CANADIAN SPORTING EVENTS: AN ANALYSIS OF LEGACY AND SPORTS DEVELOPMENT

Archival material (e.g., bid books, final reports) from several sporting events held in Canada (3 Olympic Games, 2 Canada Games, and an Ontario Games) were compared using a within- and cross-event analysis. Emergent findings suggested five major categories of sustainable legacies and development: infrastructure, social, economic, environmental, and sport development.

Introduction

Following the hosting of large-scale to mega-sporting events, every city hopes to experience some form of legacy (Cashman, 2003). Legacy in this case is defined as “all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created by and for a sport event that remains for a longer time than the event itself” (Preuss, 2007, p. 86). Yet until recently, legacies and sustainable (i.e., maintained over the long-term) development have historically been given little thought while planning a mega-event. In 1984, Los Angeles proved that a sustainable legacy was a possibility following the Olympic economic disasters of Munich and Montreal (Gratton, Dobson & Shibli, 2001). As such, event legacy has become a key term for bid and organizing committees of large/mega sporting events. Event bids over the last few decades have progressively included more detail relating to the building of legacies. This has been encouraged by the inclusion of legacy into the Olympic Charter in 2003 (Chappelet, 2008), and the increased emphasis by International Federations (IF) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to include details on the possible legacies experienced by them as a host nation/city should they become the nominated candidate. Not only did Vancouver-Whistler’s bid book for the 2010 Olympic Games share sustainable legacy details over several pages but the bid committee also created LegaciesNow an organization which focuses on sport development and community capacity building within the province of British Columbia in order to ensure that sustainable legacy was a viable possibility even if the city was not awarded the Games (2010 LegaciesNow, 2008).

Legacies can be anything from infrastructure and money, to community pride and tourism. Current research shows many different types of legacies such as infrastructure, urban regeneration, economic impact (e.g., increased tourism, business opportunities, debt), and social impact (e.g., renewed community spirit, enhanced volunteer training, housing issues) (Cashman, 2005; Gold & Gold, 2007; Lenskyj, 2000; Ritchie, 2000; Vigor, Mean & Tims, 2004). Ritchie (1984) detailed six types of event impacts: economic, tourism/commercial, physical, socio-cultural, psychological and political. The legacy of sport development has generally been mixed with other types of legacies (e.g., economic, social) but it is argued in this paper to be one of the more substantial legacies resulting from sporting events in Canada; and as such, it should be considered in its own category. In addition, legacy research has typically focused on mega events, yet smaller events also have the potential to result in legacies for the host region. As a result, it is important that this article examine smaller events because relatively little research has been completed in this area as hosting an Olympic
Games is not a possibility for the majority of cities, so events that take place in smaller cities may have a more direct impact on the community. This issue will be examined more thoroughly in the several case studies that follow. As such, the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, as well as past Games in Calgary and Montreal, in addition to previous Canada Games (Regina 2005 and Corner Brook 1999), and an Ontario Summer Games (Ottawa 2006) are examined throughout this paper in relation to legacy development.

Thus, this paper seeks to characterize legacies and sport development resulting from different levels/tiers of Canadian multi-sport events. The paper will first provide an overview of the literature. This will be followed by a description of the methodology. Subsequently the findings will then be presented and discussed. Potential legacies for the 2010 Olympics in Vancouver will also be reviewed. Concluding remarks, managerial implications, and future research directions will end the paper.

Sporting Event Legacy

“Legacy is an elusive, problematic and even dangerous word” (Cashman, 2003, p. 33). Within the English language, legacy has multiple meanings: more specifically it is related to a gift or property left by will through an individual’s bequest (i.e., an inheritance) or more generally anything remaining from a time period or event (Cashman, 2003; Preuss, 2007). The IOC congress on legacy in 2002 prompted many issues to be noted with the topic such as the various meanings of the concept, especially across different cultures and in different languages (de Moragas, Kennett & Puig, 2003). The concept can also be problematic because organizing committees continue to associate it with positive results, completely ignoring the other side of the picture (Cashman, 2006). As a result of event hosting, Canada has experienced both positive and negative sport event legacies. The 1988 Olympic Games held in Calgary boasted a $300 million profit, several new facilities, amateur sport initiatives, and world-class athletic training opportunities (Bergman, 2003), whereas Montreal ’76 experienced great economic failures which left the city with a $1 billion debt and facilities which were too big and expensive to operate (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001; Gold & Gold 2007).

A review of the literature suggests that sport event legacy can be broken down into four general subcategories: infrastructure, social, environmental sustainability, and economic legacies; all of which can be tangible or intangible, positive or negative (Burbank, Andranovich & Heying, 2001; Cashman & Hughes, 1999; de Moragas et al, 2003;Getz, 2005). In addition, sport development is also seen throughout the event legacy literature, although almost always as part of infrastructure, social or economic categories mentioned above. As a result of its importance with regards to Canadian events, it has also been identified and will be further examined along with the other subcategories in more detail below.

Infrastructure Legacies

Since early editions of the Olympic Games, the emphasis on infrastructure and sporting installations has been a key part of the argument for the attraction of the event. Sports facilities, housing, transportation systems, and public spaces are all examples of infrastructure that can result from the hosting of a large-scale sporting event. These endeavours are typically planned far in advance of the event to ensure completion, and then traded or sold to the city or private organizations following the completion of the Games. For instance, after the London 2012 Olympics, swimming pools and stadium seats will be auctioned off to the highest bidder (Glendinning, 2008). Renovations, such as those done to the airport and the telecommunications systems in Los Angeles, are also examples of possible infrastructure (Burbank, Andranovich & Heying, 2001). Calgary is particularly proud of the infrastructure created for its 1988 winter Olympic Games. The construction of the Olympic Oval made Calgary a sought after destination for athletes from around the world. Other additions to the original infrastructure such as the superpipe for snowboarders, new gymnastics centre, and a $4.2 million ice house for sliding sports continue to be maintained, expanded, and
modernized by CODA (Calgary Olympic Development Organization) (Bergman, 2003; CODA, 2008).

Negative views have also been presented notably by Higham (1999) and Lenskyj (2000, 2002) who criticize the effects of sporting events such as the regeneration of poor areas, which results in displacement, evictions, and high cost of living for local residents, and the monopolization of public works during the build up and duration of the Games.

Social Legacies

Social legacies can be viewed from an individual or community perspective. It is arguably the greatest impact of many large-scale events and has the broadest range; and as a result, it may be more positive and worthwhile for a community than physical impacts. Social impacts are “intended to improve the image of an area, or to sustain tourism by increasing awareness of a destination, or they may simply be to enhance social integration and improve the confidence of a community in itself” (Shone & Parry, 2004, p. 227). Getz (2005) described how individuals can benefit from social legacies through cultural and educational programs associated with the games to improve their skills before and after the event. The Calgary Olympics in particular excelled in this area through the construction of an Olympic museum and an extensive education program. Sporting events also have the opportunity to train thousands of people from the community as volunteers, giving them experience (Cashman, 2006; Getz, 2005).

Tourism will appear both in this category as it relates to changes in the social culture of an area and also in the economic legacies section of this paper. New infrastructure (e.g., hotels, and athletic facilities) are often built for the hosting of mega-events. This can have a positive and negative effect on the social aspect of the city. Such as providing an opportunity for job creation in the community in addition to attracting future visitors who will spend money at local merchants, stimulating the economy and improving quality of life for residents (Shone & Parry, 2004). They can also result in displacement of residents and increased cost of living for inhabitants (Higham, 1999). We also see that legacy types do not seem to be mutually exclusive.

Economic Legacies

Cities often spend billions of dollars on hosting these events even though there is a risk of no return on investment (Preuss, 2004). Andranovich, Burbank and Heying (2001) pointed out that city officials need to recognize that profits are not guaranteed, nor is planning of large/mega sporting events an easy task. For example, Montreal used mostly public funding, so when the Games became a financial disaster, city residents had to shoulder the burden through the payment of taxes (Wallman, 2006). Even Vancouver 2010 has experienced difficulties with the financing of the athlete’s village in False Creek due to the economic recession which resulted in Vancouver city council passing an amendment to their charter in order to borrow $458 million to help with the village’s timely completion (CBC News, 2009). On the other hand, a financial surplus is also a possibility. Los Angeles created little capital (infrastructure) legacies for the Olympics in 1984, using mainly existing infrastructure, and as a result profited from a $225 million surplus (Burbank, Andranovich, & Heying, 2001).

Environmental Sustainability Legacies

“Sustainable events are those that can endure indefinitely without consuming or spoiling the resources upon which they depend” (Getz, 2005, p.123). In a world that is increasingly focused on preventing global warming and protecting the environment, the IOC has recently recognized the importance for the Olympic Movement to be environmentally sustainable; and as such, it has added the environment as the third pillar of the Olympic Movement (Chapplet, 2008; Loland, 2006). Ecological impacts remained at a minimum until the Games increased extensively in popularity. Chapplet (2008) argued that it was the Winter Olympic Games which acted as the main catalyst for
the development of environmental concerns as a type of non-material legacy. Although, environmental issues date back to the Lake Placid Games, ecological concerns such as air and water quality, waste management, and facility construction gained serious recognition by the Lillehammer Games in 1994 through the conceptualization of the ‘green games’ (Chappelet, 2008). This was subsequently followed by Atlanta and Sydney who were leaders in the implementation of an environmentally ‘friendly’ approach to hosting and presented new energy efficient and renewable energy technologies that brought hosting an Olympic Games to a new standard. These technologies also act as a legacy that remains in the city (National Renewable Energy Laboratory, 2000). Sydney’s bid was the first to include measures for environmental protection, and that particular section of bid books has grown larger every year since (Beyer, 2006).

Sport Development

Sport development is also seen throughout the event legacy literature, although almost always as part of one of the abovementioned categories (e.g., the successes of Catriona Le May Doan thanks to the infrastructure legacy of the Calgary Olympic Oval). According to Canadian Heritage (2004), sport development must include benefits for the athletes, coaches, officials and spectators, both current and future, and is included in the social, cultural and economic goals of the event. Most recently London won the right to host the 2012 Summer Olympic Games based on the promise to support sport participation to all groups of people across the country (Girginov & Hills, 2008). As such, sport development has a very wide impact, from individual-based opportunities such as elite athletes aspiring to participate in the Games to local community members, with the hopes of engaging them and increasing sport participation, to infrastructure-based changes such as renovated facilities and equipment, to policy/planning-based changes through the development of new skills and experience (Parent, 2008).

The above research has been done using mostly large-scale events, yet the majority of Canadian cities are not large enough to host such events. Thus, there is a need to examine these four categories, as well as sport development, within smaller events as well as larger events.

Methodology

This paper uses a comparative case-study methodology (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). It analyzes two Canadian Olympic Games, two Canada Games, and one Provincial Games, as well as the bid for the upcoming Vancouver-Whistler Olympics in 2010 for a total of six sporting event case studies. Each case examines the legacies and impacts that the event had or plans to have on the city, its residents, its culture and economy. It determines which kinds of legacies are more prominent in Canadian contexts and which types of legacies predominate for different event sizes. A description of each case study is first provided, followed by the data collection and analysis techniques.

Case Studies

Each case study was chosen for fitting within one of three levels: Olympic (international), national, and provincial. As well, both winter and summer editions were chosen when available to ensure comparability and coverage.

Case study 1: Montreal Summer Olympic Games, 1976. The Olympic Games took place in Montreal, Quebec from July 17th to August 1st 1976. This was an international event with 6,084 athletes. The bid book and final report were used in this analysis.

Case study 2: Calgary Winter Olympic Games, 1988. The Olympic Games took place in Calgary, Alberta from February 13th to February 28th 1988. This was an international event with 1,423 athletes. Both the bid book and final report were used in this analysis.
Case study 3: Vancouver Winter Olympic Games 2010. The Olympic Games will be taking place in Vancouver, British Columbia from February 12th to February 28th 2010. This will be an international event with an estimated 5500 athletes and officials participating from all over the world (Tourism Vancouver, 2009). The bid book was used in this analysis and supplemented with current organizing committee communications such as their sustainability reports.

Case study 4: Corner Brook Canada Winter Games, 1999. The Canada Games took place in Corner Brook, Newfoundland from February 20th to March 6th 1999. This was a national event with 2,575 athletes. The bid book and final report were used in this analysis.

Case study 5: Regina Canada Summer Games, 2005. The Canada Games took place in Regina, Saskatchewan from August 6th to August 20th 2005. This was a national event with 3,555 athletes. The bid book and final report were used in this analysis.

Case study 6: Ottawa Ontario Summer Games, 2006. The Ontario Games took place in Ottawa, Ontario from August 9th to August 13th 2006. This was a provincial event with 2,437 athletes. The bid book and final report were used in this analysis.

Data Collection

The data collected was archival in nature. It consisted mainly of the bid books and final reports of the events described above, with the exception of Vancouver as the final report will not be available until after the conclusion of the event. All information was converted into electronic format for subsequent analysis.

Data Analysis

An archival analysis was undertaken to examine the bid books and final reports of each case. Data were coded for each legacy type identified in the literature, as well as any emerging legacy types using ATLAS.ti 5.0 (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The types of legacies were then determined for each case. It is important to acknowledge that the nature of the data collection was limited (i.e., focused on bid documents and post games reports) as such the legacies identified in this research are a reflection of those documents. A within-event analysis and a cross-event analysis were performed to determine the differences and similarities between editions of an event, as well as between types/levels of events. Tables were created to assist with each analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and are presented in the following section. Peer debriefing occurred to increase the validity and reliability of the findings.

Results

Findings showed that the four literature-based legacy types, as well as sports development, were present in the data and encompassed the variety of specific examples highlighted in each case. Table 1 describes each of the different types of legacies found within the cases and gives examples of each. The following provides details as to each legacy type per event analyzed.

Infrastructural Legacies

Montreal Summer 1976 (Olympic Games). Several new facilities were constructed including a new Olympic Stadium, a pool and the Olympic Velodrome, as well as four high-rise residential buildings. There were also several upgrades made to existing facilities such as the Maurice Richard Arena. In July of 2003, CTV.ca released an article describing the buildings in the 21st century. According to the article, most Quebecers feel the Olympic Stadium has become an unpopular eyesore and it famously started falling apart when large pieces of the concrete ceiling fell onto the
playing field. Due to high cost and low usage of the Velodrome, it has been turned into a biosphere museum re-named the Biodome.

Calgary Winter 1988 (Olympic Games). The ’88 Games were the first edition of the Winter Olympics to discuss the concept of legacy (specifically related to infrastructure) in their bid book (Bid Committee- Calgary 1988 Olympic Winter Games, 1981). The 1988 Games required several new facilities including the Olympic Oval, the Olympic Saddledome, Olympic Park and the Nakiska and the Canmore Nordic Centre. There were also two new residences built at the University of Calgary to house the athletes. An Olympic Visitors Centre and an Olympic Hall of Fame were built and a major addition was constructed for the University of Calgary Physical Education Building. An Olympic Village was built in Canmore including a new pool, curling rink and golf club house. Broadcast Hill Village was also constructed to house the media during the Games and, following the games, was turned into new rental suites. Finally, upgrades were made to many buildings in the Calgary and Canmore areas.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legacy type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>New buildings, technologies or construction in the region</td>
<td>-new facilities</td>
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<td>-upgraded facilities</td>
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<td>-transportation systems</td>
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<td>-new technologies</td>
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<td>Social</td>
<td>Contributions to the pride, social networks and the positive and negative experiences shared by a community</td>
<td>-human resources</td>
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<td>-volunteer training</td>
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<td>-pride and spirit</td>
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<td>-investments in youth</td>
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<td>-friendships and memories</td>
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<td>-community role models</td>
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<td>-participation and health</td>
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<td>-education</td>
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<td>Economic</td>
<td>Contributions that influence the economy of a region or nation</td>
<td>-surplus/deficit</td>
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<td>-service industry expertise</td>
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<td>-new money</td>
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<td>-funds put into foundations/trust</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-donations</td>
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<td>Environmental</td>
<td>Factors that impact or protect the environment</td>
<td>-awareness of issues</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-negative/positive effects</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-pollution, resources, protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport development</td>
<td>Contributions to the development of regional or national athletics</td>
<td>-new/upgraded facilities</td>
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<td>-participation levels in sport</td>
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<td>-ongoing foundations to develop sport</td>
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<td>-community known athletes to act as role models</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-qualified coaches and officials</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-promoting membership in local athletic organizations</td>
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<td>-awareness of particular sports</td>
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Vancouver Winter 2010 (Olympic Games). VANOC (Vancouver Organizing Committee) has created the Richmond- Airport- Downtown Vancouver transit link as well as expanded the Vancouver Convention and Exhibition Centre. Like the other two Olympic Games, Vancouver is nearing completion of additional new facilities including two new Olympic Villages which will be
converted to non-market housing, a new Athlete Centre, a new Winter Sport Centre at the University of British Columbia and the new Hillcrest/Nat Bailey Stadium Park Centre (curling, hockey, gymnastics, fitness, childcare, arts and multipurpose facilities). One of the most elaborate new facilities is the Richmond Oval, which will host the speed skating events; following the Games, it will be transformed into both an elite and community based recreation facility.

**Corner Brook Winter 1999 (Canada Games).** The 1999 Canada Games saw the construction of a new long track speed skating oval, and the new Stephenville Dome which held short track speed skating and hockey. A new Canada Games Centre was also built. Major upgrades were done to the Arts and Culture Centre and the West Coast Training Centre. Marble Mountain and Blow-Me-Down Cross Country Ski Hill received major improvements as well. The disappointment of these Games came, however, when the new speed skating oval, which was outside, failed to freeze due to warm weather and that event was cancelled, letting down the hundreds of workers and volunteers who had put their time and energy into that project.

**Regina Summer 2005 (Canada Games).** Regina hosted the Canada Games in 2005 and built a new Centre for Kinesiology, Health and Sport at the University of Regina, which included a 3-court gym, a running track, a medical centre, and a fitness centre. They built a new multi-purpose building at Regina’s Exhibition Park and upgraded over 10 facilities. They also took on the task of deepening Wascana Lake for the water sports.

**Ottawa Summer 2006 (Ontario Games).** The Ontario Games in Ottawa made very little infrastructure contributions. They did make improvements to the baseball park.

**Social Legacies**

**Montreal Summer 1976 (Olympic Games).** The Montreal organizing team set a goal to foster honest rivalry and the spirit of competition for the youth of the country. The young people’s reaction to the Games indicated that they really can bring the community together. Beneficial effects on the physical, mental and social well-being of the people of Canada were produced by the Games, especially in Montreal. They improved working efficiency among workers in the region as well. This all resulted in a relative reduction in health costs, both at the government and individual level. Top-quality athletes were also made role models for the youth of the country. However in an article printed in Montreal’s ‘The Gazette’ in 2006, an ex-Montrealer was quoted, describing how he wished the Games had not happened due to the never-ending debt, the eyesores of new infrastructure and their uselessness today. While some Montrealers were proud at the time, it appears in this article that that feeling has diminished (Mennie, 2006). Thus, this appears to support Ritchie’s and Smith’s (1991) contention of diminishing region awareness over the longer term.

**Calgary Winter 1988 (Olympic Games).** New friendships and a better international understanding were created by the hosting of the Games in Calgary. The aim of the Olympic movement in Calgary was to use sport for the education of young people. They implemented many educational and cultural programs in the schools to give students the opportunity to learn about Olympic events, watch the competitions, work as volunteers and take part in initiatives such as the International Friendship Album Exchange. The community relations department distributed 1.7 million souvenirs to members of the public including pins, decals, flags and pageantry decorations to help promote excitement, pride and enthusiasm among the citizens. The Native Participation Program highlighted the lifestyle transition of Canada’s Aboriginals. Business owners were invited to seminars and informal discussions on business opportunities and as a result of all of the above, the Games produced the confidence in the community that they were successful in hosting a great Olympic Games. Their tourism strategy generated awareness and interest in Alberta and brought in hundreds of thousands of tourists with whom the citizens of Alberta could interact. However, as Ritchie and Smith noted, the Calgary Stampede has had a longer-term tourism impact than the Olympic Games on the region.
**Vancouver Winter 2010 (Olympic Games).** The Vancouver bid recognized the successful impact that Calgary had on training staff, officials, and coaches, as well as the new facilities for athletic training. Vancouver plans to promote diversity and celebrate cultural heritage through its Cultural Olympiads while increasing the understanding of sustainability. They aim to host inclusive and accessible games. Education and awareness programs, similar to those in Calgary will be implemented in Vancouver and will benefit the community and workplaces. Impact assessments indicate that social benefits will be realized in the form of education, training, cultural enrichment, and volunteer development. They plan to advance the role of women through sport and they also have a youth involvement strategy. They have plans in detail for Vancouver’s vulnerable inner-city neighbourhoods; non-market housing, employment, economic opportunities, civil liberties and ongoing programs will be created. Fifty thousand tickets have been set aside to be distributed through social agencies as well. All of this is once again anticipating a decrease in needed health care and an improvement in personal health. Tourism will boost the confidence and the economy of the region by enhancing British Columbia’s reputation as a desired destination. VANOC plans on releasing sustainability reports five times before the games to ensure that they will leave a positive, lasting impact in all areas, the second of which was just released. They went into more detail about the programs they are incorporating in their plans by working with inner-city organizations, persons with a disability and other groups with the goal of producing inclusive and accessible games (VANOC, 2008). Inner-city employment, training and business opportunities are crucial in the planning process as well as aboriginal participation. VANOC plans on basing many of their legacy plans on Calgary’s successful legacy outcome. They have been conducting impact assessments in Calgary to ensure their own success.

**Corner Brook Winter 1999 (Canada Games).** The training of officials and coaches in Corner Brook as well as the acquisition of business-related skills by volunteers will leave a lasting legacy in the region. The Games promoted pride, spirit, self-confidence and self-esteem in the area that will lead them in future initiatives. The new facilities increased interest in winter sports and therefore contributed to healthy lifestyle practices. Corner Brook, like, Vancouver, aimed to make an investment in their youth by having them volunteer in hopes that they would take more of an interest in civic-minded activities and athletic development. Corner Brook was exposed through the media to promote tourism and the visitors to the region had an opportunity to interact with locals.

**Regina Summer 2005 (Canada Games).** Again, Regina described how trained volunteers, coaches and officials will aid in bringing future events to the city and how they created friendships and memories that will act as long-lasting legacies. The Games also created community-known athletes to act as role models for youth in the area. The financial legacy left by the Games will fund 16 new community programs that will benefit sport and culture, such as the Dreams and Champions Legacy Program which will provide opportunities for youth to pursue their dreams and develop interest in new sports. After the Games, Regina was ranked in the top cities in the country to live in which, it is believed, will bring more visitors to the region.

**Ottawa Summer 2006 (Ontario Games).** The Ontario Games in Ottawa again brought together trained volunteers to work together on a project who can now work on future events in the Nation’s Capital. They encouraged partnerships and co-ordination among service providers and developed leaders in the sports sector.

**Economic Legacies**

**Montreal Summer 1976 (Olympic Games).** The Montreal Olympics are most well known for their financial legacy. Their goal was to make the games self-financing, with an estimated cost of $310 million. In the end, the Games cost $1.5 billion in capital costs, putting the city of Montreal and province of Quebec into incredible debt. Technical difficulties, worker strikes, unforeseen costs and underestimates are blamed for the deficit. The 1976 Olympic Games did, however, leave the legacy of The Olympic (1976) Act- Bill C-1960 and Bill C-63, which produced Olympic coins and stamps to be sold to the public for the purposes of fundraising. Both Calgary and Vancouver have followed in
their footsteps in selling this memorabilia. The final report estimated that between $77 and $135 million was spent by tourists to the area. In November of 2006, Quebec finally paid off the $1.5 billion debt. It was mainly paid for through a special tax put on tobacco in Quebec, and took the province thirty years to do so (CBC News, 2006).

**Calgary Winter 1988 (Olympic Games).** The Calgary Games were funded by the three levels of government as well as the organizing committee and private enterprises. The end of the games produced a financial legacy of more than $260 million dollars which will go to sport organizations around the world to promote amateur and high-performance sport. In 1982, both the Olympic Organizing Committee ’88 and the Government of Canada contributed $30 million each to the Calgary Olympic Development Association to take care of any future costs to upkeep the newly developed facilities. This was done so that future taxpayers would not be responsible for the infrastructure built for the Games in 1988. Calgary also saw $1.4 billion in economic benefits such as capital projects and improvements, operations and planning, and visitor expenditures. In the years leading up to and following the Games, Alberta spent over $10 million to promote the area and believed that the return would be substantial (Calgary Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, 1988).

**Vancouver Winter 2010 (Olympic Games).** Similar to Calgary, the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia have come together and established endowment trust to fund long-term operations for the new infrastructure, and in total, have committed $400 million to new construction and Olympic endowments (Government of Canada, 2008). The provincial government has also contributed $13 million to the Olympic Arts Fund and $14.2 million to the Physical Fitness and Amateur Sports Fund. Vancouver plans to maximize economic opportunity, support international trade and investment, advance social equity through economic opportunities, and strengthen community and stakeholder partnerships. VANOC believes that hosting these Games will have a positive influence on the region’s economy through tourism as it will become a sought after vacation and convention destination. It also plans to donate the purchased sporting equipment to sport organizations. According to the VANOC Sustainability Report (2006-2007), the budget is on schedule and the Games operating trust has grown to $133 million (VANOC, 2008).

**Corner Brook Winter 1999 (Canada Games).** At the time of the final report, Corner Brook had a surplus amount of $2.6 million. This money will be used to fund sport and culture development in the region. They were able to sell their remaining supplies for $325,000 as well. They also believe that the local vendors that participated in the games will use their new expertise to further business opportunities which will increase revenue. Canon, who loaned the Games committee $500,000 worth of equipment, donated the fifty colour printers to District 3 School Board following the games. All purchased sport equipment and related items were also donated to local sport organizations which will allow for sport development and new opportunities in the community.

**Regina Summer 2005 (Canada Games).** The 2005 Canada Summer Games produced a financial legacy of $3.2 million. This amount will go towards the 16 new programs that were described in the social legacies section of this paper. One of Regina’s financial goals was to generate new money spent in the city by outsiders and this goal was reached in the sum of $32.3 million in new economic activity in Regina. Sport equipment worth $600,000 was purchased for the Games and was then donated to 100 sport and community organizations after the Games. More than $200,000 in other assets such as food, tents, and sheds were also given to community groups.

**Ottawa Summer 2006 (Ontario Games).** The proposed budget anticipated a financial legacy of $44,000 that would be used to create an Ottawa sports council. Unfortunately, they did not reach this goal, but they did finish with a surplus of between $12,651 and $17,651 (the exact total was unknown at the time of final report), which was proposed to be forwarded to the next Summer Games. Computer software programs, materials, and signage that were designed for the Games were made available, free of charge, for use in future Games.
Environmental Legacies

Montreal Summer 1976 (Olympic Games). Environmental factors were not included in their final analysis.

Calgary Winter 1988 (Olympic Games). Environmental factors were not included in their final analysis.

Vancouver Winter 2010 (Olympic Games). The Vancouver Olympic bid book was the first successful Canadian Olympic bid (or final report) to include environmental factors as a concern (or a result) of the Games. This reflects the growing concern of society of the diminishing natural resources and the negative effects our communities are having on the planet. Vancouver included in its bid book a detailed description of how it will host a ‘green games’. They plan on conserving resources, preventing pollution, and protecting and enhancing natural systems. They will accomplish this by constructing green buildings, having solid and liquid waste management, as well as air quality and greenhouse gas management, and they will protect natural and cultural heritage. Vancouver 2010 will also have sustainable transportation, sustainable energy management and sustainable Olympic villages. The VANOC Sustainability Report (2006-2007) describes how the corporate sponsors have come together and created the 2010 Sustainability Sponsor Initiative to share best practices.

Corner Brook Winter 1999 (Canada Games). Environmental factors were not included in bid or final report.

Regina Summer 2005 (Canada Games). The organizers in Regina wanted to increase awareness of environmental issues and minimize the negative environmental impacts by recycling, providing green food services and protecting the natural resources in the area. All new infrastructure was subject to an environmental screening process as well.

Ottawa Summer 2006 (Ontario Games). They did not include any environmental factors in their bid or final report as no new facilities were constructed so little damage could be done.

Sport Development Legacies

Montreal Summer 1976 (Olympic Games). As mentioned in the social legacies section, Montreal reached their goal of setting an example of sportsmanship and the spirit of competition on the youth in the country. They also shed light on several previously unknown sports such as gymnastics, volleyball and weightlifting in the area which encouraged new programs and participation levels. One of the major success factors for the Montreal Olympic Games was the increased practice and accessibility of amateur sports in the region. The new facilities also opened doors to new athletic opportunities in the area such as skating, cross-country skiing, snowshoeing, tobogganing, jogging, football, basketball, baseball and handball in addition to experiencing rapid climbs in participation levels in city athletic programs. City officials also spent increased amounts of money on sport (even more so than the federal government, at least until recently)(Statistics Canada, 2007).

Calgary Winter 1988 (Olympic Games). Due to the great financial legacy produced by the Olympics in 1988, several amateur and high-performance sports organizations received contributions to develop their sport. New facilities also led to the further development of high performance sport in the region as it offered the best equipment in the country at the time. Special initiatives and programs were introduced to ensure that Canada had top quality athletes representing them in the Games, and these programs will continue to train young participants. Organizers, coaches, and officials in the region received exceptional training transferable to future events. The Olympic Endowment Fund will ensure the upkeep of the new facilities so that generations to come will have the same opportunities to train with Olympic caliber equipment. The exposure to international competition and the thrill of the Games themselves generated a spirit and a desire for sport. The Olympic infrastructure has had
incredible impacts on sport development in Calgary and all of Canada. In February of 2008, Chris Zelkovich from the Toronto Star wrote an article on Lindsay Alcock, who in 1998, took a summer job at Calgary’s Olympic Park. One day she tried the skeleton track for fun and was hooked. The Olympics in Vancouver are expected to be the third time Alcock will represent Canada on the national skeleton team. Since the Olympic Games in 1988, Canada has gone from winning the odd medal to being one of the top medal winners at the Winter Olympic Games, and the infrastructure and subsequent sport development is to thank in part for this achievement (Zelkovich, 2008).

**Vancouver Winter 2010 (Olympic Games).** New technical and coaching expertise combined with the new training facilities will provide countless new opportunities for people to get involved in winter sports in BC. The LegaciesNow initiative was created to ensure sports development for British Columbia. The Hillcrest/Nat Bailey Centre will create a world-class curling facility in the region, giving new opportunities for curlers to train. The University of British Columbia venue will enhance university and local sporting competitions, and the new Athlete Centre will act as a permanent accommodation for training athletes and will provide accommodation for future events.

**Corner Brook Winter 1999 (Canada Games).** The final report of the Corner Brook 1999 Games described how the new facilities are to promote sport and cultural development and foster interest and participation in winter sports. This should then contribute to healthier lifestyles and will hopefully produce future Canada Games athletes.

**Regina Summer 2005 (Canada Games).** The Regina Organizing Committee created the Summer Games Foundation to distribute the legacy funding to sport organizations in the community. The Games also fostered the development of community-known athletes. The region will also benefit from the newly trained and qualified coaches and officials.

**Ottawa Summer 2006 (Ontario Games).** The Ontario Summer Games in 2006 gave Ottawa the opportunity to showcase sport in the host city. The Games fostered partnerships between businesses and local sport organizations which will enhance the experience of amateur sport. They also displayed true examples of the competitive spirit in sport. These factors encouraged and promoted membership in amateur sport organizations in the Ottawa area. Shared resources will now be common as the Ontario Games managed to strengthen and develop the sport sector and its leaders. They would have liked to strengthen the Ottawa Sports Council, but the funds were not available at the end of the Games.

**Discussion**

It was first of all observed that the amount of legacy information available grew and became more detailed as the years passed. The 1976 Olympic Games included very little about ‘legacies’ in general, whereas the bid for the Vancouver-Whistler Olympics includes several pages on each type of legacy. Montreal did have a small section of their final report titled “The Rewards of the Games” which mostly consisted of social legacies. The same pattern was noticed in the national event analysis as Regina included more legacy impacts in 2005 than Corner Brook did in 1999. This reflects a growing demand from the public for the events to mean something to them and to produce benefits for the host region. The country watched as Montreal fell into a deep hole of debt; and assurance that this will not happen again is now required for large events in Canada. More precisely, the Canadian and provincial governments are learning from their experiences and updating the policies as a consequence (c.f. Government of Quebec, 2006; Ministry of Health Promotion, 2007).

Table 2 describes each type of legacy discussed in the results section and lists them according to their importance in each of the levels of competition. Importance was determined by the amount
(in words and pages) of description the legacy type received in the bid books and final reports. As the table depicts, each level of competition views the various legacy types in a different order of importance. This is also based on capacity, as the budget for Ontario Games does not allow for the new infrastructure that occurs in Olympic cities. As one might assume, infrastructure is most prevalent in the Olympic cities. Enormous budgets and the demand for world-class facilities for the Olympic Games make it possible for infrastructure to be highly ranked in importance. It placed in the middle of the table for the Canada Games as they have a smaller budget, but one that still allows for smaller projects in comparison to the Olympic Games. Infrastructure ranked at the bottom of the list for the Ontario Games as new facilities are not a realistic expectation for such an event.

Table 2

<table>
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<th>Importance of legacy types per level of sport</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Olympic Games</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport Development/Economy</td>
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<td>Environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
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Social legacies ranked near the top for all of the levels. Large events require the citizens of the city to participate in many ways such as volunteering, sponsoring, and hosting, so return on investment is important to them; by volunteering, for example, these individuals can gain skills which they can apply in the future, thus showing a social legacy of an event. In all of the settings, it was common that an impression on youth was sought after and accomplished through education and participation. It was also important in the Calgary and Vancouver Olympic Games to have the aboriginal population of Canada involved in the process. They aimed at creating employment opportunities, and improving lifestyles. The Canada Games focused more on the pride and spirit as well as the memories and friendships that were created. They were also proud of the trained officials and coaches that resulted from the Games. The Ontario Games in Ottawa were proud of the partnerships that were created between businesses and local sport organizations, and also the group of volunteers that worked together on the project.

Economic legacies ranked from the middle to the top on the list of importance in all levels. Economic legacies were never viewed as the most important legacy in any of the events analyzed, including the Montreal Olympics. While the budget has the potential to be disastrous or incredibly successful, other legacies had more of an impact on the host regions than the surpluses and deficits at the time of the final reports. All but one event ended their Games in a financial success, which implies that lessons were learned from the Montreal Olympic deficit. Obviously, the more money put into the event the larger the potential outcome, so Olympic Games such as the Calgary 1988 Games have the potential to make a multi-million dollar profit. Both Canada Games examined made a few million dollars, and the Ontario Games came out ahead with over $10,000. It was observed that the Canada Games placed the most importance on donations of equipment and support after the Games.

Environmental impacts have only recently come to be a major issue in all aspects of our lives. This gradual change in the sport world has taken place only in the 21st century following the “Green Games” that Sydney hosted in 2000. This is reflected in the documents for large-scale sporting events. Only two of the nine documents included provisions for the protection of the environment. The Regina Canada Games Bid Book included a few lines about how they planned on promoting awareness of environmental issues, recycling and the protection of natural resources. The Vancouver
bid included several pages alone on how they would make the entire Games ‘green’ and have subsequently released reports and statements assuring the public that these measures are taking place. For this reason, environmental legacies ranked near the bottom or not at all on the chart of importance at each level; but they are likely on the rise for future Games. The Ontario Games did not mention the environment at all, but with the current push to be environmentally cautious, it is expected that provisions on recycling bins, using e-mail instead of paper and hosting the event using recyclable products will be introduced.

Tourism legacies were not significant enough in any of the documents to even support a full category in the analysis and were therefore included in the social and economic categories. For this reason, tourism ranked near the bottom or not at all. This was consistent with the literature as tourism was often placed within those categories (cf. Cashman, 2006; Preuss, 2004). It is also important to note that each type of legacy can be interconnected through a cause and effect relationship. For example, new infrastructure and economic legacies continue the effect on sport development, which in turn creates an enhanced social atmosphere. Figure 1 depicts this using the Olympic Oval in Calgary as an example.

**Figure 1**

**Olympic Oval Legacy**

![Diagram of Olympic Oval Legacy]

Thus, this figure highlights how legacies (e.g., infrastructure) can be precursors for other types of legacies (e.g., sport development), which in turn become drivers of other legacies (e.g., social). The example also highlights that social legacies seem to be more long-term focused (e.g., the health component may take years to see), than others (e.g., impact of additional taxes coming in before and during the Games).

Sport development occurs as a result of other legacies. Infrastructure, economic and social legacies can cause sport development by providing the facilities, funding and interest to do so. This is supported by Brown and Massey (2001) and Parent (2008) who have argued that the varying types and levels of legacy although distinct are not mutually exclusive. In addition, both positive (e.g., knowledge development, networking and social benefits) and negative changes (e.g., volunteer burnout) related to sport development can occur in relation to the hosting of sporting events (Parent, 2008). Figure 2 theorizes how the legacy types are connected and how they can affect each other.
Examining the six events, and their historical evolution, highlights key findings beyond the infrastructure, social, environmental sustainability, economic, and sport development legacies found in the literature and in the results. The types of legacies resulting from sporting events in Canada will continue to grow and change and become increasingly important in the bid books and final reports, given their use as justification for funding such projects. Each event adds an additional resource for upcoming events to learn from and base their decisions on. The Montreal Olympic Games tried to make the Games self-financed, and while it had devastating results on their economy, it taught a valuable lesson to future Games. It showed that funding needs to be in place beforehand and come from a variety of sources such as governments, merchandising, and private investors. The environmental legacies will grow in importance in the years to come at all levels of competition as the increasing concerns of the people demand green and sustainable initiatives. Combining the environmental issues with the economic ones may prove to be a challenge for organizing committees of future events. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that legacy types are interconnected and that their predominance depends on the level/type of sporting event.

Sport event legacies are as important as the sports themselves at all levels and future studies should examine the order of importance the legacies take as the values of society continue to change. The differences between the legacies in Canada versus those in the United States and in other countries around the world could also be examined. It will be important to watch the evolution of ‘green’ initiatives and research will focus on it in the future. As well, the interconnected nature of the legacy types needs further examination. Finally, few reports included negative affects from the events, so future studies could examine the impacts, such as environmental one that the Canadian events, specifically the older ones had on the region to determine longer-term impacts—an issue which final reports (written within one year of the events) cannot answer.
References


