related to meeting objectives, achieving goals, overall success, delivering on business plans, and meeting stakeholder needs. A representative from WLS described performance as, "how we deliver on our business plans, it has to do with

how we deliver to sport and would sport judge us as being successful and helping them achieve

their objectives". Stakeholders at the events also linked accountability and performance, as they

were held accountable by their performance such as the levels of increased awareness of the

Paralympic athletes and the Games themselves.

In addition, it was possible to note that stakeholder perspectives changed over time. For

example in the Sydney case, the public view evolved from a negative one prior to the beginning

of the Games to a positive one throughout and immediately following the event.

> Everything started to turn around once the torch relay started and I think that it is so right
> that the torch relay provided that connection to the community. It went all around
> Australia and it was a community based project and I think that is so correct that once
> that torch relay started all the negativity about SOCOG sort of was forgotten and that
> changed a lot of the atmosphere (SOCOG Representative).

Thus, it is critical to engage the local community and other actors to ensure that the momentum

of positive feelings post-Games is carried on. It is also important to stay connected to

stakeholders and ensure their needs are being met as they can fluctuate over time. Keeping

stakeholders engaged over the long-term can help keep event organizers informed, as well as

mediate the relations following the hosting of the event.

A number of factors that impact performance have been identified in the literature

including: skills and knowledge, organizational size, market position, and contextual factors

(Hoque & James, 2000). Legacy actors involved in the Games also identified numerous

determinants that affected their performance with regards to the delivery of a positive sustainable

legacy post-Games including the changing global context, overall management of the event,

home team performance, organizational culture, achievement of stakeholder expectations, lack of

public controversy, number of visitors, reach around the world, and consumer happiness. The

following quote exemplifies how the home team's performance can have an impact:

> Had Lauren Woolstencroft not won five medals, or whatever it was that she won again, we wouldn't have been able to take advantage of their successes from a media marketing perspective. So I mean there are all kinds of variables that come to play (CPC).

The impact of organizational culture, structure and good network relations were also important in

the legacy case. For example, a representative from SOCOG discusses stakeholder relations

below:

> Oh if you have a falling out with a stakeholder it is very important, as you rely on feedback from the stakeholders. Stakeholders should be engaged right from the start and [you need] to listen to their needs as you move forward otherwise you isolate yourself and you isolate them and you soon find yourself in trouble with the stakeholder. And that happens from time to time, you are pretty lucky to get through a seven-year lead-time without having some strains with a stakeholder. Not only because of events you may have caused yourself but because of events that go on around you that are out of your control so if an organizing committee ignores any of its stakeholders, it is at great risk (SOCOG Representative).

Moreover, these strained relationships could have a detrimental impact (e.g., decrease trust and/

or communication flow between the stakeholders) on the governance of legacy post-Games if

they are not resolved.

The continuation of funding following the conclusion of the Games emerged as the most

noteworthy concern as it ultimately has an impact on the legacy post-event. A representative

from the National Sport Centre in Australia alluded to this:

> […] budget is absolutely fundamental in determining what you can do. You cannot do what you can't afford to do or you cannot do it for long. And so we could be a completely different organization with a completely different approach to how we run if you doubled our funding.

Without awareness of the future funding situation it is difficult for actors in the governance

network to make informed decisions regarding the planning and implementation of the legacy

plans.

The governance literature also discusses the negative impacts related to the development

of broad goals including the heightened difficulty of specifying accurate and informative

measures (Heinrich, 2003). In the OC, the goal related to legacy is very broad. It states that the role of the IOC is "to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries" (IOC, 2011, pg. 15). However, no additional detail is provided on how they plan to accomplish this. As such, it is left up to the individual hosts to determine the positive legacy for their Games. Therefore it is important for the local governance network to develop legacy goals, which are specific to the area. Actors must be involved in the goal development and they should be connected to the legacy conceptualization, which is determined in the bid phase. This will help heighten the democratic governance process by taking into consideration a variety of stakeholder perspectives. Moreover, in a legacy network, it is important to focus on outcomes after the Games; however, actors need to come to a consensus on these objectives and must try to avoid the development of vague long-term goals.

It is also important for legacy governance networks to correlate short-term and long-term performance objectives. A commitment to these performance objectives needs to be activated in advance. However, this is a balancing act as it is critical to negotiate demands for analytical accuracy with practical limitations on what is feasible to measure, especially in a complex system like that of a Games. Some of these tradeoffs have been identified as comprehensive versus broad goals, short-term versus long-term goals, and simple versus complex analysis (Heinrich, 2003). It has been noted that performance measures should be based on what managers can learn about or improve rather than on precise measurements or outcomes (Chelladurai, 2005; Heinrich, 2003) as they can help network actors improve on the next rendition of the program or event, or in this case the governance of legacy over the long-term. In sum, it is essential that legacy governance be properly evaluated in terms of performance as this can contribute to proper governance at future editions of the Games.

Transparency

Transparency is a highly prized democratic value as it is a means to promote

accountability (Grigorescu, 2003; March & Olsen, 1994; Thomas, 2008). The concept reflects

the open flow of information for all stakeholders. Actors within the legacy governance network

described transparency as being open and up front with what you are doing and sharing that

information with partners. Moreover, transparency was also linked to honesty and the

explanation behind why certain decisions were made. This is exemplified in the following quote:

> Within the limits of appropriate confidentiality ensuring that those who are affected by
> your, that you have responsibility to, who are affected by your decision making are quote,
> unquote allowed to know by the nature of your process the means by which you have
> come to decisions that affect and ultimately is going to impact upon them and I think the
> best example there is the athletes. You know don't just pick a goal and then leave it to the
> athletes to figure out why you picked that goal. Pick a goal and explain why that is a goal
> that has been selected so that the athletes who are those that are expected to achieve that
> goal not on an individual basis but as a group understand the analysis, not in minute
> detail but understand where you are coming from when you suggest it publicly that this is
> a fair and appropriate goal for our athletes to realize at the Games and talk to your
> athletes (Representative from the COC).

 It has been argued that transparency can help encourage responsiveness and the inclination to

meet expectations, demands, and needs of others (Almond & Verba, 1963; Thomas, 2008), and

as such, it is critical to the effective and efficient functioning of a network. In the case of

Olympic legacy, actors purported the main reason governance practices have become more

transparent in the OM was a result of the media and the stakeholder pressures exerted on the IOC

as a result of the Salt Lake City scandals. As a result, this has direct impacts on the delivery of

legacy post-event. For example, financials on all aspects of the Games, including legacy, are

now usually made available to the public. However it should be understood by network actors

that transparency is broader than just making financial information available. It encompasses the

background information on how all legacy-related decisions are made. It was also noted by some

interviewees, that it can be sometimes difficult to balance what information should be made

available as it could impact legacy planning. For example, NOCs often keep athlete-training

programs highly secret before editions of the Games in order to protect their athletes' advantages.

Although it is held that greater transparency leads to increased public trust, and thus the greater

rate of survival for democratic organizations (Almond & Verba, 1963; Grigorescu, 2003), some

individuals reflected how keeping some information unavailable to stakeholders could be

beneficial to the legacy of the Games, even though it might be unethical.

> Well things like the endorsement contract were not very transparent until the media called them out on it and they had to release it but it is interesting because maybe a lot of things would not have happened that made Sydney successful because they were not made available (Representative from SOCOG).

The transfer of this knowledge also has an impact on these networks as transparency is important

to keep all actors informed as is reflected in the following quote:

> I think one of the reasons why state tennis associations are suspicious of Tennis Australia is that sometimes they are not transparent, now why are our members suspicious of us because we are not transparent. (Representative from an NSO)

 If actors are not transparent then others in the network can become suspicious and this could

impact the level of trust between actors. As a result, an actor's reputation can be impacted. This

could have direct implications on the governance of legacy as it continues on indefinitely

following the wrap-up of the event. Thus, trust between stakeholders is critical to ensuring that

the legacy governance network functions at an optimal level.

Summary

Much of the current governance research focuses on public administration with relatively

little that investigates events or event issues. As such this research project on the governance of

Olympic Games legacy contributed to the current literature by exploring the democratic

governance in relation to legacy at the Olympic Games. In sum, central elements of democratic

governance including accountability, participation, performance, and transparency can be used to

promote efficiency and effectiveness in a network and act as a reassurance to both internal and external stakeholders that good decision-making is being accomplished. In addition, in a network environment, these governance mechanisms will need to accommodate a broader definition and range of objectives so that it is possible to reflect the interests and perspectives of the multiple actors involved. As the post-Games governance of legacy continues to evolve, actors also need to continuously learn about the governance environment (e.g., expectations and new mechanisms) and adapt accordingly. Moreover, the institutional landscape of the network needs to be built on flexibility and change, as the appropriate style of governance is context specific, depends on the organizational culture, constitutions (e.g., OC, and contracts), relationships among organizations, and the scope and nature of the activity. It is important to understand that this approach is not a zero sum game and that decisions will need to be made to balance effectiveness and efficiency with concepts related to democratic governance practices. For example, how much effectiveness and efficiency can be sacrificed for the proliferation of a democratic governance process? Thus, it is critical for event stakeholders to have realistic expectations with regards to accountability, participation, performance, transparency, and the democratic governance process in general.

Theoretical Framework

Part of the purpose of this doctoral dissertation was to build a theoretical framework for the governance of legacy in the OM. Figure 5-1 represents this theoretical framework. While it is important to understand all the individual elements of the framework that are discussed throughout this research project, what is particularly critical to note is the fluidity and interconnectedness of the situation and the actors involved as denoted by the two-way arrows in the Figure. This suggests that each level impacts each of the other levels at varying times during the legacy governance process.

Findings from this research showed that the increased importance and complexity of legacy within the OM, occurred as a result of the need to show a ROI on hosting and increasing the allure of the Games for future candidate cities (see Chapter 2 for more detail). This led to the habitualization (i.e., creation of courses of action in response to an organizational issue), the objectification (i.e., the diffusion of the structure across the field), and the sedimentation (i.e., actions have been fully accepted or institutionalized) of legacy within the field (see Chapter 3). This is demonstrated by the increase use and acceptance of the term as a standardized norm by members of the Olympic Family including bidding cities, OCOGs, IOC, and other network actors. The incorporation of legacy into the bidding and planning for the event precipitated several challenges such as the adaptation of event legacy specific to the needs and culture of the local context, as well as the complexity of the event planning process in relation to the hosting of a mega-event.

As a result, the need for a network form of governance to steer collective decision-making regarding the event's legacy arose in order to facilitate enhanced cooperation and adaptation, and to safeguard exchanges by restricting access to the network and developing a macro-culture. As reflected in Figure 5-1, the network is made up of a combination of constant (e.g., government, IOC), emergent constant (e.g., Paralympic committees), and context-specific actors (e.g., FHFN) that change over time due to evolving network goals. Legacy network actors' (legacy stakeholders) power comes from a combination of sources including their position in the network, hierarchical authority, and control over resources. For example, the IOC held more power in the earlier phases due to its responsibility of selecting candidate cities and providing them with knowledge about the Games delivery process including legacy best practices. However, as the Games approached and then concluded, much of this power disappeared as the

local OCOG and Games actors became more central network actors and the organization moved

on to deal with other future events. In the case of Olympic Games legacy, contracts and other

formalized mechanisms also have an impact on the governance. As noted in the Vancouver 2010

case, the MPA provided foundational information on transfer of legacy assets and actor

responsibility. It is important to note at this level the high level of interconnectedness between

the legacy network governance phases as each can have an impact on each other due to the

cyclical nature of the situation and the actors. For instance, as suggested, a multi-organizational

network alternates between deliberation and action in its lifecycle and as such issues,

agreements, and action plans must be constantly reviewed to ensure they are continuing to meet

long-term objectives and stakeholder expectations.

It was also demonstrated in this research how the structure and processes associated with

the network governance impacted the overall governance of legacy at the Olympic Games in

terms of accountability, participation, transparency, and performance. Actors in the legacy

governance network saw accountability mechanisms as critical in order to prevent abuse of

power by central stakeholders. Moreover, it was also evident that the use of formalized contracts

helped increase accountability in the network by indicating specific responsibilities of the actors

involved. The network governance approach to dealing with legacy at events also effects

stakeholder participation as it can provide new avenues for actor engagement, decision-making,

and resources exchange. Legacy governance actors highlighted several factors that impacted

their performance including the changing global context, overall management of the event,

organizational culture, and funding to name a few. The ties between the stakeholders in the

legacy governance network also played a role as strained relationships between actors could have

negative impacts on the effectiveness and efficiency of the governance structure. Finally, it was

reinforced that transparency can impact the overall functioning of the network as it helped

encourage responsiveness, and communication between actors and thus had a direct impact on

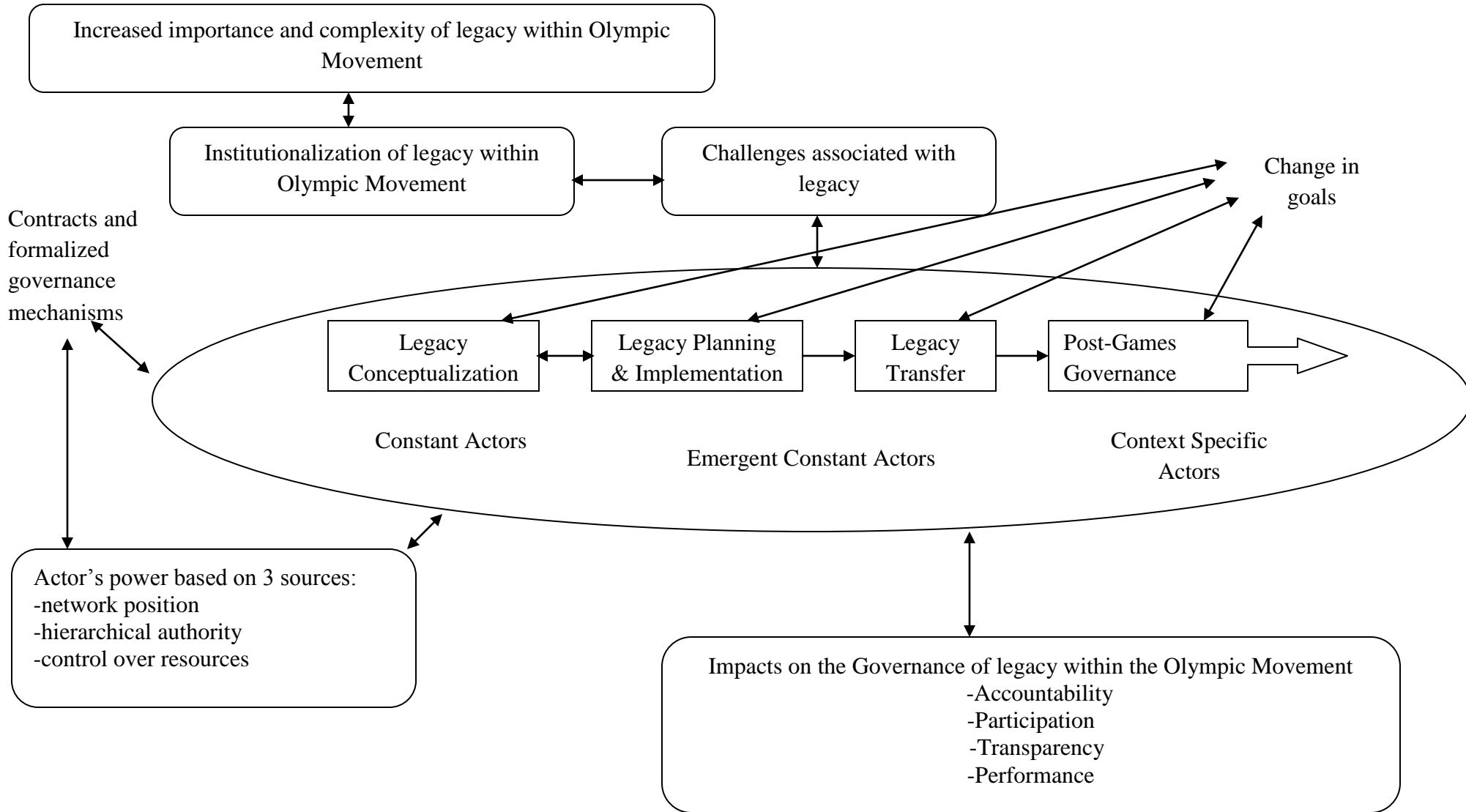the transfer of knowledge within the system.

Policy Recommendations

The above research illustrates that the production of a positive sustainable legacy requires

cooperation and resource sharing from a variety of event stakeholders. As a result of the analysis

of the governance of legacy at the Olympic Games several implications arose. The following

policy recommendations are provided to help event practitioners enhance their decision-making

process with regards to event legacy.

1.   The increased sophistication and formalization of the legacy concept has

resulted in many emergent trends. Since legacy is considered a dynamic

concept (i.e., one that is constantly evolving over time), it is important to be

aware of the legacy developments in the field. For example, currently in the

legacy literature, as well as in the event management field, there is a close link

between legacy and the concept of sustainability. As a result, cities interested in

hosting future events should be aware of current legacy trends in order to put

forward the best candidature file possible. Moreover, they should be aware of

the needs of the local context to ensure they provide the maximum ROI from

hosting

Figure 5-1

Theoretical Framework for the Governance of Legacy in the Olympic Movement

2.   Legacy planning discussions need to start pre-bid and cities should commit to legacy projects regardless of bid outcomes to ensure a positive, sustainable legacy post-event. Legacy is a proactive process, not a reactive one. As such, local stakeholders interested in pursuing an event should come together prior to deciding to bid for an event in order to determine the needs of the local community. This process should involve a variety of event stakeholders, especially those who would be involved or impacted the by the event hosting over the long-term. Some of these discussions should focus on legacy initiatives that could occur as a result of bidding for the event regardless if the bid is success.

3.   Legacy can be viewed from a variety of differing perspectives. Within the OM, 13 different types of legacy emerged. Although these types overlap, it is important to address all themes in the governance process. At the local level, event actors should identify all types of benefits they would like to accrue as a result of hosting the event. The 13 legacy themes identified in this research could be used as a frame to begin this conversation in order to help event stakeholders to broaden their view of event legacy and consider all possible impacts for their location.

4.   This dissertation's findings suggest the need for an independent long-term legacy organization to reinforce good legacy governance throughout the event's life-cycle. An independent organization such as 2010 LN can ensure that legacy remains important throughout the Games delivery process. Moreover, it ensures a continuity for the legacy should the bid be unsuccessful or for post-Games

programming following the wrap-up of the event. It is also important that the goals and purpose of this organization be evaluated regularly in order to ensure it is continuing to meet the needs of the event stakeholders and local community.

5. The institutionalization of legacy within the OM has led to the development of a governance system to help control, monitor and manage the legacy assets of the Games. This governance system is important for steering collective action and consensus regarding future directions of the Games legacy. As discussed above the governance system should include a variety of actors from the state, market, and society. Moreover, context specific actors, such as the FHFN in the Canadian case, should be included along with the constant actors (e.g., government and IOC), as well as the newly emerging actors (e.g., local Paralympic organization) in the legacy governance process.

6. It has been suggested in this research that the governance of legacy has not become fully institutionalized within the OM. This allows for extended flexibility in the process and the ability to adapt to the needs of the local context. Although information and best practices are available from previous hosts, as well as through the OGKM, local candidates should adapt this information to work effectively and efficiently with their situation. For examples, different types of legacy may be more important to a developing country or the political or financial situation may vary and as such these must factors must be taken into consideration.

7. Legacy is influenced by a number of stakeholders who are involved in the governance process. As such, these numerous perspectives should be considered throughout the legacy planning and management life-cycle. In addition, consistent engagement and constant re-evaluation of the legacy situation needs to be regularly evaluated to ensure stakeholder needs are continuing to be met.

8. The network governance of legacy occurs in four phases: conceptualization, planning and implementation, transfer, and post-Games governance. It is important to note that strategic choices made in the conceptualization phase, including the establishment of foundations that inform the decision-making process can impact the process, over the long-term.

9. It is important to incorporate accountability mechanisms into the legacy delivery process as they can help ensure stakeholders feel confident in their decision-making and sway them from unethical behaviour. The creation of accountability mechanisms can prevent the abuse of power by central stakeholders in the legacy process. Moreover, they can help ensure that they are accountable for their actions. The development of formalized mechanisms such as contracts, documents, and policies that are conducive to the local political climate can help enhance the effective decision-making and facilitate the process.

10. Many factors that impacted the performance of the legacy governance network were identified. Funding was regularly highlighted as the most critical. As such, plans to ensure funding remains consistent in the future or awareness of

the future funding landscape could help enhance the legacy planning process. Individuals interested in pursuing the Games should investigate potential funding opportunities available locally to ensure the sustainability of their planned legacy programming.

11. The development of goals specific to the local context is also paramount. This process should also include the correlation between short-term goals and long-term performance objectives in order to enhance the potential for success. This process should involve representatives from the various stakeholder groups or network actors.

12. It should also be noted that organizational transparency should go beyond the availability of financial information. A variety of important decision-making information within the legal boundaries of access to information should be made available. This should be done according to the local laws and legislation in addition to meeting the needs of the contractual obligations of the IOC as the rights holder. Again, a balance must be reached to ensure optimal organizational performance. Transparency is important to the transfer of knowledge within a network. As such, it needs to be encouraged in order to ensure the effective and efficient functioning of the governance network.

Limitations of the Research Project

Finally, as with all research, there were some limitations with the project. This included the fact that this research only focused on one type of event, the Olympic Games. As such, the results may most literally apply to this type of mega-event. Different levels and types of events experience different types of legacies from hosting and as such these findings must be further

tested. However, these organizations still share many commonalities including the need to manage a variety of stakeholders, and there is some evidence that the network form of governance is utilized in smaller events (Sallent, Palau, & Guia, 2011). Therefore, the findings from this research may be generalizable back to the theories used in this project including network theory and the event management and governance literatures.

There are also limitations associated with the application of network theory. These included the need to determine a boundary for the networks under investigation. Moreover, since some networks are so large it creates difficulties for data collection as it can be time consuming and costly. In order to deal with this issue, only one specific issue (legacy) was investigated at the Olympic Games in order to deal with a smaller network that was practical for the time frame of a PhD dissertation.

Another limitation associated with the research is related to the timing of the interviews. As noted earlier, although interviews in Sydney were conducted 10 years post-event, individuals were happy and willing to participate and tell their stories. In addition, this timing allowed me to capture information about how the legacy and its governance mechanisms evolved over time since the conclusion of the event and the establishment of SOPA. This was not the case in Vancouver as interviews were conducted following the wrap-up of the 2010 Games (i.e., within the first year after the event). As a result, data for the Vancouver Games only covered the early stages of the legacy governance process. It can take several years before the legacies associated with a mega-event like the Olympic Games reach their full potential. As such, in order to overcome this limitation of the research, it is suggested that a follow-up study look at the legacies of Vancouver at both five and 10-year intervals post-event in order to investigate how the legacy governance process has evolved.

Future Research

Although there are examples where research on the evolution of legacy at specific editions of the Games exist (e.g., Cashman, 2006; 2009; 2011), these have been mainly completed from a historical perspective. This dissertation provides initial in-roads to exploring the concept of the governance of legacy at sporting events. However, more research is still needed to test these findings on a multitude of different types and various sizes of sports events as this study focused only on the Olympic Games. Although the historical evolution of legacy was traced throughout the modern Olympics, there is still more to be completed. For example, although the word legacy has been focused on in this research project, it would be worthy to further explore the other words (e.g., heritage, benefits, leveraging, and outcomes) that are commonly used interchangeably with the concept in order to understand their origins, use, and impact on the OM.

The application of institutional theory as a lens to investigate the emergence of legacy within the OM provided an opportunity to understand the why and how the concept of legacy became adopted as a sedimented norm. It would be interesting to further explore some of the findings associated with this research outcome. For example, from a theoretical standpoint, the double myth identified in Chapter 3 could be further developed in order to understand its impacts on event planning, as well as the institutionalization process in general. Moreover, does this phenomenon exist in other contexts; and if so, how does it compare? In addition, institutional theory could be applied to study other norms that have become institutionalized in the OM (e.g., ambush marketing, environmental concerns) to see if indeed a similar process occurred or if there were differences what were they.

A number of aspects emerged, as data were gathered and analyzed which could not be adequately considered in the context of this dissertation. For example, the emergence of several legacy themes in recent years has led to their heightened interconnectedness. Although these legacy types are distinct from each other they still exist with significant overlap. As such, one avenue worthy of further study is the interconnectedness of the legacy themes in order to determine how they influence and impact each other, as well as the legacy planning and governance process.

Another topic that surfaced during the data collection process was the idea of investigating legacy in cities that have bid for the Games and lost out to other candidates. This is an interesting avenue of future research since the bids are generally when legacy conceptualization occurs and many times legacy guarantees are made even if the city is not awarded the Games. For example, the city of Chicago saw the implementation of World Sport Chicago despite losing out to Rio for the 2016 Games. This research could focus on what kinds of legacies do cities experience without hosting the event, is there planning associated with this (e.g., is it proactive or reactive), and does the loss of the Games affect their original legacy vision for the city (e.g., do they focus on different legacy projects). All of these points would provide new insight on the bidding and legacy process.

The concept of knowledge transfer also surfaced in the data. This was especially evident in terms of information exchange in the governance networks themselves, as well as between each event. It was identified that although formal knowledge transfer exists for many elements of the Games through such mechanisms as the OGKM, a gap in formal information exchange between legacy governance networks at each event continues to exist. Since legacy continues to evolve following the hosting of the Games (i.e., once the local OCOG has wrapped up and final

required reporting to the IOC is complete), there needs to be more emphasis placed on formalized knowledge transfer between the host cities and their related legacy governance networks. Research on how this is currently happening would benefit our understanding of the topic and provide an opportunity to discover what needs to be improved on and how. It would also be relevant to investigate how future host cities utilize the information, and the modifications that are required in order for it to be applied locally.

Finally, the concept of legacy has become institutionalized within the OM. It has been argued that institutionalized norms are often hard to change once they have become sedimented within a field. As a result, the concept of legacy will likely be present for the immediate future unless there are significant pressures or changes within the environment (e.g., financial, lack of interest in hosting) that could cause the concept to become deinstitutionalized and replaced with an alternative approach to deal with event issues (e.g., event leveraging). Moreover, it is possible to forecast an increase in use of the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development within the Movement, in particular with bid cities as ensuring that legacy is maintained over the long-term is of importance to event and local stakeholders. For example, researchers may investigate the interconnections between the two terms and how event organizers will increasingly strive for sustainable legacies over time.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

Interview Guide for OCOGs and legacy organizations

1. General information

    a. What is your name and role within your department/organization?

    b. How long have you been with this department/organization?

    c. What is the mission of your organization?

    d. What are the goals of your organization?

2. Legacy

    a. What does legacy mean to you?

    b. What kinds of legacy does your organization deal with?

    Prompt for:

        i. Planned

        ii. Unplanned

        iii. Tangible

        iv. Intangible

        v. Positive

        vi. Negative

    c. Are there kinds of Olympic-related legacies that your organization does not deal with?
        i. Why not; and if not, who (i.e., what organizations) deals with them?

    d. What kinds of issues arise when dealing with legacy?

    e. How do you deal with these issues?

Legacy Network

    f. Could you please describe your department/organization
        i. Structure
            - Has it changed over time?

        ii. Do you have a board of directors?
            - Who was on it?

            - What is their role?

            - How often do they meet?

            - Do/did they have a lot of power?

            - What does their power involve?

    b. Can you identify and describe (e.g., power, legitimacy, urgency) other organizations or individuals who are key in the Olympic legacy governance process?

      Prompt for:

        i. What issues are of interest to them?
        ii. Their relationship with your organization

2. Democratic Governance Practices

  Participation

    a. Could you please list stakeholders that affected/affect the operation of your organization?

      Prompt for:

          -government

-sponsors

-organizing committee (volunteer and staff)

-media

-attendees

-delegations

-sport federations

b. Why were they involved?

c. How were they represented or engaged in your organization? (e.g., Direct involvement, expression in the public domain)

c. Did they have an impact on the decisions and actions of the organization in relation to legacy?
   i. How did they impact?
   ii. How much power did they have or hold over your organization?

Performance

a. What does performance mean to you?

   i. organizational

   ii. program, activity, policy

   iii. individual

b. How is performance measured in your organization?

   iii. Organizational level
   iv. Program, activity, policy level
   v. Individual level

c. How do you meet the needs of stakeholders related to your organization?

   vi. Is this being done effectively?

vii. If so, why?
viii. If not, why not?

d. What factors impact performance?
   i. Organizational (external and internal)
   ii. Program, activity, policy (external and internal)
   iii. Individual (external and internal)

Accountability

a. What does accountability mean to you?

b. Is accountability important? Why or why not?

c. To whom are you held accountable to?

   Prompt for:

   i. Public
   ii. Superiors
   iii. IOC
   iv. Other organizations
   v. Stakeholders
   vi. Peers

d. What are you held accountable for? (ask for each accountee named)

e. How are you held accountable?

f. How is accountability measured or monitored at your organization?

Transparency

a. What does transparency mean to you?

b. Is transparency important? Why or why not?

c. What information is made available?

            i. Why is some information not made available?

    d. When does the information become available (immediately, after a black out period)?

            i. How long is it available for?

    e. Who has access to the information?

    f. How is the information made available (i.e., what format)?

    g. Where is it made available?

3. Is there anything else you would like to mention?

Appendix B

Consent Form

Title of the study: The Democratic Governance of Olympic Games Legacy

Invitation to Participate: I have been invited to participate in the abovementioned research study, a study funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship), the International Olympic Committee 2008 Postgraduate Studies Grant, a Research Centre for Sport in Canadian Society scholarship, and a 2008 Ontario Graduate Scholarship.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this study is to understand the democratic governance of Olympic Games legacy using network analysis. The specific objectives of this proposed study are: a) to map the historical evolution of the democratic governance of legacy throughout the modern Olympic movement (i.e., 1896-current day) in order to explain and contextualize the major trends (e.g., changes in legacy, network actors/stakeholders, governance structures and processes) over time; b) to understand, explain, and compare/contrast the democratic governance (including both structure and process) of Olympic legacy, using Australian and Canadian case settings (e.g., VANOC, 2010 LegaciesNow, Sydney Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG), Sydney Olympic Park Authority (SOPA)), and c) to critically analyze the overall structure and process of democratic governance of legacy within the Olympic movement focussing specifically on the aspects of performance, transparency, accountability, and participation to build a framework and provide policy recommendations for the democratic governance of legacy in mega-events.

Participation: My participation in this research study will consist of participating in a semi-structured interview, either in person or over the phone, lasting an hour to an hour and a half. I understand that I will be asked questions relating to the above purpose concentrating on three key areas: legacy (e.g., types, issues), the network (e.g., ties, decision making, power) in order to highlight its structure and stakeholder impacts, and democratic governance practices (i.e., transparency, participation, performance, accountability). With permission, the principal investigator will digitally record the interview or, if otherwise indicated, will simply take notes during the interview.

Risks: My participation in this study will not subject me to any foreseeable risks.

Benefits: Participation in this study will help provide researchers with key information on the governance of legacy, such as better understanding the network relationships and

management issues practitioners and organizing committee members deal with while planning for and maintaining legacy associated with the hosting of an Olympic Games.

Confidentiality: Assurance of my confidentiality has been guaranteed by the investigators. I understand that unless indicated otherwise no names will be used within the contents of the research study and that all personal information will be kept under lock and key for a period of ten years post publication after which, the data will be destroyed. The content of the interviews will be used only for the purpose of identifying themes during a content analysis and highlighting issues raised by network actors.

Anonymity: I understand that my anonymity will be protected in this research study and its findings by using a broad title such as "organizing committee member" or "government representative" when directly quoting information. Only the primary investigator and their research supervisor will have access to the raw data. The interviews will be transcribed and analyzed using both qualitative data analysis software and network software. The software programs will facilitate the coding and retrieval of the data by highlighting the themes that appear in the interviews in addition to depicting the networks in the form of sociographs. My transcript will be provided to me via email for review so that I may ensure the accuracy of the details. However, it must be understood that transcripts sent via email will be subject to the everyday risk of interference associated with this mode of communication. At this time, I will be able to make any modifications deemed necessary. My interview details will be part of a larger pool of data and will be used in the final dissertation, scholarly presentations, technical reports and paper submissions to scientific journals.

Conservation of data: All data collected including archival material, interview recordings, transcripts, notes and data analysis will be secured by the principal investigator in a locked filling cabinet in a University of Ottawa office which requires an entrance access code. Only the principal investigator and research supervisor will have access to the information.

Voluntary Participation: I fully understand that I am not obligated to participate in this study and, if I opt to participate, that I am free to refuse to answer particular questions or withdraw at any point without suffering any negative consequences. If I chose to withdraw from the study, I may decide at that point whether or not the researcher may use the data collected prior to withdraw in the study. Should I decide that I do not wish my data to be used in the study, I understand that it will be destroyed.

Acceptance:

Please initial one of the following options:

I consent to my interview data being quoted in publications (thesis, articles, etc.) using my identity/name _____(initials).

I consent to my interview data being quoted in publications (thesis, articles, etc.) but I wish for these quotes to remain anonymous_____(initials).

I do not consent to be quoted at all in this research _____(initials).

I, _____, agree to participate in the above research study. I fully understand that by consenting to participate in the study my rights to withdraw at any point are not being affected.

Should I have any questions or concerns regarding the study, the primary investigator or research supervisor of the study may be contacted. Ethical concerns regarding my participation in the study should be directed to the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa.

Two copies of the consent form have been provided, one of which is mine to keep and the other is to be given to the principal investigator.

Participant's signature: Date:

Researcher's signature: Date: