

Conceptualizing Olympic Legacy: The Case of Vancouver 2010

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the conceptualization of Olympic legacy in Vancouver— host of the XXI Winter Olympic Games. More specifically, this project examined event proponents' views on legacy at the time of the Olympic bid. A media frames analysis of local mainstream newspapers in Vancouver was conducted to ascertain how bid proponents constructed arguments to articulate the benefits of bidding for and hosting the 2010 Games. Findings showed that pro-bid arguments were framed around non-sport infrastructure, economic, and social legacies. These legacy frames provided a particular viewpoint of how legacy was presented and strategically used by bid proponents. Considering that the Olympic Games are increasingly positioned as tourism mega-events, this study also explored how destination marketers' perspectives on the notion of legacy influenced the design, implementation, and management of event leveraging strategies. Results showed that destination marketers' perspectives on legacy varied depending on their organizations' mandates as well as the aspirations of their destination. In addition, the desire to plan for and generate long-term tourism legacies (and by extension economic legacies) fostered a collaborative approach to the development of leveraging strategies for the host city, region, and country. Due to a lack of empirical research on longer-term economic leveraging, the process of maximizing the benefits of hosting is largely shaped by practice. This gap in the literature was addressed by examining and evaluating the existing empirical studies on event leverage. Three areas of research were highlighted for scholars interested in exploring long-term economic event leveraging: i) collaboration of event stakeholders; ii) creation or appointment of coordinating organizations; and iii) leveraging mega events as part of a destination's event portfolio.

PREFACE

This research project received approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board on March 3, 2012 under the project title: CONCEPTUALIZING LEGACY IN AN OLYMPIC HOST CITY: THE CASE OF VANCOUVER 2010 [No. Pro00029015]. A version of Chapter 2 of this thesis has been published as: Sant, S-L., & Mason, D.S. (2015). Framing event legacy in a prospective host city: Managing Vancouver's Olympic Bid. *Journal of Sport Management*, 29(1), 42-56. I was the lead author and solely responsible for data collection, data analysis, and manuscript composition. Dr. Mason was involved throughout the study in concept formation/development and manuscript edits. A version of Chapter 3 was accepted for publication in the *Journal of Sport and Tourism* on July 11, 2014. This article was subsequently backdated and published as: Sant, S-L., Mason, D.S., & Hinch, T.D. (2013). Conceptualising Olympic tourism legacy: Destination marketing organisations and Vancouver 2010. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 18(4), 287-312. Data collection for Chapter 3 was partially funded by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). I conducted the majority of interviews and was solely responsible for contacting interview participants, scheduling interviews, collection of documents, data analysis, and manuscript composition. Throughout the study, Dr. Mason and Dr. Hinch were involved in concept formation/development and contributed to manuscript edits.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father- Jerome

“The heart of a father is the masterpiece of nature.”

– Antoine François Prévost, *Manon Lescaut*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Hosting mega-sport events has become an increasingly important policy objective for governments (Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2005; Cashman & Horne, 2013) as they are considered catalysts for social and economic development in the host city, region, and country (Hiller, 1998; Misener & Mason, 2006; Smith, 2014). In particular, hosting an Olympic Games¹ is expected to generate a wide variety of impacts in the host community which include increased tourism, enhanced destination image and awareness, improvements to sport facilities and transportation infrastructure, and increased employment. As such, cities aggressively compete for the opportunity to host the Summer and Winter editions of the Olympic Games.

Extensive research has been conducted examining the immediate impacts of mega-event hosting in a city or region (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Hall & Hodges, 1996; Spilling, 1998), however, researchers have recently begun to focus on the generation of longer-term impacts or ‘event legacies’ (Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Heinemann, 2003; Preuss 2007a, 2007b). Although there has been steady growth in research on event legacies (e.g. Cashman, 2006; Gratton & Preuss, 2008, Preuss 2007a, 2007b; MacAloon, 2008), a precise definition remains elusive (Dickson, Blackman, & Benson, 2011). Further, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) acknowledged that ‘Olympic legacy’ may have different meanings across cultures and languages (IOC, 2003). Since conceptualizations of legacy are shaped by practice, meaning of the term is considered to be created in the context of the city bidding for and hosting the Games. Despite the lack of agreement on its meaning and use, legacy continues to play a pivotal role in bidding for, planning, and managing an Olympic Games.

¹ The Olympic Games refers to the Summer and/or Winter edition and its corresponding Paralympic events.

Bidding for and hosting an Olympic Games requires cities (and countries) to incur a wide range of costs such as the IOC's bid applicant fees, marketing and promotions, and the construction of sport facilities and transportation infrastructure. Event proponents often employ legacy— particularly tourism and economic legacies— in order to justify the significant public expenditure necessary to bid for and host these events. While the Olympic Games are not specifically designed as tourism mega-events by the IOC, they are being positioned by supporters as a once in a lifetime opportunity to strengthen a host destination's international competitiveness (Williams & Elkhatab, 2012). The anticipated growth of the tourism industry in a host city, region, and country, as well as the associated increase in revenues and employment are key expectations in the economic development strategies of Olympic hosts.

Although there is scant empirical evidence to support event proponents' assertions that such benefits may be realized for decades after the event (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001), legacy has become a common feature in Bid Committee rhetoric. Given the strategic vision of prospective Olympic hosts, the manner in which event proponents manage the notion of legacy may influence the success (or failure) of an Olympic bid. Previous studies (e.g. Lowe & Goyder, 1983; Franiuk, Seefelt, Cypress, & Vandello, 2008; Buist & Mason, 2010) have suggested that newspapers are one of the best vehicles for influencing public opinion and interpretation of a variety of issues and events. Therefore, framing an issue (or event) in the media, in a particular way, provides context and creates meaning for audiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). However, there has been scant empirical research investigating how event proponents attempt to frame and reframe legacy in an effort to further their own agendas and to sway public opinion in favour of the bid.

Researchers (e.g. Bramwell, 1997; Chalip, 2002, 2004; Preuss, 2007a) have recognized the need for a more proactive approach to planning for positive event outcomes. Further, the growing focus on producing legacies has generated interest in models and processes which can be employed to maximize the benefits of event hosting. This strategic approach to event planning is referred to as ‘event leveraging’ (Chalip, 2004). Given tourism’s traditional role in delivering wider economic legacies to a host city, region, and country (Getz, 2005; Heinemann, 2003; Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Toohey, 2008), destination marketers are being charged with formulating leverage strategies. Despite the inconsistencies in the meaning of legacy in the both the academic literature and industry practice, Olympic tourism leveraging strategies are now a regular part of host cities’ attempts to generate tourism benefits and mitigate the potential negative impacts of hosting (Weed, 2008). Destination marketers’ conceptualizations of tourism legacy therefore have important implications for the development of leverage strategies as well as the measurement and evaluation of legacies post-Games.

If mega sport events are to retain support from host communities, long-term tourism (and associated economic) benefits promised at the bid stage must be cultivated through the effective planning, implementation, and management of tourism leveraging strategies (O’Brien, 2006). However, empirical research on economic event leveraging is limited. While the majority of studies have examined an event’s potential for generating immediate economic benefits in the host destination, few have focused primarily on leveraging events for longer-term outcomes. This gap in the literature must be addressed in order to improve destination marketers’ leverage strategies and enhance academic understanding of leveraging events for tourism legacies.

Purpose of the Research

The overall purpose of this research was to explore the conceptualization of legacy in an Olympic host city. More specifically, this project examined event proponents' views on legacy at the time of an Olympic bid. Given that the Olympic Games are increasingly being positioned as tourism mega-events, this study also examined how destination marketers' perspectives on legacy influenced the design, implementation, and management of event leveraging strategies. The conceptualization of Olympic legacy is constantly changing as it is "affected by a variety of local and global factors" (IOC, 2003, p. 1) as well as differences in thinking between the IOC and the host city. Therefore, the meaning of legacy is created in the context of the city bidding for and hosting the Games. The IOC included a 14th mission statement in its Charter in 2003 following the first symposium on 'Olympic legacy' in 2002. This new mission statement highlighted the need for hosts to strive for positive legacies which would benefit the quality of life in the city, region, and country (Chappelet, 2008). In turn, the IOC also amended the Host City Contract to reflect the importance of leaving a positive legacy in the host community. This project presents a case study of Vancouver—host of the XXI Winter Olympic Games and the first city to sign the IOC's new contract. It follows that legacy would feature prominently in the city's bidding process, and subsequent planning and management of the event. The following research questions guided this project:

1. How was Olympic legacy framed in the mainstream newspaper media during the Olympic bid?
2. How did destination marketers at the various levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) conceptualize legacy?

3. How do destination marketers' perspectives on legacy influence the planning process and leveraging strategies used to deliver long-term tourism (and economic) benefits?
4. How has the extant empirical literature on economic event leveraging developed since the introduction of the Chalip's (2004) general model of event leverage?
5. What are the directions for empirical research on the strategic leveraging of mega events for tourism legacies?

Research Studies

Three papers were completed as part of this research project and are presented as three separate chapters. The first paper, Chapter 2, addressed bid proponents'— city officials, local politicians, and members of the bid committee— conceptualizations of Olympic legacy. In particular, this paper examined how proponents constructed arguments to articulate the benefits of bidding for and hosting the 2010 Games. Employing the theoretical framework of media framing and a corresponding qualitative media frames analysis provided insight into how bid proponents used their access to journalists and editorial pages to frame the issue of Olympic legacy for the general public. In Vancouver, pro-bid arguments focused on non-sport infrastructure, economic, and social legacies.

As previously discussed, the tourism industry plays a key role in generating wider economic benefits for a host city, region, and country. As such, tourism legacies feature prominently in proponents' attempts to legitimize an Olympic bid. The second paper, Chapter 3, examined how destination marketers in Vancouver, as well as those at the provincial and federal levels of government conceptualized Olympic tourism legacy. In addition, this paper explored how destination marketers' notions of legacy influenced the legacy planning process, particularly, the design, implementation, and management of

leveraging strategies. Furthermore, this study examined destination marketers perspectives on the key tourism legacies generated in the host city, region, and country post-Games.

The Olympic Games receive tremendous media coverage internationally, therefore it provides hosts with a unique opportunity to market the host destination. Thus, it is important to understand how destination marketers can effectively design and implement event leveraging strategies to generate tourism legacies. Considering that empirical studies have focused mainly on the potential for generating immediate economic outcomes in a host community, Chapter 4 sought to address this gap by: i) examining and evaluating the extant empirical literature on economic event leveraging; ii) integrating the findings from the previous two papers; and iii) identifying directions for empirical research on the strategic leveraging of events for tourism legacies. Finally, Chapter 5, summarized the findings and implications of this study and addressed future research directions.

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CHAPTER 2¹

Framing Event Legacy in a Prospective Host City: Managing Vancouver's Olympic Bid

¹ A version of this chapter has been published as: Sant, S-L., & Mason, D.S. (2015). Framing event legacy in a prospective host city: Managing Vancouver's Olympic Bid. *Journal of Sport Management*, 29(1), 42-56.

Introduction

The Olympic Games is considered one of the world's "largest and most complex sporting events to host and manage" (Kaplanidou & Karakadis, 2010, p. 110). Bidding for and hosting an Olympic and Paralympic Games requires cities to incur a wide range of costs, inclusive of bid-applicant fees to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), marketing and promotions, building of facilities and infrastructure, and urban rejuvenation (Horne, 2007). In preparation for Olympic bids, city officials and event managers often cite various potential economic, social, and environmental benefits as justification for the significant public expenditure necessary to bid for and host these events (Hall, 2006; Girginov & Hills, 2008). These benefits are often referred to as event 'legacies' and event proponents argue that such benefits may be realized for decades (Gold & Gold, 2009). Cities therefore aggressively compete for the opportunity to host the Summer and Winter editions of the Olympic Games in an effort to attract local and international investment, enhance the city's image, and generate revenue.

Although Olympic legacy has been used by prospective hosts since the 1980s to justify bids, it only recently began to feature prominently in the bid documents of applicant cities (Leopkey, 2009). This can be attributed to the increasing concerns of the IOC that potential and actual hosts "no longer be saddled with unnecessary investments and white elephant facilities" (MacAloon, 2008, p. 2064). Following the first symposium on Olympic legacy in 2002, the IOC included a 14th mission statement in its Charter in 2002 which highlighted the need for hosts to strive for positive legacies that benefit the quality of life in the city, region, and country (Chappelet, 2008). At this point the IOC amended the Host City Contract to reflect the importance of leaving a positive legacy in the host city. Vancouver,

host of the XXI Winter Olympic Games, was the first host city to sign this new contract and it follows that legacy would feature prominently in the city's bid documents, candidature files, and Games planning and management.

The conceptualization of 'Olympic legacy' is constantly changing as it is "affected by a variety of local and global factors" (IOC, 2003, p. 1) as well as differences in thinking between the IOC and the host city. Therefore, current conceptualizations of 'Olympic legacy' should not be regarded as fixed, but rather as a concept that is continuing to be shaped by practice (Gold & Gold, 2009). The IOC's position reflects this view, acknowledging that every host city is different and has varying priorities, which accounts for the IOC encouraging each potential host to reflect on its goals from the beginning of the bid process and to look at how the Games can serve as a catalyst for development (IOC, 2010). The meaning of legacy is therefore created in the context of the city bidding for and hosting the Games.

Meanwhile, public support is extremely important when moving forward with an Olympic bid, considering that the associated costs of bidding for and hosting these events can be exorbitant. For example, Beijing, host of the 2008 Summer Olympic Games, spent close to \$2 billion (USD) on athletic venues, and an estimated \$40 billion (USD) on other Olympic-related infrastructure. Similarly, London's successful bid for the 2012 Summer Games cost approximately \$25 million (USD) (Short, 2008). While the IOC asserts that legacy is fundamental to the Olympic mission (IOC, 2002), "media reports demonstrate the use of legacy by a number of stakeholders often as a 'selling tool' to gain the support of potential host cities" (Dickson, Benson, & Blackman, 2011, p. 291). Bid proponents therefore commit a great deal of resources to "communicating and marketing the benefits of

bidding and hosting to multiple stakeholders” (Misener, Darcy, Legg, & Gilbert, 2013).

Legacy has become a prominent feature in Bid Committee rhetoric and in the management of event bidding. In other words, given the strategic vision of prospective hosts, the manner in which the notion of legacy is managed by bid proponents may strongly influence the success or failure of a bid. Since the local media play a pivotal role in shaping the information that the public receives about a particular issue (Buist & Mason, 2010; Sapotichne, 2012), this paper explores how legacy was framed in the mainstream newspaper media during the Olympic bid in Vancouver – the first city to sign the amended Host City Contract mentioned above. The framing of legacy in a prospective host city sheds light on the strategies used by bid proponents to sway public opinion in favour of a mega-sport event bid. Although the meaning and use of legacy is context-specific, it is important for prospective bid organizations (and bid detractors) to be aware of the arguments employed by proponents to articulate the benefits of hosting an event, and ultimately win a referendum. In order to examine the framing of legacy, the theoretical framework of media framing is drawn upon and a media frames analysis of newspaper articles is conducted.

Media frames are considered a crucial component of the news process as they allow journalists to organize information and present it to audiences. By framing an issue or event in a particular manner, newsmakers are able to highlight some ideas rather than others, thereby making these ideas more salient in the article. Media frames therefore help the reader to interpret events and in turn influence public opinion (Entman, 1993). Using a frame analysis shows how bid proponents used their access to newspaper exposure and editorial pages to frame the issue of Olympic legacy in Vancouver. City officials, local politicians, and members of the bid committee focused their pro-bid arguments around infrastructure,

economic, and social legacies. In particular, we highlight how these legacies entered the bid discourse at various points in the domestic and international bid competitions. The results of this study will provide insight into how bid proponents framed and reframed the issue of Olympic legacy through the media in order to further their own agendas. It also demonstrates how bid proponents employed legacy strategically to garner support for Vancouver's Olympic bid. This chapter begins by presenting a brief examination of Olympic legacy and an overview of the theoretical framework. A description of the methodology and presentation of the results of the frame analysis follow. The final section highlights some implications of the findings for the framing of legacy in a prospective host city.

Olympic Legacy

Extensive research has been conducted exploring the immediate impacts of hosting a mega-event in a city or region (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Hall & Hodges, 1996; Spilling, 1998); however, researchers have recently begun to focus on legacies (or long-term impacts) of these events on host cities (Essex & Chalkley, 1998; Heinemann, 2003; Preuss 2007a, 2007b). Several scholars have attempted to define and conceptualize legacy (Preuss 2007a, 2007b; Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Cashman 2003, 2006; Chappelet, 2006). Despite this, little agreement has been reached. The difficulty in defining the term can be attributed to its complexity, as legacy is regarded as multi-faceted (Chalip, 2003) and multidimensional (McCloy, 2003). The word itself is thought to be “elusive, problematic, and even dangerous” (Cashman, 2006, p. 15). One of the most popular definitions of legacy within the academic community is the one proposed by Preuss (2007a): “irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself” (p. 211).

Despite the challenges in defining the term, legacy is believed “to encompass tangible and intangible outcomes which are also classified as hard and soft legacy aspects respectively” (Kaplanidou & Karakadis, 2010, p. 111). ‘Hard’ or tangible legacies such as sport infrastructure and telecommunication and transportation networks are considered those that are easily identified and measured, whereas with ‘soft’ or intangible legacies, such as enhanced destination image and renewed community spirit, the converse is true. The literature on sports events presents several classifications of legacies. Cashman (2006), for example, proposed that there are six main categories: sport; infrastructure; economic; information and education; public life, politics and culture; and symbols, memory and history. In contrast, Chappelet (2006) argued that there are five categories: sporting; economic; infrastructural; urban; and social. Due to the lack of agreement on the classification of legacies, it is often simplified to include three major categories: economic; social; and environmental (Kaplanidou & Karakadis, 2010). Another point of contention is that legacy is most often employed when expressing positive outcomes of hosting a mega-event, whereas negative legacies, such as overcrowding and environmental damage, are ignored by bid and event proponents.

According to Gold and Gold (2009), the various attempts to clarify and conceptualize ‘Olympic legacy’ showed that the term was “little more than a convenient *omnium gatherum* for diverse phenomena” (p. 15). Cashman (2006) proposed that the value of ‘legacy’ was borne out of it being a taken-for-granted term that was not properly defined; it therefore served as a “point of convergence for the thinking of groups with widely-divergent views and agendas” (Gold & Gold, 2009, p. 15). To avoid using the term ‘legacy’ is also challenging since it is widely accepted in academic and industry circles and the popular press (Cashman,

2003). Although there is still a lack of agreement on the meaning and use of the word, legacy has taken on “magical properties” (MacAloon, 2008, p. 2069) as it features prominently in the Olympic discourse of bidding for and hosting a mega-event (Allen, O’Toole, Harris, & McDonnell, 2008).

Media framing

In order to examine how legacy is represented in the media in a prospective Olympic host city, the theoretical framework of media framing was employed. Although the study of framing has its foundations in sociology and psychology, it has also been used in a variety of academic disciplines such as communication, economics, and political science (Borah, 2011). According to Chong and Druckman (2007), research on framing that is based in the study of sociology focuses on how frames can be used to present information and examines the processes that underpin the frame’s construction. These frames are referred to as ‘frames in communication’ or ‘media frames’ and they can be considered as ‘organizing principles’ that provide context for the audience (Reese, 2007). In other words, framing constitutes a process whereby a particular understanding of an issue (or event) is developed, and in turn may assist in reorienting the audience’s thinking about the issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Frames can therefore be used by the media to relay, interpret, and evaluate information (Crigler, Just, & Neuman, 1994). According to deVreese (2005), the framing literature highlights two types of media frames: *issue-specific* and *generic* news frames. Issue-specific frames relate to specific events or topics, whereas, generic frames are those that can be identified across varying issues and are not confined to a specific topics. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) believed that generic frames were related to journalistic convention and identified five types:

‘conflict’; ‘attribution of responsibility’; ‘human interest’; ‘morality’; and ‘economic consequences’.

On the other hand, framing research which has its foundations in the study of psychology often focuses on how audiences use ‘media frames’ to make sense of the information presented and the frames’ corresponding effect on the audience’s decision making. These frames are referred to as ‘individual’ or ‘audience’ frames (Borah, 2011). Individual frames are out of our scope of inquiry; instead, we focus on media frames in the newspaper coverage of Vancouver’s Olympic bid, and how legacy was used as part of this process. Our study is therefore based on the sociological study of framing.

Since framing research is conducted within a wide range of disciplines, a number of definitions of and types of frames have been identified in the literature. Entman’s (1993) definition of framing is perhaps the one most frequently used by scholars:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral valuation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (1993, p. 52)

This definition highlights two key elements in the framing process: selection and salience. Based on this definition, frames can be considered properties of texts and are “manifested by the presence or absence of keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements” (p. 52). Entman also noted that by emphasizing certain issue attributes and omitting others, journalists are able to highlight some ideas rather than others, thereby making these ideas more prominent in the text. These constructed frames or ‘interpretive

packages' (Gamson & Lasch, 1983, p.2) are considered a crucial component of the news process as they allow journalists to organize and present information to audiences. A frame may also promote a particular (sometimes predetermined) understanding of an issue or event which may in turn influence public opinion (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987).

Framing can be employed by journalists as well as other elites. For example, in the context of examining the framing of legacy, elites would be considered to be the bid and organizing committee, city officials, and other political leaders from the host city, region, or country. Gamson (1989) proposed that all senders— whether journalists or various other sources— should be considered frame sponsors and, as such, frames can have multiple sponsors. Frames are therefore produced in a complex process involving not only journalists but their sources (Gamson & Lasch, 1983). Elites often have considerable economic and cultural resources which are central to the ability of a particular frame to enter and dominate news discourse (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). A politician for example, may attempt to influence the media to report an issue in a way that is consistent with his/her frame (Van Gorp, 2007). Although frame sponsors may have the means to influence the opinions and actions of the audience (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), they may not necessarily be attempting to manipulate or deceive (Gamson, 1989). In our case, bid managers may be simply trying to extol the virtues of hosting the event.

Frame sponsors can employ various devices (or elements) which serve to condense information and offer a particular interpretive package of an issue (Gamson & Lasch, 1983). For example, sponsors can engage in the use of 'reasoning devices' which are related to the four framing functions identified in Entman's (1993) definition of frames: the promotion of a

problem definition; causal interpretation (or ‘root’); moral evaluation (or appeals to principle); and/or treatment recommendation. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identified the following ‘framing devices’ which make up a ‘media package’: metaphors; visual images; exemplars; catch phrases; and keywords which frame an issue (or event) in a particular way. A frame is therefore made up of reasoning and framing devices which do not exist in isolation but are combined and manifest within texts. These elements not only “provide justifications or reasons for a general position” (Gamson & Lasch, 1983, p. 399) but also give a frame a particular ‘signature’ which helps reveal the frame’s core idea (Gamson & Lasch, 1983). Framing and reasoning devices are held together under the heading of a central organizing theme; that is, the actual frame, which provides these devices with a coherent structure (cf. Donati, 1992). This study used a holistic “framing package” approach (Guo, Holton, Jeong, 2012, p. 1927) to guide the analysis of frames in the news media. This approach relies on both reasoning and framing devices (Gamson & Lasch, 1983; Creed, Scully, & Austin, 2002; Van Gorp 2005, Van Gorp, 2010).

A frame essentially provides context and creates meaning for audiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), organizes experience through the selection and presentation of issues, and determines the way in which particular issue attributes are emphasized or excluded (Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss & Ghanem, 1991). For the purpose of this study, framing is used as a method of analysis of texts— specifically newspaper articles— as well as a theoretical framework. According to Reese (2001, 2007), framing analyses should not be confused with thematic analyses as themes merely describe items as stances reported in certain stories but do not structure and organize as frames do (Guo et al., 2012).

The framing of legacy in newspaper media can have significant implications for the way in which individuals evaluate the issue of an Olympic bid, thereby leading to public support (or opposition). Framing can therefore be considered as a means of describing the production and “power of a communicating text” (Entman, 1993, p.51). Given that the IOC formally incorporated legacy into the bid process in 2002, it follows that legacy would become a more critical component of arguments for and against an Olympic bid in Vancouver. In turn, how legacy was framed by bid proponents will shed light on how the bid process was successfully managed in the city.

A frame analysis was employed in order to determine how legacy was framed in the newspaper media during Vancouver’s Olympic bid phase. Since frames essentially function as a unifying structure employed in the construction of meaning and are properties of texts, framing theory and framing analysis can be used by social scientists to assess and understand how the issue of legacy is constructed, structured, and developed. Specifically, the main goal of this type of analysis is to understand “how certain idea elements are linked together into packages of meaning, potentially encoded into soundbite-like signifiers, and deployed in situated discursive activity” (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002 p. 37).

Method

The media have the power and ability to convey key messages, to broadcast the views of key stakeholders, and to capture the value and beliefs of their target audience (Bryant & Miron, 2004). News production is dominated by elite sources such as politicians, business associations, and individual corporations (Davis, 2003), as they are the most cited and greatest suppliers of news items (Gans, 1979; Hess, 2000). Previous studies have suggested that newspapers are one of the best vehicles for influencing public opinion and interpretation

of a variety issues and events (Lowe & Goyder, 1983; Franiuk, Seefelt, Cepress, & Vandello, 2008; Buist & Mason, 2010, Misener, 2013). The frames found in newspaper articles can therefore be helpful in determining not only how bid proponents manage the notion of Olympic legacy, but how readers understand and attach meaning to the concept. Since this study examines how legacy was framed by elites seeking to host the Games, data collection focused on articles from local, mainstream newspapers, rather than alternative forms of media such as social media and blogs. The majority of studies on framing are based on the positivistic assumption that there is a truth that can be ‘found’, and that it is directly ‘observable’; these studies mainly use (quantitative) content analysis or other forms of quantitative methods. A qualitative analysis of frames (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980; Buist & Mason, 2010; Kuypers, 2010; Misener, 2013) was undertaken since a frame finds expression in the latent meaning structures which may not be perceived directly (Van Gorp, 2007).

Given the move toward a ‘one city, one bid’ approach to the selection of Olympic hosts, cities bidding for the 2008 and 2010 Games and all subsequent editions had to show full integration of the organization for both the Olympic and Paralympic events in its bid documents (Gold & Gold, 2007). As such, the media discourse surrounding Vancouver’s Olympic bid and projected legacies reflected this ‘one city, one bid’ approach and therefore this study did not differentiate between the Olympics and Paralympics. The ‘Olympic Games’ henceforth refers to the Summer and/or Winter edition and its corresponding Paralympic events.

Newspaper articles were collected for the time period January 1, 1998 to July 2, 2003 which represents the time frame of Vancouver’s domestic and international bid for the 2010 Olympic Games. Articles were obtained from two local print media sources- *The Vancouver*

Sun and *The Province* using the Canadian Newsstand Database. *The Vancouver Sun*, a broadsheet, publishes daily except Sundays and selected holidays and *The Province*, a tabloid, publishes daily except Saturdays and selected holidays. Both are considered major daily newspapers and are published by the Pacific Newspaper Group Inc., a division of Postmedia Network Canada Corporation. Although published by the same entity, these two papers are seen as alternatives in the Vancouver newspaper market; readers tend to subscribe or read one of the papers but rarely both. Thus, regular readers of mainstream newspapers in Vancouver would read one of these papers to get their information. According to data published by Newspapers Canada,² these newspapers have the largest circulation in the province of British Columbia. For example, in 2012, *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Province* had a daily average circulation of 164,507 and 142,300 respectively (Newspapers Canada, 2012). The third highest circulating newspaper was the Times Colonist at 56,170— less than half of *The Province*'s circulation.

Articles were identified and collected using a search for keywords related to the city's bid and Olympic legacy. Examples of keywords include, but were not limited to: Olympics; Games; bid; and legacy. This search yielded a total of 198 articles- 146 in *The Vancouver Sun* and 52 in *The Province*. Each of these articles was then read to ensure that its primary focus was Olympic legacies and therefore relevant to the study. For example, articles which discussed the legacy of outgoing politicians or the legacy of former Olympic athletes were discarded from the analysis as they were unrelated to the Olympic bid and therefore deemed irrelevant. Of the 177 articles which remained, 125 appeared in *The Vancouver Sun* and 52 in *The Province*. These articles were then copied into a Word file in chronological order.

² Newspapers Canada is a joint initiative of the Canadian Newspaper Association and the Canadian Community Newspapers Association.

In the first phase of analysis each article was coded for several basic characteristics including: newspaper source; date; staff reporter; article type; and section. Since newspaper articles often mention persons who are discussed, quoted, or referred to in some way, each article was also coded for the key players/actors. This was done in an attempt to determine the persons who were featured and quoted³ when discussing the issue of Olympic legacy. Prior research examining Olympic legacy served as a guide for the second phase of analysis, which involved using an inductive approach to identify an initial set of legacy themes, while allowing additional themes to emerge. Kaplanidou and Karakadis (2010), for example, identified three main themes that emerged from their analysis of interviews with stakeholders involved in managing of Olympic legacy programs in Vancouver. These themes related to tangible, intangible, and negative legacies such as economic benefits, sport and non-sport infrastructure, social inclusion, city image, legacy programs, and environmental stewardship. In the third phase of analysis, the data were manually coded to determine how Olympic legacy was framed in Vancouver's print media. During this phase, reasoning and framing devices were identified, and served as the coding scheme for content analysis of the print material. These devices were used to construct a "signature matrix" (Gamson & Lasch, 1983, p. 399) which is an accessible interpretive tool to: (a) sort the idea elements; (b) identify the problem definition of the frame as seen by bid proponents; (c) identify and distinguish among different frames; and (d) discover how various idea elements are deployed (Creed et al., 2002a; Creed et al., 2002b). Labels (or names) were then given to each frame; these labels provided initial shorthand for the essence of the idea or frame package. The labels remained provisional at this stage since the "processing of distilling and naming frames is iterative and

³ For example, Jack Poole, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Bid Corporation, was one of the key actors driving the discourse of the Games' legacies.

guides the emerging characterization of frames” (Creed et al., 2002b, p. 40). The signature matrices and emergent frames were compared across the data collected in order to determine if a frame was in fact a discrete frame or a sub-frame of another frame (Creed et al., 2002a). In the final phase of analysis, *NVivo10* was used to conduct text queries in order to cross-check certain aspects of the manual coding process.

Results and Discussion

Following the work of Creed et al. (2002a) and Van Gorp (2005), we present the results of our frame analysis in the form of an adapted frame matrix (see Table 1). This matrix summarizes the signature matrices constructed for each newspaper article during the third phase of the data analysis. Actual catchphrases from the articles were quoted and used, for example, as the label for each frame. The left-most column of the matrix lists examples of framing and reasoning devices (or signature elements) which make up each frame. Each of the remaining columns shows a frame used to represent legacy in *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Province* during the period of the Olympic bid. The results consist of the three frames and their associated ‘signature elements’ (Gamson & Lasch, 1983) which were most salient in the texts; that is, the elements that, when combined, manifested repeatedly within the data. To begin, a brief description of the frame package (which expands on the summary presented in Table 1) is provided, followed by a discussion of each frame in further detail.

‘Capital Projects’ Frame

Description of the frame package. This frame focused on infrastructure⁴ improvements that were proposed by the Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Bid Society and the

⁴ Infrastructure includes sport facilities as well as non-sport infrastructure; however, the data analysis found that at the time of the bid the discussion of infrastructure focused mainly on non-sport capital projects.

Table 1
Adapted Frame Matrix: Legacy Frames

	Capital Projects	Economic Impact	Human Interest
Devices			
Framing Devices			
Examples of idea Elements	<p>Metaphors: Projects are on the ‘fast track’; pushing ‘pet projects’, ‘get over the hurdle’</p> <p>Catchphrases: Sea-to-Sky highway is bid’s ‘Achilles Heel’ and a ‘major drawback’</p>	<p>Metaphors: Games legacies are a tremendous ‘shot in the arm’; ‘economic engine’; ‘huge lever’ for long-term investment; ‘economic bonanza’; ‘a ticket in a lottery’</p> <p>Catch phrases: ‘we can’t afford not to’ host ; Games will be ‘self-supporting’; and ‘pay for themselves’; we are a ‘have not’ province</p>	<p>Exemplars: Greg Edgelow (Olympian) showing how the Olympics changed his life</p> <p>Metaphor: Olympics is a ‘gift to our children’</p> <p>Catchphrases: ‘this is for the kids’; ‘community-building’</p>
Reasoning Devices			
Problem/issue definition	Hosting an Olympic Games provides a city and region with many legacies, however Vancouver’s chances of winning the bid are slim	British Columbia has been labelled a ‘have-not’ Province and it needs to generate revenue	The province needs programs for sport development, arts, and culture
Causal Interpretation	The Sea-to-Sky Highway, lack of a Rapid Transit Line from the airport to downtown, and, outdated Convention Centre are deficiencies in the bid	Declining markets for natural resources, lack of jobs, and investments	Funds are lacking to provide these programs
Moral evaluation (Appeals to principle)	The goal is for the Games to provide positive benefits (legacies) “to all”; these projects have been in the works for years Games are simply a catalyst	The people of British Columbia and Vancouver need to secure their future	The goal is for the Games to provide lasting benefits to the province particularly the children
Recommendations (Actions that should be taken)	Improve the Sea-to-Sky highway, the Convention Centre and extend the SkyTrain	Hosting an Olympic Games will provide opportunities for long-term economic benefits Games	Hosting an Olympics will generate surplus funds which will be used to provide sport, art, and cultural benefits

Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation⁵ (referred to hereafter as the Bid Society and Bid Corporation respectively) during the domestic and international bid phase. These projects included an expansion to the Vancouver Convention Centre, an extension of the SkyTrain system (rapid transit link), and an upgrade of the Sea-to-Sky Highway which connects the greater Vancouver area with the Resort Municipality of Whistler (the prospective location for the Nordic competitions). According to this frame, the problem was that the bid was considered to be technically deficient due to the poor condition of existing infrastructure and therefore unlikely to win the international competition. This frame was an example of an issue-specific frame as it related to the particular infrastructure needs of the host city. An unsuccessful bid meant that Vancouver would fail to reap a variety of long-lasting benefits that previous hosts were able to secure. The prospect of legacies was used as an ‘appeal to principle’ as these benefits were viewed as being not only good for Vancouver, but for the region, and the country as a whole. This frame package promoted a particular treatment of the problem for the audience, in that the city’s strength in the international competition could only be improved by embarking on costly but ‘necessary’ capital projects. The main justification for this solution was that these infrastructure improvements had already been in the works for years, and that the Olympics merely acted as a catalyst to speed up the process of implementation.

Discussion. In the early phases of the bid process, the existing transportation infrastructure was considered to be the bid’s main deficiency. The Sea-to-Sky Highway in particular was often referred to as the bid’s ‘Achilles heel’. This became a catchphrase that would be repeated by bid proponents and journalists alike. Jack Poole, President and Chief

⁵ The Vancouver/Whistler 2010 Bid Society was dissolved in early 2002 and succeeded by the more broadly-based Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation.

Executive Officer (CEO) of the Bid Corporation, believed improvement to the Sea-to-Sky Highway was vital, he stated that “we don’t have a bid unless the road is worked on” (Ogilvie, 2001, p. A3). When commenting on the provincial government’s plan to address transportation upgrades, Poole said “if it doesn’t include enhancement to the Sea-to-Sky our bid will be severely weakened” (Morton, 2002, p. D1).

The province promised the city of Richmond an expansion of the SkyTrain system which would link the city centre, the international airport, and downtown Vancouver by 2015. During the domestic bid phase in 1998, the province’s transport minister announced plans to accelerate the construction of the rapid transit link as part of the bid to bring the 2010 Winter Olympics to Vancouver. Greg Halsey-Brandt, Mayor of Richmond at that time, avidly supported the bid; he believed that if Vancouver was chosen to represent Canada in the international bid, the expansion of the SkyTrain would be a crucial factor in selling the location to the IOC. Mayor Halsey-Brandt was quoted as saying “we spent close to \$1 million in the early 1990s looking at different corridors between Vancouver and Richmond. We looked at all different types of technology and different routes. It came down to SkyTrain on the Cambie corridor at the time - so a lot of the homework has been done” (Simpson, 1998, p. B6). He believed that an expansion of the system was therefore the logical choice to improve the bid’s chances since all the detailed background work was already completed. The Mayor’s support for the bid was not surprising since the city of Richmond stood to gain an important transportation upgrade up to 10 years sooner than originally promised. While the SkyTrain expansion and upgrades to the Sea-to-Sky highway were featured in the print media from the bid’s inception, the Vancouver Convention Centre appeared in the bid discourse in mid-2001. The business community and city officials had been asking for an

updated Convention Centre well before the idea of an Olympic bid, citing lost convention business.

In the years 2000 and 2001, the city of Toronto was at the height of its bid to host the 2008 Summer Olympics. In hopes of strengthening Toronto's chances of winning, the federal government made a commitment of \$500 million (CAD) to the city's harbour-front re-development project. British Columbia's senior member in the federal cabinet, Environment Minister David Anderson, stated that Ottawa's promise to Toronto served as a helpful precedent for those advocating federal aid for upgrades to Vancouver's Convention Centre. Commenting on the federal government's promise to Toronto, the Minister stated that "It seems to me it's going to increase our opportunity of getting federal support for the new convention centre if that can indeed be legitimately linked to the bid" (Barrett, 2001, p. A1). This may explain why an upgrade to the Vancouver Convention Centre appeared in the news media at this time. Bid proponents linked the Convention Centre to the 2010 Olympics by proposing it as a possible site for the international media centre. This seemed to justify the cost of upgrades as the facility would be too small for the 10,000 international media that were expected to attend if Vancouver hosted the Games.

During the bid's early stages, members of the Bid Society, politicians, and civic boosters were focused on securing funding for their 'pet projects'. In an editorial written by then-Mayor of Richmond, Greg Halsey-Brandt, he stated that "I do not believe that the construction of a SkyTrain to Richmond or improvements along the Sea-to-Sky highway are legacy projects" (Halsey-Brandt, 1998, p. A22). He noted that tying the design and construction timetables of these projects to the bid simply allowed for the federal government to participate as a financial partner. Our frame analysis revealed, however, that in the year

leading up to the bid plebiscite⁶ in February 2003 the infrastructure upgrades began to be referred to as ‘legacy projects’ rather than as a means of improving the city’s chances of winning the bid. The lack of consensus among frame sponsors as to whether the capital projects were simply a means to strengthening the bid or whether they were in fact legacy projects is interesting to note. Bid proponents’ views on these projects seemed to coincide with their individual interests at the time. The Bid Corporation, politicians, and businessmen were able use ‘legacy’ in whichever manner they deemed necessary to further their agendas by sponsoring the capital projects frame in the early stages of the bid. This frame was most salient in the years 1998 to 1999 (see Figure 1).

Examining the capital projects frame provides insight into how members of the Bid Society and Corporation, government officials, and civic boosters used legacy to win support for the capital projects and the bid itself. In a keynote address to the Vancouver Board of Trade in 2002, Utah Governor Mike Leavitt was quoted in the print media as saying “The Salt Lake Games left a legacy of at least \$100 million (USD), not including the money the state and federal government spent on some projects. If this was just a 17-day party, it wouldn't be worth it. But it has had in our state a five-year immediate buzz, and a 50-year impact” (Lee, 2002, p. B1). Calgary’s legacy of world class sport facilities and \$112 million (CAD) operating profit were also often cited by supporters of the bid. The potential legacies enjoyed by previous hosts were used as a justification for participation in the Olympic bid and in turn for securing federal and provincial funds for the three main capital projects. Linking the infrastructure upgrades to a technically sound bid appears to be strategic move

⁶ A vote held on February 22, 2003 which asked Vancouver residents whether or not they supported the city’s bid to host the 2010 Olympic Winter Games.

by the bid proponents to secure both provincial and federal funding for these projects, which were expected to cost upwards of \$3 billion (CAD).

Figure 1
Saliency of Legacy Frames

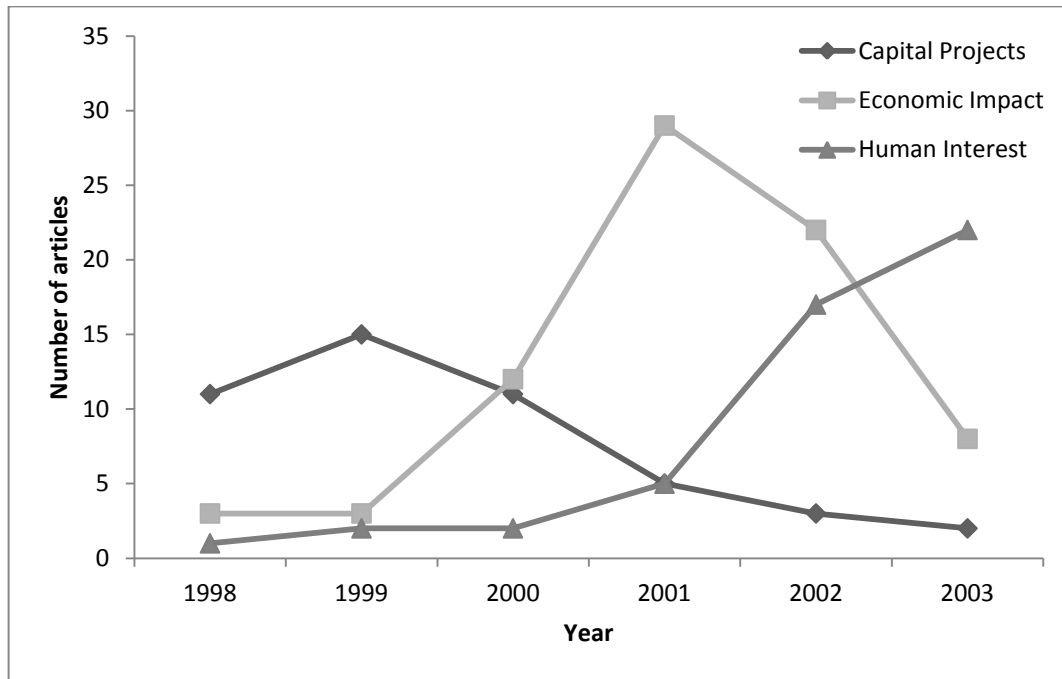


Figure 1. This line graph illustrates the saliency of legacy frames in newspaper articles for the period 1998-2003.

‘Economic Impact’ Frame

Description of the frame package. The ‘economic impact’ frame focused on the potential economic legacies that could be generated from hosting an Olympic Games. It could be considered a generic frame as it related to ‘economic consequences’— a common frame employed by journalists which can be identified across varying issues (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992; Semetko & Valkenberg, 2000). According to this frame, the problem was

that in the late 1990s and early 2000s, British Columbia became a ‘have not’⁷ province in Canada under the governance of the New Democratic Party (NDP). In 2001, British Columbia had dropped to 10th place among all provinces in terms of economic performance, a ranking attributed to declining markets, low levels of investment, and reduced activity in the province’s non-energy resource industries. Appeals to principle involved urging British Columbians to help improve the province’s economic performance in order to secure *their future*. Hosting the 2010 Olympic Games was promoted as a viable solution to the problem as it would give the city and region a much-needed economic ‘boost’. This frame became most prominent in late 2001 and throughout 2002 and its salience appeared to coincide with the release of a provincial economic impact study in January 2002 (see Figure 1).

Discussion. Examining this frame provides insight into how bid proponents attempted to frame the bid for the Games around the projected economic benefits of hosting. The main justification for pursuing the 2010 Olympic Games to solve British Columbia’s economic woes was the ‘success’ of previous host cities. The profits earned and other ‘economic spinoffs’ were often cited in the print media. For example, Premier Gordon Campbell stated that “The Olympics hasn’t lost money for a host city in over 25 years. In Calgary they generated a \$50 million surplus; in Salt Lake City they generated a \$100 million surplus” (Fong, 2002, p. A2). Bid proponents even suggested that hosting the Games was as a way to replicate the economic ‘success’ of hosting Expo’86⁸. Economic benefits included jobs, investments, revenues, and increased tourism throughout the province. An editorial written by Jack Poole cited an economic impact study commissioned by the

⁷ ‘Have not’ refers to those provinces that receive equalization payments from the Canadian federal government.

⁸ Expo’86 refers to the 1986 World Exposition on Transportation and Communication held in British Columbia in 1986.

province which claimed that the Games were projected to generate billions of dollars in publicity, \$250 million in profit, and \$2.5 billion in tax revenues from visitor spending (Poole, 2002 p. A13). Additional revenue was expected to come from ticket sales, sponsorship, and television rights. Bid proponents such as Councillor Kiichi Kumagai stated that the Games “will bring a new economic viability to our city. There are a lot of spinoffs, not only to us but the region” (Krangle, 2002, p. B4). The 2010 Olympic Games was therefore expected to be a ‘shot in the arm’ and a ‘money making engine’ for British Columbia’s floundering economy.

Also featured prominently in the discussion of economic legacies was the likelihood of increased economic growth and activity. Revenues dominated the discussion of economic legacies in the print media in the early stages of the bid, however, in 2002; the focus shifted to more broad-based economic consequences such as ‘economic activity’ and ‘economic impact’. Frame sponsors such as members of the Bid Corporation and political elites used a wide range of estimates when discussing the Games’ economic impact in the print media. For example, when commenting on the soon-to-be released provincial study, Premier Gordon Campbell stated that “the Games’ total economic impact would be more than \$2.8 billion” (Barrett, 2002, p. B1), whereas, Jack Poole claimed that the Games would provide a catalyst for \$10 billion (CAD) worth of economic activity. He even went so far as to describe the estimates documented in the study as “recklessly conservative” (Palmer, 2002, p. A22).

Wide-ranging assertions of projected economic activity were also used to justify the costs of the Games. As early as 1998, Vancouver Mayor, Phillip Owen, assured the public that “the Games won’t cost taxpayers money” (Culbert, 1998, p. A1). Similar claims became more prominent in 2002 as Premier Gordon Campbell used catchphrases such as the Games

would ‘pay for themselves’ or that they would be ‘self-supporting’. One reporter stated that when the Premier was pressed to define the term ‘self-supporting’, he often shifted to talking about the legacies that the Games would provide for the province and neglected to offer an explanation (Palmer, 2001, A14).

In the later stages of the bid, Premier Campbell and other high ranking members of the Liberal government in British Columbia seemed to veer away from discussing the ‘costs’ of hosting the Games, and instead began referring to these costs as ‘investments’. Campbell was quoted as saying that British Columbia “can’t afford not to do it [the bid], I know the reasoning, having heard it before: you have to spend money to make money” (McMartin, 2002. p. B1). Members of the Bid Corporation also shared the Premier’s view and often emphasized that the Games’ costs (which were to be funded by taxes) would be recovered from increased tourism, economic growth, and jobs that would be generated from hosting the 2010 Games.

The issue of jobs came to the forefront of discussions on the Olympic bid in 2002. The 2010 Games was expected to generate between 39,000 to 67,000 new jobs for the province, however, with the release of the provincial economic impact study in 2002 the figure rose significantly to 244,000 ‘jobs’. This wide variance in figures can be attributed to the fact that the estimates documented in the study actually refer to ‘person years’⁹ of employment rather than new jobs. By using ‘person years’ of employment and ‘jobs’ interchangeably, frame sponsors were able to employ more impressive figures when estimating the Games’ effect on employment. As the plebiscite drew closer, frame sponsors shifted from quoting figures in terms of the ‘number of new jobs’ to the projected number of

⁹ A person year of employment is one year of work. A job is interpreted as employment lasting 7 person years.

‘person years’ of employment. More importantly, the figure of 244,000 person years of employment which appeared in the economic impact study took into consideration the employment impact of the Vancouver Convention Centre. In one of his editorials, Jack Poole stated that “to call these investments [capital projects] a cost of the Olympics is simply erroneous and misleading” (Poole, 2002, p. A13). This is noteworthy as he did not view the upgraded Convention Centre as a cost to the Games (nor was it a part of the bid), yet he incorporated the estimated person years of employment generated by the facility into the economic legacies of the Games.

Bid proponents seemed to continually shift their notions of the economic impact of the Games based on their agendas and the state of the economy. For example, in the early stages of the bid, figures were often presented in the media in terms of potential revenues. Using revenue rather than profit (or net income) not only took the focus away from the costs of the Games but allowed bid proponents to use more grandiose estimates. Prior to the release of the economic impact study, however, the topic of revenues was abandoned in favour of more broad-based economic consequences, again allowing for the use of larger dollar amounts. Over half of the projected \$10 billion dollar impact of the Games stemmed from the Vancouver Convention Centre – a project not associated with the bid. Using ambitious figures was not the only means of putting a positive spin on the economic impact of the Games, proponents seemed to co-opt talk of the costs of the Games by instead referring to the costs as investments. In the wake of the upcoming plebiscite, proponents shifted their notion of impact yet again– this time focusing on job creation. Given the poor state of the province’s economy, the promise of jobs that would be sustained well after the Games can be considered an important strategy in mobilizing public support for the bid.

‘Human interest’ Frame

Description of the frame package. This frame can be considered a generic frame relating to ‘human impact’ issues (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Semetko and Valkenberg (2000), the use of a human interest frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (p. 95). This frame highlighted the benefits that British Columbians could potentially receive if Vancouver’s bid was successful. These benefits included various programs and initiatives for sport development, arts, culture, and overall community-building. The problem or issue presented in this frame was that people in Vancouver (and British Columbia as a whole) did not have adequate access to programs and initiatives due to a lack of funding. The prospect of lasting benefits for communities and in particular the children of the province was used to appeal to the principles of British Columbians; they were also urged to focus on the needs of the province’s children rather than the cost of Games. This frame package promoted a particular recommendation for the audience in that the Games would generate surplus funds which would in turn be used to provide much-needed programs for the province’s youth. According to Jack Poole, the Games were not about money; he stated that “this is about legacies...this is about culture and this is about young people” (Krangle, 2002, B4).

Discussion. This frame became prominent in the months leading up to the plebiscite in February of 2003. During this period, print media paid special attention to the work of the 2010 Legacies Now Society. This organization had a mandate to build a strong and lasting sport system for the province, capitalize on additional opportunities such as arts, culture, and literacy, and build support for Vancouver’s bid (Kidd, 2011). The 2010 Legacies Now Society evolved out of the ‘2010 LegaciesNow’ program which was established in 2000 to

leverage the 2010 Olympic Games for sport legacies regardless of whether or not the international bid was successful. The organization made funding available to young athletes which was used to pay for travel expenses, coaching, and other associated training costs.

As the plebiscite drew close many athletes— both young and retired— were featured in news stories; these athletes essentially functioned as exemplars. Articles featuring younger athletes such as luger Aaron Christensen, rugby-player Jen Harvey, and skater Shaelagh McNeil showcased the benefits which flowed to the province’s athletes even before the international bid was won. The father of then-15 year old luger, Aaron Christensen, was quoted as saying “I didn’t know until I became involved with sports at this level how much it would cost to get them to a world class level” (Ward & Fong, 2002, A1). Former Olympic wrestler Greg Edgelow was featured in *The Vancouver Sun* just five weeks prior to the plebiscite and was quoted as saying: "The true value of the Olympics is not always about dollars and cents; it's about the opportunities it creates for our youth. It creates hopes and dreams. It created a hope and dream, and opportunities for me” (Mackie, 2003, A4). Edgelow’s passionate recounting of the effect of the Games fit well with the bid proponents’ narrative at the time, which was, the pursuit of the Games was purely for the good of the young people in the province.

The media portrayed the Games as a chance to develop not only sport development programs in the province but also community-based culture and arts programs. Bid proponents promised that any surplus generated by the Games would be spent on sport and cultural activities. At the time of the plebiscite the bid had already triggered an endowment from the provincial government of \$20 million (CAD) for an Olympic Arts Fund. Proceeds were expected to flow to the arts and cultural communities to support their participation as

the city prepared for the 2010 Games. By highlighting the contributions of the legacy organization to young athletes' development and overall community-building, bid proponents were able to emphasize the 'appeal to principle' of this frame, that is, the main goal of the Games was to provide lasting benefits to the young people in the province.

It is interesting to note that in the months prior to the plebiscite the focus of the frame sponsors seemed to shift away from framing the bid in terms of economic and infrastructural legacies and moved toward 'selling' the potential social or 'community legacies' of hosting (see Figure 1). In an editorial written two weeks before the vote, Jack Poole stated that:

This vote has very little to do with money. The cost of staging the event is covered by revenues produced by the private sector -- television rights, sponsorships, ticket sales, licensing, special promotions, etc. The taxpayers of Vancouver have no exposure whatsoever. The taxpayers of Canada and B.C. will be investing in much needed sports facilities: ice rinks, curling rinks, community centres and cross-country facilities that will enable this generation of youth to engage in winter sports and lead healthier, more active lives. (Poole, 2003, A11)

Poole's argument hinged on the belief that the Games would increase sport participation, which would in turn reduce instances of childhood obesity and sedentary lifestyles. By establishing this link he was able to construct an argument which implied that one of the Games' legacies would be a healthier population. Healthcare is often seen as an opportunity cost of hosting the Games; however, bid proponents were touting the Olympics as a proactive approach to combating childhood obesity and improving the overall health and well-being of British Columbians. Kevin Wamsley, Director of the International Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario, stated that "Olympic bids typically attract

critics who ask whether the money committed to the Games wouldn't be better spent on homeless people, education or health care” (Barrett, 2002 A3). This is ironic considering that one journalist commented that the bid “was being put forward at a time when British Columbia is in the deepest debt and biggest deficit in history” (McCroory, 2003, A19). The journalist went on to state that the budget deficit was used as an excuse to strip British Columbians of essential services, which included the loss of hospitals, emergency services, and seniors’ care homes.

At the time of the plebiscite, the media and frame sponsors provided an emotional angle to their discussion of the bid. By linking a vote in favour of the Games to long lasting benefits for the province and its youth, bid proponents may have been engaging in an attempt to not only “capture and retain audience interest” (Semetko & Valkenberg, 2000, p. 96) but to evoke an emotional response from the public thereby rallying support for the Olympic bid. Mere weeks before the plebiscite, John Furlong, a father of five and Chief Operating Officer of the Bid Corporation stated that:

Unless you have kids. For the hundreds of millions of dollars that would be spent on the Games, their true value lies in something on which you can't put a price. It is the dream. It is the magic. It is the incandescent moments of triumph and defeat which are, by definition, the Olympics. Now we have a chance to bring these things to our city and show them to our young people. That is a rare and priceless opportunity. This is, ultimately, for our children (Inwood, 2003, A45).

Although it was crucial to build support for the bid throughout the international bid phase, the arguments used to do so at time of the vote were markedly different. Charmaine Crooks, a director of the Bid Corporation stated that “we've got great corporate support. We've got

government support, but we need the support of the cultural community, youth – and we've got a great program for them. But we need everybody in the community behind it to show that we can put on a great Games because we've already shown that we understand the needs of the Olympic movement and we have all the macro stuff in place” (Bramham, 2002, B1).

Conclusion and Implications

The data analysis revealed three frame packages, each providing a particular viewpoint of how Olympic legacy was presented and strategically used by bid proponents. In the bid's early stages, the legacies of previous hosts were used not only to justify participation in the Olympic bid but also to gain approval and funding for three major capital projects. Frame sponsors claimed that the bid was likely to be unsuccessful in international competition due to the poor state of Vancouver's transportation infrastructure and limited size of the city's Convention Centre. A comparison can be drawn here to the work of Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter (2003) who found that promoters of multi-billion dollar infrastructure projects systematically overstated the projects' benefits (and importance) to governments and the general public in order to win approval (cf. Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). When approval and funding were eventually secured for these projects, frame sponsors veered away from the use of this issue-specific frame to more generic frames, specifically those relating to 'economic consequences' and 'human interest'. At this time, the frame sponsors' main aim seemed to be gaining public support for the bid itself rather than promoting specific projects.

In Vancouver, the 'economic impact' frame became salient at a time when British Columbia was facing a substantial budget deficit and coincided with the release of the provincial economic impact study. Since ex-ante economic impact studies often relate to the

objectives of those who commission them (Kasimati, 2003; Crompton, 2006), they prove to be a helpful tool for city officials, political leaders, and bid committee members looking to solicit support for an Olympic bid. Although these studies are sometimes subject to considerable misuse and misinterpretation of the figures presented (Tyrell & Johnston, 2006), they are often used to ‘sell’ the Games to a host community, and as such more likely to be accepted if a surplus is projected (Cashman, 2006).

The timing of the use of the ‘economic impact’ frame is critical, as the frame’s ability to dominate the news discourse at this time was due in large part to the economic hardship being faced in the province. The economic conditions made it possible for bid proponents to offer the Olympic Games and its potential economic legacies as a viable solution for reviving the province’s economy. Sport managers and policy makers who support event hosting may find it worthwhile to employ generic frames when presenting arguments to the general public in support of a bid or event. These frames tend to resonate with audiences as they can be identified across varying issues and are more familiar to the public. Generic frames are therefore useful communication tools for managers seeking to provide context and rally the public’s support for a sport event.

As the plebiscite drew nearer, the ‘economic impact’ frame made way for the use of the ‘human interest’ frame. Bid proponents downplayed the Games being about money and emphasized that the desire to host was mainly about securing social legacies. There was a clear shift from the use of economic justifications to social justifications for the Games which fits with others who have examined public funding for sport-related infrastructure (Sapotichne, 2012; Buist & Mason, 2010). The movement away from tangible economic legacies is consistent with other recent framing studies examining referenda concerned with

the construction of major sports facilities. Buist and Mason (2010) examined a failed referendum to build a domed stadium in Cleveland, Ohio, followed by a later, successful effort to build two new facilities in that same city. They suggested that one of the reasons why the later referendum was successful for facility proponents was because they shifted focus more towards intangible justifications, such as civic status, rather than tangible benefits such as job creation and tax revenues (Buist & Mason, 2010). More specifically, they found in the second referendum that, as the date of the vote neared, the focus shifted heavily toward intangible arguments and coupling tangible and intangible arguments. This was consistent with other academic work that, while not using framing per se, examined referendums involving the construction of sports facilities (Delaney & Eckstein, 2003). Finally, Sapotichne (2012) also examined two referenda to build sports facility in a city – this time in Seattle, Washington. He also found that in a second, successful referendum, proponents emphasized intangible benefits in order to avoid opponents who sought to debunk economic benefits arguments as part of their strategy to prevent the facility from being publicly funded.

Practically speaking, sport managers, city officials, and event organizers may increase the likelihood of a successful referendum by developing arguments similar to those employed in Vancouver. The timing and dominance of these frames may be of particular importance for prospective hosts as it illustrates how frame sponsors are able to frame and reframe the issue for the general public. In the early stages of the bid process, proponents should ascertain the needs of the community and tailor arguments to suit. In the case of Vancouver, projects such as the SkyTrain extension were in the planning stages and not expected to be completed for almost a decade; however, proponents were able to tie these projects to the Olympic bid, thereby accelerating completion. Bid proponents should also be mindful of

changing social, economic, and political conditions during the course of the bid and develop their messages to reflect these changes. For example, if the city (or region) is experiencing economic downturn, framing the bid in terms of positive economic impact may be a more effective strategy. Broadening definitions of economic impact might also allow proponents to make larger, more grandiose claims about the benefits of hosting. In the two to three months prior to a vote, proponents' justification of a large-scale sporting event should be presented in a human interest context. Social legacies are likely to resonate deeply with the general public and make it harder for detractors to refute proponents' claims.

Frames are thought of as the outcome of strategic communication decisions; that is, frame sponsors determine what information to select and to give salience to when crafting their messages (Entman, 1993). In this case, frame sponsors were identified as politicians, sport managers, city officials, and members of both the Bid Society and Bid Corporation. Editorials written by these political elites in Vancouver provided a fruitful source for examining legacy frames. According to Sapotichne (2012), in addition to the source of the argument being easily identified, editorials also allow for the transparency of opinions as "biases generated by the media are generally removed" (p. 171). Although John Furlong was the President and Chief Operating Officer of the Bid Corporation, Jack Poole was considered the "political face of the city's Olympic dreams" (Lee, 2003, B1). As Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Bid Corporation, he took the lead in communicating the various benefits of bidding for and hosting the Games. In addition to being quoted frequently by reporters, he also wrote several editorials in the local newspapers making his case for Vancouver's Olympic bid. It is within these articles that we were able to identify frames which were in turn reproduced by other bid proponents and the media. Our results indicated

that the local print media journalists were more conveyors of these elite-sponsored frames rather than originators, which may reflect the local print media's economic interest in large scale sport events (Horne, 2007; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). The utilization of newspapers' editorial pages by city officials, politicians, and event organizers appeared to be an effective strategy for event proponents in framing the issue of Olympic legacy for the general public.

In order to gain insight into the meaning of legacy in Vancouver and how particular idea elements were linked together into frame packages, a qualitative analysis of media frames was used, as opposed to the more widely used quantitative methods. Applying a modified version of content analysis allowed the researcher(s) to examine the surface structure present in each newspaper article as well as the underlying meaning of the entire text. Since framing analysis is about identifying and analyzing the various components of an interpretive package (rather than merely presenting themes), this method allowed for the breaking down of the frame sponsors' overall position into causes and consequences through the use of signature matrices. This provided for a deeper understanding of how a frame gives context and constructs the meaning of the issue of legacy in a prospective host city.

The analysis and subsequent findings show that the framing of issues and events by journalists does not develop in a political vacuum (Carragee & Roefs, 2004); rather, it is shaped by various social actors which include politicians, city officials, and event organizers. The frames were essentially picked up and amplified through the media; this may be attributed to key players employing media or public relations specialists (Gasmon & Lasch, 1983). Since elite-sponsored frames dominated the bid discourse in Vancouver during the international bid competition, this supports the view that successful sponsoring of frames

tends to favour political elites (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Media frames are therefore useful for examining trends in elite discourse. Results show that frame sponsors tend to define and redefine the issue of legacy depending on changing social, political, and economic conditions as well as their interests at a particular time; in doing so, certain frames gained or lost prominence in the local news media. Examining the salience of the legacy frames over the course of the bid demonstrated how the framing process unfolded in the mass media in a prospective Olympic host city.

In conclusion, Van Gorp (2010) posited that a social issue should be not be represented by a single frame; rather there should be alternatives. Multiple frames not only lead to a more nuanced understanding of the event or issue but it is these alternatives that render framing socially relevant. Since the basic premise of any investigation of frames is the notion that framing has the potential to influence policy through its effect on public, political, or policy discourse. Seeing which frames are advocated and by whom and which ultimately dominate pushes a deeper understanding about power, politics and interests (Creed et al., 2002b). Understanding the interests and frames of the frame sponsors may also provide useful information for advocacy. Although it is widely accepted that hosts must leverage the Olympic Games for legacies in the pre- and post-Games periods, in this case, it appears that it was legacy that was being leveraged by bid proponents in order to secure funds for various capital projects and ultimately for public support of the Olympic bid. Results show how notions of legacy were managed through the print media in Vancouver by supporters of a successful bid.

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CHAPTER 3¹

Conceptualizing Olympic Tourism Legacy: Destination Marketing Organizations and Vancouver 2010

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Introduction

Hosting an Olympic Games² is often viewed by the host city as a tourism and economic stimulator (cf. Boukas, Ziakas, & Boustras, 2013). According to Williams and Elkhatab (2012), while the Olympic Games are not specifically designed as tourism mega-events by the IOC, “they are increasingly being positioned by local proponents as a once in a lifetime opportunity to bolster the host destination’s competitiveness in the global tourism marketplace” (p. 317). Despite the potential for an Olympic Games to displace or discourage tourists due to crowding out and other event-related effects (Agha, Fairley, & Gibson, 2012), it remains a powerful tool for the development of tourism in a host city, region, and country.

The prospective growth of a tourism destination’s products and the anticipated expansion of the tourism industry are key expectations in the overall economic development strategies of Olympic host cities. For example, the New South Wales government claimed that the economic impact of the 2000 Sydney Games would be bolstered by tourist visits to Sydney well into the post-Games period (Toohey, 2008). Following the example of the Australian Tourist Commission,³ destination marketing organizations (DMOs) have begun to leverage mega events for a variety of tourism benefits which are expected to be sustained well beyond the event (cf. Chalip, 2001; Chalip 2002; Chalip 2004). These benefits are often referred to as legacies (Gold & Gold, 2009) and may include improved destination awareness, enhanced city image, and increased visitation (Getz, 1989; Chalip, 2003; Weed, 2008).

Mounting concerns about excessive infrastructure costs and white elephant facilities (MacAloon, 2008) prompted the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to include a 14th

² For the purpose of this study the ‘Olympic Games’ refers to the Summer and/or Winter edition and its corresponding Paralympic events.

³ The Australian Tourist Commission underwent a name change and is now referred to as Tourism Australia.

mission statement in its Charter in 2002. The IOC subsequently amended its Host City Contract to reflect the importance of leaving a positive legacy in the host city. Vancouver, British Columbia, was the first host city to sign this new contract. The IOC (2003) noted that the conceptualization of legacy is constantly in flux as it is not only “affected by a variety of local and global factors” (p.1), but also differences in the perspectives of the IOC and potential hosts. The meaning of legacy is therefore shaped in the context in which the Games are delivered.

Olympic host cities (and regions) are often well-established tourist destinations prior to a bid, examples include Sydney and Barcelona. The city of Vancouver is no exception, as it is consistently ranked and rated as one of the top places in the world to visit and live.⁴ Despite its popularity as tourist destination, bid proponents believed that bidding for and hosting the 2010 Games would result in long lasting benefits for the city and province, especially in the areas of tourism, economic development, and transportation infrastructure (VANOC, 2007). Not surprisingly, Vancouver’s bid for the 2010 Games was championed by the city’s destination marketing organization (DMO) — Tourism Vancouver (Mickleburgh, 2008, p. S1). Given tourism’s role in delivering wider economic legacies to a host city and region (Heinemann, 2003; Essex & Chalkely, 1998; Toohey, 2008; Gratton & Preuss, 2008), tourism legacies feature prominently in proponents’ attempts to legitimize the public expenditure required to bid for and host an Olympic Games. Although the costs associated with bidding for and hosting an Olympic Games can be considered exorbitant relative to its economic impact (Short, 2008), the aim is not to assess the event’s cost-effectiveness.

⁴ Vancouver has been named Condé Nast Traveler’s ‘Best City in the Americas’ in 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012; it has also won Travel Weekly Magazine’s ‘Best Destination in Canada’ every year since the award’s inception in 2003.

Despite the inconsistencies in conceptualizations of legacy in both the academic literature and industry practice (Chappelet, 2006, Preuss 2007a; Gratton & Preuss, 2008); destination marketers continue to be charged with formulating strategies to generate long-term tourism benefits. The purpose of this paper is therefore to examine how destination marketers at the various levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal) conceptualize legacy. In order to do so, we examine the case of Vancouver, host of the XXI Winter Olympic Games. This study is organized around three questions: 1) How do destination marketers perceive tourism legacy?; 2) How do destination marketers' notions of legacy influence the planning process and leveraging strategies used to deliver tourism benefits?; and 3) What do destination marketers consider to be the key tourism legacies generated in the host city, region, and country post-Games?

The results of this study will provide insight into the meaning of tourism legacy in an Olympic city, the planning process for potential tourism benefits, and the scope of integration of these legacies into other event legacies (or lack thereof). DMOs' conceptualizations of tourism legacy may in turn influence the strategies and initiatives implemented to create tourism benefits, a major contributor to the economic legacies of hosting. Effective leveraging strategies may not only generate positive tourism impacts but also mitigate potential negative consequences (Weed, 2009). In practice, the results can also guide future host DMOs to better plan for, manage, and sustain event-related tourism benefits. This chapter proceeds as follows: it begins by presenting a brief examination of tourism legacy and event leveraging. The case study follows in terms of context, methodology, and the results of the data analysis. The final section highlights some implications of the findings for

effectively leveraging the Games for tourism benefits in an Olympic host city, region, and country.

Event Legacy

The concept of legacy is not novel as almost every host city since the Olympic Games were revived in 1896 has had some form of legacy (Cashman, 1998). On the other hand, academic research on the topic is relatively new. Legacy has been conceptualized as all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for, and by, a sport event that remain longer than the event itself, irrespective of time of production and space (Preuss 2007a; Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Thomson, Schlenker, & Schulenkorf (2013) identified five themes across definitions of legacy appearing in the event management, sport management, and urban planning literature between 1991 and 2008. These themes can be used to conceptualize legacy in a particular context: 1) the use of legacy as opposed to another term; 2) legacy as inherited or planned; 3) the temporal nature of legacy; 4) legacy as positive or negative; and 5) legacy as a local or global concept. Although there has been steady growth in research on event legacies (cf. Heinemann, 2003; Preuss, 2007a, 2007b; MacAloon, 2008; Florek, Breitbarth, & Conejo, 2008; Dansero & Puttilli, 2010; Dickson, Benson, Blackman, 2011; Thomson, et al., 2013), “a precise definition with clear parameters appears to be elusive” (Dickson et al., 2011, p. 291). Despite a lack of consensus regarding its meaning and use (Cashman 2006; Preuss, 2007a), legacy continues to play an important role in bidding for, planning, and managing an Olympic Games.

Prior research has explored positive relationships between the Olympic Games and tourism (Getz, 1998; Getz, 1991; Bramwell 1997; Bohlin, 2000; Burton, 2003; de Groot, 2005). Expansion of a host city and region’s tourism industries is expected as a result of increased tourist arrivals at the time of the Games, return trips by Olympic tourists, and

visitations generated by the media coverage of the Olympics. Media coverage is thought to be a key element in enticing potential tourists to visit a host city (Preuss, 2004), as it is likely to generate increased destination awareness and enhancement of destination image. These are considered key tourism legacies as both may lead to significant gains in a destination's market and brand position (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Chalip, 2003; Dansero & Putilli, 2010). The Olympic Games have therefore become part of the global political economy, and potential hosts aggressively compete for hosting rights in an effort to position themselves favourably in the hierarchy of world cities (Shoval, 2002).

According to Ritchie (2000), mega sport events have the potential to transform a city, a community, or an entire country into a major tourism destination. These events may create changes in a host city and region which may be both tangible (new sport facilities and improved transportation networks) and intangible (improved city image and reputation). These changes may in turn foster new developments in tourism that may be related (or unrelated) to sport or events (Dansero & Putilli, 2010). The 2003 Rugby World Cup, for example, capitalized on the sport and transportation infrastructure designed for the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic Games and also benefited from Olympic tourism promotion (Cashman, 2006). Another notable example is that of the 2006 Football World Cup held in Germany. Florek, Brietbarth, and Conejo (2008) found that by hosting the World Cup, Germany was able to improve its overall country image among visiting football fans. This was considered a positive side-effect of hosting for the German tourism industry as a whole, as it was hoped that the improved image would increase sport tourism and other tourism-related activities well after the event concluded. Tourism legacies also include additional employment in the tourism sector (Ritchie, 1984), and reduced seasonal fluctuations in

visitation (Getz, 1997). In Vancouver, hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was viewed as an opportunity to increase visibility in the international media, with the overall goal being to present the region and country as a year-round tourist destination (Burton, 2003; Dansero & Puttilli, 2010; De Moragas & Botella, 1995).

Although Li and Blake (2009) suggested that hosting mega sport events may provide a long-term promotional benefit for the city or region (a key aspect of realising tourism legacies), Ritchie and Smith (1991) found that the awareness of the city of Calgary dramatically increased before and during the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, but was not sustained post-event. They concluded that in order to remain competitive in the international marketplace, destination marketers should not only anticipate a certain rate of awareness decay but also take steps to counter it. Potential increases in Olympic tourism are often exaggerated as economic impact studies fail to account for displaced tourists who opt not to visit the city and region during the Games (Getz, 1998; Smith, 2009). Although increases in international tourist arrivals have been observed in the host cities of Albertville, Lillehammer, and Vancouver, these increases are found to be short-lived (Gruben, Moss, & Moss, 2012). In an effort to sustain the tourism benefits of the Olympic Games well into the post-event period, or rather, to create tourism legacies, DMOs have begun to plan for both long-term⁵ and short-term⁶ outcomes; this is referred to as event leveraging (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007).

Event Leveraging

Hosting an Olympic Games essentially provides a long-term leveraging opportunity in the form of promotion of the host city, region, and country as tourist destinations in ways

⁵ Long-term can be defined as the period that begins with the bidding of the event and ends at some point in the future that is yet to be determined.

⁶ The short-term refers to the period immediately before, during, and after the event.

that can enhance overall market position (Chalip & Leyns, 2002; O'Brien, 2006). Current Olympic tourism leveraging programs are mainly associated with the role of the media in city/nation branding. Television coverage of an Olympic Games increases exposure of the host city, region, and country to a variety of audiences, thereby creating opportunities for a host to maximize this exposure and build its tourism brand (Preuss, 2004).

Leveraging can be defined as “the processes through which the benefits of investments are maximized” (Chalip, 2004, p. 228). Chalip (2001) was one of the first researchers to apply the term ‘leveraging’ to sports events. The leveraging perspective illustrates a shift from “the traditional ex post, impact-driven, outcomes orientation, to a more strategic ex ante, analytical approach” (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007, p. 297). This suggests that event leveraging presents a more proactive, strategic approach to creating event legacies, rather than simply looking back at event outcomes. Merely hosting an Olympic Games is therefore not enough to generate major benefits for the city, region, and country. Sydney, host of the 2000 Summer Olympic Games, is widely recognized as having set the benchmark for leveraging an Olympic Games for tourism benefits. According to Morse (2001), the main objective of the Australian Tourist Commission was to market not only the city of Sydney, but the entire country of Australia internationally as a tourist destination.

Event leveraging involves “the implementation of strategies by stakeholders to maximize the benefits from hosting an event or festival” (O'Brien, 2007, p. 142). The application of leveraging strategies recognizes that the event itself is an “opportunity to implement particular tactics which may foster and nurture the impacts that are desired” (Chalip, 2002, p. 8). Therefore, instead of being considered an intervention, the event is thought to be a resource from which wider benefits can be leveraged (Chalip, 2004). Chalip

(2004) defined leverage initiatives as “those activities which need to be undertaken around the event itself which seek to maximize the long-term benefit from events” (p. 228). These initiatives are considered to be separate from, but related to, the delivery and management of event projects. According to Smith (2013), “if the event is the asset which is being levered then the potential for leverage is greatest with respect to sport mega-events as these are the most significant contemporary events” (p. 4).

Chalip (2004) developed a general model for sport event leverage. According to this model, the host community’s portfolio of events is termed the leverageable resource and there are two opportunities for leveraging events. Firstly, in the immediate or short-term, host communities can leverage ‘event visitors and trade’ with the strategic objective being to optimize total trade and revenue. Secondly, in the longer-term, ‘event media’ can be leveraged with the aim of enhancing the host community’s image. Weed (2008) adapted Chalip’s model to assess the strategies that may be employed to maximize tourism opportunities presented by a single event. The leverageable resource in Weed’s model was an Olympic Games, that is, a specific event, rather than a host’s portfolio of events as highlighted in Chalip’s (2004) general model. According to Weed, hosts have two opportunities for leveraging an Olympic Games: Olympic tourism and Olympic media. The strategic objectives associated with these leveraging opportunities are optimizing Olympic-related tourism and enhancing the image of the Olympic host city destination. The former refers to “immediate strategies to generate tourism business” (Weed, 2008, p. 72), whereas the latter is considered to be a longer term strategy to enhance the destination’s image.

Weed’s (2008) model for Olympic tourism leveraging extended Chalip’s (2004) general model by including a temporal dimension. Weed incorporated an analysis of

leveraging opportunities not only during the Olympic Games, but in the pre- and post-Olympic Games periods. This added to Chalip's (2004) model, as the pre-event period tends to be overlooked in discussions of long-term impacts as the focus tends to be on the 'legacy' of an event, which by definition occurs in the post event period (Solberg & Preuss, 2007). Solberg and Preuss (2007) posited that the pre-event period may generate "considerable activity, which can include tourism effects" (p. 215). Thus, the increased visibility gained from winning an Olympic bid has the potential to boost tourist arrivals in the preparation and pre-Games period. Host cities may therefore reap tourism benefits well in advance of the actual staging of the event. Weed's model also incorporated a geographic dimension which highlighted tourism benefits that could be generated in the host city, as well as the surrounding areas.

The concept of legacy is often thought of as being produced post-event, however, the literature has shown that host communities can take advantage of tourism opportunities from the initial stages of the bid to well after the event (Solberg & Preuss, 2007; Weed, 2008). According to Smith (2013), leverage projects are often cited by event organizers when criticism is forthcoming from the community regarding wasteful spending and a lack of local benefits. Smith suggested this is not so much an indication of problems with the leverage model, but rather the limited way that the model has been adopted thus far. The coordination of various organizations, with diverse interests, activities, and perspectives; limited funding for leverage projects; and the issue of who should design and implement leveraging strategies are some of the main challenges of leveraging an Olympic Games for long-term tourism benefits (Chalip, 2002; Smith, 2009; Smith, 2013). Examining the strategies and initiatives implemented by host DMOs to leverage the Games for tourism legacies in an Olympic host

city, region, and nation will provide insight into how future hosts can plan for, manage, and sustain event-related tourism benefits.

Case Study Context

In 1998, the Canadian Olympic Association selected Vancouver-Whistler to be Canada's candidate for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Vancouver was short-listed by the IOC and became an official candidate city in 2002. At this time, there were approximately five million annual international overnight visitors to the province of British Columbia, with the Greater Vancouver Area being the most popular destination (Tourism British Columbia, 2003). The majority of these tourists visited in the months of May to August, while January to April had substantially lower arrivals. After winning the international bid in 2003, the province's lead DMO— Tourism British Columbia— was given a mandate by the government of British Columbia to utilize the Games to: increase media coverage, grow travel trade and visitor awareness, fill excess tourism capacity, promote the province's tourism products and experiences, and convert increased awareness into tourism revenues and visits (Tourism British Columbia, 2003). These tourism benefits aligned with the view of the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) — the national tourism marketing agency—that the 2010 Games provided “a once in a lifetime opportunity to accelerate global awareness of Canada” (CTC, n.d., p. 1). The Games were seen by destination marketers as an opportunity not only to combat seasonal fluctuations in visitation in the host region, but to further raise the profile of the city and the country in the world tourism market.

In 2005 Tourism British Columbia led the formation of the '2010 Tourism Consortium'- a collaborative partnership of the five host DMOs— the CTC, Tourism British Columbia, Tourism Vancouver, Tourism Whistler and Tourism Richmond— as well as a

variety of local stakeholders such as the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, and the Olympic and Paralympic Games Secretariat. The Consortium developed guidelines as well as a Joint Tourism Olympic Strategy to leverage the Games for positive tourism legacies (Tourism British Columbia, 2008). This document also outlined the areas of cooperation for the Consortium and the formation of ten working groups⁷ to address each area. The CTC worked closely with the Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC) to promote the Winter Olympic Games as ‘Canada’s Games’. As part of the 2010 Tourism Consortium, the five host DMOs developed joint programs and initiatives, however, each DMO had its own mandate for leveraging the Games for tourism benefits.

Method

Given that this study explores how legacy was being defined, conceptualized, and leveraged by destination marketers, the views of senior management of the DMOs themselves were sought out. Thus, a qualitative and interpretative case study approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Creswell, 2006) was employed in order to examine the host DMOs’ conceptualizations of legacy, and in turn, the strategies and initiatives implemented at federal, provincial, and municipal levels⁸ to leverage the 2010 Games for tourism benefits. The underlying basis of a qualitative approach depends on “appreciating how actors construct and interact with their social world” (O’Brien, 2006 p.244). Since the meaning of legacy is created in the context of the city bidding for and hosting an Olympic Games, a single-case

⁷ The ten working groups were: Research and Measurement, Meetings and Conventions, Games-time Events, Community/Regions, Beijing 2008, Visitor Experience, Media Relations, Travel Trade, Consumer Marketing, and Destination Brand Elevation.

⁸ In the Vancouver 2010 context, ‘federal DMO’ refers to the Canadian Tourism Commission, ‘provincial DMO’ refers to Tourism British Columbia, and ‘municipal DMOs’ refer to Tourism Vancouver, Tourism Whistler, and Tourism Richmond.

study approach allowed for a thorough description of the phenomena under study (Sparkes, 1992; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) .

Data Collection

A three-phase process guided the study's design and subsequent analysis of the data. The data were collected from multiple sources in order to increase the reliability and validity of the findings (Yin, 2009). First, a review of the event legacy and event leveraging literature provided the rationale and theoretical framework for the study, as well as the basis for empirical analysis. Secondly, documents were collected which included DMOs' annual reports, leveraging strategy documents, marketing and promotional materials, and tactical reports. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with destination marketers which allowed for more detailed information to be gathered. These interviews provided the opportunity for the interviewer to probe and expand a participant's responses (Weiss, 1994).

Potential participants were identified through elite purposive sampling in an effort to draw knowledge from the most informed actors directly involved in leveraging the Vancouver Games for long-term tourism benefits. Elite interviewing provides a rich and thorough source of data as top executives hold strategic knowledge (King, 1994; Lowe 1981; Weed, 2003). A total of twelve interviews were conducted with members of senior management (Chief Executive Officers, Vice Presidents, and Directors) from Tourism British Columbia,⁹ Tourism Whistler, Tourism Vancouver, Tourism Richmond, and the Canadian Tourism Commission- Canada's destination marketing organization. Interviews took place from March to July 2012, that is, two years post-Games. While the list of interviewees was not extensive, purposive sampling allowed for access to the strategic leadership of all five of

⁹ As of April 1, 2010 Tourism British Columbia is housed in the province's Ministry of Jobs, Tourism, and Skills Training.

the host DMOs. Combined with other data, this provided a rich understanding of how DMOs viewed legacy. Interview questions were guided by themes emanating from the review of the literature on event legacy and event leveraging. An interview guide was used to provide focus for the interview and questions centred on the following areas: 1) participants' understanding of Olympic legacy and leveraging 2) the tourism legacy planning process 3) event leveraging strategies and initiatives 4) tourism legacies in the pre-Games, Games, and post-Games periods and 5) challenges and lessons learned from leveraging the 2010 Winter Games for tourism benefits. All interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

Data Analysis

An interpretive method of qualitative content analysis was employed to analyze the data. This method of analysis can be defined as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002, p. 453). Specifically, a directed version of qualitative content analysis was used, whereby initial coding began with a theory and/or relevant researching findings, followed by the researcher allowing for themes and categories to emerge from the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). According to Denis, Lamothe, and Langley (2001), a partly deductive (theory inspired) and partly inductive (data inspired) approach can be useful as it gives the researcher the opportunity to gain insight from the data without reinventing concepts that have been previously used.

The qualitative content analysis process was adapted from guidelines provided by Mayring (2000) and Zhang & Wildemuth (2009). It began by defining the unit of analysis. Since “the instance of a theme might be expressed in a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a

paragraph, or an entire document” (Zhang & Wildemuth, p.3), using a theme as a coding unit not only allowed us to uncover the expression of an idea but it facilitated the assignments of codes to text of any size. An initial set of coding categories was developed from the examination of previous studies on event and tourism legacy and existing leveraging models. The themes identified in the study by Thomson et al. (2013) were used to determine how legacy was conceptualized by tourism executives in the host city and country as a whole.

Chalip’s (2004) and Weed’s (2008) leveraging models were also used as a foundation to explore the data for themes relating to leveraging. These included: opportunities for leverage; strategic objectives; leveraging initiatives; and temporal dimensions. The use of themes developed in previous studies has the advantage of supporting the accumulation and comparison of research finding across multiple studies. The coding scheme was then tested on a sample of text. Coding the data followed. During this process new data continued to be collected, therefore new themes that emerged were continually added to our coding scheme. For example, when examining interview data regarding the challenges and lessons learned from leveraging the 2010 Games for tourism benefits, several inductive codes emerged. These included: collaboration; partner-engagement; and funding.

In order to organize the data analysis, codes were grouped into clusters to determine the basic or lowest order themes derived from the textual data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The basic themes were then grouped into ‘organizing themes’ which summarized the lower-order themes. The ‘global themes’ were then derived by grouping the organizing themes (see Table 2). Global themes function as a summary of the main themes and reveal the researcher’s interpretation of the texts. Finally, the data analysis was supported by the use of *NVivo10*.

This qualitative software package was then used to conduct text queries in order to cross-check certain aspects of the manual coding process.

Findings and Discussion

The following section describes destination marketers' perspectives on tourism legacy. The themes that emerged from our data analysis are summarized in Table 2. We discuss the role of prospective legacies in DMOs' decision to champion the 2010 Olympic bid, destination marketers' categorization of tourism benefits based on tangibility, the collaborative planning process, and the various challenges involved in sustaining tourism legacies in the post-Games period.

The Legacy Imperative

The legacies attributed to former Olympic hosts such as Barcelona and Sydney appeared to be a significant motivator for DMOs' support of the Olympic bid. Barcelona's Olympic legacy of new and improved tourism and transportation infrastructure established the city as a popular cultural and convention destination. Commenting on the state of the tourism industry at the time of the bid, Participant 11 indicated that "Vancouver was being severely out-gunned in all of its major markets relative to other destinations. Hosting would provide an unwarranted level of publicity and improved infrastructure—legacies that could last well after the Games were over".

Destination marketers also attributed the success of the Olympic referendum¹⁰ to potential legacies. Participant 10 stated that "some of the legacies being touted at the time were economic generation, building the tourism industry, and some of the infrastructure. I imagine all those things swayed the voters". Of the twelve participants, all indicated that

¹⁰ A vote held on February 22, 2003 which asked Vancouver residents whether or not they supported the city's bid to host the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The final result was 64% in favour of hosting and 36% against.

Table 2
Summary of emergent themes

Codes	Basic Themes	Organizing Themes	Global Themes
Transport Infrastructure Sport venues Capacity	Hosting promotes development of infrastructure Growth of products and services	Accelerate industry development	Legacy imperative
Destination awareness Brand position Revenue Employment	Increased awareness of Australia and Sydney Expansion of convention tourism in Barcelona	Replicate legacies of previous hosts	
Seasonal fluctuations Market share Global marketplace	New destinations eroding market share Games a platform to refresh Canada's brand	Mitigate competition	
Destination image Brand equity Destination profile Hosting skills	Skills, knowledge, and experience are important for hosting future events Image and profile are difficult to measure	Legacies can be intangible or soft	Tangibility of outcomes
Convention Centre Highway Rapid Transit Programs Initiatives	Programs and initiatives provide long-term benefits Infrastructure enhances tourist experience in the long-term	Legacies can be long-lasting, permanent	
Partner-engagement Collaboration Relationship building	Partnerships are critical to leveraging activities amongst host DMOs Present host DMOs as one-voice	Formalized collaboration necessary	Collaborative planning process
Resources Objectives Leveraging initiatives Planning Working groups	Need to pool DMO resources Varying mandates	Mobilization of DMOs across Canada	
Economy Disease	Economic crises affect travel Travel impacted by disease outbreaks	Unpredictability of the world market	Challenges of delivering legacy
Media exposure Interest Conversion Funding Support	'Halo' around Canada during Games One-time investment by federal government	Interest and funding wane post-Games	

Table 2. This table summarizes the development of global themes.

tourism legacies were considered to be positive outcomes from the hosting of a mega event. For example, Participant 6 stated that “legacy is about leaving something behind that is positive, there’s not much negative, if at all, the Games could only accelerate development of our industry”. In addition to an inherently positive connotation of legacy, destination marketers also described tourism outcomes in terms of its temporal nature or time of production (see Table 3). Tourism legacy was thought to be produced in the short to medium and long-term. Participants therefore identified a variety of tourism benefits that could be generated in the years preceding the event as well as after the event was concluded.

After Vancouver won the Olympic bid, the host DMOs developed several strategy documents. For example, the province of British Columbia and its tourism industry developed a ten year strategic framework (2005-2015) which identified the 2010 Games as a key catalyst to double tourism revenue to \$18 billion in 2015 (Tourism British Columbia, 2003). The media exposure associated with the Games was expected to produce quantifiable impacts in the form of increased visitation, employment, and revenue in the region. Other notable outcomes would be the improvement in tourism infrastructure and enhancement of the region’s image and profile (see Table 3). As the national marketing organization, the CTC developed a 2008-2012 Olympic Games Tourism Strategy for the entire country. The organization was given a mandate by the federal government to use the Games as a platform to market Canada as a desirable tourist destination, with the ultimate goal being the growth of Canada’s tourism revenues (CTC, n.d., p. 9). In the short-term, the CTC focused on promoting the 2010 Games as ‘Canada’s Games’ and working with its partners to build a new tourism brand-personality for Canada. These objectives were expected to generate lasting positive effects for the country’s tourism sector.

Table 3
Host DMOs' anticipated tourism outcomes and time of production

Destination Marketing Organization	Short-medium term outcomes	Long-term outcomes
National	Brand-building Media relations Build alliances with partners Promote 'Canada's Games'	Increased destination awareness Increased brand awareness Increased brand equity Enhanced destination profile Enhanced destination image Collaboration with partners
Provincial/Municipal	Increased visitation Increased visitor spending Increased length of visit Increased employment	Increased destination awareness Increased destination profile Enhanced destination image Sport infrastructure Transportation infrastructure Knowledge, skills, and experience Collaboration with partners Increased volunteer base

Note: Compiled from interview data; CTC, n.d.; CTC, 2010; Tourism British Columbia, 2008; Tourism Richmond, 2007; Tourism Vancouver, n.d.

Tangibility of Tourism Legacies

The data indicated that destination marketers at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels were hesitant to define tourism legacy, but preferred to categorize outcomes based on tangibility. For example, when asked to define the term legacy, Participant 11 attempted to describe it by saying:

Legacy is hard to define; I could probably best describe it in what I would consider to be the legacies from the Games themselves. Some of it is physical like the Convention Centre; it inevitably would have been built but the project was accelerated; the Sea-to-Sky Highway and the Canada Line- again projects that were accelerated. Overall, now we have fantastic infrastructure in the city that is generating

benefits for tourism industry and of course we couldn't pay for the exposure that we got from the Games.

Destination marketers' views of the tangibility of outcomes seemed to vary depending on the type of DMO (national, provincial, or municipal). For example, national destination marketers identified tangible, long-term tourism legacies as increased awareness of Canada as a destination, improved brand position, brand equity, brand awareness, and increased overall profile of the country. However, participants at the provincial and municipal levels viewed destination and brand awareness as intangible outcomes. Participant 7 believed that "a soft legacy could be brand awareness which is somewhat more intangible; a hard legacy would be physical infrastructure". Destination marketers at all levels also highlighted the knowledge, skills, and experience developed as a result of hosting the 2010 Games as significant intangible tourism legacies. For example, Participant 9 stated that "we have a number of people trained on the WorldHost¹¹ program and we have a volunteer base that now has experience in hosting one of the most complex events that a destination can stage".

Provincial and municipal destination marketers emphasized the importance of new and improved infrastructure as long-term, permanent, tangible legacies which would improve the tourism product and experience in the region. Participant 10 indicated that "tourism is a complex ecosystem, you need to have the product, the brand, and the transportation infrastructure to sell, if people can't get here then they can't experience the destination regardless of how good the brand or experience is". Key capital projects identified included the Sea-to-Sky Highway,¹² the extension of the SkyTrain system (rapid transit line), the

¹¹ WorldHost offers customer service training for tourism and hospitality professionals. It was launched in British Columbia, Canada as the SuperHost program in 1985 offering service training for EXPO '86.

¹² The Sea-to-Sky Highway connects the Greater Vancouver Area to the Resort Municipality of Whistler.

Vancouver Convention Centre, Whistler Olympic Plaza, and Whistler Sliding Centre; all created in the pre-event period and expected to be sustained well beyond the event.

It is interesting to note that the provincial and municipal destination marketers considered the Vancouver Convention Centre, the SkyTrain (rapid transit link), and the Sea-to-Sky Highway major legacies of hosting, despite being projects which were already in development and independent of the 2010 Games. These projects were merely accelerated when Vancouver won hosting rights in 2003. The tourism industry in the region expected to benefit from improved transportation networks, improvements to the Vancouver International Airport, as well as the various sport facilities built for the Games. These sport facilities were expected to attract sport tourists for years after the event.

The diverse outlook on the tourism outcomes highlights that there was some disagreement amongst DMOs regarding the tangibility of key tourism legacies. Tourism legacies were conceptualized differently depending on the type of DMO (see Figure 2) and the strategies and objectives in turn reflected each organization's mandates and desired legacies. For example, in keeping with the CTC's mission to market Canada to the world, its main interest was refreshing Canada's image and enhancing Canada's destination profile—outcomes its marketers considered to be tangible, but the literature highlights as intangible. The national DMO placed greater emphasis on intangible, longer term legacies which capitalized on Olympic media coverage, while the provincial and municipal DMOs focused on tangible, short to medium term outcomes such as increased visitation and length of visit. Tourism British Columbia, for example, was mandated by the provincial government to increase tourism revenues in the province; this may explain why destination marketers in the

region highlighted the importance of various longer-term legacies but planned for and focused on short-medium term outcomes.

Figure 2
Host DMOs' perspectives on Olympic tourism legacy

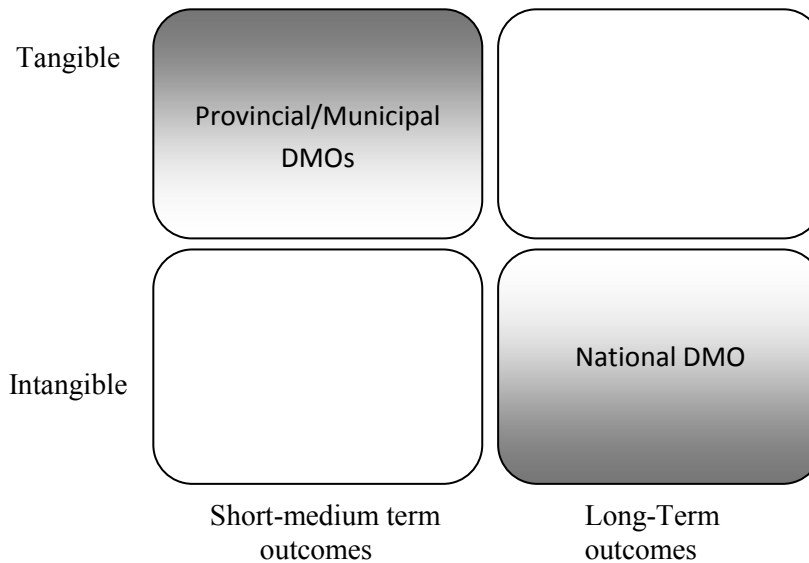


Figure 2. This figure illustrates host DMOs' differing perspectives on tangibility and time of production of tourism legacies.

Collaborative Planning Process

The desire to plan for and ultimately generate long-term tourism legacies (and by extension economic legacies) fostered DMOs' interest in event leveraging. Legacy planning and event leveraging appeared to be synonymous, as participants indicated that event leveraging was merely a means of obtaining benefits from hosting an event. Strategies and initiatives were implemented to maximize the opportunities presented by bidding for and hosting the 2010 Winter Games. The Canadian federal government provided the CTC with one-time funding of \$26 million (CAD) to support the implementation of a marketing strategy for Canada using the Games as a platform (CTC, n.d., p. 9). The Canadian federal government considered the CTC's tourism strategy— Leveraging Canada's Games: 2008-

2012 Olympic Games Strategy— one of the key documents related to the hosting of the Games. This document referred to legacy as a “new way of doing business for the Canadian tourism industry” (CTC, n.d., p. 17). The objectives of the five host DMOs included, but were not limited to: increased destination awareness; enhancement of destination image; increasing visitation in the pre-Games and post-Games periods; and increased visitor spending (Tourism British Columbia, 2008; Tourism Richmond, 2007; Tourism Vancouver, n.d.; CTC, n.d.).

As the national DMO, the CTC used Canada’s leveraging strategy as a guide for working with its partners to market the country as a desirable tourism destination. The strategy objectives highlighted included building a new tourism brand personality for Canada, ensuring lasting positive effect for the tourism sector, and promoting the 2010 Games as ‘Canada’s Games’. The CTC employed a three-phase approach to leveraging the Games for tourism benefits. This strategic approach involved the implementation of programs and initiatives in the pre-Games period, immediately before and during the Games, and the post-Games period. Phase one or the pre-Games period focused on ‘brand-building’ from January 2008 to September 2009, phase two emphasized media relations from October 2009 to April 2010, and phase three or the post-Games period was meant to ‘harvest the afterglow’— a culmination of the positive effects built up from phases one and two. In the post-Games period the CTC expected that a refreshed brand and greater media exposure would lead to increased conversion; that is, the heightened awareness and interest in Canada as a destination would lead to the purchase of new products offered by the various provinces. The three-phase approach recognized that there were opportunities for generating tourism benefits at various stages of hosting. The ‘period of event leverage’ (Chalip, 2006), as it

related to the 2010 context, is considered to be prior to and during the Games, with the goal of producing positive outcomes in the post-event period. Since the federal government's one-time funding of \$26 million (CAD) was expected to be utilized over five years, the end-point for Canada's tourism leveraging strategy was March 31, 2012, two years post-Games and the time of our data collection.

Implementing the national Olympic Tourism Strategy required the collaboration of DMOs at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels. For example, in the years prior to hosting, the provincial and municipal DMOs outside British Columbia were key partners in the building of Canada's new brand- *Canada Keep Exploring*. Participant 5 stated that "to really develop and activate legacy we needed the engagement of all partners; there had to be cooperation among the destination marketers in Canada". DMOs throughout Canada were particularly important to the National Asset Development Program which was a pan-Canadian collaboration and investment in the collection of digital assets on Canada and all its provinces and territories. The contribution of the provinces' DMOs included a total of 3200 digital images, 900 b-roll video clips,¹³ and 600 travel story ideas (CTC, 2012) which were collected during phase one of the Olympic tourism strategy. The video clips and images would be critical to phase two, as they would be made available to the international media in the five months prior to the Games as well as during the event. The importance of these digital assets was highlighted by Participant 7 who stated that "these assets were critical when we were telling stories in the media, it wasn't just about British Columbia; it was around all of Canada".

¹³ B-roll video clips are secondary footage used to add interest or meaning to a news story or marketing video.

The 2010 Tourism Consortium formalized the level of collaboration amongst the various DMOs in Canada. Explaining the development of the consortium, Participant 9 stated that:

The CTC, Tourism British Columbia, Tourism Vancouver, and Tourism Whistler, were all on parallel paths developing Olympic strategies. The province of British Columbia had a Secretariat that called a meeting of the various tourism entities with the intent of developing a program which revolved around the three months prior to the Games and during the Games. From there we recognized that if we as tourism industry didn't take the reins ourselves it might have been dictated by Government and we didn't want to be usurped by Government on any particular plan. We recognized that the Government was looking short-term and we were looking long-term. We had to be one voice.

Collaboration was therefore a key feature in the planning for and implementation of programs and initiatives to leverage the 2010 Games in Canada. The decision to 'separate' from the Government of British Columbia and work together using a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) allowed the DMOs to coordinate their activities so that they could not only leverage the Games for tourism benefits but "leverage resources from each of the tourism organizations" (Participant 12). Although the IOC awards an Olympic Games to a host city, the 2010 context illustrates that the country, provinces, and territories presented themselves as one entity to VANOC, sponsors, and the media. This was done in an effort to reduce duplication of efforts and create benefits for the tourism industry as a whole.

Challenges of Delivering Legacy

The final report of the Olympic Games Impact (OGI) series (conducted three years after the Games) interpreted tourism indicator data over the entire twelve year reporting period, from 2001-2013. The report concluded that being an event region had “little to no effect on the number of overnight tourists during the event year” (OGI-UBC, 2013, p. 56) nor did the region “appear to have an Olympic Host Advantage in how much visitors spent” (p. 59). The report also indicated an increase in the number of meetings and conventions held in Vancouver; however, it was unclear whether this increase was “due to the Games (making Vancouver a more attractive location for hosting international events) or due to a greater capacity to host international events with the completed expansion of the Convention Centre” (p. 61) - a development separate from the event. Thus, although the main impetus for hosting the 2010 Games was considered to be a legacy of increased destination awareness of the host city, region, and country (Tourism British Columbia, 2003; Tourism British Columbia, 2008; CTC, n.d.), the awareness achieved in 2009 and 2010 was not sustained in the two years post-event.

There was consensus among all participants that the brand-building phase of the CTC’s Olympic Tourism Strategy coupled with ‘successful’ hosting of the Games increased awareness and value of Canada’s refreshed and repositioned brand. Furthermore, Canada was ranked number one on FutureBrand’s Country Brand Index¹⁴ in 2010. Although there is evidence of improvement in Canada’s brand equity, destination marketers commented that awareness and interest in Canada as a destination was not sustained. Participant 5 believed “there was a big lift in 2010 following the Games, awareness and interest went up and

¹⁴ FutureBrand is a global brand and innovation consultancy firm, its Country Brand Index (CBI) is an annual study that examines and ranks country brands. Canada was ranked 12th in 2006, 8th in 2008, and 2nd in 2009.

visitations were good; however, it [visitations] didn't keep up at that pace". Participant 8 stated that "in 2009 and 2010 there was a kind of halo around Canada so our tourism marketing was able to penetrate much deeper and convert more people to visit, but in 2011 it dropped back down to normal levels".

In the CTC's 2010 Interim Report on Canada's Olympic Games Strategy, long-term outcomes were highlighted which included increased interest in visiting Canada, continued growth of tourism export revenues, and increased number of high-yield visitors to Canada (CTC, 2010, p. 7). It is interesting to note that the data showed that several of the programs and initiatives which were implemented to create long-term impacts were indicated as legacies themselves by destination marketers. For example, the National Asset Development Program was conceived as a means to achieving the strategic objective of brand-building, which was in turn expected to generate a legacy of increased awareness. This program was cited by participants as a key legacy of the Games since these digital assets were still being utilized in the years after the Games. Relationship building with tourism partners was also a part of phase one of Canada's Olympic Tourism Strategy; however, the collaboration amongst tourism entities is considered by participants to be a long-term legacy, rather than simply a leveraging activity as indicated in the 2010 Interim Report (CTC, 2010, p. 8). Participant 5 stated that "the legacy for us has been about working together, it has been about cultivating and nurturing relationships that were developed in the course of preparing for the Games. So there are those behaviours and relationships that are probably the longest-lasting legacy".

Destination marketers shared the view that they adequately planned for the creation of legacies; however, despite their collaborative approach the host DMOs encountered several challenges. Participant 2 stated that:

As a DMO it is important to be realistic about the impact of these huge events. Often there are some grand ideas about the effect of the Games; we can't forget that tourism and brand do not live in isolation. The industry faces challenges in the form of the experience and the product itself, transportation, policy issues, terrorism, and reduction in funding; there are things we just can't plan for.

Several participants attributed the lackluster performance of the industry in the post-Games period to the European economic crisis. For example, Participant 4 commented "we had some really good plans and strategies but our markets hit some tough economic times. The question is if we didn't have the Games would visitations have declined even more?"

Destination marketers also highlighted that future hosts should consider that international media quickly moves on to the next big event. Whilst the CTC saw success with the launch of a new, revitalized brand for Canada, the other host DMOs considered the Games not so much an opportunity to increase awareness of the city and region and ultimately tourism revenues, but one of capacity building. Improvements in tourism infrastructure, building of a volunteer base, and increased hosting experience were expected to serve the region in the years to come as long-term legacies of the Games.

Conclusion and Implications

The purpose of this study was to examine how destination marketers in an Olympic host city, region, and country conceptualized tourism legacy. Potential tourism legacies are widely considered the impetus for bidding and hosting an Olympic Games; as such, Vancouver's bid was championed by the city's DMO. Legacy was a central theme of

Vancouver's Olympic bid and featured prominently in the city's tourism strategy documents; however, the data showed that host DMOs neglected to define or clearly articulate the elements which constituted a tourism legacy. The need to justify the public expenditure necessary to bid for and host an Olympic Games, and the funds required to implement leveraging strategies has contributed to the salience of the legacy in Olympic discourse. This fits with Cashman and Horne's (2013) view that legacy is a "political notion through and through, while appearing simple, this makes it attractive" (p.51) to event proponents. Legacy can be considered a taken-for-granted term (Cashman, 2006) which is not properly defined and therefore serves as a point of convergence (Gold & Gold, 2009) for the thinking of groups such as host DMOs which have divergent views and agendas.

DMOs' varied perspectives on tourism legacy have implications not only for the development of joint and individual strategies, but also for the measurement and evaluation of legacies post-Games. In order to plan for legacy creation and delivery, future host DMOs should clearly articulate how legacy fits into their mandate when developing leveraging strategies. By outlining the meaning of legacy in the host context, DMOs can determine the type of legacies they intend to pursue and their time of production; this would assist in identifying potential opportunities for legacy production at various stages of the event.

In the 2010 Games context, tourism legacies were considered to be positive outcomes of bidding and hosting. There was little to no mention of the various negative impacts of hosting such as over-crowding, Games-time aversion (tourists avoidance of the city and region during the Olympic year), and tourism displacement or crowding-out (Matheson, 2002; Solberg & Preuss, 2007). The emphasis on positive impacts and downplaying or avoidance of negative impacts of hosting an Olympic Games can result in unrealistic

expectations in the host city, region, and country. Future host DMOs should consider incorporating potential negative consequences into their leveraging models. According to Weed (2009), applying the leveraging concept to “mitigate as well as leverage” (p. 624) may offer a more proactive approach to capitalizing on the opportunities created by hosting large scale sport tourism events. Therefore, developing leveraging strategies which generate positive impacts and simultaneously mitigate negative outcomes may offer the greatest chance for tourism benefits to outweigh the various economic, social, and environmental costs of hosting. Gratton and Preuss (2008) argued that legacies should be regarded as those benefits that are planned and unplanned, tangible and intangible, and negative as well as positive. It must also be noted that what can be considered positive legacies for one group of stakeholders, can be considered negative for another. Consider for example the influx of tourists during Games-time. Although increased visitation in the short-term is considered a benefit to the tourism industry in the host city and region, it may result in increased crime and traffic congestion (Haxton, 2000; Lenskyj, 2000), thereby, negatively impacting residents.

The data analysis suggested that host DMOs considered legacy planning and event leveraging to be synonymous. Leveraging in 2010 context was conceptualized as a means toward legacy creation. Chalip and Heere (2014), however, asserted that event leverage is grounded in a logic that distinguishes it from legacy planning, as the IOC’s discourse on legacy focuses on event organization. They suggested that although organizing committees matter when it comes to leveraging strategies, models of strategic leverage do not put the onus on said committees. Weed, Stephens, and Bull (2011), suggested that the award of an Olympic Games may act as an ‘exogenous shock’ to the tourism policy system. This shock

may temporarily (or permanently) strengthen the policy community leading to greater collaboration, however, considering that legacy is a contested term with varied conceptualizations among destination marketers, leveraging the Games for tourism benefits may “generate a conundrum rather than a formula for action, planning, or policy making” (Tomlinson, 2014, p. 150). The question then remains who should be responsible for the planning, delivery, and management of tourism legacies? Since a mega event is a 'flash in history' (Solberg & Preuss, 2007), it follows that effects on visitor spending, branding, and awareness would likely be in the short-term. Therefore, effective leverage requires strategizing beyond any single event to achieve long-term tourism benefits. Rather than incorporating a portfolio of events in its national tourism leveraging strategy, host DMOs viewed the Games as the leverageable resource. Future host DMOs may consider incorporating a portfolio of events when developing joint and individual leveraging strategies and providing an array of products and services that the host destination and region can offer (Chalip & Heere, 2014).

In conclusion, the data analysis and subsequent findings show that although legacy continues to be widely used by academics, media, organizing committees, and destination marketers alike, a definition is still elusive. The meaning of legacy is considered to be shaped in the context in which the Games are delivered. DMOs' conceptualizations of legacy vary depending on their mandates, as well as the particular needs and aspirations of their destination. In the case of Vancouver, hosting the 2010 Games resulted in accelerated improvements to the Sea-to-Sky Highway, the SkyTrain system, as well as the construction of various sports facilities. From a destination marketing perspective, these legacies lead to a strengthened tourism product and destination brand. The study also highlights the importance

of a collaborative approach in developing leveraging strategies for the host city, region, and country. The development of the 2010 Tourism Consortium allowed the host DMOs to pool resources as well as engage with VANOC, sponsors, and media as a single entity. This study also illustrates that although DMOs engaged in leveraging activities to produce long-term tourism benefits, participants indicated that key legacies were the increased level of collaboration among DMOs in Canada and the development of programs and initiatives, rather than the long-term outcomes of increased destination awareness and enhanced image of Canada and the host region. This would suggest that bid cities and regions would only benefit from this collaboration in the long-term by hosting an ongoing portfolio of events.

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CHAPTER 4

Leveraging the Olympic Games for Tourism Legacies: An Assessment and Review of Empirical Research

Introduction

Mega sport events are considered catalysts for social and economic development (Smith, 2014; Misener & Mason, 2006; Hiller, 1998; Crompton, 1995), and hosting has become an increasingly important policy objective for governments (Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2005; Cashman & Horne, 2013). Despite the growing costs of bidding for and staging these events, cities (and nation states) continue to aggressively compete for hosting rights (Matheson & Baade, 2004). Event proponents claim that the Olympic Games¹ have an overall capacity to generate long-term benefits (or event legacies) for host cities and regions. Furthermore, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) formalized the importance of leaving a positive legacy in Olympic host cities by adding a 14th mission to its Charter and amending its host city contract in 2002. Event legacy has since become a strategic tool for securing public support to bid for, and host an Olympic Games (Sant & Mason, 2015; Dickson, Benson, & Blackman, 2011). Although there is scant empirical evidence to support proponents' assertions that hosting an Olympic Games renders long term benefits for communities (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001), events continue to be a part of cities' (and countries') policy agendas. The growing focus on producing event legacies— particularly tourism and economic legacies— has generated interest in models and processes which can be employed to maximize the benefits of hosting.

Event hosts have become proactive in planning for desired outcomes rather than passively assessing impacts post-event and hoping for positive results (Chalip, 2004, 2006). This strategic approach to event planning and management is referred to as 'event leveraging'. The first model of event leverage was proposed by Chalip (2004) following

¹ For the purpose of this paper the 'Olympic Games' refers to the Summer and/or winter edition and its corresponding Paralympic events.

research on the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games (Brown, Chalip, Jago, & Mules, 2002; Faulkner, Chalip, Brown, Jago, March, & Woodside, 2000; Chalip, 2002) and the Gold Coast Honda Indy² car race in Australia (Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Since the introduction of the model, it is now common for mega events to be accompanied by leverage programs and initiatives; however, empirical research on economic event leveraging is sparse. The majority of empirical studies has focused on an event's 'potential' for generating immediate, economic outcomes in a host community, while others have focused primarily on leveraging events for longer-term benefits. This is interesting to note considering that tourism and its associated economic legacies have become one of the ways mega events are justified (Hall, 2006; Girginov & Hills, 2008; Sant & Mason, 2015).

Long-term leveraging seeks to optimize the effect that events have on a destination's image in domestic and international markets. This effect occurs primarily through event media as a consequence of the host destination's association with an event (cf. Chalip, 2004; Brown et al, 2002). Given their worldwide television audience and their international brand names, the Olympic Games and the FIFA Football World Cup have become the foremost events for cities (and nations) seeking to enhance their brand and image (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2002). This may in turn "attract tourists, businesses, and investments to the destination beyond the time of the event" (Chalip, 2004, p. 239), thereby generating tourism and economic legacies in the host community. If events are to retain support from host communities, long-term tourism benefits promised at the bid stage must be cultivated through effective planning and implementation of leverage strategies (O'Brien, 2006). To improve leverage practices and academic understanding of event leverage, the gap

² The Gold Coast Honda Indy is the penultimate race of the FedEx Cart Championship Series, held annually on the Gold Coast of Queensland, Australia.

in the event leverage literature must be addressed by researchers. With this in mind, the aim of this chapter is to identify directions for empirical research on the strategic leveraging of events for tourism legacies. In order to do so, the extant empirical literature on economic event leveraging prior to, and following, the introduction of Chalip's (2004) event leverage model is examined and evaluated. To contextualize the discussion on long-term leveraging, examples are provided from Vancouver, Canada—host of the XXI Winter Olympic Games and first Olympic city to sign the IOC's amended host city contract.

Olympic Legacy

The immediate impacts of hosting mega-events on host cities and regions have been extensively explored in the sport, tourism, and event management literature (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Hall & Hodges, 1996; Hiller 1998; Spilling, 1998). Events are expected to increase visitation (Getz, 1989); reduce seasonal fluctuations in visitations (Getz, 1997; Hinch & Higham, 2002); improve destination brand and image (Brown et al., 2002; Florek, Brietbarth, & Conjeo, 2008; Dansero & Puttilli, 2010); and increase employment (Hall, 1992; Ritchie, 1984). These benefits are often used to justify the substantial public expenditure required to bid for and host mega events (Hall, 2006). Although the majority of work has focused on assessing the positive impacts of hosting sport events on the local and regional economy (Baade & Matheson, 2002, 2004; Burton, 2003; Crompton, 2006), key studies have shown that these impacts are often overestimated, while costs are underestimated (Crompton, 1995; Flyvbjerg, 2007). To address issues regarding cost overruns and underutilized sport facilities, the IOC included a 14th mission statement in its Charter in 2002. This mission statement highlighted the need for event hosts to strive for the production of long-term

benefits which would improve the quality of life for residents in the host city, region, and country (IOC, 2004; Chappelet, 2006).

The increased importance placed on potential longer-term impacts by the IOC, coupled with mounting concerns about the negative consequences of hosting the Olympics (Lenskyj, 2000) have prompted researchers to shift their focus to the study of event legacies (e.g. Essex & Chalkey, 1998; Cashman 2006; Chalip, 2002; Preuss, 2007; MacAloon, 2008; Florek et al., 2008). Despite the growing research interest in event legacy, there is little consensus regarding the meaning and use of the term. However, Preuss' (2007) definition of legacy as "all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for, and by, a sport event that remain longer than the event itself, irrespective of time of production and space (p. 211)" is widely used in industry and academic circles.

Although cities may bid for mega events for reasons such as urban development and/or sport development; efforts are made to exploit these events for tourism benefits (Getz, 1989). The use of sport events to market destinations is often part of a broader tourism and economic development strategy aimed at increasing awareness of the host city and region and consequently attracting more tourists (Gardiner & Chalip, 2006). Despite a lack of empirical evidence, events proponents expect the Olympic Games to generate substantial long-term positive impacts on the growth of international travel to a host region (Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Sant & Mason, 2015). In addition, mega events have the potential to transform a city, a region, or an entire country into a major tourist destination (Ritchie, 2000). These events may also stimulate changes in the host destination such as new and/or improved sport

and transportation infrastructure, enhanced city image, and increased international profile (Essex & Chalkey, 1998).

In Barcelona, the 1992 Summer Olympic Games was viewed as an opportunity to help transform the city, in the hope of becoming a more competitive destination in Europe. In preparation for the Games, the city built “new roads, an airport, hotels, telecommunications, and a new seafront resort” (Cashman, 1998, p. 108). Barcelona also aggressively sought international meetings and convention business. A study conducted 10 years post-event showed an almost 100% increase in hotel capacity, number of tourists, and number of overnight stays in 2001, as compared to 1990 (cf. Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Through proactive planning, Barcelona was able to maximize the benefits of its infrastructure investment and, as a result, generate long-term urban development and tourism benefits. The city’s use of the Olympic Games as a destination marketing tool is generally considered a success (Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Another notable example is that of the Vancouver. Despite being a well-established tourist destination at the time of the Olympic bid, the 2010 Games were regarded as an opportunity to increase visibility in the international media, with the overall goal being to promote the region and country as a year-round destination (Burton, 2003; Dansero & Puttilli, 2010).

The growth of a host city and region’s tourism industries can be attributed to the potential increases in tourist arrivals for the event as well as return trips to the destination. Further, international media coverage during the Olympic Games is often expected to generate increased destination awareness and enhance the host destination’s image and brand. Event media are therefore considered a key element in enticing potential visitors to a host city or region (Preuss, 2004). In addition to these tangible tourism benefits, event

hosting may also generate long-term intangible benefits such as enhanced knowledge and skills of citizens (Solberg & Preuss, 2007), increased volunteer base, and improved collaboration with tourism partners (Sant, Mason, & Hinch, 2013). Hosting mega events may indeed provide a long-term promotional benefit for the host city and region (Li & Blake, 2009), however, Ritchie & Smith (1991) found that increased destination awareness of the city of Calgary was not sustained in the years after 1988 Winter Olympic Games. Similarly, the increased destination awareness of Vancouver dissipated two years post-event (OGI-UBC, 2013). In an effort to optimize the tourism benefits from hosting an Olympic Games, destination marketing organizations (DMOs) have begun to plan for long term and short term outcomes; this is referred to as event leveraging.

Sport Event Leveraging

Origins of Event Leveraging

The term ‘leverage’ is derived from financial strategy and involves identifying existing assets and addressing the ways in which these assets can be used to create value and benefit to a the business (cf. Van Wynsberghe, Derom, & Maurer, 2012). Leveraging can be considered the processes designed to maximize the return on investments (Chalip, 2004). In the context of events, leveraging has been conceptualized as the implementation of strategies and tactics by stakeholders to optimize the immediate and long-term benefits from hosting (Chalip, 2004; O’Brien, 2007). The leveraging perspective illustrates a shift from a focus on event impact to a more strategic approach to the planning and management of sport events (O’Brien & Chalip, 2007). This suggests that the purpose of event leveraging is to be proactive in planning for and generating desired event outcomes.

The Australian Tourist Commission (ATC)³ was the first destination marketing organization (DMO) to put together a coordinated leveraging strategy for hosting the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney. According to Morse (2001), the main objective of the ATC was to market not only the city of Sydney, but the entire country of Australia internationally as a tourist destination. Given that the tourism revenue generated from Sydney's hosting of the Olympic Games was expected to be one of the key economic legacies of the event, the ATC implemented strategies and tactics to: 1) reposition the country by capitalizing on event media; 2) aggressively seek convention business; 3) minimize the diversion effect of the Games; and 4) promote pre- and post- Games touring (Chalip, 2002). Australia's efforts to leverage the Olympic Games is considered a benchmark for cities bidding for an hosting mega events with the intention of building the host destination's brand and image.

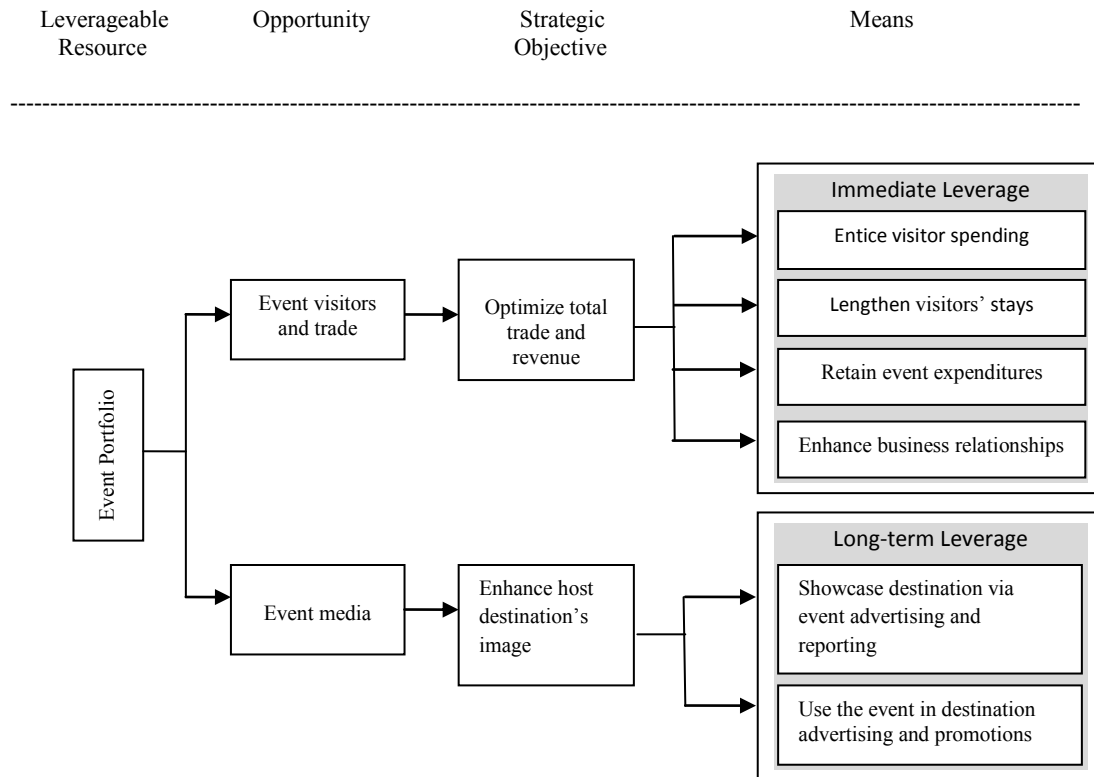
Event Leveraging Model

The first model of sport event leverage (see Figure 3) was proposed by Chalip (2004) and developed from research on the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games (Brown et al., 2002; Faulkner et al., 2000; Chalip, 2002) and the Gold Coast Honda Indy car race in Australia (Chalip & Leyns, 2002). The model— sometimes referred to as the 'economic leverage model'— focused on immediate and long-term benefits and considered the host community's portfolio of events as the 'leverageable resource'. A destination's event portfolio may include a variety of events such as festivals, concerts, sport tournaments, and conventions. According to Chalip (2002), each event in a destination's portfolio presents an opportunity to implement strategies and tactics to foster tourism and economic development.

³ The Australian Tourist Commission underwent a name change and is now referred to as Tourism Australia.

Figure 3

General Model of Event Leverage



Adapted from Chalip (2004)

In the immediate or short-term, event visitors and trade present opportunities to optimize total revenue and trade in the host community. Total revenue can be increased by enticing visitor spending through event-related promotions and lengthening of visitor stays in the pre- and/or post-event periods. Total trade, on the other hand, can be optimized by retaining event expenditure and enhancing business relationships. Hosts can reduce the leakage of event expenditures by sourcing event-related goods and services from local suppliers and using local labour. This results in a positive effect for the host economy. Business relationships can be enhanced by providing opportunities to meet and network with

local and visiting business people attending the event as well as those who are “associated with event participants or whose businesses provide supplies or services to the event” (Chalip, 2004, p. 237). Improved (or new) business relationships may lead to an increase in trade in the host community.

Securing long-term outcomes (or legacies) for a host community involves leveraging the opportunity presented by event media. By showing the destination in event reporting and advertising, and using the event in destination advertising and promotions, hosts can enhance destination brand and image, and in turn, build future economic growth (cf. Chalip & Heere, 2014). For example, a destination’s scenic backgrounds may be showcased during the reporting of an outdoor event. Destination marketers may also incorporate the event into the destination’s international and regional promotional campaigns. The process of leveraging events for longer-term outcomes is important for the production of economic and tourism legacies in a host city, region, and country.

Scholars have used the economic leverage model as a basis for developing models for specific types of leverage. For example, Weed (2008) adapted Chalip’s model to assess strategies to maximize the tourism opportunities presented by hosting an Olympic Games. The leverageable resource in Weed’s model was a single event, rather than a host’s portfolio of events as proposed in Chalip’s (2004) model. Weed suggested that hosts have two opportunities for leveraging an Olympic Games: Olympic tourism and Olympic media. The strategic objectives associated with these leveraging opportunities are optimizing Olympic-related tourism to generate tourism business in the immediate term, and leveraging Olympic media to enhance the host city’s destination image in the long-term. Weed’s (2008) model highlighted leveraging opportunities during the Olympic Games as well as in the pre- and

post- event periods. This added to Chalip's (2004) model, as the pre-event period tends to be "overlooked in discussions of long-term impacts because the focus is on the legacy of an event, which by definition occurs postevent period" (Solberg & Preuss, 2007, p. 214-215). Weed's model also included a geographic dimension which highlighted tourism benefits that could be generated in the host city, as well as the areas around the host city.

The long term economic benefits of hosting provide the most common rationale for including sport events in a city's (or region's) destination marketing mix. In addition to economic benefits, communities often seek events for the purpose of social development. For example, events can be used as tools for the generation of social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006). To address the research focus on the potential economic outcomes of event hosting, a number of authors (e.g. Burbank et al., 2001; Fredline & Faulkner, 2001) have argued for a greater emphasis on the social value of sport events. Drawing on literature from the field of anthropology, Chalip (2006) suggested that the celebratory nature of a sport event encourages the relaxation of social rules and norms and in turn creates a "safe space for otherwise sensitive matters to be considered and debated" (Chalip, 2006, p. 120). Building on Chalip's (2006) work on the potential for events to engender social benefits, a blended model of social and environmental leverage was developed (O'Brien & Chalip, 2008).

Environmental concerns are positioned as social issues, in other words, environmental leverage was identified as a special instance of social leverage. Overall, leveraging involves the application of strategies and tactics to maximize desired outcomes; instead of being an intervention per se, each event in a destination's event portfolio is regarded as resource from which wider benefits can be 'levered'. For the purpose of examining event leveraging

literature in the context of generating longer-term tourism outcomes this chapter will focus on economic event leverage.

Empirical Research

Scholars in the fields of sport, event, and tourism management have become increasingly interested in exploring event leverage. Despite its growing popularity in academic and industry circles, there has been limited empirical research on economic event leveraging. This section examines empirical studies conducted prior to, and following, the development of Chalip's (2004) general model of event leverage. See Table 4 for an overview of these studies.

Early research on event leveraging highlighted the importance of strategic planning for the generation of immediate economic benefits in the host community. For example, Green and Chalip (1998) suggested that by identifying the values of a particular sport subculture,⁴ event organizers could design augmentations to the event that foster a celebratory aspect and broaden the event's appeal among the group. According to Green (2001), event augmentations such as post-event parties and opening and closing ceremonies were expected to boost attendance, entice visitor spending, and encourage attendees to stay in the destination beyond the duration of the sport event, resulting in added economic benefit to the host community in the immediate term.

In addition to event organizers, local businesses may also entice visitor spending through leveraging efforts. In their study of the Gold Coast Honda Indy car race, Chalip and Leyns (2002) found that while some businesses failed to leverage the event, others outside the race-area were able to benefit from the implementation of a leveraging strategy. Tactics

⁴ Subculture refers to a segment of a main culture that have their own cultural elements such as symbols and gestures but still share common characteristics with mainstream culture.

Table 4
Summary of Economic Event Leveraging Studies

Authors	Field of Study	Sport Event Type	Theoretical Framework(s)
Green & Chalip (1998)	Tourism	Local, recreational tournament	Sport subculture and identity
Green (2001)	Sport Management	Local/regional	Identity and consumption
Chalip & Leyns (2002)	Sport Management	Local/regional	Event leveraging
Chalip & McGuirty (2004)	Sport and Tourism	Local/regional	Bundling
O'Brien & Gardiner (2006)	Sport Management	Mega-event	Process model of relationship marketing
O'Brien (2006)	Tourism	Mega-event	Event leveraging
O'Brien (2007)	Sport Management	Local/regional	Event leveraging
Ziakas (2010)	Tourism Policy	Local/regional	Event leveraging
Ziakas & Costa (2011)	Sport and Tourism	Local/regional	Event leveraging
Ziakas & Boukas (2012)	Event Management	Mega-event	Event leveraging
Sant, Mason, & Hinch (2013)	Sport and Tourism	Mega-event	Event leveraging

Note. This list is not exhaustive, however, it contains the most relevant empirical studies on economic event leverage.

were designed with the aim of increasing awareness of the area, attracting event visitors, and offsetting the aversion effects caused by the race. Execution of the leveraging strategy was independent of the control of the event organizers, and therefore required the formation of alliances among local businesses in the area. Results showed that collaboration among event stakeholders was a key factor in maximizing economic benefits in the immediate term.

Additionally, the authors found that the provision of networking opportunities among event

stakeholders and visiting (and local) businesspeople was necessary for generating longer-term economic outcomes.

Chalip and McGuirty's (2004) study of the Gold Coast Marathon also highlighted the importance of collaboration in leveraging sport events. Findings indicated that although there were potential economic benefits to jointly marketing the event and the host destination's attractions; these benefits were contingent on effective alliances among event and destination marketers. Previous studies (e.g. Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Weed, 2003) have shown that forming relationships which foster collaboration tends to be difficult, which may in turn contribute to the lack of cross-leverage of events with their host destinations. Results also indicated that event augmentations such as event parties were popular amongst event attendees. This is consistent with the work of Green (2001) and Green and Chalip (1998), who emphasized the potential for linking augmentations to the sport's subculture.

In the context of mega sport events, Australia's implementation of a co-ordinated tourism leveraging strategy for the 2000 Olympic Games prompted researchers to further explore strategies and tactics for maximizing desired event outcomes. For example, Brown et al. (2002) suggested that hosting the Sydney Olympic Games presented opportunities to build a destination brand for the city of Sydney and for Australia. Furthermore, the authors highlighted the importance of developing an event portfolio which complemented the city's (and country's) desired image. A strengthened brand and image were expected to result in long term economic and tourism benefits for the host city and nation.

Early studies of sport event leveraging (e.g. Green & Chalip, 1998; Green, 2001; Brown et al., 2002; Chalip & Leyns, 2002) contributed to the development of Chalip's (2004) general model of sport event leverage. The introduction of the model was followed by

an increase in leveraging research (both conceptual and empirical) focusing mainly on the leverage potential of mega sport events for host destinations. This is not surprising, since the general model of event leverage was derived in part from work on the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. It is interesting to note that although leveraging is becoming a “generative paradigm” (Chalip & Heere, 2014 p. 184), there have been relatively few empirical studies conducted on leveraging events for long term tourism legacies since the event leverage model was proposed.

O’Brien and Gardiner (2006) compared the leveraging tactics of three regions in Australia— Canberra, the Gold Coast, and Hunter Valley— hosting pre-event training camps for the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. Although this study did not explicitly use event leveraging as its theoretical framework, results indicated that providing networking opportunities for visiting teams and local businesses can lead to immediate and long term benefits for tourism, investment, and trade. In other words, a more strategic, longer-term approach can lead to greater positive economic outcomes. The study demonstrated that pre-Games training camps can be leveraged for economic benefits “well beyond both the geographic region and the time period of the event itself” (O’Brien & Gardiner, 2006, p. 45).

One of the first empirical studies to incorporate the event leverage model as its theoretical framework was O’Brien’s (2006) study of strategic business leveraging of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. The study examined Business Club Australia— an initiative implemented by the Australian Trade Commission to facilitate opportunities for networking and trade facilitation. The Australian government expected this initiative to generate longer-term economic benefits from hosting the Sydney Games. Results indicated that the formation of a task force was key factor in developing a business leveraging strategy. The taskforce was

made up of a variety of actors from government, industry, and agencies responsible for policy development. Like previous leveraging studies (e.g. Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Chalip & McGuirly, 2004), examination of Business Club Australia highlighted importance of inter-organizational alliances and a co-ordinated effort in the implementation of leverage strategies. According to O'Brien (2006), the initiative was considered effective, and business leveraging programs were developed for several future events.

Chalip's (2004) model also underpinned O'Brien's (2007) examination of the leveraging potential of the Noosa Festival of Surfing.⁵ This study looked at both short-term and long-term means of generating host community benefits in the context of a smaller, regional event (as opposed to a mega sport event). Although the event could be leveraged to enhance business relationships in the immediate term, these relationships "presented the potential for future business and longer-term outcomes" (O'Brien, 2007, p. 154). O'Brien (2007) thus extends Chalip's model to include 'enhancing business relationships' as both an immediate and long-term leveraging tactic. This was consistent with results from O'Brien's (2006) study on business leveraging of the Sydney Olympic Games. Similar to findings from Green & Chalip (1998), Green (2001), and O'Brien (2007) found that event augmentations which incorporate the sport's subculture can be effective in enticing visitor spending and lengthening stays. In addition, hosting the Noosa Festival of Surfing provided a promotional opportunity for the host destination. Media coverage of the event was considered an important component of enhancing the destination's image, which could in turn, attract future business opportunities to the host destination. However, the local DMO failed to incorporate the event into its regional promotions. Further, there was also little effort from destination

⁵ The Noosa Festival of Surfing is an annual long-boarding competition held at Noosa Heads, in the Sunshine Coast region of Queensland, Australia.

marketers to leverage their involvement with the festival, despite being event sponsors. This case highlighted a missed opportunity for destination marketers.

Media coverage of sport events may also provide a destination with a valuable opportunity to build (or refresh) its tourism brand (Chalip, 2005; Getz, 2005; Chalip & Costa, 2005). Events are considered part of the attraction of a destination, therefore, they should be included in the destination's marketing and promotions mix and incorporated into the destination's branding strategy (Jago, Chalip, Brown, Mules, & Ali, 2003). In the long term, a strengthened brand may increase awareness, entice visitor stays, and improve the destination's image. However, using events for brand-building requires destination marketers, event marketers, and sport managers to work together (Chalip & Costa, 2005); a scenario made difficult due to a lack of shared frames of reference and functioning in independent spheres (Weed, 2003).

In their study of destination marketers' conceptualizations of Olympic tourism legacy in Vancouver, Sant et al. (2013) highlighted the importance of a collaborative approach to leveraging a mega event to build a nation's tourism brand. Results showed that implementation of a national tourism leveraging strategy required the collaboration and coordination of DMOs at various levels of government. The study demonstrated that destination marketers viewed the increased level of collaboration as a key legacy of the 2010 Games, rather than long-term outcomes of increased brand awareness and enhanced destination image. This suggested that host destinations could benefit from collaboration and coordination in the long term by hosting an ongoing series of events.

According to Ziakas and Boukas (2012), leveraging an Olympic Games for tourism benefits does not end with the conclusion of the event. The authors found that there was

potential to leverage Olympic legacies such as sport venues, for the development of post-Olympic tourism products in Athens. However, a lack of comprehensive tourism planning resulted in a missed opportunity for the destination. In order to generate a sustainable sport tourism legacy, the authors proposed that Olympic cities develop planning and leveraging frameworks to create synergies with other forms of tourism in the post-event period. In this regard, an event portfolio has potential to become “a tool for the sustainable development of Olympic cities as sport tourism destinations’ (Ziakas & Boukas, 2012, p. 310).

Chalip’s (2004) model identified a destination’s portfolio of events as the resource which could be leveraged for tourism, economic development, and destination branding, however, empirical studies (e.g. O’Brien, 2006, 2007; O’Brien & Gardiner, 2006) have focused on the leveraging potential of single events. To address this gap in the literature, Ziakas (2010) conducted one of the first empirical studies on the implementation and leveraging of an event portfolio in a rural community in Texas. Findings showed that the absence of a strategic approach to the selection of events for inclusion in the event portfolio resulted in missed opportunities for generating economic outcomes. In addition, the study found that collaboration and coordination among event stakeholders were key factors in managing the destination’s event portfolio. In a subsequent study, Ziakas and Costa (2011a) highlighted the importance of developing synergies between sport and cultural events in order to enhance the potential of leveraging event portfolios for long term tourism outcomes.

In summary, the majority of empirical studies contributing to the literature on economic leverage have focused on events’ potential for leverage (e.g. Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; O’Brien & Gardiner, 2006). These support the view that sport event hosting provides opportunities for destinations to generate immediate and long

term tourism and economic benefits. Results also show that effective leveraging requires intense strategic planning and extensive inter-organizational alliances (O'Brien 2006, 2007; O'Brien & Gardiner, 2006; Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Furthermore, empirical studies to date, highlight the importance of coordinating organizations in fostering collaboration among event stakeholders and generating desired event outcomes (Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; Chalip, 2004; O'Brien, 2006; O'Brien & Gardiner, 2006). Although several authors explore the use of events to build a destination's brand (e.g. Chalip & Costa, 2005; Chalip, 2005; Jago et al., 2003), there is a lack of empirical research examining the long-term leveraging strategies and tactics employed by destination marketers. In addition, it has been argued that an event portfolio is an important tool for destinations interested in brand-building (Getz, 2005; Chalip & Costa, 2005) however, research has focused on single events as a destination's leverageable resource (O'Brien, 2006, 2007; Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Despite adopting a tourist destination approach, empirical studies on economic leverage have placed little emphasis on leveraging events for longer-term tourism outcomes. Long-term leveraging is therefore a useful area of inquiry for sport, event management, and tourism scholars.

Discussion and Research Opportunities

Given that legacy plays an important role in generating support for an Olympic bid (Sant & Mason, 2015), it follows that fulfilling promised benefits is key to retaining public support for sport event hosting (O'Brien & Chalip, 2008). Despite the lack of empirical research, it is now common for mega event hosts to implement leverage strategies aimed at generating tourism legacies. As discussed above, empirical studies on event leverage have highlighted three areas of research for scholars interested in examining long-term economic

event leveraging: 1) collaboration of event stakeholders; 2) creation (or appointment of) coordinating organizations; and 3) event portfolios. In addition to the extant literature on event leveraging, examining emerging leverage practices provides insight into these three areas. To contextualize our discussion of research opportunities for sport, event management, and tourism scholars, we provide examples from the XXI Winter Olympic Games hosted by Vancouver. Directions for future research highlighting the types of data which may be collected along with possible research questions are presented in Table 5.

Collaboration

The Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC)— the country’s national tourism marketing agency— embarked on the development of a new tourism brand personality for Canada shortly after Vancouver’s successful Olympic bid. The CTC saw the 2010 Games as a “once in a lifetime opportunity to accelerate global awareness of Canada’s refreshed tourism brand” (CTC, n.d., p.1). The refreshed brand entitled ‘Canada. Keep Exploring’ was expected to shift the focus away from traditional icons and natural features, and reposition the country as an “exciting, modern and vibrant tourist destination” (CTC, n.d., p. 3). The Canadian federal government provided one-time funding of \$26 million (CAD) to support the implementation of a tourism leveraging strategy for Canada using the 2010 Games as a platform (CTC, n.d., p.9). Although this strategy focused on building consumer awareness of the nation’s new brand, the overall aim was to grow tourism revenues for Canada.

Consumer awareness of Canada’s new brand would require repeated exposure to brand-aligned visual cues over a sustained period. In order to ensure that broadcasters used images and stories consistent with the country’s new brand, the CTC worked with its 13 regional partners (provincial and territorial DMOs) to develop and collect an inventory of

Table 5
Research Agenda

Topic	Types of Data	Research Questions
Collaboration	Interviews Documents Case Studies	What are the stages involved in the process of collaboration? In what way(s) does the level of competition among DMOs constrain the process of collaboration? What strategies and tactics can be employed by DMOs at the local, regional, and national levels to bring about effective inter-organizational alliances? What strategies and tactics can be employed by DMOs to increase collaboration with other event stakeholders (e.g. economic development agencies, sport managers)? How can inter-organizational alliances be sustained post-event?
Coordinating Organizations	Interviews Documents Case Studies Surveys	What processes are involved in creating ad-hoc coordinating organizations for event leveraging? How can coordinating organizations be sustained beyond the event? How effective are coordinating organizations in the planning for and production of tourism (and economic) legacies?
Event Portfolios	Interviews Documents Case Studies	How can local (and regional) sport and cultural events be cross-leveraged with a mega sport event? What conditions are necessary for the collaboration of stakeholders in the planning and implementation of cross-leveraging strategies? How does incorporating a mega event into an existing event portfolio affect a destination's brand and image?

'digital assets'. These assets would feature various regions in Canada and be accessible to media for download free of charge. This became known as the National Asset Development Program. Over 3200 still images, 900 b-roll video clips,⁶ and 600 travel-story ideas were collected by film crews working in conjunction with the CTC and its regional partners (CTC, 2012). The CTC also entered into a partnership with the Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC) in February 2008 which resulted in a non-commercial licence agreement. This

⁶ B-roll refers to footage provided free of charge to broadcast news organizations; it is used to add interest or meaning to a news story.

agreement allowed the CTC to use the Olympic brand marks in over 340 events that promoted Canada as a tourism destination (CTC, 2012). These examples illustrate that the formation of partnerships among event stakeholders was a key component in the implementation of Canada's tourism leveraging strategy. Furthermore, host DMOs viewed the collaborative planning process as a key legacy of hosting the 2010 Games (Sant et al., 2013).

The terms collaboration, cooperation, partnership, and alliance are often used interchangeably as all relate to working together toward a common goal (Fyall & Garrod, 2005). According to Fyall and Leask (2006), a tourist destination is difficult to market due to the numerous stakeholders that must work together to deliver the destination's product. Further, the wide range of stakeholders may often complicate strategic planning processes (Manente & Minghetti, 2006; Morgan, Hastings, & Pritchard, 2012). Tourism researchers have explored the need for collaboration among varying stakeholders (e.g. Bramwell, 1997; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995), which may include government, tourism industry associations, resident organizations, economic development agencies, and special interest groups. In particular, when leveraging a sport mega event to enhance a destination's brand, collaboration among destination marketing organizations (DMOs) is particularly important for the development of strategies and tactics (Sant et al., 2013).

In addition to providing opportunities for building new business relationships (Chalip, 2004; O'Brien & Gardiner, 2006), sport event hosting may provide opportunities for strengthening existing relationships among event stakeholders. In the case of the Olympic Games, the IOC awards the event to a host city (rather than a country); therefore, leveraging the event for nation-wide tourism legacies requires DMOs at the national, provincial, and

territorial levels to engage in collaborative planning processes (Sant, et al., 2013). However, strategic alliances may be hindered as DMOs have varying (and sometimes competing) mandates which may determine the types of tourism benefits they intend to pursue. For example, Sant et al. (2013) found that the national DMO focused on promoting the country's new tourist brand in order to generate longer term economic outcomes, while provincial and municipal DMOs focused on short to medium term outcomes such as increased visitations and lengthening visitors' stays. Therefore, realizing long term tourism benefits requires DMOs to recognize the need to collaborate rather than compete (Parent & Smith-Swan, 2013).

One direction for empirical research is to examine the process of collaboration involved in leveraging a mega event for longer term tourism benefits. Although several studies have been conducted on the collaboration process in the tourism industry (e.g. Wang 2008; Caffyn, 2000), researchers have yet to develop a general model. This can be attributed to collaboration being a complex and dynamic process which is difficult to capture. In addition, the process may vary depending on the situation (Wang, 2008). Weed, Stephens, and Bull (2011), suggested that the award of an Olympic Games may act as an 'exogenous shock' to the tourism policy system. Since this shock may temporarily (or permanently) strengthen the policy community leading to greater collaboration, it would be beneficial for scholars to conduct case study research examining the process of collaboration in destinations hosting large scale sport events. In addition, exploring the strategies and tactics employed by DMOs to facilitate collaboration would add to the literature on economic event leveraging and may help build the collaborative capacity of stakeholders in the destination.

Another fruitful area of inquiry would be to explore how inter-organizational alliances can be sustained in the post-event period.

Collaboration among key event stakeholders (e.g. organizing committees, community groups, and agencies responsible for sport, tourism, and economic development) is also an important component in planning and managing successful events (Getz, 2005). Previous research (e.g. Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; Chalip, 2004; O'Brien, 2006; O'Brien & Gardiner, 2006) has indicated that coordination of various event stakeholders is essential for effective leveraging. Thus, mega event hosts have begun to create organizations which serve to coordinate leverage efforts and foster collaboration amongst event stakeholders.

Coordinating Organizations

Vancouver's bid for the 2010 Games was championed by the city's DMO— Tourism Vancouver. Shortly after winning the bid, the province's lead DMO— Tourism British Columbia— was mandated by the government of British Columbia to increase media coverage, grow travel trade and visitor awareness, fill excess tourism capacity, promote the province's tourism products and experiences, and convert increased awareness into tourism revenues and visits (Tourism British Columbia, 2003). Hosting the Winter Olympics was seen as an opportunity to strengthen the region's position in the global tourism market. The 2010 Games were expected to yield long lasting benefits for the host city and region, especially in the areas of tourism, economic development, and transportation infrastructure.

Early in the Games planning process, VANOC indicated to Tourism British Columbia that tourism was not a priority. Furthermore, VANOC suggested that without a single vision and voice to communicate the industry's collective needs, tourism opportunities were unlikely to emerge (Williams & Elkhatab, 2012). In response, Tourism British Columbia

led the creation of the ‘2010 Tourism Consortium’ in 2005. This collaborative partnership initially comprised the four host DMOs— Tourism British Columbia, the CTC, Tourism Vancouver, and Tourism Whistler— as well as a variety of local stakeholders such as the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Arts, and the Olympic and Paralympic Games Secretariat. Tourism Richmond joined the Consortium in 2008 when the City of Richmond became a venue for the 2010 Games.

The Consortium was led by a ‘steering committee’ made up of senior representatives from each DMO. Given the potential for division and competition, the DMOs developed a consensus-based set of guiding principles (or code of conduct). For example, steering committee members were expected to work together to achieve consensus in decision making and to communicate on a regular basis in an atmosphere of trust and cooperation (Parent & Smith-Swan, 2013). Moreover each DMO contributed to key joint initiatives. In the case of the CTC, the organization was charged with working with other provinces and territories as well as VANOC to promote the Winter Olympic as ‘Canada’s Games’. The steering committee also developed a comprehensive Joint Tourism Olympic Strategy to leverage the Games for positive tourism legacies (Tourism British Columbia, 2008). To execute this strategy, the Consortium created functionally themed working groups, each comprised of representatives from the five host DMOs.

The development of the 2010 Tourism Consortium formalized collaboration among the host DMOs and allowed them to pool resources as well as engage with VANOC, sponsors, and media as a single entity. Therefore, effective event leveraging required a coordinating organization that had the expertise to design and implement strategies, as well as the capacity to work across different sectors to foster inter-organizational alliances with stakeholders who

have differing agendas and interests (Chalip & Leyns, 2002; O'Brien & Chalip, 2008; Chalip & Heere, 2014). In the case of the 2010 Tourism Consortium, the organization was created solely for the leveraging of the 2010 Olympic Games; therefore it was disbanded post-Games.

Although research on event leveraging has highlighted the importance of coordinating organizations (Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; Chalip, 2004; O'Brien, 2006) in generating economic and tourism legacies, Chalip (2014) argued that in the case of the Olympic Games, "the word 'legacy' and the model advanced by the IOC emphasize event organization for the purposes of legacy" (p. 6). This is problematic since leveraging requires strategizing beyond a single event. This is out of the scope of event organizers, given that their main aim is delivery and management of the event. Since leverage projects can be considered separate from, but related to, delivery and management, responsibility for leverage should lie with those organizations (or agencies) responsible for the particular area of development. From a practical standpoint, the challenge then is not only fostering collaboration among event stakeholders, but in the case of destination marketers, determining whether to appoint a DMO to take the lead in leveraging a mega event, or to create a coordinating organization. Given that hosting an Olympic Games provides a 'once in lifetime' opportunity to generate tourism legacies for the nation, region and host city, ad hoc coordinating organizations (such as the 2010 Tourism Consortium) may be a viable option for destination marketers.

With this in mind, case study research needs to be undertaken in order to explore the processes involved in the creation of these entities as well as the evaluation of their impact in generating long-term leveraged outcomes. In addition, future empirical research may examine coordinating organizations in other mega sport event contexts. For example, in the

case of the FIFA Football World Cup, it may be more effective for the national DMO to coordinate leverage efforts or spearhead the creation of a separate entity. This is due to the fact that, unlike an Olympic Games, the country is considered the official World Cup host, and events are usually held in several cities. Fostering collaboration in this context may be challenging as each host city may have different economic and tourism development goals. Furthermore, leveraging the event for tourism legacies requires the collaboration and coordination of DMOs and event stakeholders in various host cities (and regions). Therefore, it would be beneficial for researchers to examine the processes involved in creating (and sustaining) coordinating organizations at the national level, and the extent to which these organizations enhance a host country's capacity for event leverage.

Several authors have suggested that small-scale events may yield positive effects for tourism host communities (e.g. Higham 1999; Higham & Hinch, 2002; Gibson, Willming, & Holdnak, 2003). Moreover, Chalip (2004) argued that hosting a series of smaller events in a city or region may build its capability to host larger scale events. As such, understanding how event stakeholders can be mobilized and coordinated is important for enabling long term leverage in local or regional contexts. Ziakas and Costa (2010) referred to local event stakeholders as being part of an 'event network' and suggested that an event network approach could be used by researchers to explain and evaluate a host community's capacity for inter-organizational collaboration in leveraging events. The authors suggested that examining the web of relationships among stakeholders may identify organizations which are dominant in the network and have the ability to promote and develop inter-organizational alliances, and in turn, take on the role of coordinator. Using a network approach in conjunction with the theoretical framework of event leveraging may therefore provide

researchers with insight into the effective planning and implementation of leverage strategies in a host community.

Event Portfolios

The general model of event leverage identified a destination's event portfolio as a resource which could be leveraged for tourism, economic development, and destination branding. Chalip (2004) argued that having a series of events throughout a year allows a destination to obtain broader reach and frequency of exposure. Further, Getz (2008) proposed that destination marketers take a comprehensive portfolio approach to event tourism strategy-making, whereby destinations must determine the tourism benefits they expect from a variety of events (mega, hallmark,⁷ local and regional) and how each event's value will be measured. Mega events such as the Olympic Games are considered 'high-value' as they have the potential to generate economic benefits, enhance destination image, and increase the destination's market share in the international tourism market. However, some "destinations appear to over-emphasize mega events to the detriment of a more balanced portfolio" (Getz, 2008, p. 407). For example, in the case of Vancouver 2010, the CTC's Olympic Games Tourism Strategy involved a three-phased approach: phase one or the pre-Games period focused on 'brand building' from January 2008 to September 2009; phase two emphasized 'media relations' from October 2009 to April 2010; and phase three or the post-Games period was meant to 'harvest the afterglow' - a culmination of the positive effects built up from phases one and two. There was no mention of leveraging the 2010 Games as part of Canada's existing portfolio of sport or cultural events.

⁷ Hallmark events are considered major, one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal, and profitability of a destination. Examples include the Calgary Stampede and Mardi Gras in New Orleans.

Since sport events are temporally and geographically contained, the sustainability of the benefits derived from event hosting is inherently limited (Ziakas, 2014). Unlike mega sport events, smaller-scale events require minimal investment of public funds and operate within existing sport and transportation infrastructure (Higham, 1999). Moreover, when smaller-scale events are scheduled in the off-season period they have the potential to minimize the effects of seasonality in a destination by encouraging visitations (Higham & Hinch, 2002). Therefore, destinations may include a variety of smaller-scale events in the pre- and post-event periods in order to generate long term tourism benefits from hosting mega events. Alternatively, destinations may incorporate mega events into their existing portfolio of smaller-scale, local (or regional) events. Including a mega sport event in an event portfolio may in turn foster repeat visitation and flow-on tourism (Taks, Chalip, Green, Kesenne, & Martyn, 2009). In addition, bidding for and hosting mega events can accelerate improvements in a destination's tourism infrastructure (Terret, 2008; Sant & Mason, 2015) thereby enhancing the destination's tourism products and services.

A single event also has a limited effect on a destination's brand even if it is one with a high profile such as the Olympic Games (Ritchie & Smith, 1991). Chalip and Costa (2005) argued that in order to sustain the impact of events on a destination's brand, it is necessary to host a variety of events throughout the year and "to find means to create synergy among them" (p. 231). Each event in the portfolio should target and reach diverse market segments, thereby increasing the size of destination's events market (Ziakas & Costa, 2011b). In addition, each event should also "complement or reinforce the branding benefits bestowed by other events in the portfolio" (Chalip & Costa, 2005, p. 231). According to Chalip (2005), the

value of a destination's event portfolio can be measured by its capacity to build its brand for residents and tourists.

Although the general model of event leverage highlights an event portfolio as a destination's leverageable resource, researchers (e.g. O'Brien, 2006, 2007; O'Brien & Gardiner, 2006) have focused on the leverage potential of single events. Given that a hosting mega event has been found to have positive, albeit short-term effects on destination awareness, visitation, and destination brand (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Solberg & Preuss, 2007), leveraging a mega event as part of an event portfolio may generate longer-term benefits for the tourism industry in a host destination. Recent work has begun to examine the development of event portfolios and how they may be leveraged for community, tourism, and economic objectives (Ziakas, 2010; Ziakas & Costa, 2010; Ziakas & Costa, 2011a; 2011b); however, empirical research on how to plan, manage and leverage event portfolios, particularly those which include a mega sport event is limited. Further work is also needed to understand the how local (and regional) sport and cultural events can be cross-leveraged with a mega event to generate benefits for a host destination's tourism industry in pre- and post-event periods. In addition, it would be important to explore the conditions necessary for the collaboration of event stakeholders in the planning and implementation of cross-leveraging strategies. This is particularly important as leveraging a destination's event portfolio is likely to involve a variety of community groups, event organizers, government agencies, sponsors, and event owners. While there has been some work conducted on leveraging a series of smaller scale events in rural communities (Ziakas, 2010; Ziakas & Costa 2011a), researchers should expand their investigations into the effect of event portfolios on a region's capacity for hosting future events.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to examine the extant empirical literature on event leverage and identify directions for research on leveraging events for longer term tourism and economic benefits. Since an Olympic Games receives tremendous media attention internationally, it provides hosts with a unique opportunity to market the host destination. It is therefore important to understand how destination marketers can effectively adopt the event leverage model to generate legacies in a host community, region, and country. While it is now common for mega events to be accompanied by coordinated leverage programs and initiatives, empirical research is still relatively scant.

The examination of economic event leveraging research revealed that the majority of empirical studies adopted a tourism destination approach to explore the potential for leverage of single events, however, little emphasis was placed on conditions necessary for generating longer term tourism outcomes in the host city, region, and country. Given the role that legacy plays in bid committee rhetoric (Sant & Mason, 2015), it is in the interest of cities to deliver on those promises in order to retain public support for event hosting. From a practical standpoint, effective leveraging of a mega event for long term tourism outcomes should involve: 1) collaboration of event stakeholders; 2) the creation (or appointment) of coordinating organizations; and 3) leveraging of event portfolios as opposed to single events. These three topics warrant further investigation by researchers, and would make valuable contributions to the practice of hosting events and the literature on long-term economic leveraging.

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CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Legacy has taken on “magical properties” (MacAloon, 2008, p. 2069) as it continues to feature prominently in the discourse of bidding for and hosting an Olympic Games, despite a lack of agreement on its definition and use. The meaning of legacy is continuing to be shaped by practice and is therefore considered context-specific. With that in mind, the overall purpose of this research was to explore the conceptualization of legacy in an Olympic host city— Vancouver, Canada. More specifically, this project examined event proponents’ views on legacy at the time of an Olympic bid. Given that the Olympic Games are increasingly being positioned as tourism mega-events, this study also explored how destination marketers’ perspectives on legacy influenced the design, implementation, and management of event leveraging strategies. Exploring the conceptualization of Olympic legacy in Vancouver resulted in three papers, the conclusions of which will be reviewed in this chapter. The implications of this dissertation research at both the practical and theoretical levels will also be discussed along with several directions for future research into legacy and event leveraging.

Summary of Research Findings

The first paper (Chapter 2) drew on the theoretical framework of media framing and employed a qualitative framing analysis to examine how the notion of legacy was presented and managed in the mainstream media during the Olympic bid. Findings demonstrated that in preparation for Vancouver’s Olympic bid, city officials, local politicians, sport managers and bid committee members often cited event ‘legacies’ and argued that such benefits may be realized for decades. Specifically, proponents focused their pro-bid arguments around infrastructure, economic, and social legacies. These legacies entered the bid discourse at various points in the domestic and international bid competitions. For example, in the early

stages of the bid process, the legacies generated by previous Olympic hosts were used not only to justify the city's participation in the Olympic bid but also to gain approval and funding for three major capital projects: the Sea-to-Sky Highway; the expansion of the SkyTrain system; and upgrades to Vancouver's Convention Centre. The 'economic impact' frame became salient after the above-mentioned capital projects were approved. This frame entered the bid discourse at a time when the province of British Columbia was facing a substantial budget deficit and coincided with the release of a provincial economic impact study. This study projected the Games combined with the expansion to the Vancouver Convention Centre would result in an impact of \$10 billion CAN. As the Olympic plebiscite drew closer, the 'economic impact' frame made way for the use of the 'human interest' frame which focused on the potential social or 'community' legacies of hosting.

The second paper (Chapter 3) employed a qualitative and interpretive case study approach to examine how destination marketers in Vancouver, as well as those at the provincial and federal levels of government, conceptualized Olympic tourism legacy. The city's bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics was championed by its destination marketing organization (DMO) — Tourism Vancouver. Results showed that the legacies attributed to former Olympic hosts such as Sydney and Barcelona, appeared to be a significant motivator for DMOs' support for the Olympic bid. Destination marketers believed that hosting would provide an unprecedented level of publicity for the city, region, and country, and much-needed upgrades to tourism and transportation infrastructure in the city. This study highlighted that destination marketers' perspectives on legacy varied depending on their organizations' mandates as well as the aspirations of their destination. Results also showed that the desire to plan for and generate long-term tourism legacies (and by extension

economic legacies) fostered an interest in event leveraging. Further, the study demonstrated the importance of a collaborative approach in developing leveraging strategies for the host city, region, and country.

These two papers highlighted the prominence of legacy in bidding for and planning the 2010 Olympic Games. This focus on producing legacies generated interest in developing strategies to leverage the event for a variety of long-term economic and tourism benefits. It is now common for mega events to be accompanied by leveraging strategies, however, due to a lack of empirical research on longer-term economic leveraging, the process of maximizing the benefits of hosting is largely shaped by practice. The third paper (Chapter 4) examined and evaluated the extant empirical studies on economic event leverage in order to identify directions for research on the strategic leveraging of sport events for tourism legacies. In addition, this paper integrated the findings of the first two papers and provided examples from Vancouver 2010 in order to contextualize the discussion of the directions for future research. Examination of economic event leveraging research revealed that the majority of empirical studies adopted a tourism destination approach to explore the potential for leverage of single, one-off events. Further, little emphasis was placed on the conditions necessary for generating longer term tourism outcomes in the host city, region, and country. This paper highlighted three areas of research for scholars interested in exploring long-term economic event leveraging: i) collaboration of event stakeholders; ii) co-ordinating organizations; and iii) creation and management event portfolios.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

In the case of Vancouver, local politicians, city officials, sport managers, and bid committee members used their access to media coverage and editorials to promote particular

legacies of bidding for and hosting an Olympic Games. The ability of the ‘capital projects’, ‘economic impact’, and ‘human interest’ frames to enter (and dominate) the bid discourse showed that successful sponsoring of frames favours political elites, that is, those who have access to considerable economic and cultural resources (Tuchman, 1978). This study has demonstrated that the framing of issues and events by journalists does not develop in a political vacuum (Carragee & Roefs, 2004); rather it is shaped by a variety of actors. Local journalists in Vancouver were found to be conveyors of event proponents’ frames as opposed to originators.

The results showed that event proponents tended to define and redefine the issue of legacy depending on the changing social, political, and economic conditions as well as their interests at a particular time. The timing and dominance of the legacy frames in Vancouver may be of particular interest to prospective Olympic hosts (and event detractors) as this illustrates how bid proponents are able to tailor their arguments to suit the needs of the host community. From a practical standpoint, sport managers, city officials, and event organizers may increase the likelihood of a successful Olympic referendum by developing arguments similar to those employed in Vancouver. For example, in the early stages of the bid process, proponents should ascertain the needs of the community and tailor their arguments to suit. Specifically, in the two to three months prior to a vote, proponents’ justification of a large scale sporting event should be presented in a human interest context as these arguments are likely to resonate deeply with the general public and make it harder for detractors to refute proponents’ claims.

The theoretical framework of media framing and qualitative framing analyses may be utilized for future research on the role of legacy in the bid process. Although the majority of

framing studies employ quantitative methods, applying a modified version of content analysis allowed for the deconstruction of frame sponsors' overall position into causes and consequences through the use of signature matrices. This method provided for a deeper understanding of how a frame provides context and constructs the meaning of an issue or event. Overall, this study demonstrated that although it is widely accepted that hosts must leverage the Olympic Games for the production of legacies, it appeared that it was legacy that was being leveraged by bid proponents to secure funding and approval for various capital projects and ultimately for support of the Olympic bid. As such, the study provides a more nuanced understanding of the meaning and use of legacy in a prospective host city.

The examination of destination marketers' conceptualizations of tourism legacy revealed that potential long-term tourism benefits were considered the impetus for bidding for and hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Legacy was found to be a prominent feature in host DMOs' tourism strategy documents; however, findings showed that DMOs neglected to define or clearly articulate the elements which constituted a tourism legacy. Further, this study demonstrated that DMOs at the national, provincial, and municipal levels had varying perspectives on Olympic tourism legacy. For example, there was some disagreement amongst DMOs regarding the tangibility of key tourism legacies. While national destination marketers viewed increased destination awareness as a potential tangible legacy of hosting, provincial and municipal destination marketers viewed it as an intangible outcome.

Results also showed that host DMOs emphasized positive impacts of hosting the 2010 Games, however, there was little to no mention of the various negative impacts of hosting such as over-crowding and Games-time aversion. Prospective host DMOs should consider

incorporating potential negative consequences into their leveraging models. Developing leveraging strategies which generate positive impacts and simultaneously mitigate negative outcomes may offer the greatest chance for tourism benefits to outweigh the various economic, social, and environmental costs of event hosting. Further research is therefore needed to understand potential negative legacies and how they can be mitigated. Practically speaking, these results have implications not only for the development of joint and individual strategies but also for the measurement and evaluation legacies post-event. In order to effectively plan for legacy creation and delivery, future host DMOs should clearly articulate how legacy fits into their mandate when developing leverage strategies and tactics.

Findings indicated that the implementation of a national Olympic tourism strategy required the collaboration of DMOs at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels. Since a mega event is a flash in history (Solberg & Preuss, 2007), it follows that effects on visitor spending, branding, and destination awareness would be limited to the short term. According to Chalip's (2004) leveraging model, effective leveraging requires strategizing beyond a single event to achieve long-term tourism benefits. In this case, destination marketers viewed the Games as the leverageable resource and neglected to incorporate other events into its national tourism leveraging strategy. Future host DMOs may therefore consider incorporating a portfolio of events when developing joint and individual leveraging strategies and providing an array of products and services that the host destination can offer in an Olympic year.

This study showed that legacy was a central theme in bidding for, planning, and managing the 2010 Olympic Games. The Games were expected to generate a wide variety of benefits for the host city, region, and country, particularly tourism and its associated economic

legacies. In order to maximize the benefits of hosting the 2010 Games, destination marketers implemented event leveraging strategies. However, there is scant empirical research to guide development of these strategies. This study examined and evaluated the empirical event leveraging literature, and with the use of examples from Vancouver 2010, proposed several directions for researchers interested in leveraging events for longer-term tourism benefits. Given that leveraging the 2010 Games involved a collaborative effort of the five host DMOs, one direction for empirical research is to examine the process of collaboration and the strategies and tactics employed by DMOs to bring about effective inter-organizational alliances. In an effort to leverage future mega, local, and regional events it would be beneficial to explore how these alliances can be sustained in the post-event period.

Previous research (e.g. Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; O'Brien, 2006) has indicated that the coordination of various event stakeholders is essential for effective leveraging. In practice, Olympic hosts have begun to create organizations which serve to coordinate their leverage efforts and foster collaboration among event stakeholders. The challenge for destination marketers is determining whether to appoint a host DMO to take the lead in leveraging a mega event, or to create a separate entity to coordinate leverage. Case study research needs to be undertaken to explore the creation of these entities as well as the evaluation of their impact in generating tourism legacies. In addition, future empirical research may examine the processes involved in creating (and sustaining) these organizations at the national level, and the extent to which these organizations may enhance the host country's capacity for event leverage.

Chalip's (2004) event leverage model identified a destination's portfolio as a resource which could be leveraged for tourism and economic development. Although a single event

has been found to have a limited effect on a destination's brand, image, and awareness (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Solberg & Preuss, 2007), Canada's Olympic Games Tourism Strategy focused on generating tourism legacies for the city, region, and country and did not incorporate its existing portfolio of sport and cultural events. Researchers have recently begun to explore the development of event portfolios (e.g. Ziakas, 2010; Ziakas & Costa, 2010); however there is limited empirical research on how to plan, manage, and leverage event portfolios, particularly those which include an Olympic Games. More longitudinal research is necessary to understand how local (and regional) sport and cultural events can be cross leveraged with a mega event to generate tourism legacies in the host city, region, and country in the pre- and post-event periods.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: Conceptualizing Legacy in an Olympic Host City: The Case of Vancouver

You are invited to participate in this research study conducted by Stacy-Lynn Sant (PhD Candidate, University of Alberta). This consent letter contains the same information as the information letter, which you may retain for your records. The researcher will retain this signed consent form in its entirety for their records.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Stacy-Lynn Sant.

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of this research is to examine the conceptualization of ‘legacy’ in an Olympic Host City through a case study of the city of Vancouver- host of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The research study aims to explore Vancouver’s conceptualization of legacy by: describing how rhetoric (persuasive language) was used by the Vancouver Bid Corporation/Vancouver Organizing Committee to gain legitimacy for the bid; how mainstream newspaper’s framing of legacy shaped the meaning of ‘legacy’ for the public; and how tourism organization conceptualizations of ‘legacy’ informed their choices of leveraging strategies to optimize Olympic-related tourism benefits.

Procedures:

You are asked to participate in a 30 to 60 minute face-to-face interview at a time and location of your convenience regarding the conceptualization of legacy in the city of Vancouver. If a face-to-face interview is inconvenient, you have the options of participating in a skype or telephone interview.

Potential risks and discomforts:

There are no known risks to participation in this study. Except for the participants’ position in the context of their organization, no further personal information will be asked. This research will focus on the participant’s understanding of the concept of legacy in the Vancouver context; therefore there is little risk physically, psychologically or emotionally. There is a slight possibility of a social risk in that participants are being asked to recall events that occurred well in the past and it may be difficult to recall these events. Further, while interviewees are not being asked to judge theirs or others performance, it is possible that interviewees may feel uncomfortable presenting information related to their action in the bidding, planning or reporting of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. If you feel uncomfortable with any line of questioning, please feel free to decline to respond or remove yourself from the research study.

Potential benefits to participants and/or to society:

Through the interview, you will have the opportunity to reflect on the intended legacy or benefits of the 2010 Olympic Games to the city of Vancouver, the province of British Columbia, and Canada. Feedback will be provided to you, which may in turn help you improve the process of bidding and planning for a large-scale sporting event.

Compensation for participation:

There will be no payment for participation in this study. However participants will receive a token of appreciation for their participation.

Confidentiality:

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. For example, your position within your organization will not be identified in the results. If you choose not have your official position revealed in the results, a generic title (i.e. manager) will be assigned to you. To guarantee confidentiality of the participants no names will be released with the results. As such no references to names will be made within the data. All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. This information will only be accessible by the members of the research team. The audio files will be destroyed when transcribing is completed. The transcribed interviews will be copied on a secure external drive and stored for five (5) years after completion of the study in a secure data storage facility, after which they will be destroyed.

Participation and withdrawal:

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. Any participant, who wishes to withdrawal from the study, will have his/her data deleted and destroyed immediately. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

Feedback of the results of this study to the participants:

A summary of the research findings will be provided to research participants upon request.

Date when results are available: January 31, 2013

Contact email:

Stacy-Lynn Sant: xxxx@ualberta.ca

Subsequent use of data:

This data will be retained for a period of five years and may be used in subsequent studies

relating to legacy of the Olympic Games. Only transcribed data where identifiers have been removed will be used in any subsequent studies.

Rights of Research Participants:

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: the Research Ethics Office, University of Alberta, at (780) 492-0459.

Signature of the research participant/legal representative:

I understand the information provided for the study Conceptualizing Legacy in an Olympic Host City: The Case of Vancouver as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Why do you think Vancouver bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games?
2. How did the Winter Olympic Games fit into Vancouver's tourism and economic development goals?
3. What does the term 'legacy' mean to you?
4. What lessons do you think were learned from past Olympic Games that were applied in planning for tourism legacies?
5. What do the terms 'tangible' and 'intangible' tourism legacies mean to you?
6. What do you understand by the term 'event leveraging'?
7. Did your organization prepare an event leveraging strategy?
8. Can you explain the processes involved in the design and implementation of event leveraging strategies?
9. What challenges (if any) did you encounter in planning for and delivering tourism legacies?
10. What do you consider to be the most important tangible tourism legacies of hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games?
11. What would you consider to be the most important intangible tourism legacies of hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games?