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DISSERTATION

Biding, hosting and legacy from Sydney 2000 to Paris 2024: successes and limits of the inclusion of the 'sport for development and peace' vision

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Introduction

There is a common belief that sport mega-events, like the Olympic Games, can have positive impacts beyond the event itself. Such impacts have been given increasing importance over the past 25 years, leading to the progressive emergence of the concept of legacy as a core element of the Games. As a result, since the Sydney 2000 Olympics legacy planning has become an important dimension of the biding and hosting of the Games. This evolution in the vision for the Games is the result of the influence and advocacy of the sport-for-development-and-peace (SDP) movement, which seeks to contribute to social and human development through sport. However, the relationship between the SDP movement and the Olympic movement is complex. This dissertation aims to identify to what extent the SDP vision has been included into the Olympic Games, analysing successes achieved over the past 25 years as well as the main limits and future challenges.

The focus is here on the Summer Olympic Games, which are more important than the Winter Olympic Games both in terms of size and international audience. As the main Olympic event, the Summer Games therefore provide a better starting point to analyse the inclusion of SDP vision into legacy. It has to be mentioned that the Summer Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games, held one after the other in the same host city, are part of one single concept. Candidatures for the two events are indeed made through one single bid, the same infrastructure is often used for both events, and legacy planning encompasses both the Olympic and the Paralympic Games. Nevertheless, it is the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that takes the leading role regarding legacy, rather the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) which for now stays focused on consolidating the Paralympic Games. Therefore, the IOC is the most relevant institution when analysing the inclusion of SDP vision into Games legacy. The Olympic and Paralympic Games will also sometimes be simply referred below as the Olympic Games or the Games.

Past Olympic and Paralympic Games – namely Sydney 2000, Athens 2004, Beijing 2008, London 2012 and Rio 2016 – will provide a relevant base to analyse the progressive evolution of legacy planning on the one hand, and limits in legacy implementation on the other hand. Planned legacy of Tokyo 2020 will not be discussed, as the Paris 2024 legacy planning provide a better case study of future Games by being more in line with the current IOC's strategic roadmap. In addition, it has to be noted that legacy planning is designed 7 years before the Games, when the host city is elected. It is important to keep this in mind when comparing the

evolution of IOC's vision and legacy planning (see [Appendix 1](#)). Thus, the 25-years period used in this dissertation is aligned with the election of Sydney as a host city in 1993.

After short theoretical considerations providing a better understanding of the concept of legacy and of the SDP movement, this dissertation will focus in a first part on the progressive inclusion of the SDP vision into the Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016. This part will analyse legacy planning of these Games in the one hand, and the evolution of IOC's vision over the same period on the other hand. The aim of this analysis will be to show in what areas of legacy the SDP vision has been the most or the least included. Then, a second part will focus on implemented legacies in past Games. A particular attention will be paid to negative effects and limited legacies – with case studies on the environment and on urban regeneration projects – and to how these negative impacts can be explained. The third part will focus on the last step passed by the IOC regarding the inclusion of the SDP vision into the Olympic Games, with the adoption in 2014 of the Olympic Agenda 2020. The aim of this last part will be to identify the improvements and future challenges regarding, illustrated with a case study of Paris 2024, the first post-Agenda 2020 Olympic Games. Finally, the conclusion will summarise the various findings to identify areas of improvements to achieve better legacy, and then further the discussion on limits and future challenges of the inclusion of SDP vision into the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

Theoretical framework
Definition of concepts – Legacies and impacts

The concepts of Olympic legacies and impacts have now been well developed into the Olympic discourse as well as in the broad literature on Olympic Games. Various definitions of these two terms exist, thus creating a blurred understanding of what they refer to. Impacts of the Olympic Games are here defined as the broad consequences of the Games on the host city, whether they are positive or negative, planned or unplanned, lasting or ephemeral, direct or indirect. The concept of legacy, as defined by the IOC, refers to a particular kind of impacts: it is "all the long-term benefits initiated or accelerated by the hosting of the Olympic Games for the people, the territories, and the Olympic Movement"[1]. Olympic legacy is the result of the alignment between the host city's vision and the Olympic Movement's vision, on what initiatives should be implemented to ensure long-term benefits of the Games. The Olympic and Paralympic Games can therefore act as a catalyst of the host city's development.

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[1] IOC Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward, 2017. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Further considerations provide a better understanding of how impacts and legacies materialise. First, they can be either tangible – concrete and measurable outcomes such as improved infrastructure and financial aspects – or intangible – subjective and less measurable outcomes such as raised awareness and change in attitudes[2]. Second, impacts of the Games are not necessarily anticipated by the host city. Efforts from the host cities to ensure positive impacts of the Games have been materialised in the recent improvements in legacy planning during the biding phase, but this does not avoid unexpected impacts, whether they are positive or negative. Third, impacts and legacies can affect almost every aspect of society through sporting, socio-cultural, economic, urban, and environmental outcomes.

The sport for development and peace movement

The SDP movement, emerged in the 1990s, aims to use sport to deliver lasting social and human development in deprived communities and in society as a whole. There are two different but inter-linked approaches of the SDP movement. First, the 'sport development in community' approach aims to provide opportunities for talented athletes in disadvantaged communities, by developing sport infrastructures and coaches. Secondly, in the 'community development through sport' approach sport is only seen as a tool, it is the vehicle or catalyst of social change in the community. This second approach is essential. The success of the SDP movement indeed lies in the capacity of sport, in its educative dimension, to teach skills and values that or useful for life. Therefore, sport is not an end, it is a means to achieve broader development goals.

The SDP vision has also been progressively included into the organisation of international sport mega-events. SDP organisations such as the Youth Charter have been instrumental in this evolution by working in collaboration with and providing policy advice to organisers of mega-events including Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games or FIFA Football World Cups[3]. The objective of SDP organisations advocating to global sport institutions is to include the SDP vision, especially the 'community development through sport' approach, into the planning and delivering of international sporting events. The global audience created by these events, as well as the massive economic investments that can be realised for their organisation, should indeed be considered as an incredible opportunity to implement initiatives, in parallel of the event

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[2] Preuss, H. (2007). The Conceptualisation and Measurement of Mega Sport Event Legacies. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 12:3-4, 207-228

[3] www.youthcharter.co.uk

itself, that truly benefit local communities. These initiatives would be the main legacy of the event.

Due to its pioneer status and its engagement with sport mega-event organisers, the Youth Charter's vision can be used as the framework for the analysis of the inclusion of the SDP vision into the Olympic Games. The Youth Charter has identified the 'legacy development goals' (LDGs) that should shape legacy planning of sport mega-events. These goals are inspired from the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and correspond to the areas of development which sport mega-events legacy could contribute to. LDGs fall into five categories: education (attendance, attainment and performance); health (physical activity, wellbeing and active lifestyle); social order (civic rights and responsibilities); environment (community cohesion and quality of life); and vocation, training, employment and enterprise. LDGs should also be achieved following two core principles: collaboration and partnership; and equality, diversity, participation and inclusion[4]. These LDGs will be used here as the framework to analyse the inclusion of the SDP vision into the Olympic and Paralympic Games legacy.

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[4] Thompson, G., 2014. 2012 Games Legacy Report - A Games Legacy for All. Youth Charter, Manchester, United Kingdom.

I. The progressive inclusion of the sport for development and peace vision in the Olympic Games

Progressive inclusion of legacy planning into Olympic Games biding and Hosting

A comparative analysis of the planned policies and programmes implemented prior to and during the Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016[5] provides an understanding on how legacy planning and the 'sport for development and peace' vision have been progressively included in the preparation on the Games. The framework for the analysis follows the Youth Charter's 'legacy development goals', namely education, health, social order, environment, and vocation, training employment and enterprise, as well as the core principles of collaboration and partnership, and of equality, diversity, participation and inclusion. When analysing these areas separately, it appears that each Games had its own strengths and weaknesses. But overall, Beijing 2008, London 2012 and Rio 2016 Olympics present the most comprehensive legacy planning.

Source: www.olympic.org

Source: www.paralympic.org

Education

Each Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016 has implemented an education programme during the period between the bid phase and Games-time, which included at least awareness on the Olympic Games and the promotion of Olympic values. However, these education programmes differ in terms of number of schools and children reached, and in terms of content as some host cities took initiatives to enhance or go beyond Olympism.

The Sydney 2000 National Education Programme was launched across Australia, reaching 10,400 schools. In Greece, the Athens 2004 Olympic Education Programme provided teachers and school students with multimedia tools to implement the programme in Greece and in Greek schools abroad. Both programmes focused only on awareness about the Olympic Games and promotion of Olympic values. At Beijing 2008, the Olympic Education Programme reached

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[5] Bid documents from 2000 to 2016 (see Bibliography)

the biggest number of children, as it was designed to be delivered to every 400 million Chinese students, especially the 230 million in primary and middle schools. Beijing 2008 also implemented initiatives regarding the content of the programme. The Model School Programme selected 556 'Olympic education model school' (including 200 in Beijing area), which took the leading role by comprehensively implementing the Olympic Education Programme and organising various activities about Olympism. In addition, more than 200 primary and middle schools in Beijing were partnered with schools from other countries participating at the Games through the Heart-to-heart partnership programme. This programme aimed to promote school-to-school communication and cultural exchange on the theme of Olympism.

Then, London 2012 and Rio 2016 witnessed two main evolutions, in line with the sport for development and peace vision. Firstly, education programmes were expanded to foreign countries, thus reaching more diverse audiences. London 2012 created a specific programme, called International Inspiration Programme, which reached 12 million children in 20 foreign countries in addition to the Get Set programme implemented nationally in 25,000 schools (80% of UK schools) and reaching 2 million children. At Rio 2016, the 'Transforma' Education Programme involved 8 million students in 16,000 schools in 3,032 cities in every Brazilian state and was also delivered in 20 other countries. Secondly, the contents of the education programmes was more comprehensive. The London 2012 International Inspiration Programme was adapted to the specific development and education needs of the communities, such as better school attendance, development of life skills, or empowerment of girls and young women. The programme even contributed to the amendment of 29 laws around the globe. At Rio 2016, the promotion of sport and healthy lifestyle was an important aspect of the 'Transforma' Education Programme nationally and internationally through projects and initiatives implemented in schools.

Health

The promotion of physical activity and healthy lifestyle was not included in legacy planning of Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004. The first efforts were made in Beijing 2008, and then comprehensive initiatives promoting sport and healthy lifestyle reached a wider audience in London 2012 and Rio 2016.

The Olympic legacy promoting sport and healthy lifestyle can be separated into two main categories. Firstly, sport infrastructures are improved with the post-Games use of new-built and/or upgraded sporting venues. After Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004, venues met the needs

of sports federations, therefore being used mainly for elite sport. A shift in the post-Games use of venues occurred with a stronger commitment to open venues to public and recreational access after Beijing 2008, London 2012 and Rio 2016 Games. In Beijing, venues in the university area has been converted as sports centre for students, and other venues converted for sporting post-Games use are available for public recreation. In London, the only two venues built for the Games were converted in an Aquatics centre and a Velopark opened for public after the Games. In Brazil, the 43 training facilities built in Rio and other cities for the Games are located in local communities and close to public schools.

Secondly, hosting the Olympic Games can be an opportunity to showcase sport and promote physical activity. Although such initiatives were not implemented at Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004, they then became an important aspect of initiatives implemented prior to and during the Games. At Beijing 2008, during the Olympic Festival mass sport events were organised, which included sport competition and physical activities, as well as physical examinations, lectures on sports, and other activities. A nationwide Fitness Programme was also launched to raise public awareness and develop sport participation, through several initiatives such increased public funding of fitness projects or the creation on a National Day of Fitness. At London 2012, the initiatives promoting healthy lifestyle, such as mass dance events involving 5 million people nationwide and more than 900 sport-specific projects implemented in communities, led to an increase of people playing sport weekly from 1.3 million to more than 15 million. At Rio 2016, cultural initiatives showcased a range of sports and other physical activities. In addition, partnerships were made with NGOs to implement projects to increase sports participation in local communities; the 'Rio Olimpico' state-run programme increased investment in sport infrastructure; existing programmes promoting sport in schools, such as Programa Segundo Tempo and School and University Games, were expanded respectively from 1 to 3 million and from 2.5 to 5. million young people; the Olympic Training Centre would provide scholarships to athletes from other nations; and 11,000 scholarships were to be offered to talented young people by 2018.

Social Order

Initiatives aimed to improved social order and civic rights and responsibilities are almost absent of Olympic Games legacy planning. At Sydney 2000, the Olympic site was located on an area important in Aboriginal history, particular attention was therefore given to respecting and showcasing Aboriginal culture. At London 2012, the Get Set and International Inspiration programmes included some activities addressing issues such as bullying, gang

violence and drug use. Social order is the area were legacy planning is the weakest, and no progress has been made from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016.

Environment

Environmental legacy planning was already important in Sydney 2000, progress has therefore been incremental until Rio 2016. Environment legacy planning includes many different areas. Overall, Athens 2004 was the Games with the weakest environmental legacies and Beijing 2008 and Rio 2016 had the most comprehensive environmental legacy planning.

Hosting the Olympic Games accelerated the development of transport infrastructure. Every host city benefited of expanded and improved public transport network. The best Olympic legacy in public transport has been the increase of the number of people using public transport in Beijing (from 28% in 2002 to 34.5% in 2007) and in Rio (from 16% in 2009 to 63% after the Games).

Except in Beijing, hosting the Olympic Games led to the regeneration of the Olympic site, in alignment with urban development needs. The Homebush Bay in Sydney, the Faliro coastal zone in Athens, and the Olympic park in East London were previously disaffected and polluted areas, which have been regenerated and rehabilitated to public access during the preparation of the Games. The most impressive was in Rio, with the regeneration of the four Olympic sites areas (Barra, Deodoro, Maracana and Copacabana), which represent around 50% of the city's built perimeter.

Except in Athens, new venues built by host cities used energy-saving and ecological technologies. Venues construction in Sydney respected the Sydney 2000 Environment Guidelines in key areas including water conservation, limited pollution and waste management. In Beijing, high technologies were used to build 'green venues': all venues were equipped with waste water recycling, 10 venues had solar water heaters, 9 had ecological heating devices, 7 had solar photovoltaic power generation system, and 60% of the venue area was green space. In London, venue construction had a 'zero landfill waste' objective, were sustainable technologies were used as well. London 2012 was the first Olympic Games to receive the ISO 20121 certification, the international standard for sustainable events. In Rio, new venues were equipped with solar energy for water heating and were certified as green buildings. The Games were certified ISO 20121 as well.

In parallel with sustainable venue construction, host cities took initiatives to enhance environment protection. Cleaning operations were realised as part of the regeneration and

rehabilitation work in venue sites in Sydney, Athens and London. Other environmental initiatives were also taken in these cities, such as tree-planting, protection of natural species in venue sites. Environment protection went further at Rio 2016, as sustainable actions on water conservation, renewable energy, pollution reduction and waste management were expanded in all the four venue areas (beyond the venue sites alone), thus covering 50% of the built city. But the biggest efforts in environment protection were made in the preparation of Beijing 2008: US$ 12.2 billion were invested in environmental protection between 1998 and 2007, thus leading to important improvements in the entire city in air quality, water quality, and waste disposal.

Except in Sydney, efforts were made to raise environmental awareness. Local communities were involved in environmental initiatives and actions in venue sites in Athens and London. Environmental awareness activities were included in the Beijing 2008 Olympic Education Programme, and 170,000 Greek pupils and students received environmental education as well. Athens 2004 volunteers and staff received environmental education and training. In Rio, training on environment was online.

Vocation, training, employment and enterprise

Regarding training and employment, all Games had similar and comprehensive training of volunteers and staff. Volunteers composed the majority of workforce in each Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016. They were mainly recruited for Games-time period. The number of volunteers was more or less proportional to the size of the host city, as there were 46,000 volunteers at Sydney 2000, 39,000 at Athens 2004, 100,000 at Beijing 2008, 70,000 at London 2012, and 50,000 at Rio 2016. In London 2012, 2,500 young volunteers (aged under 18) were also recruited. In Beijing, the mobilisation of volunteers went way further than Games-time volunteers employed by the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games, as 480,000 volunteers were recruited by the city of Beijing to work in the 550 service stands across the city to provide information to visitors. In addition, more than 1 million self-engaged 'social volunteers' worked in communities and public spaces in public order maintenance, city operations, eco-conservation, medical care, disability assistance, etc.

Volunteers and paid staff of each Olympic Games all received appropriate training in orientation training, job-specific training and venue training. Further training was provided in Sydney 2000 (training of volunteer drivers), in Athens 2004 (environmental training), in London 2012 (training of volunteer drivers, 4,000 medical volunteers trained), and in Rio 2016 (online training on environment for all, accessibility training for 2,500 volunteers and staff).

Two main evolutions can be noticed. Firstly, progressive efforts have been done to expand training to people outside Games workforce, especially local communities. Sydney 2000 offered training to 12,000 people in the building and construction industry and customer service training for 50,000 professionals. London 2012 developed a UK-wide training programme for competition managers and technical officials. Beijing 2008 and Rio 2016 developed foreign language training programmes, offered to more than 1 million people in each of the two cities. Secondly, inclusive recruitment policies and programmes were implemented in Athens 2004 and London 2012. Through the STAGE programme, 8,905 unemployed people were hired in Athens 2004, representing 63% of paid staff. 500 long-term unemployed people were trained and helped to apply for volunteering for London 2012. Volunteers in London 2012 also included 2,000 disabled people. These two evolutions are in line with the sport for development vision.

Collaboration and partnership

The principle of collaboration and partnership was respected in all Games, which were organised in coordination with institutional stakeholders. All Organising Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOG) from Sydney 200 to Rio 2016 worked in close collaboration with the IOC, the IPC, International Federations, NOCs and NPCs, as well as with relevant local and national governing bodies.

Dialogue with and involvement of civil society was also important in the preparation of all Games, with Rio 2016 as having the most effective collaboration with civil society stakeholders, involved both in the legacy planning and in the implementation of legacy projects. The Sydney 2000 OCOG included a Multicultural Advisory Committee, a National Advisory Committee, and a Social Impacts Advisory Committee, each composed of people from the civil society. The less important collaboration with society stakeholders was in Athens 2004, as social partners and civil society were involved only in a one-year consultation in 2003. In Beijing 2008, the Bid Committee included representatives of the civil society, and collaboration with community organisations was instrumental in the development of the volunteer, education and cultural programmes. Local community was consulted in the preparation of London 2012, with the creation of a Youth Panel, the consultation of 5,000 residents around the Olympic Park, and collaboration with TELCO (The East London Communities Organisation) which lead to the acceptation of a series of 'ethical' proposals in the bid phase. The most effective collaboration with society was achieved in Rio 2016, with a collaboration with civil society in legacy planning for the Games, and the creation of a

'stakeholder engagement plan' to involve associations and NGOs in the implementation of legacy projects in communities.

Equality, diversity, participation and inclusion

Finally, efforts were also made to ensure equal, diverse and inclusive participation to the Games. During the preparation of every Games, the Torch relay has been an opportunity to include the population from outside the host city into the Olympic spirit. In Australia, 85% of the population was less than one-hour drive from the Sydney 2000 torch route. In Greece, the Athens 2004 torch relay crossed all the 54 prefectures. The Beijing 2008 Torch relay stopped in 105 cities in 31 provinces and autonomous regions of China, including areas with important minorities, and torchbearers were selected from all 56 ethnic groups. In the UK, the London 2012 torch route was designed to be within 10 miles of 95% of the population. Finally, the Rio 2016 relay crossed 329 towns in all five regions of Brazil. The main difference between the 5 cases studied here is that until Beijing 2008, the torch relay also crossed countries in all five continents representing the Olympic rings. For ecological reasons, since London 2012 the Torch is only lightened in Greece and directly starts its journey in the host country.

In addition to the Torch Relay, three main evolutions in the inclusiveness of the Games can be highlighted. First, some initiatives have also been taken, to ensure that participation to the Olympic Games reflects the population diversity. In Sydney 2000, a Multicultural Affairs Programme ensured that all programmes incorporated the needs of communities, and the Aboriginal Advisory Committee was consulted and involved throughout the Games. In London 2012, Live Sites were installed in all UK regions and attracted 8.1 million people; more than 20,000 local people (among the applicants who were not recruited for the volunteer programme) were recruited as 'Local Leaders' to be ambassadors of their communities during the Games and raise enthusiasm in their communities; the Nations and Regions Group was created to ensure lasting Games benefits across the UK; and 2,713 'Inspire' local community projects were awarded and connected with the Games. In Rio 2016, inclusive recruitment programmes aimed to facilitate the recruitment of people with impairment, young and senior citizens, and people from ethnic minorities. Second, from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016 accessibility has been progressively enhanced to improve access for disabled people and their experiences of the Games. In every Olympic Games from 2000 to 2016, all venues were accessible for disabled people, as well as transport infrastructure used to access games venues. In Athens 2004, greater Athens municipalities were encouraged to make infrastructures accessible, and commercial operators were informed about accessibility. In Beijing 2008,

14,000 renovation projects were implemented in the city for a better accessibility of infrastructure and public places. In London 2012, a mobility assistance service was implemented in venue sites to help disabled people to access venues. In Rio 2016, accessibility in venues was expanded with accessible communication tools to improved disabled people's experience during competition events. Third, since 2008 inclusive ticketing policies have been implemented to ensure a better diversity in the participation to the Olympic Games. During Beijing 2008, 14% of all tickets were at special price to encourage youth participation, and these tickets were subsidised for primary and middle schools. At London 2012, 340,000 tickets were distributed in schools and other organisations, and 300,000 more young people were invited to the games for free. In 2016, tickets for Rio Olympics were distributed to different community groups. The greatest innovation of Rio 2016 ticketing policy was the instauration of quotas for disabled people.

Hence, the sport for development and peace vision has been progressively included into legacy planning of the Olympic Games. Although not perfect yet, the best improvements have been made in education, health, collaboration with civil society, and the promotion of equal, diverse and inclusive participation. The natural and urban environment was already an important feature of the Games concept for Sydney 2000 and has been enhanced in other Games, whereas social order has been almost absent from legacy planning over this period. Although some improvement can still be achieved, the sport for development and peace vision has been better included into Olympic legacy, especially since Beijing 2008. Another evolution that can be noticed is that after Beijing 2008, the Olympic Games started to have a minimal economic and environmental impact, with the use of mainly existing venues for instance.

The recognition by the IOC of legacies as a core dimension of the Olympic Games
The concept of Olympic legacy from the 1990s to 2012 – The evolution of IOC's vision

The evolution in legacy planning of Olympic Games since Sydney 2000 translates an evolution in the vision of the IOC, which is the institution in charge of selecting the host city among the numerous candidate cities. From the 1990s to the election of Rio as host city of the 2016 Olympic Games, the IOC vision of what should the Olympic Games look like has been increasingly influenced by the sport for development and peace movement.

The environment has been the first area of the sport for development and peace vision to be comprehensively adopted by the Olympic movement. The Lillehammer 1994 Winter Olympic Games was the first time that the environment legacy was explicitly included into the biding and hosting of the Olympic Games. As mentioned above, legacy planning for Sydney 2000 already included sustainable venue construction and environment-friendly initiatives through the *Environmental Guidelines for the Summer Olympic Games*. In 1996, one year before the election of Athens as a host city, the IOC amended the Olympic Charter to establish the environment as the third pillar of Olympism (alongside with sport and culture). Then in 1999 the IOC the 'O*lympic Movement's Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development*', in line with the United Nations Agenda 21 established during the 1992 Earth Summit. The Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 recognised that sports policies, including the biding and hosting of major Games, should endorse the principles of sustainable development and contribute to environmental protection[6]. As a result, since the candidature for the 2008 Olympic Games the environment and sustainable development have become a decisive criterion for the IOC, though it was not an official requirement yet.

Other areas of the sport for development and peace, to which Olympic legacy planning should contribute, were also progressively included into the IOC vision since the 1990s. The principle of equality, diversity, participation and inclusion has been well discussed within the Olympic movement, with the organisation of numerous world conferences held by the IOC on topics such as 'Sport for All'[7] or 'Women and Sport'[8]. The role of the Olympic Games in promoting mass sport participation was also included in the IOC's vision as early as the foundation of the modern Games in the late 19th century and is explicitly stated in the Olympic Charter[9].

Regarding education, a big step forward was made with the creation in 2007 of the Youth Olympic Games, with the first edition held in 2010 in Singapore. Sport, education and culture are equally important in the Youth Olympic Games, with a comprehensive Culture and Education Programme[10]. More importantly, this represent a shift in the IOC's vision of how the Olympic Games can contribute to education, from a focus on Olympic values and awareness

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[6] Sustainablity Through Sport: Implementing the Olympic's Movement Agenda 21, 2012. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

[7] https://www.olympic.org/sport-and-active-society/conferences

[8] https://www.olympic.org/women-in-sport/advocacy/ioc-world-conference-on-women-and-sport

[9] Veal, A.J., Toohey, K., Frawley, S., 2012. The sport participation legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games and other international sporting events hosted in Australia. Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events 4, 155–184.

[10] https://www.olympic.org/news/what-is-yog

of the Olympic Games only, towards a more comprehensive approach of Olympic education in and beyond schools. Although less than in the Youth Olympic Games, this 'new' approach has also been progressively reflected into the education programme of the Olympic Games, with the content of Rio 2016 education programme being more comprehensive than in previous Games.

This progressive evolution of the Olympic movement's vision eventually led to the recognition of legacies as a core dimension of the Olympic Games: in 2008, legacy planning was for the first time included in the candidature requirements for hosting the 2016 Olympic Games, with candidate cities required to include legacy planning in their biding[11]. The explicit recognition of legacy as the main positive outcome and one of the main aspects to measure the success of the Games of the Olympic Games came in the period between 2008 and 2012. Building on what had already been achieved in previous Games, the IOC recognised and promoted the role of the Olympic Games in achieving development through sport, in areas such as gender equality, education, sport participation, culture and the environment[12].

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[11] Veal, A.J., Toohey, K., Frawley, S., 2012. The sport participation legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games and other international sporting events hosted in Australia. Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events 4, 155–184.

[12] Building a Legacy Through Sport: IOC Final Report 2009-2012, 2012. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

II. Questioning the effectiveness and limits of (tangible) Olympic legacies

Typology of negative impacts and limits of legacies

The progressive inclusion of legacy planning into the biding and hosting of the Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016 did not avoid negative impacts over this period. Because of the late official recognition of the importance of legacy by the IOC, as well as the lack of legacy requirements in the Candidature Process, legacy planning by host cities was not comprehensive, despite the incontestable progressive inclusion of the SDP vision. As a result, Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016 also had negative impacts on host cities and their communities. Therefore, two main limits of legacy planning can be identified. First, legacy planning failed to encompass all aspects of the Games, thus resulting in unplanned impacts which have sometimes been negative. Games legacies are the "known unknowns" of the host city, as it is impossible to know what the real effects of the Games will be, although a better legacy planning could reduce uncertainty on the results of legacy initiatives. Second, legacies can be less important than planned or even become negative, because of the "unknown knowns", referring to the potential negative impacts often denied or repressed by the host city[13]. These two limits of legacy planning can result from an overestimation of the positive outcomes of the Games, or from an unsuccessful implementation of legacies because of a lack of detail in the legacy planning or a non-alignment of the Games vision with the city's vision.

These negative effects and limited legacies often result from a range of problems which have been common to several past Olympic Games. The overestimation of economic benefits and underestimation of costs often leads to a final budget higher than the budget planned in the bid, as in Athens 2004 where hosting the Games cost at least 3.4% of Greek GDP. The cost of the Games for the population is also exacerbated when public funding is used to build infrastructure benefiting the private sector, especially when private funding is lower than expected like in London 2012 because of the financial crisis. Another limit of many past Games has been the lack of alignment between the infrastructure built for the Games and population's needs, resulting in urban development driven by the needs of the Games – as in Rio which hosted three mega-events in one decade, including the 2016 Olympic Games – and oversized or unused infrastructure post-Games – as in Athens where new-built Olympic venues have become unused sport facilities. Finally, another negative effect of the Olympic Games can be

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[13] Horne, J. (2007). The Four 'Knowns' of Sports Mega-Events. *Leisure Studies*, 26:1, 81-96

the marginalisation of local population, whether it is lack of public consultation during the biding phase in Sydney, lack of Games-time participation of communities in Beijing, forced displacement of population in future Olympic sites in Beijing and Rio, or regeneration projects in disaffected areas leading to gentrification in London (see case studies below) [14].

Evaluating the impacts of the Games, whether they are positive or negative, is a long-term process as some impacts and lasting legacies need several years or even decades to be measured. Moreover, intangible impacts of the Games are difficult to measure, which is exacerbated by the lack of monitoring and evaluation initiatives in the past Olympic Games. The case studies below therefore focus on some of the already measurable tangible impacts of the Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016. They provide a brief understanding of the limits of environmental impacts of the Games, and of the marginalisation of the poor in host cities.

Case study 1: Host cities failing to deliver the planned environmental legacy

As mentioned above, legacy planning for Sydney 2000 included the *Environmental Guidelines for the Summer Olympic Games*, which aimed to ensure environmental and sustainable initiatives in the preparation and hosting of the Games in five main areas: energy conservation, water conservation, waste minimisation, pollution management, and protection of natural and cultural environment. These guidelines were the fruit of a commitment of the city of Sydney and the North Wales region to create 'Green Olympics'. As a result, several initiatives were successfully implemented in the construction of venues, the environmental regeneration of the Olympic site in the Homebush Bay, and at Games-time. Sydney 2000 Environmental Guidelines also set a new standard, as similar guidelines have been included by host cities into legacy planning in the next Games. However, the environmental legacy of Sydney 2000 also presents two important limits. First, the OCOG failed to successfully meet the Enironmental Guidelines, since some of the initiatives included in the bid were not implemented. As a result, the regeneration of the Homebush Bay was not as successful as planned. Second, the lack of initiatives to raise awareness about the 'Green Olympics', as well as on environment protection more broadly, reduced the impact of Sydney 2000's environmental legacy. The Games indeed failed to create new environmental standards in other economic activities in the city[15].

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[14] Martin Muller, 2015. The Mega-Event Syndrome: Why So Much Goes Wrong In Mega-Event Planning and What to Do About It. Journal of the American Planning Association 81, 6–17.

[15] Briese, R., 2001. Sustaining Sydney: The "Green Olympics" from a global perspective. Urban Policy and Research 19, 25–42.

The case of Sydney 2000 illustrates the difficulties host cities can face in the implementation of environmental initiatives. Despite the ambitious "environmental guidelines", and many successful initiatives, the Sydney 2000 OCOG was not able to achieve all its commitments and objectives during the preparation of the Games. Disappointingly, the lessons from Sydney 2000 were not learnt as failure in delivering the planned environmental legacy was even more important at the Athens 2004 Olympic Games.

Athens' candidature was very ambitious, as the city intended to deliver 'Green Olympics' with stronger environmental legacy than in Sydney 2000. Although public transport infrastructure witnessed important improvements during the preparation of the Games, the environmental legacy of Athens 2004 was eventually very low. During the candidature process, the Olympic Village was presented as a model of sustainable construction, with energy efficient technologies, renewable energy, clean materials and waste management. However, the contractors chosen for the construction of the Village did not reflected these environmental recommendations. There were very few energy efficient measures, no use of renewable energy, and extensive use of potentially polluting materials (such as PVC plastics). Air-conditioning systems were also oversized and therefore increasing the impact on the environment. In addition, although the Athens OCOG initially intended to make extensive use of renewable energy in competition venues, no solar energy devices were installed in venues and no renewable energy was used[16]. Another important failure of Athens 2004 environmental legacy was the controversial construction of the Olympic Rowing and Canoeing Centre at Schinias. Environmental NGOs were opposed to the construction of a competition venue in this site, as the area was an important wetland of the region. The venue was eventually built, and despite changes in the initial plans to reduce the impact on the environment, the promised initiatives to protect and restore the area did not occur[17].

Case study 2: Urban development and marginalisation of the poor in host cities
Demolition, displacement and exclusion (Beijing migrant communities)

During the preparation of Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, the city of Beijing evicted population in several suburban districts, through "environmental improvement" projects meant to 'clean' some neighbourhoods in order to enhance the image of the city. Interestingly, these areas were mainly composed of informal buildings occupied by a majority of migrant population. When Beijing was elected host city there were more than 300 such areas in Beijing,

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[16] How green the Games ? A Greenpeace assessment of the environmental performance of the Athens 2004 Olympics, 2004. . Greenpeace.
[17] Environmental assessment of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games, 2004. . WWF Greece.

and the municipality planned to carry out "environmental improvement" projects in 171 of them before the beginning of the Games, which would lead to the eviction of more than 70,000 permanent residents and almost 300,000 migrants. Concretely, the municipality of Beijing intended to demolish informal buildings, which are the only affordable housing for many migrants in the city. Whereas permanent residents and landlords were eligible for compensation, migrants were not. Eventually, the "environmental improvement" projects were not all carried out by Games-times, and the municipality focused on the areas closer from the Olympic sites. These demolition projects were part of the broader city's policy towards migrants. The municipality and the OCOG indeed identified migrants as a concern regarding security and sanitation issues during the Games, and took measures restricting migrants' access to the areas nearby Olympic Venues during Games time, with the prohibition of informal vendors and businesses in the streets. Finally, Beijing's effort to promote celebration of the Games across the city did not include migrant population[18].

In Beijing, the hosting of the Olympic Games provided the municipality with an opportunity to legitimate and accelerate urban development projects. The nature of the "environmental improvement" projects was not detailed during the biding phase. Demolition of informal buildings and population displacement or not necessarily negative, as long as displaced communities receive fair compensation and better housing opportunities. In the case of Beijing 2008 however, it is clear that municipality's objective was the exclusion of migrant population from the areas close to the Olympic sites (rather than just improving the environment). The Games therefore acted as a catalyst of the city's exclusionary policies towards migrants, thus serving Beijing's objective. However, regarding the SDP vision the marginalisation of migrant population is a truly negative impact of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games.

Regeneration and gentrification in East London

A core aspect of London 2012 legacy planning was the regeneration of the six East London boroughs that would be hosting the Games, especially the borough of Newham where 60% of venues were located[19]. Impacts of deindustrialisation and housing crisis are important in these boroughs, where the ethnically diverse population has been facing social and economic deprivation over the last decades. The London 2012 Olympic Games were therefore an opportunity to accelerate regeneration of deprived areas in East London boroughs.

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[18] Hyun Bang Shin, Bingqin Li, 2013. Whose Games? The costs of being "Olympic citizens" in Beijing. Environment and Urbanization 25, 559–576.
[19] Gillespie, T., Hardy, K., Watt, P., 2018. Austerity urbanism and Olympic counter-legacies: Gendering, defending and expanding the urban commons in East London. Environment and planning D: Society and Space.

Regeneration projects were indeed part of a long-term regeneration strategy in East London, whose positive impacts on local communities has been limited. Regeneration projects conducted in East London in the years before the preparation of the Games appear to have led to gentrification, fostering social and spatial exclusion of local communities. A big concern of local communities was therefore whether they would benefit from the London 2012 regeneration legacy or not[20]. In addition to environmental-friendly initiatives to clean and green the area, the London 2012 regeneration plan included the Olympic Village which would be converted into 2,800 new houses after the Games, an important part of them being 'affordable housing', and the new-built sports facilities which would be opened to the public, thus directly benefiting to the East London communities[21]. However, the housing legacy of the Village did not benefit the local residents as much as it was planned. During the biding stage, it had been planned that up to 50% of Village's housing would be classed as 'affordable housing'[22], whereas this number was then reduced to 30%, with an even smaller number being rented as social housing[23].

Presented as one of the main legacy of the London 2012 Olympic Games, the success of the regeneration of East London needs to be nuanced. Environmental initiatives, as well as the construction of new housing and new sports facilities opened the public contribute to the

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[20] Watt, P., 2013. "It"s not for us'. City 17, 99–118.
[21] London 2012 Official report
[22] London 2012 bid document vol 1
[23] London 2012 official report

enhancement of deprived boroughs in the Olympic site area. Yet, despite the efforts to involve local communities during the Games, the long-term positive impact in these communities remains limited, as the London 2012 legacy has contributed to the ongoing gentrification process in East London, thus reinforcing the marginalisation of deprived local communities. In the case of East London, there is a strong contradiction between the announced objective for regeneration to benefit local communities, and the lack of efforts to guarantee the local communities' access to the new housing in practice. Regeneration as part of London 2012 legacy was included in the broader gentrification strategy in East London, thus reinforcing social and spatial marginalisation of the poor in deprived boroughs.

Urban development at the service of the Games (Rio de Janeiro)

The city of Rio de Janeiro witnessed important changes in its urban spatial organisation in the recent years, as it successively hosted the 2007 Pan American Games, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. This has been an opportunity to accelerate urban development to meet the needs of the sporting mega-events, resulting in three important transformations in the city. First, the public transport infrastructure has been considerably improved. Second, ambitious regeneration projects have been conducted in several areas of the city. Third, efforts have been made in the pacification and gentrification of some favelas. The preparation of the 2016 Olympic Games has had impacts on these three dimensions. As part of Games legacy planning, transport infrastructure has been improved, leading to a considerable increase of use of public transport by Rio's population, and the Olympic project also included regeneration plans in the four areas hosting competition venues (as mentioned in part II). The third dimension was however not explicitly included in Rio 2016 legacy planning. The city reinforced military control of some favelas with the creation of 'pacifying police units'. In addition, regeneration projects in venues areas included the removal and/or gentrification of favelas[24]. The municipality's efforts to remove favelas from Olympic sites, legitimated through regeneration projects, led to increased tensions with local communities in the favelas, and can be identified as a negative impact of the Games. One interesting example of such social tensions is the case of Vila Autódromo, a favela located on the planned area for the construction of the Olympic Park in Barra da Tijuca. Once Rio was elected host city in 2009, the municipality developed a strategic plan for the removal of 123 favelas, including Vila Autódromo, by Games-time. The resettlement of communities living in favelas was presented as a legacy of

[24] Luiz Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro, Orlando Alves dos Santos Junior, 2017. Neoliberalization and mega-events: The transition of Rio de Janeiro's hybrid urban order. Journal of Urban Affairs 39, 909–923.

Rio 2016. However, the lack of public consultation during this process led to a failure of this policy to generate positive opportunities for favelas communities. In 2012, the municipality proposed to relocate Vila Autódromo's population in new housings, which was refused by almost all the residents who considered the new housings as lower quality than their current homes. After a new increase of social tension and protests, the city finally accepted that Vila Autódromo's residents would not be forced to move. Nevertheless, the city used coercive means, such as threats or damaging water and electricity supply, to persuade residents to leave to the new housings. The majority of residents eventually left Vila Autódromo, but with the Games approaching the city finally made an agreement in April 2016 to allow the remaining 20 families to stay. With this agreement, they were relocated in new-built upgraded houses within Vila Autódromo, which were delivered just one week before the beginning of the Games[25].

Presented as having positive impacts on local communities, the municipality's efforts to remove favelas from the competition venues areas rather translate a political will to put favelas away from areas attracting international attention and media coverage during the Games, with small consideration of residents' improved living conditions, as illustrated by the lack of consultation and efforts in the initial resettlement process in the case of Vila Autódromo.

What can explain negative impacts and how to avoid them

As outline above, each Olympic Games from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016 had negative impacts or limited legacies, despite the improvements in legacy planning and the progressive

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[25] Sukari Ivester, 2017. Removal, resistance and the right to the Olympic city: The case of Vila Autodromo in Rio de Janeiro. Journal of Urban Affairs 39, 970–985.

inclusion of the SDP vision over this period (see Part II). There are similarities in some of the tangible negative aspects of the different Games. The first one refers to the failure of host cities to implement environmental legacy as planned in the bid, as in Sydney 2000 (despite some considerable successes) and especially Athens 2004. The lessons from the limits encountered by Sydney 2000 regarding the environment were not learnt by Athens 2004, which even had a lower environmental legacy. In both Games, planned environmental legacy was not comprehensively delivered because of a lack of political commitment from the OCOG and the public authorities, which is one of the main explanation of the failure to successfully deliver the planned initiatives and create a positive and comprehensive environmental legacy.

The second similarity is the marginalisation of low-income residents regarding urban development during the preparation of the Games. The cases of demolition of migrants' informal housing in Beijing, gentrification in East London and removal of favelas in Rio are interesting examples of how the Olympic Games can be used by the host city to reinforce and legitimate ongoing exclusionary policies: in the three examples, marginalisation of the poor during Games preparation was part of a broader policy in the city, to which the Games only acted as a catalyst. This direct impact of the Games is a consequence of the non-alignment between Games' vision and city's vision, resulting in the absence of political will to commit to the biding's objectives, which can lead to urban policies having negative impacts and often opposite to the Games' vision and planned legacy – inclusive public participation to the Games' celebration was presented as an important aspect of Beijing 2008 and Rio 2016, and the local communities in East London were supposed to be the main beneficiaries of London 2012's regeneration project. A consequence of such negative impacts can be the increasing of social tensions, because of the appropriation of long-term benefits by the elite (as in East London), or because of the lack of public consultation (as in Beijing with migrants and in Rio with favelas residents).

The lack of political commitment to deliver planned legacy, as well as the exclusionary urban development policies during the preparation of the Games, show that hosting the Olympic Games tends to accelerate and legitimate existing trends, rather than creating new ones in the host city. Moreover, this raises serious questions on whether the purpose of legacy planning during the candidature stage is to truly deliver lasting and positive impacts, or only to be elected as host city. In this context, it is the role of the IOC to ensure that planned legacy can be comprehensively implemented, and that negative aspects are avoided. For instance, environmental legacy planning needs to be complemented with comprehensive commitments.

The Athens 2004 'Principles of the Environmental Policy' and in a lesser extent the Sydney 2000 'Environmental Guidelines' lacked specific, measurable and backed up by law environmental commitments[26]. Regarding urban development policies, candidate cities' vision must be aligned with the games' vision and the SDP principles to avoid negative impacts and socio-spatial exclusion of some groups of the population. This could be achieved through more specific requirements in the candidature process, a better IOC support to the host city or the implementation of comprehensive auditing, monitoring and evaluation process.

Recognising that recent Olympic Games have had some negative impacts and limited legacies, and that legacy planning therefore still needed to be improved despite the recent improvements, the IOC has adopted a new strategy in 2014 – the Olympic Agenda 2020 – to ensure a stronger focus on legacy in future Games.

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[26] How green the Games ? A Greenpeace assessment of the environmental performance of the Athens 2004 Olympics, 2004. . Greenpeace.

III. Paris 2024 (the first post-Agenda 2020 Olympic Games)

The Olympic Agenda 2020 as a new step towards the commitment to sport for development and peace vision

The Olympic Agenda 2020

The last step towards the recognition of the importance of Olympic legacy has been the establishment of the Olympic Agenda 2020 in December 2014. The Agenda 2020 provides a strategic roadmap for the future of the Olympic movement through 40 recommendations[27] on the Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement and the IOC. Legacy and sustainability of the Olympic Games are specifically mentioned in recommendation 1, recommendation 2 and recommendation 4. At least 5 other recommendations are closely aligned with the SDP vision (see Appendix 2). Building on relevant Agenda 2020 recommendations, the IOC has developed a new strategic approach of the Olympic Games, detailed in the IOC Legacy Strategy[28] and in the IOC Sustainability Strategy[29].

The establishment of the Agenda 2020, and the evolution in IOC's strategic approach of the Olympic Games it has led to, has resulted in the explicit commitment of the IOC to promote and enable better Olympic legacy. The Olympic Games are expected to deliver long-term benefits on 7 dimensions:

- Organised sports development: better opportunities and infrastructure to enhance elite sport performance and grass-roots sport participation
- Social development through sport: Olympic values and sport participation to be instrumental in promoting healthy lifestyle, education, peace-building and gender equality.
- Human skills, networks and innovation: the Olympic Games as an opportunity to improve communities' professional skills, create better networks of volunteers and staff, be a catalyst of innovation
- Culture and creative development: increased cultural activities in the host city
- Urban development: improved transport infrastructure, urban infrastructure, and sports infrastructure

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[27] Olympic Agenda 2020: Context and Background, 2014. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.
[28] IOC Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward, 2017. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.
[29] IOC Sustainability Strategy, 2017. . International Olympic Committee.

- Environment enhancement: improved air and water quality, protection of diversity, accelerate transition to low-carbon technologies, environmental awareness
- Economic value and brand quality: positive economic impact for the host city, increased attractiveness

IOC Legacy Strategy

To better achieve such legacies, the IOC intends to increase its role and has identified four objectives to ensure a stronger focus on Olympic legacy. Firstly, the IOC would increase its support to host cities to "embed legacy through the Olympic Games lifecycle". During the two-years candidature process, the IOC will give greater attention to legacy planning of each candidate city and encourage candidate cities to set up a legacy organisational structure. During the preparation phase of the Games, the IOC will provide support to the OCOG and especially the legacy entity to strengthen legacy delivery. And after the Games, the IOC will have a greater role, including in the monitoring of legacies. Secondly, another key element of IOC legacy strategy is to better "document, analyse and proactively communicate the legacy of the Olympic Games". The IOC therefore intends to enhance the collection and sharing of information on Olympic legacy, both for upcoming and past Olympic Games. This would be achieved through the implementation of an IOC legacy reporting framework, applied by all host cities. The main benefit would be a to provide the IOC and future candidate cities with a better understanding of past successful and failed legacies and improve legacy planning. Thirdly, the IOC intends to "encourage legacy celebration" after the Games through various cultural events and activities with communities, in order to maintain the intangible legacy and the Olympic spirit alive within communities. Fourthly, the IOC encourages host cities to "build strategic partnerships", with the main Olympic Movement stakeholders, but also with other organisations that can contribute to implement legacy into communities, such as partnerships with city coalitions, academic partnerships, international organisation, NGOs and community organisations[30].

IOC Sustainability Strategy

In parallel to a strengthened support to the host cities regarding legacy planning, delivering and monitoring, the IOC intends to make the Olympic Games more sustainable. Sustainability is one of the three pillars of the Agenda 2020, encompasses the majority of the 40 recommendations and is explicitly mentioned in 2 of them (recommendations 4 & 5). Although

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[30] IOC Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward, 2017. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

sustainability and legacy are two different concepts, they are interrelated since achieving sustainability seems to be the best way for the Olympic Games to deliver effective and lasting legacy. Sport was indeed recognised by the UN as '"an important enabler of sustainable development" (UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, paragraph 37). The IOC therefore seeks to contribute to the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Olympic legacy in line with the SDP vision is indeed closely aligned with several SDGs (see Appendix 3).

The IOC Sustainability Strategy is focused on the IOC's three spheres of responsibilities, including the IOC as owner of the Olympic Games which is particularly relevant here. Regarding the Olympic Games, the IOC Sustainability Strategy meets the Legacy Strategy. In line with the Legacy Strategy's objective of embedding legacy through the Olympic Games lifecycle, the IOC intends to engage with cities as early as the candidature process to ensure that sustainability is a core dimension of the Games concept. The sustainability strategy focuses on 5 areas, namely infrastructure and natural sites, sourcing and resource management, mobility, workforce, and climate. Concretely, the new IOC strategy for the Olympic Games has been translated into a better inclusion of legacy and sustainability in the candidature process structure during the candidature for 2024 Olympic Games, with a legacy plan required in the Host City Contract 2024. For future candidatures, the IOC strategy is to strengthen requirement regarding legacy and sustainability planning by included specific recommendations for candidate cities.

The recent recognition by the IOC of legacy as a core dimension of the Olympic Games, and the new strategy that was developed in response to this, is the result of two decade of progressive evolution of the IOC's vision, influenced by the SDP movement. The IOC's commitment to contribute to the UN SDGs is indeed closely aligned with the SDP vision, which also seeks to contribute to the UN SDGs through sport. The Olympic legacies identified by the IOC, as well as the focus areas of its sustainability strategy are also in line with the SDP vision and similar to the Youth Charter Legacy Development Goals, although the main focus of the IOC remains on tangible legacy such as the environment and urban development. To be more comprehensive, the IOC vision on Olympic legacy should therefore detail further intangible legacies. Anyway, the Agenda 2020 and the new IOC strategies that led to the inclusion of stronger requirements regarding legacy planning in candidature process are a big step towards better Olympic legacy. It would contribute to a better legacy planning of host cities and therefore avoid limited legacies and negative impacts, as it happened in many past Olympic Games.

New requirements in the candidature process for 2024 Olympic Games

Elected host city in 2013, Tokyo's candidature for the 2020 Olympic Games has not been determined by the Olympic Agenda 2020, indeed adopted one year later in 2014. However, Tokyo 2020 OCOG has been influenced by this new vision, as legacy implementation during the preparation of the Games has been adapted to align with Olympic Agenda 2020 recommendations when possible[31].

The Paris 2024 bid provides a more relevant case study on to what extent legacy planning has been improved, as Olympic Agenda 2020's vision was first included into the candidature process for the 2024 Olympic Games (and for the 2028 Olympic Games as the two host cities were elected simultaneously). The 'Host City Contract Operational Requirements' for the 2024 and 2028 Olympic Games detailed the requirements for the planning, organising, financing and staging of the Games, as part of the contract between the IOC and the host city[32]. It included a part dedicated to sustainability and legacy which ensures a stronger focus on these two issues during the candidature process. The IOC requires the host city to develop a sustainability strategy and an Olympic legacy pan, detailing the city's objectives and how they will be included into the Games project. The sustainability strategy must be aligned with the IOC sustainability strategy, thus follow requirements on the five focus areas (infrastructure and natural sites, sourcing and resource management, mobility, workforce, climate). The host city also has to develop sustainability implementation plans detailing the actions to be implemented in order to meet sustainability objectives, the different stakeholders' roles and responsibilities, resource needs and risk assessment. Regarding the Olympic legacy plan, the IOC requires the host city to address post-Games use of venues and other infrastructures as well as intangible legacies. Although in line with the SDP vision, this does not include specific requirements. The Olympic legacy plan also need to address post-Games use of Olympic brand properties, to ensure the enhancement and protection of the Olympic brand and Olympic movement's image. Both the sustainability strategy and the Olympic legacy plan have to be reviewed and approved by the IOC before publication. In addition, the host city has to ensure good governance through principles such as transparency and audit and monitoring of sustainability policies and plans. A sustainability management plan, covering activities detailed in the sustainability strategy and Olympic legacy plan, also must be developed by the host city in order to ensure that the Games are certified ISO20121 (the standard certification for sustainable management of events).

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[31] Tokyo 2020 Games Foundation Plan, 2015. . Tokyo Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

[32] Host City Contract - Operational Requirements, 2016. . International Olympic Committee.

Finally, the implementation of sustainability and legacy programmes must be monitored, and the host city must provide two publicly-accessible sustainability reports prior to the Games and one post-Games (see [Appendix 4](#))[33].

In addition to the 'sustainability and legacy' part, other requirements related to the SDP vision were included into the HCC for the 2024 Olympic Games. These requirements detailed key aspects of the Games, such as the organisation of a cultural programme and Live Sites in the host city to ensure a more inclusive public participation, the implementation of an education programme promoting sport and para-sport as well as Olympic and Paralympic values in schools, the development of an accessibility awareness and enhancement programme, the development of a plan to engage communities in Games-related activities, and the development of a Venue Master Plan detailing post-Games use and legacy of venues, sustainable construction and management of venues, and protection of natural and cultural sites in venue areas[34].

The implementation of the HCC operational requirements, in line with the Olympic Agenda 2020 recommendations, is an important step towards a better inclusion of the SDP vision in Olympic Games legacy. These requirements provide a guidane for candidate cities to meet IOC expectations in the candidature questionnaire, which is the framework for candidate cities' bid documents. The Paris 2024 Olympic Games will provide a first indication to what extent the new IOC vision of legacy translates into a better legacy planning and implementation during the Olympic Games. A better environment and infrastructure legacy is expected, as the most specific legacy requirements in the HCC were related to sustainability. Intangible legacy was on the contrary not much detailed in the HCC, with the IOC requirements not going further than what had been done in past Games, excepted regarding para-sport and accessibility awareness. Eventually, the IOC would detail further the requirements for 2026 Winter Olympics and beyond, as the IOC legacy strategic approach would be fully integrated to the HCC operational requirements[35].

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[33] IOC Sustainability Strategy, 2017. . International Olympic Committee.
[34] Host City Contract - Operational Requirements, 2016. . International Olympic Committee.
[35] IOC Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward, 2017. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Analysis of Paris 2024 Bid through YC Cultural Legacy Framework

An analysis of Paris 2024 bid documents[36] provides an understanding of the extent to which legacy planning has been improved, compared to past Olympic Games. When analysing through YC CLF, it appears that Paris 2024 legacy planning presents a more comprehensive legacy planning in some areas, although there are also other areas to improve.

Regarding education, the Paris 2024 bid plans to implement a programme reaching up to 7 million young people in potentially all French schools (there are more than 12 million children in primary and secondary schools in France[37]). The education programme consists on the one hand in a national education curriculum promoting Olympic and Paralympic values, as required by the IOC. On the other hand, a nationwide programme was launched in 2016, the "Year of Olympism from school to University", to promote sport participation in schools. This programme features the integration of sport content in general education subjects, the "Olympic and Paralympic week at school" initiative during which 50% of time is dedicated to using sport as a teaching tool and the other 50% to promoting physical activity through discovering Olympic and Paralympic sports, and a digital platform containing educational material and tools.

Sport participation and healthy lifestyle would also be promoted through the Sport2024+ programme. This programme aims to increase by 15% sport participation in society and reach 20% of disabled people doing sport. To reach its objectives, the Sport2024+ programme would develop awareness programmes and implement initiatives encouraging sport participation, such as a publicly financed "Olympic and Paralympic Passport" awarded by sport clubs to young people to try every sport throughout their scholarship, or a certification rewarding employers that offer sport activities to their workforce. In addition, more than 100 million euros will be invested in sport infrastructure by 2024. This includes the creation or renovation of local training facilities, the improvement of eight of the existing venues to be used during the Games, the construction of an Aquatics Centre in Saint-Denis, and the creation of a Paralympic

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[36] Candidature File, 2017. . Paris Candidate City - Olympic Games 2024.

[37] http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid195/les-chiffres-cles-du-systeme-educatif.html

National Training Centre for Youth in Le Bourget. It is planned that all permanent sport infrastructure built for the Games will benefit local communities after 2024.

Moreover, the Paris 2024 bid is in line with the Olympic Agenda 2020 and the IOC requirements regarding environment and sustainability. In addition to awareness programmes, Paris 2024 has indeed developed an "Environmental Excellence Strategy", also seeking to contribute to the UN SDGs and align with the Paris Agreement on climate change. The "Environmental Excellence Strategy" consists in five strategic programmes on the five key areas identified by the IOC Sustainability Strategy (climate, infrastructure & natural sites, sourcing & resource management, mobility, workforce). Among the main initiatives are:

- The use of existing venues has been maximised (70% of venues), and only two competition venues need to be built, which are included in long-term city's urban development: the Bercy Arena II (hosting basketball and wrestling competition) was to be built irrespective of the Games, and the Aquatics Centre will respond after the Games to the lack of public swimming facilities in the Paris Region.

- A sustainable procurement policy and sustainable construction and management would ensure a 100% renewable energy supply during the Games, all new infrastructure receiving high environmental quality certification, and the Games receiving ISO 20121 certification.

- The objective of a 55% reduction in carbon footprint compared to past Games.

- Enhancement of the Natura 2000 environmental protection zone close to venues in Le Bouget, as well as rehabilitation and enhancement of the Seine river banks (including the creation of 10 swimming areas across the Paris Region)

- A sustainable Olympic and Paralympic Village, maximising the use of renewable energy and environmental-friendly technologies and to be converted in 5,000 housings for public use after the Games.

- Creation of a Sustainable Lab, an open-source digital platform gathering citizens' initiatives on sport and sustainability.

Regarding the recruitment and training of volunteers and staff, is aligned with what was already done in past Games, with a planned recruitment of 70,000 volunteers and the Games-related training of all workforce. Volunteers with more than one-year engagement in Paris 2024 will eventually benefit from the French "*Validation des Acquis de l'Experience*", a national certification translating the skills and experience they acquired into the equivalent degree or professional qualification. In addition, providing young people with opportunities to get

professional experience is an important element of Paris 2024 legacy planning regarding vocation, training and employment. Building on the success of the Civic Service programme (offering 16 to 25 years old young people opportunities of volunteer and paid 6 to 12 month working experience serving the general interest, with no education requirement), 80,000 new Civic Service opportunities will be created by 2024 in the area of promoting Olympic and Paralympic values and sport participation in communities. Paris 2024 will also create an international civic service programme for young people to work with National Olympic and Paralympic Committees during the preparation of the Games. Finally, Paris 2024 has also partnered with the Yunus Centre to develop a career transition programme empowering athletes.

Collaboration and partnership with civil society stakeholders seem to be one of the biggest improvements compared to past Olympic Games. During the biding phase, Paris 2024 has developed engagement initiatives to enable the different stakeholders to be involved in the bid: 12 workshops have been held in 2014 with various stakeholders to study the opportunity of the bid; a free to access online platform has been created to organise civil society debates, resulting in over 100 workshops held and 874 legacy propositions posted on the platform; and several consultative committees of 24 athletes and experts from civil society to imagine and design legacy on areas such as athletes' experience, sport in society, environment and youth engagement. During the preparation of the Games, legacy implementation is done by a dedicated structure, Legacy Paris 2024, which brings all stakeholders together (Paris 2024 organising entities, public authorities, NGOs, private sector organisations and community groups). Public engagement into legacy initiatives are also planned, with the creation of a national call to project to select and implement the best legacy initiatives from the general public, and the creation of a start-up incubator dedicated to sport and innovation. In addition, Paris 2024 has also built partnerships with NGOs for specific legacy programmes, such as the UNICEF, WWF France and the Yunus Centre.

Finally, although the Paris 2024 culture programme is not comprehensively detailed in the bid document it can be mentioned that the culture programme aims to be nation-wide, and that the Torch Relay is planned to travel across the five French overseas departments in addition to all metropolitan areas of France. The most important initiative regarding equality, diversity, participation and inclusion is however the strong focus on accessibility and disabled people, as now required by the IOC. During the Games all venues will be accessible, with innovative technology enhancing impaired people's experience in competition events. Volunteers and staff

will also receive accessibility-awareness training and at least 6% of Paris 2024 workforce will be disabled people. In addition, para-sport opportunities will be enhanced by 2024 and research on para-sport would be developed beyond the Games. Finally, as mentioned above the education programme includes disability awareness.

In sum, the Paris 2024 bid document presents several improvements in terms of legacy planning, compared to past Olympic Games. The most significant improvements are the strong focus on disability and para-sport and the sustainability of venues, as now required by the IOC, as well as several ambitious initiatives promoting sport participation, professional opportunities for the youth and collaboration with civil society in the design and implementation of legacy. However, the analysis of Paris 2024 bid through the YC CLF also highlights the lack of legacy initiatives regarding social order. This is one the main limits of Olympic legacy planning, as social order has been the weakest legacy in every Olympic Games over the past 25 years. Yet, in the case of Paris 2024 the location of some venues and the strong focus on the youth provide opportunities, which should have been translated into legacy initiatives.

### Case study: social order and the limits of Paris 2024 legacy

Paris 2024 venues are mostly located within a 10km radius including the city of Paris and a part of the Seine-Saint-Denis department (see Appendix 4). Venues in Seine-Saint-Denis include the Olympic Village in the cities of Saint-Denis and Saint-Ouen; the Stade de France and the Aquatics Centre in Saint-Denis; the Media Village, the Main Press Centre, the Water Polo Arena, the Le Bourget Pavillon I & II, and the Shooting Range in Le Bourget and La Courneuve[38]. These four cities are areas with some of the highest rates of poverty, deprivation and crime in the Grand Paris zone.

Grand Paris, created in 2016 is the conurbation including the city of Paris and the inner-suburban departments of Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne (see Appendix 5). Grand Paris is subdivided into 12 administrative areas called *etablissements publics territoriaux* (EPT). Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen and La Courneuve are located in the "Plaine Commune" EPT, which has the highest poverty rate of Grand Paris (36 per cent of population). Le Bourget is located in the "Paris Terres d'Envol" EPT, which has the third highest poverty

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[38] Candidature File, 2017. . Paris Candidate City - Olympic Games 2024.

rate (26 per cent). In comparison, the average poverty rate in Grand Paris is 18 per cent[39]. The four cities also have high rates of unemployment (see Graph 1) and unqualified population (see Graph 2). In addition, social and economic deprivation have led to anti-social behaviour. Physical violence is far above the Grand Paris average in the four cities, with Saint-Denis and La Courneuve being the most critical. Except in Le Bourget, there are also high rates of degradation and destruction, especially in Saint-Denis, and of drugs-related infractions, especially in Saint-Ouen (see Graph 3).

Graph 1: Unemployment and education in Paris 2024 venues zone in Seine-Saint-Denis compared to Grand Paris average
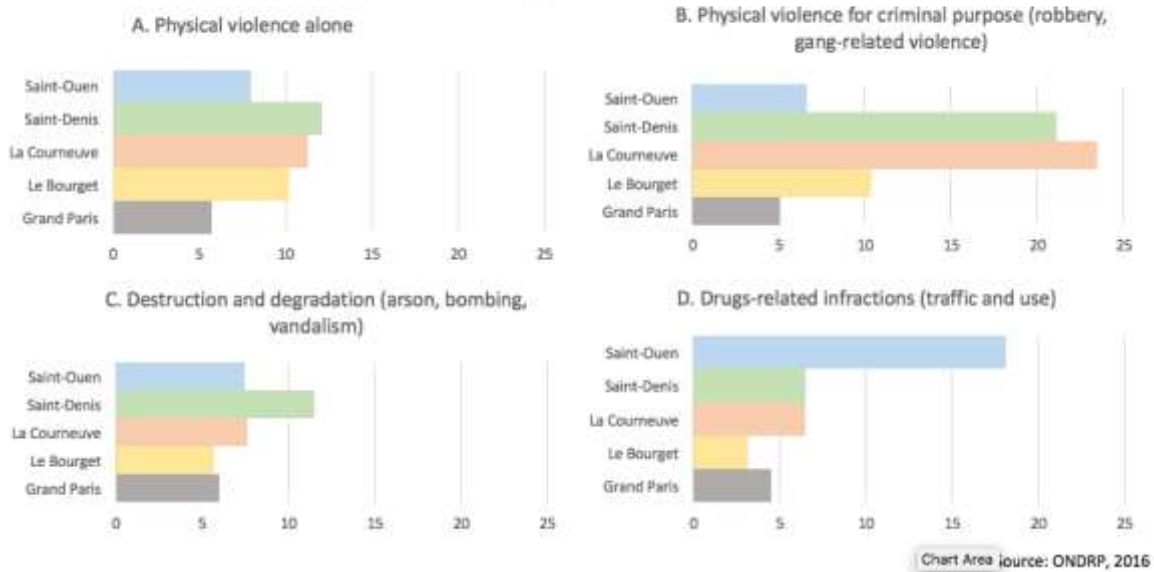

Source: Apur, 2017
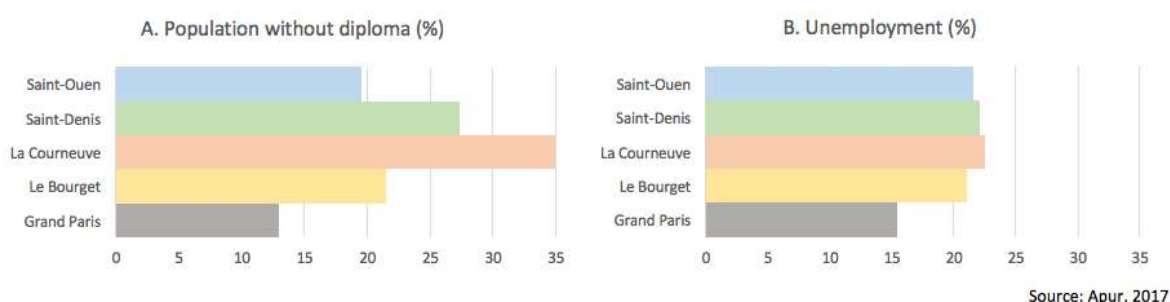
Graph 2: Immigrants and foreigners in Paris 2024 venues zone in Seine-Saint-Denies compared to Grand Paris average

Source: Apur, 2017

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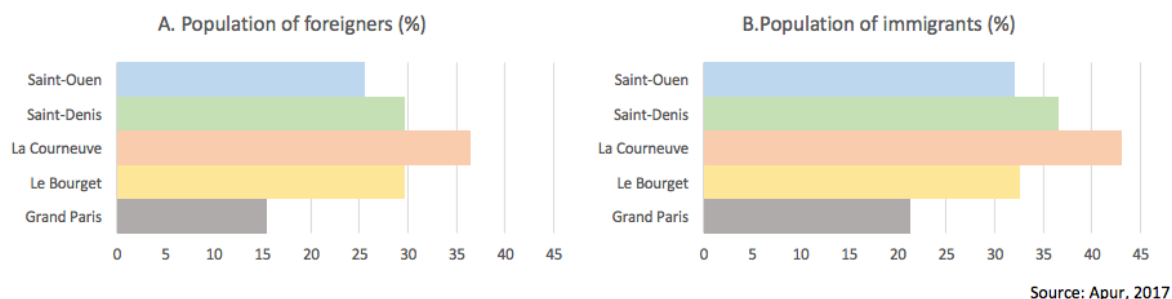
[39] Boussad, N., Martinez, C., Moreau, E., Roger, S., 2017. Métropole du Grand Paris: des écarts de revenus encore élevés malgré la redistribution. Insee Analyses Ile-de France.

Graph 3: Reported crimes and infractions in Paris 2024 venues zone in Seine-Saint-Denis compared to Grand Paris average (per 1000 inhabitants)

A. Physical violence alone

B. Physical violence for criminal purpose (robbery, gang-related violence)

C. Destruction and degradation (arson, bombing, vandalism)

D. Drugs-related infractions (traffic and use)

Chart Area Source: ONDRP, 2016

Therefore, there is a need of more social order in these areas. The hosting of some Paris 2024 venues in Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen, La Courneuve and Le Bourget is an opportunity to implement social order legacy initiatives in these cities. However, social order is absent from Paris 2024 legacy planning. This relies in a lack of political commitment rather than in a lack of capabilities. The Generation 2024 programme was indeed developed to ensure that the whole Paris 2024 vision, especially legacy, was designed in collaboration with society and would benefit society, with a particular focus on the youth – who will be the main actors of the Games in 2024. This programme has been instrumental in the significative improvements in legacy planning compared to past Olympic Games regarding collaboration with civil society and professional opportunities for youth, as detailed above. The Generation 2024 programme even recognised the high diversity of Seine-Saint-Denis as a strength for Paris 2024 workforce and professional opportunities[40]. Communities in Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen, La Courneuve and Le Bourget have indeed important rates of immigrants and foreigners, far above the Grand Paris average (see Graph 4). These communities would also be one of the main beneficiaries of renovated sports infrastructures and the new-built Aquatics Centre – provided that access is affordable. Hence, communities in venues areas in Seine-Saint-Denis are not excluded from Paris 2024 legacy planning. The absence of social order legacy planning, despite important needs in venue areas in Seine-Saint-Denis, is therefore a major limit of Paris 2024 legacy planning. This is even more significant as the Generation 2024 programme, as well as the broad legacy planning, provided opportunities. Social order is therefore and areas where Olympic

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[40] Generation 2024 - Des Jeux pour durer, 2017. . Paris Candidate City - Olympic Games 2024.

legacy needs to improve. The case of Paris 2024 shows that social order legacy needs exist and the lack of initiatives in this area relies in a lack of political commitment. For the IOC to include further the SDP vision in its legacy strategy, the IOC will have to develop requirement in social order legacy planning.

Conclusion
25 years of progressive inclusion of the SDP vision in the Olympic Games

The SDP vision has been progressively included into Olympic legacy planning over the past 25 years. Candidate cities have been giving an increasing importance to legacy into their bid and the IOC has passed several steps towards a commitment to the SDP principles. When analysing legacy planning through YC LDG from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016, it appears that progress has not been equally successful in every area. Olympic education programmes, although mainly conceptualised as a way to raise awareness on the Olympic Games rather than a real legacy, have become more comprehensive with the implementation in London 2012 and Rio 2016 of programmes going beyond the simple promotion of Olympic values in schools. The promotion of health and active lifestyle, included in legacy planning for the first time at Beijing 2008 and then further enhanced at London 2012 and Rio 2016, has been witnessing important improvements with an increasing focus on making sport infrastructure accessible to communities and promoting physical activity. Social order is the area were legacy planning is the weakest, and more concerning no progress has been made from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016. Environment and quality of life has been the most comprehensive area of legacy planning, from improved transport infrastructure and regeneration projects to efforts to make the Games sustainable and respectful of the environment, especially since Beijing 2008. Vocation, training and employment is an area where the Olympic Games are closely aligned with the SDP vision, with strong focus on the recruitment of volunteers and on the training of workforce, as well as progressive efforts to expand training opportunities beyond Games workforce (especially local communities). Collaboration and partnership with civil society has been progressively increased over the period, with Rio 2016 being the most comprehensive in this area with initiatives to involve population from the planning to the delivering of Games legacy. Finally, efforts have been made to ensure a more equal, diverse and inclusive participation of communities through the torch relay, the cultural programme and improved access for disabled people at every Games, as well as inclusive ticketing initiatives since Beijing 2008.

Of course, this has not been achieved without limits and failures over the 25-years period. Every past Olympic Games have had some negative impacts or limited legacies, with the most visible being the unsuccessful implementation of planned environmental legacy and the marginalisation of low-income communities detailed in case studies above. Negative impacts and limited legacies are often due to a lack of political commitment, with the non-alignment of Games vision with host city's vision resulting in small efforts to commit to the implementation

of some planned legacy once the city is elected to host the Games. Questioning the effectiveness of Olympic legacies shows that hosting the Olympic Games accelerates or legitimates existing trends, rather that creating new ones. For the inclusion of SDP vision to be more effective, a stronger framework is needed to ensure that legacy will be comprehensively planned and implemented. Since the 1990s, the IOC has been progressively including SDP principles in its vision for the Olympic Games, resulting in the recognition of legacy as a core element of the Games. However, despite the important improvements in legacy planning from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016, the lack of specific requirements regarding legacy in the candidature process and during the preparation of the Games resulted in some negative or limited impacts. One of the aim of adopting a new strategic vision in 2014 with the Olympic Agenda 2020 was to achieve better legacy in future Olympic Games. The Olympic Legacy Strategy and the Olympic Sustainability Strategy provide a framework for the requirements to be implemented in legacy planning during the candidature process. Requirements are planned to be fully implemented for the 2026 candidature, but some of them were already included into the 2024candidature process.

As a result, legacy planning in the Paris 2024 bid presents several improvements compared to past Olympic Games. The education programme includes a stronger focus on Paralympic sports awareness and on the integration of sport content in general education subjects. Health and physical activity would also be promoted through ambitious awareness programmes and investment in sports facilities accessible to local communities. The Paris 2024 bid has also developed an "Environmental Excellence Strategy" to ensure sustainable Games, in line with the Olympic Agenda 2020 and the IOC Sustainability Strategy. Regarding vocation, training and employment, the Paris 2024 bid reinforces the existing trend of providing opportunities beyond Games workforce with the planned creation of more than 80,000 professional opportunities for the youth. Collaboration and partnership with civil society stakeholders seem to be one of the biggest improvements compared to past Olympic Games, with strong efforts to involve civil society in every stage of legacy from planning to implementation. Finally, unprecedented efforts have been made to ensure a more equal, diverse and inclusive participation through a strong focus on providing a better accessibility for disabled people, raising awareness on disability and promoting para-sport in society.

The analysis of Paris 2024 bid shows that the implementation by the IOC of more specific requirements into the candidature process, related to sustainability, disability and para-sport, has led to a more comprehensive legacy planning in these areas. In addition, the inclusion of

the SDP vision into the Olympic Games is also enhanced through ambitious initiatives regarding the promotion of sport participation, professional opportunities for the youth and collaboration with civil society. Therefore, big expectations can be put on Paris 2024 Olympic Games, provided that a strong political commitment during the preparation of the Games ensures a successful implementation of planned legacy. Nevertheless, there are still areas of improvements and some principles of the SDP that are not included into the concept of Olympic legacy yet. The following two recommendations provide examples of how the inclusion of SDP into legacy could be further enhanced.

A stronger focus on intangible legacy

The evolution of IOC's vision of what the Olympic Games should contribute to in terms of legacy shows that the strongest focus is on tangible legacy. The requirements implemented into 2024 candidature process, which are planned to be strengthened for future Games, seem to ensure a more comprehensive legacy through sustainable Games. This would have positive effects on many aspects of the Games, including protection of the environment, post-Games use of venues and workforce[41]. In addition, the IOC Legacy Strategy has highlighted the need to develop monitoring and evaluation tools. To better track and measure what has been done and how to keep improving legacy planning and implementation is indeed an important challenge for the IOC in the next few years. Another crucial challenge for the IOC will be to give a better importance to intangible legacy. Without this, the inclusion of SDP vision into the Olympic Games would remain incomplete. Over the past 25 years, the IOC has been progressively recognising the potential for sport and the Olympic Games in delivering positive change in communities, resulting in the recent recognition of the contribution to the UN SGDs and social and human development more broadly as a core mission of the Olympic Movement[42]. The IOC's focus on intangible Olympic legacy must now be furthered in order to translate in a concrete evolution of legacy planning and implementation.

First, the IOC needs to strengthen requirements on intangible legacy already included into the candidature process. Efforts in this direction have been made regarding education programmes, which have been progressively including more comprehensive content, going beyond raising awareness on the Olympic Games only. In line with the Olympic Agenda 2020, the HCC Operational Requirements for 2024 requires that the education programmes will also include a

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[41] IOC Sustainability Strategy, 2017. . International Olympic Committee.
[42] IOC Legacy Strategic Approach: Moving Forward, 2017. . International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland.

focus on Paralympic disciplines and values, as well as promoting sport participation among the youth. Similar efforts must now be made regarding physical activity and healthy lifestyle more broadly. The broad objective of promoting sport participation needs to be translated into more specific requirements in future candidature processes.

Second, the IOC needs to extend its vison to include social order legacy. Social order is a core area of the SDP movement, but remains almost absent in Olympic legacy planning. Yet, there are clear opportunities for the Olympic and Paralympic Games to implement strong legacy initiatives in this area, as exemplified in the case study of Paris 2024, which has several venues located in communities where more social order is needed. The Olympic and Paralympic Games have a strong potential in promoting civic responsibilities and tackling anti-social behaviour, through the values the Games aim to represent and promote. The promotion of Olympic and Paralympic values should be extended beyond schools and education programmes, and target specifically the tackling of anti-social behaviours such as violence or drugs-related activities. Another important aspect of how the Games can contribute to better social order is to ensure that Games legacy truly benefits local communities, especially those where there is a strong need of positive social and human development.

Hence, achieving more comprehensive intangible Olympic legacy is one of the main ongoing challenges Olympic movement. The IOC has been progressively acknowledging the potential and role of sport in contributing to social and human development. In parallel, host cities have taken initiatives in this direction, such as the ambitious efforts to promote sport participation and physical activity in Paris 2024 bid. The IOC has already included specific requirements in the Candidature process regarding accessibility and para-sport awareness. Such requirements must now be extended to other intangible legacies, in the areas of health and more importantly social order.

A better use of Games infrastructure and people for a better legacy

The case study of Paris 2024 illustrates the lack of social order legacy planning, despite a clear need in some of the venue areas. This also raises questions on to what extent legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic games benefits local communities, especially in deprived areas. Indeed, legacy is often planned as broad plans and policies targeting the population as a whole, such as nationwide education and awareness programmes or urban development project aiming to improve the host city's image rather than responding to local needs. Before the Agenda 2020 and specific requirements that followed, little attention was paid to local communities during legacy planning. At Beijing 2008, displaced residents suffered from housing rights violations,

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such as inadequate compensation or lack of alternative housing, to regenerate venues areas and build new infrastructures that are now abandoned or used for elite sport rather than being accessible for communities[43]. At London 2012, despite successful initiatives to involve local communities in the Games through inclusive recruitment policies and consultation during the biding stage, the Games did not have a lasting positive impact on local communities. On the contrary, regeneration project has led to gentrification and increased marginalisation of deprived communities in East London. At Rio 2016, regeneration projects also led to gentrification, as several favelas were removed in venues areas without proposing residents better alternative housing, resulting in the Games having negative effects on favelas' evicted residents[44]. The Paris 2024 legacy planning, in line with the Olympic Agenda 2020, provides a better guarantee regarding legacy for local communities. Renovated training venues and the new-built Aquatics Centre would provide better opportunities for communities to access sporting infrastructure, provided that access is affordable. Nevertheless, a more holistic approach of post-Games use of venues could increase long-terms benefits for communities.

The Youth Charter's Community Campus Model provides an interesting example of how Olympic venues can be used to ensure legacy in local communities. The Community Campus is a network of facilities such as sports clubs and infrastructures, schools, or social clubs that agree to use some of their time to voluntarily engage with young people in local community through sporting and cultural activities in line with the SDP vision. Such activities are delivered by social coaches, who are trained with mentoring and social skills in order to be more than classic coaches and be able to equip young people with life and development skills. In the case of Paris 2024, the Community Campus Model would consist in Olympic venues being freely accessible to local communities on a regular basis, to increase physical activity of young people and equip them with social, economic and cultural life skills and benefits. The Community Campus Model has already been implemented as a Games Legacy at London 2012, as well as at the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, although it has underwhelming results because of a lack of long-term commitment. Yet, the Olympic and Paralympic Games provide a great opportunity to engage with local communities and deliver better legacy. First, the Games provide state-of-the-art sporting infrastructures, which would now be more accessible to communities, in line with the Agenda 2020. Second, the recruitment of thousands of Games-

[43] Chunxiao Xu, 2015. The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games and urban land use evolution: did the 2008 Olympics benefit local communities? Colombia University.
[44] Damidaviciute, A., Bankovacki, C., 2016. Urban Regeneration in Rio de Janeiro Favelas during the Olympic Games of 2016. Aalborg University.

time volunteers creates a momentum that can be used to increase volunteer engagement in communities. Third, training of workforce and communities is already an important element of Games legacy and could be easily completed with a social coach training programme. A better legacy for local communities could therefore be achieve through the implementation of the Community Campus Model in disaffected communities, such as Paris 2024 venues areas in Seine-Saint-Denis, and the training of for instance 10% of Games-time volunteers to become social coaches after the Games. Achieving such legacy needs a strong political commitment to truly engage with local disaffected communities on the long-term, which was not important enough during the Paris 2024 legacy planning. It is the role of the IOC to ensure that disaffected local communities benefit from comprehensive Olympic legacy planning and implementation, which can be achieved through the inclusion of more specific requirement in candidature process.

Further reflection

Since the election of Sydney as host city 25 years ago, the SDP movement has been influencing the Olympic and Paralympic Games and their legacy. Despite some failures and limited effects, several steps have been passed until the adoption of the Olympic Agenda 2020 in 2014, making legacy a core element of the Games and shaping future IOC's strategies. Yet, the inclusion of the SDP vision remains incomplete. The biggest improvements in legacy planning and implementation have been achieved in the area of sustainability, resulting in stronger requirements to ensure a lower economic and environmental costs and ultimately create truly sustainable Games. In addition, the 'sport development in community' approach has been enhanced through specific requirements, first included in the 2024 candidature process and to be furthered in future Games, to ensure that sporting venues would be accessible to communities after the Games and respond to real needs. But the 'community development through sport' approach, which is the most essential in the SDP vision, seems to be the least important dimension in current Olympic legacy, with a lack of specific requirements from the IOC and a lack of political vision and commitment from the host cities. Improving the 'community development through sport' legacy is now the future challenge for the Olympic movement. The two recommendations made above, namely to increase the focus on intangible legacy – especially social order – and to make better post-Games use of venues to benefit local disaffected communities, go in this direction. There is evidence of important needs in local communities in venues areas on the one hand, and of great opportunities created by hosting the

Games on the other hand. What is now needed is a stronger political commitment from the IOC and host city to translate the SDP vision into better legacy in practice.

This lack of political will raises questions on whether the IOC and host cities are really committed to the SDP movement or not. The progressive inclusion of the SDP vision into Olympic legacy over the past 25 years should not hide the main objective of hosting a major event like the Olympic and Paralympic Games. For host cities, hosting the Games is first of all a way to improve the city's image and status on the international stage, increase the attractiveness of the city – for businesses and tourism –, accelerate ongoing infrastructure development and create an ephemeral feel-good effect within the nation. One could argue that efforts to plan ambitious and comprehensive legacy are therefore only a way for candidate cities to be elected as host cities, as well as getting the public support. Regarding the IOC, some criticism has emerged from the international public opinion because of the negative impacts past Games had, such as over-cost or environmental destruction. Increased attention paid to legacy could be seen as a way for the IOC to legitimate the Olympic and Paralympic Games in the 21st century. Of course, such considerations also need to be nuanced. Legacy initiatives were included in candidate cities' bids before the implementation of specific legacy requirements by the IOC, and the evolution of IOC's vision would certainly not have been this far without believing in the importance of legacy. Anyway, keeping in mind that legacy was not the main aim of the Olympic and Paralympic Games provide one explanation of why legacy implementation has been lacking political commitment in past Games. Therefore, the progressive inclusion of the SDP vision into the Olympic and Paralympic Games is a complex process. It is difficult to know to what extent the IOC and host cities are committed to the SDP and to what extent the planning and implementation of legacy aims to deliver lasting and positive social and human development in communities, rather than just legitimating the hosting of the Games.

What is undeniable is that the concept of legacy has now become a core element of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, but is not fully aligned with the SDP vision yet. Instead, a significant dimension of Olympic legacy remains related to the impact on the host city's image rather than on social and human development in communities. One of the best example of this are the regeneration projects leading to gentrification – like in East London – that are often presented as a positive legacy for the host city, thus denying the negative impacts on local communities. Therefore, it appears that despite the progress made over the past 25 years, the Olympic movement's vision on legacy still needs further evolution. As outlined above, a better

'community development through sport' legacy is needed. To achieve this, SDP organisations need to keep influencing the Olympic movement and advocating for a better inclusion of the SDP vision into Olympic and Paralympic Games legacy.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Olympic timeline (1993 – 2018)

Olympic and Paralympic Games	**IOC milestones in inclusion of SDP vision**
1993 – Sydney is elected as host city	
	1996 – Environment becomes IOC's third pillar
1997 – Athens is elected as host city	
	1999 – Olympic Agenda 2020
2000 – Sydney 2000 Olympic Games	
2001 – Beijing is elected as host city	
2004 – Athens 2004 Olympic Games	
2005 – London is elected as host city	
	2007 – Creation of the Youth Olympic Games, Singapore is elected as host city
2008 – Beijing 2008 Olympic Games	
2009 – Rio is elected as host city	2010 – Singapore 2010 Youth Olympic Games
2012 – London 2012 Olympic Games	2012 – IOC report on 'Legacy through sport'
2013 – Tokyo is elected as host city	
	2014 – Olympic Agenda 2020
2016 – Rio 2016 Olympic Games	
2017 – Paris elected as host city	2017 – IOC Sustainability Strategy IOC Legacy Strategic Approach

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(Source: Olympic Agenda 2020, IOC)

Recommendation 1

Shape the bidding process as an invitation

Introduce a new philosophy: the IOC to invite potential candidate cities to present an Olympic project that best matches their sports, economic, social and environmental long-term planning needs.

1. The IOC to introduce an assistance phase during which cities considering a bid will be advised by the IOC about bid procedures, core Games requirements and how previous cities have ensured positive bid and Games legacies.

2. The IOC to actively promote the maximum use of existing facilities and the use of temporary and demountable venues.

3. The IOC to allow, for the Olympic Games, the organisation of preliminary competitions outside the host city or, in exceptional cases, outside the host country, notably for reasons of sustainability.

4. The IOC to allow, for the Olympic Games, the organisation of entire sports or disciplines outside the host city or, in exceptional cases, outside the host country notably for reasons of geography and sustainability.

5. The IOC to include in the host city contract clauses with regard to Fundamental Principle 6 of the Olympic Charter as well as to environmental and labour-related matters.

6. The IOC to make the Host City Contract (HCC) public.

7. The HCC to include details of the IOC's financial contribution to the OCOG.

8. Respect third-party legal interests by making contractual elements available on an "in-confidence" basis.

9. The IOC to accept other signatories to the HCC than the host city and the NOC, in line with the local context.

10. The IOC to provide the HCC at the outset of a given bid process.

Recommendation 2

Evaluate bid cities by assessing key opportunities and risks

The report of the Evaluation Commission to present a more explicit risk and opportunity assessment with a strong focus on sustainability and legacy.

1. Introduce into the existing 14 Candidate City evaluation criteria a new criterion entitled: The Athletes' Experience.

2. The IOC to consider as positive aspects for a bid: the maximum use of existing facilities and the use of temporary and demountable venues where no long-term venue legacy need exists or can be justified.

3. The IOC, in collaboration with Olympic Movement stakeholders, to define core requirements for hosting the Olympic Games. The field of play for the athletes to always be state-of-the-art for all competitions and to form part of the core requirements.

4. The IOC to clarify the elements for the two different budgets related to the organisation of the Olympic Games: long-term investment in infrastructure and return on such investment on the one hand, and the operational budget on the other hand. Furthermore, the IOC contribution to the Games to be further communicated and promoted.

5. The Candidate City Briefing to include an in-camera discussion between the IOC members and the IOC Evaluation Commission.

6. The Commission to benefit from third-party, independent advice in such areas as social, economic and political conditions, with a special focus on sustainability and legacy.

Recommendation 4

Include sustainability in all aspects of the Olympic Games

The IOC to take a more proactive position and leadership role with regard to sustainability and ensure that it is included in all aspects of the planning and staging of the Olympic Games.

1. Develop a sustainability strategy to enable potential and actual Olympic Games organisers to integrate and implement sustainability measures that encompass economic, social and environmental spheres in all stages of their project;

2. Assist newly elected Organising Committees to establish the best possible governance for the integration of sustainability throughout the organisation;

3. The IOC to ensure post-Games monitoring of the Games legacy with the support of the NOC and external organisations such as the World Union of Olympic Cites (UMVO).

Recommendation 11

Foster gender equality

Foster gender equality

1. The IOC to work with the International Federations to achieve 50 per cent female participation in the Olympic Games and to stimulate women's participation and involvement in sport by creating more participation opportunities at the Olympic Games.

2. The IOC to encourage the inclusion of mixed-gender team events.

Recommendation 14

Strengthen the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism

The IOC to include non-discrimination on sexual orientation in the 6th Fundamental Principle of Olympism.

Recommendation 20

Enter into strategic partnerships

The IOC to open up to cooperation and network with competent and internationally recognised organisations and NGOs to increase the impact of its programmes.

Recommendation 22

Spread Olympic values-based education

Spread Olympic values-based education

1. The IOC to strengthen its partnership with UNESCO to include sport and its values in school curricula worldwide.

2. The IOC to devise an electronic platform to share Olympic values-based education programmes of different NOCs and other organisations.

3. The IOC to identify and support initiatives that can help spread the Olympic values.

Recommendation 23

Engage with communities

Engage with communities:

1. Create a virtual hub for athletes.

2. Create a virtual club of volunteers.

3. Engage with the general public.

4. Engage with youth.

The IOC aims to contribute to:

- 3 – Good health and well-being: ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all ages
- 4 – Quality education: ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
- 5 – Gender equality: achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- 8 – Decent work and economic growth: promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
- 9 – Industry, innovation and infrastructure: build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation.
- 11 – Sustainable cities and communities: make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- 12 – Responsible consumption and production: ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
- 13 – Climate action: take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
- 14 – Life below water: conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
- 15 – Life on land: protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reserve land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.
- 16 – Peace, justice and strong institutions: promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
- 17 – Partnerships for the goals: strengthen the means of implementation and realise the global partnership for sustainable development.

(Source: www.sustainabledevelopment.un.org and IOC Legacy Strategic Approach)

Go back to Part 3 – IOC sustainability strategy

SUS 01 - Sustainability strategy

• Develop in coordination with Host Country Authorities, a sustainability strategy, and an Olympic legacy plan indicating how sustainability objectives, how sustainability and legacy will be embedded across the Games project and how that will serve the Host City community in the future. The sustainability strategy and Olympic legacy plan shall take into account the views of all relevant stakeholder groups, and should be viewed as a detailed development and refinement of the commitments and plans set out during the candidature phase.

SUS 02 - Content of the Sustainability strategy

• Ensure that the sustainability strategy is aligned with the IOC Sustainability Strategy and specifically addresses the following matters:

a) Infrastructure and natural sites:
   i. maximum use of existing infrastructure, as well as of temporary and demountable venues;
   ii. delivery of long-term benefits to local communities and contribution to the development of sustainable cities;
   iii. assurance of viability and minimisation of environmental footprint if construction takes place;
   iv. conservation of biodiversity and cultural heritage;
   v. conservation of water resources and protection of water quality;
   vi. use of renewable energy and resource efficient infrastructure.

b) Sourcing and resource management:
   i. integration of sustainability considerations into each stage of the procurement process, with mechanisms in place to ensure the requirements are effectively met;.
   ii. Products and materials are treated as valuable resources and their lifecycles is optimised;
   iii. Execution of a detailed waste scoping exercise and development of a waste reduction plan.

c) Mobility:
   i. adoption of sustainable mobility solutions for moving people and goods;
   ii. promotion of sustainable tourism in host cities/regions.

d) Workforce:
   i. provision of safe and healthy working conditions for staff and volunteers;
   ii. promotion of active lifestyles, diversity, inclusivity and gender equality among employees and volunteers;
   iii. provision of quality educational and skills development opportunities to young professionals;
   iv. compliance of working conditions across supply chains with internationally-recognised standards and all international agreements, laws and regulations applicable in the Host Country.

e) Climate:
   i. in collaboration with the Host City, develop carbon management plan to measure and minimise the Games' carbon emissions.
   ii. promotion of low carbon solutions for and through the Olympic Games in the Host Country;

iii. compensation of the emissions caused by the OCOG's owned emissions;

iv. integration of the potential consequences of climate change as part of infrastructure planning

• Submit the sustainability strategy to the IOC for comments and approval before publication.

SUS 03 - Sustainability implementation plans

• In coordination with Host Country Authorities and other delivery partners, establish specific sustainability implementation plans that address all matters described in SUS 02 – Sustainability strategy, as well as all matters that are material to such entities' particular roles and responsibilities, and include resource needs, issues and risks, and a clear programme of actions.

• Submit the sustainability implementation plans to the IOC for comments and approval before publication.

SUS 04 - Content of the Olympic legacy plan

• Ensure that the Olympic legacy plan addresses the following matters:
  - concerns for post-Olympic use of venues and other facilities and infrastructures,

  - intangible legacies such as social development, sport development, human development, intellectual property, and innovation.
  - post-Games use of Olympic brand properties, e.g. venue naming, spectaculars, commemorative plaques, historic signage.

• Submit the Olympic legacy plan to the IOC for comments and approval before publication.

SUS 05 - Governance

• In coordination with the Host City and relevant Host Country Authorities, develop appropriate governance structures or arrangements to oversee the fulfilment of sustainability and legacy requirements described in SUS 01 (Sustainability strategy), SUS 02 (Content of the Sustainability strategy), SUS 03 (Sustainability implementation plans) and SUS 04 (Content of the Olympic legacy plan). Ensure that the governance structures are based on the principles listed below:

  • transparent mechanisms to resolve any potential breaches of policies, strategies and plans;
  • appropriate audit and assurance programme to monitor compliance with sustainability policies, strategies and plans; and
  • coordination of communications and responses to issues.

SUS 06 - Sustainability Management System (SMS)

• Establish a SMS that covers the key activities of the organisation that are material to delivering sustainable Olympic Games in line with the above-mentioned sustainability strategy (SUS 01 – Sustainability strategy).

• Ensure that this system is independently certified as being in accordance with the requirements of the standard ISO 20121:2012.

SUS 07 - Sustainability reports

• In coordination with the Host City and relevant Host Country Authorities, prepare and publicly report on progress towards delivering the sustainability strategy and sustainability implementation plans by means of at least two sustainability reports prior to the Olympic Games and one post- Games sustainability report. Each of these shall conform to internationally recognised reporting standards for sustainability.

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Appendix 4: Maps of Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games venues

MAP A - OLYMPIC GAMES CONCEPT

MAP B - PARALYMPIC GAMES CONCEPT
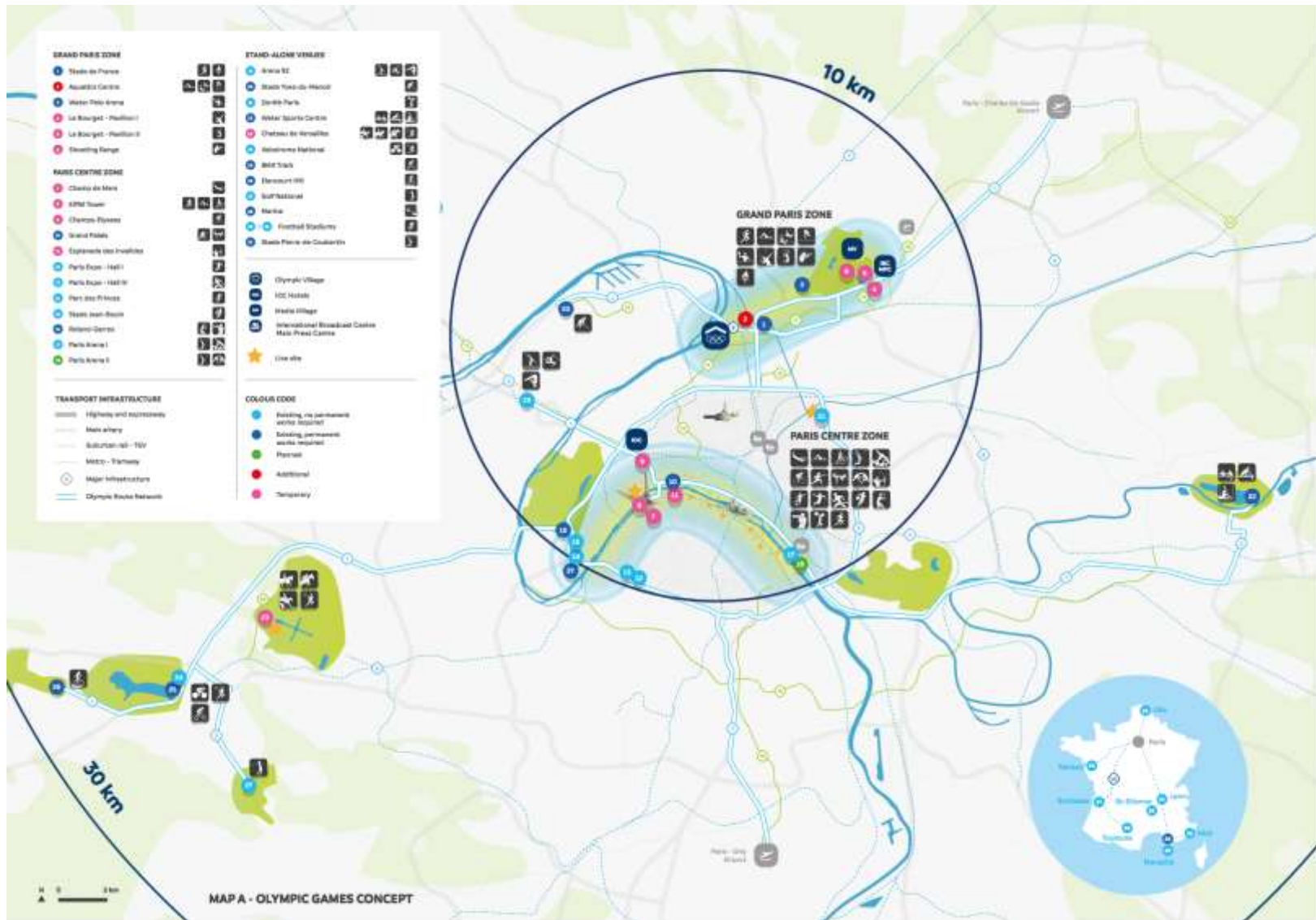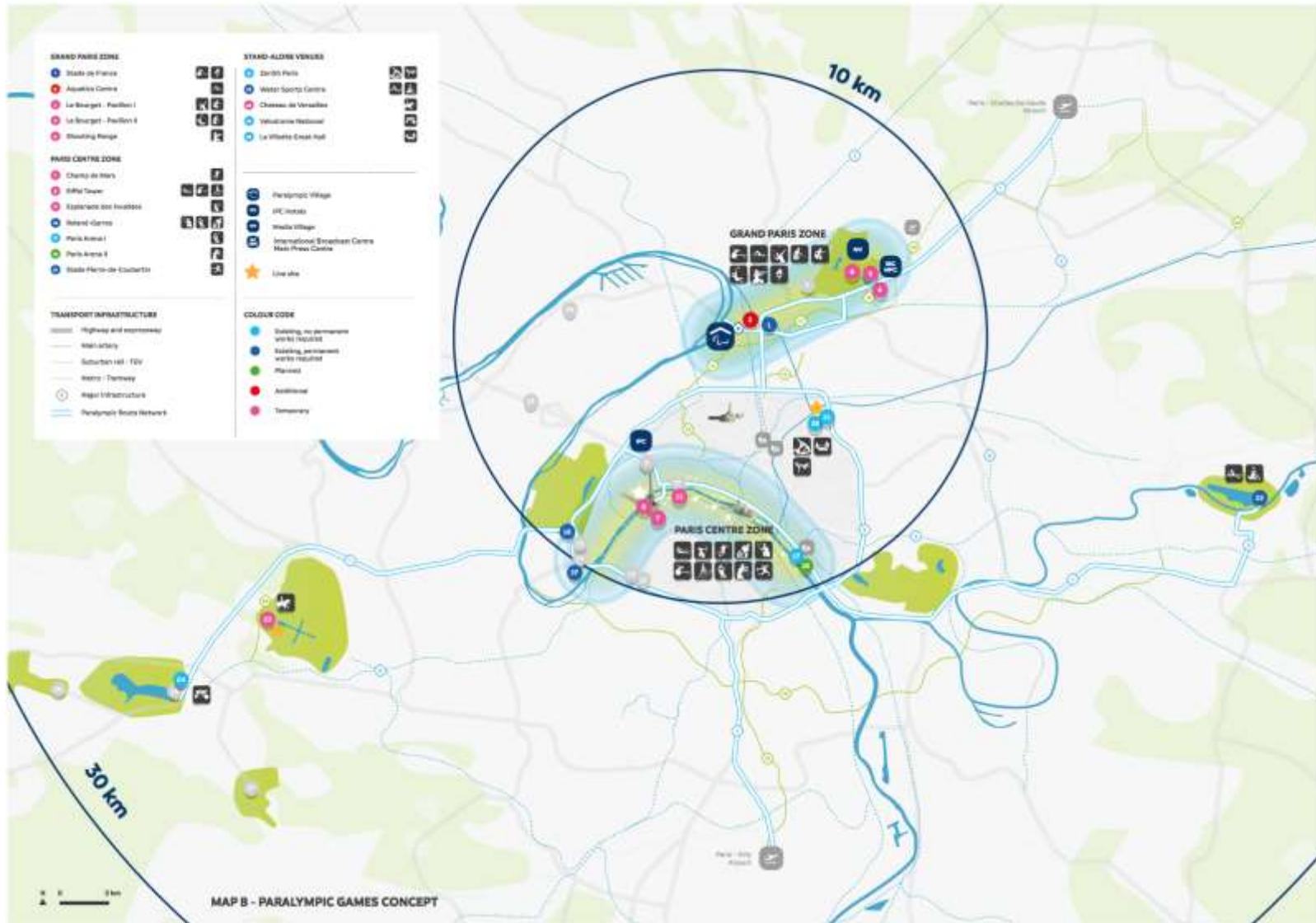
Go back to Part 3 - social order in Paris 2024

Appendix 5: Map of Grand Paris

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