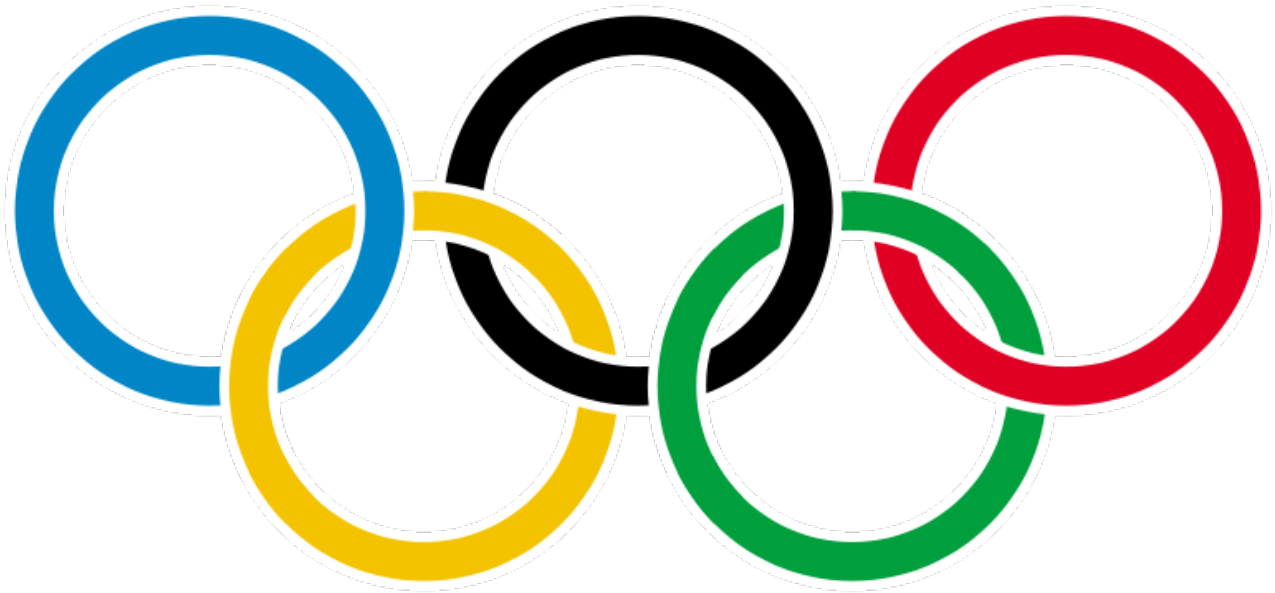


A photograph of ancient stone columns, likely from a Greek temple, silhouetted against a bright orange and yellow sunset sky. The columns are arranged in a row, with some showing signs of wear and damage. The lighting is dramatic, with the sun low on the horizon, creating a strong backlight effect on the structures.

2028

*Real estate development strategies
towards a successful Olympic legacy*

Ernst-Jan van Prooye - Master Thesis



"Citius, Altius, Fortius"

("Faster, higher, stronger" - Olympic motto)

Henri Didon

*"L'important dans la vie ce n'est point le triomphe mais le combat,
l'essentiel ce n'est pas d'avoir vaincu mais de s'être bien battu."*

("An important aspect in life is not victory but the battle,
the essence is not to have won but to have fought well.")

Pierre de Coubertin

2028

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Delft University of Technology

November, 2010

i. Colophon

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ii. Preface

"Sometimes, organising mega-events such as the Olympics is compared to war: an unprecedented mobilisation, acceleration of innovation, rapid transformation of inefficient structures and a strong vision that is setting social cleavages aside and fosters unity, are some of the effects caused by war and, fairly, also by such mega-events."

Panagiotis Getimis & Nikos Hlepas

This report encompasses the quote above and searches beyond the regular scope to dissect the most optimal Olympic movement. Stakeholders, urban development strategies and sustainable development ambition levels are just a small number of aspects this Master thesis has comprehended. The thesis is written for the Technical University of Delft, to be more precise for the graduation department of Real Estate and Housing, and in the Urban Area Development laboratory of the Faculty of Architecture. The research was conducted during the last fourteen months.

The choice for the subject, namely Olympic development strategies, is linked to my sincere interest in sports. I have always enjoyed watching the Olympic tournament and when scouring for a subject, I was wondering what different aspects are taken into account behind the scenes in order to organise such an Olympic event. Hereafter the preference to deepen my knowledge in Olympic real estate strategies was rapidly decided. Additionally, what would be more exhilarating for a sports fan than witnessing the Olympic Games in their own nation? Nothing! That is how the idea was born to include the possibility of the Netherlands hosting the Olympic Games. Coincidentally the Dutch Olympic Committee, the NOC*NSF, and the Dutch government are exploring all the possibilities concerning this mega-idea, and a few students before me already have explored the subject for their theses. Gaining certain start-up information was therefore mostly effortless and the first invitations for conversations were enthusiastically received. Hence the reason I chose this subject.

A graduation research is never executed by oneself, in contradiction to the negative rumours. Support from all sides is needed in order to surpass this lonely period in the final months at the university. Support was found on multiple levels. The first two individuals I would like to thank are Yawei Chen and Philip Koppels. Their never ending dedication to my research provided me with enough will and determination to push forward to finally reach the point I am at the moment, the eve of my graduation. I would additionally like to extend my gratitude towards my supervisors at my research company Deloitte, Claudia van Hasselt and Martijn Nab. The manner in which they embraced my research and stood up with all my questions and requests was very helpful and is appreciated.

A graduation research has to be executed with some fun in between sessions sitting behind your desk. Therefore I would like to thank my friends from the university for distracting me with the most diverse conversations possible so that I could make a fresh start after every coffee break. The last group of individuals I would like to thank for the support during the last demanding months are my colleagues at Deloitte, whom I hoop I provided enough coffee for.

The whole experience of writing a Master thesis has been very satisfactory, although I am not planning to do it any time soon again. All the lessons I have learned in the long period I have spent at this University have been implemented into the thesis and all that rests now is receiving an excellent grade!

Ernst-Jan van Prooye
The Hague, November 2010

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v. Abbreviations

Olympic

General

IOC	International Olympic Committee
OCOG	Organising Committee Olympic Games
NOC	National Organising Committee
OC	Organising Committee

The Netherlands

NOC*NSF	Nederlands Olympische Comité * Nederlandse Sport Federaties (Dutch Olympic Committee * Dutch Sport Federations)
DOCOG	Dutch Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (hypothetical)
DLC	Dutch Legacy Company (hypothetical)
DOCP	Dutch Olympic Culture Programme (hypothetical)
ODB	Olympic Development Board (hypothetical)

Barcelona

COOB'92	Comité Organizador Olímpic Barcelona '92 (Barcelona Olympic Organising Committee)
OCSA	Olimpíada Cultural Societat Anónima (Barcelona Cultural Activity Organising Committee)
COE	Comité Organizador Español (Spanish Olympic Committee)

Atlanta

ACOG	Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games
USOC	United States Olympic Committee
ACOP	Atlanta Centennial Olympic Properties
MAOGA	Metropolitan Atlanta Olympic Games Authority
CODA	Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta

Sydney

SOCOG	Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
OCA	Olympic Co-ordination Authority
ORTA	Olympic Roads and Transport Authority
GCOG	Games Coordination Group and Operational Integration
NSW	New South Wales; state in Australia

Athens

ATHOC	Athens 2004 Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
HOC	Hellenic Olympic Committee
NCOG	National Committee for the Olympic Games
IMC	Inter-Ministerial Committee

Beijing	
BOCOG	Beijing 2008 Organising Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad
BMG	Beijing Municipal Government
CED	Construction and Environment Department
SEPA	The State Environmental Protection Administration

London

LDA	Land Development Agency
ODA	Olympic Delivery Authority

Non-Olympic

VROM	Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environmental Management)
VWS	Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport)
V&W	Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat (Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management)
BPF	British Property Federation
ULI	Urban Land Institute
CBD	Central Business District
FEZ	Federal Empowerment Zone
NGO	Non-governmental organisation

vi. Summary

Introduction

Since the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, where the Dutch Olympians won a record amount of Olympic medals, the Olympic Dream has yet again awoken in the Netherlands. The dream to stage the Olympic once again, exactly 100 years after the first and only Olympiad in the Netherlands, was aimed at 2028. So why would the Netherlands want to host such an event? And how show they tackle the assignment? After the Olympiad in Athens in 2004, the Dutch Olympic dream had gained enough support to establish a concrete movement. This was done by establishing the 'Alliantie', a collaboration between the Dutch Olympic Committee, the NOC*NSF, the national government, the provincial government and the municipalities of the four largest cities in the Netherlands. The 'Alliantie' were to lead the exploratory studies of the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands. This finally led to the 'Olympisch Plan 2028', a report which included the ambitions, challenges, strategies and future circumstances of the potential Olympic assignment in the Netherlands. Eight ambitions were distinguished, of which the ambition that will have the most dominant stamp in the Netherlands, is the spatial ambition. In this ambition branch the 'Alliantie' initiated a single workshop study in order to explore the spatial assignment the Olympics would impose in the Netherlands. This study provided the basic framework and information for numerous studies to follow. One of which is the study Deloitte and NIROV have conducted on the Dutch stakeholders' willingness to invest in Olympic developments. This is where this research comes into play; how did former host cities tackle the Olympic assignment?

First of all, a superficial scan was made of former hosts and Olympic researches. Quickly the conclusion was reached that the Olympic developments in a city do not always bring the supposed successes and increase in quality. In many cases the Olympic developments were not used, under used or not used correctly. This created so called 'white elephants', large venues and facilities that cost more money than they provide, which inevitably lead to high debts. Major international cities like Melbourne, Montreal, Sydney and Athens, were not able to cope with the developments after the Olympic circus had left town. So how could a small nation like the Netherlands be successful where other great nations and cities could not? Thus the second problem can be distinguished; how to fit the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands, especially the building left behind, the legacy. Therefore the following problem statement was made:

Due to the lack of sufficient attention to the long-term objectives for the post-Olympic real estate, undesired 'white elephants' arise from the Olympic real estate legacy in the former host cities.

What is legacy exactly, and how is it created? These questions were the next step in identifying the problem. Legacy can be identified in two categories, tangible or hard legacy, and intangible or soft legacy. Soft legacy can be described as the values, the knowledge, the memories and the general Olympic thought the Olympiad provides the host city. Hard legacy is the architecture, the infrastructure and the economic impact the Olympics leave behind. However a conference held in 2003 discussing the term legacy and what role it can play in Olympic cities, came to the conclusion that legacy 'is multidisciplinary and dynamic and is affected by a variety of local and global factors'. Therefore legacy creation is unique in every single city and location, and it is thus difficult to make a general definition.

The Olympic development process plays an important role in answering the question on how legacy is created. The process consists of three phases; the initiatory and bidding phase, the

organisation and realisation phase and the post-Olympic phase. How does legacy creation fit into this process? To answer the latter question, a conceptual model was made on what influences legacy. Indirectly the before distinguished local factors play a significant role. The traditional planning culture of a nation, region or city determines the possibilities and opportunities of Olympic developments. Directly, the used development structure that is used to accomplish the Olympic assignment, plays an even larger role, as it includes all the pieces of the puzzle that are needed for the creation of the Olympic developments. The aspects that have been identified to the development structure are the initiative, objectives, stakeholders, organisational structure, budget, financial structure and the interferences. In addition the consequences, i.e. legacy, of the compilation of these different aspects is also of importance to learn lessons from former Olympic host cities. In turn, within the development structure aspects a division can be made between characteristics on four different sustainable development ambition levels; the governance, social, spatial and economical level. The objectives, strategies and legacies all have different perspectives which include all the different levels. This entire process then produced the following research question;

Which development structure¹ has the greatest potential concerning legacy¹ for an edition of the Olympic Games in the Netherlands in 2028?

Methodology

So, which cases should be analysed to create a valid final product? First of all, the Netherlands wants to host a summer Olympiad. Obviously, then only summer Olympiads will be significant for gathering information as the Olympic assignment for summer and winter Olympiads differ notably. Secondly, since the renowned success of the Barcelona Olympiad in 1992, the idea behind the Olympic movement has changed. The possibilities and opportunities the Olympic movement can provide for increasing the city's quality by using its momentum to manoeuvre itself in a catalyst function. This function can accelerate developments which are inevitably necessary for the host city, by creating a large financial investment on the short term. Finally to create a broad understanding of choices made in Olympic developments in different cities, a broad range of type of Olympic cities is implemented, to create a diverse perspective and thus enlarge the amount of lessons to be learned. The final list of cases that were analysed is; Barcelona 1992, Atlanta 1996, Sydney 2000, Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008.

The cases were submitted to an extensive literature study which provided insight on all the different development structure aspects and how the cases tackled the Olympic assignment. After the last case was finished, a cross case analysis was made. This cross case analysis provided lessons learned from former Olympic host cities and therefore created the basis for the following steps in the research.

The next phase involved the exploration of the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands and the general possibilities and opportunities the stakeholders in the Netherlands could create, i.e. the conclusion of the study Deloitte and NIROV conducted; the willingness to invest in Olympic developments in the Netherlands. In line with the conclusions drawn in the preceding phase, these conclusions were also categorised according to the development structure aspects.

These two dimensions, the lessons learned from the cross case analysis and the general Dutch opinion, were then combined to form a cross research analysis. In turn, the results of this cross research analysis provided clear insights for the final product. Different cases were referred to in order to create the most optimal legacy. This was used as a spring board towards the final conclusions.

¹ The concepts of 'development structure' and 'legacy' are elaborated in the chapter discussing the Theoretical Framework.

Conclusions

The main observation that was made concerning the cases, was that the focus on the diverse ambition levels was usually on one single level. In this way the ambition levels could not complement one another and thus create a stronger and broader Olympic movement. Obviously cities do not need developments across all ambition levels as they probably not evenly developed, though the differences found are of concern. Why did the case cities not create a broad Olympic movement? In theory, and also by using common sense, one should know that this should also create a broad legacy which has a large impact on the host city.

This is how the main concept of the conclusions is formulated; create a broad Olympic movement. This is however easier said than done. A broad movement will include multiple stakeholders with multiple ambitions. This will create a complex organisation, and in order to let all included parties to agree with one another on all the developments, a long planning time is needed. When looking at Barcelona and Beijing, both with significantly longer planning periods than the other cases, they also had significantly more developments in the urban structure. Thus a long planning time creates more opportunities for developments to the urban structure of a city or region. In addition, a broad Olympic movement with multiple stakeholders all wanting to optimally benefit from the catalyst function the Olympic Games provide, should be under strong supervision. This will limit the individualistic developments and will unite all the developments into one single Olympic movement.

The initiatives and the set objectives will determine the rest of the developments made in the entire Olympic process. Therefore it is important to create a solid, i.e. broad, basis. A broad Olympic movement starts with initiatives made on multiple ambition levels by multiple types of stakeholders, as different stakeholders have different objectives and ambitions and can therefore complement one another when working together. Within this web of stakeholders, the stakeholders should all fulfil different roles. The central government has to exert a central coordination of the whole movement and initiate the development of infrastructure and other developments which will benefit the citizens. The private stakeholders should initiate the developments concerning the sport venues, facilities and accommodations. These are the developments which are interesting from a financial point of view and the government is not interested in taking the lead role for this type of development. The civic society should be included as soon as possible in the Olympic movement as this will reduce the social resistance towards the Olympic ambition in the Netherlands. In addition this will also increase the quality of the plans as the directly affected social classes can then have a say in what they want to be developed. Including all these stakeholders in the organisational structure will create a large model. Therefore it is of importance to create clarity, i.e. a clear structure in which the roles are clearly divided. This also means that the organisational structure must not alter drastically during the different phases in the Olympic process.

The strategies that are to be implemented can also be divided per ambition level. The governance level encompasses the international profile and the organisation of the movement. The international profile can be enhanced or stressed by organising international sports events and thus showing the world what the Netherlands is capable of organising. A separate strategy is to promote the nation to the world via a marketing campaign. Sydney also incorporated such a fruitful strategy, which will serve as a good example.

The main social strategy is to include the civic society into the development decision process. By including the civic society the quality across the whole plan will increase as the desired legacy of the society is actually implemented into the plan. This will thus not create superfluous developments which the society will have no use for.

The spatial strategies that Barcelona used, have been identified as the most optimal strategies which will create the best impact concerning the urban structure in the city. Translating this to the Netherlands, the key characteristics of the spatial strategies will be to choose 3-5 strategic

locations which are owned by the government. The most optimal legacy will be created if these locations are old industrial areas with a good accessibility and areas with a great tourism potential. In this manner the legacy can reach its optimal form. In addition, one of the most important lessons learned is that how more infrastructure investments are made, how higher the economical impact will be.

A long-term tourism and business plan will additionally help securing a long-term economical impact. Within this plan the upgrading of the tourism areas, central business districts and economical infrastructure is vital as this will increase the attractiveness of establishing a business and will attract tourists.

The budget and financial structure heavily depends on the spatial strategies chosen. The infrastructural investments will be the largest influential factor for the financial structure. The choice of the government to which degree they want to invest in infrastructure will thus have a large effect on the budget and financial structure. In addition, the strategies chosen for the development of the Olympic venues and facilities will also have a large influence on the budget and financial structure. The venues will be approximately funded evenly between private and public stakeholders. The operation of the Olympiad itself has always been between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion, and will be funded by market revenues provided by the sales of tickets, merchandise, TV rights, etc.

To conclude, a combination of all the positive lessons learned, and the avoidance of the negative lessons, will create a broad Olympic movement in which the different aspects will complement each other and will thus create a broad and positive legacy.



Chapter | one

1

Setting the Stage

A Competitor runs out of the water during the U19 men's Surf Race during the Victorian State Surf Lifesaving Championships at Jan Juc Melbourne, Australia



1.1 Introduction

Twenty years after the inglorious candidacy of Amsterdam for the 1992 Olympics, the Dutch are carefully speculating a potential candidate statement for the largest sports event in the world. This speculation is broadly supported; the sport institutions, the government, the specialists, the trade and industry and the Dutch people themselves all support the plan to organize the Olympics in the Netherlands.

The renewed attention for hosting the Olympics is an expression of a longer running evolution in development (mainly the second half of the eighties), namely the growing social interest in sports. Sport is currently seen in another light by directors, policy makers, specialists and the industry, namely an instrument that can be used as a catalyst to accomplish other goals. Investments in the sport infrastructure are made to strengthen the social coherency, to modernize urban areas, to promote city and country and of course to make profit.

Parallel to this evolution in sports development a process has occurred wherein the public sector and the private sectors relationship has shifted concerning their visions towards the leisure facilities in the Netherlands. In the first place there was a contradiction between the public and private opinions (public leisure as patron against commercial leisure). Currently the public and private facilities complement each other within the social structure or physical attraction of a city. The Olympic Games are probably the ultimate form of partnership between public and private (van den Heuvel, 2006).

There are a lot of different visions on how an Olympic City should organize the Olympic Games. But first of all, what is an Olympic city? Helen Wilson provides an initial starting point for a consideration of the issue:

“What, then, is an Olympic city? It must, of course, have the sporting infrastructure to be able to accommodate the events, providing the technical conditions to induce personal best performances from the athletes, provide a sufficient crowd to give the sense of a mega-event, and to make good television. The main stadium should particularly signify newness and monumentality in itself. The city must have the transport and tourism infrastructure to be able to accommodate esteemed visitors and participants. It must have the communications facilities to be able to shoot, package and distribute footage and commentary instantly to the media of over 200 nations.” (Wilson cited in Cashman, 1998)

However to achieve the former goals and demands, a development plan has to be made for each Olympic city. The development plan stands for the lifetime, or the ‘time’ of an Olympic city:

“Time in an Olympic city can be divided into three periods. There is the pre-Games period which can last for a decade or even two: developing a successful bid plan and then organising the Games themselves. Then there is the duration of the Games, three weekends and two weeks - a mere 16 or 17 days - which pass for most in a twinkling of an eye. The post-Games period is by far the longest; it stretches for decades after the Games. However, it is clearly the least-planned period.” (Cashman, 1998)

The cause of this problem is suggested by Cashman (1998):

“The pressing nature of immediate funding and planning issues makes it difficult for any of the city organisers to think beyond the Games in any systematic fashion.”

Simply put; the Olympic legacy is a low priority issue. But why is it a low priority issue; doesn't a potential host city explore all their options years before the actual bid? This produces the question of how former Olympic hosts cope with the long preparation phase towards the final bid?

Due to the fact that a lot of preceding Olympic host cities have failed to create a successful and lasting legacy, Alvin Boskoff makes the following statement:

“The Olympics is a temporary thing. It's like a rocket that shoots up in the sky, a big expensive rocket, and then it's gone. ... Maybe the best thing is to forget about the Olympics and go about the business of becoming a first-class city.”
(Boskoff cited in Cashman, 1998)

However this is a mayor misconception concerning the value that the Olympics can have on a host city. As an AT Kearney research article states:

“A mega-event should be incorporated into a comprehensive national strategy that captures the tangibles while also advancing a nation's social and economic development, inspiring passion and national pride, and building a global reputation – all of which can last a lifetime.” (AT Kearney, 2005)

Thus a city that hosts the Olympic Games can bring about an enormous boost to the economic and social development of the city, the region or even the nation.

Subsequently the question arises what the ideal development strategy is to accomplish this result via the Olympic Games. Naturally there is no ideal strategy due to the fact that no two cities are alike, as well as different policies in the various host nations also obstruct the motion of one ideal strategy. The key then is to find which strategy best suites the specific host city. This however, is a very difficult and complex task, and it must be accomplished in order to even stand a chance to be chosen by the IOC to host the Games.

To create a successful edition of the Olympic Games, and in the mean time also develop a legacy that can be exploited with success for the many years after the games, a comprehensive strategy is needed. This strategy must implement all the demands and requirements of all the stakeholders and must be tested and revised from all angles. The research for this strategy will lead you past all the stakeholders and their demands, the final development of former Olympics and the process which these Olympics have followed.

To have a clean and quick development process and host a successful edition of the Olympic Games, a good partnership between parties is essential, i.e. the partnership between public and private parties.

The Netherlands have the idea to host the Olympic Games in 2028. What kind of strategies are they used to? Are these strategies comparable to former Olympic strategies? Can the Netherlands execute such a large development? In what way must the public and private cooperate to make this happen? These are all major questions that need to be answered in order for the Netherlands to host a successful Olympiad. A vast amount of other researchers

are exploring the concept of Olympic development strategies. Numerous questions have therefore already been answered and these findings will be used to further explore the subject for this research. This will finally produce a more comprehensive picture and understanding of former Olympics.

It is absolutely necessary for the Netherlands, if they want to stand a chance in the election for the host city of 2028 and simultaneously create a successful Olympic legacy, to find the exact fine tuning between demand and supply for the Olympics and post-Olympics real estate. The IOC does not make a superficial decision nowadays, but looks at all levels of integration of the Olympic plan into the host cities, or even nation's, overall development. This means that a full scale research into all the possibilities of such a major development must be conducted.

Naturally it is not possible for a graduation thesis to cover all the factors that have influence, at least a graduation thesis conducted within the set timeframe. Therefore conclusions and recommendations from former graduation theses shall be used to create the basis for the analysis of former Olympic Games.

In addition to the former point, an understanding must be created of the Dutch possibilities concerning the development strategies and partnership policies. A closer look must be taken at the Dutch partnership models and 'comparable' developments must be analyzed on how the parties in question handled the situation.

1.2 Why the Netherlands? Why 2028?

The goal of this research is to eventually implement the optimal aspects concerning legacy in the Dutch context for a potential Dutch edition of the Games. But why does the Netherlands want to organise the world's largest sports event and when do they want to do this? Can they also win the fight against high potential bids from other world class cities?

Now that Rio de Janeiro has won the 2016 bid, another continent has entered the battle to host the Olympic Games; South America. When analysing a continent rotating system that is foremost likely, the continents Africa and Arabia are most likely to host the following two editions. Hereafter Europe would be next in 2028, and then the Netherlands have a unique argument of hosting the Games exactly a century after the first Games in the Netherlands in Amsterdam in 1928 (NAi et al, 2008). However, does this increase the chances?

According to a publication by Organisation Company William M. Mercer wherein the quality of life is compared between 215 cities world-wide, Amsterdam ranks 12th (de Waard, 2009). This is not shocking, as the Netherlands have a healthy economy, a population with a high life expectancy, it is densely populated, high educated, multicultural, innovative, well organised, transparent and democratic and has a good network. On the other hand, the Dutch society has to cope with environmental pressure, social segmentation, climate change, an overweight population and bureaucracy. The positive characteristics can support an Olympic movement, and the negative characteristics can be tackled using the Olympics as a catalyst. (NAi et al, 2008)

In the past the Netherlands have also shown the world that they are able to host mega-events, e.g. the European Football Championship in 2000, and have a long history and world fame for water management and land reclamation.

To win an Olympic bid for the 2028 Games, the Netherlands must organise the Games in such a manner that the Games create a national impact with an international allure.

1.2.1 'Olympisch Plan 2028'

In 2007, the ministry of VROM commissioned the work on an Olympic Plan for 2028. The NOC*NSF tackled the assignment and finally came with the 'Olympisch Plan 2028', in which a phased plan is presented to lift the Netherlands to the desired Olympic sporting level on all concerning facets.

An Olympic tournament directly and indirectly stresses the public space in a city, which in turn has positive and negative local effects. Therefore it is essential for an Olympic host city to have an excellent infrastructure network and to facilitate accommodations that match the Olympic demand as well as possible. The 'Olympisch Plan 2028' must lead the developments in the Netherlands to an Olympic level before 2016 which will put the nation in a competitive position to place a bid to host the Olympics of 2028. The main goal of the Olympic plan is to bring the Netherlands to an Olympic sporting level and hosting the Olympic Games themselves will be the potential 'cherry on top of the cake'.

1.2.2 Olympic Games in the Netherlands

Chen et al (2009) state:

"If the Netherlands would like to organise the Games, it seems wise not only to better understand these social-spatial and spatial-economic implications and effects in general, but also to translate them clearly into the conditions for success within the Dutch context."

What Chen et al (2009) mean with the implications and effects is the great impact the Olympic Games have on the host city and its surroundings. The Games have impact in spatially, socially, ecologically, functionally, politically and/or economically aspects. They also state that:

"Olympic urbanism in the 21st century means thinking about planning strategies towards social, economic and ecological sustainability."

Chen et al (2009) discuss the Dutch context which should carefully be considered when regarding Dutch Olympics. They introduce four aspects; the international profile, spatial dilemmas, new opportunities for economic sectors and planning and governance.

International profile (1) is an important aspect for the host city due to the fact that the way the host city is perceived on their 'podium' during the sixteen day event by the rest of the world, has influence on their future development and perception. Chen et al (2009) make the logical remark that Olympic cities should project their unique local features into marketing and branding their city and region. They continue this subject with the remark that the Netherlands is unique in its never-ending engagement with water. In the past they have had engagements with the North Sea at the sea front and dunes, and flooding incidents with the Rhine, the Maas and the Waal in the beneath the sea level situated polder landscape. Also the city canals, such as in Amsterdam, are well known, and the Rotterdam harbour is the largest harbour in Europe and is ranked eleventh in the world. All these preceding reasons make water a logic and legitimate central concept of potential Dutch Olympics to create an international allure.

When hosting the Olympic Games, the spatial impact on the host city and nation (2) is enormous. The space alone for the sport venues is 500-550 hectares, the Olympic Village needs 50-100 ha, 140.000 hotel beds are needed to accommodate all the visitors and at peak hours the infrastructure must support an enormous amount of 60.000 persons per hour extra (VROM, 2008). The IOC also prefers to organize compact Games, so that the stress of travel is minimized on the athletes which will benefit their sporting accomplishments. The

Netherlands have the advantage to already have a very compact and dense infrastructure and urban network, so that no matter how the Netherlands want to organize the Olympics, they will certainly always be compact. Now the question remains how the Netherlands wants and is able to implement the Olympic developments in their own spatial ambitions.

The Los Angeles Games of '84 showed the world that the Olympic Games should not be seen as an economic burden for the host city, but a useful tool to, if done correctly, achieve tangible and intangible results in short and long-term periods (3, 4). It is therefore important for the Netherlands to consider the long-term economic impact of organizing the Olympics. Chen et al (2009) rightly state that the organizer in the Netherlands should ask the following questions: "what kind of economic sector has the potentials to develop in the post-Olympic stage? To whom are these new sectors attractive? If so, what kind of economic strategies should be established to stimulate the development of these sectors? How can these new emerging sectors be well incorporated within the local environment?"

When the developments of the Olympic Games form a catalyst of developments already in progress, they have more value to the market than when they are used as an impulse to start developments. This means that carefully adopted and thoroughly planned strategies decrease risks of the large required investments. Chen et al (2009) state that the Netherlands are well known for their comprehensive and consensus planning. Thus planning the Games will not be the weakest link in the Dutch bid. Chen et al (2009) put forward that the decision whether or not the potential Dutch bid will succeed will lie in the hands of the public motivation to stand behind the bid.

Now what should the Netherlands do to achieve an Olympic level? Such a large project with large expectations and ambitions brings heaps of problems and these all need to be solved or prevented. Also it is important that, from a future point of view, the sustainability aspect is considered and pondered about thoroughly. It is essential that the impact of sustainable aspects is to be explored to the fullest for the Netherlands in economic, social and environmental perspectives (Chen et al, 2009).

The NOC*NSF have already presented a phased plan in their 'Olympisch Plan 2028' (figure 1.1). The first phase is the research phase. In this phase, direct orientated research is conducted on the realisation of the Olympic Plan 2028. This phase started in 2006 and ended in 2008 with the decision whether or not the Netherlands were willing to organise the Olympic Games. The second phase is the building of the Olympic sports climate. The goal of this phase is the execution of the 'Olympisch Plan 2028'. This phase ends in 2016. In 2016, the Netherlands will or will not have an infrastructural network that satisfies Olympic ambitions, and thus the phase ends with the decision whether or not the bid is going to be submitted. The third phase is the bid phase. In the beginning of this phase the chances for a successful bid are considered for 2024, 2028 or 2032. The phase starts in 2017 and ends in 2021 with the appointment of the Olympic Games to one of the (rival) bid cities. The fourth phase is the preparation of the Olympiad and the final phase is the post-Olympic phase, in which the legacy is the dominant subject.

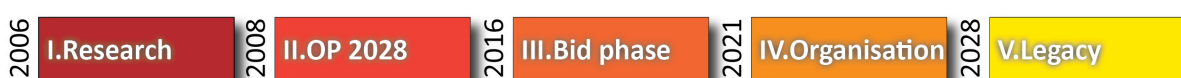


Figure 1.1: Olympisch Plan 2028 phased plan

1.2.3 Organisation Dutch Olympic Movement

In the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' the NOC*NSF have produced a small organisation plan (figure 1.2) for the first phase in the plan. However, is this the correct type of plan, and what is still to be done in further phases for the developments?

In the previous paragraphs, a great deal of general approaches have been discussed, however, no actual detailed plan of approach concerning the organisation has been explored yet, or at least has been implemented in a model.

This research will eventually find an optimal organisation plan for the potential edition of the Olympic Games in the Netherlands in 2028, based on research done on the organisation of previous editions and their created legacy, and also via research on Dutch organisational models and their strengths and weaknesses.

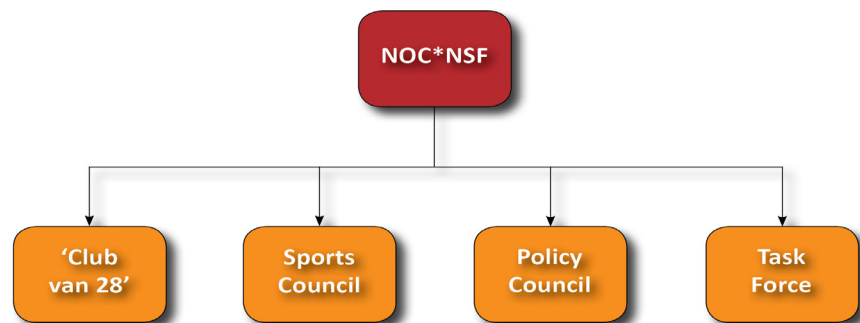


Figure 1.2: Olympisch Plan 2028 organisational structure

1.2.4 Study target

Finally the following study target can be formulated:

Gain insight in the urban development strategies of Olympic developments and deduct where the opportunities, threats, problems and solutions lie. Eventually translate the research to the Dutch situation and draw conclusions for that particular case.

1.3 Problem Statement

The Olympics, as much as they may sound or sense like a 'never-ending fairytale', do not always have a happy-ending. Why not? And what makes the Olympic Games successful? One might first think that the Olympics are a success if the athletes that compete in the Games have great sports achievements and set dozens of new records, or when a rather small unknown country wins an exhilarating final game via a 'Disney-film-like' adventure and receives the gold medal with tears in their eyes and you are sitting at home watching the TV with goose-bumps on your arms.

However, the Olympic Games are so much more than the 16 day sports event that it is conceived to be. Numerous examples from the past can be distinguished whereby the responsible committee have not organized a successful edition of the world's largest sports event. Melbourne's (1956) Olympic Village has turned into slumps, Montreal (1976) only paid off their massive debt in recent years and Beijing's (2008) facilities are already empty and forgotten, to name only three. Where did it all go wrong?

A whole city, and even a whole nation, is upside down before, during and a long time after the Games take place. How do these cities cope with the Olympics, especially when the whole Olympic circus has disappeared again?

Currently the Netherlands have the idea to host the Olympics and they must be able to answer the questions above to organize a successful edition. But is this small country able to cope with such a large scale project? How should they tackle the project and who could tackle the project?

These questions are extremely important to answer for the hosting cities if they want to host a successful Olympic event with an equally successful legacy!

1.3.1 Problem Analysis

Though as special the Olympics might seem, and thus how every subject concerning the Olympics is drawn into the 'never-ending fairytale', problems still do occur. The problems related to the Olympics are discussed in the following paragraphs.

'White elephants'

When recapturing recent Olympics and the problems that have occurred during the post-Olympic phase, mostly the same problems reoccur; the existence of 'white elephants'² or the improper use of the real estate legacy that the Olympic Games have left behind. These 'white elephants' or the improper use of the real estate obviously lead to a shortage in the budget and eventually, if not solved over time, to a massive debt.

Why do these 'white elephants' exist? This might have to do with the priorities of the responsible organisation. As Cashman (1998) states, there are a number of reasons why it is difficult for most cities to plan for life beyond the Games:

- There is too little time to consider the post-Games plan;
- Legacy is frequently shelved because it seems to represent a range of additional costs for budgets that are already stretched in the pre-Games period;
- Legacy is often looked upon as a side issue;
- The concept of an Olympic city is an implicit rather than an explicit one and is left to each city to interpret in its own way;
- The bulk of the Games' knowledge is not passed on in any systematic way to the next Olympic city.

The previous summed up observations add up to a malfunctioning organisation of the Olympics. But who is to blame concerning this subject? Is the Olympic assignment simply too difficult or do the Olympic host city organising committees (OCOG) and the responsible governments fail in the management of the organisation?

Dutch context

If the Dutch government decides to go through with a bid for a potential 2028 Olympic Games, it is certain to say that several problems must be dealt with. In the Dutch context the problems can be split into two subcategories; the problems in the overall Dutch society and the problems concerning the development of an Olympic size tournament.

² The general definition of a 'white elephant' is a burdensome possession which creates more trouble than it is worth. The expression comes from ancient Asian countries where white elephants were regarded holy. Keeping such an elephant was a very costly undertaking, as the owner had to provide it food and water and provide access to people who wanted to worship it. If a king would become dissatisfied with a subordinate, he would give him a white elephant which would ruin the recipient in most cases (phrases.org.uk). In the case of Olympic real estate this involves buildings (sports stadiums, the Olympic Village, Olympic museums, etc.) that were built because they were necessary for the Olympic programme, but do not find suitable use after the Games.

The following three problems that momentarily play a role in the Dutch society, mainly in the Randstad, are the spatial pressure in the suburban areas, the overcrowded infrastructure and the problematic ratio considering the green areas. A huge amount of high quality investments must take place in order for these problems to be solved (van Hoorn et al, 2006).

The organisation of an Olympic tournament accompanies a lot of development problems for a country of small size like the Netherlands. First of all the scale of the project is non like any project done before; there is a lack of the necessary experience on large scale projects.

Secondly the question arises who is to financially support the development of the Games? The games are a very costly investment and that is why the state cannot make all the investments itself. But is it a good idea to receive help from private investors and to which magnitude?

Finally the legacy problems are more difficult to manage with due to the fact that the country is smaller and thus the demand for large scale sports accommodations is smaller than that of a larger city or nation. How can the future supply of the Olympic legacy match the future demand in the Netherlands?

What can be derived from the problem analysis is that urban development strategies focussed on pre- and post-Games use are the key factor in creating a successful Olympic games legacy in three areas; social, economical and spatial-environmental. However, these strategies are not always applied or applied in the correct way. The problem statement that then can be formulated is:

Due to the lack of sufficient attention to the long-term objectives for the post-Olympic real estate, undesired 'white elephants' arise from the Olympic real estate legacy in the former host cities.

1.4 Research Question

1.4.1 Primary research question

As mentioned before, this research will take the conclusions and recommendations from the earlier conducted research into account. It will focus on the link between the choices made in the first phases of the Olympic development and the final consequences of these choices in the post-Olympic phase. These results will then finally be implemented and tested with the Dutch situation. The primary research question which will then arise concerning the continuing research will then be:

Which development structure³ has the greatest potential concerning legacy³ for an edition of the Olympic Games in the Netherlands in 2028?

1.4.2 Secondary research questions

Due to the fact that the primary research question is a very general question and covers the entire research framework, it is backed up by three secondary questions;

1. Which characteristics can be distinguished in former Olympic host cities concerning the Olympic development structure?

2. What consequences did these characteristics have for the created legacy?

3. How can the findings concerning development structure in former Olympic host cities be converted to the Dutch context?

³ The concepts of 'development structure' and 'legacy' are elaborated in the chapter discussing the Theoretical Framework.

These secondary questions can be derived from the research design shown later on in this chapter in figure 1.3. They represent the two research boxes at the top (dark orange and orange) and the arrows preceding the final result.

These secondary questions are supported by numerous sub-questions in order to fully comprehend the subject. These particular questions are both divided in background questions and questions that lead towards the main research question. Background questions are necessary for full comprehension of the subject and are answered in the literature study for the theoretical framework. The general questions are necessary for finding an answer to the primary research question.

Background questions:

To answer the secondary questions to their full potential the following background questions need to be complied with:

- What is legacy? And how is it interpreted?
- What influences legacy?
- What are reoccurring problems concerning Olympic legacy?
- Why Olympics in the Netherlands?
- Why aim at 2028?
- What is the comprehension of the concept of legacy in the Netherlands?
- What influences legacy in the Netherlands?
- What are future developments in the Netherlands?

General questions

The secondary questions are supported by the following general questions. They must be separated from one another, as a different result is aimed for per question.

First secondary question

- Which methods for gathering information should be used?
- Which cases should be selected and why?
- How did the various aspects play a role in the case cities?
- Which characteristics are there concerning the Olympic urban developments in the cases?
- Is there a relation between the characteristics of the aspects of legacy?

Second secondary question

- What conclusions can be drawn from the cases?
- How did the cases vary?
- Are there patterns to be discovered?

Third secondary question

- Which parties are interested and capable of participating in the Olympic development in the Netherlands?
- How can these parties play a role?
- What are the characteristics of urban development in the Netherlands?
- How can the Olympic urban development be integrated into urban developments in the Netherlands?

1.5 Research Objectives

1.5.1 Aim

Following the problem statement and the recommendations that derived from the research that has been conducted by Its Bakker (2009), an aim for this research has been established. The aim of this research will be to:

Research the link between the urban development choices made in the initiative and bid phase and the final consequences of these choices in the post-Olympic phase. Then implement the outcome in a case study researching the possibilities in the Netherlands and delivering an abstract advice for a development plan for the Olympics of 2028.

1.5.2 Result

By answering the before mentioned sub-questions and thus finally the main research question, the final result of this research can be achieved;

Connecting the problems that arise in the post-Olympic years to the decisions made during the years of development in the initiative and preparation phase and finding a systematic solution in the form of a detailed development aid. This can then in turn be implemented into the Dutch context so that an abstract advice can be given on how to manage and plan the Olympic development.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

To accomplish this result, a process needs to be followed that is clear and constructive. Also the methods used must be clarified and thought through.

In this chapter the research design will be elaborated. First the research process with accompanying methods shall be explained including the elaboration of a conceptual model for the research design is provided. Hereafter the case selection will be explained and defended.

The entire process towards the desired result is built up in phases. Each phase has its own plan of approach and methods needed to employ to reach the goal of the phase. First the phases of the research shall be enlightened, where after the methods needed during these phases are explained.

1.6.1 Process & Methods

The research is divided into three main phases. These phases all have their own goals and objectives to support the final result. Then the phases are again divided in sub-phases. These sub-phases are a part of the larger phase but play their own part to reach the main goal and objective of the phase it belongs to. In the next paragraphs the phases will be enlightened in chronological order.

The methods used to conduct the research are of importance for the reliability and validity of the end result. Therefore it is necessary to discuss the methods in their context within the research in order to justify the end result.

For a visual aid and reference, the conceptual model of the research design is shown in figure 1.3. The different phases have been different colours for easier reference.

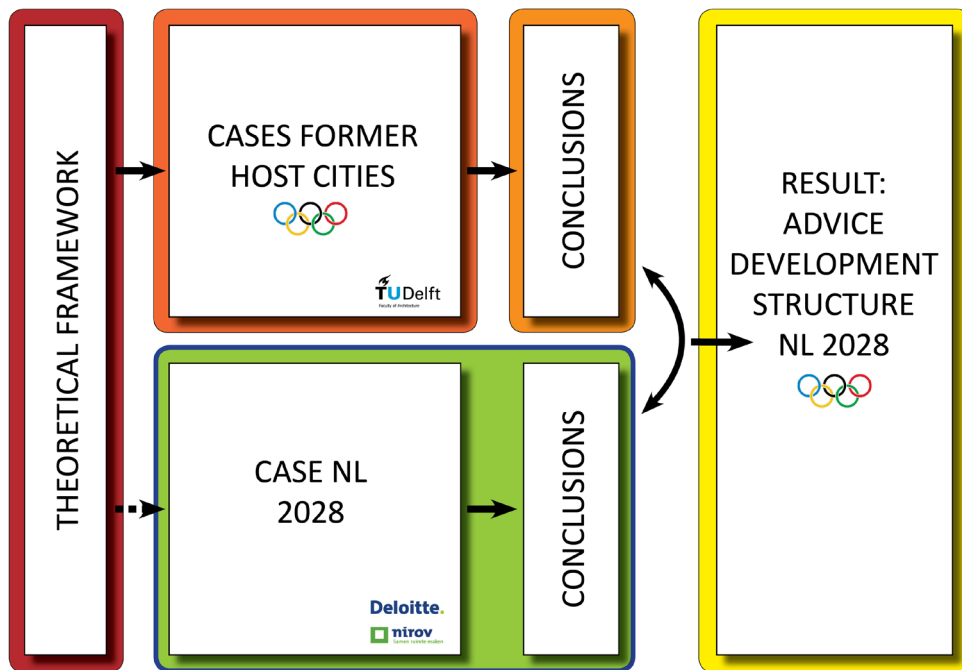


Figure 1.3: Research design

Phase 1

The first phase consists of defining the theoretical framework which creates the theoretical base for the research. This base is created for support for further research and if needed, provides the information to fall back on. The theoretical framework primarily consists of research done on legacy and urban development. All the aspects that legacy and urban development are in direct and indirect relationship with are explored. Additionally the situation in the Netherlands concerning these two subjects is also explored.

Phase 2

The second phase includes the case research of former Olympic host cities. An extensive case study is executed in the form of a literature study. Research is done on the following topics; contextual and cultural analysis of the cities, the host objectives, public-private partnership constructions, budget and finance structures, employed urban development strategies and the finally created legacy. Also a reflection is made if the desired goals that were set in the beginning have been achieved.

Phase 3

The previous found findings are then in turn translated to the conclusions and recommendations in the third phase. A cross case analysis is executed in order to reach this result. These general conclusions and recommendations from the former Olympic host cities are drawn to later on support decisions made for the organisational model that is advised for the potential Dutch Olympics. This phase will finally produce a list of lessons learned from the case cities.

Phase 4

In this phase the research which has been done by van Hasselt et al (2010), i.e. Deloitte and NIROV, is analysed and complemented with the necessary aspects, so that it is eventually possible to use the findings of this research in combination with the conclusions and recommendations which were drawn up in the previous phase.

The research conducted by van Hasselt et al (2010) is concentrated on the willingness to invest

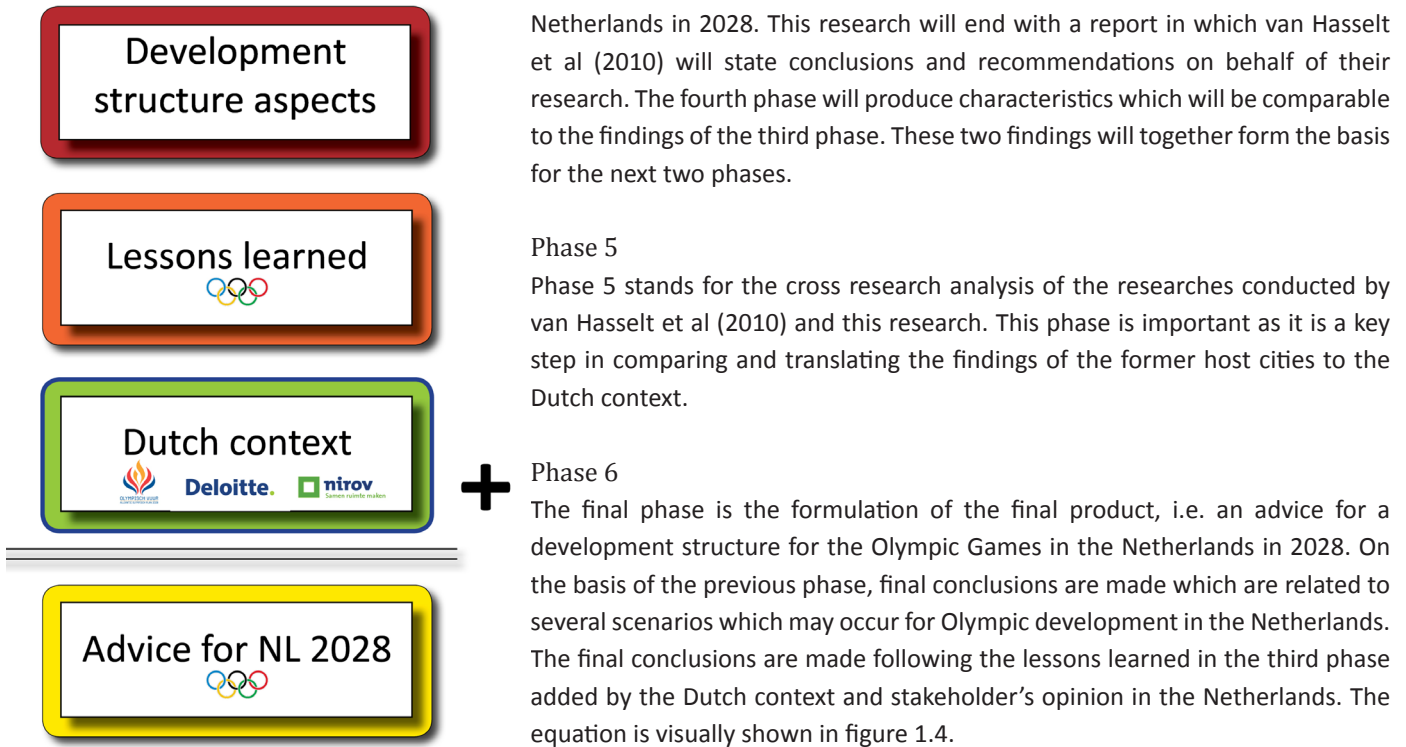


Figure 1.4: Research equation

1.6.2 Case Selection

An obvious goal of this research is to come to a final result that is as realistic as possible. To create a realistic result, a broad study needs to be conducted that is validated via several references. The base for this broad research is the case study. Thus the case study needs to be broad and valid. One way to create a valid case study is by carefully selecting the cases on selected criteria. These criteria must relate to the subject to which the result is finally applied to, in this case the urban development market in the Netherlands. A final choice of cases is made according to the criteria and a brief logical analysis on how the cases might benefit the research.

Criteria

As previously said, the criteria of the selection of the cases must be chosen so that the cases represent a valid relation with the final subject on which the research is implemented, in this case the Netherlands in 2028. Primary criteria will be set to select the cases which will be explored in depth. Secondary criteria are set to establish the aspects which are important and relevant for the translation to the Dutch context and will thus play a significant role in the final conclusions. The following paragraphs discuss the choices made for the selected cases.

Primary criteria

The first criteria is an obvious choice. The Netherlands are interested in organising the 2028 Summer Olympic Games. Logically it is then only necessary to explore host cities that have hosted summer Olympics, as the winter Olympics have different demands concerning tangible legacy. Thus the winter Olympics do not have to be taken into account.

The second criteria is related to the ever changing and evolving structure of the Olympic Games. Since the Los Angeles Games in '84, the awareness of the financial benefit of the Games grew and since the '92 Games in Barcelona the Games have been regarded as an opportunity to solve existing urban problems (Chen & Spaans, 2009). Therefore only host cities from Barcelona in '92 and later will be taken into account for the cases, however to discover trends, Olympic Games from 1972 in Munich up to the future Games of 2016 in Rio de Janeiro are explored.

Referring to the fact that the national policy is of importance when a cross reference is made with the Netherlands, it is also of importance to explore the extreme cases in order to fully comprehend the development structure choices made in different contextual situations. This will create a broad scope and may lead to a better comprehension and thus a better grounded final product.

Within these totally different cities, extreme differences can be distinguished concerning public and private domination, the set objectives which follow from the dominant stakeholders and the policies the nations apply. These factors lead to extreme differences in development structures between nations and cities throughout the world.

When summarizing the primary criteria, the following list is devised;

- Summer Olympics
- Editions since Barcelona '92
- Diverse national policies
- Diverse development domination

When assessing the above mentioned criteria, the following case list is comprised;

- Barcelona, Spain, 1992
- Atlanta, United States of America, 1996
- Sydney, Australia, 2000
- Athens, Greece, 2004
- Beijing, China, 2008

Development domination

At both ends are the extreme situations, i.e. Beijing and Atlanta. In these cases public or private stakeholders played the most dominant role. Thus the developments were largely influenced by these parties.

In Beijing the public parties had the upper hand. Briefly, this resulted in strong involved public objectives following predominantly public developments.

Atlanta on the other hand was initiated by individuals who were generally interested in the entrepreneurial benefits of staging the Games. The private parties involved had the direction of the event after the government refused to financially support the organisation of the event. As stated before, it is important to include these case cities in the research, to fully comprehend the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Olympic development. By including these cases, possibilities can be excluded when considering the possibilities the Netherlands have for 2028.

In between the extreme cases, are the cities which have a less dominant public or private side. They do however, have slight inclinations towards public or private preferences in different degrees. As can be seen in figure 1.5, the cases are spread between the extremes. All the cases in between do have more tendency towards public control, and this will be explained further on in the research. The broad research has the consequence that grounded conclusions can be drawn from the conducted research.

Secondary criteria

The secondary criteria are set for when the final conclusions and recommendations are made. These criteria play a role in logical referencing and the comparison of the selected host cities and the Netherlands.



Figure 1.5: Development domination

The first criteria concerns the objectives the host city has which they want to achieve using the Olympic Games as catalyst. The objective must be in sync with the objective that the Netherlands have, due to the fact that different strategies are devised according to different objectives. At the moment, the main objectives that the Netherlands have to organize the Olympic Games are to lift the grade of the sports facilities to a higher level and to drastically improve the high densely packed infrastructure (van Hoorn et al, 2006; NOC*NSF, 2009).

The second criteria is that the cases need to be comparable with specific development characteristics of the Netherlands. Therefore only host cities that are situated in nations that have a western policy concerning development should be taken directly into account. When looking at that point of view, a number of selected cases can then be rejected.

The final secondary criteria is the level of the GDP. This has influence on the financial and local possibilities for staging and organizing the Olympic Games. Therefore only the cases with a GDP in the proximity of that of the Netherlands shall seriously be taken into consideration.

The secondary criteria are summarized in the list below;

- Similar objectives
- Development structure characteristics
- Similar GDP

1.7 Structure Report

The process of the research is very much the common denominator in this report. The process can easily be derived from figure 1.3, wherein the research design is shown. Chapter 1 introduces the subject, the problem statement, the research question and the aim of the research. In the second chapter the theory behind the research is represented in a structural way. All the aspects researched are elaborated and grounded. In chapter 3 a cross case analysis is made in which the results, patterns and similarities are sought after and conclusions are drawn at hand of small summaries of the case studies. These are referenced to the full case study which is located in the appendix. Chapter 4 will introduce the Olympic movement in the Netherlands and the context in which the Olympic assignment shall be executed. The fifth chapter elaborates the public and private interest for host the Olympic Games in the Netherlands, i.e. the research van Hasselt et al (2010) have conducted. Additionally the results of their research and of the cross case analysis are cross analysed with one another. Finally, in chapter 6, the possibilities, opportunities and the scenarios are described for a potential Olympic event in the Netherlands in 2028. Hereafter conclusions and recommendations will be derived and at the end reflections will be given.



Chapter | two

2

Theoretical Framework



Great Greek philosophers - Socrates, Antisthenes, Chrysippus and Epicurus

2.1 Introduction

Why do cities want to organize the Olympic Games? The reason for most host cities to make a bid for the Olympic Games is to use the Games as a catalyst for even greater objectives. Baim (2008) concluded four primary reasons for hosting the Olympic Games: enhancing tourism; promoting more rapid infrastructure investment than would occur without the Olympics; promoting entrepreneurial goals; and gaining recognition as a global city or nation. All the recent editions of the Games can be assigned to one of these groups, however they seldom belong to just one group as they all have multiple reasons for hosting the Olympics.

This leads to the next question; how to organize the Games? There is no single answer to this question, for the simple reason because all the host cities are unique in their own way, site and location wise (Roche, 2000). Thus they all need a different and unique approach.

However there is much more behind the organisation of the Games than concerning the site and location; i.e. the national and regional context, the objectives, the accustomed investment structure, organisational structures and the desired legacy all play key roles in the decisions on how to tackle the Olympic assignment. Therefore every edition of the games is also unique in the manner of which the whole development is approached.

Each host city must have an optimal organisation and investment structure that joins short-term and long-term objectives so that a successful Olympic legacy is created, i.e. an Olympic legacy without 'white elephants' and on a higher economic level. How then, is successful Olympic legacy created? And how is it created in the potential context for the Netherlands in 2028?

For these questions to be answered the legacy and former Olympic host cities need to be analysed. The different contexts, development structures, strategies and final legacies must be looked at in detail.

2.2 Legacy

Legacy cannot be separated from the revival and historical development of the modern Olympic Games. It is also fundamental in the understanding of the mission of Olympism in society (IOC, 2003).

Thus legacy is a term that has to be fully analysed and comprehended before it can be achieved in its most optimal form. The study of legacy leads us past the history of thought behind legacy, the roads that have lead to legacy, the comprehension the IOC maintains concerning legacy and the different aspects that have affect on legacy.

2.2.1 History of legacy

In the early days, hosting the Olympics meant little more than assuming responsibility for providing the necessary venues and accommodations for competitions for Olympic-related activities. Even so, in these days the city was a stage which perhaps attracted preliminary and post-Olympic events.

When Organizing Committees (OC) started to develop buildings especially designed for the Olympics, certain economic benefits invariably accrued to the host city. These included a stimulus to the construction industry, a tourist boom and an employment boost. In the early days these might then return enough profit to cover the costs made by the main event.

Over time the Games grew bigger and larger, and thus the ambitions also increased. “Their wish to make statements about the technological process and modernity of the host nation led to the adoption of larger, more spectacular and inherently more expensive stadia. From the mid-50’s onwards, concern for legacy became an ever more important aspect of staging the Olympics” (Gold & Gold, 2007).

When Barcelona succeeded in producing a successful model of how to achieve mega-event-driven urban regeneration, the strategy became particularly popular. The Olympic development was routinely integrated into the cities long-term urban development planning and this brought along a package of benefits. The benefits included “boosting a city’s economy, improving its international standing, repositioning it in the global tourist market, promoting urban regeneration, revamping transport and service of infrastructures, creating vibrant cultural quarters, establishing a network of high-grade facilities” (Gold & Gold, 2007) that could serve as the basis for bids for future events and gaining a competitive advantage over rivals.

2.2.2 Definition of legacy

The Merriam-Webster Online dictionary states that the true definition of legacy is “something transmitted by or received from an ancestor or predecessor or from the past.” Olympic legacy of course fits into that box, but it is to be much more defined in detail due to the multiple angles and factors the Olympic Games have to deal with.

When trying to define legacy, the symposium that the IOC held in 2002 found that “there are several meanings of the concept, and some of the contributions have highlighted the convenience of using other expressions and concepts that can mean different things in different languages and cultures, and that may also better express the historical roots and continuity of the Olympic Movement than the word legacy.” (IOC, 2003)

In general Olympic legacy “...is multidisciplinary and dynamic and is affected by a variety of local and global factors. Therefore it is a local and global concept, existing within cities, regions and nations, as well as internationally...” (IOC, 2003).

2.2.3 Effects of legacy

The effects of legacy have many aspects and dimensions. These can be divided in two categories; tangible and intangible. Tangible aspects are more commonly recognized, e.g. architecture, urban planning, sports infrastructures, economic and tourist development. It is important to create a successful legacy on the count of these tangible aspects, however it is equally important not to forget the intangible aspects. These include the less recognisable aspects, such as the production of ideas and cultural values, city marketing, intercultural and non-exclusionary experiences, popular memory, education, archives, collective effort and voluntarism, new sport practitioners, notoriety on a global scale, experience and know-how, etc. The last mentioned intangible factors also provide a specific and irreplaceable drive for the tangible aspects to develop long-term legacy. And this is where the crucial factor lies. According to McKay & Plumb (2001), the greatest impact of the Olympics is not on the local economy, but on the urban space and governance of the host city. They strain that the real benefits are measured in the long-term.

According to different papers and experiences of numerous editions of the Games and host cities, Olympic legacy can be divided into several categories. These categories are the economical impact, cultural considerations, social debate, sporting legacy, political legacy, spatial and environmental legacy and the value of Olympic education (IOC, 2003; Chen et al, 2010; Preuss & Solberg, 2006; McKinsey, 2004).

The economic impact is hard to measure due to the extreme number of factors and variables that have to be taken into account and how the measurements are executed. Also comparing host cities is challenging due to the fact that all host cities have their own unique local circumstances, objectives and economic context. In this sense the local long-term economic benefits are of extreme importance and should be considered and analysed thoroughly. Elements related to the economic legacy are for example the business and the tourism development (McKinsey, 2004). These will provide employment and will thus help improve the local economy.

The Games' rituals can be considered as world global heritage. They are key aspects that comprise the cultural category of Olympic legacy. Culture is considered as the ultimate source of all other aspects of Olympic legacy and creates the basis for its existence and continuity. It is of grand importance to protect and stress the necessity of the cultural values of Olympism in the programmes that are created by the national and international Organizing Committees. This will in turn contribute to the local and global knowledge of the Games.

"The Olympic Games can provoke social debate on interculturality, through the expression of its own identity" (IOC, 2003). This is one of the conclusions of the IOC symposium. The Olympic Games have a social role in the sense that their potential legacies need to be seen in relation to the contemporary realities of global society-building and governance building. They mark unique spaces in historical time for all the citizens on this planet.

Sporting legacy is created in diverse areas, obviously in reference to the athletes as the main characters of the event and their rights. In time the Olympics sporting legacy has grown in the fact that much more sport events are submitted into the Olympic Games and the ever increase of female participation. This supports the overall promotion of sport around the world and should be accepted and fully exploited by the Organising Committees (IOC, 2003). Not only do the performances of local heroes enhance the sports participation of a nation, also the accessibility and availability of sports facilities play a significant role. These factors have influence on the local and national health and this in turn can reduce the absenteeism from work which will increase the productiveness (Preuss & Solberg, 2006).

Due to the universal influence the Olympics have on the world's population, the Olympics also have a political legacy. The Olympic Truce should and can be used to be a promoter of a culture of peace and a continuous educational programme.

The role the Olympics play also has a high value of education. The conclusions, recommendations and all the situations that have lead to progression in different types of levels, all play a significant role in the knowledge legacy that the Olympics bring forth. The knowledge legacy has a particular role in the progression of development and thus is very valuable.

Finally the structural developments necessary for hosting an Olympic event, have a spatial and environmental impact and legacy on the host city. All the new venues and facilities, along with the new infrastructure and urban transformations, will have affect on the performance on the city, region and even nation. Though this always seems to be a positive impact; the employment creation, local tourism boost, health increase; it has produced and might produce negative impacts. For instance the spatial developments might lead to market failure due to the incompetent market control by the governments (Preuss & Solberg, 2006). To avoid these negative impacts, it is essential that the development strategies are considered carefully before they are employed.

2.3 Legacy in operation

The previous paragraph explored the definition of legacy. This paragraph will further explore the situation of legacy and its context, i.e. what has influence on legacy. This is important to understand to create successful legacy, due to the fact that the way that a development, i.e. Olympic development, is set up in its full extent, has positive and negative effects on the legacy. Thus in an urban development, the choices made in the initiative and feasibility phase have major influence and consequences for the post-Olympic phase. The question which then arises is which aspects have effect on the legacy of Olympic Games related real estate.

2.3.1 Undesired legacy aspects

To come to a complete understanding of the aspects that influence legacy, the undesired results of mal-organisation in the first development phases must be summed up, i.e. what must not occur within Olympic legacy?

In the previous chapter, several problems concerning Olympic real estate legacy have been mentioned. A brief recapitulation will be made of the most important undesired failures in Olympic real estate legacy.

The first and most common consequence of poor organisation is the existence of 'white elephants'. White elephants are the large real estate objects that are left unused as the Olympic circus has left the host city. This is a particular large problem because of the cost of upkeep that is obviously higher than the benefits the building provides.

A second undesired effect is the improper or unintentional use of Olympic real estate. When wrong judgements have been made concerning post-Olympic usage, the real estate might be let out or sold to users of which it is not desired they use that particular real estate, but due to tight budgets and increasing debts, governments of the Olympic cities are forced to exploit the real estate in unintended ways. This in turn might have negative or not the desired effect on the surroundings of the particular real estate.

This leads to the third possible undesired effect; a large debt due to the improper or unintentional use of the post-Olympic real estate. When the desired usage is not reached after the Olympics have taken place, the host city might have problems with finding a suitable user for the particular real estate. When they fail in finding a suitable user, they might decide to let second or third choice parties settle in or use the real estate. This might have consequences for the benefits the developments were supposed to have in estimates made before hand, and thus has consequences for the cash flow and overall budget.

Finally the second effect also leads to the fourth undesired consequence; the incorrect indirect catalyst effect. When Olympic cities place a bid to host the Olympic Games, the Olympic development plan is integrated into a larger scaled city or regional general (development) plan. The objectives the city wants to achieve are reached via the general plan and are accelerated because of the catalyst characteristics of the Olympic development plans. However, when misjudgements were made in earlier development phases, the incorrect catalyst effects might occur. The general policy is then unintentionally shifted in the wrong or undesired direction.

2.3.2 Preventing Olympic legacy catastrophes

In June 2006, the British Property Federation (BPF) and the Urban Land Institute (ULI) held a conference to discuss the legacy for the London Olympics. The result of the conference not only applies to the legacy of the London situation, but might also be integrated in the general necessities and measures to make sure that real estate catastrophes concerning Olympic venues are avoided.

The report that was finally constructed through the analysis of previous Olympic cities' experience with legacy creation, and understanding drivers behind creating and maintaining sustainable development, the report makes the following seven key recommendations:

- A master plan for the future must be put in place first, with the Olympic plan fitting into this.
- A private sector-led body should be created to consider the legacy of the Games, ensuring that legacy plans are commercially viable.
- The formation of business plans for the future of the main Olympic venues.
- There should be a focus on using existing and temporary buildings to house events, minimising unnecessary development whilst promoting development that is environmentally sustainable.
- The public realm should be considered a vitally important aspect of the regeneration to oversee the management of the Olympic public realm.
- Fixed percentages for affordable housing should not be stringently adhered to if the creation of mixed communities is to be achieved.
- Jobs and training for the local community should be established to underpin the development.

(BPF & ULI, 2007)

These key recommendations should be considered by and implemented within the organisation and with all the concerning parties. However, these key recommendations are still too detailed to create a general overview of the entire plan of approach that is necessary.

2.3.3 Influential aspects on Olympic legacy

To reach the before mentioned necessary general overview, it is essential to analyse the aspects that have a major effect on the legacy of (Olympic) real estate. The question one has to ask himself is: 'What has influence on legacy?'

Legacy has, as said before, tangible and intangible aspects. Though intangible aspects do have quite some effect on the whole legacy, they will not be explored into depth in this research. They will be taken into account where they do play a significant role on the tangible aspects. This research will concentrate on the tangible aspect of legacy, namely the aspects concerning architecture, urban planning, sports infrastructures, economic and tourist development. So then the question changes to: 'What has influence on tangible legacy?'

There are also other aspects that have influence on the context of legacy. These aspects, namely the national context, institutions and culture, have indirect influence on the legacy, but direct influence on the development structure. The former aspects are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Contextual influences

"Context is important. Difference in geography, time, technology, size and nature of the host country's economy render direct comparisons erroneous. It is therefore important to understand the overall circumstances that constitute the backdrop against which to assess the impact of the Olympics on the local property market." (McKay & Plumb, 2001)

The previous statement leads to the suggestion that in securing a certain level of organisational performance, contextual factors play a prominent role. Child (1972) distinguishes three factors; environmental, technological and factors concerning size. Technological factors include the different definitions of technology at the organisational level of analysis which theorists and researchers have employed. Size is of importance as it directly relates to the bureaucratic dimensions of specialization, use of procedures and reliance on paperwork (Child, 1972).

However, the most important factor is the environment. As Child (1972) states; “Different environmental conditions and different types of relationship with outside parties will ... require different types of organisational structural accommodation for a high level of performance to be achieved.” Theodoraki (2007) cites a finding Whittington made; “different outcomes occur for organisations employing similar structures and strategies operating in the same environment.” In other words, the cultural environment of a country has a great influence on the organisational structure of an organisation.

When exploring this subject more in depth, Hofstede (1980) distinguishes four dimensions of national culture; power distance index (PDI), uncertainty avoidance index (UAI), individualism (IDV) and masculinity (MAS).

PDI relates to the fact that in every society people have unequal power. In high PDI countries, power is usually centralized in the hands of a few individuals at the top of a hierarchy. In contrast in countries with low PDI scores, the main preference is a more equal distribution of power in organisations.

Hofstede (1980) explains UAI; “the extent to which members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations.” In nations with high UAI scores, organisational leaders are likely to emphasize rules, procedures, planning and short-term feedback. In nations where the need to avoid uncertainty is low, inhabitants strongly dislike formal rules and prefer small organisations within broad guidelines.

IDV correlates with national health. Individualistic cultures like variety and autonomy, value individual initiative and want freedom on the job. In less individualistic cultures, orderliness, security and moral obligations are stressed (Fowler, 1999).

Masculine cultures tend to place a high value on recognition, challenge and advancement. In feminine nations, workers place a higher value on good relationships, a pleasant environment, cooperation and service (Fowler, 1999).

These dimensions of national culture have influence in the manner a culture of nation addresses developments organisationally. Hofstede (1980) plots the PDI, the UAI and organisations against one another and the figure 2.1 is produced. He also appoints different organisational models according to the four categories he distinguishes; the market-, family-, well-oiled machine- and the pyramid-model.

Cultural influences not only have influence on the organisational aspect of legacy creation, but also have influence on the investment structure. Logically different cultures have different approaches and interested parties for urban area development.

“Olympic stakeholders and partners bring more than financial support to the Olympic Games. Their involvement through technology, expertise, products and personnel is fundamental to the actual staging of the Games.” (Theodoraki, 2007)

The degree of involvement in which the public and private parties participate, finance and bear the risk all derives from the national culture and customs. All the stakeholders involved have opinions and are raised and educated with a particular culture. Thus the four dimensions of national culture explained in the previous chapter play a role of significance when the investment structure is set.

Figure 2.2 shows the place of the stakeholders in the organisation of the Olympic Games for London 2012 (Palmer used by Theodoraki, 2007). As can be seen, the stakeholders play an extremely central part in the whole Olympic show and must thus be taken very seriously. After all, their involvement can decide whether the outcome of the Games is successful or not.

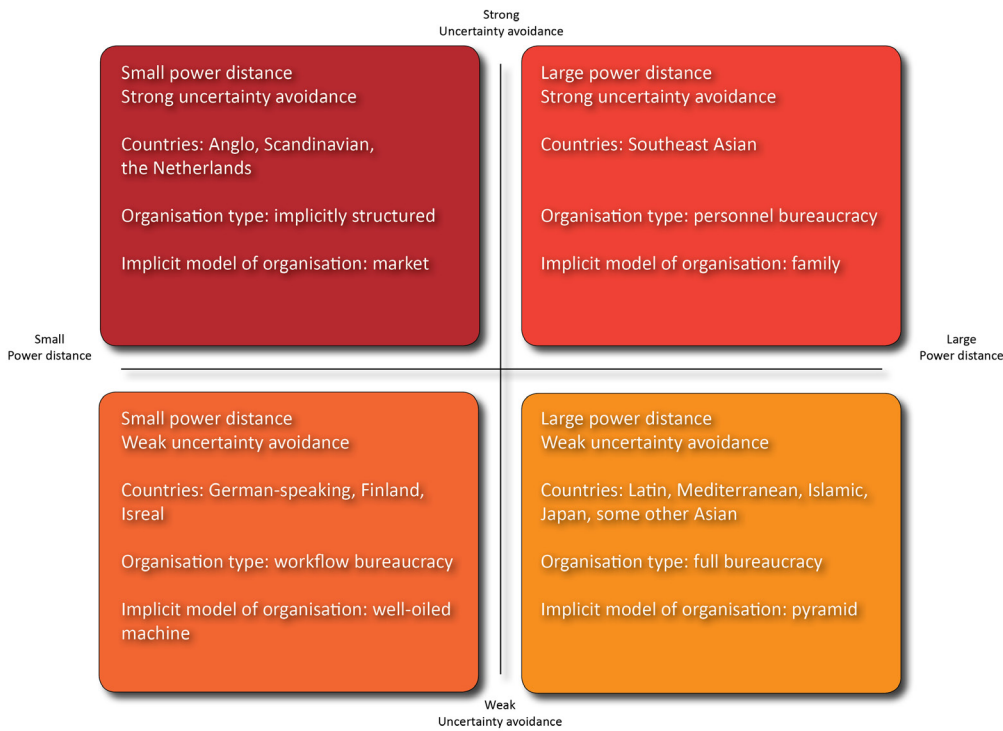


Figure 2.1: Hofstede PDI and UAI analysis

Additionally the current state of a city, be it economical, spatial, international or social, is of influence on the opportunities for developments and the necessary means at hand. Especially the economical situation is of important, as this might create the largest hindrance for development incapacities. McKay & Plumb (2001) also distinguish four different real estate market cycles. The situation of the market cycles is also of importance for the spatial opportunities. These aspects lead to the distinction of the 'colour' of the host city. This will indicate the 'health' and thus the possibilities and capabilities.

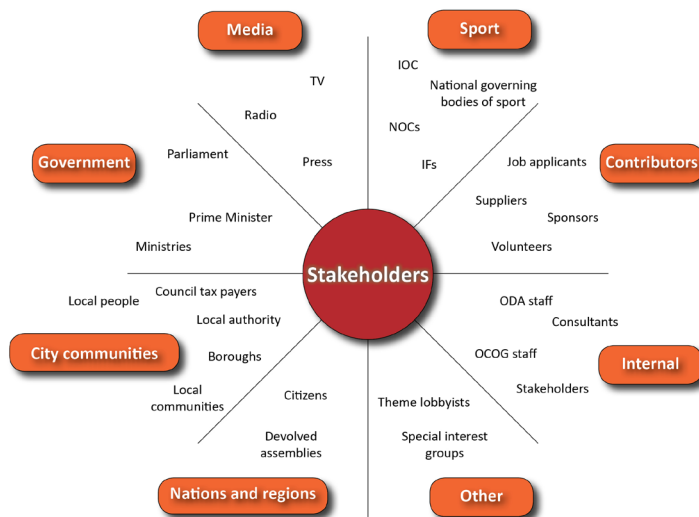


Figure 2.2: London 2012 stakeholders analysis

Host city objectives

As stated in the first paragraph of this chapter, Baim (2008) distinguishes four primary reasons for host cities to place a bid for the Olympic Games. These are enhancing tourism, promoting more rapid infrastructure investment than would occur without the Games, promoting entrepreneurial goals and gaining recognition as a global city or nation. However, no single former host city has exclusively aimed for only one of the before mentioned goals, Baim (2008) claims that all the Games since the '72 Games in Munich have emphasized one of these goals more than others.

When hosting the Olympic Games, the host city becomes a world-wide billboard during the 16 day exposure, and if managed correctly, can (1) boost the number of tourists who visit the city during and even more importantly, after the Games. The tourism after the Games has much more appeal to the host city, because in this context, tourism includes not only leisure travel of individuals, but also the business related travel of conference and convention participants. Cities are ever expanding and upgrading their infrastructural design to satisfy future needs and to 'work' as optimally as possible. Due to the fact that their upgrade lists are usually much longer than the projects they are willing or capable to execute directly, they plan projects ahead for decades to come. If the Bidding Committee of a city makes the government aware of the necessity for the infrastructural upgrades for the host city or region to stand a chance in organising the event that could create a huge economic impact in the city and region, then the government might be willing to inject funds into the infrastructure sooner than was planned. In this way the Olympics are used as a (2) catalyst for the city developments and can be said to leave a positive legacy for the citizens by providing the benefits of these projects sooner than later.

The Olympic Games can also be viewed as a festival directed towards allowing fans to appreciate the efforts of the Olympic athletes while enhancing private interests and generating funds to benefit charitable purposes (Baim, 2008). When this is the primary objective of an edition of the Games, there is inferior emphasis on and interest in investments for infrastructural upgrades and tourist acclimatization. The emphasis is shifted toward the cultural and sporting aspects and on the ability of the Games to (3) create profit for the sponsors and funds for charity, such as those with promoting amateur athletics.

As mentioned shortly before, the Games generate a world-wide podium of the host city for everyone to see in the world's community. This may also be used by the host city or nation, to demonstrate their capabilities to the rest of the world. Any city and nation that can successfully stage an edition of the Olympic Games deserves the world's respect (Baim, 2008). The objective is then to (4) enhance its diplomatic and economic standing, and to promote its products or to gain political power within its region and throughout the world. This is perhaps the most ambitious objective, due to the fact that the OC's must succeed in all the other aspects in order to stage a successful edition of the Games. They must create a financially feasible event, the infrastructure must be up and running and the tourism market must be well attuned to the tourist demand of the Games. Therefore, a city must improve its infrastructure and demonstrate its efficiency, more than likely improving tourism and investment in the process (Baim, 2008).

As cited earlier, besides the primary objective the former host cities have, they have multiple objectives to support the Olympic developments. These objectives are one of the above listed primary objectives, however they are not put forward as prominently. They rather support than fulfil the concept of the Games.

Stakeholder and inter-organisational structure

Related to the objectives the host cities set for Olympic development, are the stakeholders. These parties are important to analyse who was responsible for which developments and which stages within the developments. In figure 2.2, Theodoraki (2007) already showed which stakeholders have been identified for the London Olympics of 2012. Solberg (2005) distinguishes the stakeholders which have effect on the local event organisers in figure 2.3.

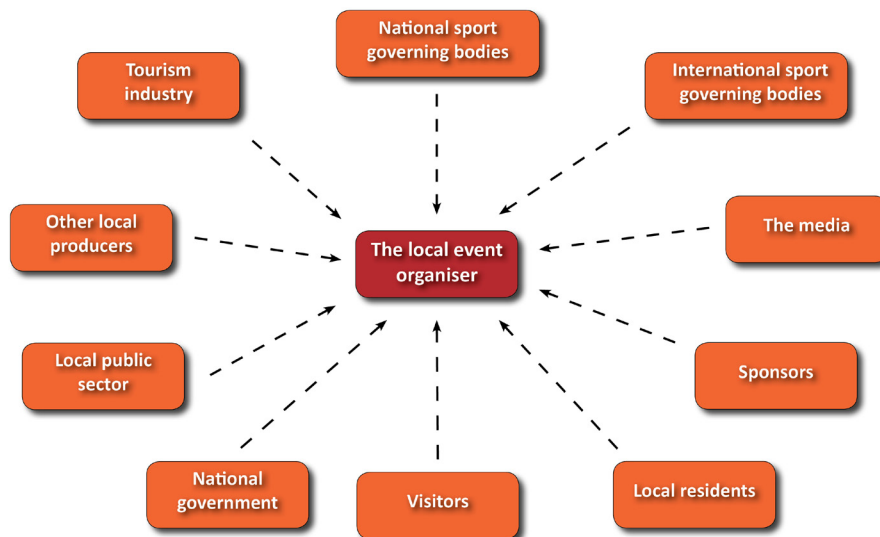


Figure 2.3: Local event organisers according to Solberg (2005)

To understand the motives behind organising the Olympic Games, it is advisable to research the initiatives within the whole network of stakeholders. As all the stakeholders have different roles and motives within the Olympic developments, the leading stakeholders of the Olympic movement will try to organize the Games in such a way that it will benefit their needs the most, after all, they started the whole concept.

Solberg (2005) makes a distinction between stakeholders. He divides them into the producers, local stakeholders and the commercial stakeholders. This research will divide them differently due to the search for created public-private partnerships.

The stakeholders can be distinguished into three categories; public, private and informal parties. Each of the stakeholders have their own reasons for participating in Olympic development and also have their own means and resources at their disposal.

The stakeholders that are considered public are the three governments, national/federal, regional/state and local/municipal; public enterprises and the OCOG's.

The three governments all work on different levels and therefore all three have different motives, goals and resources. As they are, most often, the parties that invest the most in the Olympic Games, they do have a large influence on the developments made, Olympic and non-Olympic. Governmental stakeholder can play an active or a passive role. Active roles would include them in developments, risks and financial responsibility. Passive roles would only put them around the negotiation table to support public-private partnerships and due to the fact that they would only fulfil a facilitative role (Andranovich et al, 2001).

Public enterprises are state-owned and controlled enterprises which operate according to market criteria, in which they produce and sell industrial, commercial or financial goods and services to the public (Floyd, 1984). Examples of public enterprises are the knowledge institutions or the housing associations.

Though the OCOG's at first instance seem public parties, as they fulfil public objectives, they are not always public entities. Nations first study the national laws and the host city contract before they reach a decision in what manner the OCOG will legally be incorporated (Theodoraki, 2007). The OCOG is then a public body if the organisation chooses for a foundation that will be a not-for-profit organisation.

The second category concerning stakeholders are the private parties. This group includes the local businesses, the sponsors and the OCOG's.

The local businesses or enterprises are interested in the economical impact the Olympics has on the city and region. The city enjoys a large sum of exposure during the Olympics and this is excellent promotion of businesses in the area. Businesses that profit from Olympic development include project management businesses, construction companies, housing associations, the service sector and technological businesses. They all can benefit from the Olympic developments and are thus interested in manoeuvring themselves in such a position so that they will fully benefit from the impact.

The corporate sponsors have a playing field on the national and global market. They play a large role in the revenues for the OCOG and have a key role in the look and feel of an Olympic city (Gold & Gold, 2007). However, due to the fact that the IOC thought that the Games were becoming too commercialized they decided to control the look of the Games from Athens onwards (Preuss, 2004). The sponsors are divided into three groups, which are in order of most to least commercial rights; The Olympic Programme (TOP) sponsors, the Olympic Partners and the national NOC sponsors.

In some cases, as stated before, the OCOG is founded as a private body if the organisation thinks that this will be the best solution after considering the national laws and host city contract. One main characteristic of a private OCOG is that the state does not financially guarantee the organisation or will only do so to a certain minimal point. They will then have to find their funding from private investors.

An informal party is a term that is devised for the parties that are involved in Olympic development, but cannot be categorized in private or public. These are the media, the international federations (IF), the tourists or visitors and the civic society.

The IF's are the most influential in this group of sport organisations. The leading body in the IF's is the IOC, the juridical owner of the event (Solberg, 2005). Also the national Governing Bodies of Sport and the NOC's are ordered in this group. They are all responsible for the sports side of the Olympic event.

The media do not play an influential role in the developments, but they do have a major impact on the budget. Preuss (2004) draws a conclusion based on the analysis of former hosts, that of the total revenues the Games receive, 40% originates from the selling of the television rights. They also have a major impact on the Games' success on a global level, as they are responsible for the exposure around the globe (Gold & Gold, 2007).

The tourists and visitors that are attracted to the Games have the most influence on the local economy. This is logical because they not only visit the Olympics, they also stay in hotels and spend money of tourist attractions and for example food and drinks. This brings money into the local economy and therefore will start a major impulse. They also have a large influence on the budget of the OCOG, as the ticket revenues were approximately 10% of the marketing revenues in Athens and Beijing (Preuss, 2004).

Finally the civic society plays a significant role in Olympic development. Van Beek (2007) makes a distinction between two types of civic society. On the one hand the civic society with economic power, which include the chamber of commerce, trade unions, etc.; on the other is the civic society without economic power, which include the citizens whom are united in associations and movements. These groups can have influence on the developments themselves. They can exert 'power' by protesting against certain developments. Public figures will then have to

listen to them. Though few protests have ever taken place during the actual realisation of the Olympic developments, numerous examples can be reported of residents and local politicians taking a stand against the Olympic candidacy.

BPF and ULI (2007) state in their report of the conference to discuss the legacy for the London Olympics that “a clear governance structure is required to deliver a viable physical legacy”. By governance structure they mean the organisational structure of the Olympic Games. The organisational structure consists of a mix of Olympic Organising Committees, such as the IOC, NOC and the OCOG, the three levels of governmental bodies and parties from the private sector. The mix however, differs every time the Games are held due to the fact that every host city is unique. The factors that play a role for the typology of the organisational structure are mainly the development model that the nation or region is used to employ and the means by which the government wants to achieve the objectives.

The development model that a nation is used to, depends on their culture and tradition as every nation uses different methods and partnerships, which is accustomed to their practice, to achieve certain developments. For example, China uses the Dengist-model wherein the government plays a significant role, so for the '08 Games in Beijing the Chinese government manoeuvred themselves into an extremely influential role. Private parties were still drawn in to the partnerships, yet they did not have a lot of influence on the developments. To the other extreme, the Games in Atlanta in '96 were mainly developed by private parties. This meant that these parties had a lot of influence on the developments in Atlanta, and they were represented in numerous boards throughout the different OC's.

In Chapter 3 the accomplished research on the selected case host cities is provided wherein the development structures are captured in models and characteristics are recognized.

Urban development strategies

The term 'strategy' itself is an expensive word, used consistently by managers. Mainly the term strategy is defined as “top management's plans to attain outcomes consistent with the organisation's mission and goals” (Wright et al, 1992:3 cited in Mintzberg et al, 1998). Mintzberg et al (1998) define strategy as a plan, a direction to get from A to B; a pattern, consistent behaviour over time; a position, the creation of a unique and valuable position; a perspective, the grand vision of the organisation; and a ploy, a specific manoeuvre to create a better position for the organisation.

When looking closer into these five definitions, Mintzberg et al (1998) categorizes four uses for strategies; to set direction, to focus effort, to define the organisation and to provide consistency. These four means for strategy are used throughout every form of management, thus also in urban development.

The dynamics that define the urban experience have intensified the past two decades. The rapid and endless modifications and alterations of the urban social, cultural and economic life that occur in cities, courses towards new and innovative objectives and modifications the city aspires; “the urban arena became a key space in which political-economic and social changes were enacted” (Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

Within this modernisation and modification, urban development projects play a significant role. They have become “one of the most visible and ubiquitous urban revitalization strategies pursued by city elites in search of economic growth and competitiveness” (Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

In this envisaged picture, the Olympic Games can play a supporting role in the urban context. The catalyst function the Olympic developments can give a city, are the main reason for

intrigued, potential host cities to study the possibilities of claiming the title of 'Olympic'. The objectives that are aspired, are attained by employing urban development strategies. This is a key part in the development process, for the eventual legacy and success of the developments, is created through the deployed strategy.

Budget

At first sight the budget is an aspect that does not have major influence on the rest of the aspects and does not fulfil a central role in the conceptual model. However, when analysing the budget, a clear insight can be gained concerning the desired catalyst effect the Olympic developments had on the city's general developmental plan. The reason behind the investments can be derived from the categories in which is invested. These categories in which the diversity can be divided might be the different facility types, i.e. new, refurbished or temporary facilities; the infrastructure; the Olympic village or the overall non-Olympic redevelopment projects throughout the city. The question then arises how the budget was spread out in these categories, which is linked to the objectives and strategies which were employed.

A second very interesting aspect to look at is the difference between the budget that was set prior to the Olympics and the actual budget that was drawn up after the Games. If there is a difference between these two calculations, how did this occur? Was it due to a change in the strategy, and why did they change it? Or was there a complete failure in calculating the budget at forehand so that the budget was not realistic at all? On the other hand, if the pre and post budget do not differ a lot from each other, is there a reason why not? Did they have enormous trouble staying within the budget or was the budget easy to keep to?

Whenever changes in the division of the budget have or have not occurred, it is obvious that the cooperation between the involved parties is tested. Parties may or may not agree with changes or would like to see changes in the budget and therefore friction in relationships may occur. Therefore it is once more interesting to analyse the effects of the evolution of the budget on the existing partnerships.

In order to be able to compare the selected case cities, it is necessary to provide facts and figures that can be compared to each other. This is achieved by first converting the local currency to United States Dollars. Then this amount is then indexed to the value of the US dollar on January 1st, 2010. Thus all the case cities are comparable as the financial figures are all translated to the same time.

Financial structure

First of all, the Olympic Games are awarded to a city, and not a private institution. Financially this means that the city is to guarantee the financial security of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Charter states: "Each candidate city shall provide financial guarantees as required by the IOC Executive Board, which will determine whether such guarantees shall be issued by the city itself, or by any other competent local, regional or national public authorities, or by any third parties." (IOC, 2007, Rule 34, para. 2.4). Within this, the IOC is not financially liable if anything might go wrong. As the Olympic Charter states: "The IOC shall have no financial responsibility whatsoever in respect thereof." (IOC, 2007, rule 37, para. 1). This rule has been made to protect the IOC of shortcoming of the OC's.

The Olympic Games is an event that needs a large financial support. The financial support can, in cases of economic strong host cities and nations, be solely acquired by public funds. However, when the Games are completely funded with public funds, an unhealthy legacy is created. BPF and ULI (2007) state in one of their key recommendations that a private-sector body should be created that considers the legacy of the Games, and thus creates a healthy legacy after the Olympic Games have left the host city. The reason for this is that such a body can stimulate investment interest ensuring that the legacy plans are viable. This will be in the

benefit of all concerning actors due to the fact that legacy will be taken seriously into account and will achieve a more optimal result than when such a body would not exist.

In general, there are four bodies that have been involved in former host cities concerning financing the Olympic Games and they can be categorized in different fields: government of the host nation, region/province/state, municipality/community and the private sector economy. Each body provides different resources. This is shown in figure 2.4 constructed by Preuss (2004).

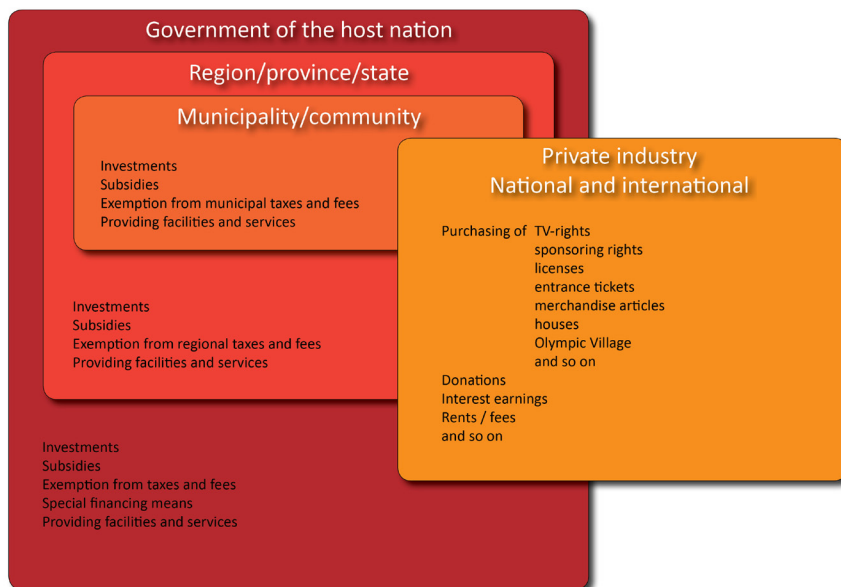


Figure 2.4: Financial stakeholders according to Preuss (2004)

The different bodies all have different interests that cause them to invest in the Olympic Games. According to Preuss (2004), “the extent to which the systems from figure 2.4 participate financially in the Olympic Games depends on the specific objectives the individual bodies have, the range of interest involved in the staging of the Olympic Games is wide and differs from host to host.” Patterns do emerge when exploring the interests of former hosts. Nonetheless one must use caution not to generalize because of the distinctive socio-cultural, political, historical and economic circumstances of each nation.

Preuss (2004) distinguishes five parties that have interest in investing in the Olympic Games. The first is that of the regional groups of IOC members whose cultural identity is an important factor in determining how their vote is cast.

The second party is that of the host governments who recognize the value of the Games in three particular areas; the international relations, the national moral and the public relations. The third interest is that of the local politicians. The aspects that they want to improve are the tourist numbers, the promotion of their city as a global city, the recognition of the city on a national level and stimulation of the local economy.

Another interested party is the local and regional construction industry. They will, for obvious reasons, benefit from the building of all the necessary infrastructure and accommodations.

The final group that is interested in participating in financing the Games are the television networks. Not only is it a prestige to broadcast the Olympics, but also a large amount of profit can be generated from advertising.

Two main funding groups are to be categorized in the investment structure. These are the public and private investors. Also a third, side group is distinguishable, namely the revenues of the Games themselves, such as the ticket sales and the television rights. However this group has little influence on the organisation of the Games themselves, and is often categorized by

numerous references under private funding.

In contrast to the heavy emphasis on the before mentioned public guarantors, the source of sponsorship varies with the national culture as well as with the motivations for holding the Olympic Games. The balance and proportion of the two investor groups heavily depends and varies on account of the presence of larger objectives, if any exist. Larger objectives that have been in connection with Olympic development include, urban renewal, infrastructure upgrade and promoting tourism, as mentioned before in this report. These goals affect the type of funding, because private investors do not have the interests or even the means to support the Games with such a great amount of funds. When such larger objectives are present, evidently the proportion of funding from private sources relatively decreases (Baim, 2008).

Nations that are much more comfortable with public participation, usually tend to have proportionally more public funds, opposed to the more confident capitalist nations who tend to use a more privately invested investment structure.

In chapter 3 the outcome of research on former Olympic hosts is analysed and suggestions are made concerning financial partnerships and their legacy.

Interferences

Hosting an Olympic tournament is a very complex occupation. It has to integrate many aspects which can all go wrong on different levels. Therefore it is redundant to mention that Olympic development will inevitably bump into interference. This interference can be divided into social resistance and regulation restrictions.

Social resistance can be put up by two groups; politicians and residents. Though the politicians represent the residents in the government, they do have different concerns with Olympic development. They also have a clearer view of the bigger picture. Politicians might be against hosting the Olympic Games because they think that the Games will not succeed in the market the nation momentarily has (Preuss & Solberg, 2006). They also might face a two-hat problem; they would very much like to host the Olympic Games for national and personal prestige, and they have the social concerns they have to worry about (Andranovich et al, 2001). Not all the problems will go away when successfully organising the Olympics and new social problems may arise.

Residents are restricted by the smaller picture, but this does not mean that it is less important. They will stand up for their rights and let themselves be heard. Possible resistance from residents can be concerning the possible negative effects for the residents and the environment due to the Olympic developments. These negative effects mostly and usually affect the lower classes, due to the gentrification of city areas for Olympic development (Andranovich et al, 2001).

Regulation restrictions occur when the local building regulations will not suffice in delivering the facilities and venues in time for the Games. In numerous host nations, planning large scale developments takes too long, so that developments cannot be delivered in time. This means that the regulations have to be altered so that Olympic development is not obstructed, can continue according to schedule and thus be delivered in time.

The four ambition levels of sustainable development

“Since 1992 the volume and quality of environmental legislation has expanded hugely, and international agreements have not only raised the profile of environmental change but also begun to drive global policy change” (Adams, 2006). This policy change has also had effect on the real estate development. Sustainability has become a large issue and concept in most businesses and thus a shift in policy has occurred. Adams (2006) defines three circles in which the attention of sustainable development must be paid to, and thus must be executed in. These three dimensions are economic, social and environmental, shown in figure 2.5. The current situation and the change necessary according to Adams are also shown.

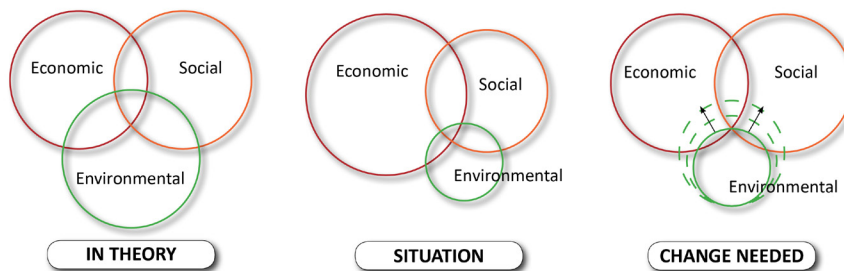


Figure 2.5: Sustainable development ambitions

However, for the implementation of these dimensions, governance is needed. This governance, or at least the correct type of governance, has not always existed and thus also must evolve and be modified.

At the same time an evolution in the perception of mega-events took place. They started to be considered as a tool in area development and are increasingly integrated into new urban spatial planning approaches. The Olympic development of the facilities evolved in such a manner that they now also included infrastructural provisions, urban regeneration and environmental improvements. This can easily be seen in the manner in which the Olympic developments are executed in the latest editions, as the tangible aspects reach far beyond the event itself (Chen et al, 2010).

How the former host cities deal with development of this scale can best be analysed and understood by looking at the objectives, the employed urban development strategies and the achieved legacy (Chen et al, 2010). To support these aspects it is also useful to analyse the involved stakeholders. It is important to know how they were involved and what resources they had at hand to achieve their goals. Then the full comprehension of the plan of approach is achieved.

Bakker (2009) takes the legacy dimensions another step further. He extrudes the circles into three pillars of which the sustainable development comprises. He changes the names of these pillars into the social-cultural, financial-economic and physical-environmental pillars.

The social-cultural pillar consists of the “legacy that is to be created on social and cultural aspects. Benefits like higher level of public facilities, social housing, community cohesion, experience and know-how, urban renewal and cultural inclusion” are aspects that can be related to this pillar (Bakker, 2009).

The second pillar of financial-economic aspects consists of “the sustainability of economic benefits in a long-term perspective, economic effects, which would not have occurred without the Games” (Preuss, 2004).

The final physical-environmental pillar includes the “more tangible aspects within legacy creation. This means new infrastructure on the levels of transport, accommodations and urban space, which encompasses large scale urban renewal” (Roche, 2000; Gold & Gold, 2007).

Bakker (2009) then distinguishes different levels that equally run through the three pillars.

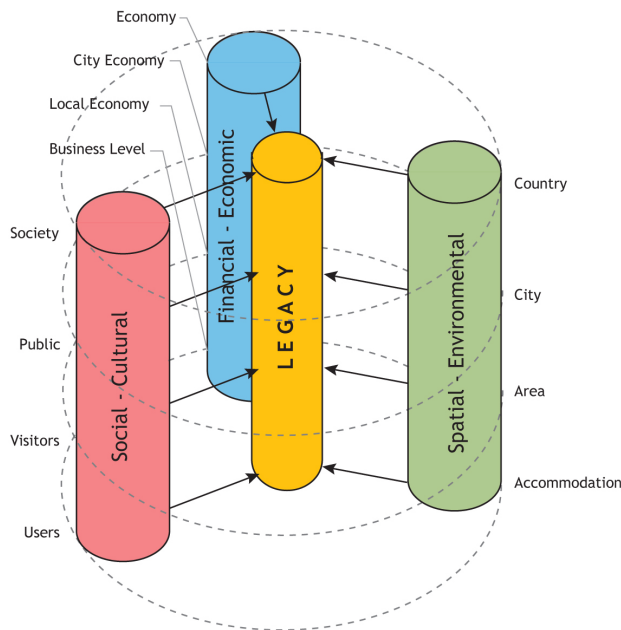


Figure 2.6: Bakker's (2009) legacy model

These levels are, from macro-level at the top, to micro-level at the bottom. He finally concludes with: "Good balance of these levels determines the success of legacy creation." Chen et al (2009) also state that the balance between the three sustainable development dimensions is the interesting part, as is the implementation of the perspectives.

Figure 2.6 shows the legacy model that Bakker derived from his exploratory research. It displays the legacy pillar forming the centre, and the three pillars of which legacy comprises. The diverse scale levels are shown vertically.

Preuss & Solberg (2006) have also conducted research on the potential impacts for hosting mega-events on host communities. Unlike Chen et al (2009) and Adams (2006), they have divided the impacts into six categories; economic, tourism/commercial, physical/environmental, social/cultural, psychological and political/administrative. However, the categories of economic and

tourism/commercial can be integrated with one another as they have a close relationship in economical sense. The same goes for the social/cultural and psychological categories. This brings the number categories back to four, and back to the same as Chen et al (2009) and Adams (2006) define.

2.4 Urban development in operation

Urban development has a direct relationship with the legacy that is created. Therefore it is wise to enlighten the elements of urban development and then compare these elements with the former discussed elements concerning legacy development.

2.4.1 Ingredients of urban development

Van 't Verlaat (2005) sums the ingredients of the context of urban area development; social, spatial, economic and social-economic developments are the main ingredients. Additionally on a higher level policy context and various other peripheral conditions exist, such as judicial frameworks. Within this context, urban area development is the "playfield of a multiplicity of actors who ... influence the processes involved" (van 't Verlaat, 2005).

To achieve a sufficient spatial and market quality, the context must also be given content. Van 't Verlaat (2005) distinguishes certain levels on which ambition concerning the content must be achieved; spatial, social, political, economic, ecological and social-cultural. These aspects correspond to the ambition levels which are set by Adams (2006) which are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Urban area development does not lead to the desired result without the correct means or resources (van 't Verlaat, 2005). Funds and land acquisition are such resources, as well as knowledge and skills and to some extent legislation.

These aspects are all aspects discussed in the prior paragraph concerning the influential aspects of Olympic legacy. The ingredients needed to execute urban development are all present in the influences on legacy; the stakeholders involved, the budget and means of finance, the ambition levels of sustainable development and the urban development strategies employed. These aspects form the core of a public-private partnership model. A mixture of the first three aspects brings forth the strategies that are necessary for successful execution of the development.

2.4.2 Planning scales

In order to comprehend the organisational scale of Olympic developments and to get a better grasp of which levels of organisation are being researched, the institutional levels and planning scales have been researched. Van Beek (2007) distinguishes three institutional levels which relate to three planning scale levels (figure 2.7). The institutional levels he distinguishes are the macro-level, the meso-level and the micro level. These levels coincide with three planning scales; the (trans-) national scale, the regional scale and the metropolitan scale. The level and scale that this research will focus on are the macro-level and (trans-) national scale. This means that the larger context of development needs to be taken into account. However, the three levels have influence on each other, thus the other levels must not be neglected.

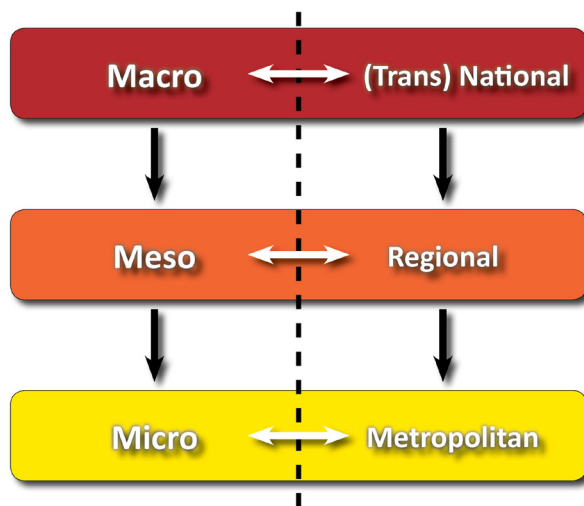


Figure 2.7: Planning scales according to van Beek (2007)

2.5 Conclusions

Translating the former discussed aspects of urban area development and legacy creation into a conceptual model of tangible legacy creation, figure 2.8 has been produced. As can be seen in figure 2.8, the aspect that directly influences the creation of legacy is the development structure. The development structure includes two paths in its process towards legacy; the 'what' and the 'how' path (figure 2.9). The 'what' path includes the objectives and goals that are desired, i.e. 'what' do they want to achieve. The 'how' path leads us past the public-private partnerships, which include the stakeholders involved and their available resources, i.e. 'how' do they achieve the legacy.

The two paths are both reflected to the four ambition levels of sustainable development and eventually come together when creating an employing the strategies. The strategies then have influence on the legacy which is finally created.



Figure 2.8: Conceptual model of legacy creation



Figure 2.9: Development structure process

To recapitulate, there are four levels of ambition in sustainable urban area development which must be explored on which objectives they set, which urban development strategies they employed to achieve those objectives, which stakeholders were involved, which resources they had at hand and the final created legacy before a full comprehension can be achieved;

- Governance; how are the different dimensions implemented and executed in the sustainable urban area development.
- Social; this dimensions leans more towards the intangible side of urban area development. Which developments were made to achieve an increase in social and intangible aspects?
- Spatial-environmental; that there were tangible developments made in this dimension is obvious, but which ones, the motives behind the choices and the final legacy these spatial developments created?
- Economic; how did the tangible developments aid growth in the economic sector?



Chapter | three

3

Case Study & Cross Case Analysis



Athletes compete in the rain during the Men's Decathlon 100m Final held at the National Stadium during Day 13 of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter explained which aspects need to be researched when looking into Olympic legacy development, with the ultimate goal of learning more about Olympic development strategy and how it can be utilized to its full potential. In order for this research to reach that goal, five former Olympic host cities have been put under the magnifying glass.

In order to produce an analysis that brings all aspects together and also comparable, a thorough literature research has been made concerning the cases that were selected in the chapters before. All the important aspects that are needed to create a comprehensive result have been discussed per case.

The discussion per case is a result of a collection of multiple sources of evidence per Olympic city. These sources have been found in a variety of forms, which all have contributed to the comprehensive description of the Olympic process in the particular cities. Sources include governmental documents, e.g. bid documents, official Olympiad reports, governmental economic impact studies, etc., presentation by officials, newspaper and online news articles, and all other relevant and valid types of sources.

The result of this discussion can be found in the appendixes, and is used for the bases of the next step in this research; the cross case analysis.

This chapter contains the cross case analysis that follows the study of these five particular cases. The result is a brief but comprehensive elucidation of the multiple case studies, accompanied by an analysis and comparison of the cases. By sketching a short clarification per aspect per case, an attempt is made to provide a simplistic explanation of the situation per case so that the reader is provided enough information to understand the situation in the case cities.

The Olympic development strategies unfold over a significant period of time, as in most cases there is more than a decade between the initiation of the bid and the closing ceremony. Not to forget the post-Olympic phase which may last for many years after. To finally come to a complete comprehension of the subject, and understand how goals, strategies and stakeholders come together within the development process, the events are examined in three phases; the initiative and bidding phase, the organising and realisation phase, and the legacy and post-Games phase. However, one is to always keep in mind that every host city is unique in their demography, geography and especially in their opportunities. These characteristics will always lead to different situations which need unique approaches. Despite of the unique characteristics all of the cases have compared to one another, they still have similar characteristics and thus can be compared on certain points. By making the analysis and comparing how the different cities embraced the Olympic movement, key features are sought between the relationships of Olympic urban development strategies, the final consequences of these strategies in the form of create legacy and the local economic development politics.

The eventual knowledge that is gained with this analysis is used for the final translation to the Dutch context. Not all aspects can be used, but the lessons learned, i.e. the legacy aspects, will provide the basis of the final product.

3.2 Results of the case study

In this part of the report, a summary is given of the five cases when analysed on the three Olympic development phases. The complete literature study can be found in the appendixes for reference.

First an overview is provided of all the cases per phase, where after the cases are briefly discussed. To conclude each phase observations will be stated, wherein the translation of the main goals to the secondary objectives, strategies and impact is discussed. After the three phases have been discussed, figures that have been collected over a multiple extra cases will also be dealt with. This chapter will attempt to discover trends in Olympic development.

3.2.1 Initiating and bidding for the Olympics

The initiation of the Olympic movement has the most affect on the eventual entire Olympic development process, fore in this phase stakeholders identify the goals they want to achieve and how these are to be achieved. This leads to the obvious point that the city's situation at the time, i.e. political, social, spatial and economical, had a crucial affect on the decisions made. It is vital to understand the situation, because this can reveal a great deal about how initiatives were undertaken.

In table 3.1 a summary is given concerning aspects that are related to this first phase of the Olympic movement in the case cities.

Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing are all evaluated on how they initiated and who initiated the Olympic movement. Although these cities are all very different, there are some similarities to be discovered.

Barcelona

Barcelona had undergone three massive changes after the death of their notorious leader Franco in 1975; there was a significant shift towards a left wing government, the economical crisis provided the necessary problems and the adoption of a new urban masterplan with different strategies (van Beek, 2007; Gold & Gold, 2007). These were all a result of the situation the city had rolled itself in; the rapid population growth, the modernization and the industrialisation under the Franco regime, all led to a 'grey' city. It was characterised by factories and over population (Gold & Gold, 2007). The city was not extremely wealthy, but as the second city in Spain just after Madrid, it was beneath its potential. Severe upgrades were necessary in the city and in 1976 the Plan General Metropolità (PGM) was created by the local municipality in order to set out the actions needed to recuperate the public spaces and facilities for the following years (Gold & Gold, 2007).

Barcelona had huge ambitions for reconstructing its city. However, huge plans are often accompanied with huge costs; the city could not afford the large sums needed to invest in the key projects (Garcia cited in van Beek, 2007). This is when they invented the Barcelona-model, a model conceived so that public and private partnerships could easily be established and they could make developments together and benefit all parties included (Gold & Gold, 2007).

To speed up this process and make the developments more efficient, the mayor of Barcelona came with the idea to bid for the Olympic Games (Gold & Gold, 2007); this way, Barcelona could attain a very large amount of finance on a short-term basis. Thus the idea was born to use the Olympics as a catalyst for the urban regeneration of the city.

The concept of a new and reborn Barcelona was supported by three primary objectives the city wanted to achieve with the new urban masterplan; adopt the city to the new and modern global opportunities, solve the problems which the economic crisis had brought upon the

Table 3.1: Initiating and bidding for the Olympics

City	State of the City		Initiative	Goals and objectives			Integration
	"Colour"	GDP/cap		Concept	Primary	Masterplan	
Barcelona 1992 1975-1985	"Grey" Industrialized	US\$ ₁₀ 15.680	Local municipality Mayor	'New' Barcelona	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopting to global opportunities Solve problems due to crisis Incorporate long-term development projects 	Very strong	
Atlanta 1996 1987-1990	"Black/white" Postfederal	US\$ ₁₀ 28.680	Private 'Crazy Atlanta Nine' Billy Payne		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish a higher international (business) profile Invest in deprived areas 	Weak	
Sydney 2000 1990-1993	"Healthy"	US\$ ₁₀ 22.204	Central and state government of New South Wales	Global positioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International tourism 'Green Games' Attract business 	Moderate	
Athens 2004 1990-1997	"Grey"	US\$ ₁₀ 18.903	Central and municipal government	Put Athens back on the map Restore Olympic values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reurbanize city Link ancient and modern culture Boost business and tourist markets 	Strong	
Beijing 2008 1990-2001	"Bright" up and coming	US\$ ₁₀ 9.075	Central government	International recognition National promotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modernize and industrialize Promote industrial optimisation and upgrading Greening the city 	Very strong	

source : compiled by author

city, and incorporate long-term development projects throughout the city (COOB'92, 1992; Marshall, 1996; van Beek, 2007; Gold & Gold, 2007; Kindel et al, 2009; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

To generate the most optimal effect of the Olympic developments within the general city developments, the integration within the Plan General Metropolitana was sublime. Numerous Olympic projects fit into the urban structure and thus complemented the urban structure and even made it more strong (van Beek, 2007; Kindel et al, 2009; Qu & Spaans, 2009). This was possible due to the fact that the municipal government owned strategic land areas (Gold & Gold, 2007), which they wanted and needed to develop anyway. The Olympics could thus be an optimal catalyst for urban redevelopment.

Atlanta

In the 1980s, Atlanta was a city of two faces. The nation was on the rise and the city of Atlanta had also become a rich community. However this did not decrease the poverty and the gap between rich and poor, and it is maybe even safe to say between black and white, grew and grew. This was of concern to businesses and corporations situated in the inner city. The depreciation that the homeless and poor caused in the inner city did not benefit the businesses that were settled there. This is why an elite club of nine business and society elite, led by the successful real estate law attorney Billy Payne, stepped up and thought of the idea to host the Olympic Games in order to create short-term finance for upgrading the attraction of the inner city to attract more business to the city (Newman, 1999; Engle, 1999; Beaty, 2007).

A very important factor which played a crucial role in the perspective towards sports in Atlanta was that Atlanta was the first major city to see sports as a multi-billion dollar business (Engle, 1999).

Additionally America entered a postfederal and global period in which the government was open for more private initiative and developments (Andranovich, 2001).

These two political developments led to a perfect political climate for a private Olympic ambition. The 'Crazy Atlanta Nine' as they were called, therefore had the opportunity to use the Olympic Games to establish a higher international business profile of the city (ACOG, 1997; Beaty, 2007).

The government had a small role in the initiative. They had the policy that they were not to be financially liable for such events, but they did however fully support the idea and were happily willing to facilitate the Games (Simmons, 2000; Beaty, 2007).

The passive attitude the government had concerning the Olympic movement, led to a very private domination of the Olympic developments, which in turn did not lead to a superb integration into the urban masterplan. The private developments were all mainly focussed on the post-Games use and they all had purposes for after the Games (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Newman, 1999; Andranovich, 2001).

Sydney

Sydney was a city that was subject to a rapid growth due to gold rushes and industrialisation. This growth has led to the fact that Sydney holds 20% of the nation's population, but some areas are unintentionally underdeveloped (Gold & Gold, 2007).

Samaranch once called Australia 'the most sports-loving nation in the world' which is reflected of the fact that Australia is the only nation, besides Greece, which has competed in all editions of the modern Olympics. However, Australia has only once before have had the privilege to host the largest sports event in the world (SOCOG, 2001).

Due to major recessions, increasing foreign debt, globalization effects and economic deregulation, a decrease of traditional employment has occurred which shifted the Australian perception of how to use and implement tourism as a major economical provider (Hall, 1998). These factors, plus the instatement of the new Premier, Nick Greiner, led to Olympic ambitions in Sydney. After unsuccessful bids from Melbourne and Brisbane, Sydney was chosen to be the representative Australian city for the 2000 Olympic Games bid. The New South Wales (NSW) Government saw the Games as an ideal catalyst to provide the changes necessary. The central government also incorporated this idea and they wanted to use the Games to put the nation back on the map (Owen, 2001; SOCOG, 2001).

The red line through the bid for the Sydney Games was actually green; the bid committee adopted the 'Green Games' concept for creating an edge on the competition for winning the bid. By approaching NGOs such as Greenpeace, the bid committee attempted to make their green concept more valid and representative towards the IOC (SOCOG, 2001; Gold & Gold, 2007; Chen et al, 2010).

The central government saw the Games as an opportunity to promote the whole nation towards the rest of the world. They desired to show the Games as a national celebration and they were to be utilized in that way (Owen, 2001; Chen et al, 2010; McKay & Plumb, 2001).

The Games were also to highlight the nation and the developments it went through since the last Olympics in Melbourne in 1956. This meant that the multicultural population played a central role in a desire to unite the nation (Gold & Gold, 2007).

These desires for which the Games were to be used encompassed and supported one major goal or concept that the Sydney bid was to achieve; a stronger global position for Australia. The focal points within this global position were to increase the international tourism and attract regional service based activities (McKay & Plumb, 2001; Morse, 2001; Owen, 2001; Chen et al, 2010).

Australia and Sydney desired these ambitions for a while and the Games were a perfect way to achieve them on a short-term basis. Therefore the developments that were desired would be executed whether the bid was won or not. An example is the importance of the Homebush Bay area in the Premier's agenda. That area would be developed, Games or no Games (SOCOG, 2001; Gold & Gold, 2007).

Athens

Athens has had hard times in the past. After Greece became independent from the Ottoman Empire in 1830, the nation and city was in ruins. Due to the fact that there were not enough funds for all the new urban city plans from famous architects, they tried a different strategy; reinstating the Olympic Games and hosting them in Athens in 1896 (Gold & Gold, 2007).

By 1990, when Athens was again interested in hosting the Olympic Games, general development of the city had been severely hindered by military problems and political and economical instability. This led to a city which was developed by its citizens, and not the government. The development was characterised by a property-by-property design of space due to the minimal control the government executed (Beriatis & Gospodini, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007). Also the shortage of public owned land caused the low public development participation. This eventually led to a very slow infrastructural development process that almost stood still in the preceding decades (Bariatis & Gospodini, 2004; Getimis & Hlepas, 2007; Gold & Gold, 2007). In spite of these problems, Athens had become the dominant metropolis in Greece. However, Athens could not fulfil the same role in its international region due to several inhibiting factors, such as geographical isolation and lack of effective relations with neighbouring nations (Coccosis et al, 2003; Getimis & Hlepas, 2007).

These aspects created a renewed interest in hosting the Olympics, as they could be used as a catalyst in order to solve most of these problems. However, due to these above mentioned factors, the bid for hosting the centennial edition of the Olympic Games was lost (Gold & Gold, 2007).

After the lost bid, a lot changed for Greece. Joining the EU created more possibilities for the nation and Athens for becoming the major hub in its European and international region. Also the EU membership brought political and economical stability to the nation. In all, it created a better climate for again placing a bid for hosting the Games, this time for 2004 (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007).

The bid was to integrate with the (inter)national opportunities Greece had and put Athens back on the international map (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004; Getimis & Hlepas, 2007). On smaller scale, the plans were to 'reurbanize' Athens. Especially on infrastructural level (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004). The Games were to function as a catalyst in order to generate an enormous financial support for the necessary infrastructural upgrades.

Additionally, the commercialization and greater political role the Games received were disliked by Greece. By reclaiming the Games and bringing them back to its geographical birthplace, the traditional values of the Olympics may be regained (Coccosis, 2003; Gold & Gold, 2007).

Beijing

China is a nation on a severe rise. Since the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, dramatic changes have taken place. The developments over time were conducted under the context of several models with communist tendencies. Eventually this led to the Dengist-model, in which the public had strong control, but with inevitable capitalist features. This model was characterised by the attraction of FDI and with the objective of modernizing the different economical sectors (Gold & Gold, 2007).

The enormous potential China has, was expressed in the massive development the nation went through in the previous decades. Especially China's Golden Coast had potential and lived up to this potential. This placed China in a position wherein it opened up to global connections, by which it became an open, wealthy and urban society. This led to the fact that China was rapidly becoming one of the most powerful nations in the world. Sports have always played an important role in the Chinese culture. Politics and sports were closely interwoven, and sports was used as an instrument for the promotion of pride and identity (Gold & Gold, 2007).

After hosting the Asian Games in 1990, the idea of hosting the largest sports event in the world was born. The Olympics were ideal to create a showcase towards the rest of the world to show what China was capable of. Thus a bid was placed for the 2000 Olympics. Unfortunately, this was lost by two votes to Sydney due to pollution and infrastructural problems, as well as human right protests for events which occurred only a few years prior (Gold & Gold, 2007). Eleven years later the situation was changed and in 2001 the Chinese government placed a bid to host the Games of 2008 in Beijing. The drive behind the bid was again to show the world what China had become, as well as modernize and industrialize Beijing. The city was to change from a producer city to a city of consumption, of knowledge-based activities and with an enhanced international profile. This included the desire to promote industrial optimisation and upgrading and to solve economical problems. This is also how the theme of 'Green Games' was related to the Beijing Games. All these objectives were to support the primary goal the Olympics were to have; enhance the international recognition (IOC, 2001; Gold & Gold, 2007).

Due to the fact that the government was in strong control of the developments, they made sure the developments fit as optimally as possible in the urban masterplan of the city. Therefore the Olympics were used as a catalyst for indirectly related developments throughout the city (Gold & Gold, 2007).

Observations

When taking the gathered information found in table 3.1 into account, a few observations can be made. Concerning the situation of the city, Barcelona and Athens were both industrialized, had similar infrastructural problems and had approximately the same wealth. Atlanta and Sydney are also similar. They both were wealthy cities in wealthy nations, and their urban problems were of medium and small size. Major urban structure upgrades were not necessary. Beijing is the odd one out; the city and nation was by far the poorest when comparing GDP per capita, but the potential was by far the greatest and the growth rate was unique.

Almost all the cases is characterised by governmental initiative, except for Atlanta which was initiated by a handful of business and society elite.

The governmental initiatives can be split in two categories; initiatives by local municipalities, as in the case of Barcelona and Athens, and initiatives by the central or state government, as what happened with Sydney and Beijing.

Initiatives which were carried out by the central government additionally have the objective of national promotion and enhancing the nation's global position.

All the cases include the goals of enhancing tourism and business, only some make it their core objective. This is the case for Atlanta and Sydney. Barcelona, Athens and Beijing focus heavily on urban structure improvements, with the eventual goal to become a more attractive tourist and business location.

In two cases the integration into the masterplan is very strong, namely in Barcelona and Beijing. Athens had a strong integration, Sydney's was moderate and Atlanta's Olympic developments did not support the urban masterplan at all.

To conclude, the translations of the main concept and the primary goals to the secondary objectives has had the greatest dispersion in Barcelona. This means that the desired main goals were to be achieved on all four ambition levels. Athens has a similar characteristic, only the translation is not so mixed among the levels. Atlanta and Beijing have an even more decreasing mix, and in Sydney there is hardly the matter of mixing goals.

3.2.2 Organisational and realisation phase

In the organisation and realisation phase, all the Olympic development plans are executed. The period is defined by the moment the bid is won, usually seven years prior to the event itself, until the closing ceremony of the tournament. This period includes very complex and extensive tasks. The tasks at hand force decisions including the role of the stakeholders, the strategies to be enforced, and the budget and financial means. All these tasks have tended to the different ambition levels discussed in the previous chapter. The focus on these ambition levels may vary per case, as they might prefer some developments over others. Additionally the interferences and public support maybe a result of the chosen strategies. It might be interesting to also include these in the research.

Table 3.2 shows a compilation of all the information found on the cases concerning the organisational and realisation phase.

Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing are all evaluated on how they operated during the execution and realisation of all developments concerning the Olympic movement. Although these cities are all very different and have unique approaches, there are some similarities to be discovered.

Table 3.2: Organisational and realisation phase

City	Partnership characteristics				Strategies	Focus	Budget (in millions; x 1,000,000)	Finance public-private	Interference Society involvement
	Role government	Development domination	Organisation structure						
Barcelona 1992 1985-1992	Controlling and initiator of partnerships (Active)	Public	Private		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barcelona-model Transformation 4 key areas Private participation Focus on tourism 	G++ So Sp++ Ec	OG: US\$ ₁₀ 2.317 Infra.: US\$ ₁₀ 11.354 Total: US\$ ₁₀ 13.671	70-30	Weak
Atlanta 1996 1990-1996	Facilitating Supportive Open for partnership (Passive)	Public	Private		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revitalize downtown Reimage Atlanta Sports development 	G So Sp Ec++	OG: US\$ ₁₀ 2.992 Infra.: US\$ ₁₀ 652 Total: US\$ ₁₀ 3.539	30-70	Strong
Sydney 2000 1993-2000	Semi-control Initiator of partnerships (Active)	Public	Private		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National marketing Attract business Long-term tourism plan 	G++ So Sp Ec	OG: US\$ ₁₀ 2.873 Infra.: US\$ ₁₀ 2.508 Total: US\$ ₁₀ 7.906	64-36	Weak
Athens 2004 1997-2004	Controlling and initiator of partnerships (Active)	Public	Private		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scattered model Renovation cultural centres Massive investment infrastructure 	G+ So+ Sp++ Ec	OG: US\$ ₁₀ 2.546 Infra.: US\$ ₁₀ 7.284 Total: US\$ ₁₀ 13.011	80-20	Very strong
Beijing 2008 2001-2008	Total control Made own partnerships (Active)	Public	Private		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slogans and themes Massive investment infrastructure Integrate investments with infrastructure 	G So Sp++ Ec+	OG: US\$ ₁₀ 2.038 Infra.: US\$ ₁₀ 13.608 Total: US\$ ₁₀ 20.086	75-25	Strong

source : compiled by author

Barcelona

After the mistakes of the private developers that ‘scarred’ the city in the 1950s and 60s (McNeill, 1999 in van Beek, 2007), the public took back the control of urban development. During the recession in the 1970s land was very cheap. In that time the municipal government acquired strategic land positions throughout the city with help of a central government loan. These developments created a sound basis for the desired city developments that were determined in the PGM (Gold & Gold, 2007). However, the enormous ambitions required enormous investments, which the public parties did not have. Therefore they needed the help of private investors. The municipality was in control of what was to be developed, but they reached out to the private parties in order to achieve them, and were open to partnerships (van Beek, 2007).

The relationship that the municipal government had acquired with the civic society was also very important for the developments. The civic society had become a very strong movement due to the Franco era, and they could form an obstacle for the Olympic developments (van Beek, 2007). Therefore a sound communication with this particular stakeholder was required and attained.

The relationship of the stakeholders involved in the development is shown in figure 3.1. As can be seen there are a lot of different stakeholders working together that also have to take each other’s wishes into account. The model can be described as ambitious, extensive, governmental control, private involvement, societal involvement and the government’s attitude as active.

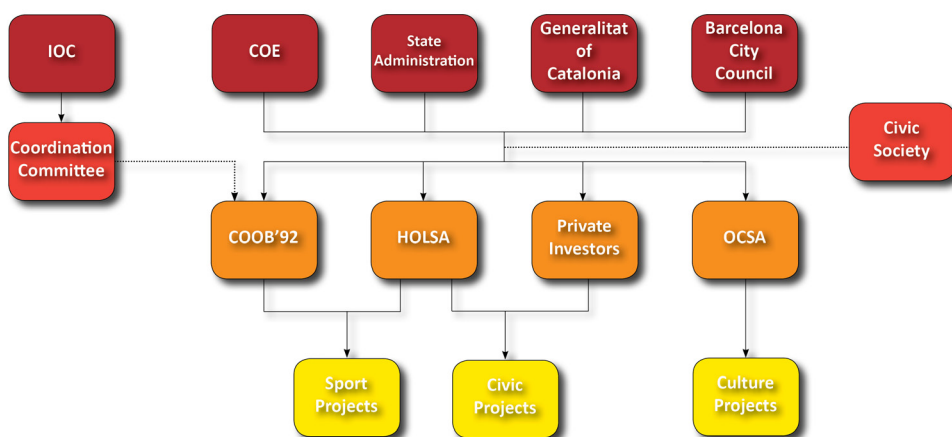


Figure 3.1: Organisational model Barcelona

The Barcelona Olympic development was characterised by three main strategies. Firstly, the municipality saw flaws in the PGM, as they did not have enough funds to execute the ambitious plans. This required a new type of development model, a new model which teamed up public parties and attracted private investments. This was the birth of the ‘Barcelona-model’; a flexible, more businesslike planning approach, which still was under the control of the public parties (Marshall, 1996; Gold & Gold, 2007; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

Secondly, Barcelona had selected four key development areas in their PGM. They acquired the land in these strategic locations during the recession in the 1970s which gave them an excellent position to development these areas. The developments of these areas were focussed on the transformation of brownfields, the orientation of the city towards the sea and the upgrade of low quality areas. In addition, venues and facilities were renovated or newly constructed were necessary, e.g. the Olympic Stadium was renovated (Kindel et al, 2009; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

Finally the focus on tourism was also a key strategy. City marketing and developing attractive tourist areas, such as the seaside and landmarks, were instruments used to achieve the goal of becoming an attractive international tourist destination (Qu & Spaans, 2009).

In order to execute these strategies and accomplish them to the most optimal form, funds were needed. As mentioned before, the government lacked funds and had to attract more. This was done by making investments in key areas and thus make it attractive for private investors to participate, local as well as foreign (Kindel et al, 2009; Qu & Spaans, 2009). This is how private and foreign direct investment was acquired.

The focus of the whole development touches every ambition level. Though two ambition levels are focussed on more; the governance and the spatial-environmental level. On the governance level it was extremely important to change the old type of development model as the municipality saw that this would not work for the ambitious plans the city had. The spatial and environmental level was just as important, as the municipality wanted to achieve certain goals that were set in the PGM, and were necessary to create the desired 'new' Barcelona.

Barcelona eventually spent a total of almost US\$₁₀ 13,7 billion on directly and indirectly Olympic related investments. The event itself cost a small US\$₁₀ 2,3 billion, compared to the massive infrastructure investment; almost US\$₁₀ 11,4 billion (COOB'92, 1992; Brunet, 1995; 2005).

Of this amount, the public parties accounted for 70,4%. The 30% that was contributed by the private parties consisted of the revenues of the marketing sales (TV rights, ticket sales, etc.) and private investments, of which 12% was FDI (Brunet, 1995; 2005).

The interference which was encountered during the Olympic developments was minimal, although afterwards voices said that the lowest social class had benefitted the least and had become in trouble due to the increasing prices in the city (Marshall, 1996; Qu & Spaans, 2009). The public support was 84% during the Games which reflects a broad support that the citizens thought that the Games would benefit the city, region and even the nation (COOB'92, 1992).

Atlanta

In the 1980s the 'postfederal' and global era became dominant in the American culture. This led to equal opportunities for public and private parties and led to the private initiative of Billy Payne's group of nine. The three governments have the policy that they are not financially liable for these types of events. This meant that the government played a facilitating and supportive role, but was not involved in the developments at first. The ACOG thus received the full responsibility for the Olympic developments, and the developments were totally privately dominated (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Newman, 1999; Andranovich, 2001).

However, after the bid was won, the mayor of Atlanta saw the potential the Olympics could bring to his city. In addition to the existing Olympic plans made by the ACOG, the city established the CODA which was responsible for the civic projects, e.g. investments in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Though the government was supportive of and open for partnership for the Olympic developments, they had a passive attitude. There were hardly any public initiatives (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Simmons, 2000; Andranovich, 2001).

The development model of Atlanta is shown in figure 3.2. This model shows a clear separation of responsibilities and parallel paths. The division between tasks and responsibilities might create a lack of communication and cooperation between the involved stakeholders.

The model can be described as practical, simple, private initiative, separate government initiative, societal exclusion and a separation of objectives and tasks.

The strategies employed were almost all focussed on improving aspects in the economic ambition level. This can be explained by the private nature of the developments. A supportive role was set aside for the strategies that were related to the enhancement of the international profile. Though not as important as the first ambition level, goals in this ambition level were considered as necessary for the city and to the initiators of the whole Olympic movement (Andranovich, 2001; McKay & Plumb, 2001; Kindel et al, 2009).

The first strategy was to reimagine Atlanta. This was for the enhanced international profile and create a more attractive general picture of the city to attract business and tourists by the beautification of the inner city (Engle, 1999; Simmons, 2000; Andranovich, 2001; McKay & Plumb, 2001; Kindel et al, 2009).

A second and additional strategy to the prior, was to revitalize down town Atlanta. For example a new optic fibre cable network was installed. This was to boost the attractiveness for locating business in the area (Simmons, 2000; Andranovich, 2001; Kindel et al, 2009).

Thirdly, the sport development was tackled. This was possible due to the fact that Atlanta was one of the first cities to acknowledge the potential in sports as a business (Engle, 1999). Sports venues and facilities were newly constructed with the intended post-Games use for local sport teams and universities. Due to the fact that the stadium was built for the local baseball team, the location of this new stadium was chosen next to the old stadium, which was to be demolished after the move. Most of the newly constructed venues underwent the same strategy (Chalkley & Essex, 1999).

The total budget was just over US\$₁₀ 3,5 billion. There were hardly any investments which were indirectly related to the Olympics. The government spent US\$₁₀ 652 million on infrastructure renovation and small upgrades on the light rail. US\$₁₀ 2,99 billion was the cost of the event itself, which is almost 85% of the total cost (ACOG, 1997; US General Accounting Office, 2001; Preuss, 2004).

The public parties funded 30% of the total budget, which is accountable to the fact that the entire cost and investment was very low, and all the revenues came from the marketing sales (US General Accounting Office, 2001).

Interference came from a few sides. The ACOG worked as a privatised government. This meant that they deliberately side-lined the municipality concerning the developments and they were not obliged to listen to local opposition. Although this did boost the rate of construction, it also received protest and resistance against the Olympic developments (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). The two major stadiums in the same poor district is an example of the neglect towards the general urban development. Also the later devised plan to gentrify the poorer areas in the city led to major protests by the affected citizens and business leaders (Chalkley & Essex, 1999).

Sydney

The New South Wales state and the central government saw the Olympics as an opportunity to accomplish the necessary developments and put Australia back on the international map. However, due to the shift towards a more entrepreneurial planning culture with an increasing private sector involvement, the private sector was needed to accomplish the desired results (Owen, 2001).

The government was open towards public-private partnerships and had an active attitude towards these partnerships, as private parties could bring something extra to the table, i.e. innovation, creativity and initiative. They were for example included in the development for the Stadium Australia and the Superdome, which were essentially private developments with a government subsidy. The government executed a semi-controlled role during these partnerships, as they did not have all the reins in hands (Owen, 2001).

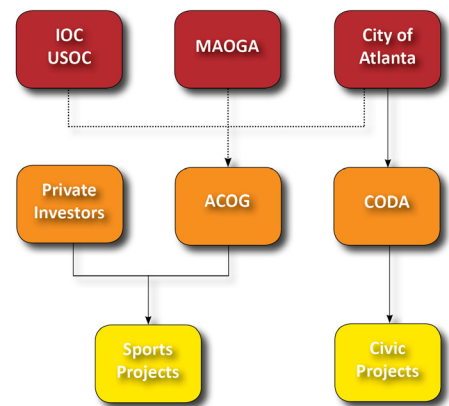


Figure 3.2: Organisational model Atlanta

The consequence of this open-minded approach can be seen in the organisational structure of all the organising bodies; public and private representative were instated and worked together to accomplish the goals together.

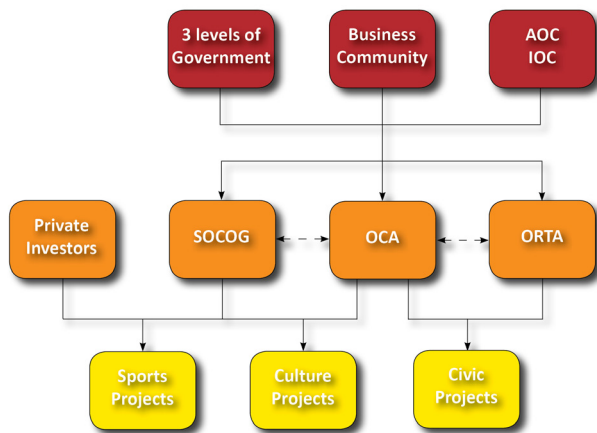


Figure 3.3: Organisational model Sydney

The development model used for the Sydney Olympics is shown in figure 3.3. The model is characterised by a clear hierarchical structure in which tasks were clearly separated, but also integrated. The model can be described as semi-governmental control, strong private involvement, integrated, societal exclusion and the government's attitude as active.

The main strategy executed can simply be described as city marketing. Australia established a special committee, namely the Australian Tourism Commission (ATC). They were in charge of executing an extensive marketing campaign in order to increase the international profile of Australia and Sydney (Morse, 2001; McKinsey, 2004; Chen et al, 2010).

The following two strategies support and follow the main strategy. The first is the attraction of business in the southeast Asia region. The central business district was beautified and the economic infrastructure was upgraded (Brown, 2001; Morse, 2001; McKinsey, 2004; Chen et al, 2010).

The second was the creation of a long-term tourism plan. Australia had taken a new approach concerning the nation's income, and tourism played a major role in this new direction (Morse, 2001; Chen et al, 2010).

The location was also strategically chosen. The 'toxic' and deprived Homebush Bay area was to be redeveloped and be the main Olympic location. This was done to emphasize the green concept. All the venues and facilities in this area were newly constructed (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; SOCOG, 2001; McKay & Plumb, 2001; Chen et al, 2010).

The largest focus of the developments and strategies was at governance level. The desired international profile was extremely important to Australia. In fact, Australia, or Sydney, was the first Olympic host to exploit the Games in such an international manner. In addition to the desired international profile, was the desire to enhance the economy by attracting business. The other ambition levels were also important for the developments and strategies, however the focus on these levels was a lot smaller.

The total budget was nearly US\$₁₀ 7,9 billion, and can almost be split in half to divide the costs for the event itself and the other investments. Infrastructure investments made up 22% of the total expenditure, which comes to US\$₁₀ 2,5 billion (NSW Government, 2002; Chen et al, 2010).

The funds were acquired for 64% from the government, and the rest came from the marketing revenues and from investments of private investors in for example the Stadium Australia (Haynes, 2001; Preuss, 2004; Chen et al, 2010).

Interference came from two sides. Some local residents and organisations were not pleased with the so called green developments and complained that the Homebush Bay area was still polluted and about the expansion of the airport would only cause more noise and pollution. On the contrary, expected protests from the Aboriginal community did not occur (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Gold & Gold, 2007).

New planning legislations were enforced in order for the planning processes to relax and word more streamlined. The Olympic developments could thus be fast-tracked and be delivered on time (Owen, 2001).

Athens

The Greek government saw the Olympics as a chance to massively upgrade the underdeveloped infrastructure in Athens and to restore the traditional values of the Olympiad. They took control of the developments and were open for partnerships with the private parties. However, due to the inexperience with planning intervention of the government and with partnerships with private parties, few partnerships were established because the private parties did not want to join in (Bariatos & Gospodini, 2004; Delladetsima, 2006).

When Athens was awarded the right to host the Olympic Games, the government executed another round of research on the most optimal developments for the Olympics (Gold & Gold, 2007). After this research, a new development model was established. The model can be seen as one giant organisation, as clear distinctions between tasks are not visible. Additionally the government has full responsibility and bears the full risk. An addition to the vagueness of the model, is that it has been changed multiple times over the years preceding the Games (ATHOC, 2005). The model is shown in figure 3.4. The model can be described as ambitious, extensive, governmental control, unwilling private attitude, incapable societal involvement, over-integration and the government's attitude as active.

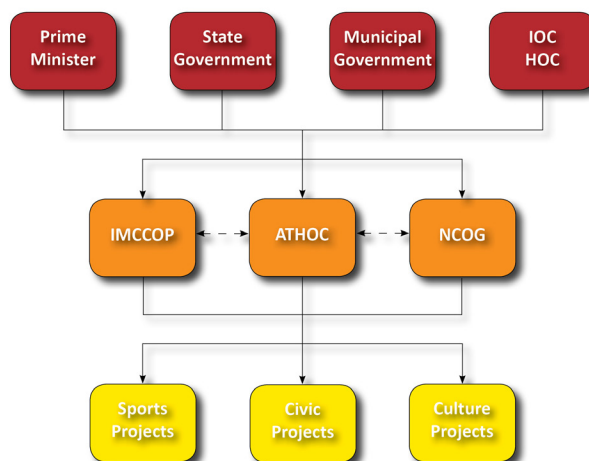


Figure 3.4: Organisational model Athens

The government executed three strategies. First of all, they wanted the whole city to be a part of the developments and feel the Olympic movement. This led to a comprehensive approach in which 20 different locations were appointed for Olympic development. These locations were chosen of ownership characteristics. Almost all developments were executed on public owned land, to minimize the interference with the development plans (Bariatos & Gospodini, 2004; Hadjichristodoulou, 2005; Gold & Gold, 2007; Gospodini, 2009). Of all the Olympic venues, 75% already existed (Gold & Gold, 2007). However, this fact mostly did not mean that there were minimal renovations to the existing venues. In some cases the whole stadium was torn down and rebuilt.

Secondly, the renovation of the historical cultural centre and sites in the city were to contribute to the link between the ancient and modern times, and eventually improve the appearance of Athens to an attractive tourist destination (Bariatos & Gospodini, 2004).

Finally the massive investment that was put into the infrastructure for improvements was necessary due to the lack of developments and attention the infrastructure had received in the decades before the Olympiad (Gospodini, 2009).

The focus of the developments was thus put on the historical values of ancient Greece and stressed even more on the spatial improvement for the infrastructure. The focus was stressed on economic ambitions that much, but due to the previous described interventions, the economical aspects would also benefit.

Athens spent a total of over US\$₁₀ 13 billion. Of this amount, 56%, or US\$₁₀ 7,2 billion, was intended for infrastructural upgrades. The event itself cost US\$₁₀ 2,5 billion, which was acquired from marketing revenues. The whole operation was funded for 80% with public funds (Bariatos & Gospodini, 2004; Preuss, 2004).

Sadly there were numerous interferences during the realisation phase of the Olympics in Athens. Criticism and discouragement came forth from the fact that massive delays had occurred during the developments. These delays were derived from the problems with conflicting agencies, difficulty of cooperation from multiple parties, the bureaucratic planning system and archaeological findings. Eventually the IOC had enough and gave Greece an official

warning, or the Games were to be held elsewhere ((Hadjichristodoulou, 2005; Gold & Gold, 2007).

This led to the implementation of new legislations in order to speed up the developments and they could be delivered on time (Gold & Gold, 2007).

Beijing

The role of the government in China is unique to start with. General developments are centrally organised, with a small tendency towards capitalism. This combines an overall high level of coordination with an open door for foreign direct investment. In this development climate, the government creates its own goals and thus its own partnerships (Chan et al, 2006; Gold & Gold, 2007).

The initiative to host the Olympics came from the central government who wanted to show the world that China was a new world leading nation. Also China wanted to modernize the economic sectors of the nation as these were rapidly becoming out of date. Thus the government has a strong control policy and is a very active player concerning the developments, as prestige is the key word.

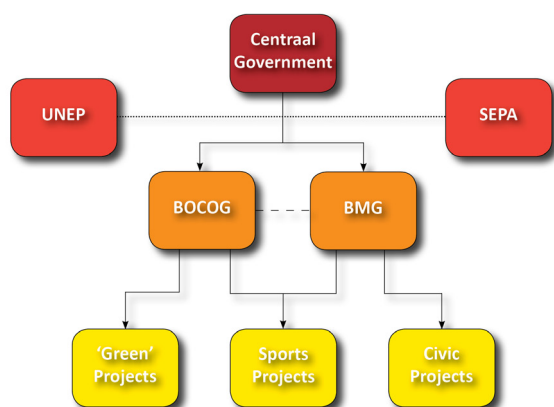


Figure 3.5: Organisational model Beijing

The model shown in figure 3.5, is the organisational model for the Beijing Olympics. As can be seen, the model is clearly structured, i.e. the tasks are clearly separated.

The model can be described as ambitious, clearly structured, governmental strong control, submissive private involvement, incapable societal involvement and the government's attitude as active.

There were three strategies that the Chinese chose for. The first being the implementation of slogans and themes. This enhanced the participation and enthusiasm of the citizens. Also the enhancement of the perspective of foreign nations was a goal which was to be achieved via this strategy (Pramod, 2008).

Massive investments throughout the city was to bring Beijing to the next level. Integrating these investments with the infrastructure mad sure that the infrastructure could support the growth of the city, as the population was rapidly expanding and the economic sectors were changing (IOC, 2001; Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007; Kindel et al, 2009).

Additionally the locations were chosen on the basis of choices made for the Asian Games in 1990 and the location of universities to ensure post-Games use. The Asian Games provided venues and facilities already in place, and the areas within and adjacent to universities would ensure post-Games use (Lee, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007; interview Chen, 2010).

The strategies that China chose encompassed almost all the ambition levels. Only the ambitions on the spatial and environmental level were stressed on a lot more. This was due to the massive investment in new infrastructure and the concept of 'greening' Beijing for the Olympics. In addition, not all venues and facilities were new constructions, so that use in the post-Games phase was kept in mind and considered.

Beijing spent US\$₁₀ 20 billion on indirect and direct investments for the Olympic Games in Beijing. Of this vast amount, only US\$₁₀ 2 billion was for organising the event itself, and US\$₁₀ 13,6 billion was spent on infrastructure. (IOC, 2001; China Today, 2004; Lee, 2004; Preuss, 2004; Fida et al, 2008; Brunet & Xinwen, 2009; Zimbalist, 2010). 90% of the total finance derived from public funds, were the rest was provided via revenues from marketing sales and directly used for the event (Fida et al, 2008).

The first interference came from human rights groups. These were opposed to China having the right to host the Olympics seeing their past in for example Tibet and Tiananmen. Also the ground claim legislations gathered protest. Due to the fact that 1,5 million people were relocated and 300.000 were evicted, protests were organised which went out of control. Not all of the relocations and evictions were directly related to the Olympic developments in Beijing. Numerous developments which took place due to the Olympic impulse named these developments 'Olympic' due to the potential financial benefit. Thus most of the relocations and evictions were indirectly related to the Olympic movement (Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007; Fida et al, 2008; interview Chen, 2010).

Observations

When taking the gathered information found in table 3.2 into account, a few observations can be made. First of all, the government participation can be divided in two categories; no control and control. The first can be distinguished in Atlanta; the government played a facilitating role in which they supervised and approved of the development. This led to a passive attitude. With controlled participation the government acted actively. They were in charge of the development. In Beijing this led to strong control and the government developed everything itself. Sydney used the help of the private parties, as they achieved semi-control. Athens and Barcelona both had strong control, but reached out to the private parties for assistance.

The role of the government reflects on the domination scale of the developments. Only in the case of Athens there is a difference. Athens has a strong public domination, and this might be a result of the failed strategy to team up with private parties.

None of the organisational models are alike. They all had different approaches which included different stakeholders. Even Barcelona and Athens, which have the most similar characteristics, have completely different models.

The strategies employed are similar for two groups; Barcelona, Athens and Beijing all focus on massive investments in the infrastructure, and Atlanta and Sydney focus more on international allure. This also reflects on the budget, as the first mentioned trio have used a much larger budget than the latter two. These can be divided into 'expensive' and 'cheap'. This also translates to the source of the funding. The 'expensive' Games are mostly funded with public funds, whereas the 'cheap' Games are predominantly funded with revenues and private investment. Only Barcelona is slightly the odd one out, as she integrated a large amount of private investment into their developments, which is the result of the open partnership with the private parties.

When reflecting on the involvement of the society in the developments, it's apparent that it has a correlation with the interferences that have occurred. When the civic society's involvement was strong, the protests and resistance against the developments was minimal, and vice versa.

To conclude, the translations of the main concept and the primary goals to the urban development strategies has had the greatest dispersion in Barcelona. Strategies were spread through all ambition levels. The same goes for Beijing and Athens, only a little less spread. Atlanta and Sydney were the least spread which accounts for the development with the least integration.

3.2.3 Olympic legacies in the post-Games phase

As already mentioned in the first chapter, the post-Games phase is the most stressed phase as it is the period with the most effect on the host city. In table 3.3 all the legacies which are related to the Olympic developments are shown. They are categorized per sustainable development ambition level, namely governance, social, spatial-environmental and economic. As can be seen, in some cases the certain levels are stressed more than others. The legacy aspects are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Barcelona

On the governance level, the Barcelona municipal government had successfully created a new form of partnership in which they, though they had control, worked side by side with private parties. Though this led to emerging tensions, as it was new and everyone had to adapt, it was a revolutionising change in planning culture. Also the improvements discussed in the following paragraphs led to the enhancement of the international modern image recognition on tourism and business. Additionally, to solve the problem of post-Olympic use, Barcelona created a municipal organisation which was responsible for the exploitation of the venues and facilities after the Games (Marshall, 1996; van Beek, 2007; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

The developments had successfully created 'one city' and brought various movements together. This was a major positive social impact, although the lack of diversity and the relocation of social classes due to the developments had occurred (Marshall, 1996; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

The plans and developments had created new urban centralities with a mixture of functions, improved public space and spatial quality, and which were connected via a strongly improved infrastructure (Gold & Gold, 2007; Qu & Spaans, 2009). There were some protests that the developments were not environmentally friendly, but these were only small voices. The venues and facilities were almost all exploited very well after the Games, and this also contributed to the successful legacy.

The above mentioned developments led to an overall economic growth and boost in tourism (Chen et al, 2010). This was also because of the positive city marketing which was created. In the economy the employment grew, the GDP increased and the housing and construction market came back to life (Marshall, 1996; Brunet, 2005; Kindel et al, 2009; Matthewman et al, 2009; Qu & Spaans, 2009). Although these strong positive economical developments occurred, there were negative effects. These include the increase in property price, the decreasing housing accessibility and the decrease in the citizen's purchasing power (Marshall, 1996; Preuss, 2004; Qu & Spaans, 2009).

As can be comprehended from the effects the Olympics had on Barcelona and its region, the legacy was very well balanced between the different ambition levels. All levels are represented in the legacy, with a slight tendency towards the economical legacy.

Atlanta

Atlanta's governance legacy was very weak. The only positive impact was that the city had acquired the image of a global commerce hub, though the image campaign was not successful due to the negative media attention because of the problems during the Games (Matthewman et al, 2009). Additionally the failure of the new public-private partnership, or actually the private-private partnership, led to the opinion of the IOC never to host a completely 'private' Olympiad anymore (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Andranovich, 2001; Kindel et al, 2009). The municipal government was side-lined from the developments and because the main organising body, the ACOG, was a private body, they could neglect the wishes of the society (Chalkley & Essex, 1999).

Table 3.3: Olympic legacies in the post-Games phase

City	Balance of legacy	Governance	Social	Spatial-environmental	Economic	Medal
Barcelona 1992	G++ So+ Sp++ Ec++	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plans and opportunities for further public-private developments Emerging tensions in joint venture International modern image recognition on tourism and business Post-Olympics venue exploitation organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of diversity Creating "one city" Bring various movements together Relocation of social classes Positive social impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved public space and spatial quality Strongly improved infrastructure (6x) New urban centralities Good post-use Environmental unfriendly developments Greener environment Created mix function areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employment growth Positive city marketing Increase property price Decreasing housing accessibility Decrease citizen's purchasing power GDP increase (24%) Housing market back to life Construction industry boom Tourism increase 	Gold
Atlanta 1996	G So Sp Ec+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ACOG 'privatised' government Unaccountable with citizens City government sidelined Failure PPP No more 'private' Games Global commerce hub Not successful image campaign Negative media attention due to problems during Games 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Great sports legacy Growth Georgia universities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minor improvements infrastructure Changed face of down town No CODA neighbourhood upgrades Olympic park (smaller than intended) Expansion airport Expansion MARTA Small budget for neighbourhoods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct use of new facilities Cheap constructions 17% increase in employment 7% workers wage increase Global commerce hub \$3.5 - \$5.1 million economic impact 18 relocated businesses Expansion of tourism businesses Boosted economy 2 million visitors \$176 million extra tax revenues 0.07% national GDP impact 2.4 % State GDP impact 	Not on podium
Sydney 2000	G++ So+ Sp Ec+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduced local accountability Public-private cooperation example for the nation Improved skills in managing events, transport, deliver goods & services General change in governance to entrepreneurial Massive international exposure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contribution to sense of community and national spirit Downplayed community and social interests Worsening of life quality of low-income groups Insufficient info to the local community Noticeably absent from strategy No social housing projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International sports facilities Improvement urban quality, especially in the CBD Development of economic infrastructure Poor legacy 2 stadiums 'White Elephants' after OG Development transport and telecommunication Airport rail link 2 new terminals at airport Road to airport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Escalation housing costs Insignificant economic impact 1.6 mn extra tourists in Australia Rediscovery of business in Australia 1st city to exploit Games in such a way Drop in tourism outside Sydney during Games In 2000, # 1 convention city in the world 	Bronze
Athens 2004	G-- So+ Sp++ Ec	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International reputation No strategic planning after 2004 Political accusations Pioneering PPP's; unsuccessful Highlighted political problems; now problems could be dealt with No use of potential for changing governance structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nationwide feeling of confidence Public awareness of environmental issues OG mobilized citizens in affairs Knowledge on economy and event Global addition to prestige and prosperity Increased cultural value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New airport 210 km of new road 25 km of new light rail 2 new metro lines No vivid central Olympic complex Failed in environmental friendly developments Infrastructure supported economical growth Coastal rehabilitation Overall very low score concerning environmental developments Venues have unintended occupants or are underutilized Homogeneous clusters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More attractive tourist destination 4% annual Greek economy increase Impact mostly regional (Attica) 6 million extra tourists GDP increase 1.4% Modest long-term economy legacy 	Bronze
Beijing 2008	G+ So- Sp++ Ec++	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opening up to the world Change in mode economic growth Improvement city management Corruption No communication with community on environmental issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whole nation celebrated the Games Obesity problem brought into the light Living quality raised 1.5 million people relocated 300,000 people evicted Factories were relocated or closed Violations against human rights Corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Airport expansion 300 km new subway lines (7 lines, 80 stations) 37 venues, 59 training facilities New roads and ring roads Improved air and water quality Improvement public transport Improvement environmental aspects No long-term environmental improvement State-owned venues Sport venues underutilized White elephants after Games Lack of a legacy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More attractive business environment Infrastructure supported economic growth Changed China's tertiary industry Progress high-end industry Optimisation economic structure One of the most dynamic cities to invest in 620,000 new jobs a year 660,000 tourists OG; 5.3 million in 2010 12% GDP annual growth from '02-'07 Mostly local investment Loss of some markets due to closing factories No expected long-term benefits Investment return of stadiums not clear yet 	Bronze

source : compiled by author

Due to the great potential of business in sports in Atlanta, the sports legacy was optimal. The venues and facilities were handed over to the local sports teams and universities, therefore municipal control was not necessary (Arbes, 1996; Engle, 1999; Simmons, 2000).

The face of downtown Atlanta had changed due to the improvements and the airport and light rail were expanded. However, the desired deprived neighbourhood upgrades did not occur due to protests and lack of funds so that the only improvements were small beautification projects (Arbes, 1996; Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Newman, 1999; Simmons, 2000).

The economical legacy that the Olympics brought Atlanta was purely positive. Atlanta had become a global commerce hub and this resulted in the attraction of 18 businesses and the expansion of the tourism business. This led to an increase in employment and wages and extra tax revenues. Additionally the direct use of new facilities by local sports teams led to an economic impact of US\$₁₀ 7 billion (Arbes, 1996; ACOG, 1997; Engle, 1999; Matthewman et al, 2009).

Atlanta's legacy was heavily weighted on the economical ambition level. The investments made had the largest effect on the economy of the city. The governance and spatial-environmental levels were also represented in the general legacy, however the presence was minimal, or even negative, as in the case of the poor media exposure the city received.

Sydney

Sydney had received massive international exposure. This was due to the extensive marketing campaign that was executed (SOCOG, 2001; Morse, 2001). Additionally the general change in the governance to an entrepreneurial point of view had led to a public-private partnership which was an example for the rest of the nation (Owen, 2001; Chen et al, 2010). In general, hosting the Olympics brought Sydney and Australia a huge amount of knowledge in the skill of managing these types of events.

On the downside, the legislations which were created for relaxing and speeding the planning and development, reduced the accountability towards the local citizens and their participation. This also led to negative social legacies, such as the fact that the local community received an insufficient amount of information about the developments. Eventually the community felt downplayed (Owen, 2001; Chen et al, 2010).

Overall the social aspect was absent from the main strategies. This even led to the worsening of the life quality of the low-income groups, as there were no social housing projects, and some landlords evicted their tenants because they saw possibilities in selling or letting their properties for more money than they were currently worth (Owen, 2001; Blunden, 2007; Chen et al, 2010).

However the Games did bring a major positive social legacy to Sydney and Australia; the contribution to the sense of community and the national spirit was overwhelming (Chen et al, 2010).

There were numerous spatial and environmental improvements throughout the city. The investment and developments led to the improvement of urban quality, which was mainly concentrated in the Homebush Bay area and the central business district. This was achieved via developments of the economic infrastructure, the beautification of the central business district, the development of transport and telecommunication, two new airport terminals and the new road and rail link with the airport (McKay & Plumb, 2001; Brown, 2001; Kindel et al, 2009; Chen et al, 2010).

Although the legacy seems predominantly positive, the major stadiums turned into white elephants shortly after the Olympics. Only till a legacy plan was in operation on 2005, the

venues were again used to a regular extent and hosted sports events once again. This happened because the government and private parties did not create a post-Games organisation which was to secure the use in the post-Olympics phase (Brown, 2001; Gold & Gold, 2007; Kindel et al, 2009; Chen et al, 2010).

Sydney was the first host city to exploit the Games in such an international publicity way (Morse, 2001). This approach seemed to be successful. Business was rediscovered in Australia and many regional headquarters settled there. Sydney, despite of its geographical location, was even the number one convention city in the world in 2000 (Brown, 2001; SOCOG, 2001; McKinsey, 2004).

Also the tourist numbers rose significantly after the Games, only these numbers might not be representative for the actual tourist or international perceptive legacy as the 9/11 attacks in 2001 and the SARS epidemic in 2003 caused fear for flying and travelling over the world.

The negative economic legacies were the escalation in housing costs, and even though Australia wanted to put the whole nation on the map, all the investments were made in Sydney, and additionally the tourist numbers dropped outside of Sydney during the Games. Plus the fact that the economic impact was very insignificant, did not lead to the most optimal economic legacy (Brown, 2001; McKay & Plumb, 2001; Owen, 2001; Blunden, 2007; Chen et al, 2010).

The overall legacy of the Sydney Olympics was the most present in the governance and economic level, as the massive international exposure and the rediscovery of business in Australia were the largest impacts. However, the intangible aspects that the legacy encompassed, were of great value to the nation.

Athens

The Games in Athens did not create the desired legacy for the city or nation. Due to the numerous problems which had occurred, and the following official warnings given by the IOC, Greece and Athens did not receive the international reputation they aimed at. These problems included the political accusations due to the much higher final costs as opposed to what had been claimed beforehand. Also the pioneering of a new public-private partnership model in the planning culture failed. Private parties did not want to join the general developments and continued to make own plans. Eventually this has and will lead to a segmented urban city structure. In other words, the Greek authorities did not take use of the potential in changing the governance structure (Gold & Gold, 2007; Hlepas, 2010).

Additionally there was a lack of a legacy plan for after the Games. Many venues and facilities were left unused because of poor planning. The municipal government established the Hellenic Olympic Properties organisation to exploit and manage the venues after the Games till new users were found (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007).

There was an upside to all these negative legacies, namely that the developments highlighted the political problems. This created a chance for the government to deal with the problems and grow as a nation based on the knowledge which was gathered (Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007).

The Olympiad was to revive the traditional values of the Olympics, and it did. The historical and modern cultural value increased, though it was not to a great extent (Gold & Gold, 2007). The Games also brought a global addition to prestige and prosperity, and a nationwide feeling of confidence arose in Greece. This eventually led to the mobilization of the citizens of Greece. The civic society had never really contributed to the planning culture, and though not much, this attitude changed after the Olympics. This also included an increasing public awareness of environmental issues and the government gained knowledge on the economy and on organising events (Preuss, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007).

The spatial and environmental legacy was very comprehensive. Massive necessary investments were needed and this resulted in a new airport, 210 km of new roads, 25 km of light rail, 2 additional metro lines and rehabilitated coastal districts (Preuss, 2004; NOC*NSF, 2007; Kindel et al, 2009; Matthewman et al, 2009).

The new infrastructures supported the economical growth, however there were negative legacies. The new Olympic complex did not live on to be a vivid centre and most of the venues were underutilized or had unintended occupants. Also due to the fact that the private parties did not join the developments, homogenous zones arose which were not beneficial to the urban structure (Gospodini, 2009). The environmental legacy was also not in perfect shape; the overall score of the environmental developments was very low (Gold & Gold, 2007).

The Games did bring a modest long-term economic legacy. It had become a more attractive tourist destination with a total of 6 million extra tourists. Because of the Olympics the Greek economy had a 4% annual increase, and the GDP increased with 1,4%. The negative side is that the impact was mostly regional, in Attica, and did not affect the rest of the nation (Preuss, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007; Matthewman et al, 2009).

The legacy in Athens is mostly to be found spatially. The improvements in the city's urban structure were massive and of great necessity. These investments in turn had influence on the economic legacy which also profited.

Beijing

The Games in Beijing have taken place only merely two years ago. This means that the long-term legacy has not fully developed yet, but there are forecasts and the short-term legacy can be discussed. China was an up and coming nation and they wanted to show the world that they were ready to join the other world leaders, and the Olympics were used as that instrument. After the Games the entire world knew who China was and what they were capable of, they had opened up to the rest of the world (Brunet & Xinwen, 2009). They changed their mode of economic growth in order to be able to grow to greater heights. Also changes the city went through, the rapid growth and shift in economy, forced them to change their city management (Fida et al, 2008; Brunet & Xinwen, 2009; Matthewman et al, 2009).

Due to the Dengist-model the Chinese used, namely the strong public control with capitalist tendencies, corruption was inevitable. This led to scandals during and after the Games of high officials which were removed from their functions (Gold & Gold, 2007). Also the strong control the government had and the legislations that were in place, made it possible for the government to execute plans without considering the society's objection too much (Chan et al, 2006).

The Chinese were extremely proud of the fact that they could host the Olympics. Not only celebrations occurred in Beijing, but the rest of the nation was celebrating the fact there were to host the most prestige sport tournament in the world. The Games raised the average living quality and social problems, such as the Chinese obesity problem, were given attention (Gold & Gold, 2007; Brunet & Xinwen, 2009).

These positive social legacies are great, however the negative legacies are more concerning. 1,5 million people were relocated due to the developments of which 300.000 were evicted. Also factories within, around and beyond the Beijing metropolis were relocated or closed, which interfered with the citizen's work. Additionally the human rights violations were stressed over and over and many protests came from that corner (Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007).

The expansion of the airport, 7 new subway lines and 80 stations, new roads and ring roads and 37 new venues and 59 training facilities had a major impact on the urban structure. The massive improvement on the infrastructure and public transport was necessary for the rapid population growth of the city (IOC, 2001; Lee, 2004; Gold & Gold, 2007; NOC*NSF, 2007; Fida

et al, 2008; Brunet & Xinwen, 2009; Kindel et al, 2009).

The Olympics were also an opportunity for Beijing to tackle the environmental issues. They executed projects which improved the air and water quality, such as the before mentioned relocation of factories. Although these developments were very good, the prediction for these changes is that they are not on long-term basis (Brunet & Xinwen, 2009).

The venues in the Olympic Park were proven feasible, only not with sport competitions or matches. The larger part of the profit came from tourism, approximately 70%. This was because of the architectural allure the large venues had, such as the 'birds nest' and the 'watercube'. Additionally the venues and facilities that were built near and for the universities were well utilized. The smaller venues had trouble in maintaining and operating their venues (Mulvenney, 2009; interview Chen, 2010; Kuo, 2010).

Due to all the investments made and the rapid transformation of the city, Beijing has become one of the most dynamic cities to invest in. The infrastructure supports the economic growth, the economic structure has been optimised and therefore a more attractive business environment has been created. This had led to a change in China's tertiary industry and had influence on the progress of the high-end industry. 620.000 jobs have been added per year and the GDP grew annually 1% more than usual. Also the number of tourists have grown immensely (Preuss, 2004; NOC*NSF, 2007; Fida et al, 2008; Brunet & Xinwen, 2009; Matthewman et al, 2009).

The downside on the economy was the fact that the investments were mostly located in Beijing, the rest of the nation did not benefit from the investments. Also the loss of some markets was inevitable due to the shutting down of some factories. Till now there are no expectations for long-term benefits and the investment return on the stadiums is not clear yet (Gold & Gold, 2007; interview Chen, 2010; Matthewman et al, 2009).

The legacy of the Beijing Games can, for so far, mostly be distinguished as spatial, environmental and economical. Also the international exposure plays a significant role in the general legacy. Socially the Chinese have accomplished a limited amount of developments. The national pride was enhanced and the large amount of volunteers, 3 million, supports that theory. However, there was a lack of social concern on low income housing. The social segregation between the rich north and the poor south, intensified due to the Olympics. The social problems within the lower social classes therefore were not solved, and might even become larger.

Observations

When comparing the information that is found per case in table 3.3 with the other cases a few observations can be distinguished. In this phase it is interesting to look at the weight of the legacy compared to the stress of the strategies on the ambition levels. Logically this must coincide. Additionally the success of the strategies, i.e. the legacy, must also be discussed.

Concerning the balance or weight of the legacy, Barcelona and Atlanta are opposites. Barcelona had the legacy with the broadest weight division and Atlanta the most focussed. Though Sydney and Beijing are predominantly successful Olympic stories, they have not succeeded in dividing the positive legacy over all the ambition levels. They have not used the Olympic movement opportunities to their full potential. In Athens, the failure of the governance is noticeable. Though this failure had occurred, the spatial legacy was a huge success. Reasons for these phenomenons are discussed later on in this chapter.

On the governance level, the organisation and partnership was a success in Barcelona and Sydney. The incorporated models and partnerships were used in later developments. Atlanta and Athens on the other hand, did not create a successful organisation and partnership between private and public bodies. Though it can be seen as failed governance, they have learned from their mistakes. Beijing did not incorporate changes in their usually development models and partnerships.

Concerning the other governance issue, namely the international profile and perception, Barcelona and Sydney were a great success, while Athens and Atlanta did not succeed in enhancing the international profile of the city, and maybe even downgraded it. Beijing had numerous political issues before the Olympiad started, e.g. the protests during the Olympic torch tour, but when the Games started, almost every announcement in the media was positive and this created an enhancement in Beijing's international profile.

Barcelona, Sydney and Athens were a success concerning the social ambition level. They each had their own focus and legacy, but they all succeeded on some kind of level. Atlanta and Beijing did not fail on social level, but the situation did not change either. This can be seen as a missed opportunity to address problems in this category.

Spatially and environmentally the Games in Barcelona, Athens and Beijing were a great success due to the massive changes they induced in the city. Atlanta and Sydney did not fail in this aspect, but they did not make a great deal of investments concerning the infrastructure. This can also be seen as a missed opportunity.

On the economical ambition level, all the cases have a positive legacy. Some to higher degree as the others, but all are positive. The only case that has had difficulties was Athens. The costs were much higher than predicted and that might have been one of the factors that has played a major role in the current Greek economical situation.

3.2.4 Olympic trends (1972-2016)

Over the past decades, the Olympics have been organised in numerous different ways. Every city is unique and thus incorporates different strategies and has access to and uses different resources. This has led to several trends concerning the economic values of the Olympiads over time.

In this paragraph a summary is provided concerning the economical trends of the Olympiads from Munich in 1972 to the future Olympiad in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. Charts comprising of the gathered data have been made to visually aid in the understanding of the trends. The trends are distinguished on Olympic costs, the finance, the nation's wealth, infrastructure investments and economical impacts. To recapitulate, these trends will be compared to one another by putting them in the same charts.

In appendix B the full table with all the gathered information is shown, including the related references. The following charts are derived from that particular table.

Olympic costs

Figure 3.6 displays the chart of the Olympic costs. These costs have been translated to US dollars in 2010 prices. The total cost of all the investments, i.e. the direct and indirect investments, are shown, as well as the cost for hosting the event itself, i.e. the operating costs of the OCOG.

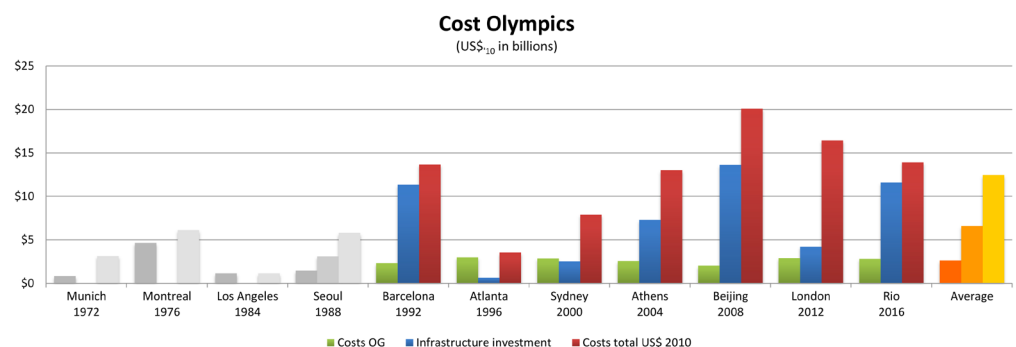


Figure 3.6: Costs Olympic Games 1971-2016

Concerning the total costs, there is not a clear trend visible. The costs are obviously related to the amount invested in indirectly related Olympic developments. These investments are made to optimally exploit the possible Olympic catalyst effect.

The event costs distinguish a trend; the costs are all approximately the same across all Olympiads, namely US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion. This will also continue in the future as the operating costs of the Olympics are not costs that will fluctuate much due to their nature.

When comparing the costs for the event itself with the total infrastructure investment and the total cost of the all the developments related to the Olympic Games, one can see that the infrastructural costs, when they are a key focus as in Barcelona, Athens and Beijing, and Rio in 2016, make up most of the budget. This then translates to the fact that the spatial concept of the Olympic movement, has a very large influence on the total cost.

The total investment in the infrastructure is shown in figure 3.6. The blue column represents the actual costs translated to US dollars. However, due to the fact that construction costs logically differ between the cases, an index has been chosen according to a report made by Turner and Townsend (2009). By implementing this index, construction costs and what they have achieved can be compared per case. The index has been set at 100 for Dutch construction costs, and thus a factor has been multiplied to the original construction costs of the cases to acquire the true construction costs in Dutch prices.

This shows a significant peak for the Beijing Games, followed by Rio de Janeiro. This can be explained by the massive investments that the municipal and central government made in Beijing and are planned in Rio de Janeiro, and by the cheap construction costs in China and Brazil.

Financing the Games

Investments are needed to cover the Olympic costs. These investments can be financed by public or private stakeholders.

Public stakeholders include the central, regional and municipal government. These stakeholders are commonly interested in upgrading the city or metropolitan area for the benefit of the citizens. The amount invested by the government can thus represent the necessity or desire of the government to improve the city's infrastructure.

Figure 3.7 translates these figures into a chart. In this chart Beijing is far ahead of the rest with US\$₁₀ 18 billion. A second group is formed by Barcelona, Athens, London and Rio de Janeiro, with investments between US\$₁₀ 9,6 and US\$₁₀ 13,4 billion. The high public investment of these former or future host cities can be explained by the extensive plans to invest in the city's infrastructure. Atlanta and Sydney form the third group which have organised the Games with a relatively small amount of public investment (US\$₁₀ 1 and 1,8 billion). Parallel to this observation is the fact that the government did not structurally intervene with the city's urban structure.

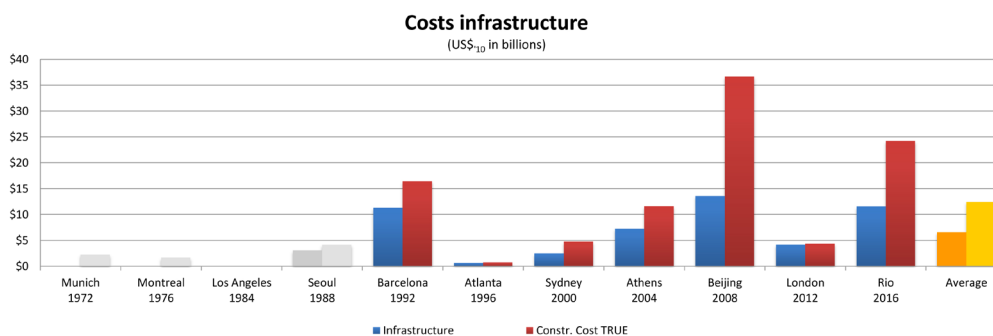


Figure 3.7: Infrastructure costs

Private finance is can be received from marketing revenues and from private investors. Marketing revenues are the revenues which come forth from ticket sales, TV-right sales, merchandising, etc. Private investors might include themselves, if possible, in Olympic developments because the governments need financial aid in the direct Olympic developments, or the adjacent areas have become attractive locations to invest in, and private investors make own developments in order to make profit.

Figure 3.8 also portrays the private investments over time. Surprisingly the investments approximately stay the same. Barcelona and Sydney, respectively US\$₁₀ 4 and US\$₁₀ 3,5, lead the chart. This is supported by the fact that the private parties were included the most in those partnerships. The rest of the Olympic cities follow shortly and do not differ much from each other. This is surprising, as the Olympics are seen as great catalyst for developments in which profit can be made.

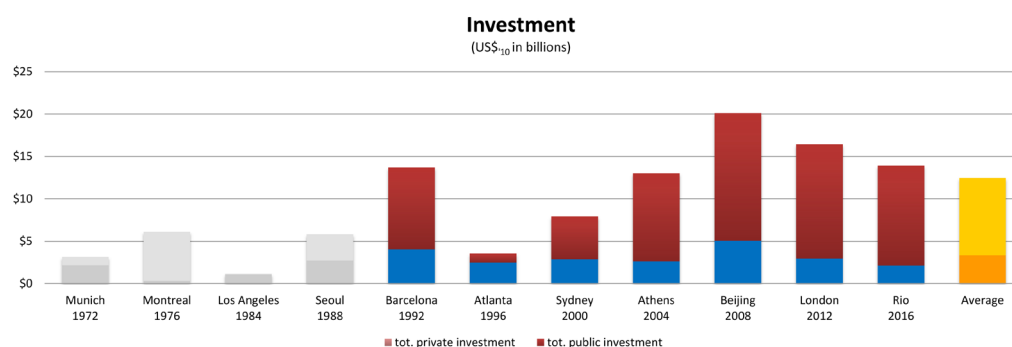


Figure 3.8: Public and private investment

Trends of the investment climate

An interesting aspect to look at concerning the trends, might be the investment nature. The investment nature is the comparison between the ratio of the OCOG costs and the total Olympic costs and the ratio of private investment against the total investment. These two lines are shown in figure 3.9.

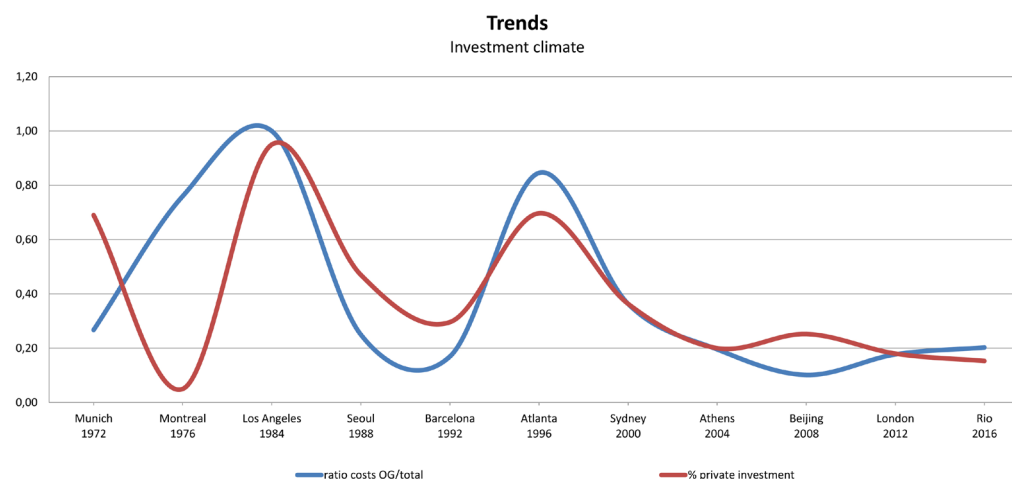


Figure 3.9: Investment climate

When the ratio of the costs line (blue) is above the ratio of investment (red), this means that public investment had the overhand and few to none indirect investments were made by private investors. When the red line is above the blue line, this means that private investors joined in on the developments and made significant contributions. As can be seen in figure 3.9, these lines do not differ much from one another.

Figure 3.10 projects the ratio of the infrastructure investment and the total investment. This translates the importance or necessity of infrastructure investments within the total investment. As can be seen, this line has a totally opposite trend compared to the previous discussed trends. This is logical, as the infrastructure investments mostly comprise of the other part of the budget. However, there is an exception to be spotted in the case of London. This may be explained by the use of temporary venues as well as the concentration of all the investments in one area, as opposed to investments in infrastructure spread through the city.

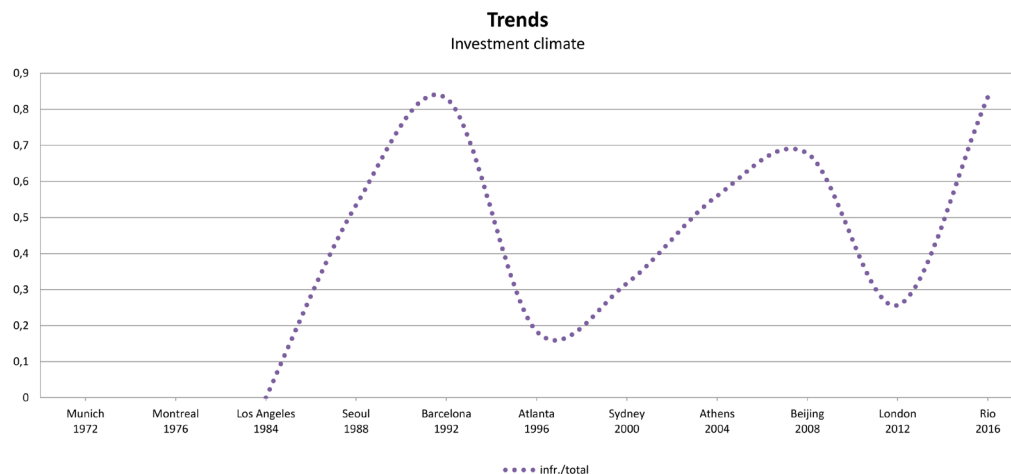


Figure 3.10: Infrastructure investment climate

Trends in the host nation's wealth

The wealth a nation has can have effect on the necessary and possible development in an Olympic city. The wealth has been reflected in the GDP per capita of the host nation, or region if it concerns a very large nation, during the Olympic year. This can be seen in figure 3.11.

It is not appropriate to address a trend to these facts, as the wealth of the former and future Olympic host cities is not comparable. However, the characteristics found can be used when comparing them to other trends. This is done later on in this chapter. Additionally the trend of the IOC choice for a host city can be evaluated. With the previous choice for Beijing, and the choice of Rio de Janeiro to host the 2016 Olympiad, the IOC is hinting that they lately prefer a host city which has a very large population, however in which the urban structure is underdeveloped. The impact of hosting the Olympiad will thus have a larger effect.

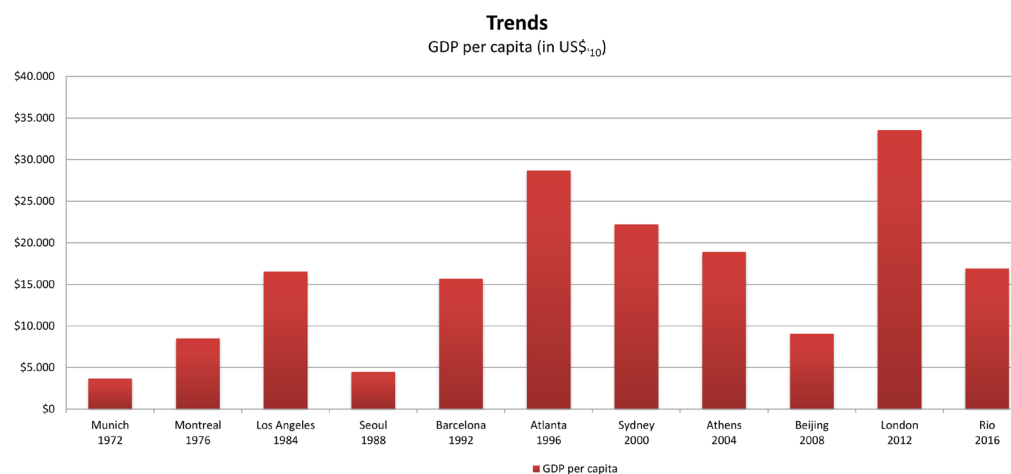


Figure 3.11: GDP per capita

Olympic economic impact trends

In figure 3.12 the economic impacts of the Olympic Games and the rate of return of the total investments over the years is portrayed. The dashed blue line represents the economic impact that the Olympics had in the host city and nation, and have been indexed to 2010 dollars. Enormous differences are noticeable, which have various reasons and are explained later on in this chapter.

The dark orange line portrays the rate of return over the years. This line logically closely follows the economic impact trend, except for two cases; Los Angeles in 1984 and Atlanta in 1996. These Olympiads were privately organised and therefore were aimed at making profit, which in turn provides a high rate of return and explains the phenomenon.

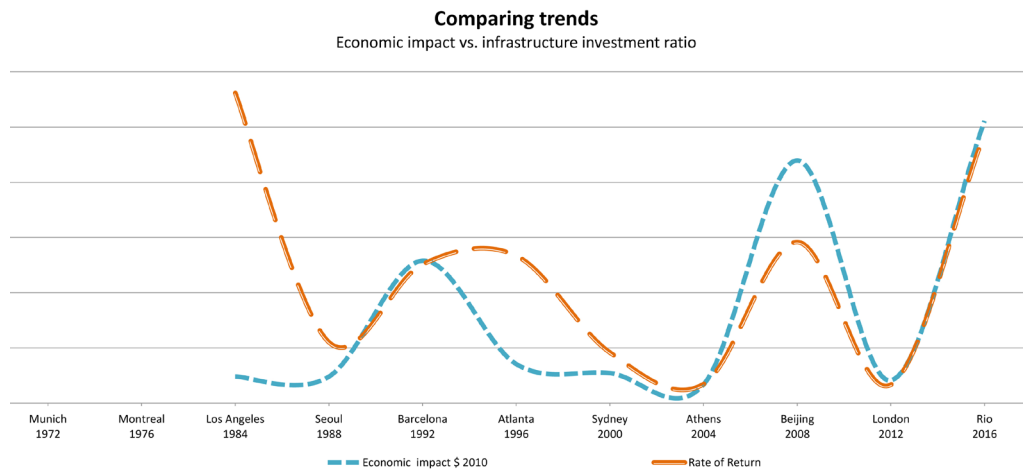


Figure 3.12: Economical impact and rate of return

Infrastructure investment trends

Another interesting trend to take a glance at, is the trend of the total amount of investment in infrastructure projects. Figure 3.13 shows the numbers which were explained in the prior paragraph concerning the infrastructure costs. The yellow dotted line represents the actual infrastructure investments and the dashed red line represents the true value of the infrastructure investments indexed to Dutch prices. Huge differences attract the attention. These are due to the enormous differences in governmental policies, i.e. necessity for infrastructural investments, and the construction costs in the various nations.

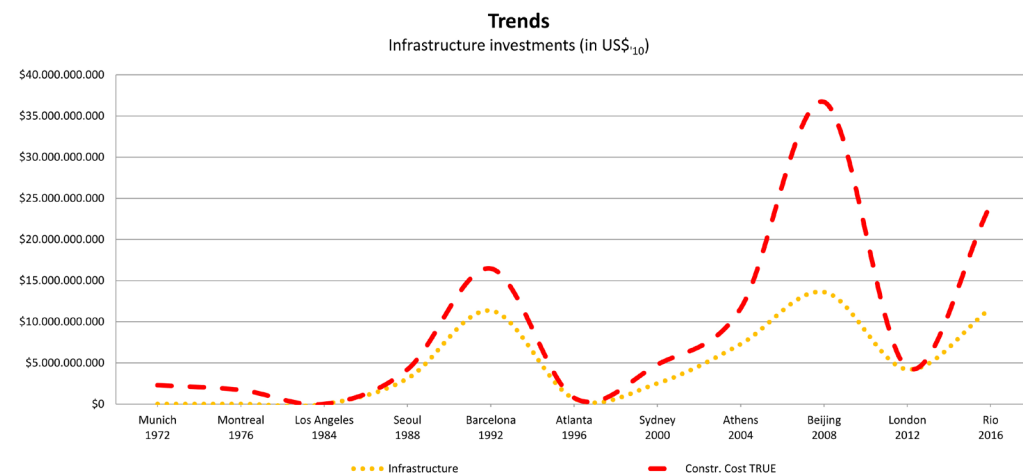


Figure 3.13: Infrastructure investment

Observations

When comparing the previously discussed trends, several observations can be made. First the nation's economy and the investment nature will be compared, where after infrastructure investment and the economic impact are set against the nation's economy. Some of these comparisons deliver remarkable new insights, whereas others only confirm hypotheses.

National economy and investment nature

Figure 3.14 comprises the data portrayed in the previously discussed figures 3.9 and 3.11. The correlation between public and private involvement and the national wealth is attempted to be found.

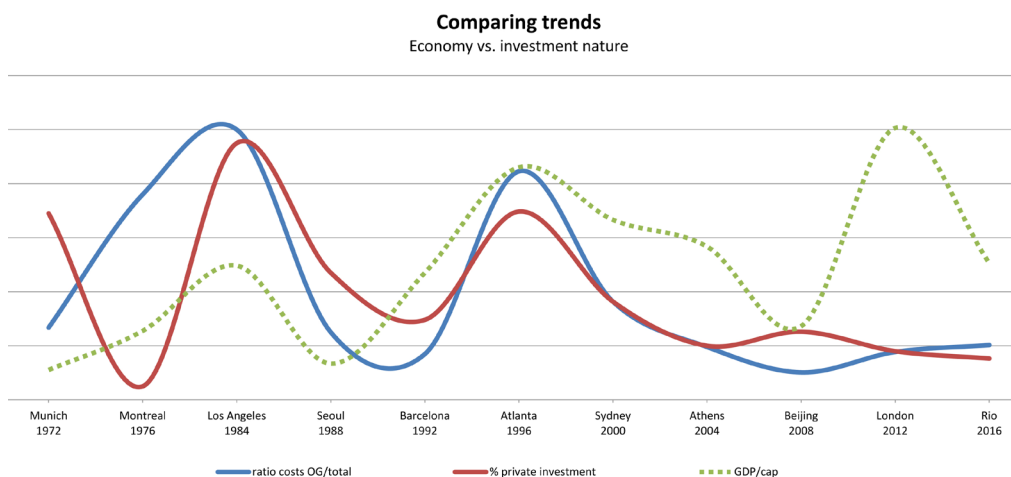


Figure 3.14: Economy vs. investment climate

Figure 3.14 shows a strong relation between the wealth and private participation; were the line for the GDP per capita makes a jump, the private participation significantly increases, i.e. the wealthier the nation, the smaller the public contribution.

There might be three reasons for this phenomenon. The first might be that these public contributions are not necessary as the infrastructure, which appears to be the largest public burden, is already in place.

Secondly wealthier nations commonly have other development cultures; they are predominantly characterised by an entrepreneurial approach. This leads to more privately initiated developments, such as Olympic developments.

Additionally and the final reason might be that due to the fact that the citizens and businesses have more financial means at their disposal, they have more possibilities for developments at hand. This leads to an easier participation in the general developments.

What is very striking is the fact that the future Games in London do not follow this trend. London is one of the wealthiest cities in the world, and although they have all the previous characteristics that speak for privately dominated developments, they have a minimal private contribution. Taking into account that the gathered fact and figures might not be accurate as the Games have not even taken place yet, the reason might be that the government needed to invest in the infrastructure or that private parties found it too risky to get involved in the Olympic developments. Anyway, this is an interesting observation.

Infrastructure investment vs. economic impact and wealth

In figure 3.15, figures 3.11 and 3.13 are combined. A distinctive correlation between the infrastructure investments and the economic impact is noticed, which translates to the notion that the infrastructural developments have a strong influence on the economic impact.

When comparing the economic impact against the nation's wealth, an opposite trend is distinguished. This indicates that poorer nations have relatively greater benefits from staging the Olympics than wealthy nations. This might be explained by the fact that the possible relative economic impact is higher in poorer nations as the infrastructure is of lesser quality than in wealthy nations.

Also the real value of the infrastructure investments is higher in the poorer nations. The reason might be that these investments are a necessity, which they are not in the more wealthy nations.

These observations have a logical argumentation, however in wealthy nations there are obviously more financial means at hand, thus it is logical that more investments can and should be made. Nonetheless, this fact surprisingly does not occur.

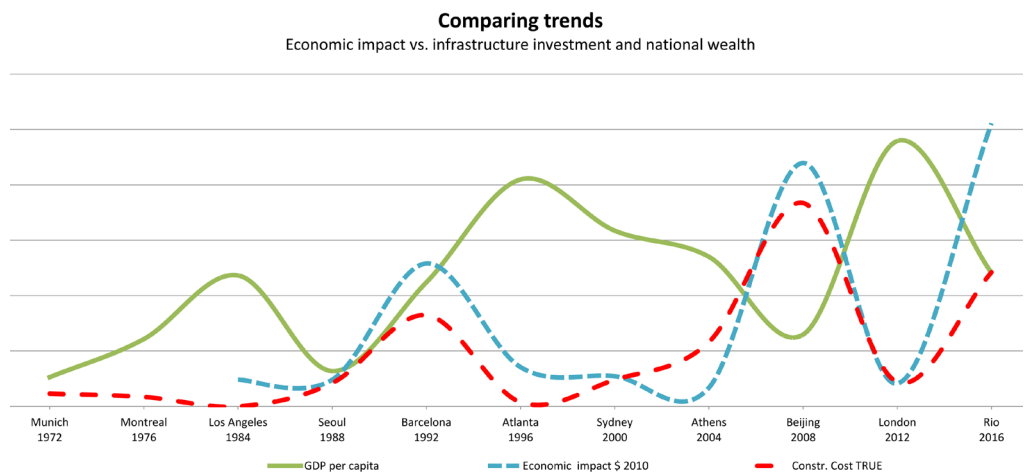


Figure 3.15: Economic impact vs. infrastructure investment vs. national wealth

3.3 Conclusions

Though all cities are unique, different assumptions can be made when seeking and securing particular legacies. Also lesson can be learned when looking at the failures in former Olympic host cities. The links between choices made in earlier development phases and their consequences for the positive and negative legacies are attempted to be found and assumptions are made what has influenced the final legacy.

When processing this information, the theory provided in the chapter discussing the theoretical framework is used, i.e. chapter two. In this chapter the aspects that have influence on the so called development structure have been elaborated and their function has been discussed. The 'elements' of the development structure will again be discussed when considering the conclusions of the studied cases. In the following order these topics are discussed; the initiative and objectives, the stakeholders and the organisational structure, the urban development strategies, the budget and financial structure, the interferences and the legacy.

From the immense amount of information gathered from the cases, certain lesson can be learned. The lessons learned are provided at the end of each discussed development structure aspect. Table 3.4 provides an overview of the learned legacy lessons. The majority of the lesson learned can be assigned to the stakeholders, the organisational structure and the chosen strategies. This emphasises the importance of these aspects. However, the stakeholders involved, the created organisational structure and the following strategies are all born in the initiative phase. The initiative party initiates the Olympic dream to accomplish certain goals, be it personal or for a higher purpose. Obviously the initiator cannot organise a successful Olympic event solely, so they seek support. This final established partnership is crucial for the course of the Olympic movement and attained legacy in the future.

3.3.1 Initiative and objectives

The first aspect which is of importance when analysing the development structure is who had the initiative and what the main goals were of the Olympic movement in the host city. When analysing the cases, the initiatives can be divided into two categories, namely public initiative and private initiative.

Public initiative can be divided in to central government initiative and local government initiative. They both have the same range of thought behind their motive, only the scale and planning level is different. Olympic movements which have been initiated by the central government include the Olympiads of Sydney and Beijing. Their objectives do not differ much, as they both wanted to promote and showcase their nation to the world. Additionally Sydney wanted to increase the international tourism and attract regional service based activities. Both nations succeeded in their objectives. This will also be mentioned when the urban development strategies are discussed.

The Olympic movements in Barcelona and Athens both started with local government initiative. The main difference with the central government initiative is, as mentioned before, the planning scale. The initiative in Athens can be related more with a central government initiative, but the planning scale of the developments coincides more with a local initiative. Barcelona and Athens had objectives which were more in line with local interventions and impacts. These included the 'reurbanization' of the city, the adoption to modern global opportunities, solving economical problems the city faced and creating long-term development plans. The finally achieved legacies are discussed later on in this section.

Table 3.4: Olympic legacies factor consequences

Development structure aspects	Legacy lessons learned from the cross case analysis
Initiative & objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central government initiative stresses international profile objectives • Municipal government initiative stresses the urban structure objectives • Private stakeholder initiative stresses the economical objectives • Planning time can create opportunities and limit restrictions
Stakeholders & organisational structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central government control creates coordinated developments, financial security and decreases risks • Private involvement creates financially feasible developments and secures post-Games use • The integration of Olympic developments into the urban masterplan benefits the catalyst effect • Awareness of the role of all the stakeholders and their capabilities optimises the partnerships • Inclusion of the civic society in the planning phase increases support and development quality
Urban development strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only adapt changes in traditional partnerships if absolutely necessary • Massive international exposure can be secured by establishing a responsible committee • Include developments aimed at the lower social classes to secure their increase in living quality • Strategic government owned locations must be chosen to support governmental control on the developments • More infrastructure development leads to a higher economical impact • When the strategy focus is on governance, social and spatial ambitions, the economical ambitions will follow
Budget & financial structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Olympiad itself always costs between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion and is financed by market revenues • The budget for the construction of venues and the infrastructure follows the set objectives and strategies • Infrastructure interventions, urban planning and financial resources determine the financial structure
Interference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social resistance almost always results from poor collaboration or insufficient communication • Beware of communication within the organisational structure when implementing new legislations
Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only change planning culture when necessary and appropriate • Living and spatial quality is attained via integrated Olympic developments in the urban structure • The economical impact is strongly dependent on the extent of the infrastructure developments • Including lower social classes in the legacy benefits needs extra precautions • Secure post-Games use with a legacy company • A long-term tourism plan supports long-term economical development

source : compiled by author

The second type of initiative is the private initiative. Atlanta is the only case in which private parties formed the initiative to host the Olympics. This is also translated to the objectives, as they all have a financial ring to them. They wanted to enhance the business climate and attractiveness of the city to enhance the international business profile. This would benefit the business and society elite which comprised Atlanta's bid committee. Although the government only wanted to play a facilitative role for the Olympics during the bid preparation, after the bid was won they wanted to lift on the Olympic movement and achieve social developments. Again the influence of the initiatives are discussed later on in this chapter, as they have had a large influence on the chosen strategies.

Legacy lessons

The first lesson learned is that the time that is used for the initiation of the whole movement is a strong influential factor. Time can be plentiful or a shortage of time can exist. The organisation of the Olympic assignment is a complex task. This involves a great number of stakeholders. Obviously the cooperation and partnership between the involved parties involves a complex communication. A complex communication takes time to exchange all information necessary. Thus time is a crucial factor. Additionally, the success of the integration of the Olympic development in the general urban masterplan, depends on the time spent on planning and communicating. Thus time also plays a crucial role in the integration of the Olympic plans into the urban structure.

Positive examples of the influence of time can be seen in Barcelona and Beijing. Barcelona was making urban plans for a decade before the Olympics came into play, and they thus could integrate the Olympic ambitions easier into the urban structure. Beijing is an exponentially growing city and had Olympic ambitions since the early 1990's. All the infrastructural investments made related to and during the Olympic preparation phase which were necessary, were set in the five year development plan.

Negative examples include Atlanta and Athens. In Atlanta the government decided to join, i.e. make use of, the Olympic developments only after the bid was won. This created a small time window to create support and funds for the desired investments. Eventually the goals that were set could not be met due to lack of funds and social resistance. The government of Athens decided to reconsider the Olympic plans after the bid was won in order to make sure they were going to benefit the city as optimal as possible, this after a relatively long planning period of 7 years. This created three lost years and thus put stress on the priorities which shifted from creating a successful legacy to organising a successful event; the legacy suffered. What can also be concluded is that the longer the initiative and planning period, the more complex the goals and general developments can be. This can be seen in Barcelona, Athens and Beijing, respectively 10, 7 and 11 years. The shorter the period, the more straightforward and 'superficial' the developments will be, as in Atlanta and Sydney. Both had the duration of three years.

3.3.2 Stakeholders and the organisational structure

When discussing the stakeholders and the (inter)organisational structure they form, it is important to understand the possibilities, necessities, the objectives and the stakeholders themselves. Within this context the partnership models, the development domination and the role of the civic society is discussed.

Partnership models

Some host cities have seized the Olympics as a chance to transform or experiment with their partnership models in urban development planning. Three outcomes are possible; a successful, an unsuccessful or no transformation.

A complete successful transformation was achieved by Barcelona. The new Barcelona-model

was characterised by integrated planning and participation from all stakeholders with a strong governmental control. Especially the civic society played a noticeable role. The participation of the civic society, which was a strong party in Barcelona, was important as due to the fact that the citizens had a strong voice in the development plans, they were not neglected and also benefitted from all the investments. With the addition of the private investors, under certain public control, provided a strong integration into the general urban development plan and thus the Olympic investments were optimised. The inter-organisational model is broad, but controlled. This was probably Barcelona's success.

On the contrary, there were unsuccessful partnership models. Athens and Atlanta both were unsuccessful, but both in their own way. Atlanta was completely privately initiated, because of that possibility in the US and because the public refused to be financially responsible. Due to the fact that the public was not involved from the start, their plans to join in on the Olympic movement after the bid was won, was not successful. Their plans were completely separated from and ran parallel to the Olympic movement and were not thought through enough, probably due to time restraint, so they could therefore not receive enough support and foothold from the civic society. Athens had different problems. They desired to change their accustomed model and work with the private parties and civic society, but were unable to. This was due to the fact that the private parties were not interested in participating because they saw more potential in their own developments on their self owned lands and because the government was not experienced with working together with private parties. The government could also not take control, as they did not own the most strategic located lands. Additionally the civic society was weak and thus could not contribute to the developments.

When taking the previously discussed aspects into account the following conclusions can be made. The municipal, and in some cases the central, government must be fully aware of the market potential and possibilities in the city, region and nation. This is of great importance when parties are to be attracted to participate in the developments. Especially the role of the civic society is important, as the social success and integration into the society fully depends on their cooperation.

A strong pro for the potential of a successful partnership, is the fact that the lands must be in hands of the government. This manoeuvres them into a controlling position and this benefits the development integration into the general urban masterplan and thus potential.

Additionally the broad model of Barcelona suggests that including all the possible stakeholders into the process, the developments will benefit a wider public. The crucial factor of this type of model is the time available to complete such a complex organising task and process. The other extreme type of model was apparent in Atlanta. Due to the later interest of the government to join in on the developments and the because of the private characteristic of the ACOG, a parallel process arose in which there was little to no communication between the private and public parties.

Development domination

Tangible developments can be divided into two separate categories; infrastructural developments, i.e. road, track and airport additions, and other developments, i.e. sports venues, facilities, accommodations, parks, etc.

Infrastructure developments are almost always the responsibility of the three governments. Private stakeholder may be included in the execution for their expertise and knowledge.

The responsible stakeholders of the remaining developments depend on a few factors. Logically the initiator of the developments determines which potential stakeholders are to be approached in order to execute the developments. In addition the expertise necessary for an optimal completion also determines the involved stakeholders.

The stakeholders of these two different types of developments also depend on the planning

scale in which the developments are executed. These planning scales have been discussed in paragraph 2.5.2.

Public and private stakeholders obviously have different priorities, goals and resources. These different aspects lead to different strategies and plans when executing their core business and the implicated developments. This logically leads to different development paths, the paths described in figure 2.9, which ultimately lead to different legacies. What then can be derived, is that the optimal outcome of all the developments will create a broad legacy, which will have an impact on the whole society. This broad legacy spectrum is thus created by involving a broad selection of stakeholders, public and private, with each their own priorities, interests, goals and resources, so that the optimal legacy form can be produced. What definitely must be kept in mind is that every city and situation is unique, and thus every circumstance prescribes a different 'recipe' of stakeholders.

Civic society

As discussed earlier, the civic society plays an important role in the organisation of the Olympics. However they are not only important on this level; they are also important for the social coherence of the city and the way the Olympic developments are conceived by the city. These aspects are not solely created by making certain investments, the application of the possibilities the Olympic movement brings, must be adjusted to its potential, if the city wants to benefit on a broad basis.

Barcelona, Sydney and Beijing are the foremost case cities which benefitted the most from the social movements. The citizens were involved with the Olympic movement, though all differently. Where in Barcelona the strong civic society was included in the decisions concerning the developments, in Sydney and Beijing they were involved by supporting the event itself, with massive amounts of volunteers which represent the nations patriotism and enthusiasm. This enthusiasm and civic mobilization was also distinguishable in Athens, only to a far lesser extent. The reason for this might be that the civic society was not used to joining or supporting such developments and events.

Atlanta characterises how the civic society was not involved in the Olympic movement at all, or very minimal. This was due to the fact that the ACOG was a private established organisation and thus did not have to take the civic protests and demands into account. Therefore the developments did not consider the society which therefore did not benefit them and thus did not create social mobilization or coherence.

To recapitulate, social participation, enthusiasm and motivation are all very important for the success of the Games and the perception towards the rest of the world. They can be achieved by openness from the start of the whole movement and by valid developments which are integrated into the general urban masterplan. This successful integration can only be achieved when the government is in strong control of the major developments (in)directly related to the Olympics. Unfortunately enthusiasm is hard to trigger in the civic society and depends on national attitude towards these types of events, as can be seen in the contradiction of the participation between the societies in Barcelona and Athens.

Legacy lessons

The most important lesson learned is the integration of the Olympic developments into the general urban masterplan. By doing so, the Olympic developments secure improvements in the urban structure and living quality of the city, and thus a positive legacy.

Barcelona is the foremost positive example of the execution of Olympic development integration. The city had set multiple ambitious and necessary goals in the decade before the idea of an Olympic event in the city was born. The Olympic idea could therefore be instantly

integrated into the general urban plans. Athens was also a positive example, be it to a lesser extent. Athens could finally execute the necessary infrastructural improvements the city so desperately needed. However, simultaneously the negative side of a poor integration can also be distinguished. The sports venues and facilities in Athens were not compatible in the future situation in the city and region, and did thus not work in the urban structure and created a poor legacy costing the city huge amounts of money.

Public control of the developments is, next to the integration in the urban masterplan, the second important lesson. Public control is necessary to coordinate the Olympic movement and the related developments. Public control creates a steady backbone and financial security for the developments. When this steady basis and security is created, risks are decreased, which in turn makes it more attractive for private parties to join the movement. This then generates more funds which will increase the impact on the local society and economy.

Strong governmental control was exerted in Barcelona and Beijing, they both however had different approaches. Barcelona created an attractive investment atmosphere for private investors by controlling all investments and initiating public-private partnerships. This paid off, as private investors joined the Olympic movement and thus large areas in the city benefitted from all the urban developments. Beijing had a different approach. They had strong control over the infrastructure developments. The sports venues and facilities however, were evenly financed by public and private parties. This made the venues and facilities more financially feasible, especially during the post-Games phase.

Also related to the development control is the involvement of private parties to secure post-Games use of the venues. Including private parties which have priority in making profit, especially in the post-Games phase, produces a financial feasible legacy plan. Additionally they release the financial strain from the government, which also leads to fewer risks for the developments.

Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney and Beijing all included private parties to some extent, though all in different contexts. Barcelona 'used' private parties to achieve development in adjacent areas which became attractive for private parties to invest in due to the Olympic developments. Sydney and Beijing included private parties in the developments of the sports venues and facilities. This relieved financial pressure from the government. In Beijing this also created a successful financial legacy via a legacy plan, however in Sydney this failed. The largest stadiums stayed empty and a plan was not conceived and executed till five years after the Games.

The first lesson of factors that must be avoided is the unawareness of the role of other stakeholders and their capabilities. When the stakeholder which is in control of the developments, usually the government, does not have complete comprehension in the capabilities of the other stakeholders which it wants to include in the Olympic movement, legacy failure is fairly possible.

An example of this bold statement is noticeable in the before mentioned cases Atlanta and Athens. In Atlanta, after the bid was won, the government saw the Olympic Games as an opportunity to make improvements in the city. In addition to a previous explanation due to the short development time, the government was not aware of the opinion of the civic society. The desired developments would have a great affect on them and thus they severely protested against almost all plans. These plans then did not, and could not, be executed.

Athens experienced a similar mistake. They wanted to change the usual mode of governance by including the civic society and private investors. However, the private investors were not convinced of the benefits of joining the partnerships and decided to continue developing on locations on self owned lands, and the civic society was not developed into the strong and independent society, such as in Barcelona, which is needed for a successful participation.

The second lesson to avoid is a decentralized development control. Control of the developments will always differ in extent per case. However total control by public or private parties is not desired. Both sides of the balance have their own goals and priorities. These even out when both parties are working together on the plans and developments. When this balance is disturbed, ambitions of one of the sides will lead to an escalation of priorities on one side. This will lead to an inefficient, maybe even a financially unfeasible, legacy.

In the cases of Atlanta and Athens these features appear. Atlanta was a privately initiated, planned, organised and executed edition of the Olympiad. The government wanted to execute their own plans and ambitions, but this had no or little influence on the private ambitions. The Olympic stadium was built on private land, next to an old stadium which it would replace, and in an area which was not suitable for one, let alone two stadiums. The motivation for this location was the ownership of the lands. The private priorities were also focussed on enhancing the tourism and business in the inner city which was not beneficial for the citizens. In addition, the public contribution was minimal as they only were 'able' to make minor beautifications to the inner city and executed the necessary repairs to the infrastructure. This led to a legacy which did not benefit the citizens, merely the private parties involved and directly related businesses. Athens experienced the opposite characteristics. The government initiated the Olympic movement and wanted private parties to join the partnerships. However, they refused in most cases and the government had to execute the developments without them. They could thus not use the private owned lands, which were located in more strategic areas, and more important, private finances. Private priorities were thus also totally excluded in the developments, which led to few legacy considerations. Also complete public funding led to massive public expenditures which might have contributed to the financial misfortune of today.

Finally there is the lesson concerning the civic society. The influence the civic society has, depends on the organisation and thus the strength of the civic society. When the organisation is strong, influence can be exerted on the government for certain developments to be attained or prevented. By including a capable civic society more, a better understanding of the possibilities and necessities in the city is created.

When comparing the models of Barcelona and Athens, two comparable cities with comparable goals, the difference is found between a strong and weak civic society which made the difference between failed, Athens, and successful, Barcelona, developments. The benefit of a strong civic society is that the developments will also consider them, as they have a say in the planning phase. With a weak civic society this is the opposite and they are considered less when the plans are conceived.

3.3.3 Urban development strategies

Urban development strategies can occur on the four sustainable development levels which have been distinguished earlier in this report. The governance, social, spatial-environmental and economical level all have different focuses and objectives, which in turn transform into different strategies in order to accomplish the set objectives. Governance strategies include strategies to enhance the international profile, to change the accustomed planning culture, which have been discussed before, and implement 'green' aspects. Social strategies usually encompass strategies focussed on social coherence of the social classes. Spatial and environmental strategies are focussed on the urban structure and the economical strategies are focussed on business and tourism aspects.

International profile

The goal of enhancing the international profile has been aimed at the overall perception of the nation in foreign countries, and has resulted in improving two markets; the tourism and business market. Different outcomes have been seen in the host cities; positive and negative perceptions have occurred.

Barcelona, Sydney and Beijing to some extent, have all enjoyed positive international perceptions, with increases in tourism and business as a consequence, but they achieved them differently.

Barcelona created a 'new' city and marketed the city in the appropriate manner. Their main goal was not to enhance tourism or business, but this would be the number one consequence of all the investments and developments made to become an attractive city. They executed the plan this way because they made sufficient investments to upgrade the city's profile.

Sydney did not have the same advantage. They needed to enhance their international perception differently. This is why they established an organisation which was responsible for international publicity, the ATC. They turned a AU\$ 12 million budget into an AU\$ 2,3 billion exposure, which is impressive. Additionally the society's attitude towards the Games was exemplary for future host nations.

Beijing's goal was to present itself to the rest of the world. Their strength was the patriotism which is present in China. They used slogans and themes to promote their cause and gain support. This resulted in controlled international exposure and thus contributed to increase in tourism and business.

Atlanta and Athens both received negative international promotion. The Games in Atlanta were characterised by a few negative characteristics and this was broadly focussed on by the media. Additionally Samaranch did not proclaim that the centennial Games were the best ever and this provoked even more scepticism. Athens ensured their own poor publicity during the developments. The delays of the developments due to poor organisation and planning, and the final sky-high costs, contributed to a very poor perception.

What can be learned is that when the media is involved strongly in the promotion and exposure of the host city and nation, they can form a very powerful tool. This is proved in the case of Sydney as their international profile was 'bought'. Also the national enthusiasm can be 'bought' when the correct marketing and advertising strategies are adopted.

However the factor that has most influence on the success or failure in the media, is the success of the organisation of the Games themselves. The Games that have been unsuccessfully organised are also the Games which are perceived to be a 'failure', i.e. Atlanta and Athens.

'Green' aspects

The environmental aspects of the Olympic Games have become a hot issue since Sydney used the 'green' concept. Though they were not stressed, they were present during the preceding Olympiads.

Sydney and Beijing were successful concerning green developments, however both in their own way. All the developments Sydney made were made following green guidelines. However, these were literally guidelines, and not obligatory specifications. Although the guidelines were not legally binding, it was the first time such an approach was used in the preparation for the Olympic Games and it set an example for the Olympiads in the future. Beijing had a different approach. The city suffered from severe environmental problems to start with, and these needed to be solved, e.g. water and air pollution. The pollution was dealt with by extreme measures such as the relocation of factories and prohibiting certain cars to drive on certain

days. Sydney and Beijing enjoyed positive environmental changes and developments.

The same cannot be said about Athens. Although they did have environmental aspects high on the agenda, the environmental development score was very low. One reason for this was the fact that the government decided to develop on greenfields and protected environmental areas, instead of brownfields. The positive outcome was the fact that the citizens became aware of the environmental problems.

Though the whole issue concerning environmental friendly developments became hot after Sydney implemented their 'green' guidelines, Barcelona did include developments which benefitted the environment. The old industrial sites in the city and the harbour, were cleaned up and new modern areas were developed. Barcelona did encounter small voices which claimed that they had not created environmental constructions, but this was not, as mentioned before, a focal point at the time. Atlanta did not focus on environmental aspects and therefore it is impossible to say if they failed or succeeded in creating green developments.

When a city suffers from major environmental problems, the Olympics may offer the right instrument and push for finding solutions for these problems. Though securing the bid might be a troublesome task, as the IOC does not consider it as a pro when the city is polluted.

Social coherence

Social coherence is an important factor for a city and it is the basis of high living quality. Numerous cases have incorporated social strategies, though not all. The odd one out is Atlanta, which did not implement a social strategy. The reason for this is that it was not in the initiators, i.e. private stakeholders, interest in executing this type of strategy. Additionally the government wanted to lift with the Olympic movement after the bid was secured and only then make plans which would benefit the community. These plans were received negatively and could thus, due to protests and resistance, only be executed in the most minimum form, i.e. small beautification projects in the inner city.

The different types of social strategies which have been implemented are the upgrading of low quality areas, addressing the nation's patriotism and using the nation's multiculturalism. The first type of strategy, the upgrading of low quality areas, has been used by Barcelona, Sydney and Athens. However, they all had a different spatial approach. Sydney developed one Olympic area, Barcelona four and Athens twenty. The spatial strategies are enlightened in the next paragraph.

The nationalism of the country has been addressed in Sydney and Beijing. Both nations are passionate concerning sports and this was translated into the immense support they received from volunteers who helped operate the event.

Addressing the nation's culture in order to promote the nation internationally, was used by Sydney and Athens, though both differently. Australia, in the case of Sydney, has a turbulent past with the native inhabitants, the Aborigines. They used the Olympics to reach out to this population and make amends with the past. Greece used the historical culture and connection with the Olympics in order to generate exposure and attract tourists.

As can be concluded, social strategies did not form the corner stone of the bigger strategy picture. However, they do form the basis of a successful legacy, as the lack of social strategies in Atlanta and the abundance in Barcelona prove this fact.

Urban structure

The Olympic movement can be used as a catalyst to accomplish major investments in the urban structure on a short-term period. Finance for the necessary projects can be acquired more easily and projects can thus be accelerated to the present. This has major impact on the urban structure of cities and thus on the way they 'work'.

First of all the location of the Olympic developments is of strong influence to the contribution to the impact on the urban structure. The first division can be made between the choices for developing on state-owned or private-owned land. The only case where developments were made especially for and by private parties, was in Atlanta. In Atlanta, the owners of the venues after the Games decided where they were built. In addition, some facilities, such as the Olympic Village, were built near universities or other institutions to secure post-Games use. In the other cases, the developments were all made on state-owned land from a governmental initiative. The municipalities of Barcelona, Sydney, Athens and Beijing all owned the land where the major developments took place.

Only the strategic location choices were all different for the four cases. Barcelona chose for four strategic key development areas which would complement the impact throughout the whole city. Sydney chose a single development area due to the necessity and desire to transform this toxic brownfield. This area was not located in a prime area in the city's urban structure and well away from the city centre. Athens wanted to integrate the Olympics as much as possible into the urban structure. They therefore chose to scatter the developments through the city on 20 separate locations. However, these were not the prime locations, as the government did not own the strategic land positions in the city centre. Therefore they had to deviate to other locations, and these were sometimes non-strategic areas, such as greenfields. This then led to protest and delays in the developments. Finally Beijing chose their location due to previous investments made for the Asian Games in 1990. Therefore they could reuse venues and facilities and thus save costs. In addition they also built facilities near universities to ensure post-Games use. However, they have not been able to bring an urban restructuring impact to the city. The investment has mostly benefitted the already wealthier northern part of the city and further increased the gap between the richer north and poorer south of Beijing.

The investments on infrastructure also have a major influence on the urban structure. Barcelona, Athens and Beijing all invested billions of dollars into the city's infrastructure. Road networks, airport expansions and extra railroads were the result. This brings extra possibilities for a city, as if the city 'works' better, it also becomes more attractive for businesses to settle and for tourists to visit. Although these investments can be crucial for the evolution of a city, they are very costly and it is hardly possible to include private investors, so the government must almost fully fund the infrastructure projects. Atlanta and Sydney did not make significant investments in infrastructure, though this might be related to the fact that these cities were already wealthy and the urban infrastructure was already in place and no new developments were necessary. This also brought them in the position to focus more strongly on other possible effects, i.e. attracting business and tourists.

Every case city had different location strategies, of which Barcelona had the most influence on the urban structure. Transforming several areas which are state-owned brownfields with great potential on changing the urban structure, have proven to be the most successful location strategy.

The choice of developing a few areas also improves the validity of investing in infrastructure to connect these areas together and with the rest of the city. To prove this point, Athens invested enormous amount in the infrastructure, but these did not entirely link the Olympic developments with the rest of the city, which had a bad influence on the post-Games use.

Strategy focus and the consequences

The focus that the strategies have, logically has influence on the legacy created. This creates an interesting correlation to look at; the focus of the strategies and the weight of the legacies per ambition level.

Barcelona, Athens and Beijing all had broad focuses concerning the urban development strategies. However, only Barcelona achieved a well balanced and strong legacy. Athens was not successful on the governance level, though they tried to implement changes. Though Beijing was very successful in creating legacy, they missed out on the opportunity for creating more balanced urban developments concerning social aspects in their society.

Atlanta and Sydney executed the most incomprehensive strategies, focussed on respectively economical and governance ambitions. For Sydney this paid off well, they created a relatively broad legacy, while Atlanta's legacy was merely established in economical factors.

This brings us to a few conclusions. Firstly the strategies that are implemented on the governance, have a large effect on the eventual execution of all the plans which is the basis of the overall legacy developments, e.g. Barcelona has proven that the new development model, i.e. the Barcelona-model with an increased private and societal participation, provided new opportunities in the city, which eventually led to an economic growth. In addition, Sydney and Beijing both used nationalism of the nation's citizens to promote their nation. The amount of volunteers they were able to include supports this fact. However, there is a large difference between including the citizens in the planning phase and letting them help operate the event. Barcelona, and Athens tried to, was the only case in which the civic society was included in the decision making process.

Secondly strategies focussed on spatial and environmental interventions, produce infrastructure upgrades in a city or region, which will support the urban structure and policy of the city more. This presents opportunities within the city and will benefit the economical growth. Barcelona, Athens and Beijing have proven this.

Focussing on social strategies was predominantly done to bring civic movements together, as was done in Barcelona, Sydney and Athens. This does however, in a small sense, create a sound basis for future support and initiative in developments. This will eventually benefit the economical growth and living quality of the city.

Finally Atlanta was the only case with a full strategy focus on economic ambitions. Logically this led to economic benefits. On the contrary this did not benefit other ambitions levels.

What then can be concluded is that positive economical legacy is almost always created when the development strategies are focussed on one of the other ambition levels, or on the economical legacy itself. In other words, organising the Olympic Games will always have a positive economical output.

Legacy lessons

Changes in the traditional partnership models are only in force when the goals desired deem a new plan of approach which will imply the necessary changes. When implementing these changes, as mentioned before in the lessons learned for the organisational structure, is that the stakeholders must be aware of the capabilities of the other stakeholders involved. Athens made this mistake and this resulted in negative legacies.

Creating an international exposure commission, like Sydney created the ATC, is a small and relatively easy measure in generating massive international exposure. This commission can generate a relatively small budget into an enormous international exposure, which will, when executed correctly, increase tourism and business in the Olympic city during and after the Olympics.

Including the lower social classes in the general enhancement of the city has been proven difficult. Therefore to secure that these citizens also profit from the Olympic movement, developments especially aimed for their purpose must be included in the Olympic movement. Barcelona is the case city in which this had the most effect, as they upgraded low quality areas. Atlanta is the worst case as they totally neglected the lower classes of the city, which led to no beneficiary developments at all.

Government owned lands are an important addition and resource to the public development control. The location of the developments must be chosen on strategic locations which the government owns or can claim. In this way certain set goals and ambitions the government deems necessary can be deliberately stressed. Especially goals concerning the urban structure. Barcelona and Beijing respectively owned or could easily claim strategic land positions so that the developments could ensue on their terms. This provides control over the developments, which is positive as explained just before. In contradiction, Athens could not develop on the most optimal locations as these were privately owned and could not be claimed. This resulted in a negative legacy concerning the urban structure.

Furthermore, the chart in figure 3.15 shows that the more infrastructural developments are made in the urban structure, the higher the economical benefits will be. Logically the number of possible infrastructural development in poorer nations is higher, as there infrastructure is less up to date than that of wealthier nations. In spite of the fact that the economical impact of the infrastructure developments will thus be relatively lower in wealthier nations, they will still play a significant role in the total economical impact.

Related to the integration of the developments, and of slightly lesser importance, is the focus of the strategies. The situation of the city and region and the desired goals to be achieved via the Olympic developments, all lead to certain optimal strategies. The different ambition levels, explained in the second chapter, all have different applicable strategies and legacies, which in turn all originate in different situations. Therefore one city first needs to focus on for example the social level, whilst another city can solely focus on economical strategies.

Table 3.2 shows that a wide variety of combinations is possible concerning the strategy focus, and stakeholders must apply those strategies which will benefit all parties involved in the most optimal form. For example; Governance strategies form the basis of the whole development, so it is a necessity to get these straight. Business strategies can be profitable, as they can secure higher rates of return, which could balance out large public investments. Strategies should be strongly related to the desired goals and capabilities of an Olympic city and its stakeholders.

Additionally, figure 3.16 provides an abstract view of the focus of the analysed cases. As can be seen in the chart, the focus on the different ambitions in the cases is mostly concentrated to one ambition. As mentioned before, a broad focus is favoured. This is best seen in Barcelona, and the Olympic legacy in this particular city is also commonly perceived as the best. Therefore the following stamen can be made; these two facts might have a correlation with one another.

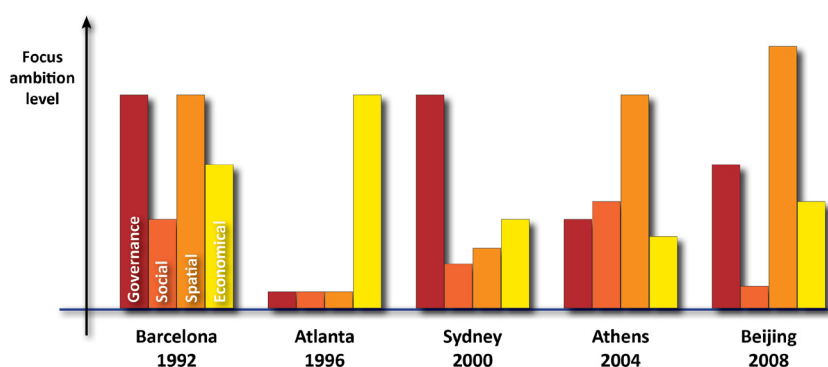


Figure 3.16: Abstract vision of ambition level focus

3.3.4 Budget and financial structure

When comparing several trends with one another during a longer Olympic event period, 1972-2016, direct conclusions can be drawn on the correlation between the different trends which have occurred from the aspects involved in Olympic development.

First of all, the event itself has always cost between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion. Therefore it is safe to presume that this will be the same in the future. In addition, the private investment surprisingly does not relatively fluctuate a great deal. It has always been between US\$₁₀ 2-5 billion. A reason for this is that the revenues from the marketing sales, e.g. tickets and TV-rights, are included in the private investment. The extra contribution the private investors bring is therefore relatively small. This is a surprising fact, as the Olympic movement opens doors and possibilities for investments and partnerships. Even the well praised private contribution in Barcelona scores 'low'. This trend is surprising and is hard to explain, but it is an indicator on approximately how much private investment will be invested in the Games in the future.

The trend of the infrastructure investment which is indexed to Dutch prices, varies enormously per case. This fact is derivable from the different policies, necessities and the resources at hand. For example in Beijing the infrastructure investment were excessive. This was possible due to the financial resources the nation had acquired and the policy they maintained for the allure the city should emanate.

The next noticeable relation is the correlation between the wealth of the nation and the degree of public and private involvement with the developments. What can be derived is that wealthy nations have a higher degree of private involvement, and in poorer nations the public have a more prominent role. The domination in the involvement is in relation with the necessity of infrastructural interventions, the urban planning policy and the financial resources at hand. London is the odd one out, as it operates totally opposite of the trend and expectation. What can be derived is that the domination of the public investment is because of the private withholding in the developments. private parties did not find it feasible enough to join the developments, which is an indication of an unhealthy Olympic movement, and might bring trouble in the post-Games phase.

The economical impact is very strongly influenced by the infrastructure investment. However, the positive relation between these two only occurs in poorer nations. It has not been proven yet if this is also the case in wealthier nations, as they have not incorporated an extensive infrastructure investment, due to the fact that this was not necessary. In addition the economical impact is higher in poorer nations as the developments have more effect because they are needed for the evolution and growth of the city.

When comparing the infrastructure investment trend with the rate of return of the total investment, a correlation is detectable. This is obviously related to the relation described before with the economic impact. However, Atlanta differs slightly; the rate of return is relatively high compared to other nations. The reason for this might be found in their business approach, but then Sydney should experience the same characteristic, which it does not, and Sydney had a more successful international exposure and approximately the same economic impact. This leads to secondary factors which are not involved in this research. These might include business environment and willingness to invest among other things.

Legacy lessons

The first lesson is that the costs for operation of the event itself will cost between the US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion. This trend has been proven in the analysis of former Olympic host cities. The majority of this amount, if not the entire sum, is financed by the revenues gained from the selling of rights and Olympic merchandising. These facts were the case in all the studied former host cities.

The lesson that Barcelona, Athens and Beijing, in comparison with Atlanta and Sydney, has taught is that the total budget depends heavily on the infrastructural interventions which have been executed. Infrastructural developments are the most costly type of developments and the set objectives and following strategies determine the degree to which these developments are pursued.

The financial structure follows the budget, but also depends on the urban planning, the stakeholders involved and the financial resources at hand. It is an exponent of all the decision made in the initiative phase.

3.3.5 Interference

There are two types of interferences which have been distinguished in the cases; social and legislation interference. All cases have encountered one or the other, though they always seem to evolve for different reasons.

Social resistance occurred in all cases, all too different extents. In Barcelona, old communist groups and parties caused small social protests due to the fact that they thought that the major investments in the Olympic projects would lead to less funding for other social projects. This was only a small protest however and did not enjoy a large support. Atlanta enjoyed social protest from two sides; from the citizens of Atlanta and from political movements. Firstly they municipal government wanted to gentrify inner city areas. This would have caused problems for the concerning citizens and thus led to protests. These protests, together with the lack of funds, made sure these developments were not executed. The second form of resistance came from the fact that the ACOG was a governmental organisation with private characteristics. This created a situation in which the ACOG could sideline the government and local opposition and carry on with the developments, which is not beneficiary for every stakeholder involved. In Sydney the green developments were challenged by environmental groups. The 'untoxification' of the Homebush Bay area would not have been thorough enough and other developments would not meet up to the standards they were meant to. However, this was a small voice and also did not receive much support. On the positive side, expected social protests from the Aboriginals were not formed. They thought that the Olympics could be of a great value to them as well. In Athens the whole plan of approach led to massive delays. This increased the costs and stressed the schedule to complete the developments in time for the Olympiad. The ATHOC received official warnings from the IOC and the EU and political opposition was displeased with the increasing costs. Additionally the development locations led to protests as they were partially located on greenfields and historical sites. Beijing received the majority of social resistance before the Games took place. The human rights issues concerning the incidents in the near past, i.e. Tibet and Tiananmen. Additionally, the ground claim legislations the government had at hand resulted in easily claimed grounds for developments directly and indirectly related to the Olympics. This caused many people to be relocated and evicted from their homes, which obviously led to protests.

Legislation interference occurred in Sydney and Athens. In Sydney the government enforced special Olympic legislations so that the planning and development process would relax and developments could take place in time so that the time schedule would not come in danger. This had adverse effects, as the parties responsible for the developments did not listen to, as

they did not have to, the civic society and how they thought about the developments. The legislation interference in Athens was caused due to the before mentioned massive delays. The planning and realisation of the developments had to be realised faster and therefore special legislations were incorporated.

Every city has its own unique situation which casus its own problems. However problems can be avoided. When looking at the cases several potential undesired situations can be avoided by taking the correct measures in the initiative phase and therefore preventing them.

Legacy lessons

Two lessons can be learned from the interferences which have occurred in previous Olympic host cities. The first is that social resistance almost always is a derivative of poor collaboration and insufficient communication. This fact has taken place in almost every case, some to a larger extent than others. This proves that the control over the Olympic developments, which is very complex and extensive, must be transparent and understandable, especially towards the society. Even better is including all stakeholders in the initiative and planning phase, which will create developments to which every stakeholder has given their consent. Resistance is then eliminated, or at least limited.

This leads to the next lesson; be aware of the communication within the organisational structure when implementing new legislations. New legislations are made when the current legislations are not deemed sufficient for executing the Olympic development plan. The new legislations must be formed to the consent of all involved stakeholders, otherwise social resistance will occur again.

3.3.6 Legacy

The eventual created legacy can be a key marker for looking at which successful strategies were implemented, and also which strategies are to be avoided. Within the legacy there are different levels in which legacy is created. These are according to the sustainable ambition levels which were distinguished in the second chapter; governance, social, spatial-environmental and economical. The legacies have been related to these ambition levels, but are named according to their created legacy.

Planning and organisation

Different nations have their own planning culture. This planning culture is based on experience and had developed over numerous years. Sometimes this the traditional planning culture does not fit the necessary planning needed to accomplish the desired goals and objectives; new partnership models and modes of collaboration are necessary. The Olympic initiative and following movement might be the push needed to change the traditional planning mindset into a new mode in which the Olympic development will be possible.

Barcelona and Athens are examples in which the controlling stakeholders, in both situations the municipal government, changed or tried to change the planning culture. In Barcelona the lack of funds forced the government to search for help in private investors. This forced the government to reach out to private parties and to participate in a more business-like and entrepreneurial partnership. As mentioned several times before, this had a significant positive impact and was the basis of the achieved Olympic development successes in Barcelona.

Athens was in approximately the same starting situation as Barcelona. The government reached out towards private investors to join the partnerships in order to create more financial momentum. Additionally the civic society was invited to join in the planning phase. Although the government had these enthusiastic intentions, the majority of the developments did not include private involvement and the civic society appeared to be incapable of joining the

planning and organisation of the Olympic developments.

These facts tell us that not every situation is fit for a change of the planning culture, but a change could be just the boost the traditional planning needed to lift itself to the next level.

Living quality

The improvement of the living quality in a city is one of the social legacies cities strive for. The Olympics may bring improvements to the spatial quality, enhance the living standards and increase the sporting legacy which affects all social classes. However there is usually a difference of effect per class.

All the case cities have experienced positive sporting legacies. The sports participation rose and the facilities to practice sports are all of a high standard. Barcelona and Beijing enjoyed the most benefits from improvement of the overall living quality. The spatial quality was improved significantly due to the developments and the city has grown since the Olympic Games.

However, what needs to be said is that the lowest and poorest social classes have benefitted the least of all the social classes in the case cities. Atlanta generally being the worst case, as the gap between the poor and the rich, i.e. black and white, increased because of the Games. In Beijing the rich north enjoyed the benefits of the Olympic movement, whilst the poorer south lacked even further behind in their urban and economical growth. Sydney and Barcelona both encountered price increases which was obviously not beneficial for the lower social classes and additionally in Barcelona poorer areas were gentrified which meant the relocation of the poorer classes. Gentrification, increasing house prices and centralised focus of the investments were the main culprits of these negative developments.

As in the case of Barcelona and Beijing, significant investments in the infrastructure if the city secured a positive change in the living quality. Although Athens had investments of the same order, they did not achieve the same result, although the result was not negative. The reason for this is because the Olympic developments were not integrated into the general urban development plan.

It has also proven to be very difficult to enhance the living quality in a city and at the same time include and consider the lowest social classes in this development. Extra factors have then to be considered which include the classes which usually do not benefit from the improvement of the living quality.

Post-Games use

Use of the venues, facilities and infrastructure after the Games is a very important aspect. It is a crucial factor in the analysis of the investments made and thus if the whole development has turned out feasible.

Barcelona and Atlanta have excellent post-Games uses for the venues and facilities. They both have in common that private investors were involved with the developments and the post-Games use and feasibility. The venues were thus secured for post-Games exploitation as local sports teams moved into the facilities after the event. The Olympic Village in Barcelona was transformed into social housing after the event and in Atlanta the Olympic Village was turned into dorm rooms for the students of the two local universities.

Beijing's legacy is also secured, they only had a different approach. By developing unique venues and facilities with a high tourist factor, they secured the financial feasibility of the main Olympic venues by making them tourist attractions. The stadiums are not used as sports venues should be used and the owners were not forced to exploit the venues to create enough cash flow. This led to the fact that the venues did not turn into the undesired 'white elephants'. Sydney and Athens are the failing cases concerning the post-Games use. The venues in both cities turned into 'white elephants'. The lack of a legacy plan or company is the most prominent

reason for this failure. They did not consider the use after the Games when creating the plans and executing the constructions, and they felt this after the Olympics. The 'white elephants' in Sydney are remarkable, as private investors were included in the development of the largest stadiums. Were it went wrong is not detectable.

Including private investors and strongly considering the post-Games use in the planning and initiative phase is extremely important for creating a successful and financial feasible legacy. Different strategies can be explored concerning these subjects, however not all are possible for a positive post-Games use. The possibilities in the context of the host city must be considered.

Economic developments

In every host city positive economic developments have occurred. The economic developments can be split in to facts concerning business and employment, and tourism, both concerning the post-Olympic phase. The extent to which these developments have occurred differs.

In Barcelona and Beijing, massive economic benefit occurred; a large increase in the GDP and employment took place. In addition, especially in Barcelona, the tourist numbers also increased significantly.

Atlanta and Sydney are the middle category. There were significant impacts seen concerning an increase in business, employment and tourism, but it did not benefit the entire city. The lower social classes even encountered negative impacts, as the prices increased and they did not optimally benefit of the employment opportunities.

Although Athens has the least positive economic legacy, the infrastructural improvements had a significant impact on the city, only the fractured urban structure could not follow through on the positive basis for development. Estimations concerning the tourist numbers were made, and these also increased, however not to an extent as in the Barcelona situation.

Therefore all the cities experienced an incredible positive short-term economic legacy, due to the fact that the Olympic movement can free a considerable amount of funds on a short-term period.

On the long-term, Barcelona has had the largest positive economic legacy. The city still benefits from the investments made nearly two decades ago. Atlanta, Sydney and Athens all have not benefitted in the same degree as Barcelona. Beijing is too recent to make conclusions on long-term economic benefits.

What is remarkable is that the cities that only focussed on these aspects, Atlanta and Sydney, did not have the best economic legacy in the end. On the contrary, Barcelona did not focus on the economical developments concerning their urban development strategies, but did experience a significant economic improvement.

What can be concluded is that there is a strong correlation between the development of infrastructure that attracts business and tourists and the success of the economic developments.

Legacy lessons

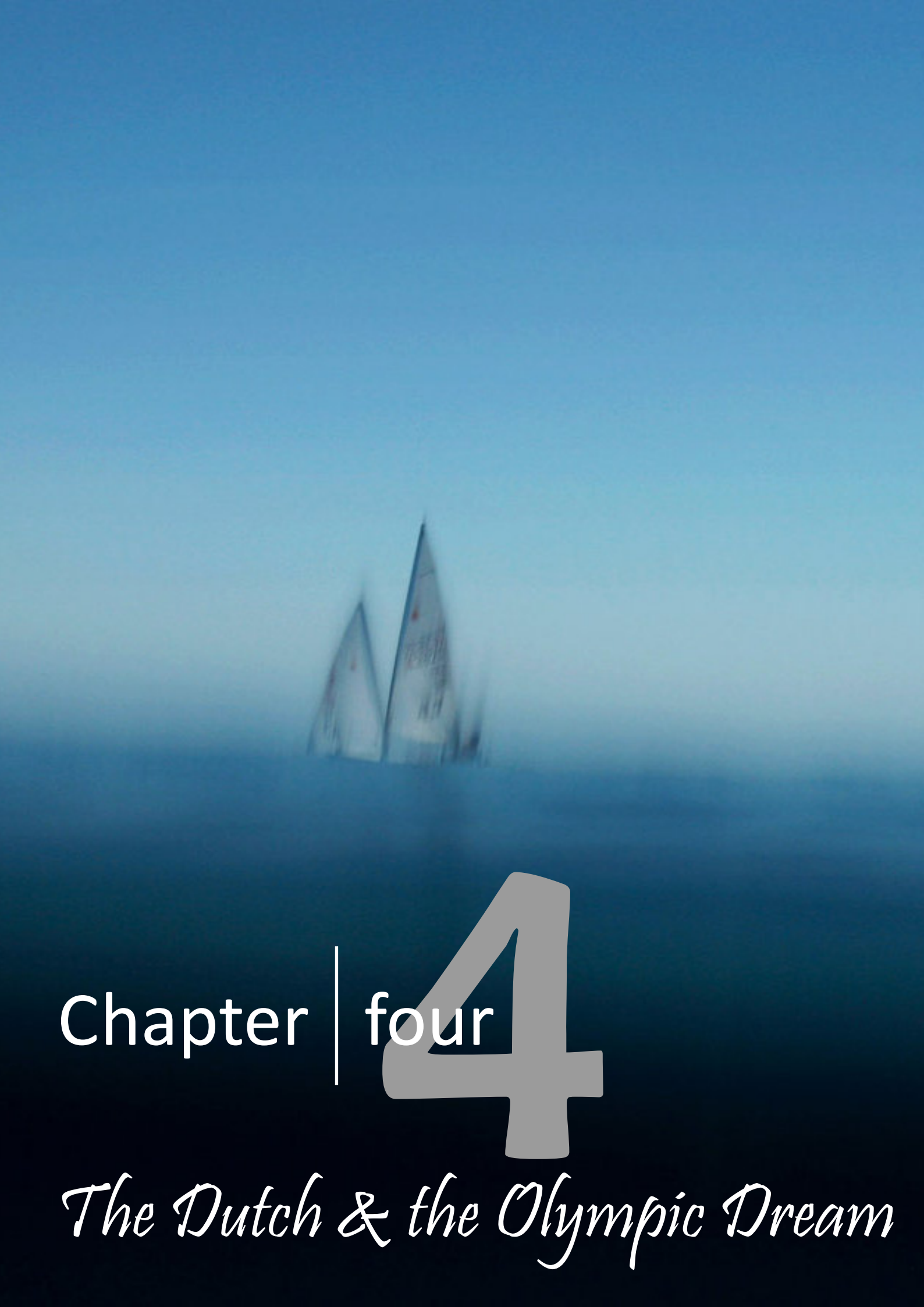
There are several lessons to be learned when considering the legacy that can and will be created after hosting an Olympiad. Firstly the traditional planning culture should only be changed when a new type of partnership is necessary. The traditional involved stakeholders should deem it necessary to include 'new' types of stakeholders for the sake of making the developments. Barcelona is an excellent example of this type of change.

Secondly, living and spatial quality is attained via Olympics developments which are integrated within the general urban masterplan and will thus benefit the urban structure. By improving the spatial quality with integrated developments the urban structure will support the city's growth and goals more. This will benefit the quality of the city and thus enhancing the quality of life. Again Barcelona is an example of excellent development integration.

In the comparison of the trends a very distinct lesson can be learned. The host city's which incorporated significant infrastructural developments, i.e. Barcelona and Beijing, the economic impact was relatively also very high. This led to the lesson that the degree of infrastructural developments has a large influence on the economical impact of the Olympiad on a host city. Furthermore, the cases show that it is difficult for a host city to also include the poorer social classes in the benefits of the Olympic developments. As prices increase and areas are gentrified, they are often considered too little. Therefore to include all social classes, especially the poorer, extra considerations must be made to make sure the impact of the Olympiad is beneficiary for every citizen.

An important aspect to not attain a massive debt after the Games have left the city, is to make sure that the post-Games use is secured. Atlanta built the Olympic stadium with the deal to hand it over to the local baseball team, Barcelona did almost the same but for the local football team. Beijing had a different approach, and built unique structures which would act as tourist attractions. They all acknowledged the stress on post-Games use. Establishing a legacy company which is involved from the planning phase is a strategy that can optimise the created legacy.

Finally, a long-term tourism plan, as in Barcelona and Sydney, supports the economical development. Tourism creates employment and also financially stimulates the economy. When this effect is long-term, the city will eventually profit more and more of the Olympic status.



Chapter | four

4

The Dutch & the Olympic Dream



Competitors in action during the Laser 4.7 class sailing on day four of the Asian Beach Games at Serangan Island in Bali, Indonesia

4.1 Introduction

This research contributes to the overall research studying whether the Olympic assignment is possible at all in the Netherlands, and how the assignment should be approached. The decision to place a bid for the Olympics of 2028 is to be made in 2016. Certain levels have to be achieved by this year so that the Olympic ambitions can be fulfilled.

How the Netherlands have coped with the Olympic movement in the past is an interesting approach to this assignment. The Netherlands have officially participated since the 1900 edition in Paris, have hosted the Games once before in 1928, and have placed a bid to host the event twice after; in 1952 and 1992. In chapter 2 the Dutch initiative has been briefly discussed. This chapter will continue that discussion on a more comprehensive level.

In the first chapter the research design, figure 1.3, showed that a research conducted by Deloitte is integrated with this research and together they will produce the final conclusion; an advice for the development structure which is to be implemented in the Netherlands for the potential 2028 Olympic Games. However, the Deloitte research is a small piece of a much larger whole. As explained in the previous chapter, the NOC*NSF have initiated the research on a potential Olympic Games in the Netherlands. Due to the complex task of this assignment, more parties were necessary to join the movement. In this web of stakeholders and participants, the NOC*NSF formed a partnership with other key stakeholders. This partnership, as elaborated in the former chapter, produced eight ambitions.

This chapter will enlighten the all-embracing research the NOC*NSF initiated, the 'Olympisch Plan 2028', which produced assumptions for future urban problems and situations, as well as an explanation of the Dutch Olympic ambitions and the stakeholders involved.

Within this encompassing research the role of Deloitte will be defined, and their process and methods will be discussed. The conclusions that Deloitte draws from their research are vital for the translation of the characteristics found in the third chapter to the Dutch context, for which a cross research analysis is made in the following chapter.

4.2 The Netherlands and the Olympics

Before any plans can be made definitive, an understanding of the Olympics in the Dutch context is vital, in the past as well as in the future. The following section will discuss these aspects.

4.2.1 Experiences from the past

It all started in 1900 when the Netherlands officially first contended in the Olympiad which was hosted in Paris. When the godfather of the Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, sent a letter to the IOC members in which he announced his resignation, he also expressed the desire that the Games may once again be held in his hometown, Paris. His wish was granted. However, Amsterdam also wanted to host the Olympics in that year. Thus de Coubertin proclaimed that Amsterdam should host the following edition as act of goodwill. A Dutch Olympiad was the result.

The ninth Olympiad in Amsterdam was a huge success. Germany once again joined the competition from a banishment, as well as the first Asian athletes, and the women were allowed to compete in athletics and gymnastics for the first time. Additionally the Olympic traditions of the Olympic fire and the leading of the athlete delegation by Greece were born. The sports performance was also a success; with six gold medals the Netherlands was placed 8th in the nation ranking (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

After 1928 the successes were long cherished, until Amsterdam wanted to host the Games again in 1952. This desire originates from the necessary developments after the second World War. With help of the Olympic developments, the city wanted to achieve enormous infrastructure upgrades. Also sports would play a large role in the bid as the government wanted to create sports as the number one leisure activity and sports would play a significant role in the post-war range of thought.

Due to the cancellation of the Helsinki Games in 1940 due to the war, and the political strength Finland needed to achieve via the Games, it was almost destined that Helsinki should organize the 1952 Olympiad, which eventually became a fact (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

In 1982, the IOC president at that time, Juan Antonio Samaranch, approached the NOC*NSF with the notion that he would appreciate a Dutch candidacy for the 1992 Olympics. Though some think he only approached the NOC*NSF because no other cities had presented interest until then, the Dutch interest became serious. They soon established an exploratory research commission to chart the possibilities and appointed Amsterdam as the bid city. After the parliament approved of the Olympic notion, a Dutch delegacy officially announced the candidacy at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympiad. Amsterdam had competition from Barcelona, Brisbane, Birmingham, Belgrade and Paris for the title of hosting the 1992 Games. Immediately back in the Netherlands an official body was installed which was to be responsible for the Olympic assignment, the 'Stichting Olympische Spelen Amsterdam' (STOSA). The STOSA included four members; the mayor of Amsterdam, the state secretary of Sports, the chairman of the NOC*NSF and an independent chairman.

The Games in Amsterdam were to cost a little under US\$₁₀ 1 billion, and would generate 31.600 new jobs and US\$₁₀ 2,4 billion new production (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Though 81% of the population was in favour of the Olympics, a strong anti-Olympic group, who called themselves N'Olympics, had formed and protested so severely that they had a strong effect on the outcome of the vote during the ballot for the right to host the 1992 Olympiad. Amsterdam was ingloriously eliminated in the first voting round. Though this was a shameful performance, Amsterdam profited of the Olympic movement after the candidacy. The development of the area which was intended for the Olympic Village was accelerated, the development of the ring road A10 was remarkably fast and the Amsterdam Arena area was realised in 1995.



Since the exhilarating performance of the Dutch Olympic team in Sydney in 2000, where they set a new record for the amount of won medals and belonged to the top ten competing nations, a new Olympic ambition bloomed up in the Netherlands. The NOC*NSF dreamed of how wonderful it would be to host such an event, thus the discussion if the Netherlands should place a bid in the future started again. After Athens in 2004 it was clear that this ambition could count on much support. The movement to acquire the 2028 Olympiad was born. In 2006 the NOC*NSF started a feasibility study and established the first organisation which included the central government and the municipal governments of the four largest cities; the 'Alliantie Olympisch Vuur' (Olympic Flame Alliance) (NOC*NSF, 2009b). Though 2028 is still a long time to go, ambitions have been set for the Olympic developments. These ambitions are elaborated further on in this chapter.

Figure 4.1: Logo 'Alliantie Olympisch Vuur'

4.2.2 Challenges for the future

In order to make it possible to implement Olympic developments to their full potential, an analysis must be made on the situation in the future. For the Netherlands to be able to tackle the Olympic assignment, they must therefore comprehend and anticipate the general developments of the nation leading up to 2028.

These topics have been studied in the 'Olympisch Plan 2028'. The aspects defined for this comprehension are the demography, spatial pressure, economy, health, life patterns and the unexpected developments. These aspects will briefly be discussed in the following paragraphs. Additionally the Olympic assignment challenges are also discussed within the Dutch context.

Demography

It is important to understand the composition of the population in 2028 and the developments leading to that year, in order to achieve success in solving potential problems with the Olympic developments and movement.

In 2035 the population will count a total of 17,5 million, after which it will slowly decrease. Of this total, 24% will be senior citizens. This will increase the pressure on pension funds and the labour market and increase the health care costs. Precautions for these developments are essential for a healthy population and future. Sports may play a vital role in this plan (CBS, 2009).

Additionally the number of households will increase, especially the proportion of single households will grow. This has effect on the social support of the population that lives alone, as they have less direct social contact. Sports may provide an answer for this particular problem, as sports unites people (CBS, 2009). The same problem occurs for the ethnical diversity. For a better integration into the society, non-western immigrants can participate in sports and thus make social contacts (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Sports also has an indirect link to the educational level of a nation's population. Sports introduce discipline and regulation into the lives of the population which helps them achieve better results. This will contribute to a better education participation and thus lead to a smarter population (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Spatial pressure

Due to the increasing population, the increase in number of single households and the changing desires in living quality, an increasing demand for space will occur. These trends lead to the fact that the current housing supply does not meet the requirements for the future (NOC*NSF, 2009c). The demand of space will particularly take place in the Randstad. It will be continuously more difficult to develop in urban locations, which will affect the location of sporting facilities. These will be driven to the suburbs which will lead to a decrease in sporting possibilities in densely populated urban areas (NOC*NSF, 2009c). Alongside the increasing pressure in the urban areas, the rural areas will encounter depopulation. This might lead to a loss of spatial quality in those areas, but also provides new opportunities (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Environmental problems also occur with the preceding developments. The rise of the sea level is the main problem for the Netherlands, as the densest populated area is situated beneath sea level. Protection against these threats must also be solved (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

In addition to the increase of the demand of space for living, the accessibility of the Randstad is its second largest problem. This problem is the result of an increased welfare and the increase of labour participation. The number of cars has grown rapidly and the use of public transport has also increased. To keep the Randstad accessible, faster and better infrastructural networks have to be developed (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

The Olympic plan can counteract, or anticipate to these developments and integrate sports more into the urban context and work as a catalyst to accomplish certain necessary developments sooner.

Economic

The Dutch economy has experienced a steady growth the past decennia. This has had effect on the number of people which have lived under the poverty line which has been halved, and the income inequality is also low when comparing to other nations (CBS, 2009). However, in comparison to foreign nations, the entrepreneurship is low in the Netherlands. This has effect on the research and development intensity and has led to a considerable arrear on other European nations (CBS, 2009).

Positive aspects of the Dutch economy is that the income is higher per worked hour in comparison to the United States or the rest of Europe. However, the Dutch are not willing to work more hours, even though the average worked hours is less compared to the rest of Europe. The Dutch have a lot to learn when finding the drive to excel (CBS, 2009; NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Health

The majority of the Dutch feel healthy, which is also expressed in an increasing life expectancy. This however, is going to lead to an ageing population, and will in turn lead to an increase in healthcare costs. The elderly illnesses are even expected to increase with 40% till 2025. Stimulating the elderly to exercise will therefore not only be an instrument on keeping them healthy, but also beneficial on economical point of view (CBS, 2009; NOC*NSF, 2009c).

According to various researches, sports also has a positive effect on the mental condition of psychological patients. Fewer patients will need and demand care when they exercise more. Additionally life styles can be influenced by sports and exercise. More conscious considerations concerning smoking, obesity, pleasure in exercise, healthy diet and changes in behaviour can be achieved via sports (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Modes of living

The expert rapport that the NOC*NSF (2009c) made, states a few prediction for future modes of living. First of all the mode of living will intensify. This is caused by the ageing population, due to the fact that the labour population will decrease and the amount of work needed to be executed will stay the same. Also due to the modernizing of our society, i.e. ICT and changing organisations, labour will infiltrate the private domain and people will feel rushed as a result. This will lead to burnouts. Sports has been a proven cure for this phenomenon by numerous researches (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

Secondly the society will individualize. This means that the social classes will become more and more interwoven with each other, as improvement in societal positioning has become easier. Also emancipation causes informalisation of interaction. This all leads to a society which will individualize and thus find a way to create their own lifestyle and identity in their free time; the so called 'Erlebniskultur'. This individualized society demands a strong social infrastructure, in which individuals can experience equality (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

The leisure industry will also experience a boost. Due to an increase in income, people will spend more money on free time activities. This will boost the leisure industry and significantly contribute to the national economy (NOC*NSF, 2009c).

The modern developments of the last decades have blurred borders. The trade of goods, services, labour and information has rapidly become very international. As counter act to these developments, renewed interest in nationalism has occurred. This can for example be achieved via sports (NOC*NSF, 2009c). Additionally the internet has made the information network easier accessible and has become the place for social interaction.

Due to the time pressure of the modern mode of life people select their activities more carefully. They only join activities that they will benefit from. This does not mean that the core values of the society will change.

Olympic assignment challenges

In paragraph 2.1.2, the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands has already been discussed. At hand of Chen et al (2009) several factors which have to be taken into account when considering the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands have been discussed. A brief recapitulation is made and appropriate additions are made.

First the international profile was discussed. The main question which the host city or nation needs to ask itself is 'in which way should the city be portrayed and exposed to create the desired exposure and perceived profile?'. This is one of the first and foremost considerations made when tackling the Olympic assignment.

Secondly the challenge of the spatial impact is very important to consider. On the one hand there is the space needed for the organisation of the Olympic events. For example, and as mentioned before, the sports require approximately 500 hectares, 140.000 hotel beds are needed and the peak traffic in the public transport must deal with 60.000 extra passengers per hour (VROM, 2008). On the other hand there is the space which is created and left behind after the Olympic circus has left town. These two spatial dimensions must be attuned to one another as situations in former Olympic host cities have proven that when this is not the case, considerable extra costs and improper additions to the urban structure are made. A decent Olympic legacy plan is a necessity. When considering the spatial legacy of the Olympic Games within this legacy plan, it is vital to understand the possible and capable absorption of the Olympic venues and facilities in the urban structure. Naturally a poor integration might lead to the formerly discussed 'white elephants' and additional undesired extra costs, while good, or at least sufficient, integration might lead to an extra economic boost and new opportunities within the city.

The Olympics offer new opportunities for economic sectors in the host city and nation. The host city must therefore carefully consider which economic sectors it would desire to focus on. This will evidently influence the strategies employed and the possibility exists that the general focus within the economy after the Games is able to shift.

Finally the governance and planning is a challenge within the Olympic assignment, as it forms the basis for the overall plan of approach. As the Olympic assignment is a very complex and comprehensive task, it is accompanied with the necessary risks. These risks can be decreased by adopting intelligent strategies for Olympic and post-Olympic use, which originate within the planning and governance (Chen et al, 2009).

The Netherlands is well-known for its extensive planning culture and the planning of large-scale urban developments is known to take 10-15 years due to various political and managerial mindsets. In that case the Olympic movement has started in time, as the targeted year for the Olympics is a mere 18 years ahead. This leaves the organising and coordinating of the Dutch society and participating stakeholders as the greatest challenge. It is up to the Dutch Olympic planners to convince these stakeholders that the Olympic developments will benefit the greater good as well as the individual (Chen et al, 2009). In addition, the scale of the Olympic assignment might lead to organisational and logistic challenges in a small nation such as the Netherlands.

4.3 ‘Olympisch Plan 2028’

The NOC*NSF initiated the Dutch Olympic movement. The complexity of the Olympic assignment has led the NOC*NSF to join forces with the Dutch central government, the provincial assembly and the municipal governments of the largest cities in order to achieve these ambitions. The Ministries of Housing, Regional Development and the Environment (VROM) and Health, Welfare and Sports (VWS) have joined in the quest to research the Olympic possibilities in the Netherlands.

They have comprised the ‘Olympisch Plan 2028’ in which they have formulated their main ambitions. These ambitions are divided into eight categories, namely ambitions related to; professional sports, recreational sports, social welfare, health, media, organisation of events, economical and spatial aspects. The ambitions are visualized in figure 4.2.

Every single one of these ambitions needs to be unravelled to uncover the possibilities and opportunities of the Olympic assignment. This translates to an enormous amount of research. One of the most important ambitions which is to be explored is the spatial and environmental ambition; this is also the category to which Deloitte focuses its attention. All the ambitions are elaborated in the following paragraph.

4.3.1 Olympic ambitions

As stated before, the NOC*NSF had initiated the Olympic dream in the Netherlands. Their primary goal is to lift the whole nation to an Olympic level. This does not solely include sport ambitions; the infrastructure, international profile, economy and the population’s health are also some aspects which are included in this comprehensive ambition. The NOC*NSF has set a total of eight ambitions in their ‘Olympisch Plan 2028’, which have to be achieved in 2016, i.e. when the choice has to be made whether a bid is going to be placed for the candidacy of the 2028 Olympiad.



Professional sports ambitions

The first ambition is to excel in professional sports as a nation. The goal is to consistently belong to the top ten sporting nations in the world and the Netherlands has a productive professional sport culture in which sportsmen can excel.

The first strategy involved is to create an excelling and facilitative environment. The facilities are to be of an international allure where living, training and education are performed under one roof. The second is to create a culture fit for professional sportsmen, in which the guidance of their carriers during and especially after their sporting carrier is important. Finally the sport programmes are to be professionalised. This is done by appointing technical sport directors to the sports federations (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Recreational sports ambitions

Professional sporting culture cannot exist by itself. It must be supported by the society and interest must be gained and provoked via recreational sports. That is how professional sports can grow and continue to exist. Stimulating the recreational sports is therefore of great concern when creating a solid basis for professional sports. The ambition is that 75% of the population regularly play sports or exercise.

Figure 4.2: Dutch Olympic ambitions

The stimulus in recreational sports is created by a facilitative environment, i.e. creating more accommodations for exercising sports. Creating a recreational sports culture is also of importance. This can be done by promoting sports with your colleges, at school and including seniors in the sports movement (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Social welfare ambitions

The NOC*NSF (2009b) cite one of Pierre de Coubertin's most famous statements: "Participating is more important than winning". The aim is to let everyone win when aiming at the Olympic ambitions and create a social climate in which the population happily live together, are proud to be Dutch and gladly contribute to the society.

The social welfare ambitions are achieved via various strategies. First sports participation in the lower social class districts is promoted and less privileged people and children are included in sports. Sports societies are to become social and public organisations. Voluntary work is also to be used as social safety net and reintegration strategy for the underprivileged (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Health ambitions

There are many benefits to a healthy population, as a healthy population is happy and productive. Health, mental as well as physical, is achieved with a healthy lifestyle, which is foremost achieved with sports and exercise and a healthy diet. Promoting healthy working conditions and including famous sportsmen into promotions are strategies which are going to be executed (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Economical ambitions

The Dutch economy has always been a trade economy which is internationally focussed. The international image is therefore of great importance. This image can be strengthened via sporting achievements and the organisation of events with international allure. These events also provide employment and financial benefits. Additionally the productiveness of the workforce can also be raised with a healthier population. The final ambition is to create a strong and competitive economy by 2016 with the help of a larger labour participation and productivity and more attention to innovation and international image.

Strategies in achieving these objectives are to maximise the contribution from the sporting world in acquiring events. Being alert to the economical effects of these events is vital to an optimal implementation. In addition, providing appropriate education and stimulating innovative research and development will create a basis for the economical possibilities (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Spatial ambitions

The Olympic movement can function as a catalyst for developments, especially for spatial developments. As mentioned before, the Netherlands is a densely populated nation, especially in the Randstad. This stresses the mobility and the accessibility and these are not optimal in this particular area. When achieving an Olympic level on spatial ambitions, it is therefore necessary to increase the mobility and accessibility, and at the same time improve the spatial quality. The ultimate goal is to attain a nation with a pleasant living environment, sufficient sporting accommodations and great mobility and accessibility in 2028, so that the possibility of organising international events is not hindered by spatial problems.

This ambition is achieved by implementing and executing the 'Olympische Hoofdstructuur', in which the spatial requirements for such an event are translated into plans. This plan is to be integrated into the long-term development plans of the MIRT 2020, and extended to MIRT 2028. Additionally, the integration of the green and health visions for the future are also necessary (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Organising events

In 2016 the Netherlands must be world renowned for organising international sports and cultural events. This is a necessity if the Netherlands wants to organise the Olympic Games. Events also contribute to the quality of life. A good example is the 'Oranjevoel' that overcomes every Dutch person during large international sporting events, e.g. the football world championships of 2010. Additionally investing in events does not solely benefit accommodations, knowledge and experience; tourism and business also benefits from these types of events which enhances the nation's economy and thus quality of life.

To accomplish the before mentioned ambition, the creation of a pro-active event policy is a necessity. This will include the establishment of organisation which will solely focus on attracting events. Not only professional sporting events are a necessity to this policy, also recreational sporting events must be organised which will attract the majority of the population. These strategies must be supported by a large number of volunteers, as without them, it would be financially impossible to achieve or implement the strategies (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

Media exposure

To continue on the before mentioned 'Oranjevoel', the Dutch like to watch sports. The media fulfils an important role in this desire. They are the communication device which enables sports to be brought to the population. This has effect on sponsorships which have positive financial contributions to the sporting world. Additionally watching sports provokes people to participate more in sports themselves.

To create more possibilities for the media in sports broadcasting, it is necessary to realise a rich media supply which covers all types of media and integrates them. Additionally the implementation of the strategic marketing plan 'Sportfans' is a must (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

4.3.2 Spatial ambition

The complexity of the spatial assignment and the dimension of the spatial investments indicate the necessity of a partnership between public and private parties. In order to charter and explore all options and possibilities concerning this partnership, several studies are conducted which run parallel to one another and all need input from each other in order to reach conclusions, and all follow the first initial exploratory research 'Schetsboek: ruimte voor olympische plannen' (Sketchbook: space for Olympic plans). This research was the first exploration of the Olympic assignment in the Dutch context and has provided studies in later stadiums of vital information. The research was led by the Ministry of VROM and executed with the cooperation of the NOC*NSF, real estate advisory Twynstra Gudde and urban planning bureau Nieuwe Gracht.

The 'Schetsboek' has led to the initiation of several following studies. These include the 'Olympisch Hoofdstructuur' (OHS) by the Ministry of VROM, the 'Sportkaart' by NOC*NSF and of course the research Deloitte is conducting together with NIROV (van Hasselt et al, 2010) on the Olympic investment climate in the Netherlands.

In the near future two more studies will be conducted in order to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the spatial Olympic assignment in the Netherlands. The first is a social cost-benefit analysis. This analysis is not only restricted to the spatial ambition, but crosses over into the intangible ambitions as well. This complex study will finally provide a complete picture of the impact of a possible Olympic event and the developments leading toward the Olympiad in the Netherlands. The second future study is the choice for the host city. The conclusions and recommendations of the preceding studies and researches will support the choice made by the whole 'Alliantie'. Figure 4.3 visualises the studies for the spatial ambitions. The different studies will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

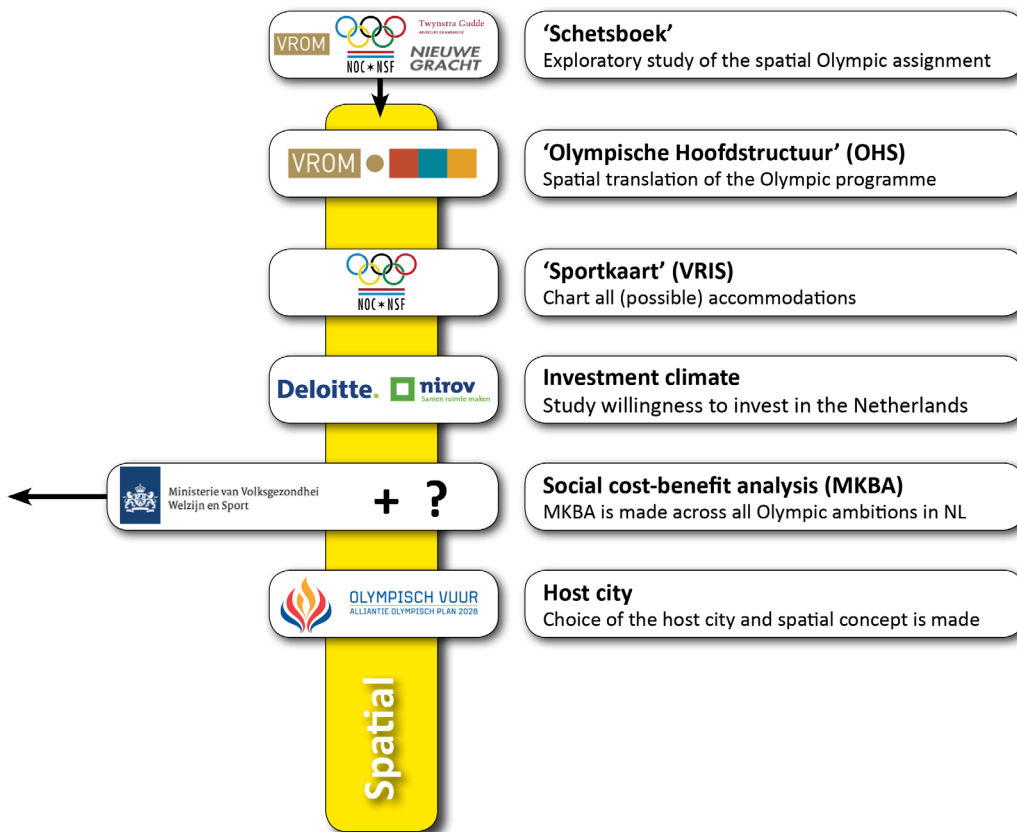


Figure 4.3: Spatial studies

‘Schetsboek’

The first exploratory research on the Olympic Games in the Netherlands was the ‘Schetsboek: ruimte voor Olympische plannen’. In this research led by the Ministry of VROM with support of the NOC*NSF, Twynstra Gudde and Nieuwe Gracht, numerous experts on all associated fields took part of a set of five workshops. The first three workshops superficially explored the spatial possibilities, accommodation investments and the possible legacies at hand of previous Olympic tournaments. The final two workshops translated the previously found results into more themes and design models.

The result was the birth of three spatial concepts; ‘cluster, spread and far horizon’. Within these concepts, ten design models were created in order to achieve some grasp on the concepts (VROM, 2008). A brief explanation of the spatial concepts is provided. Within the spatial concept ‘cluster’ the majority of the Olympic facilities will be concentrated in one city, with minimal support for accommodating events in nearby cities. This concept encompasses a complex inner city infrastructure which only the four major cities in the Netherlands are capable of providing. The ‘spread’ concept, emphasises the inclusion of multiple cities in the Olympic movement. The infrastructure will play a significant role in the location decisions for the facilities. This spatial concept almost automatically points towards the whole Randstad for accommodating the Olympiad. The final concept, ‘far horizons’, is the extreme infrastructural intervention concept. Extreme developments which would normally not make it past the planning phase, are executed due to the catalyst effect the Olympic movement has. A whole new development perspective is created as thinking out of the box becomes possible (VROM, 2008). The results of this study provided the following studies and researches with the necessary information.

'Olympisch Hoofdstructuur'

The OHS has the goal to translate the programme of the Olympic Games into spatial facts and to utilize the organisation of the Olympic Games to create a sustainable and attractive spatial development for the whole nation. The Ministry of VROM is responsible for this research (vrom.nl). Spatial improvement is one of the desired aims the OHS is to strive for. The goal is to integrate the Olympic developments as much as possible with the necessary developments in order to keep them profitable. This requires an insight in the contribution the investments might deliver to the realisation of the government's policy, i.e. the legacy of the Games. This will eventually provide the government with suffice information in order to decide whether or not to invest in tangible developments (vrom.nl).

The first phase of this research has already been conducted. The assignment has been explored by the key stakeholders (VROM, architecture agencies and other parties) during the five workshops of the 'Schetsboek' study, which resulted in what they call a 'mindset'. In this mindset the conclusion was drawn that the assignment was twofold; the aim for securing the Olympic bid and the aim for securing an as optimal as possible legacy. These two aims can conflict with one another when translated to a spatial programme. These two aims will be explored separately, after which the synergy will be studied. In this study answers will be acquired concerning the concentration versus the spread of the developments and the legacy (VROM, 2010). Figure 4.3 includes the position of the OHS in the spatial study.

'Sportkaart'

The 'Sportkaart', which is the nickname for the study to explore the spatial arrangement of the sports accommodations (VRIS), has been set in motion and is the responsibility of the NOC*NSF. Its goal is to chart all the existing and possible future large scale sporting accommodations in the Netherlands. In this study, experts on sports and spatial planning will discuss and explore the possible spatial principles for the distribution of large scale and regional sports venues and facilities. Recreational venues and facilities are not included in this research.

This study will result in a report which will produce several models on how the venues and facilities can be developed and spread throughout the Netherlands. Keeping the higher goal in mind, namely lifting the Netherlands to an Olympic level, the venues and facilities must not only benefit the potential Olympiad itself, but also contribute to the Netherlands as a whole (www.olympisch-vuur.nl).

This research is an important factor for the OHS as the information provided in this research is used as the cornerstone and eventually for the conclusions of the OHS (olympisch-vuur.nl). Figure 4.3 includes the position of the study within the spatial ambition.

Deloitte and NIROV

The study Deloitte is performing together with NIROV, in which the results are provided by van Hasselt et al (2010), runs parallel to these studies as they are investigating the willingness to invest in the spatial programme of multiple possible stakeholders. This is explained in paragraph 4.4.

Social cost-benefit analysis

A social cost-benefit analysis is the next step in the Dutch Olympic research. This research is led by the Ministry of VWS and it has not been decided yet by whom the research will be conducted.

In this research the costs and benefits of all the direct and indirect, tangible and intangible, effects the Olympic assignment will have in the Netherlands. This very complex task will eventually produce a figure in Euros which will represent the impact in the Netherlands. This will be done for different scenarios and different locations, as produced in the 'Schetsboek', and will eventually help the following study in formulating its choice.

Choice of the host city

The choice of the host city is supported by the compilation of all the results found in the preceding studies and researches. The 'Alliantie', which is comprised of all the important parties, will make the final decision for this result.

4.3.3 Stakeholders

When analysing the included stakeholders in the Olympic movement, a complex partnership is detected. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 in chapter 2 already presented that fact. For a clear composition of all the stakeholders and parties involved, one has to start at the beginning of the movement; the goals which are desired to be achieved.

As mentioned before, the primary concept of the Dutch Olympic ambitions are to lift the Netherlands to a higher level. The stakeholder which had the initiative to start the Olympic movement was the NOC*NSF. Their idea was to use sports as a catalyst to achieve higher goals in the society. However, they are not able to achieve this primary goal by themselves, as they are merely the national sports association with little executive power. Governmental support is needed.

This is when several governmental institutions were approached. In order to be able to accomplish the set goals, certain ministries were approached. These included the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports (VWS), the Ministry of Housing, Regional Development and the Environment (VROM), the Ministry of Economic Affairs and representatives of the four largest cities in the Netherlands (NOC*NSF, 2009b).

However, when bringing the Netherlands to an Olympic level, a comprehensive plan is needed. A comprehensive plan also means that there are a lot of aspects to include. Due to the fact that the involved lead parties are not able to execute all the initial tasks themselves, the alliance must be supported by various other parties. These parties can support the movement with their own specific expertise and have a valuable contribution to the whole alliance. This partially supports the main goal of the Dutch Olympic movement, as a very broad alliance, which includes parties from all sectors of the society, will work together to achieve the primary goal; lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level. All the parties included in the created initial alliance are shown in figure 4.4. This list will not comprise of the same parties as the list of the parties involved in the organisational phase. The parties in figure 4.4 are all approached for their expertise and contribution to the research needed in this particular phase.



Figure 4.4: Partners 'Alliantie'

4.4 Willingness to invest in Olympic developments

This paragraph will elaborate the research conducted by van Hasselt et al (2010), i.e. Deloitte and NIROV. Their process, methods, results and conclusions will be explained, validated and summarized. But first a small introduction is provided.

Deloitte and NIROV have initiated a study which will research the willingness to invest in spatial assignments which are in relation with the ambition to host and organise the Olympic Games in the Netherlands in 2028. The collaboration between these two parties is divided into several tasks; Deloitte and NIROV will both provide the report with their specific expertise, Deloitte is the project leader and NIROV is responsible for the communication and administration. The study, named 'Study on partnership opportunities for spatial development for OS2028' (Studie naar samenwerkingsmogelijkheden voor ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen OG2028), is conducted in collaboration with various public and private parties. This research should be seen in the broader context of the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' of the 'Alliantie', which has the aim to direct the Netherlands to an Olympic level. In addition it is the continuation of the spatial exploration commissioned by the Ministry of VROM to chart the possibilities of organising large-scale events in the Netherlands. These initial explorations have resulted in the previously discussed 'Schetsboek'.

The focus of the study is to examine how parties can and want to be involved in the realisation of the spatial assignments resulting from the eight Olympic ambitions, the options for spatial investments and the possible partnership models to be used.

The key principle is that the spatial investments deliver a positive contribution to the society after the Olympic Games have taken place. The possible organisation of the Olympic Games can act as a catalyst for the decision to accelerate the execution of projects which are necessary anyway. Even if the Netherlands does not receive the privilege to host the Olympics, the society will benefit from all the achieved spatial ambitions and plans.

The spatial development of the Olympic assignment cannot go unaccompanied with an optimal public-private partnership. This is a necessity. Therefore the opportunities and possibilities for partnership models, focussing on the legacy and stimulating innovation, occupy an important factor of this research.

In their research, they have tried to include all important potential stakeholders in the whole society, i.e. public, private and informal stakeholders. All the parties included were asked for their potential involvement in the Olympic movement, especially on aspects of the organisation models, the phases in which they were to contribute and the mode of involvement.

4.4.1 Process and methods

The study is executed in collaboration with the 'Alliantie', the Ministries of VROM, VWS and V&W, the 'Rijksontwikkelbedrijf' (National development company), Bouwend Nederland, and more. The majority of the study consists of fieldwork, in the form of interviews. This includes interviews with directors of 50 public, private and informal parties which could potentially play a role in the spatial assignment. Parties included in the interviews are developers, housing associations, municipalities, investors, (central) government, constructors, public transport companies, research and technology institutions, umbrella corporations and organised interest groups concerning sustainability, sports and the environment.

Additionally the study is divided into three phases. These phases are translated into the framework of the process, i.e. the execution of the interviews. The first phase consists of potential private and informal stakeholders, including non-governmental organisations. The second phase consists of interviews with the public and the majority of the informal stakeholders. The third and last phase included solely informal stakeholders. A list of the interviewed parties is found in figure 4.5.



Figure 4.5: Deloitte & NIROV interviewees (van Hasselt et al, 2010)

To create cohesion between the interviews and thus to reach comparable results, a set of three questions were set as guidelines for the interviews and general study. The three questions are;

1. How can and do the 'market' parties want to be involved with the realisation of the spatial assignment which will be derived from the Olympic ambitions?
2. How should the spatial investments be dealt with?
3. Which public-private partnerships are necessary to make the Olympic dream become a reality?

When processing the interviews, the three guideline questions were subjected to the following themes; general opinion concerning the Olympic ambitions and the process, the potential partnership models, the willingness to invest of all potential stakeholders and the possible development scenarios.

4.4.2 Results

The results are categorized in the previously mentioned order and per phase. The first two phases have been conducted and results have been produced. The third phase has not been executed yet, thus there are no results to be produced. This might not have a large effect on the conclusions, as the parties included in this phase are parties which do not have as much influence on the whole Olympic movement as do the parties in the preceding phases.

Private stakeholder opinion

As mentioned before, the first phase consisted of interviews with private and informal stakeholders, including non-governmental organisations.

The general opinion of the potential private stakeholders concerning the Olympic ambitions in the Netherlands, is that if the Netherlands wants to earn the right to host the Olympiad, they have to have a striking appeal. The impulse the Olympic Games can bring to the spatial development in the Netherlands might be the decisive argument for the IOC to appoint the Games to the Netherlands, i.e. win the bid.

Potential stakeholders see opportunities concerning sustainability, accessibility and innovation concerning the Olympic and future developments. In addition, the focus must be on the created legacy, which must be secured prior to the start of the developments for the Olympics. The general opinion is also that the choice for the host city has to be made as soon as possible. The Randstad is seen as the area with the greatest potential, spatially as well as financially. The preference for the host city of the majority of the interviewed parties is Amsterdam. The majority of the spatial developments must take place there. This preference is partially motivated by the city's reputation and the accompanying spatial opportunities in the city. In addition, the investors also see the best financial benefits in Amsterdam.

Concerning the partnership the potential private stakeholders demand a clear division between partnerships without financial commitment and partnerships with risk-bearing participation. All parties agree that the government has to take on a strong controlling organisational role and control the spatial assignment. Within this role they could use the expertise and knowledge of private parties. In addition the parties indicate that the integration of the Olympic assignment in the general urban masterplan must be optimal, so that the potential of the catalyst function can reach its optimum form.

Developers and housing associations are committed to an early involvement in the initiative and planning phase. The sharing of knowledge and involvement can already lead to added value in the planning phase. Also constructors are willing to contribute and provide input in this phase. Investors indicate that they will only definitely join the partnership in a later stadium when plans are more distinct. In general, private market parties with potential financial commitment are not involved in the initial planning phase.

The current development legislations and mandatory procedures are seen as a hindering bottleneck for the spatial development necessary for the Olympic Games. The government will have to relax particular legislations and procedures, possibly in the form of a special Olympic Law.

Most of the private parties are in favour of a 'super-public-private partnership' (S-PPP) in which there is no risk-bearing involvement. Within this S-PPP, not one of the private parties is willing to invest in all types of developments, e.g. infrastructure, stadiums, Olympic Village, as the burden is beyond their capabilities.

The opinion concerning the willingness to invest of the private stakeholders is that they are interested and willing to invest in spatial Olympic development. Logically the private market parties are willing to invest in the feasible part. The government must then take care of the unfeasible part. The potential private stakeholders are only willing to invest in Olympic developments if these particular developments are turned to the market after the event.

The private market players would prefer to invest in the developments in which the legacy concerns residential areas. Also functions such as social services and parking are interesting. The stadiums, offices and leisure facilities are considered to be unfeasible investments and therefore there is little interest in large-scale and large-risk investments in these functions. The reason for this is that they are considered to be difficult to transform to attractive and financially feasible projects after the Games. That is why the opinion is that the main focus of

the developments should be on existing, flexible and temporary projects.

In addition, hotels are also considered unfeasible, due to the insufficient demand after the Games. A possible solution is transforming the hotels into residential buildings, in which there is willingness to invest.

Concerning the infrastructure, the current situation must be the principle starting point, and the future developments and scenarios must be taken into serious consideration.

The Olympic Village, the Olympic Park and the most important stadiums must have a physical connection with the host city. This requirement is however, accompanied with infrastructural disadvantages. Developing inner city infrastructure is costly and more complex, although it is possible and the possible advantages for the city do make it attractive.

Public stakeholders opinion

The second phase consisted of interviews with the potential public stakeholders and informal parties in the form of large and influential NGO's.

Their opinion is that there is a broad growing enthusiasm for the Olympic Games in the Netherlands. The majority of the interviewed parties in this phase are willing to contribute through either sharing knowledge and expertise, or risk-bearing participation.

A great deal of potential public stakeholders is confused by the diverse number of initiated studies and projects throughout the Netherlands. Good structure and coordination of activities is necessary to keep focus and to continue to keep stakeholders interested and active.

In order to initiate this interest and attention of private market parties, a short term distinct plan of approach is necessary. Diverse parties are concerned of the danger in losing momentum in the Olympic movement in the Netherlands if decisions are not made quickly.

Also the public stakeholders desire a quick choice for a location. Concerning the accessibility demands of the Olympic developments, there are major objections against a strong distribution of the spatial developments. Accordingly, the parties strongly prefer that the host city should be Amsterdam. However, the opinion remains that a certain spatial distribution is appropriate, though only confined to the Randstad.

Concerning the opinion on the partnership, the parties indicate that an effective centrally organised organisation is necessary. The public-private partnership should be collaboration between entrepreneurs, the government and research and education institutions.

Within this partnership it is necessary for cooperation between market competitors due to the size of the Olympic assignment. The scale and synergy can only be dealt with via cooperation.

In the partnership, the private market parties, the public parties and the informal parties must collaborate in the initiative and planning phase. In the initial and planning phase, the parties call for a clear distinction between Olympic costs and costs that are evidently necessary for developments in the Netherlands. This will create harmony and a clear direction for all parties to follow concerning the developments.

A controversial difference with the private opinion, is that the private parties deem an Olympic Law necessary, whilst the majority of the public parties are of opinion that the current legislations and procedures are suffice for conducting Olympic developments.

The preference for a type of contribution to the movement obviously lies with the sharing of knowledge and expertise. The majority of the parties indicate that the contribution will be of a greater advantage if they are included in the movement in an early stage, though they admit that their contribution will have more effect when the plans are in a later, more finalized phase. Decisions such as the location choice, the plan of approach and the public commitment must be made on a short term basis and are broadly supported.

The early commitment of these parties will eventually also create a sound basis and larger

support for the Olympic movement. This will be beneficial for the whole movement. Constructors of flexible buildings indicate that semi-permanent buildings could create an interesting financial picture for potential investors.

Transportation organizations indicate that large inner city spatial developments can only occur in inner city locations with a good transportation network. They indicate that only Rotterdam and Amsterdam will be capable of providing the appropriate transport network in the future. The realization of large inner city spatial developments provides the greatest challenges for the accessibility and the infrastructure. At the same time, spatial development in the inner city will provide the greatest potential legacy and social urban benefit.

Location

Concerning the locations and host city, all parties interviewed deem short term decisions are necessary. Preferences on both sides go to Amsterdam, with limited spreading throughout the Randstad. The different parties do have different reasons for the preference in location. The public parties desire a small spread of the developments due to IOC demands and to limit development costs, and additionally the choice for the capitol as name bearing city is logical. Private parties see more financial opportunities in Amsterdam, which makes it more attractive to develop there. They both however desire structure and coordination as fast as possible for the studies and research, as studies and statements are made throughout the whole nation and this might seem as a deregulated bunch towards foreign nations.

Spatial concepts

The majority of the parties agree that different future scenarios must be kept in mind, so that the legacy has the most potential. The three spatial concepts which are elaborated earlier in this chapter are considered. When considering the opinions on the spatial concept, the public stakeholders have a distinct opinion. They are of opinion that the current urban and network structure should be used. New developments and plans with extreme interventions will thus not receive a large support. Additionally the economical situation is currently not favourable for these types of plans or developments. These facts, together with the opinion of the public parties, leads to the exclusion of the third scenario. Although this scenario includes the possibility of new development perspectives and the creation of new impulses, the stakeholders deem it an unlikely scenario.

The other two scenarios, 'cluster' and 'spread' are more likely to gain support. The chosen spatial concept is to be determined by the MKBA research, in which the total impact of different spatial assignment and locations is studied. Additionally, the two spatial concept which remain can be interpreted as similar; the first scenario include all developments in a closer vicinity which will lead to more inner city infrastructural developments; the second being spread throughout the Randstad which will lead to more inter-city infrastructural developments. Both have their advantages and disadvantages.

Development interest

The interest in investment is also distinguished for the private and public parties. The private parties are particularly interested in investing in developments which have a strong market potential after the Games. Public parties would like to develop in inner city areas, as this has the most potential for legacy and social benefit. They all have the opinion that the focus should be on the legacy, not solely on the developments directly related to the Olympic Games.

The division in interest for investing in particular developments sheds a new light on the categories in which the developments can be divided. First of all there are the infrastructural developments. These developments will benefit the large part of the society and are therefore interesting for the government to invest in. In general they are considered as unfeasible by the private parties as they will not make considerable revenues after they have been accomplished.

The second category are the remaining developments, i.e. sport venues, accommodations, media facilities, etc. These developments are interesting for private parties to invest in because they have the potential of producing significant revenues after the Olympiad.

Olympic Process

Van Hasselt et al (2010) have additionally provided conclusions concerning a process which they deem appropriate and found when 'reading between the lines'. The cross case analysis made in the third chapter, follows three phases which were distinguished in the theoretical framework; the initiative and planning phase, the organisation and realisation phase and the post-Olympic phase.

The situation in the Netherlands promises a different insight. Due to the extensive period until the desired Olympic year which started in 2006, i.e. 24 years, a very comprehensive and complex planning process can take place and additionally a longer realisation and organisation phase. This creates a phase which can roughly be described as a 'grey' area between the planning and realisation phase.

The former elaborated ambitions make clear that the Netherlands is not able to run on an Olympic level yet. There are certain necessary developments needed in order to accomplish the desired level. The 'grey' phase is the ideal time or period in which these developments can take place alongside the planning of the Olympic developments and preparation of the bid, i.e. prepare the final phases. It is thus named the preparation phase. Additionally, an extra phase can be added in the front which can solely be devoted to the initiative in which exploratory research was conducted.

Figure 4.6 visually summarizes the phases van Hasselt et al (2010) distinguish including the actions necessary. Figure 4.7 simplifies visualisation.

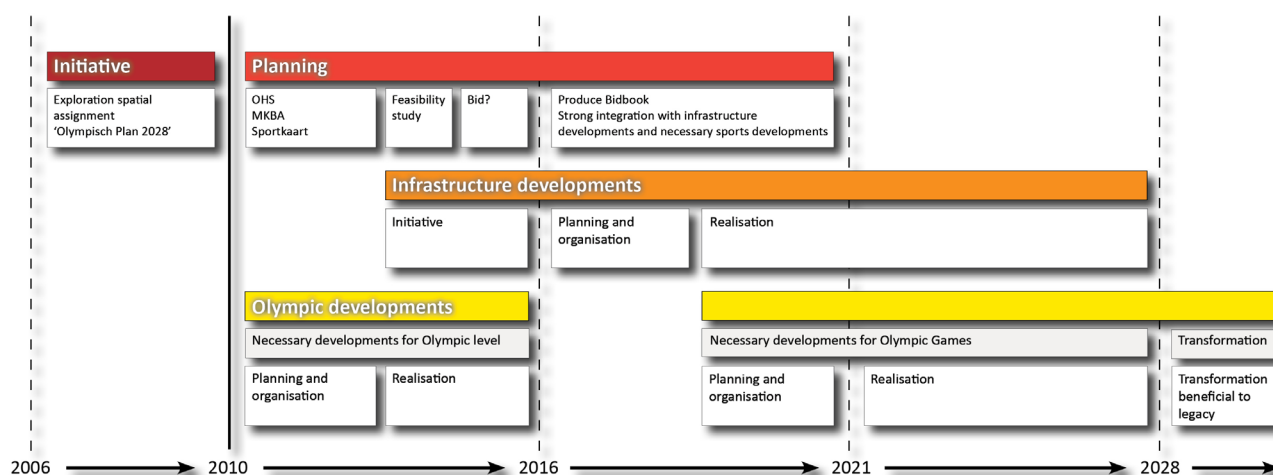


Figure 4.6: Dutch Olympic development process according to van Hasselt et al (2010)



Figure 4.7: Dutch Olympic development phases according to van Hasselt et al (2010)

4.5 Conclusions

The NOC*NSF initiated the Dutch Olympic movement to achieve goals. Goals which can be achieved via an instrument in which everyone can identify him or herself in and has multiple sorts and multiple levels; sports. Sports can deliver a positive contribution to the society. The aspects to which it can deliver a contribution are to the health, to the economy, to the teaching of important values, to the prevention of school drop-outs, to social cohesion, to innovative power and to sustainability. These effects can be stimulated by increasing the numbers of people who play sports or exercise, which will increase the societal meaning of sports; a vicious circle. This vicious circle will have social effects, which can be plainly divided into costs and revenues. Costs will always include financial investments, healthcare costs, time and effort.

The changes sports can bring into the society have a direct relation with the future challenges the Netherlands face, if not indirect. This offers possibilities and opportunities for the Netherlands to acquire a higher level with the set ambitions. However, these ambitions have a very broad nature and therefore a significant number of stakeholders and different parties are involved in their own specific way.

In order for the information found in the van Hasselt et al (2010) research, along with the information concerning the Dutch context, to be comparable with the findings of the cross case analysis, it has to be categorized accordingly. Again the initiative and objectives, the stakeholders and the organisational structure, the urban development strategies, the budget and financial structure, the interferences and finally the legacy of the Dutch context will be discussed. Table 4.1 summarizes the findings.

4.5.1 Initiative and objectives

The initiative to host the Olympic Games was initiated by the Dutch Olympic Committee, the NOC*NSF. After the record breaking performance at the Sydney Games in 2000, some influential people within the NOC*NSF started to express the idea of once again bidding for the Olympic Games. A century after the former Dutch Games was to be the year in which the largest sports event in the world was to be held once more on Dutch ground. After the 2004 Games in Athens, the Dutch Olympic movement had gathered enough support and momentum, and officially stated that it would start to explore the Olympic ambitions. In 2006 the NOC*NSF started the feasibility study for exploring the Olympics in the Dutch context.

Starting an Olympic movement is a very comprehensive and complex task which the NOC*NSF was not capable of running itself. Therefore they sought support from the central government. Representatives from the responsible ministries (VWS, VROM and Economic Affairs), the NOC*NSF and the municipal government of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, then formed the 'Alliantie Olympisch Vuur'.

The NOC*NSF started the Dutch Olympic movement with a single main concept; lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level. This concept not only concerns ambitions which are to be achieved concerning sports, i.e. social ambitions, but can also be achieved on all four distinguished ambition levels, i.e. governance, spatial and economical. Within the governance level the international profile of the Netherlands is to be strengthened and the Olympic developments must be integrated within the general urban masterplan. The main focus of the objectives lies in the social ambitions. The concept of integrating sports into the society is one of the focal points the 'Alliantie' strives for. The spatial pressure the Netherlands has to deal with is another ambition the 'Alliantie' focuses its attention. Innovation is the key in solving or lifting the pressure off the existing urban problems in the Netherlands. Additionally sports is to

Table 4.1: Olympic legacies factor consequences

Development structure aspects	Olympic context and public-private opinion in the Netherlands
Initiative & objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NOC*NSF is initiator • Central government supports ambitions • Lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level on all defined ambition levels • Strengthen international image • Integrate sports into the society • Innovate in spatial pressure • Sport important economical sector • Strong competitive international economy • No regret policy
Stakeholders & organisational structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government; central control, responsible for the infrastructure developments and supports other constructions • Private; must initiate the development of sport venues and facilities, which will be able to be market bound in the post-Games phase • Characteristics organisational structure; extensive, clear, governmental control and private and societal involvement and contribution
Urban development strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration in general masterplan in the Netherlands • Upgrade sports organisation and facilities • Multifunctional developments • Stimulate science, knowledge and innovation • Focus on social ambitions
Budget & financial structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs for sports structures depends on strategy and is private stakeholder responsibility • Infrastructural costs differ per scenario and are the responsibility of the government
Interference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private stakeholders want new legislations • For now, public stakeholders deem no new legislations are necessary • Social protest can always emerge
Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public and private stakeholders wish to include the legacy objectives in the planning phase and already secure legacy to a certain extent • Include private and social stakeholders to influence the developments in their own way

source : compiled by author

play a more important role in the Dutch economy. These objectives should also finally lead to a nation which has a strong and competitive international economy.

4.5.2 Stakeholders and the organisational structure

Almost all parties interviewed are enthusiastic and interested in joining in on the developments. However, their desired participation does differ significantly. Private parties are initially only interested in financially feasible projects, such as residential areas, social service and parking functions. Stadiums, leisure facilities, hotels and offices are deemed unfeasible, unless attractive and flexible accommodations are built with market potential. They also have the opinion that the government must take care of the unfeasible developments, i.e. the infrastructure.

Public parties are willing to invest in the infrastructure on the three different governmental levels; central, provincial and municipal. However, these investments must have positive contributions to the legacy. On the contrary they have absolutely no (initial) interest in the commercial developments such as stadia and sports facilities. This will only cost them money in their opinion.

The interviewed parties desire a clear division in type of partnerships and roles; non-financial and risk-bearing partnerships must be separated. The call for a strong central coordinated organisation is supported by everyone. This is because of the size and complexity of the assignment and in order to keep a clear and straight focus. An early involvement of all potential stakeholders is also an added value for the movement and might result in better developments and thus social and economical impacts. The organisational structure should have the following characteristics; extensive, clear, governmental control, private and societal inclusion and contribution.

Private parties have the tendency to only join the partnerships in later stadiums when plans are finalized, especially the private investors. They also favour SPPP's as risks are spread and they are thus not as liable for the developments as in usual situations. Public parties see private competitor cooperation as the only way that certain private tasks can be completed, seeing the size of the assignment.

4.5.3 Urban development strategies

The Dutch Olympic movement has set eight ambitions in the 'Olympisch Plan 2028'. For these eight ambitions, superficial strategies have been devised in order to accomplish the ambitions. Though the Dutch Olympic movement is still in its infancy and devising strategies seems premature, considering strategies is a pro as this will provide better insight in the possibilities for executing the plans. Like the before mentioned ambitions, the strategies can be spread over the four sustainable development ambition levels which have been distinguished in the second chapter. These strategies form the basis of the Olympic movement, i.e. the developments which are deemed absolutely necessary. The before mentioned two scenarios to which the eventual spatial concept of the Olympic developments might belong, will provide additional strategies.

The strategy to be executed on the governance ambition level is the integration of the Olympic developments in the general urban masterplan of the Netherlands and the chosen host city. On the social level, there are numerous ambitions and therefore numerous strategies. These can be summarized into one main strategy, namely to upgrade the sports organisation and the sports facilities. This will benefit the whole greater concept of sports being integrated into the society more. Multifunctional developments is the main strategy for the basic spatial concept. When one of the three spatial concepts is chosen for the outline of the Olympic developments, a great number of strategies will be added as the focus of the spatial concept is determined.

Finally the economical strategies are to stimulate science, knowledge and innovation, which will lead to economical benefits on the long-term.

The focus of the strategies is mainly on the social ambitions. This can be assigned to the initiator of the Dutch Olympic movement, the Dutch Olympic committee, the NOC*NSF. Obviously, when a spatial concept is finally chosen and the definitive spatial plans are set out, the balance may then shift more towards the spatial ambitions, but still be in favour of the social ambitions. The spatial strategies will then play a supportive role towards the ambition to integrate sports more into the society.

4.5.4 Budget and financial structure

As mentioned before in the third chapter, the budget can be divided in the costs for the operation of the event itself, the costs for the construction of the necessary sports venues and facilities and the costs for the infrastructure developments. No detailed budgets have been made yet, as there is no need for such information this early in the Olympic movement. However, assumptions can be made when considering the strategies and concepts possible.

The costs for the operation of the event itself have not been calculated. However, conclusions can be drawn when looking at former host cities. These conclusions are made in the next chapter.

The costs for the construction of the necessary sports venues and facilities is subject to the chosen real estate strategy in relation to these developments. The possibilities are to construct new venues and facilities, to renovate existing structures, or to build temporary structures. Spatial exploratory studies which have already taken place to chart the possible accommodations in the Netherlands, have reached the conclusion that not one existing venue is suitable to host an Olympic event (VROM, 2008). One of the main goals of the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' is to change this situation by hosting numerous international sporting events so that the venues and facilities in the Netherlands will satisfy the Olympic necessities. Therefore the choice for renovation of old facilities is out of order. The small possibility exists that the old Olympic stadium used for the 1928 Olympiad will be renovated and temporarily enlarged to host events. Thus new venues or temporary venues are to be built for the potential Olympiad in 2028. This has a negative side, as these investments will be very costly. The overall opinion is that these developments are the responsibility of the private stakeholders. They are to make the initiatives and should be responsible in the post-Games phase. The government will play a supportive role for these developments.

The total budget and financial structure depends the most on the spatial concept of the infrastructure. Due to the elimination of the extreme 'far horizon' scenario, only two scenarios have to be taken into account; 'cluster' and 'spread'. Both have different infrastructural developments. The former has more inner city developments and the latter more inter city developments. The latter will need a higher budget as these developments are more expensive in general. The van Hasselt et al (2010) research points out that the government is entirely responsible for these developments, as the private stakeholders do not wish to invest in these developments, but are willing to help in the realisation.

4.5.5 Interference

Interference may occur on two levels; social resistance and legislation interference. Social resistance related to the Olympics has a negative reputation in the Netherlands. During the Olympic campaign to host the 1992 Olympiad, the anti-Olympic group called N'Olympics, protested so severely that the Dutch bid received negative attention and it is said that this severely influenced the outcome of the vote. This needs to be avoided in the future, as social protest can always occur within the Dutch society.

Legislation interference can have two sides; a positive one and on the other hand a negative one. The positive side includes new Olympic laws and legislations in the Netherlands which could relax and speed up the planning process in such a way that the developments will be completed on time and to everyone's benefit. The negative side could be that the legislations allow the executing organisations of the planning and organisation to sideline and ignore the protests and opposition which will lead to a poor social exception of the developments. Therefore new legislations must be considered carefully.

The opinion between private and public stakeholders in the Netherlands differs concerning this subject and this might lead to tensions and frictions in the future. The private stakeholders have the opinion that the current legislations are not sufficient enough for a successful total Olympic development. The public parties on the other hand believe, for now, that no new legislations are necessary. This difference in opinion must be solved in the near future if developments are not to be disrupted.

4.5.6 Legacy

Obviously legacy creation is still far away in the Dutch Olympic movement. However, stakeholders interviewed for the van Hasselt et al (2010) research make apparent that that it is of crucial important to think about the created legacy from the start. Public and private stakeholders have the opinion to integrate and secure legacy as soon as possible. This will benefit all the parties involved as the developments will have a mutual goal and central focus. Within this legacy consideration the stakeholders want to include the private and social stakeholders. The legacy preparation will then receive an added value which will lift the quality and the legacy will benefit a broader group.

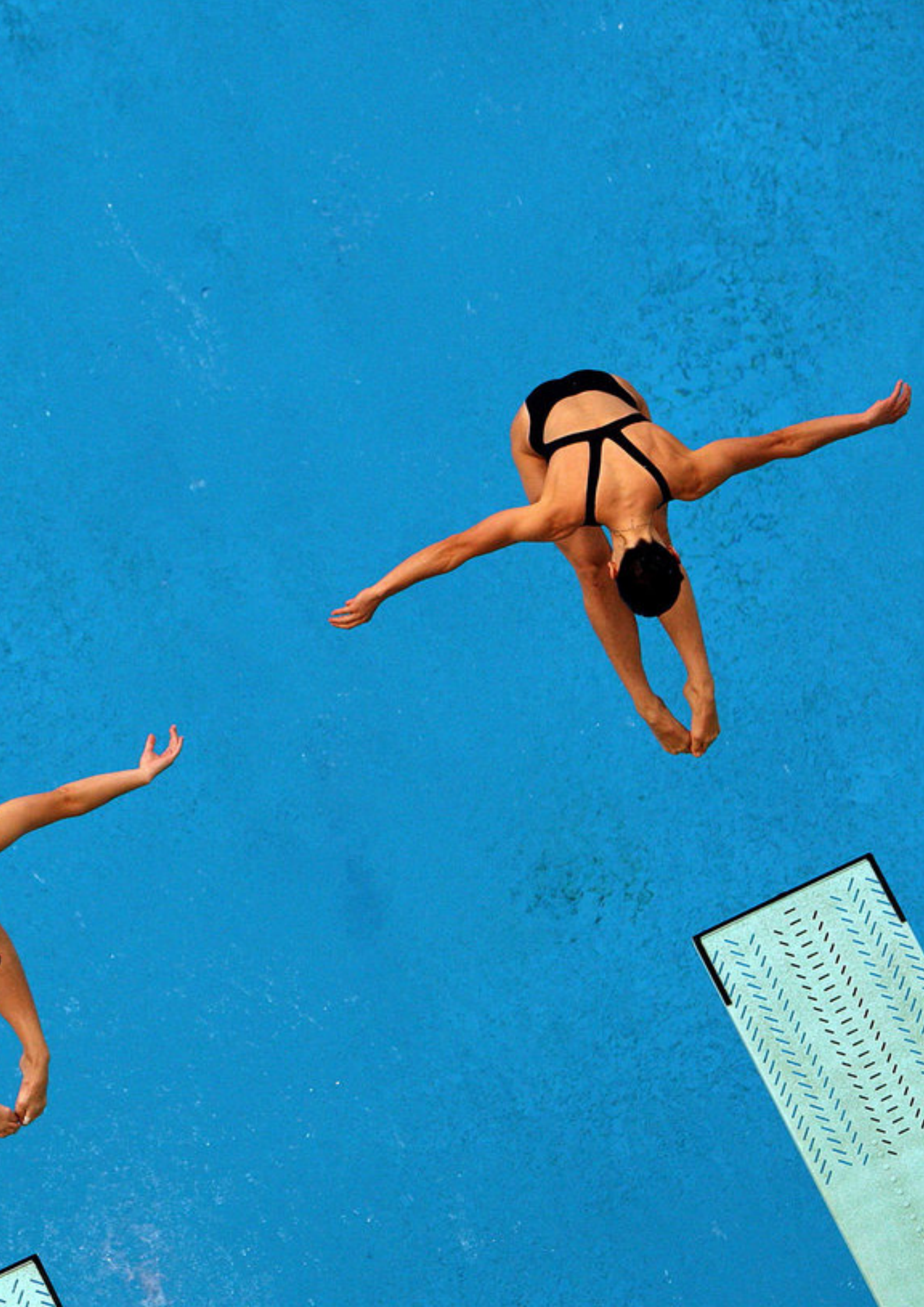
*Julia Pakhalina and Anastasia Pozdnyakova of Russia compete in the Women's Synchronized
3m Springboard Final event held at the National Aquatics Center of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games*

Chapter | five

5

Cross Research Analysis

A diver in a black swimsuit is captured in mid-air, performing a dive into a pool of blue water. The diver's body is arched, with arms extended forward and legs trailing behind. The water surface is visible at the bottom of the frame, with some ripples and bubbles.



5.1 Introduction

Chapter three included a cross case analysis of the five former Olympic cities of Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing. The main topic discussed was what their whole point of view and plan of approach was towards the Olympic movement which took place in their city. These five different cases were then compared with one another and lessons were learned concerning the legacy and development structure aspects. These lessons are divided over the development structure aspects which were distinguished in the second chapter.

The preceding chapter provided this research with an extra dimension. The Dutch context and the public and private opinion of Olympic developments and the Olympic movement were explored and elaborated. The conclusions of this chapter were also formulated in the same fashion as the conclusions of the cross case analysis. This provides clear information which can easily be compared with one another. The basis for the final result, 'an advice for the development structure in the Netherlands for the potential 2028 Olympics.'

However, before this final conclusion is possible, a small obstacle has to be taken. The conclusions from the cross case analysis, and the conclusions of the Dutch context, must be put together in order for this research to make a well contemplated final conclusion. This will create a so called cross research analysis. The cross research analysis will provide certain observations which will be used, together with the conclusions from the third and fourth chapter, to make the final conclusions in the following chapter.

5.2 Cross research analysis

The goal of the cross research analysis is to compare the found characteristics and conclusions in the cross case analysis with the conclusions of the Dutch context and find the similarities or dissimilarities between the two sections. These findings will then provide the basis for the final conclusions and thus the final translation towards the final result.

In the third chapter, the cases that have been discussed comprehensively, as well as which conclusions have been derived. The following chapter discussed the situation in the Netherlands, including the ambitions and the initial stakeholders. The second part of the fourth chapter has discussed the van Hasselt et al (2010) research and the conclusions which can be drawn from that particular study. The following paragraphs will bring all the previously mentioned facts, characteristics and conclusions together and discuss the (dis)similarities.

The tables shown in the third chapter, which provided a clear overview of the three Olympic development phases in the five cases, will form the guideline of the cross research analysis. This will create a clear picture and clear process of the found similarities and following conclusions. As the Dutch Olympic movement is still in its infancy, a large part of the organizational phase and the entire realization phase has not taken place yet. The aim of this research fits the general missing area in which choices have not been met yet for the Dutch Olympic organisation context. That is where this chapter, and especially the next, will come into play and produce an advice. The characteristics and conclusions found will be mainly derived from characteristics found in the previous chapters and on additional references which are related to the Dutch context.

What might have been noticed when reading the preceding chapters, is that the Dutch Olympic movement has more phases than the three phases discussed and used for the cross

case analysis in the third chapter. The phases however, are comparable; they all share the same characteristics, i.e. initiatives, goals, strategies, stakeholders, budget, financial structures, interferences and of course legacies. The only difference is the exceeding time frame the Dutch Olympic movement has at hand.

5.2.1 Initiating and planning phase for the Olympics in the Netherlands

The situation in the Netherlands for this phase is compared to the characteristics and conclusions found in the case cities, which are summarized in table 3.1. The found characteristics of the Dutch context are immediately compared to the characteristics found of the case cities and conclusions and assumptions are made. The Dutch characteristics are shown in table 5.1, together with the found case characteristics.

City and timeframe

Chapter four explained the initiation of the Dutch Olympic movement. The Olympic dream was born after the spectacular achievements of the Dutch athletes in Sydney, and the idea was turned into a movement after the gained support during the 2004 Games in Athens. Officially the movement started in 2006 with the first exploratory studies. This creates a very long period, i.e. approximately 15 years, for initiatory studies and planning. This is a significantly longer period than the other former host cities have had for planning the Olympiad and the related developments. Barcelona, Athens and Beijing are the cases which have the most similar length of the planning period, respectively 10 or 11 years. This coincides with the complex ambitions the host cities had set for themselves. This will be discussed later on.

What can be concluded from the interviews Deloitte & NIROV conducted with the potential stakeholders, is that the preference of the host city clearly is Amsterdam. The Games are then not confined just to Amsterdam, but the majority of the parties agree that a certain limited spread is necessary, though confined to the Randstad.

The Randstad is a city agglomeration in the west of the Netherlands. It consists of the four largest cities in the Netherlands and is the largest urban area in the Netherlands. The total number of residents was 6,6 million in 2006, and the number has likely grown to 7 million in 2010 (VROM, 2007b). Although Amsterdam is significantly smaller, approximately 1 million inhabitants, the Randstad can be compared to the other case cities. In fact, it is significantly larger than most of the case cities, as only the metropolitan area of Beijing has a population of twice the size. The other case city populations scale from 3 to 4,5 million. This might have a positive influence on the legacy opportunities in the Netherlands. These will be discussed later on.

State of the city/nation

As mentioned before, the preference for the host city in the Netherlands is Amsterdam, with a certain limited spread through the Randstad. When looking at the legacy, the Randstad will have the most benefit and influence on and from the Olympic developments. Also the Netherlands is a small nation and large developments in the Randstad or Amsterdam, can be felt in the outer areas of the nation. Therefore the whole nation, or at least the Randstad is used to compare the 'state' of the case cities with the situation in the Netherlands.

The NAI et al (2008) have explored and gathered information on this subject on a national level. They have found that the Netherlands scores 10th place for the life quality compared to 150 other nations. The score is calculated with the factors of education, life expectancy, life standard and income. The democratic development scores 7th place which represents a highly developed nation concerning the political institutions, political freedom, the electoral system, civil rights and the freedom of press. The Netherlands takes in 8th place in the score for transparency towards corruption and a 7th place for immigration. These facts prove that the

Table 5.1: Initiating and planning for the Olympics in the Netherlands

City	State of the City		Initiative Stakeholders	Goals and objectives		Integration
	"Colour"	GDP/cap		Concept	Primary	
Timeframe The Netherlands (Randstad) 2006-2021 (15yr)	"Healthy" Modern International	US\$ ₋₁₀ 40.167	NOC*NSF Supported by central government	Lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrating sports in the society Bring infrastructure to a higher level International spatial and economical recognition 	Masterplan (Very) Strong
Barcelona 1992 1975-1985 (10yr)	"Grey" Industrialized	US\$ ₋₁₀ 15.680	Local municipality Mayor	'New' Barcelona	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopting to global opportunities Solve problems due to crisis Long-term development projects 	Very strong
Atlanta 1996 1987-1990 (3yr)	"Black/white" Postfederal	US\$ ₋₁₀ 28.680	Private 'Crazy Atlanta Nine' Billy Payne		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish a higher international (business) profile Invest in deprived areas 	Weak
Sydney 2000 1990-1993 (3yr)	"Healthy"	US\$ ₋₁₀ 22.204	Central and state government of New South Wales	Global positioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International tourism 'Green Games' Attract business 	Moderate
Athens 2004 1987-1997 (10yr)	"Grey"	US\$ ₋₁₀ 18.903	Central and municipal government	Put Athens back on the map Restore Olympic values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reurbanize city Link ancient and modern culture Boost business and tourist markets 	Strong
Beijing 2008 1990-2001 (11yr)	"Bright" up and coming	US\$ ₋₁₀ 9.075	Central government	International recognition National promotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modernize and industrialize Industrial optimisation and upgrading Greening the city 	Strong

source : compiled by author

Netherlands is a tolerant and open nation (NAi et al, 2008).

The Netherlands is one of the wealthiest nations in the world. Though the footprint is very small, it has the 16th economy in the world and the GDP per capita is ranked 10th. Currently the GDP per capita is well over US\$₁₀ 40.000. The economy is based on trade and is therefore very internationally orientated (NAi et al, 2008).

Concerning the infrastructure, the Netherlands is one of the leading nations in the world. Especially when the size and population of the nation are taken into account. The Netherlands have an airport which is one of the largest in the world, a harbour which is the largest in Europe and the densest road, track and water network in Europe. Also concerning the communication infrastructure, the Netherlands rank as one of the top in Europe (NAi et al, 2008).

Despite of all these positive factors in the Netherlands, certain negative factors do exist which need to be solved. The Dutch society suffers from inter alia environmental and spatial pressure, social segmentation, climate change, an overweight population and bureaucracy. Though these factors may seem very negative, they are relatively positive when compared to other nations (NAi et al, 2008).

When recapitulating the before mentioned characteristics of the Dutch society, the conclusion can be drawn that the Netherlands has a healthy 'colour', which implicates that it is more mature than the majority of other nations on this globe. Though there are problems in the society, they are not serious and even surmountable. On the basis of these characteristics, the Dutch society can be compared to the Australian society, or at least to the situation in Sydney.

The reason for the difference between the GDP per capita found in the Netherlands and the GDP per capita found for the case cities, is found within the economic growth. When looking at the current GDP per capita for the case cities and nations, the figures produce US\$₁₀ 46.381 for the United States and US\$₁₀ 38.911 for Australia. The other case cities score well below these figures. This means that the purchasing power of the Dutch, i.e. the economical opportunities for the citizens, is best comparable to these two particular cases, with a slight favour towards Australia.

Initiative

The initiative for the Dutch movement has been explained in the previous chapter. The NOC*NSF started the Dutch Olympic idea and initiated the first exploratory researches with the help of the Ministry of VROM and private market parties. After the first draft plans were collected the NOC*NSF approached the central government with their ideas and plans. The central government was enthusiastic and since then they fully supported the Olympic ambitions. This is when the 'Alliantie' was formed.

In comparison to the case cities, this initiative and situation is unique. A total initiation from the sport community has not occurred yet. However, the situation does bear resemblance to the cases in subsets. In Sydney for example, the national sports community was a strong supporter of hosting the Olympic event. It had already placed a bid for the two preceding Olympiads, obviously with a negative outcome. The knowledge, expertise and enthusiasm which was gained for and supported the Sydney bid probably played a very large role in securing the Olympiad.

Atlanta was initiated and organised by private parties. These were stakeholders whom operated in the sports and business sectors. This bears a large resemblance with the initiative in the Netherlands. However, when the planning stage starts, a large difference is found in the plan of approach. Whilst in Atlanta the private parties only pursued the consent of the local municipal government, the 'Alliantie' approached the central government in the Netherlands for support. This has two reasons; the Netherlands is a small nation and in order to create

enough funds to host such an event, the movement must be supported and by the central government; and the a choice for a host city was not made yet, which leaves the options open for the choice of a location and thus different scenarios throughout the nation and optimal decisions can be made concerning the most optimal possible legacy.

This leads to similarities of the role of the central government in the planning phase. In the cases of Sydney, Athens and Beijing, the central government was involved in the planning of the Olympic developments. The difference between central and municipal government involvement must be made, as they both have different responsibilities, resources and capabilities, in which the central government has a stronger control and more possibilities at hand. Therefore the support and commitment of the central government brings enormous opportunities for the Olympic movement. This creates opportunities for higher goals to be acquired.

Sydney, i.e. Australia, did not achieve higher tangible goals, but did enhance its international (business) profile. Athens and Beijing achieved important infrastructural goals which lifted the city to a higher structural level. From both situations, the Netherlands can learn from the involvement of the stakeholders in the planning phase.

Additionally, roles the municipal government played must also be evaluated as inner city developments in the Netherlands can learn from their approaches. Barcelona is the foremost case in which the municipal government had the initiative and the control. The Barcelona municipality had the initiative to change the urban structure of the city. The eventual host city in the Netherlands can learn from their approach and strategies when implementing the Olympic assignment into their context.

Goals and objectives

The eight ambitions the 'Alliantie' formulated in the 'Olympisch Plan 2028', can be translated into a single main concept for the Olympic developments, namely 'lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level'. This concept is to be spread across as much sectors as possible, with the largest focus being on intangible, or soft, developments. The idea is to create an as large and optimal national social benefit and legacy from the Olympic movement and developments.

Though the concept is not similar to any of the concepts found in the cases, the primary goals do bear resemblances. Dutch Olympic movement has three primary goals. The first primary goal is to integrate sports more into the Dutch society. Although this goal is not found in the cases, it can be compared to a secondary objective Sydney had. Sydney, or actually Australia, wanted to use the Games, and thus also sports, to enhance the sense of community and national spirit. This is not exactly the goal the Dutch movement has, but the strategies to accomplish this goal might potentially bear similarities. The promotion of the national coherence could be an important strategy in the Dutch context.

The second goal is to lift the infrastructure to a higher level. This goal resembles infrastructural goals and objectives across all cases, thus this is not innovative. However, the scale of the desired infrastructural developments is new. The Netherlands is a well organised nation, when it comes to infrastructural development. However, there is room for improvements due to the spatial and infrastructural pressure mentioned before.

Due to the fact that the infrastructure was already up to standard in Atlanta and Sydney, very little improvements and additions were directly necessary. This is also the case in the Netherlands. When comparing Atlanta and Sydney, both focussed on their international tourist and business profile, however Atlanta focussed more on the local sports legacy, while Sydney had more national ambitions. Thus the Dutch ambitions can be compared to both cases on the different planning scales.

On the contrary, Barcelona, Athens and Beijing needed major infrastructural upgrades directly,

in order to support the potential and growth of the city. The scale of the interventions and developments can hardly be compared to the Dutch situation, however, if the Dutch central government wishes to upgrade the infrastructure throughout the whole nation, or at least throughout the Randstad, the enormous financial means necessary might reach enormous heights. This might lead to financial situations comparable to these cases.

The third main goal in the enhancement of the international profile. The Netherlands is a nation which has always been very internationally orientated, and securing and maybe even improving this position will be of great value to the economy.

Cases which have had similar goals are Atlanta and Sydney. Atlanta was privately initiated and organised and thus had ambitions and goals which would benefit the participating stakeholders. A main goal was to enhance the international business profile, which was locally focussed. On the other hand, the Australian government wanted to enhance the nation's international profile via the Sydney Olympics. The origin of the difference can be found in the initiating stakeholders. The goals they want to achieve via organising the Olympics, originate from the birth of the Olympic idea. If stakeholders want the Olympic movement to achieve certain goals, they will steer the movement accordingly, as they pull all the strings.

Integration of the masterplan

One of the findings of the research conducted by van Hasselt et al (2010) is that the private and public stakeholders desire a strong integration of the Olympic developments into the general urban masterplan. This will create the largest potential legacy, and this will benefit the living quality and economy the most.

Barcelona has a very strong integration into the urban structure, Athens and Beijing have a strong integration. The similarities between the three cases was the sublime integration of the infrastructure developments. The reason why Barcelona eventually scored better was the fact that they integrated Olympic developments throughout the whole city which suited the urban structure. This obviously had a significant positive impact on the total urban structure.

So how could these three cases have an edge on the other two, which had a weak and moderate integration? The three cases have one major resemblance; they all had long planning periods for the executed developments. This is where the Netherlands has a very good potential in securing an Olympic legacy with very positive figures. The Netherlands is aiming at hosting the Olympic Games in 2028. The planning period then supposedly ends in 2021 with the decision for the host city. This means that the potential planning period will then be, when the start date of the Dutch Olympic movement is set at 2006, 15 years. When comparing this period to the cases, the length supposes great potential. Additionally the three cases had central coordination by the government, this might indicate the necessity of such control in order to utilize the potential catalyst effect of the Olympic movement.


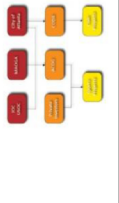
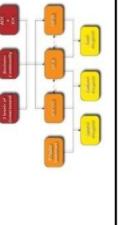
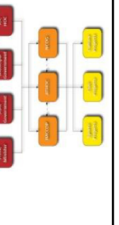

5.2.2 Organisational and realisation phase in the Netherlands

The organisational and realisation phase has not begun yet for the Dutch Olympic movement. However, several aspects concerning this phase have become clear from the documents that have already been produced from previously conducted studies for the Dutch context.

One of these studies is the before mentioned 'Schetsboek'. In the Schetsboek, three different scenarios have been distinguished; a scenario in which the developments are compactly located, 'cluster'; a scenario in which the developments are spread out, 'spread'; and the last scenario concerns extreme interventions in the Dutch infrastructure, 'far horizons'. The latter scenario has been excluded by the stakeholders interviewed in the van Hasselt et al (2010) research. Thus the first two scenarios be kept in mind when an eventual advice is made for the Dutch context.

However, the opinion of the potential stakeholders in the Netherlands plays a more significant

Table 5.2: Organisational and realisation phase in the Netherlands

Scenario	Partnership characteristics			Organisational structure	Strategies		Focus	Budget (in billions)	Finance public-private	Interference Society involvement
	Role government	Partnership domination	Organisational structure		Primary	Focus				
Opinion in NL <i>Deloitte & N/ROV</i>	Controlling and initiator of partnerships (Active)	Development domination Infrastructure developments; 100% public with private support. Sports venues; private initiative	Extensive, clear, government control, private and social involvement and contribution		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration in general masterplan Upgrade sports org. and facilities Multifunctional developments Stimulate science, knowledge and inn. Focus on social ambitions 	G+ So++ Sp+ Ec	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2-3 Constr.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2-3 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2-8	0-100 50-50 100-0	Weak Very strong	
Barcelona 1992 1985-1992	Controlling and initiator of partnerships (Active)	Barcelona Public		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barcelona-model Transformation 4 key areas Private participation Focus on tourism 	G++ So Sp++ Ec	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.317 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 11.354 Total: US\$ ₋₁₀ 13.671 (in millions)	70-30	Weak Strong		
Atlanta 1996 1990-1996	Facilitating Open for partnership (Passive)	Atlanta Public		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revitalize downtown Reimage Atlanta Sports development 	G So Sp Ec++	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.992 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 652 Total: US\$ ₋₁₀ 3.539 (in millions)	30-70	Strong Weak		
Sydney 2000 1993-2000	Semi-control Initiator of partnerships (Active)	Sydney Public		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National marketing Attract business Long-term tourism plan 	G++ So Sp Ec	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.873 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.508 Total: US\$ ₋₁₀ 7.906 (in millions)	64-36	Weak Moderate		
Athens 2004 1997-2004	Controlling and initiator of partnerships (Active)	Athens Public		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scattered model Renovation cultural centres Massive investment infrastructure 	G+ So+ Sp++ Ec	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.546 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 7.284 Total: US\$ ₋₁₀ 13.011 (in millions)	80-20	Very strong Weak		
Beijing 2008 2001-2008	Total control Made own partnerships (Active)	Beijing Public		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slogans and themes Massive investment infrastructure Integrate investments with infrastructure 	G So Sp++ Ec+	OG: US\$ ₋₁₀ 2.038 Infra.: US\$ ₋₁₀ 13.608 Total: US\$ ₋₁₀ 20.086 (in millions)	75-25	Strong Weak		

source : compiled by author

role. They will be the parties responsible for the developments made related to the Olympic Games. The research van Hasselt et al (2010) have conducted encompasses their opinion. Therefore this particular research, which has been elaborated earlier in this chapter, will be referenced to multiple times when explanations are provided and statements are supported. In addition, van Hasselt et al (2010) have made several conclusions and recommendations of their own, and these will also be considered in the analysis.

The aspects that will be discussed in the following order are; the role of the government, the domination of the developments, the organisational structure and stakeholders involved and the primary strategies and their focus. The aspects that can be concluded from the analysis of the prior aspects are the budget that is necessary, the financial structure, and the expected interference in the developments. Table 5.2 provides the overview of the facts and conclusions found.

Role of the government

In the third chapter the role of the governments in the cases have been elaborated. In this elaboration the situation and the events leading to this particular situation have been explained. Now it is the turn to discuss the Dutch context and opinion of the public and private stakeholders.

The Netherlands has a strong and stable political situation. This translates to a government which is able to control developments, financially as well as organisationally. The conclusions van Hasselt et al (2010) found concerning the role of the government can be divided into the public and private opinion. The potential private stakeholders desire that the government exerts a strong control over the developments. They deem a central organised Olympic movement necessary with governmental responsibility. Additionally they are prepared to fully support and help the government in the movement, i.e. with private expertise in the realisation and exploitation, under the condition that the risks should lie with the government.

The public stakeholders are prepared to take risks on developments which will benefit the society, i.e. infrastructure developments. If these developments are already in the general urban, regional or national masterplan, the Olympic movement can accelerate the developments, and thus live up to its potential catalyst function. Sports venues and facilities on the other hand encompass a different story. The public parties do not have any interest in taking initiative on these developments. They consider them unfeasible. From their point of view private parties should be responsible for these developments as they are most interested and are more capable in creating a feasible legacy.

When comparing this situation and opinion of the Netherlands with the cases a distinct similarity can be found with Barcelona. The controlling role the government wants and needs to fulfil, also according to the private parties, in combination with the necessity of support from the private market parties, has almost the same characteristics as the role the government had in Barcelona. The main difference is however, the central government was not strongly involved in the developments in Barcelona. This will create an extra dimension in the Dutch Olympic movement.

This characteristic was present in the cases of Sydney and Beijing. These central governments also closely worked together with private market parties. The differences can be found in the freedom the private parties enjoyed in Sydney, and the strong control over the developments the public parties had in Beijing. These are almost extreme situations. The situation in the Netherlands will call for a solution which lies in the middle, as the government cannot exert total control due to the political situation and the freedom that the private stakeholders enjoyed in Sydney is desired by neither public nor private stakeholders in the Netherlands.

Development domination

First of all, the developments can be split into developments concerning the infrastructure and developments concerning the sport venues, accommodations, media facilities, etc., as mentioned in the conclusions in the third and fourth chapter. The characteristics concerning the involved stakeholders, the financial structure and the impact of the developments differ for both types of developments.

Infrastructural developments are the responsibility of public parties in the cases and in the Dutch context. These parties must bear the risks and provide the finances in order to develop the necessary infrastructure. The impact also has a broader and social character, as it affects a large and broad group of citizens.

Developments of the sport venues, accommodations, media facilities, etc., have different characteristics. Usually the developments are initiated and lead by private parties, or they at least have a distinctive role in the developments, as they will usually be in charge of the particular developments after the event. Therefore they bear the risks, especially the financial risk. It is in their best concern to create the most optimal legacy, as this will then produce revenue. The financial impact is therefore obviously fairly compact, as the revenues directly go to the owners. The social impact is present, as the venues provide social participation and leisure activities for the citizens.

In addition, the goals which are set for the Olympic developments, which encompasses the two types of developments, will have different effects. Firstly, the infrastructural developments have larger costs, so that comprehensive goals with relation to enormous infrastructural improvements, such as in Barcelona, Athens and Beijing, will eventually lead to a more costly Olympic movement. The extent of the goals and thus the infrastructural developments, will eventually form the majority of the financial picture.

The other developments depend on the strategies used and the situation the nation is in. This will lead to developments which will be characterised by renovation and reuse, which are predominantly less expensive, and developments characterised by new constructions, which are predominantly more expensive.

In the Netherlands the organisational control, which has a large influence on the development domination, is preferred to be in the hands of the government, with the financial and professional support of private market parties. This however, does not have the largest influence on the developments domination. Certain possible developments which are directly related to the Olympic Games are related to the choice of the spatial concept, e.g. a highway will not be developed in Rotterdam if the Games are completely confined to Amsterdam. Additionally the fact that the Netherlands currently does not have any venues large enough to be capable of staging an Olympic event, favours the strategy of creating new or temporary structures.

Therefore the presumption can be made that the private contribution will stay the same for different spatial concepts, as the venues will have to be built or renovated in order to host the event. On the contrary, the public contribution will vary according to the goals, strategies and the spatial concept.

Two cases which could possibly form the lead examples are Barcelona and Sydney, as these both differ in spatial concept. Barcelona had four key development areas throughout the city, which created opportunities for developing infrastructure. They also depended of private involvement as they did not have the financial means to accomplish the desired goals.

Sydney developed one large Olympic area. They hardly made any infrastructural improvements throughout the city, except for the absolute necessary interventions for the airport and central business district. The government also developed the venues and facilities with the help of private stakeholders, so this situation can be also compared to the Dutch desires in the developments.

Organisational structure

First of all, the distinction between five phases is made concerning the Dutch Olympic movement distinguished in paragraph 4.4.2. In every phase there are different dominant, supportive and present stakeholders, which have certain goals within the Dutch Olympic movement. Also the goals per phase differ, which includes or excludes certain stakeholders.

In general, the desired characteristics for the organisational structure found in the research van Hasselt et al (2010) conducted are; extensive, clear, governmental control and private and societal involvement and contribution. Considering the characteristics of the desired organisational structures, two cases provide a match; Barcelona and Sydney. Barcelona has the slight advantage between the two, as the city clearly included the civic society in the developments and the private input is supervised by the government. These two characteristics are both dominantly desired by the Dutch potential stakeholders.

Additionally it is wise to look at Atlanta. This particular case should be looked at solely for the manner in which they created the successful sports venue and facilities legacy. This might create new insights for the Dutch situation for tackling this particular problem, though one must keep in mind that their private approach did not lead to, and maybe even hindered, developments beneficial to the society.

Strategies

The strategies aspect is the first aspect of the organisational and realisation phase in which no complete and final statements have been made. The ambitions in the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' have also provided preliminary strategies. The strategies concerning the spatial concepts are still to be conceived and will follow the in the near future chosen spatial concept. The characteristics are to be derived from the goals, which in turn are to be compared to similar characteristics in the analysed cases.

When looking at the primary goals the Netherlands have, two out of three are not directly comparable to the cases, though they have characteristics which are distantly related. The integration of sports in the society has a lot of resemblance with the goal of Barcelona of wanting to create a more social-cultural integration of the citizens in the city. Sports roughly have the same idea. Barcelona tackled this problem by upgrading low quality areas and by openly and enthusiastically having the civic society participate in the developments.

The international recognition which is sought by the Netherlands, can be compared to the same objectives Atlanta and Sydney had. They both wanted their city to increase their tourism and business sectors. The main strategies they used were to upgrade the central business districts and their economical infrastructure in order to make the city more attractive for businesses to establish an office in. Additionally, Sydney executed a comprehensive tourism plan in which they, successfully, marketed the nation to the rest of the world.

Concerning the desire to lift infrastructure to a higher level, the comprehensive and extensive developments made in Barcelona, Athens and Beijing are not necessary in the Netherlands, as the infrastructure is already modern and sufficient enough, although not that sufficient that minimalistic interventions such as in Atlanta and Sydney are considered. Specific developments are needed to improve the infrastructure. However, the integration with and use of the Olympic movement to accomplish these necessary developments depends on the interventions that the key stakeholders are willing to make, i.e. the government. In paragraph 3.2.4, the fact was proven that the spatial concept has a large influence on the final cost. Therefore, if the three governments are willing to invest, there might be a significant upgrade in the infrastructure, though not to an extent as large as in for example Barcelona. If not, only the necessary inner-city investments will be made and then the infrastructural interventions can be compared with the interventions in Sydney.

The strategy focus is thus difficult to establish before definite plans are provided, at least the focus on the spatial and environmental ambition level. The focus on the other levels can be derived from the 'Olympisch Plan 2028'.

On the governance level, the Netherlands do not wish to change the approach towards their current PPP-models. The Olympic movement will create larger versions of the partnerships already used in the Netherlands. This will lead to 'new' partnerships, so called S-PPP's, but the characteristics will not differ from the traditional partnerships currently used. The main difference is the size and thus complexity.

The international profile that is desired will not significantly change the position of the Netherlands in the international communion. The desired strategies, i.e. one single international foreign promotion lobby (NOC*NSF, 2009b) will only strengthen its position. Therefore the focus on the governance ambition level can be called moderate.

Though there are ambitions set on the economical level, these are not as significant as in Atlanta. The Netherlands want to stimulate science, technology, knowledge and innovation by investing in better education. This will have a significant impact on the economy on the long-term, as well as strengthening the nation's international position. No strategies concerning the business profile have yet been claimed, but this will no doubt form one of the major objectives the involved private parties have.

Finally the social ambition level. This ambition level enjoys the strongest focus in the Dutch Olympic movement. Strategies are focussed on the integration of sports in the society. This includes the upgrading of facilities and professionalizing of the sports, strengthening sports associations is necessary to make this integration possible and creating a more mature and professional sports culture.

Table 5.2 translates these focus points and compares them to the other cases. The overall focus of all the ambition levels together which is heavily focussed on the social ambitions, does not match any of the cases. However, when analysing the levels separately, they can be compared to single cases. The governance ambitions, as mentioned before, can be compared to Sydney. The social ambitions bear resemblance with Barcelona. The economical focus can be compared to Barcelona, Sydney and Athens, as these three cases also did not focus on the economical benefits on the short term. The spatial ambitions, are as mentioned before, the odd one out. It is difficult to make statements concerning these ambitions in this part of the planning phase when no final decisions have been made yet.

Budget

As shortly mentioned before and in paragraph 3.2.4, the infrastructural interventions have a large influence on the total budget. Therefore a division must be made in the total budget between the costs for the event itself, the construction of the necessary venues and facilities and thirdly the (in)direct infrastructure investments. This was also indicated in the conclusions of the research van Hasselt et al (2010) conducted in chapter four. The chart in figure 5.1 displays the different sorts of developments and their costs of the cases and the two Dutch spatial concept scenarios

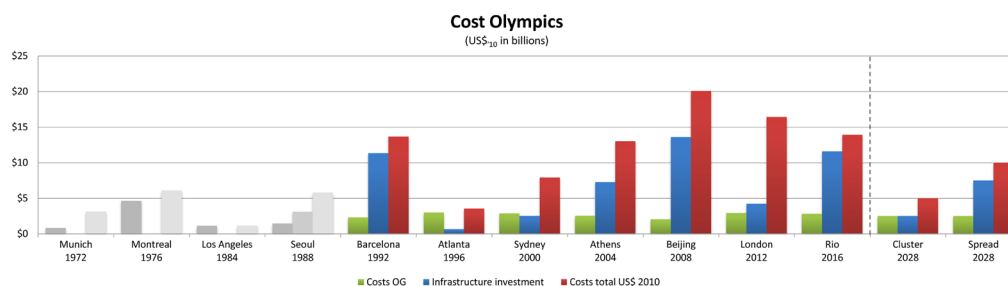


Figure 5.1: Costs of the former Olympics compared to the two spatial concepts

Concerning the costs for the organisation of the event itself, looking at the trends found in paragraph 3.2.4, the costs will amount to US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion.

The amount spent on constructing the necessary sports venues and facilities will also depend on the strategies chosen. The strategies for the venues might be newly constructed, renovated or temporary constructions. New constructions were used in Atlanta, Sydney and partially in Beijing. Atlanta and Beijing both secured positive legacies, Sydney did not, as they lacked a legacy plan. Atlanta secured positive legacy by securing post-use beforehand. The Olympic stadium was built in collaboration with private investors and was to be handed over to the local baseball team. This additionally reduced the costs. Beijing had a different strategy, namely designing very unique architectural structures, which were to function as tourist attractions after the Games. This would then provide enough funds in order to create a positive upkeep. New constructions are very costly in general. When looking at the cases, different strategies can be used to attain a positive legacy. Although new constructions are very expensive it is possible to create feasible projects.

Renovations were used in Barcelona and Athens. They too had different strategies. Barcelona renovated the Olympic stadium and after the Games the local football club, Espanyol, was to use the stadium as their home pitch. Athens also used renovations, however their renovation usually meant almost completely tearing the buildings down and building new constructions. The renovations were in the end very expensive.

Temporary constructions have not been used in the early cases. However, the last and the next Olympiad, Beijing and London, will use an increasing amount of temporary constructions. Deriving from the cost charts in paragraph 3.2.4, it can be seen that London relatively has a small contribution of infrastructural costs to the total costs. This is where the temporary costs can be identified. The high initial costs that the temporary strategy has, is not counter balanced with benefits after the Games. On the positive side, there are no maintenance costs either. However, due to the fact that there are fewer developments left for the legacy, it also becomes less attractive for the private parties to invest in. The fact if this is a wise choice of London, and also Beijing, will be provided in the future.

The infrastructure costs, as mentioned before, depend heavily on the eventual plans. In these plans the key factors are; the location, the spatial concept, the willingness of public and private participants and the established partnership.

The three spatial concepts which were identified in the 'Schetsboek' and were elaborated earlier in this report, of which two are still considered, can form the guidelines for the different spatial scenarios. The characteristics of the first, 'cluster', can be compared to developments done in Sydney. These eventually cost US\$₁₀ 2,5 billion, so a cost estimate of US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion is in its place. The second scenario, 'spread', can be compared to Athens. Necessary updates on the infrastructure on inter-metropolitan level are executed. The developments in Athens cost US\$₁₀ 7,2 billion, so a cost of US\$₁₀ 7-8 billion is estimated. The third scenario, 'far horizons', include massive spatial interventions. This degree of infrastructure developments are ruled out due to the opinion of the potential stakeholders. The public stakeholders do not deem developments of this nature realistic or can be associated with the goals and the current economical situation. Barcelona and Beijing are different cases. Barcelona is characterised by development clusters spread in four different strategic locations in the city and is supported by the necessary infrastructure developments. Beijing has clustered Olympic developments and infrastructure developments spread through the city. Both are a combination of the two. Therefore considering the spatial improvement in both cases, a combination of the two spatial concepts must not be excluded, as this new spatial concept might support the legacy and general concept of the Dutch Olympic movement more. To conclude, and as mentioned several times before, the chosen spatial concept will influence the total budget the most.

Finance

For the financial structure, the same division in cost categories and spatial concept scenarios have to be made. The reason for this is that different stakeholders are willing to invest in the three different types of developments.

First of all the organisation of the event has been financed by the market sales of the Olympics themselves in all the cases. The ticket sales, the TV rights, the merchandise, etc., have all produced enough cash flow to organise and operate the event itself. Almost all the consulted references name these funds private. This leads to a division of 0% public funds and 100% private funds in this category.

Secondly the financial structure for the construction of the sports venues and facilities. According to the conclusions of the van Hasselt et al (2010) research, the public stakeholders have the opinion that they do not have the initiative for these developments, but they do support the developments. The private stakeholders therefore play a significant role in these developments. They are to initiate and secure a positive legacy for the built structures.

'No governmental initiative' does not mean 'no governmental support'. Governmental support creates less risk and more confident plans and developments, which in turn leads to development conditions which are more attractive for private investors. Additionally they must be responsible for the legacy, so that the responsible private party will do anything to achieve a positive legacy. These three terms make it feasible for the private parties to join the partnerships in order to develop the sports venues and related facilities.

Cases in which comparable situations were used, are Barcelona, Sydney and Beijing. In all three cases private stakeholders worked in partnerships with public stakeholders. The developments were approximately financed for 50% with public funds and 50% with private funds.

Atlanta and Athens were both opposite extremes. Atlanta's sports venues were funded and handed over to private investors, while the sports venues in Athens were solely developed by public parties. Atlanta secured the most positive legacy and Athens the poorest, which composes the conclusion that private stakeholders and funds are a necessity to secure a positive legacy concerning the sports venue developments.

The infrastructure developments are the responsibility of the government. This opinion was one of the conclusions of the van Hasselt et al (2010) research. Private parties have the general opinion that these types of developments are not feasible to them. This leads to fully public financed developments; 100%.

However, the spatial concepts must not be forgotten. The diverse types of interventions in the different scenarios will all lead to different financial constructions. The financial structure of the cases and the two spatial concept scenarios is provided in the chart in figure 5.2. Minimum interventions such as in the cluster scenario, will lead to more privately financed developments, which will in turn lead to a balanced financial structure between public and private investments. The second scenario, which includes a significant amount of infrastructural developments, will thus bring along more public investments. The balance will then end at approximately 70% public and 30% private funds.

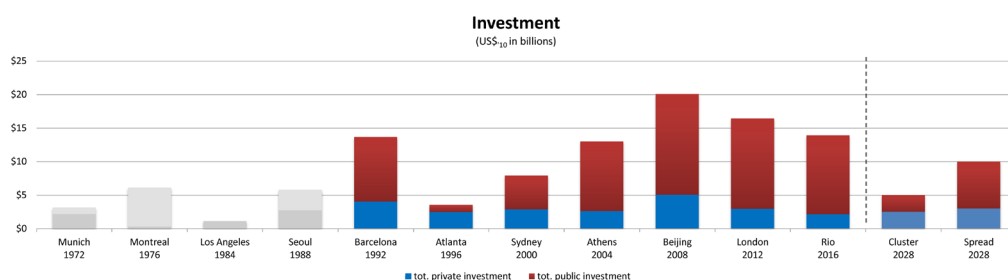


Figure 5.2: Public and private investment of former host cities compared to the two spatial concepts

Again the conclusion can be drawn that the spatial concept has a great influence on the developments and thus on the financial structure. Though the public investment varies significantly per case and per scenario, figure 3.8 in paragraph 3.2.4 proves that the private investment does not fluctuate enormously, relatively speaking. The private investment has always been between US\$₁₀ 2-5 billion. This can also be an indication for the possibilities, or maybe restrictions, for the Olympic movement in the Netherlands.

Additionally the economical situation is important concerning the capabilities and restrictions the public stakeholders have for investing vast amounts of money. The current situation, with the whole credit crunch effecting the financial markets, will lead to governmental cut backs in the Netherlands of approximately US\$₁₀ 4,2 billion until 2015 (www.nu.nl, accessed 22 September 2010). This will obviously affect the spending power of the government. This fact also has effect on the private contribution.

Interference

What can be derived from table 3.2 is that the interference with the Olympic developments has a strong correlation with the involvement of the civic society. The Netherlands wants to create a broad organisational structure in which the government has the control and the private parties and the civic society are involved, as mentioned before. These facts bear a strong resemblance with the situation in Barcelona. The strong civic society which formed in the years of the Franco regime (Marshall, 1996; van Beek, 2007), and the active inclusion of the civic society in the initiation and the planning, led to little resistance and interference in the developments. The reason for this is simple; the civic society already agreed to the developments.

The expected social resistance in the Netherlands is thus low, but the road is still long. In the past social resistance has been strong, for example the N'Olympics movement against the bid of the 1992 Olympics by Saar Boerlage. They successfully downgraded the Amsterdam bid.

Legislations will possibly form a problem in the Netherlands. The planning culture in the Netherlands is notorious for the long and comprehensive process. This usually is an advantage, but in the case of an Olympic movement, the planning and decision making will be too slow in order to accomplish the deadlines in time.

The van Hasselt et al (2010) research pointed out that there is also a contradiction of opinion between the potential private and public stakeholders. The private stakeholders would like to see changes in the legislations, in the form of a special Olympic Law of some kind, which will relax the urban planning process and accelerate the Olympic developments. The public stakeholders disagree for now, and think that the current legislations are sufficient enough for the desired developments to take place. This will eventually lead to friction, and therefore must be solved quickly. However, due to the long preparation phase the Netherlands have, these problems could be avoided.

5.3 Conclusions

In order to formulate grounded conclusions that support the final result – an abstract advice for an Olympic development structure for the Netherlands in 2028 – the observations made in the preceding chapters have been summarized in table 5.3. This table shows the cases which bear the most resemblance or might provide insight for the most optimal opportunities in the Netherlands. The different Olympic phases surprisingly provide different insights which will form the bridge towards the last chapter in which the final conclusions are formulated.

The general observation which can be made is that an extensive planning period seems to play an important role in the success, or even the possibility, of a complex organised Olympic event. The presence of multiple stakeholders and the execution of diverse types of developments make the organisation more difficult to steer and control. As identified in chapter three as one of the factors that has influence on legacy, a long planning period creates opportunities for a more complex development plan. Thus a longer planning period creates opportunities for complex Olympic developments in the Netherlands. Barcelona and Beijing are the best examples for the Netherlands.

A main observation from the cases in the initiative and bidding phase is that the initiator determines the goals. This means that the NOC*NSF will, and already has in a draft version, set the goals the Dutch Olympic movement wants to achieve. They will thus more or less have control over the Olympic movement, with the central government as a strong sidekick. They will both have the strongest say and steer the developments and employ the strategies to their hand. This must be kept in mind, as not all developments desired by third parties can then be executed. This type of initiator is unique as it has not occurred during the cases. Atlanta and Sydney, actually Australia, should both be considered when looking at the international profile. Atlanta successfully created a better business environment and thus lifted the economy. Australia set out a successful long-term tourism plan by creating a well-known international profile. In both cases, the Netherlands can learn and adopt strategies. Social objectives have the most resemblance with the Australian approach. The sports minded nation used sports to create unity in the nation and also created a staggering amount of volunteers and social support for the event itself. Spatially the objectives resemble Barcelona and Athens. Two cases in which the host wanted to integrate the urban developments into the urban structure of the city. Economical objectives were stressed the most in Atlanta and Sydney. Therefore these cases are to be explored further on these objectives.

Concerning the stakeholders, Barcelona scores well on all aspects. The role of the government, which had a strong coordination in Barcelona, resembles the desire of the potential stakeholders in the Netherlands. This also translates to the desired development domination. However, as the developments can be divided into different categories, which are also translated to different desired legacies. To create optimal legacies, different stakeholders must be welcomed into the Olympic movement. This creates a more balanced domination which, depending on the type of development, can be compared to the approach Barcelona and Sydney used, i.e. public or private control. When assessing the desired characteristics of the desired organisational structure for the Dutch Olympic movement by the potential stakeholders, almost a perfect match is achieved with Barcelona.

As can be derived, Sydney is the case to which the Dutch situation in the first Olympic development phase can be compared the most, and Barcelona is the case to which the stakeholder opinion and the desired involvement and collaboration can be compared to the most. This must be kept in mind when formulating the final conclusions.

When assessing the best cases to explore in the second Olympic phase, i.e. the organisation and realisation phase, the development strategies, the financial budget and structure and the interferences are taken into account. However, due to the fact that the Dutch Olympic movement is still in its infancy, the strategies have not been developed enough into a mature form to be able to be compared to the cases thoroughly. Though this is the case, suggestions still can be made which case or cases have characteristics which the Dutch Olympic movement can copy or profit from and might be used for the conclusions.

How Sydney achieved its international profile was simple and efficient. This type of method can be used by every city and will mostly accomplish its desired effect. The social and spatial strategies Barcelona used were comprehensive and efficient. They achieved the most positive legacy with these strategies and therefore it might have a great value to explore these cases closely and see if the same strategies can be implemented in the Dutch Olympic movement. The inclusion and involvement of the civic society in the developments in Barcelona can be seen as a key example of how to create a broad legacy with necessary developments. This is an important aspect in optimal legacy creation and is directly linked to the spatial integration of the Olympic developments into the urban structure. Barcelona established the HOLSA, a so called delivery vehicle that was responsible for the main developments in the city's urban structure. By establishing such an organisation, overview and control was kept on the developments. This is a major benefit for the developments to be complementary to one another. When scouring outside of the case cities, different solutions are found for creating an optimal legacy process. This is mainly found in the future Olympic host city London. London has also established a delivery vehicle, the Olympic Development Authority (ODA). However, to guide the two parallel development processes concerning the developments necessary for the Olympiad itself and the developments necessary for an optimal legacy to eventually complement one another, London has established a Legacy Company (LC). This legacy company has to make sure that an optimal legacy is to be secured. To be able to provide further details on this LC and on the consequences, the London Olympic developments need to be analysed more in depth and the Games already have to have taken place in order to see their consequences. The economical strategies Barcelona, Sydney and Athens executed were subtle and did not act on the foreground. They did however support the economical growth the city could expect. This leads to the conclusion that Barcelona and Sydney are the foremost cases to look at when formulating the possible strategies. Additionally London could form an example concerning the LC.

Concerning the budget, there are two different aspects to consider when suggesting cases. The first is the extent of the infrastructure investments and the second is the involvement of private parties to join the developments directly related to the Olympiad, i.e. the venues, accommodations, facilities, etc. The extent of the infrastructure investment will follow the objectives concerning the spatial concept. Therefore this can still vary enormously, as can be seen in the difference between the investment sums in Atlanta and Beijing for example. Though there is an enormous variety in this division, there still is a significant gap between the cases in which a small total infrastructure investment was made and the cases in which enormous investments were made; there does not seem to be a golden mean. Concerning the developments which are directly related to the Olympiad lessons can be learned for the cases. Atlanta and Sydney are the foremost cases from which lessons can be learned about securing legacy beforehand with the involvement of private stakeholders, although the majority was concerning new constructions. Lessons concerning temporary constructions can additionally be derived from Beijing.

All cases have encountered interference of some kind. The way they dealt with or limited the interference can provide valuable insights. Concerning the social resistance, Barcelona encountered the least and is therefore interesting to look at. Atlanta and Athens are equally interesting to look at as they encountered the most resistance. Concerning changed legislations, Sydney is an interesting example. They incorporated new legislations in order to relax the development process. Additionally Athens might be an interesting example as they created new legislations when the delivery dates became in danger.

When considering the last Olympic phase, the legacy phase, one case continuously comes forth as the best case; Barcelona. Barcelona is also the prime case to look at when considering the opinion of the potential stakeholders in the Netherlands. Including detailed legacy objectives set in the first Olympic development phase as well as including private and social stakeholders. Therefore the plan of approach has been proven successful and the desired characteristics in the Netherlands have a great resemblance with the characteristics of the developments in Barcelona.

Table 5.3: Olympic legacies factor consequences

Development structure aspects	Legacy lessons learned from the cross case analysis	public-private opinion in the Netherlands	Cases to be explored for solutions
Initiative & objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government initiative stresses international profile objectives Municipal government initiative stresses the urban structure objectives Private stakeholder initiative stresses the economical objectives Planning time can create opportunities and limit restrictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NOC*NSF is initiator Central government supports ambitions Lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level on all defined ambition levels Strengthen international image Integrate sports into the society Innovate in spatial pressure Sport important economical sector Strong competitive international economy No regret policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiative: unique Support central government: Sydney, Athens, Beijing Governance: Atlanta, Sydney Social: Sydney Spatial: Barcelona, Athens Economical: Atlanta, Sydney
Stakeholders & organisational structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government control creates coordinated developments, financial security and decreases risks Private involvement creates financially feasible developments and secures post-Games use The integration of Olympic developments into the urban masterplan benefits the catalyst effect Awareness of the role of all the stakeholders and their capabilities optimises the partnerships Inclusion of the civic society in the planning phase increases support and development quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government; central control, responsible for the infrastructure developments and supports other constructions Private; must initiate the development of sport venues and facilities, which will be able to be market bound in the post-Games phase Characteristics organisational structure; extensive, clear, governmental control and private and societal involvement and contribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Role government: Barcelona Development domination: Barcelona, Sydney Organisational structure: Barcelona
Urban development strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only adapt changes in traditional partnerships if absolutely necessary Massive international exposure can be secured by establishing a responsible committee Include developments aimed at the lower social classes to secure their increase in living quality Strategic government owned locations must be chosen to support governmental control on the developments More infrastructure development leads to a higher economical impact When the strategy focus is on governance, social and spatial ambitions, the economical ambitions will follow 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration in general masterplan in the Netherlands Upgrade sports organisation and facilities Multifunctional developments Stimulate science, knowledge and innovation Focus on social ambitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration masterplan: Barcelona Governance: Sydney Social: Barcelona Spatial: Barcelona Economical: Barcelona, Sydney, Athens
Budget & financial structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Olympiad itself always costs between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion and is financed by market revenues The budget for the construction of venues and the infrastructure follows the set objectives and strategies Infrastructure interventions, urban planning and financial resources determine the financial structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Costs for sports structures depends on strategy and is private stakeholder responsibility Infrastructural costs differ per scenario and are the responsibility of the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New constructions: Atlanta, Sydney Temporary constructions: Beijing (+ London)
Interference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social resistance almost always results from poor collaboration or insufficient communication Beware of communication within the organisational structure when implementing new legislations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private stakeholders want new legislations For now, public stakeholders deem no new legislations are necessary Social protest can always emerge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social resistance: Barcelona Legislations: Sydney
Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only change planning culture when necessary and appropriate Living and spatial quality is attained via integrated Olympic developments in the urban structure The economical impact is strongly dependent on the extent of the infrastructure developments Including lower social classes in the legacy benefits needs extra precautions Secure post-Games use with a legacy company A long-term tourism plan supports long-term economical development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public and private stakeholders wish to include the legacy objectives in the planning phase and already secure legacy to a certain extent Include private and social stakeholders to influence the developments in their own way 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legacy creation: Barcelona Stakeholder involvement: Barcelona

source : compiled by author

He Hanbin and Yu Yang of China celebrate winning the bronze medal after the Mixed Doubles Bronze Medal Match against Flandy Limpele and Vita Marissa of Indonesia during the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games



Chapter | six

6

Advice: An Olympic Development



Structure for the Netherlands

6.1 Introduction

When first setting the stage for this research, a problem analysis was conducted which provided an overview of the problems concerning the Olympic subject in the Netherlands. These are divisible to planning such mega-events in the Dutch context and the general problems which have occurred in former Olympic cities after the Olympic circus has left the city. The lack of sufficient attention to the long-term objective for post-Olympic real estate was blamed for the latter occurring problem. 'White elephants' were a reoccurring problem in former Olympic host cities.

Preventing these possible problems is thus a challenge within the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands. A great deal of factors must be considered when taking all the aspects of Olympic development into account. These factors have been distinguished in the theoretical framework, and have been appointed to the aspects from which the development structure is born. The general operation in legacy and urban development were key factors when researching these decisive factors. Finally the aim of this research is to deliver an abstract advice for a development structure for a potential Olympiad in the Netherlands in 2028.

The process towards reaching the aim of this research first lead through an extensive case analysis wherein the five most recent (summer) Olympic host cities, i.e. Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing, have been analysed on the foregoing determined development structure aspects. A comprehensive cross case analysis provided lessons learned concerning legacy creation on the individual aspects, which are associated with the development structure. The report van Hasselt et al (2010) and the NOC*NSF (2009b) provide in the addition necessary in order to produce the translation of the preceding discovered lessons. Via an extensive study achieved with interviews, van Hasselt et al (2010) provided a first indicative overview of the opinion of the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands. Stakeholders of all sorts were included which produced a lucid perception of the opinion of the Dutch society towards the Olympic idea. The NOC*NSF, the initiator of the Dutch Olympic movement, has provided an indicative Olympic plan in which they formulated visions, ambitions and future developments concerning the Olympic idea in the Netherlands (NOC*NSF, 2009b; 2009c).

The described route combined three individual researches, studies and reports, which collectively will provide the necessary means to accomplish the before mentioned aim. The result of this assembly is provided in the following conclusions. At the end of the chapter, all the mentioned aspects are gathered and shown in the final table. This will produce the answer to the equation suggested in the first chapter in figure 1.4, i.e. tables 3.4 and 4.1 put together.

6.2 Conclusions

As clarified in figure 1.4, the final conclusion, i.e. an advice for the development structure for a potential Olympiad in the Netherlands in 2028, is derived from the summation of the legacy lessons learned in the third chapter and the Olympics movement in the Dutch context in the fourth chapter. The conclusions of those chapters were written according to certain aspects, the aspects distinguished in the theoretical framework which together comprise the development structure. The final conclusions, i.e. the advice, will follow the same structure, as then an optimal translation can be made. These aspects are the initiative and objectives, the stakeholders and the organisational structure, the urban development strategies, the budget and financial structure, the interferences and finally the legacy of the Dutch context. The main difference with the conclusions in the preceding chapters, is that the following conclusions are the final deductions from all the preceding found and gathered information.

The Olympic movement is a process, a process which is divided into phases. The process has been divided into three phases in the cross case analysis and cross research analysis. However, van Hasselt et al (2010) defined five phases in the Dutch Olympic movement, as could be seen in figures 4.4 and 4.5. Each phase has its own characteristics and stakeholders, which each have their own role and goals. Therefore the organisation changes in the course of the process. In the following conclusions divided per development structure, the organisation per phase is interwoven. This will provide a clear picture of the stakeholders involved and their responsibilities.

6.2.1 Initiative and objectives

The lessons learned shows that the first stakeholder to bring forth the idea of hosting the Olympic event, and thus starting the Olympic movement, determines the aim and the direction of the movement. The determined direction will eventually affect all aspects down the long road of the process of the Olympic movement. Different types of initiative stakeholders will thus 'create' different types of Olympic movements with their own direction.

There have been three types of initiators, namely the central government, the municipal government and private stakeholders. They all have different motives for starting the Olympic movement in the potential host city. The central government sets objectives concerning the national profile, e.g. in Sydney and Beijing, the municipal government focuses on the urban structure of the host city, e.g. in Barcelona and Athens, and private stakeholders focus on the economical benefits the Olympic movement entails, e.g. in Atlanta. As can be derived, all different types focus on other sustainable development ambition levels which were defined in the theoretical framework. When relating this to the lessons learned of the cross case analysis, in which the lesson of focussing on as many as possible different ambition levels increases the legacy was learned, naturally the idea to incorporate all types of initiators follows. By allowing different types of stakeholders to join the Olympic movement and initiate their own interpretations of and within the movement, under certain coordination, will lead to interwoven objectives created on a broader basis. This development will eventually provide broader legacy creation.

In the Netherlands, the NOC*NSF, the national sports and Olympic commission, is the initiator of the Olympic movement. This type of initiator has not occurred in the cases and therefore it offers a new dimension. The character of this initiator is that it is a private organisation, with a limited, mainly financial, public control. This type of stakeholder thus has the same characteristics of a central government and private initiator, and thus the same benefits.

Their main concept and ambition which they want to achieve, namely integrating sports more into the society, will evidently form the core of the entire Olympic movement. This concept is related to other ambition levels due to the characteristics of the NOC*NSF, as it implies that developments are to be made if this ambition is to be reached. This presents opportunities for stakeholders necessary to complement and complete the Dutch Olympic movement so that initiatives and objectives will be optimally dispersed over the governance, social and spatial ambition levels. Including a large number of stakeholders which will create own policies and initiatives could lead to a disorderly organisation and Olympic movement. Therefore the necessity of a strongly coordinated movement will add value to the Olympic movement and might even create a head start compared to the evaluated cases. This might create additional time which can be used for formulating the plans and thus improving their quality. Figure 6.1 provides an abstract view of the optimal broad focus on the ambition levels in the Netherlands compared to the analysed cases. This broad focus should in theory create an optimal broad legacy, as the ambition levels should complement one another.

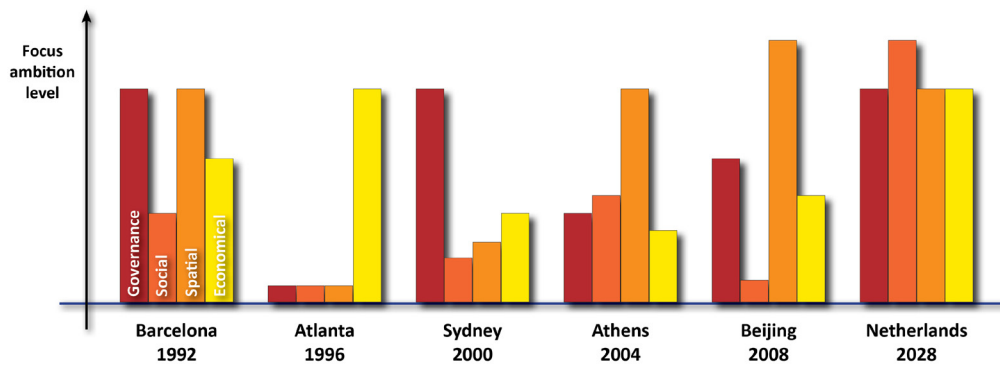


Figure 6.1: Abstract vision of ambition level focus

6.2.2 Stakeholders and the organisational structure

According to the lessons learned from the case analysis, an optimal organisational structure include all types of stakeholders. This will create all kinds of developments which will benefit the legacy created. Within this extensive organisational structure, the government should exert a centrally controlled power, which will create attractive development conditions for private stakeholders to join in on the partnerships by lowering the investment risks. The private stakeholders are then to be approached in order to have an edge in creating and securing positive legacy, in which the private stakeholders are superior and more sophisticated in than the public stakeholders. The involvement and inclusion of the civic society will increase the support of the developments, and thus decrease the social resistance, and will additionally increase the quality of the developments as they will then be revised by a broader group of stakeholders, which are also inflicted the most. Within this context it is of importance to be aware of what all the other stakeholders are capable of. Mistakes like Athens made can thus be avoided and the organisational structure can be used to its full potential. All these lessons learned can be useless if the developments are not integrated into the general urban planning context. If the Olympic developments do not complement the general developments, and thus both exist on different scales, the catalyst effect the Olympic movement is capable of is not used to its potential and the Olympic developments can eventually lead to developments which are superfluous.

In the Netherlands, van Hasselt et al (2010) identified the opinions of the potential stakeholders in the Dutch Olympic movement. The general result was that the government needs to exert central control in order to oversee all developments. Additionally they are responsible for the infrastructure developments and support the construction of other types of structures, i.e. sports venues, facilities, etc. Private stakeholders in their turn must initiate the latter named developments. Though they have the demand that these developments must be market bound after the Games. A distinct complementation is noticeable between the public and private stakeholders. In addition, the opinion of the civic society has been included in creating the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' during the first phase.

The characteristics which are desired of the organisational structure are clear, extensive, governmental control and private and societal involvement and contribution. This has the strongest correlation with the organisational structure applied in Barcelona. This structure is therefore looked at closely when constructing the suggested organisational structure for the Dutch Olympic movement. The clear aspect indicates that the organisational structure must be grasped by all involved parties. This suggests an organisational structure with a single basis. When the structure evolves through the phases, it must still maintain the recognizable factors it started with. The only alterations should be additions to the structure or minor shifts. These facts suggest that the organisational structure in the initiative phase created the basis for the structure throughout all phases in the entire process.

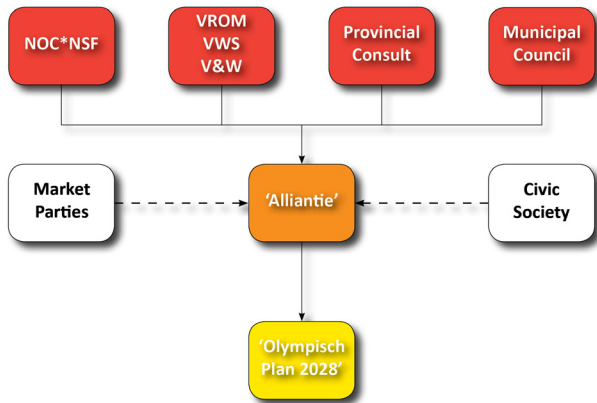


Figure 6.2: Organisational structure phase 1

To recapitulate, the whole Olympic movement started in 2006, i.e. the start of the initiative phase. In this phase the NOC*NSF launched the Olympic idea and took initiative in exploring the Olympic assignment in the Netherlands, as elaborated in the fourth chapter. In this phase the 'Schetsboek' was made, and this study formed the basis for the 'Olympisch Plan 2028', which was the final product in this phase. Figure 6.2 shows the involved stakeholders and the product of this phase.

Certain influential individuals from the NOC*NSF, diverse ministries, the provincial and municipal government form the 'Alliantie'. The 'Alliantie' is in turn strongly influenced by market parties and the civic society in order to simultaneously achieve an optimal legacy. This then produces the 'Olympisch Plan 2028'. The end of this phase has just been reached and thus the next phase commences.

In 2010 the planning phase commences. This phase starts with the studies elaborated in chapter four which explore the spatial assignment to more detail. A feasibility study is conducted and the decision to continue the Olympic movement is made at the end of this phase in 2016. Additionally the necessary developments for reaching the Olympic level which have been distinguished in the 'Olympisch Plan 2028' are initiated and realised. Also the chartered infrastructure developments which are necessary with or without the certainty of hosting the Olympiad are initiated halfway. Figure 6.3 visualizes the organisational structure including the stakeholders and the delivered products.

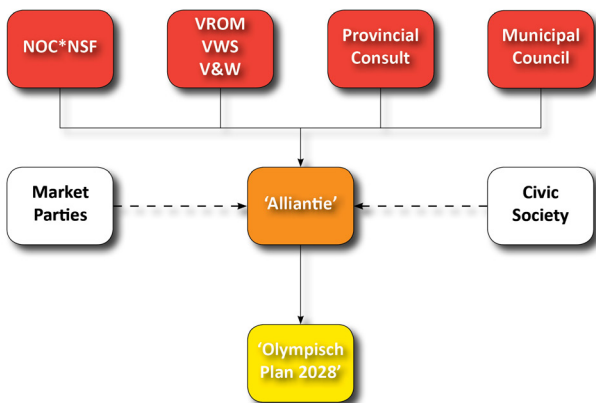


Figure 6.3: Organisational structure phase 2

The addition in this figure compared to the preceding structure in 6.2, is the involvement of market parties, private as well as societal stakeholders, in the development process. The civic society still has a strong say in the developments, as they must also benefit from the created legacy. The products produced are divided into infrastructural projects and the sports developments needed to reach the desired Olympic level.

The further evolution of the organisational structure is elaborated in the following phases, when the remaining and related development structure aspects are discussed.

6.2.3 Urban development strategies

The urban development strategies of the cases have been identified by sustainable development ambition level in the cross case analysis. Several important lessons were learned per level. The most important lessons are cited once again. Concerning the governance ambition, it is only necessary to adapt traditional partnerships if the current are not suffice enough to accomplish the desired goals. The enhancement of the international profile can easily be attained in the pre-Games phase by establishing a special commission which is totally devoted to this single goal, e.g. the ATC in the Sydney Olympic movement. Within the social ambition level, it is important not to neglect the lower social classes, as it has been proven difficult to include them in the general enhancement of the city. Therefore including developments aimed especially

at these particular citizens is vital for a broad legacy. Spatially there is one single important strategy in order for the Olympic developments to be interwoven with the general urban masterplan, namely develop on lands which are owned by the government and have strategic locations. Barcelona is an excellent example for this strategy, in which the adjacent areas also were significantly developed due to appreciation of the lands. Athens made the mistake of not choosing strategic locations, as they were not able to as they did not own them, which lead to a very poor urban integration of the developments. Additionally the lesson has been learned that when focussing on all the above mentioned ambition levels and implementing the strategies correctly, economical benefits will automatically follow, e.g. as they did in Barcelona. The lessons learned can be reflected on the situation and mind state in the Netherlands, which was identified in the fourth chapter. This creates urban development strategies on all four ambition levels.

Governance strategies

Governance is the backbone of all developments and therefore the correct governance can create or obstruct opportunities. The Netherlands uses a variety of partnership models and are accustomed to all of them. The preferred partnership model, with a strong governmental control and private and societal inclusion, is not unfamiliar to the Dutch urban planning. The size of the partnerships in the Olympic movement however, is new. The so called desired super-PPP's, an exponent of the traditional PPP's, will be a new concept, but will be based on the characteristics of the normal partnerships.

The Netherlands has already started a movement for enhancing the international profile. By securing large scale international sports events, the Netherlands want to secure a place on the international map. The strategy they launched was a collaboration between the large municipalities, the NOC*NSF and the Dutch organisation for tourism and conventions (NBTC) to lobby for international sports events by competing with foreign nations and no longer between each other (www.olympisch-vuur.nl). This is an important part of enhancing the international profile, however the general exposure and perception of the Netherlands towards foreign nations must also be dealt with. Sydney provides an excellent example for this goal, as they established the ATC with its sole potential of marketing Australia. They achieved an excellent result with a very small budget. Therefore it will be wise if the Netherlands implements this strategy as well.

In 2016 the in paragraph 4.4.2 mentioned 'grey' phase, i.e. the Olympic preparation phase, starts; necessary infrastructure developments are well on their way, and if the decision is made to place a bid for the 2028 Olympics, direct Olympic development plans, which are strongly integrated with the infrastructure and the Olympic developments, for hosting the event are prepared for the bidbook. This phase is thus clearly characterised by planning and developments which run parallel to each other, but to achieve an optimal legacy have to be integrated with one another. This requires a strong control so that the overview secured. The phase ends in 2021 when the host city of the 2028 Olympic Games is chosen. Figure 6.4 shows the concerning structure.

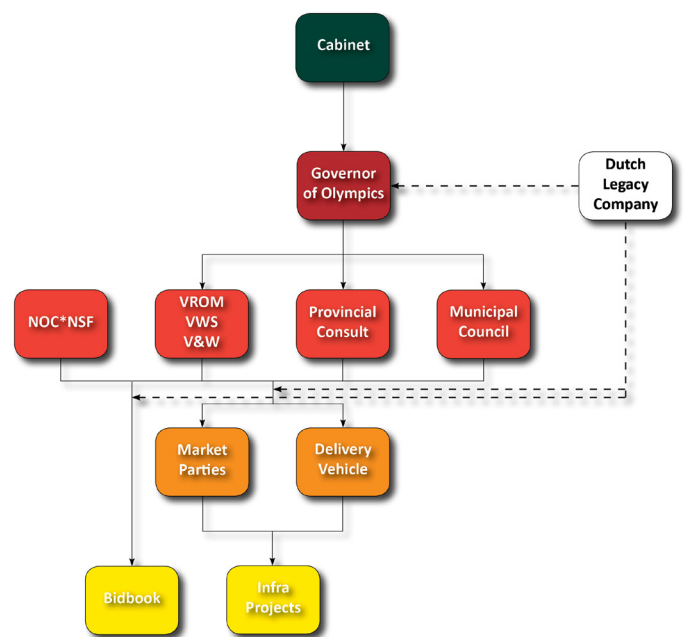


Figure 6.4: Organisational structure phase 3

The main addition to the basic organisation structure is that the whole governmental involvement is coordinated by a Governor of Olympics. This person has direct contact with the cabinet in the parliament and makes executive decisions. In the Dutch context this person can be compared to the 'Deltacommissaris'⁴.

In addition the 'Alliantie' is disbanded after the developments in the preceding phase are completed. In place of the 'Alliantie', van Hasselt et al (2010) place a 'delivery vehicle'; an organisation which sole responsibility is that the desired developments actually are realised. This organisation can be related to the HOLSA in Barcelona and the ODA in London. Furthermore they distinguish an organisation which look out for the interests of the society, the Olympic Development Board (ODB). The ODB has been renamed the Dutch Legacy Company (DLC), as the organisation is not solely to function as an advisory board, but will steer the development processes in order to create the most optimal legacy. The parties of which the DLC consists should have a strong knowhow of the entire Dutch Olympic movement, should be strong influential stakeholders and should also be stakeholders which have the objective to create an optimal social legacy which will benefit the largest target group possible. These characteristics are also found in the group of stakeholders which created the 'Alliantie'. Therefore the 'Alliantie' will have a name and function change into the DLC as they are the most prominent stakeholders to fulfil the job. This new organisation takes over the place and role the civic society had in the preceding phases. The products which will be delivered in 2016 are the bidbook and the necessary infrastructural developments.

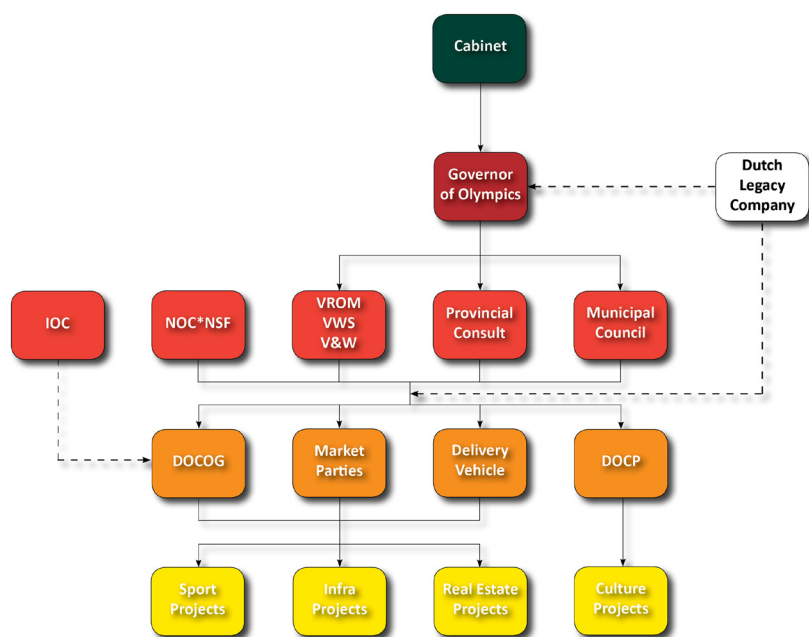


Figure 6.5: Organisational structure phase 4

If the Netherlands is chosen in 2021 to deserve the right to host the Olympic Games, which this research presumes, the full preparation of the developments necessary for the Olympic Games will commence. The organisations included and the delivered products are shown in figure 6.5. The additions are the involvement of the IOC, the establishment of the Dutch Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (DOCOG) and the Dutch Olympic Culture Programme (DOCP), both hypothetical. The IOC has the interest in a well organised Olympiad and therefore supervises the DOCOG which is the legal organisation responsible for a well organised Olympiad. The DOCP is responsible for the Olympic cultural event and the including developments.

There is a strong resemblance with the organisational structure which was distinguished in Barcelona. This structure had the characteristics of being ambitious, extensive, it was under governmental control, included private and societal involvement and the government's attitude was active. These characteristics are also desired in the Dutch context and therefore the model used in Barcelona can act as an important reference. Additionally, the legacy created in Barcelona was very positive, which creates a lot of opportunities in the Netherlands.

⁴ The 'Deltacommissaris' is the government commissioner in the Netherlands who responsible for the 'Deltaplan', i.e. the plan to protect the Netherlands from the sea and to provide fresh water in the future, and looks after its execution (www.deltacommissaris.nl).

Social strategies

The main concept of the Dutch Olympic movement is to integrate sports more into the society. Not only the social strategies play a role for this objective, the spatial strategies will also play a significant role in achieving this desire. The analysed cases have not implemented these goals and strategies, so a reference cannot be made. However, using common sense can also provide adequate strategies. For integrating sports into the society, and especially reaching the lower social classes, integration on street level in the urban structure is necessary, e.g. football pitches and other sporting facilities. Therefore developing and providing facilities on this scale level in dense urban areas will create a strong basis for sports in the society.

Additionally, the Olympic Village might provide the necessary social housing developments. The shortage of social housing in the four largest cities in the Randstad can be partially addressed by developments on strategic locations involving the Olympic Village which can be transformed into social housing after the Olympic Games. Due to strict IOC regulations concerning the distance between the Olympic Village and the facilities and venues the ideal development locations cannot be appointed yet as the location of the Olympic venues have not been chosen yet.

An Olympic ambition which has been set in the Dutch Olympic movement by the NOC*NSF is the ambition to improve the health of the Dutch population. Health has a strong correlation with sports, as the more people play sports, the healthier they are. Recently the Dutch football association, the KNVB, received a unique honorary title of being a 'medical centre of excellence' from the FIFA (www.knvb.nl). The further exploration of this theme could create unique opportunities concerning medical centres in combination with sports.

Finally the mobilisation of the civic society to collectively support the Olympic movement might provide an extra positive stimulus which in turn can create opportunities. The way in which Sydney and Beijing mobilized their citizens to volunteer for helping the Olympic movement must be seen as an example for the Dutch movement. This also brings forth a positive side effect, namely reduction of the costs.

Spatial strategies

The strategies for the urban structure in the Netherlands depends on the spatial concept which will be eventually chosen. The two scenarios left differ in the location choice. 'Cluster' pursues a single city as main location, and 'Spread' suggests locating the Olympic developments throughout the Randstad. The first will ensure developments dominated in inner city locations, and the latter will ensure developments on an inter city level. Both have their advantages and disadvantages. The first scenario will be cheaper than the latter, and will create, according to the interviewed parties by van Hasselt et al (2010), more benefits, social and economical, for the citizens. The second scenario will be more expensive, due to the necessary infrastructure upgrades throughout the Randstad, but will benefit a much larger target group.

Based on the main concept of the Dutch Olympic movement, integrating sports in the society, logically the choice is made for a spread scenario. The major developments will thus not be concentrated in one particular city, most likely Amsterdam, but are spread over the other three major cities in the Randstad; Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. This strategy will benefit the largest group of citizens, which is the main goal of the Dutch Olympic movement. A balance will thus be created between the before mentioned spatial concepts. The positive aspects of the two remaining concepts will thus complement one another and will overshadow the negative aspects, i.e. larger costs and limited integration of the Olympic developments into the urban structure.

When referring to the cases, Barcelona achieved the best score for improving the urban structure of the city. Their strategy was to develop four key strategic located areas. This enforced infrastructural developments for the benefit of the accessibility of the areas and the connection with the city and other Olympic development areas. The spread areas in Barcelona were industrial (grey) areas and areas with a high touristic potential and good accessibility.



Figure 6.6: Organisational structure phase 4

Also the areas were spread through the city to additionally benefit the infrastructural network. The same strategy can be implemented in the Netherlands. By appointing several Olympic development areas divided over the different major cities in the Randstad, the same legacy might be achievable. When superficially scouring areas with the same characteristics, the following areas are suggested; the old inner harbour of Amsterdam (west), the old inner harbour area in Rotterdam, the former Olympic area near the Zuid-as in Amsterdam and the touristic coastline of The Hague (Scheveningen). The cities and areas in the cities are shown in figures 6.6 and 6.7. These areas all have the potential of transforming into areas which could have a great international allure and the infrastructural network between the cities can then also be upgraded where necessary.



Figure 6.7: Organisational structure phase 4

Economical strategies

As learned before, no special focus has to be put on the economical ambitions. A long-term tourism and business plan will be supportive of the long-term economy and will create a stronger international position for the Randstad. However, in order to be capable of dealing with the potential economical growth the Olympic developments might provide, it is sensible to upgrade the economical infrastructure so that it is capable of dealing with this growth. Minor improvements, e.g. in Atlanta and Sydney, to the central business district by upgrading the communication infrastructure are sensible investments for being ready to accommodate a larger economical business hub.

6.2.4 Budget and financial structure

A comprehensive analysis of all the costs of former and future Olympic host cities from 1972 till 2016 provided insight in the cost patterns and budget and financial structure relationships with the strategies. First of all, the operation of the sports events themselves have always cost US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion. The majority, if not all, of this amount was provided from revenues gained from the marketing revenues of the TV-rights, ticket sales, merchandising, etc. This will be no different in the case of the Netherlands.

As no current sports venues or facilities satisfy the Olympic standards, new or temporary structures must be built in order to be able to host the Olympiad, as renovation is out of the order. These constructions may also be additions to current structures so that these will be

large enough during the Olympics to satisfy the standard. For example the old Olympic stadium in Amsterdam can be expanded so that it is capable of seating enough spectators. There is however, an additional strategy which might be used. Existing facilities that currently do not function as a sports venue can be used by making relatively small alterations. For example indoor halls such as the RAI or AHOI, which recently hosted the gymnastics world championships, can be used to stage indoor events, such as gymnastics, basketball, combat sports, etc. This has the strong advantage of not creating 'lost' costs for temporary developments which are built especially for the Olympics and are torn down after. However these types of costs are hard to predict due to the fact that the exploratory studies to chart the accommodations have not been finished and thus the definitive decisions have not been made yet. The definitive figures can be estimated after these have been made. Conclusions that can already be drawn are that if the Dutch Olympic movement decides to mainly use existing venues, the costs will be repressed, but the spatial legacy will also be limited.

As mentioned before, infrastructure developments are the most important factor in the total budget, as they form the largest group. A combination of the two spatial concepts has been identified shortly before as to be most likely implemented based on the requirements set by the involved stakeholders. This combination includes intercity infrastructure developments, possible mostly existing of track and road network developments. When comparing the developments made in the separate cases, it is difficult to determine comparable developments to the same extent as necessary in the Netherlands. Atlanta and Sydney have the same infrastructure situation, i.e. a healthy infrastructure network, and they did not make extensive infrastructure investments. The infrastructure investments in Athens were necessary, however to a larger extent than necessary in the Netherlands. Therefore a golden mean is chosen between these cases. Sydney still invested US\$₁₀ 2,5 billion in the most necessary infrastructure, which is regarded as absolute minimum. Athens invested US\$₁₀ 7,2 billion, which is regarded as the upper limit. When considering these two cases, the mean will finally provide a the target investment sum; US\$₁₀ 5 billion.

These developments will be financed by the government, as the private stakeholders in the Netherlands have no interest to invest in this type of developments (van Hasselt et al, 2010). However, the before distinguished lesson of the more invested in infrastructure the higher the economical impact will be, suggests that the infrastructure investments the government will make will directly benefit the citizens and businesses, and will thus indirectly return to the government via taxes and suchlike.

6.2.5 Interferences

The cross case analysis taught important lessons concerning the social resistance and legislation interference. Poor collaboration and insufficient communication in the partnerships and organisational structures, leads to social resistance. When the society or the political opposition is excluded due to time restraint or the private nature of the responsible organisation, respectively Athens and Atlanta, social resistance occurs.

New legislations are made in order to relax and accelerate the Olympic development process. When creating these new legislations, all stakeholders must agree with the new laws. This will also prevent social resistance and thus also will secure a more optimal development process and, in the end, legacy.

Concerning social resistance in the Netherlands, there are already individuals who are sceptical about a future Olympiad in the Netherlands. They say that the Netherlands will never win the bid and that it will be a waste of money exploring the options and placing a bid. These people have to be tempered one way or another. The reason for this is that the former Dutch bid for an Olympiad in 1992 was disrupted by the protest group which was against the Olympics in

the Netherlands.

New legislations are necessary in order to be able to make Olympic developments possible in the Netherlands. This is the opinion of the potential private stakeholders. Public stakeholders disagree as they deem the current legislations sufficient enough. Due to the characteristic of special Olympic Laws, they speed up the development process so that less time is needed to produce the developments, a complete new set of legislations is not necessary in the Netherlands, due to the very long initiative period at hand, i.e. 15 years. This is much longer than the cases had in which the special Olympic Laws were applied. However, possibly certain legislations must be created as Olympic developments request a more complex planning approach. This might relax the process a little. However, decisive statements on this subject are hard to make, as this research is not performed for a law study.

6.2.6 Legacy

All the before mentioned aspects and strategies will, hopefully, lead to an optimal legacy in the Netherlands. The legacy will be spread and noticeable on all four of the development ambition levels. The legacy on these four levels will thus be discussed per ambition.

Governance legacy

The discussed super-PPP's will not commence a fundamental change in the traditional development process and partnerships in the Netherlands. However, the knowledge, skills and capability of organising such an event is a welcome acquisition for future developments. The international (sports-) profile will have increased, whether the Olympic take place or not. The list of scheduled international championships and the championships for which the Netherlands is still in the race is long and diverse. For example the gymnastics World Championships have recently been held in Rotterdam in the AHOI halls, and have received significant media attention. This will be beneficiary for the international sports profile of the Netherlands. Additionally the experience and the prestige of hosting these events will also play a significant role.

In addition to the sports profile, is the general international profile of the Netherlands. When the same strategy as in Sydney is implemented, i.e. establishing an international exposure commission, windmills, clogs and tulips will be known all over the world. This will enhance the perception of the Netherlands in the rest of the world and will eventually play a significant role in the long-term tourism plan.

Finally, a legacy company is a very efficient yet easy method in steering the legacy process. An organisation whose sole purpose is to tune the developments necessary for the Olympiad itself and the developments necessary for post-Games usage, will create a considerably large value within the legacy process. This is shown in the organisational structure in figure 6.8. The final phase, i.e. post-Games phase, starts immediately after the Olympic and Paralympic Games have taken place. The post-Games phase is characterised by the transformation of the executed developments necessary for the Olympics, so that they match the demand and can

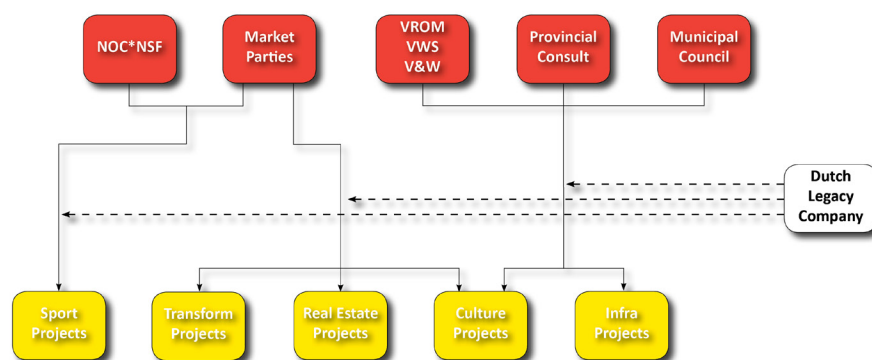


Figure 6.8: Organisational structure phase 5

create the optimal legacy.

The responsibilities for the created legacy are divided and handed over. The NOC*NSF and the market parties will be responsible for the built sport facilities. The market parties will additionally receive the responsibility over the developments which will be transferred to the market after the Olympics, transformed or not. This includes the remaining real estate developments, the transformation projects and a part of the developments built for the culture programme. Finally the government will be responsible for the other part of the culture developments and the infrastructural developments. In this process the DLC is responsible for looking after the process of the developments towards the final use, as these have been determined a few phases earlier. Control over this process will remain vital, as then control can be exerted over the legacy, which will lead to an optimal and broad legacy creation.

Social legacy

On a larger scale, the inclusion of the civic society into the development process will lead to better developments as well as a better acceptance of the developments from the civic society. This will lead to enthusiasm which in the Netherlands will lead to the well-known 'oranje gevoel'. This strong feeling of nationalism will revive and will emanate a positive international perception. This will create two positive intangible legacies; the first being a collective and happy national feeling in the Netherlands; the second is the positive increase in the international profile.

On an urban scale, the integration of the Olympic developments on a detailed urban structure level, e.g. developing soccer pitches in neighbourhoods, will lead to a better and easier general participation in sports of the population. This will then increase the population which sports or regularly exercises. This will create a healthier population and will eventually translate to a more productive and happier population with a higher living quality.

Spatial legacy

'The more infrastructure investment, the higher the economical impact' is one of the lessons learned. Together with an optimal extent of inner city developments to the urban structure, will create the optimal mix of developments with the intent to reach the largest target group possible. The disadvantage is that the costs might supersede the expectations and that the main investors, i.e. the government, cannot afford to invest such amounts due to the current economical situation. Adjustments can then be made for example increasing the usage of existing venues which can easily be transformed. This will limit the costs, though it will also limit the spatial legacy in the urban structure.

By developing on old industrial sites and on sites with a high touristic potential, the economical situation will improve, the urban structure will increase in quality and economical opportunities are thus created in benefit of the entire nation. In other words, the Randstad will strengthen its position in the future.

Economical legacy

As mentioned a few chapters before, economic legacy will automatically follow a broad Olympic movement which is focussed on all the three other ambition levels. Figure 6.1 shows the abstract visualisation. Additionally future tourism and business will form a significant part of the economical impact of the Olympic developments. When comparing the economical impacts of the cases which can be characterised with comparable strategies and developments, the conclusion can be made that the economical impact will surmount to approximately US\$,¹⁰ 15 billion. This is 2,28% of the nations GDP and considering the small economy the Netherlands have, this amount is significant. Compared to the cases the impact is larger than the impact in Sydney and Athens, however significantly smaller than the impact in Barcelona. However this can be expected, as the extent of the developments also falls in between the range of these particular cases.

Table 6.1: Olympic legacies factor consequences

Development structure aspects	Legacy lessons learned from the cross case analysis	Olympic context and public-private opinion in the Netherlands	Olympic development advice for the Netherlands
Initiative & objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government initiative stresses international profile objectives Municipal government initiative stresses the urban structure objectives Private stakeholder initiative stresses the economical objectives Planning time can create opportunities and limit restrictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NOC*NSF is initiator Central government supports ambitions Lift the Netherlands to an Olympic level on all defined ambition levels Strengthen international image Integrate sports into the society Innovate in spatial pressure Sport important economical sector Strong competitive international economy No regret policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Let different types of stakeholders complement one another with setting objectives and starting initiatives on all different ambition levels All the initiatives must be strongly controlled by the 'Alliantie' to keep an overview
Stakeholders & organisational structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government control creates coordinated developments, financial security and decreases risks Private involvement creates financially feasible developments and secures post-Games use The integration of Olympic developments into the urban masterplan benefits the catalyst effect Awareness of the role of all the stakeholders and their capabilities optimises the partnerships Inclusion of the civic society in the planning phase increases support and development quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government; central control, responsible for the infrastructure developments and supports other constructions Private; must initiate the development of sport venues and facilities, which will be able to be market bound in the post-Games phase Characteristics organisational structure; extensive, clear, governmental control and private and societal involvement and contribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public and private stakeholder must complement each other concerning the Olympic developments Government exerts central control, is responsible for infrastructure developments and supports the developments initiated by the private stakeholders Private stakeholders must initiate the development of the sports venues and facilities Inclusion of the civic society will increase value Create a clear organisational structure which will not alter per phase
Urban development strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only adapt changes in traditional partnerships if absolutely necessary Massive international exposure can be secured by establishing a responsible committee Include developments aimed at the lower social classes to secure their increase in living quality Strategic government owned locations must be chosen to support governmental control on the developments More infrastructure development leads to a higher economical impact When the strategy focus is on governance, social and spatial ambitions, the economical ambitions will follow 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration in general masterplan in the Netherlands Upgrade sports organisation and facilities Multifunctional developments Stimulate science, knowledge and innovation Focus on social ambitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> S-PPP's provide more partnership possibilities Secure large international sport events Establish an international exposure organisation Secure lower social class integration in plans The 'spread' spatial concept will benefit a larger target group Appoint several (3-5) strategic development areas throughout the Randstad Create long-term tourism and business plan Upgrade economical infrastructure Appoint a Governor of Olympics (government commissioner) Establish a delivery vehicle Establish a legacy company
Budget & financial structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Olympiad itself always costs between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion and is financed by market revenues The budget for the construction of venues and the infrastructure follows the set objectives and strategies Infrastructure interventions, urban planning and financial resources determine the financial structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Costs for sports structures depends on strategy and is private stakeholder responsibility Infrastructural costs differ per scenario and are the responsibility of the government stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Olympiad itself always costs between US\$₁₀ 2-3 billion and is financed by market revenues Making small alteration on existing structures will save money Finance of the sports structures will be evenly divided by the private and public stakeholders The infrastructure costs for the 'spread' concept will approximately surmount US\$₁₀ 7-8 billion and are the government's financial responsibility Watch out for strong anti-Olympic voices New legislations should be openly discussed
Interference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social resistance almost always results from poor collaboration or insufficient communication Beware of communication within the organisational structure when implementing new legislations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private stakeholders want new legislations For now, public stakeholders deem no new legislations are necessary Social protest can always emerge 	
Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only change planning culture when necessary and appropriate Living and spatial quality is attained via integrated Olympic developments in the urban structure The economical impact is strongly dependent on the extent of the infrastructure developments Including lower social classes in the legacy benefits needs extra precautions Secure post-Games use with a legacy company A long-term tourism plan supports long-term economical development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public and private stakeholders wish to include the legacy objectives in the planning phase and already secure legacy to a certain extent Include private and social stakeholders to influence the developments in their own way 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The legacy company must steer the legacy process The legacy responsibilities must me clearly divided

source : compiled by author

T.C. Dantzer (red) battles Cheney Haight in their first of two fights in the greco roman 74kg class at the 2008 US Olympic Team Trials at the Thomas and Mack Center



Chapter | seven

7

Reflections and Recommendations



7.1 Introduction

Reflecting on one's work is a valuable tool for learning from mistakes or successes. Considering subject, the followed process, used methods and final product can provide valuable information which can help and support future research, by the author himself or for others. Not only looking back can have an added value on one's expertise and knowledge, also looking forward can provide additions to the learning curve. Recommendations are made for future research on Olympic development theories, on general Olympic developments and on the future Olympiads in London and possibly the Netherlands.

7.2 Research reflection

The reflection on the research can be divided into three categories; the Olympic subject itself, the process and methods used and the final product. First of all, the Olympic subject is a very hot topic. Since the Olympic Games in Barcelona were a huge success and created a very strong positive legacy for the city, the Olympic subject has been addressed an enormous amount of times. Books and articles from all over the world contain subjects related to the Olympic Games which have been written from almost as many perspectives. This creates an enormous database of information concerning Olympic developments and ambitions. Although this might seem to create a significant number of opportunities for Olympic research, it also creates a large obstacle to overcome. The Olympic subject is such an extensive and complex subject, that retrieving the information vital for the research being executed is a very complicated business and takes a large amount of time. Reading diverse articles and only retrieving one or two sentences which are applicable or gathering information that can be found when reading between the lines occurs more than welcome. This creates an additional dimension in the research, though it does make the subject more interesting and appealing by making it just a little bit more challenging.

The process design used in this research has not altered a great deal since the first phases of the research until the last. This brought consistency in the process which benefitted the quality of the products delivered. The phases in the research were chronologically ordered with the products of each phase supporting the next steps in the research. This created structure in the process and could thus provide well founded reasoning throughout the whole process and ended at the final product. The case study, which included five cases, was conducted via an extensive literature study. A large amount of information was gathered, structured and processed, on all individual cases. The information was then submitted to a cross case analysis and well-grounded conclusions were established. This process can be characterized by being valid and clear, though simultaneously extensive and thorough. This could then in turn provide well-grounded conclusions and the basis for the next phase in the research.

The multiple case study ran parallel to the study Deloitte and NIROV were conducting. This did create some difficulties in the process as the processes often did not match, but due to a close working relationship information was passed to and from continuously throughout the process. They acted as a sparring partner and by continuously assessing each other's conclusions, a final product with a higher quality could be reached.

Though the amount of gathered and processed information is enormous, the final product is an abstract formulation of an analysis of the conclusions. This is due to the fact that it is difficult to draw conclusions on a subject which is in such an early phase in which the exploratory studies have merely finished. This has led to a strategic plan which is not too detailed and still has some loose ends left, however in general the conclusions reached are well grounded and provide the research a sufficient closure. The loose ends are a perfect springboard for recommendations for future research, which will be discussed in the following paragraph.

7.3 Recommendations

When considering the future of Olympic research a number of subjects come to mind. First of all, while conducting this research numerous questions have popped up which could create a whole separate research of their own. These can be divided into theoretical questions and questions that can further explore Olympic movements.

There were numerous theoretical questions which popped up during this research. Two of them will be discussed as by answering them, they might create significant opportunities and clarification concerning Olympic developments. The question is whether there is a correlation between the public and private development dominations and the degree of successful legacy creation. The graph in figure 7.1 provides an abstract visualization of the question. When exploring this theoretical question the results might provide very clear insights in which stakeholders are the most optimal parties to be involved in Olympic developments.

The second theoretical uncertainty concerns the total Olympic costs. Figure 7.2 shows that there is a significant gap between the total costs between former Olympic hosts. Sydney is the only case that can be placed in the gap, but still on the bottom end. It thus might be interesting to explore why there are no cities in this area. Reasons may be found concerning the infrastructure investments or that the revenues will not be sufficient enough to make the Olympic investments feasible. The answer could be very interesting for future potential host city.

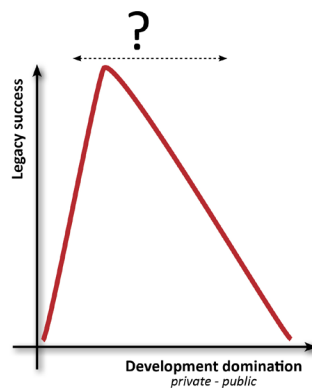


Figure 7.1: Development domination and legacy success

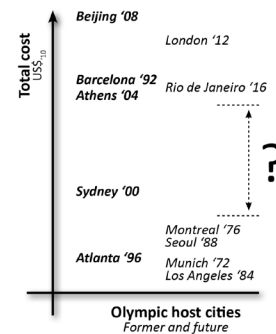
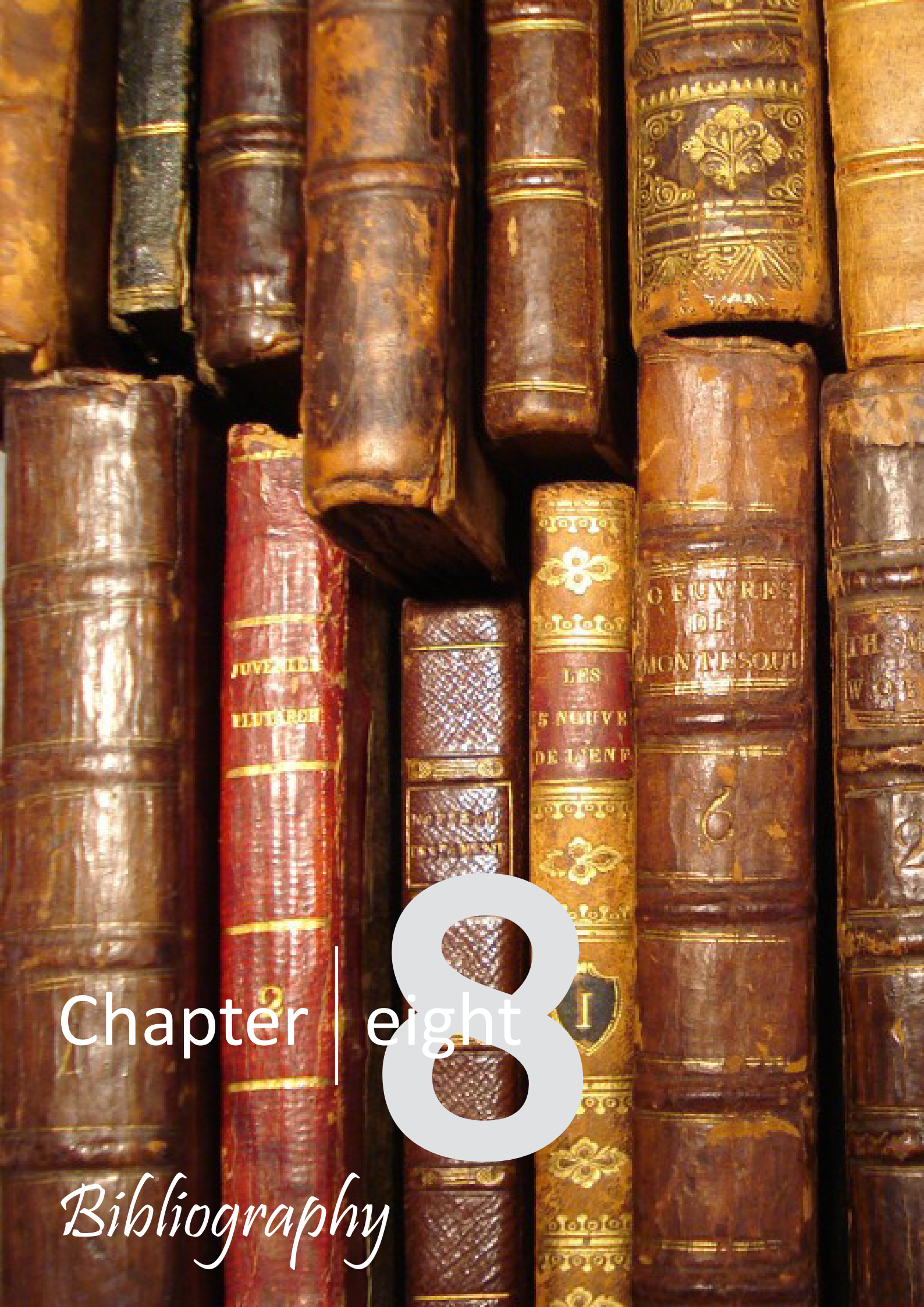


Figure 7.2: Gap in the total Olympic cost

There are a variety of open questions still to be explored concerning the Olympic subject which have originated from this research. Five of which will be briefly discussed. The first interesting research might be to explore the effect of the Olympic title a city carries after the Games. Additionally it is interesting to explore the effect of lost bids. These two aspects might answer a lot of questions on the effects of the Olympic Games in an urban context, tangible as well as intangible. Additionally the strain of the economical impact can be an important lesson for potential future host cities, especially cities in nations or regions with smaller GDP's. The impact of the Olympic Games not only can have an enormous effect on the local economy, but if dealt with improperly can also produce an enormous burden. Several former host cities have proven that.

On a more detailed level the effect of temporary venues and facilities on the legacies might create different insights in the application of venue strategies. All the effects of different venues strategies could be explored and analysed. In the same line is the true effect of a legacy company. Maybe this type of organisation has been used before in different developments, otherwise a research can be conducted well after the London Olympiad to see what the effects were of their London Legacy Company.



Chapter | eight

8

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