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Literature Review: The Impact of Major Sporting Events

**The Sports Development Impact of the
Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games:
Initial Baseline Research**

For UK Sport

By

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June 2001



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1. Introduction

1.1 This report consists of a literature review of studies of previous major sporting events. It is intended as a general guide to the kind of studies carried out with a view to informing UK Sport about their intended research programme into the sports development impact of the Manchester Commonwealth Games in 2002.

1.2 The brief for this section of the research reads:

'Identify and obtain research work from previous major events (which may include the Olympic Games) pertaining to sports development and consider how findings from any such work may or should influence the design of the current study.'

1.3 One point which needs to be noted from the outset is that there is a paucity of research material on the sports development impact of major events. There is considerable work on other areas of major event impact; we have identified a number of studies concerned with sports development more generally; but there is extremely little on the impact on sports development of major events. The majority of previous studies have concentrated on economic rather than social impacts of hallmark events, although the social after-effects of events such as the Olympic Games have been researched in more recent years. However, this is generally in terms of aspects such as tourism benefits or urban regeneration programmes, rather than, for example, the usage of new sports facilities as a result of hosting a sports event.

1.4 Previous research concerning hallmark or major-events centre around six main subject areas, which we take in turn through this report:

- Sports Participation and development
- Social Impact
- Legacies
- Urban Regeneration
- Tourism
- Economic Impact

Clearly some of these overlap considerably – issues of ‘social impact’ and ‘legacies’; issues of ‘economic impact’ and ‘urban regeneration’, for instance. However, these broad and loose categories do cover the scope of existing research.

1.5 However, that fact is useful in itself – in many ways it raises the importance of UK Sport’s overall study because much of the intended work has not been carried out before. Nor does it mean that those studies do not have value for the purposes of this report or the overall project because they do provide important guidance for planning the research, its methodology and comparative information. As such, we believe that UK Sport’s intended research could be a genuinely ground breaking study, providing valuable information about the benefits (or otherwise) of staging major events.

1.6 From this review, in summary, we think that the following elements should be built into the longer-term study:

- Research before, during and after the event
- A longitudinal study, involving tracking for perhaps as long as five years
- A mixture of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, including detailed local or club-based case studies
- An assessment of the impact of Manchester 2002 on a variety of sports including the more major Commonwealth games sports; the more minor sports; and even possibly non-Commonwealth sports
- An assessment of the impact of Manchester 2002 on targeted groups. Because of the nature of the games (Commonwealth based; inclusive of disabled athletes; targeting the young in volunteer programmes), these should include ethnic minorities, the disabled, the young.
- An exploration of the different kinds of participation, including administrating, volunteering and spectating.
- An exploration of the links between these forms of participation and playing

1.7 This report will first briefly outline the methodology we pursued and then outline, using specific examples, the different kinds of studies which have been carried out on major sporting events, their scope and methods. Finally we will make some concluding remarks about the lessons for the ongoing Commonwealth Games research.

2. Methodology

2.1 In undertaking a review of previous major event research literature, we employed the following techniques.

2.2 An initial literature search was carried out using the academic publication database, Bath Information and Data Services (BIDS). This was interrogated to find documents (the majority of which were journal articles) which covered the areas of sport, participation and major-events. This academic resource proved to be very fruitful.

2.3 The bibliographies of articles were also reviewed for further references and where necessary these articles obtained from library services.

2.4 A search on the world wide web was also undertaken. This proved to be less useful as many of the sites from major events had no reference to research material. However, the following sites were the most useful and these are listed below:-

www.treasury.nsw.gov.au

www.slv.vic.gov.au

www.scotland.gov.uk

www.ausport.gov.au

www.culture.gov.uk

www.guardian.co.uk

www.torontosummertimegames.com

www.manchester.gov.uk

www.sportengland.org

www.commonwealthgames.com

www.english.sports.gov.uk

www.olympic.org

www.sscbay.nsw.gov.au

2.5 Numerous sport research centres in UK universities were also contacted to establish whether they had conducted any relevant research or could pass on any further contacts.

2.6 The University of Calgary was also contacted as they had carried out research on social and sports impact and the Calgary Winter Olympics. Whilst some of this is referred to in the following text, we were unable to get what promised to be one of the most relevant articles. Don Newton has carried out a study on Sports Participation and the Calgary Olympics entitled '*The Impact of the XV Winter Olympiad on Sports participation and Physical Recreation of Calgarians*' Faculty of Physical Education, The University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Although it is referred to in Ritchie and Smith's article on the impact of mega events (see below), Don Newton has retired and it was not officially published, so we are still waiting for a copy and will forward it to UK Sport if we receive it.

2.7 The Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) and Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) were also contacted via email for further references regarding the most recent major event, Sydney 2000. However, it should be noted that much of this work will still be in either data collection or writing up phases. We did receive an instructive reply from the ABS referring to emerging issues around the Olympic Games and this is copied in the Appendix (Section B).

Literature Review

3 Sports Participation and Development Studies

3.1 In conducting this research we were looking for previous studies which assessed the impact on levels of participation in sport following major events. We were also concerned to look at the development of new facilities as part of staging sporting events and their usage since.

General Trends

3.2 Considerable research exists on the general trends in sports participation and this provides useful baseline information - a context within which the assessment of the impact of Manchester 2002 must be placed - about what we might expect from sport development impact of a major event (including Manchester 2002).

3.3 Gratton and Tice (1994) used the General Household Survey (GHS) to analyse trends in sports participation between 1977 and 1987. Their results show:

- that indoor sport has increased the most rapidly (60% increase in comparison to 13% increase in outdoor sports)
- the average age of participants increased across all groups
- a higher number of those retired from employment were participating in sport and the number of females participating in sport increased.
- the most popular outdoor activity was walking (19.1% participation rate)
- the next most popular outdoor activity being football (2.7%)
- swimming (indoors) was the second most popular activity overall with a participation rate of 9.5%.

3.4 They concluded that growing number of those taking part in indoor sports can be attributed to massive public investment in new indoor facilities over the 1970s and 1980s. Gratton and Tice conclude that their statistical analysis indicates that age is less of a barrier to sports participation than in earlier years. The older sports participants also had a much wider range of non-sport leisure interests than non-participants suggesting that they have a rich and varied leisure lifestyle (1994: 66). They recommend that provision of publicly provided indoor facilities may prove to be an important policy for preventive health care for an ageing population.

Lessons for the Research Programme

3.5 Such information will be important baseline data for any study of the impact of Manchester 2002, especially in terms of comparative analysis of sports participation impact across different age ranges. As such, data collected in the sports club survey on membership age ranges could be a useful indicator to test if the event has any impact on these more general trends, in either amplifying or changing them.

3.6 Much research has shown that the group most likely to participate in sport are those in the middle classes. Ravenscroft (1993) attributes this to the

Thatcherite urban entrepreneurialism of the 1980s, one of the consequences of which was the competitive tendering of government services including leisure provision to the private sector.

“The primary effect of this shift is the division of society into ‘leisure gainers’ – predominantly employed middle class white males and those able to emulate them – and ‘leisure losers’ – the remainder of society. This divisive construction of a new citizenship, with material wealth and freedom available to the ‘good’ citizen at the expense of the deprivation, rejection and suppression of the ‘deviant’ citizen” (Ravenscroft 1993: 33).

3.7 This view is also reflected in Collins *et al* (1999) study (for DCMS, discussed later) and Coalter’s (1993) study, which looked at the cost of leisure activities such as sports. Whilst traditionally sports facilities have been regarded as an area attracting public subsidy (and therefore supposedly accessible to all) an Audit Commission report Sport For Whom? (Audit Commission 1989) indicates that the use of sports centres is unbalanced, with twice as many professional people (who are in smaller numbers on society as a whole) using the facilities than unskilled manual workers (Coalter 1993: 172).

3.8 Coalter wanted to identify whether the actual cost of participation was a real barrier, or whether there were other variables involved. This was achieved by inflating prices at four leisure centres and one swimming pool. Consumers were then asked whether they felt activities were still value for money and if price increases had affected their use of the leisure centre. Interestingly only 4% of those surveyed indicated that entrance fee was a potential barrier to more frequent participation, suggesting that they did not have economic barriers to participation. The biggest constraints on participation were lifestyle factors, such as family or work reasons and particularly the time constraints associated with them. Coalter concludes that entrance cost is not unimportant, but in terms of levels of pricing it appears to be relative rather than absolute. Decisions to participate are not reducible to financial constraints rather they are due to lifestyle priorities which determine the amount of ‘free time’ available.

3.9 The General Household Survey (GHS) 1998 broadly supports the conclusions that:

- those with the highest participation rate in sport are in the professional socio-economic group (65%)
- the skilled manual socio-economic group have average participation (48%)
- and those participating the least are unskilled (26%).

3.10 One concern we might have with Coalter’s approach is that, if it is already identified that wealthier sections of society are the ones who already participate, an experiment which tests pricing as a variable with *existing* participants is unlikely to show that it is a barrier to existing users of a facility. Rather, it might mask financial concerns as a barrier to those who do not

already participate and as such, research into non-participants after the event will also be necessary.

Lessons for the Research Programme

3.11 However, such a concern should not put us off cost levels as a factor assessing the impact of major sporting events. Indeed, the price of participation (including cost of kit etc) might be a very useful comparative tool in comparing different levels of sporting impact in different social and economic areas following a major event (and an assessment of this would then have to be built into the research questions). Furthermore, given the particular interest in the impact on ethnic minority populations, the fact that many ethnic minority groups are amongst the poorest in society means that concerns with cost and ability to pay should definitely not be overlooked.

3.12 A more recent study by Coalter (1999) suggests that policies aimed at sports development need to take account of wider social, economic and cultural influences. He asserts that policy makers might be better to 'go with the flow' rather than try to 'buck the trends' of patterns of sports participation, meaning that provision should respond to the needs of consumers, rather than try to encourage participation in sports which are currently less popular. Again, this has implications for the ongoing impact study, given that some of the sports in the Commonwealth Games are less popular sports.

3.13 Coalter uses data from the General Household Survey to examine recent trends and argues that recent changes in participation patterns can be attributed to changes in social attitudes, which now place more importance on physical appearance, health and fitness and a shift towards individualised activities (1999: 25). Sports in decline therefore included snooker, darts, badminton and squash, whilst those attracting larger numbers included swimming, keep fit, cycling and weights. Coalter notes that all the most popular sports can be undertaken individually, are non-competitive, the timing of them is flexible and they are all related to a general concern with fitness and health.

3.14 Coalter also highlights evidence (Roberts and Brodie, 1992) that suggests that those who are more well-educated, are more likely to engage in life-long participation of sport. The study concludes that there has not been a decline in sports participation, but there has been a decrease in the number of people engaging in more 'traditional' team and partner sports, as increasingly diverse individualised exercise options appear. Coalter recommends that

“one conclusion from this might be that the key policy issue is to encourage current, committed participants to increase their frequency of participation rather than commit resources in an attempt to expand the base of (possibly reluctant) participants” (2000: 36).

3.15 Whilst we may or may not agree with Coalter's conclusions - the implication is really a more market-orientated approach to sports development and may be subject to the whims of that market – it provides useful data for assessing sports impact of major events. It also suggests, however, that

current non-participants will not become active participants following the major event and it will be interesting to test whether this is true. Primarily, it should provide useful baseline data on where we might expect the greatest and least impact to be - sports such as swimming might expect a bigger impact given these current trends than badminton, for example.

Indicators

3.16 Some studies have focused on sport as part of lifelong learning. In the first formal government statement on sport since 1975, *Raising the Game* (Department of National Heritage, 1995), the then government outlined policies aimed at school sports, but also, the development of sports clubs which ensure the continuation of sport after school.

3.17 Furthermore, sport has also more recently been viewed as a tool to combat social exclusion by increasing participation and widening access to all. This has led to an increasing number of community led sports schemes. In a report on *Sport and Social Exclusion* for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport by Collins, Henry, Houlihan and Buller (1999) evaluated eleven sports projects aimed at combating social exclusion. However, whilst this report again stressed the need for 'before-and-after' research, there is little from these 11 studies which focuses on the social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The report also found that there is little research into such community / social inclusion schemes because:

- the outcomes were not specified in a planned way and so no data, or no baseline starting data was collected
- sponsors of projects do not fund them long enough to see the effects emerge
- the measures are practically difficult
- the measures are contentious

(Collins *et al* 1999)

Lessons for the Research Programme

3.18 For our purposes this reconfirms the importance of having baseline data on sports participation, as well as the need for longer-term tracking post-event of participation levels. Furthermore, issues such as the influence of commercial partners in sports development – and the effects of short-term, event-centred sponsorship – will be ones which the ongoing research will need to pick up.

3.19 The Collins report also suggests guidelines and indicators developed by Thomas and Palfrey (1999) which can be used to measure publicly-funded projects which intend to increase participation in sport. These are:

- effectiveness
- efficiency
- equity (treating people with equal needs equally)
- acceptability (roughly equal to customer satisfaction)
- accessibility (of information, resources, services)
- appropriateness (relevance to need)
- accountability (to citizens and investors)

- ethical considerations (being explicit about values and how conflicts will be resolved)
 - responsiveness (speed, accuracy, empathy)
 - choice (which may be wide or narrow, but is a real leisure issue)
- (Collins *et al*: 1999)

3.20 It is possible that these indicators may be utilised as guidelines to assess whether new facilities, projects and programmes resulting from the hosting of hallmark events do actually result in increased participation in sport. The report also recommends that new sports programmes should run for at least five years as they are often written off before they have had time to establish themselves (usually after three years). This recommendation may also apply to the use of new facilities, which may only begin to reap rewards a number of years after their initial appearance. Again, this has important implications which suggests the need for ongoing and longitudinal research about the impact of Manchester 2002.

3.21 With reference to UK Sport and Sport England's particular interest in the impact of Manchester 2002 in relation to ethnic minorities, Collins *et al*'s study offers some comparative evidence. They say:

'Verma and Darby (1994) have given the best overview of ethnic minority sport in Britain, confirming the same interest in sport by ethnic minority children educated with their white counterparts, but also the more limited opportunities of women and girls, exacerbated in the case of Islamic females by traditions against bodily exposure and participation in mixed groups'
(Collins *et al* 1999: 49)

3.22 However, it is also important to note that Collins reports that the Commission for Racial Equality have talked of 'double discrimination' due to both ethnic origin and the higher frequencies of poverty and poor health among many inner city ethnic minority populations. (Collins *et al* 1999: 49). As such, knowledge of demographic information such as income and leisure expenditure, as well as gender, for areas of high ethnic minority populations will be important in explaining differing levels of post-event sports participation.

Sport Development Impact

3.23 The Leisure Industry Research Centre at Sheffield Hallam University have suggested that there is little data available with which to inform UK Sport's proposed research:

'In Europe, the COMPASS project has revealed a patchy and inconsistent approach towards the collection of participation in sport and physical activity. There is evidence of countries measuring participation rates on a time series basis in order to detect trends, however, no countries have been so ambitious as to measure such rates before a major event and then at some point downstream to see if there has been a positive effect. We found no evidence from our initial trawl of literature

searching to suggest that any host city or organising committee has adopted this approach in order to measure the effect of hosting a major sports event.’ (LIRC email)

3.24 However, they do suggest that single sport major events can result in an increase in awareness and participation.

- Gratton and Taylor (2000) detail how England's success in the 1966 Football World Cup temporarily arrested the long term decline in post war attendance levels at football league matches.
- More recently, the Rugby Football Union attribute England's success at being runners up in the 1991 Rugby World Cup to have been the catalyst for the creation of junior sections in approximately 50% of RFU registered rugby clubs.
- The England and Wales Cricket Board would argue that the 1999 Cricket World Cup had a positive effect in encouraging young people to play cricket especially amongst children from minority ethnic minority backgrounds.

3.25 There are a number of important lessons from this evidence from LIRC.

- i) All of these snippets of evidence are derived from a post-event perspective – it will be crucial to an assessment of the sports development impact of Manchester 2002 that long-term post-event research is undertaken, up to five years.
- ii) There is an implicit link suggested between watching an event (audience levels, participation, involvement etc) and playing the sport. Consultations for the Football Task Force suggested a very high correlation between spectating and playing, regardless of major events. An assessment of the impact that Manchester 2002 makes on sports participation must also take into account the success of the event in developing and involving an audience and volunteers. Furthermore, for some of the sports in the Commonwealth Games, the event will be a unique opportunity to gain an audience for their sport, which may otherwise receive little exposure. The extent to which that audience is transformed into sports participants will be an important indicator of the value of major events in sports development. As such issues of broadcasting, marketing and promotion, the volunteer programme, and ticketing, as well as the broader event festival and social programmes, may be crucial elements of explaining levels of sports participation, post-event.
- iii) This evidence suggests that international events may have a particularly strong effect on the participation of people from ethnic minority backgrounds. Due to historical factors, the Commonwealth Games offers a unique testing ground for this assertion because the countries competing are often the same as those from which ethnic minority populations are derived. This means that the international nature of the event is particularly closely linked to the ethnic minority populations UK Sport are concerned with and one might expect a higher response in terms of participation than for some other major events.

Sydney 2000

3.26 Although there is little evidence yet available on the sports participation impact of Sydney 2000, the Australian Bureau of Statistics did provide us with the following anecdotal evidence.

'The local newspapers have reported contradictory anecdotal evidence of the effect of the Olympics on participation. In an article entitled "The rising of the couch potatoes" published in The Advertiser (a Murdoch News Ltd paper – www.news.com.au) on January 20, 2001, two South Australian journalists reported on their conversations with representatives of 19 different sporting associations in SA. Thirteen of these – athletics, beach volleyball, water polo, triathlon, diving, shooting, hockey, rowing, sailing, canoeing/kayaking, equestrian, fencing and swimming – reported between 5% and 100% increases in phone inquiries after the Olympics. The other six – softball, synchronised swimming, taekwondo, cycling, table tennis/badminton and gymnastics – reported no difference. Australia won medals in sports on both of those lists.'

3.27 From this, we would suggest that one technique which could be utilised to measure initial interest in sport during and immediately following the Commonwealth Games, could be to monitor national and regional governing body enquiries, and even selected case study sports clubs. However, the full co-operation of these would be needed for this to be a success and it would need to be followed by an assessment of whether these enquiries translated into actual post-event participation.

4 Social Impact Studies

What is a Social Impact?

4.1 Several studies have sought to analyse the social impact of a major event. However, it is important to define what is actually meant by 'social impacts'. The Institute for Environmental Studies offer a useful definition which is as follows:

"By social impact we mean the consequences to human populations of any public or private actions – that alter the ways in which people live, work, play, relate to one another, organize to meet their needs, and generally cope as members of society. The term also includes cultural impacts involving changes to the norms, values, and beliefs that guide and rationalize their cognition of themselves and their society" (1995: 11).

4.2 This broad definition suggests that a much more precise understanding is needed of what impacts we are interested in for the Manchester 2002 study. For example whilst calculating increases in sports participation may be reasonably straightforward, understanding the cultural, social impacts of the games could add value in terms of understanding why some groups and not others have become more or less animated. This is particularly so in relation to the Commonwealth Games and its effect on the participation of ethnic minorities.

4.3 Furthermore, IES identify four stages in project/policy development are identified for events which aim to impact socially and which we need to be aware of. They are:

Stage 1. Planning/policy development

Stage 2. Construction/implementation

Stage 3. Operation/maintenance

Stage 4. Decommissioning/abandonment

[Stages in project/policy development (Institute for Environmental Studies 1995: 18).]

4.4 Often, tourism is cited as the biggest social and economic impact of an event. We will look at this a little later. However, there are other indicators which can be measured to assess social impact. These include economic security, employment, health, personal safety, housing conditions, physical environment and recreational opportunities (Hall 1992: 67).

4.5 There are a number of ways in which social effects of major events can be felt. To a local population, major events are often viewed as an imposition from outside which is why community involvement becomes so important to event planning (Hiller 1998: 55). In Manchester there has been community opposition to the closure of sports facilities which, although the responsibility of the City Council, is already being blamed on the Games*. Arguably the host

* * See D Conn and C Green, *On the Line*, Radio 5 Live, BBC, March 2001; also the section of this report on the Promotion of Manchester 2002. There has been opposition to the closure of a number of

city may also experience an increased sense of community identity, due to the high level of activity surrounding the preparations and duration of the event; and sporting events may also aid the promotion of regional identity (*ibid*).

4.6 As such, positive social effects of events include:

- personal skill development of committee members and club administrators
 - the bringing together of diverse sporting individuals and groups – who otherwise rarely interact – towards a common goal
 - increased social interaction
 - involvement of all age groups
 - family involvement
 - involvement of non-regular participants in sport
 - community group involvement
 - increased prominence of minor sports
 - civic pride and regional identity
- (McKinnon (1987) in Hall (1992: 68)).

Each of these are potential impacts to be researched post-event.

Social Exclusion

4.7 One of the most relevant ways in which sports events can impact socially is via community volunteer programmes and this is particularly relevant to the Manchester 2002 games. Voluntary activity is viewed as central to the development of a socially inclusive and more democratic society and has been a key element in Manchester's strategy. This implies that sport can be beneficial not only via people participating in it, but also through other forms of involvement, and as such suggests the need for a broader assessment of the impact on involvement and participation on sport, post games. The positive, socially inclusive effects of someone becoming active as a club administrator, for instance, may be as beneficial to their future prospects as for someone taking up the sports as a hobby.

4.8 As the Scottish Executive report 'The Role of Sport in Regenerating Deprived Urban Areas' states:

*"The key policy message here is that the **potentially positive benefits of sport are not only to be obtained via participation** – involvement in the organisation and provision of opportunities for sport and physical recreation can assist in the development of self-esteem and a series of transferable skills – a view of volunteering as "active citizenship"."*

www.scotland.gov.uk/cru/kd01/blue/rsdua-10.htm

4.9 Indeed, volunteer programmes are important for a number of reasons:

- sport is highly dependent on unpaid labour (economic analyses have illustrated this), especially when participation of others is dependent on keeping costs low;

swimming pools - notably in Gorton, East Manchester - which has developed into a community campaign which cites the Games as the cause.

- they offer opportunities for those who wish to contribute to but not participate directly in sport;
- and they also offer possibilities for the achievement of a sense of social purpose.

4.10 Previous research by the Sports Council (1996) has indicated that volunteer programmes can be problematic. This report suggests that issues to be aware of include:

- difficulty in attracting volunteers resulting in attracting 'the usual suspects' in a range of voluntary organisations
- cost of courses and travel are often too high
- potential volunteers may lack confidence (especially if they are involved due to their child's participation rather than their own).

Ongoing research should demonstrate how effective Manchester 2002 are at overcoming these obstacles.

Wider Issues

4.11 Volunteer programmes then, are one of the more conventional ways in which sport is used to combat social exclusion and impact socially on the community. However, research by Newport County Borough Council (1999) concluded that sport can only make a real social impact if it is *not* promoted along typical or conventional lines. According to their report community/sports development workers should take on a much wider role which would include

- establishing/generating local interest in sports and engaging the community planning and playing
- developing the capacity to fundraise for local sports activities within the community groups
- networking with key agencies to ensure that they have the power to intervene effectively when opportunities arise to fulfil community objectives
- supporting groups and communities to establish a real sense of ownership of local resources (i.e. facilities) thus increasing participation
- identifying and training local sports leaders to provide an infrastructure for sustained activity
- providing access to progression routes for talented individuals

4.12 As such, the Scottish Executive report we referred to earlier concludes with the following key recommendations:

1. Developing sport in the community and the instrumental use of sport as a tool for community development are two quite distinct processes which require different strategies, personnel and outcome evaluations.
2. Volunteer development is central to most sports projects. However, there is evidence to show that volunteers require substantial encouragement, training and support which could be remedied by a more systematic approach to the recruitment, training and support of volunteers
3. There has been a tendency to target resources at 'at risk' young adolescents, however, evidence has shown that the best way to ensure life-long participation in sport is by early intervention. Therefore it is essential that both primary and secondary schools are targeted for physical education provision and resources.

Public Perceptions - Example: Calgary

4.13 As one example of how social impact can be monitored, Ritchie and Lyons conducted longitudinal research with the residents of Calgary leading up to, during and after the Winter Olympics of 1988. This monitoring process was referred to as the *Olympulse Monitor* and was used to track the awareness, knowledge and perceptions of Calgarians, in relation to factors and issues that were of interest to the research team and the Organising Committee (1990: 14).

4.14 Residents were asked before the Games whether they felt in general it was a good idea for Calgary to host the Games. 84.7% responded positively which increased to 97.8% after the event. This indicates that the residents of Calgary had reservations initially, but post-event felt that the Games had been a positive experience, suggesting a positive social impact (or at least the perception of one). Residents were also asked what they considered to be the highlights of the Games: only 6.6% mentioned the new facilities; 11.8% felt that they brought everyone together, thus creating a sense of community; but specific athletic events were voted the biggest success with 20.2%.

4.15 Respondents were also asked what their perceptions were of the benefits of the Games, how could Calgary build on these successes, and how they felt they had contributed to the success of the Games. The results are indicated in the tables below.

4.16 *What benefits do you think the city and its citizens derived as a result of hosting the Games?*

Benefit	% of cases
Recognition for Calgary	50.0%
Increased tourism	36.3%
Economic benefits (more jobs, business)	34.0%
Olympic facilities	21.1%
Enhanced Calgary's reputation/image	14.2%
Citizen pride in city	8.8%
Brought city/citizens together	4.9%
Chance to meet other people	4.1%
Excitement/atmosphere in city	2.8%
Other	1.5%
Total	177.8*

*totals more than 100 due to multiple mentions

4.17 *What do you think Calgary can do to build on these successes and benefits?*

Action to build on success	% of cases
Advertise/promote city	44.3%
Host more activities/events	37.8%
Utilise facilities	23.4%
Host summer Olympics	8.9%
More money for training athletes	5.2%
Keep doing what we do now	4.8%
Improve business climate	3.1%
Nothing – reached limit of ability	1.7%
Get hotels/restaurants in line	1.7%
Improve Stampede	1.0%

Get rid of cowtown image	1.0%
Other	1.4%
Total	134.0*

*totals more than 100% due to multiple responses

4.18 *How do you feel you contributed to the success of the Games?*

Response	% of cases
Was friendly/hospitable	36.1%
Participated in activities	22.6%
Went to events	19.0%
Did little/nothing	17.4%
Volunteered (including community activities)	10.8%
Worked on building Olympic facilities	4.3%
Housing related	3.6%
Watched on T.V.	3.3%
Bought souvenirs	2.3%
Was involved in opening ceremonies	2.0%
Paid taxes	1.3%
Total	122.6*

*totals more than 100 due to multiple mentions

4.19 In terms of assessing how involved the local community felt in the event, they were asked whether they agreed with the statement: 'there were not enough community activities for city residents to become involved in'. 64.3% disagreed with this statement and 55.3% stated that they would liked to have felt more involved in the hosting of the Games. Ritchie and Lyons conclude that the long-term effects of the Winter Olympics still remain to be seen, though in the short-term the residents seem to be happy with the social impact on the region and the area is becoming a busier tourist destination (1990: 23).

4.20 Ritchie and Smith's (1991) most recent publication deals with the image of Calgary post-Winter Olympics. They concluded that hosting the Games had had a dramatic impact on levels of awareness and knowledge of the city of Calgary, in Europe and the United States in comparison to other Canadian cities. It is noted that whilst hosting this type of event proved beneficial in raising the profile of a city such as Calgary, it may prove less successful for a city such as Los Angeles, which already has a well established reputation as a global city and tourist magnet. This is certainly part of the thinking behind Manchester's staging of the Commonwealth games in 2002, as a city which strives to be recognised as a global 'second city'.

Sydney 2000

4.21 At the present time hopes are high for the after-effects of the Sydney Olympics, which will centre around the Homebush Bay area and will be utilised for a mixture of recreation, sport, exhibition, entertainment, residential and commercial purposes in the longer term. Although evidence from other Olympic host cities suggests that whilst such events generate significant economic activity, there is no guarantee that in the longer term an enhanced physical, social and environmental community fabric will be maintained (Brogan 1996: 317).

4.22 Former premier Nick Greiner stated that in the case of Sydney *'the secret of the success was undoubtedly **the creation of a community of interest**, not only in Sydney, but across the nation'*. This is an interesting choice of words as it implies that the community are important to the success of the event, although, which 'community' Greiner is referring to is relatively vague. Hall (1997) argues that the reference here is to the interests of growth coalitions in mega event proposals, who arguably have little concern or conception of how their actions may impact negatively on some areas of the 'real' community (1997: 82). Again, there are parallels here with Manchester which need further exploration - what is the 'community' which is to benefit from the Games? (see also Promotion Report). However, there is no doubt that whilst an event is in progress the host city is an exciting place to be which brings rewards to the community even if this is only temporary. As Kitchen (1996) comments:

"during the event, the city can in effect be on a high. Barcelona was a very stimulating place in which to be during the 1992 Olympic Games, because the organisational arrangement included many features (such as public art, lighting displays and improved public spaces) from which ordinary citizens who were not interested in the sport on offer or not able to afford tickets nonetheless benefited" (Kitchen 1996: 316).

Lessons for Research Programme

4.23 There are a number of lessons from these studies for the research:

- i) The lessons from social impact studies for the ongoing research programme into the sports development impact of the Commonwealth Games, suggest that a broad notion of participation is needed. The above suggests that assessing the benefit gained from a major sporting event in terms of sports participation can only be fully accounted for and fully explained if a broader understanding of the social impacts of the games are understood.
- ii) A key element is that the perception of the local population and local communities are important in how people respond to a major event - if their experience and perception is a negative one, they are less likely to be enthusiastic about taking up the sports involved. As such understanding how the Manchester games are perceived and why, and understanding the reactions of the Manchester public (in particular near the main games site) are vital elements of understanding its social and sporting impact.
- iii) Another element is that it is important to understand the capabilities and 'social capital' needed for some disadvantaged groups to become sports participants – that is, there is often a need for capacity-building in order to give some groups the ability and confidence to become sports participants. The role of the games in improving the skills and confidence of elements of the local population (such as through the PVP) is therefore linked to the impact of the event on actually doing sport.
- iv) Finally, it is clear from the Scottish Executive's report, among others, that a broad definition of participation is needed as well. Thus we should not only be interested in those who actually start playing sport, but also those who might become administrators, youth sports leaders, and sports volunteers in a range of activities.

5 Legacy Studies

What is Legacy?

5.1 As we argued earlier, the 'legacy' of an event could easily encompass all the different elements of the impact of a major event. Delivering a 'legacy' to the city from the Commonwealth Games is something which has been a primary motivation for Manchester's strategy to host the games and as such is important for us to consider. However, the notion of legacy is one which has been associated with sport for some time.

Games Ideals

5.2 The French nobleman Baron Pierre de Coubertin was responsible for the revival of the modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896. The legacy of Olympic events was an important part of the Olympic 'spirit of freedom, progress and equality' through out the world. De Coubertin's initial objectives have remained central to the operational purposes of the Games which are:

1. To foster the goals of competitive sport
2. To provide a legacy of facilities that will stimulate athletic development which would not have been possible with inferior facilities; and
3. To heighten the profile of the sports involved by providing better opportunities for training as well as sites for national and international competition (Chalkley and Essex 1999: 372).

Similarly, the Commonwealth Games are what organisers call the 'friendly games', being the only Games which shares a common language. Further, Manchester says that the 2002 Games:

'provide the opportunity to celebrate multicultural, modern Britain at the start of the new millennium. Manchester is fully committed to promoting and staging an 'inclusive Games', with equality of opportunity for competitors, spectators, volunteers and employees, irrespective of colour, race, nationality, ethnic origin, gender, religion, age, or disability.' (www.commonwealthgames.co.uk)

Case Studies

5.3 Legacy can be interpreted not only as the permanent effects, but also the readjustments to normality, or adaptation to changes the event has brought (Hiller 1998: 51). The facilities resulting from hosting a major sporting event are often numerous, though not all of them are utilised to their maximum potential and therefore do not always benefit the local population. For example, the 1956 Melbourne Games produced an extended Cricket Ground and the Olympic Park complex is still in use today as an arena for soccer, hockey and athletics. However, the velodrome was later demolished (it did not conform to specified requirements) and the swimming stadium also closed as (in spite of its stunning architectural design) it proved too costly to maintain (Chalkley and Essex 1999: 379).

5.4 Another popular legacy of an Olympic event is the use of the Olympic Village as residential housing after the Games. This type of strategy was employed at both Melbourne (1956), Helsinki (1952) (ibid) and Munich (1972)

whose Olympic Village has become a self-sustaining community (Chalkley and Essex 1998: 195).

5.5 Professor Terry Stevens (a Swansea leisure consultant) has carried out comparative research on the legacies of facilities left by the Atlanta and Barcelona Olympics. He argued that Atlanta would be successful because they had radical plans for their facilities, which included:

- demolishing half of the Olympic stadium and using the other half for the Atlanta Braves American baseball team
- the shooting range was handed over to the Atlanta Shooting Club meaning that the city wasn't left with under-utilised facilities and venues
- the Aquatic Centre, basketball gym, hockey stadium and equestrian venue were given to educational establishments or local authorities
- the Centennial Olympic Park has also enhanced quality of life for residents as a gathering place. (Chalkley and Essex 1998: 194)

5.6 Stevens argues that Barcelona duplicated existing facilities when they built Montjuic, which now hosts the occasional pop concert, athletic event and is home to the Barcelona Dragons (the city's American football team) but other than that is partially used (Lawson 1996: 22). Montjuic is on the route of the tourist bus in Barcelona though and therefore probably attracts more tourists per annum than spectators to see events there. Stevens goes on to argue that it is debatable whether the whole city benefits from the huge inward investment of the Olympics. Some parts of the community would prefer the money to be invested in other local projects, though Atlanta has benefited from improvements in infrastructure in poorer areas which has in turn attracted more inward investment. Improved community spirit in the city has reduced crime rates and the desire to work together to make the Olympics a success has created jobs, road improvements and better living conditions (Lawson 1996: 23). Many of these are similar issues to those in Manchester.

5.7 The legacy plan for the Toronto Olympics, which is bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games, includes a financial legacy for the local community, along with sustainable sport and cultural benefits:

- The sport legacy concentrates on 'sport for all' and the Canadian Olympic Association will distribute over 15,000 Olympic Resource Kits to Canadian schools, kits focussing on social aspects of sport such as gender equity, fair play, opposition to drug abuse and the Olympic contribution to humanitarian projects.
- The emphasis in this legacy is on schools and youth; with the youth leadership programme centres around coaching (to encourage greater access, opportunity and support for volunteers and paid coaches), role models for children and youth and community participation opportunities (youth to gain work experience through community sport programming).
- The National Sports Centre in Toronto will provide outstanding service programs and work in an advisory capacity with a network of regional sports centres.
- The competition venues and facilities will remain as either high performance training centres, community recreation facilities or both.

- These will include aquatics (50m pool), athletics (100,000 seat stadium will be reduced to 20,000 seat stadium), rowing and canoeing (ship channel will remain in place), velodrome (used for multiple purposes after the games) and a tennis centre (home to the new tennis centre).

Lessons for Research Programme

5.8 Delivering a lasting benefit to the city and region is a major motivation for Manchester City Council hosting the games. Sports development is only one element of that legacy. As such, the development of Manchester's legacy programme, its organisation and integration into the Games and its delivery will be key indicators for the sports development impact of Manchester 2002. John Glester is now employed by the SRB partnership to bring together and oversee the various legacy proposals (see also the section of this research on the volunteering programmes and the promotion of the Games). In particular the use of new facilities – and their corollary, the closure of others – will be central to perceptions of the games' legacy to Manchester and the region.

6 Urban Regeneration Studies

Major Events and 'Urban Regeneration'

6.1 Hosting a hallmark event is often viewed as a recipe for successful urban regeneration, as it not only brings the opportunity to improve the infrastructure and appearance of the host city, but it also gives global media exposure meaning that the image of a city can be transformed in the eyes of viewers. This was certainly true of Barcelona which successfully rid itself of its traditional manufacturing city image when hosting the 1992 Olympics.

6.2 Harvey (1989) argues that 'urban spectacles' such as major sports events can be used as a tool for urban regeneration, as they give the host city the opportunity to present a new and exciting image of itself, in essence a chance to recreate their personality thus enhancing their status on the global stage. Cities must compete now in an increasingly homogenised world, to stand out from the crowd; its image and aesthetics are therefore all important.

"How a city looks and how its spaces are organized forms a material base upon which a range of possible sensations and social practices can be thought about evaluated, and achieved" (Harvey 1990: 67).

6.3 Manchester sees itself in very much the same light – a former industrial centre, now moving into a post-industrial economy, anxious to be seen as a major European city. When it bid for both the Olympics (for 2000) and the Commonwealth Games, regenerating the urban landscape as well as 're-inventing the city' was a key motivating factor. Indeed, one interviewee for MIPC's ESRC project, who was centrally involved in the Olympic bid for 2000, has argued that Manchester, for 2002, more than any previous sporting event, has prioritised the regeneration of the city as part and parcel of the bid. The use of SRB funding and the decision to site the main event within an urban regeneration area are key elements of this.

6.4 The re-imaging of cities is central to this and it is hoped by the organisers that Manchester 2002 will further enhance the city's profile as a cultural and sporting city, as well as one able to manage a major event. Media images of the North have typically concentrated on grim, industrial, down at heel towns and the back to back terraces of Coronation Street. More recently Manchester has been the setting for numerous dramas such as Cold Feet, Cracker and Queer as Folk which have given the city an opportunity to reveal its more contemporary and cosmopolitan side; as have the successes of the city's musicians and nightclubs. Indeed one issue which MIPC will be focusing on in our ESRC study, Sport and the City, is the parallels between the kind of promotion and profile now given to the cultural sector and that for sports, within the broader regeneration strategy of the city. Manchester's determination to be seen as a modern, vibrant city; a centre for youth culture; and a centre of sporting success is part and parcel of why it is hosting the Commonwealth Games.

6.5 It was argued that, in the late 1980s, this new image of the city needed a more entrepreneurial business leadership, especially if Manchester was to

progress an Olympic bid, rather than the old municipal, welfarist, bureaucracy of traditional local government. Cochrane, Peck and Tickell (1996) argue that Manchester found this dynamic and charismatic leadership in Bob Scott, who was deeply rooted in the private sector (1996: 1321). Scott appealed to the city's 'movers and shakers' by presenting the Olympic bid to them not just for those who were interested in sport, but also urban regeneration (*ibid*: 1322). Whilst Scott achieved a great deal of support for the bid (opposition to it was very small) it was not strong enough to fight off stiff competition from Sydney and Beijing. Manchester (and arguably England) needed, and still needs, the evidence to demonstrate it is a host city of comparable ability and capacity. The Commonwealth Games will provide that opportunity and as such its success, or otherwise, will be central to the future marketing, redevelopment, and urban regeneration of Manchester.

6.6 However, bearing in mind some of the comments about legacy and local community perceptions of sporting events, the decision making process surrounding cities' bidding for major events is rarely a democratic process, as Hiller comments:

"the decision to host the event is therefore a joint decision of community elites of which elected officials and the government in power are a part, but seldom is the decision to host the event the result of grass-roots democratic decision-making... as an act with economic motivations and consequences, there will also be socio-economic implications" (1998: 49).

6.7 Urban regeneration is often written into bids for major sporting events, as the costs of staging such an event are so high they can only be justified when they are envisaged as leading to a major programme of urban regeneration and improvement (Essex and Chalkley 1998: 187). Such improvements can include updating the transport system or network and upgrading areas of the city's landscape. This can lead to the events becoming 'a self-serving commercial circus of property developers, construction companies, equipment suppliers and commercial sponsors' who do not have the local community's best interests high on their agendas' (*ibid*: 191). Again, recent community opposition in Manchester to the closure of swimming pools – which is being blamed on the staging and financing of the games – is an important aspect to watch. If the community reaction to the development of new facilities is poor, and there are few signs of 'urban regeneration' (rather the closure of valued facilities), then impact in other areas, such as sports participation, may also be negatively affected. This is something that must be guarded against if the host city is to benefit long-term as a whole.

6.8 The landscape of a city is crucial to its success and given the shift from production to consumption, Fordism to post-fordism sports facilities could prove to be an important part of a city's material base. The much quoted example of this is Barcelona which now has a rejuvenated coastal area with a marina, recreation facilities and sandy beaches (Essex and Chalkley 1998: 192). This area has proved beneficial in both attracting tourists and improving the quality of life for local residents:

“The development opened up the city to the sea by improving access to 5.2 km of coastline for the inhabitants of the metropolitan area. Here the new beaches and waterfront facilities have transformed the landscape and will potentially alter the shape of the future growth of the city” (Essex and Chalkley: 1998).

6.9 There are of course arguments regarding urban regeneration similar to those around the legacy of facilities, which claim that the local residents do not really benefit from regeneration which is ultimately carried out with consumers (probably tourists) in mind. Chalkley and Essex argue that the distributional effects of the Olympics are highly unequal as investment of public funds into them results in *‘a subsidy to affluent consumers and visitors at the expense of local collective consumption for the underprivileged’* (1998: 202). Again, the parallels with Manchester are clear.

6.10 Finally it is important to note that whilst major events provide an opportunity for funding the regeneration of cities, it is often the case that the city in question had already made long-term plans, regarding how they wish to improve the urban landscape and in this sense, events such as this are a tool for accelerating change, or a catalyst, rather an initiator for change (*ibid*: 203). In this sense regeneration is ‘sport-led’ whereby sport is used as a ‘source’ which has a value in the national, European and global market (Ward 1996: 36)

6.11 The use of sports development projects as a tool for urban regeneration, was initially researched by Long and Sanderson (1996: 28). They concluded that there is a widespread recognition in local government of using a community based urban regeneration approach, which may include sports projects. They argue that there is a need for systematic assessment and evaluation of sports based initiatives. This would include a more joined up approach across the relevant agencies which measure social and economic impacts.

7 Tourism Studies

“Major sports events are now a significant part of Britain’s tourism industry. Britain has, partly by historical accident rather than by design, become the global market leader in the staging of major sports events because of our annual domestic sporting competitions such as the FA Cup Final and Wimbledon attract a large number of overseas visitors and a global television audience. Major sports events held in Britain are a crucial ingredient in the creation of the tourist image of Britain.”
(Gratton et al 2000: 27).

7.1 There is no doubt that sports mega-events attract tourists, who create wealth in the host city by spending their money there and creating jobs (albeit temporarily in most cases) (Chalkley and Essex 1998: 189). However, it is arguable that in the case of sport there are long term tourist benefits if there are opportunities for the facilities to be used regularly to host further events.

7.2 In terms of community or local resident involvement, this is likely to centre around fanship with reference to sporting events. A subculture of supporters can lead to the creation of an atmosphere which may attract non-local residents and even international tourists as consumers of live sport (Higham 1999: 84). Essentially Higham wants to argue that in terms of tourist benefits sporting mega events, do not reap the same rewards as regular season events. The latter has the advantage of bringing money into the area without too much disruption to local residents and facilities which are regularly in use. They are therefore more likely to be upgraded, than a legacy of empty sports stadia as was the case after the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Games (1999: 86).

7.3 Whether Manchester City Football Club, as the future occupiers of the Commonwealth Stadium after the games are able to generate significant tourism is questionable. However, not only is football tourism growing, but if the stadium is used for other events such as pop concerts (as both Maine Rd and Old Trafford have been), lasting benefit from event tourism may be possible. However, whilst this is likely to be somewhat divorced from issues of sports development, wider issues of how these new facilities are perceived of and viewed by local residents will be important in determining how they are used.

7.4 Thus, if the Sport City complex in East Manchester is seen as a place for ‘outsiders’ (tourists, football fans from outside the area) its use as a sport facility (and therefore the impact of the main event on sports participation) may be adversely affected. Balancing the need to attract tourists and the need to provide community use will be important as to the impact of the facilities in sports development in the region. Likewise, if the Commonwealth games is successful in re-imaging Manchester and making it a more attractive visitor destination, and (crucially) if the benefit from those increased visitors is distributed, then the post-event perception we discussed above in ‘legacy’ will benefit.

8 Economic Impact Studies

Overview

8.1 Most literature on the impact of major events has focused on the economic benefit of doing so. As with academic understanding of the economic importance of the arts and culture (Myerscough, 1989), understanding the importance of major events has also tended to focus on its economic importance.

8.2 Hosting a major sporting event such as the Olympics has not always brought financial reward, and it was often seen as an administrative and financial burden to the host country.

- The Olympics staged in Munich in 1972 made a loss of £178 million
- The Montreal Olympics of 1976 lost a staggering £692 million
- Yet, the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics proved to be a turning point by making a surplus of £215 million
- The Barcelona Olympics in 1992 made an overall profit of 358 million pesetas (Ferran Brunet 1996).
- The Atlanta Olympics in 1996 was expected to pump \$5.1bn into the Georgia economy (Jerry Schwartz 1996).

8.3 In more recent years, therefore, hosting sporting events has been viewed as a prestigious achievement resulting in opportunities for economic profit, urban regeneration and global media exposure (Smales 1996: 46).

“Increasingly sports events are part of a broader strategy aimed at raising the profile of a city and therefore success cannot be simply judged on profit and loss”(Gratton et al 2000: 18).

8.4 However, economic impact is arguably one of the most important indicators of the success of a major sporting event and often one of the main incentives for intending to host the event initially.

8.5 In Britain the economic importance of hosting sports events became evident after the Euro 96 football championships, which attracted 280,000 overseas visiting supporters who spent approximately £120 million in the eight host cities (Dobson *et al* 1997). The tournament itself made a profit of £69 million for UEFA and although the FA made an operating loss of £1.7 million, a £2.5 million surplus was made after taking account of England’s prize money for reaching the semi-finals (Gratton et al 2000: 21).

8.6 There are two types of events which generate the largest economic benefits for host cities, these are:

1. Irregular, one-off, major international spectator events generating significant economic activity and media interest (e.g. Olympics, Football World Cup, European Football Championship).
2. Major spectator events, generating significant economic activity, media interest and part of an annual domestic cycle of sports events (e.g. FA

Cup Final, Six Nations Rugby Union Internationals, Test Match Cricket, Open Golf, Wimbledon)
(Gratton *et al* 2000: 26).

8.7 The media has played an increasingly significant role in making events such as the Olympic Games profitable for host cities. The increasing role of live television coverage – and the hugely increased value of television rights, has meant that hosts can expect to reap lucrative awards from television companies, by selling the rights to broadcast the events. Chalkley and Essex note that:

“in 1960, CBS, the American television company, paid US \$440, 000 for covering the Rome[Olympic] Games. The television rights for the Atlanta Games were sold for US \$900 million and the American NBC network has purchased the rights until 2008 for US \$3.6 billion. Other hallmark events and exhibitions cannot attract this level of media attention or funding. As a result, the Olympics tends to generate more urban change and to leave behind a more substantial urban legacy” (1999: 390).

8.8 As they argue, the economic benefit derived from TV coverage is primarily true of elite events such as the Olympics and World Cup; it remains to be seen how a more minor event like the Commonwealth Games fares.

8.9 Whilst it is clear that Olympic events generate profit if managed effectively, it is clear that this is not necessarily sustainable. The host city may well benefit from tourism as a result of hosting an event and gain a positive global image, but will not gain any significant economic profit from the event. Professor Robert Bade (Forest lake College Illinois) has researched the impact of professional sports stadia in 30 US cities and in the case of Atlanta argued:

“once the event is over, even if that infrastructure is used it will simply realign leisure spending within Atlanta’s economy, rather than adding to spending overall. So the impact after the Olympics is likely to be something that is close to nil. In order to induce any kind of change in economic activity, you have to increase spending overall. Professional sports do not accomplish that. They simply realign spending within the community” (Lawson 1996: 21).

8.10 The parallels with Manchester are again clear. There is tangible evidence of new facilities built specifically for the Commonwealth Games in the new Aquatics Centre on Oxford Rd, yet this has been tempered by the proposed closure of community swimming pools such as the Gorton Tub in East Manchester. Whilst it is not an explicit policy of Manchester City Council to balance the creation of these new facilities with the closure of older ones - they argue that closures are the result of other factors such as the best value assessments - local residents such as the Save Gorton Tub campaign (<http://www.savegortontub.freemove.co.uk>) perceive the closure to be as a result of the Commonwealth Games (see also our report into the Promotion of the Games).

8.11 However, it should also be noted that in the case of Manchester, the bid to host the Olympics for 2000 arguably proved beneficial even when the city did not actually get to host them. Mike Dyble (International Marketing Director for Manchester's Olympic 2000 Games bid) states that Manchester gained global publicity from the bid and attracted millions in advance government infrastructure funding, that it would otherwise never have seen (Lawson 1996: 22). This is confirmed by members of the Olympic Bid executive. The city now boasts a velodrome and the largest ice hockey arena in Europe.

8.12 The downside of bidding for and potentially winning the Games, is that such developments may draw money away from public sector investment, which critics argue would be better spent on schools, hospitals and extra welfare staff than sports facilities (Law 1994: 224). As such an understanding of the structures of funding, both for major events and for deprived urban areas (especially Single Regeneration Budget and European structural funds), is needed if the economic impact of a major event is to be properly accounted for.

8.13 The city in question may have sports facilities that have been seen (via the media) and envied the world wide, but have high operating costs and are underused. Whilst Manchester's Olympic bid was unsuccessful many of the facilities, argues Law, had been so well thought out, that they will eventually be successful and sustainable anyway, such as the Manchester Evening News Arena and parts of the proposed Olympic village used for student accommodation (Law 1994: 229).

Lessons for the Research Programme

8.14 Key questions for an assessment of the sports development impact of Manchester 2002 is surely the success, in terms of sustainability and usage, of facilities created. However, as economic impact studies show, within this assessment must be one of the negative impacts as well. For example, although Manchester has been successful in already finding a permanent tenant for the Commonwealth Stadium in Manchester City, which may give an economic boost to East Manchester, Manchester City are moving from another deprived area (Moss Side, Rusholme) which may suffer a negative impact when City leave. The example of swimming pools which have been, or may be, closed, is another. In this sense the question needs to be asked as to whether major sporting events merely replace existing provision with new facilities, suggesting a replacement economics.

9 Methodologies Employed

9.1 A variety of different methodological techniques were used by the various studies discussed.

9.2 **Gratton and Tice's (1994)** study, which analysed general trends in sports participation used data from the GHS of 1977, 1983 and 1986 carried out by The Office of Population Censuses (OPCS). The 1980 GHS was omitted because it did not include a chapter on leisure data, the intention being that the Sports Council should publish an analysis of the data separately. Additional research commissioned by the Sports Council in 1977 and 1980 (carried out by Tony Veal) and 1983 (carried out by The Henley Centre for Forecasting) was also utilised to look at trends in sports participation. These sources were used initially to provide a number of sports categories and indicators, although an alternative approach was required to build up a more accurate picture. Gratton and Tice then developed 14 sports categories which excluded some of the original categories on the GHS (such as darts, billiards and caravanning – which were listed as 'NOSPORT'). The data was then analysed comparing rates of sports participation over the ten year period with particular attention paid to factors such as frequency of participation and the characteristics of the participants (i.e. gender, age, retirement).

9.3 *As recommended above, it will be important to understand the general trends in sports participation as useful comparative/contextualising data for the impact study post-Manchester 2002. Although Gratton and Tice's work is instructive, more recent data would probably be needed than this study.*

9.4 **Coalter's (1993)** study adopted a 'before-and-after' approach interviewing users at the 5 facilities before the price increases and between four and six months afterwards. Household interview surveys were also carried out in the catchment areas of the leisure centres. These surveys were used to measure whether price had any impact on participation, to obtain information on the lifestyles of both participants and non-participants, to establish the constraints on participation and the importance of sports-related expenditure relative to a more general leisure experience. This data was utilised not to present five detailed case studies, but to construct a general picture of the influence of entrance fees on participation.

9.5 *For the purposes of the ongoing study, the importance of combining qualitative data with qualitative data should not be underestimated. Surveying the impact on membership levels and the participation of ethnic minorities at sports clubs will be instructive; however, understanding the intricacies of particular cultural, social and economic factors which may help, or limit this participation, will be vital in terms of explaining and implementing change.*

9.6 **Coalter's (1999)** study initially uses data from the GHS to examine and establish recent trends in participation in physical recreation activities. Coalter argued that the nature of the questions on sports and leisure in the GHS prior to 1987 disguised a much higher level of participation than first analysis

suggested. That is, that prior to 1987 the GHS asked an open ended question about leisure activities and since then interviewees were provided with a pre-coded list of 32 activities. This resulted in respondents indicating a higher level of participation, especially for non-competitive activities such as walking and cycling. Coalter also identifies a number of limitations with the GHS when analysing data on sports participation: that only small sub-samples are used for data on individual sports; that no information about ethnicity, unemployment or disabilities is published; and that information about the location (in/out of home) and nature (casual/competitive) of activities was not collected until 1996.

9.7 *These criticisms of the GHS as comparative/contextualising data should be noted.*

9.8 **Ritchie and Lyon's (1990)** longitudinal research gathered data for their Olympulse monitor at various stages during the preparations for, during and after the Winter Olympic Games. The data for Olympulse VI were gathered over a two week period between 7-21 March 1988 (the Games took place between February 13 and 28 1988) and in total 400 residents age 13 or older were interviewed. The respondents were selected randomly from the local telephone directory and interviews conducted over the telephone.

9.9 *We would support the notion that both before-and-after event and longitudinal research is necessary to assess the impact of 2002 on sports development. However, it should be remembered that this study was about the general public's perception of the games, something which may be outside the scope of the sports impact research.*

9.10 **Ritchie and Smith's (1991)** study collected data over a four year period (1986 to 1989) from 22 centres (all of which were higher education institutions) in the United States and Europe. All of the centres annually completed 100 interviews by telephone with individuals age 16 or over selected randomly from the telephone directory. The telephone questionnaire included questions on images of Canada, awareness of Canadian provinces and cities and knowledge of Olympic Games sites both before and after the Winter Olympics of 1988.

9.11 *Again, this research into the social impact of Calgary is more about how awareness of the city was improved internationally. As such, although it was of a longitudinal nature its methodology (an international survey) is less relevant for our purposes.*

9.12 **Collins et al's (1999)** study on social exclusion and sport for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport was carried out using literature from previous studies which were then evaluated in order to identify examples of good practice. The initial search used the BIDS/ISI database world wide. Searches were also conducted using the Sports Council's and ILAM's Information Centres as well as a search via scholars in 20 countries via email requests. There were many hits initially but these were narrowed down to

eleven studies which provided rigorous evaluations¹. The studies were reviewed once they had been identified as dealing with issues relating to exclusion of particular groups in sport and bibliographical abstracts were produced for the major studies covered.

9.13 *This report itself is a result of a similar literature review exercise. However, continued monitoring of research material – particularly that conducted on Sydney 2000 which may still be in progress – will be necessary.*

9.14 The study carried out by **The Scottish Executive (2001)** initially conducted a literature search and then carried out ten case studies. The case studies were chosen to reflect a wide range of issues and fell into three broad categories which were:

1. individual sports based initiatives which addressed specific issues within deprived areas;
2. projects which aimed to use increased participation in sport for the purposes of community development; and
3. initiatives which used sport as one component of a wider set of initiatives to address social deprivation.

9.15 Information was collected by analysing relevant documents such as grant aid applications, strategies and annual reports. In-depth face-to-face interviews were carried out with the relevant personnel from projects and group discussions and individual interviews were completed with participants in the majority of the projects. In one project a telephone survey was also undertaken. The case studies were used to inform generic practice, rather than criticise specific practice.

9.16 *Again we would support the need for some in-depth qualitative work on the sports development impact of Manchester 2002. Understanding precise, ethnographic detail on why some areas, or some sports, have seen an increase in participation and others not will be vital to future event planning.*

9.17 **Gratton et al's (2000)** study 'The Economic Importance of Major Sports Events: A Case-Study of Six Events' employed quantitative methods, distributing 4,306 questionnaires in total to visitors to the six events. Information was also gathered from the local authorities in the host cities, governing bodies involved in staging the event, and the hotels in the six cities. The survey was used to estimate additional expenditure, along with ticket sales data to assess the amount of money generated from outside the host city. Locally-generated income and the number of jobs created were established, using a proportional multiplier approach (direct + indirect + induced income divided by initial visitor expenditure). The results indicated

¹ The eleven studies were 'Inner City Sport' (Liverpool, Cardiff, Glasgow, Belfast, Chester and London); 'The Venture Centre'; Caia Park, Wrexham; 'Champion Coaching via Notts Sport Training Scheme'; 'Active Lifestyles Sports Council National Demonstration Project'; 'Solent Sports Counselling'; 'West Yorks Sports Counselling'; 'After School Recreation Programmes' (Austin, Dallas, College Station, Texas); 'Women in Sport Management'; 'World Class Facilities in Sheffield'; 'Americas Cup, 1986-7 Impact on Fremantle'; and 'Effectiveness of Leisure/Loyalty Cards'.

that cricket generated the most income, with 91% of the spectators being visitors to the city.

9.18 *This methodology is less relevant for our purposes as it focuses specifically on expenditure. Whilst we would argue that such a study of the economic impact of the games on Manchester is essential, it is out of the remit of this particular project. Finally, economic factors may be important in accounting for patterns of post-games' participation levels.*

10 Conclusions and Recommendations

10.1 The purpose of this literature survey has been to identify what previous research exists on major sporting events, with particular reference to the impact on sports development and what implications this has for UK Sports ongoing research programme.

10.2 The headline finding of this survey is that there is very little research on the impact of major events on sports development, although there is considerable research on other impacts. Whilst this raises its own problems – much of this will be uncharted territory – it also highlights the fact that the proposed UK Sport research programme could be genuinely ground-breaking. It also provides us with considerable guidance on methodology for further studies.

10.3 At the time of the initial tender, UK Sport indicated that they intend to undertake a number of dedicated studies later in the research programme. These were:

- **Young People (school years 2-11):**
Pre- and post-Games surveys in order to assess the impact of the Commonwealth games
- **Black and Ethnic Minorities: Commonwealth-related populations:**
Pre- and post-Games surveys of a maximum of 2000 households in targeted areas.
- **Sports Clubs:**
Pre- and post-Games monitoring of usage and membership.
- **Sports Facilities:**
Pre- and post-Games monitoring of usage and users of selected 'significant' local authority facilities.
- **Volunteers and officials:**
Pre- and post-Games surveys of volunteers and officials to ascertain their own assessment of volunteer programmes and officiating experience.

10.4 We believe that these areas of study are appropriate as they tackle some of the most important questions about sports development. However, we have a number of suggestions regarding the **scope** of these, their **methodology** and certain **research issues**, informed by the literature review and other ongoing aspects of the baseline research.

Scope

Young People

10.5 We appreciate the need to assess the impact of schools programmes on younger children – the Scottish Executive report specifically highlighted the need for early intervention to impact on sports participation later in life. However, we would suggest that UK Sport consider extending the survey of young people to include those which have been participants in some of the Games-related initiatives, primarily, the Pre-Volunteer Programme (PVP). The main focus of the PVP are disadvantaged youths aged between 16 and 21

years within 18 SRB areas and two associate areas in the North West. Given that a special effort is being made to use the Games to combat social exclusion within this age range (see our report into the Volunteer programmes) it would seem appropriate that the longer term impact on *volunteers* in this age group as sports participants should be specifically evaluated.

Ethnic Minorities

10.6 Given the nature of the Games (international, with many countries linked to the ethnic minorities in the UK), it is essential that the sports impact on ethnic minorities is evaluated. However, it needs to be clarified if this research is specifically targeting:

- *Commonwealth*-related populations (which will include white and non-white residents);
- only *ethnic minority Commonwealth*-related populations;
- or *ethnic minorities more generally*, as with baseline research on ethnic minority populations.

10.7 Given the nature of data currently being compiled – which identifies ethnic origin rather than national origin - it would be more consistent, as well as significantly simpler (and therefore cheaper), to survey the former.

Sports Clubs

10.8 Initial baseline data is being collected on all Commonwealth Games-related sports clubs. Given the priorities of understanding the impact on the young, socially disadvantaged and ethnic minorities, it would seem logical to concentrate the post-Games surveys on those clubs based in or near ethnic minority populations and the SRB areas cited above, with some benchmarking case studies elsewhere.

10.9 Although it is beyond the scope of UK Sport's planned research, it would also be interesting to know whether major sports events have impacts on sports participation more generally. A small sample of clubs from another sport, or a small sample of other sports, might provide some interesting evidence to compare with UK Sport's own surveys.

10.10 The available literature has indicated that certain sports have enjoyed a greater growth than others in recent years and some traditionally popular sports have declined. Whatever the shape of further surveys carried out, they should build into their methodology a means of assessing impact in both growth sports and more minor sports. This is especially important given the nature of the Commonwealth Games which includes a number of 'minor' sports. It should also be considered whether this could be done on a case study basis.

Sports Facilities

10.11 The issue of sports facilities is a very topical one in Manchester in relation to the Commonwealth Games 2002. Not only has the creation of new sporting facilities been a central plank of Manchester's sporting strategy over the last decade (including the motivation for the Commonwealth Games bid,

and the creation of a number of flagship venues as part of the city's Olympic 2000 bid), but the arrival of the Games is being perceived as putting pressure on, and even being responsible for closing, other, local facilities. We believe monitoring usage of sports facilities therefore needs to include:

- new Games-related facilities
- the Olympic related facilities (some of which are being used for the Games)
- and existing local authority facilities

This would help establish the relationship between impacts on new and old facilities and highlight the benefit, or otherwise, of major events to local sports infrastructure.

Volunteers and Officials

10.12 We agree that monitoring the impact on those who are official volunteers is essential, given the central role of the volunteering programmes (see Volunteers report) in the organisation of the Games. Available literature also supports this approach. However, it is envisaged that only half of those trained in the PVP will become full volunteers and therefore UK Sport might wish to track a sample of those who do not become volunteers, as well as those who do, to assess the impact of the PVP alone on sports development and participation. However, issues of access to information and databases may make this problematic (see Volunteering report).

Other

10.13 Given the nature of the Manchester Games – which are inclusive of disabled athletes and which explicitly aim to provide social and economic regeneration of deprived communities – it might be worth considering whether there should be an assessment of the impact of Manchester 2002 on other targeted groups such as the disabled and economically disadvantaged. This could be achieved within the already planned studies on ethnic minorities, young people, club participation and facility use.

Methodology

10.14 Our main recommendations concerning the methodology of future research on the sports impact of the Commonwealth games are as follows:

Longitudinal – possibly up to five years

10.15 Research should be longitudinal and should assess the impact of the Commonwealth Games before, during and after the event. UK Sport already plan to do this. However, it is worth noting Collins et al's (1999) study for DCMS which recommends that new community sports programmes should be evaluated for up to and beyond five years. If specific sporting initiatives are to be researched and assessed in detail, then the long term nature of establishing community sports participation needs to be borne in mind.

A Variety of Sports

10.16 As argued above, an assessment of the impact of Manchester 2002 on a variety of sports including the more major Commonwealth games sports; the more minor sports; and even possibly non-Commonwealth sports.

Qualitative and Quantitative methods

10.17 We strongly believe that a mixture of qualitative *and* quantitative methods is essential for this study. Whilst quantitative surveys can provide important data on actual numbers of participants, they are sometimes less able to uncover the reasons behind those participation levels, and therefore provide lessons for future strategy. Understanding these less tangible, underlying, social and cultural issues can provide an added value, particularly in relation to future policy recommendations.

10.18 For instance, particular local issues may affect participation in some areas which could not be understood merely by calculating increased or decreased use of sports facilities or participation or membership levels in certain sports clubs. As Coalter's (1999) study suggests, policies aimed at sports development need to take account of wider social, economic and cultural influences. This is particularly true of ethnic minorities where specific cultural and religious factors may dramatically affect participation levels (and where the Commission for Racial Equality have argued that some people face a 'double discrimination'), but is also true of other groups such as the economically and socially disadvantaged and the young. Finding out the reasons why some communities are positively involved in the Games themselves, or in sports afterwards, and others are not can mean untangling a complex set of social relations which a survey of clubs would not do.

Therefore we propose that a range of qualitative methods – such as ethnographic case studies; semi-structured interview with participants; focus or research groups; participant observation; and participant diaries are considered as potential methods. These would sit alongside any survey work which will produce statistics on sports development impact, and provide qualitative evidence which can then help explain those statistics. Only with this combination will the fullest understanding of the impact of Manchester 2002 be understood.

Contextualised

10.19 The study of the impact of Manchester 2002 needs to take into account the more general context of sports development. Both Gratton and Tice and the General Household Survey indicate certain trends in sports participation, and the ongoing programme of research needs to take into account factors such as a contemporary preference for individual not team sports; flexible timetabling; and the likelihood that middle class individuals are more likely to take up a sport than working class individuals – again an important issue given Manchester City Council's motivations for holding the games.

Research Questions and Issues

10.20 There are a number of research questions which this literature review has highlighted. We think that the following will be important for the fullest possible understanding of the impact of Manchester 2002.

Different Kinds of Participation

10.21 The Scottish Executive report 'The Role of Sport in Regenerating Deprived Urban Areas' is explicit in arguing that the social benefit of sports can be seen not only in playing, but also in terms of people administrating, volunteering and spectating. As such questions of participation need to take into account not just how many members sports clubs have, or how often they play, but also:

- what different roles are taken up by individuals
- what the impact is in terms of spectating (including an assessment of the Games themselves)
- if there are differences in the groups that undertake different activities
- what the links are between increased numbers of spectators and the impact on other forms of participation.

Within this needs to be a specific assessment of whether the Volunteer Programme generates significant post-Games sports participation and whether the problems experienced by previous volunteer initiatives are overcome.

Social Impact

10.22 In terms of the event's social sporting impact, a number of research issues have been highlighted. These include:

- personal skill development
- bringing together diverse individuals and groups
- increased social interaction
- involvement of all age groups
- involvement of non-regular participants in sport
- community group involvement
- increased prominence of minor sports
- civic pride and regional identity

(McKinnon (1987) in Hall (1992: 68)).

Positive and Negative Impacts

10.23 Key questions for an assessment of the sports development impact of Manchester 2002 include (but not exclusively) the success, in terms of sustainability and usage, of facilities created. However, as economic impact studies show, within this assessment must be one of the negative impacts as well. In this the effect on existing facilities and neighbourhoods where those facilities exist needs to be made.

Facilities

10.24 Linked to this is the question of the use of facilities. Particular issues cloud the situation in Manchester and detailed qualitative work will be needed to assess the role of these in lessening or increasing the sports impact of the Games. These issues include:

- the perceived 'replacement' of some facilities with others (especially in swimming)
- the future occupation of the Commonwealth stadium by a privately-owned football club and its departure from another deprived area of Manchester

- the differing impacts of major, one-off international events such as the Games and the more regular use made of facilities created.

It should be noted here that MIPC and Sheffield Hallam University are applying jointly for specific football-related research money to study the changing use of the stadium, its effect on local communities and the effect on Manchester City's existing 'community'. If this is successful, new areas of co-operation might be developed.

Pricing

10.25 Coalter (1993) argues that participation of existing users of facilities isn't dependent solely on pricing. However, given that the focus of the Games' social impact is on deprived areas of the North West, the price of participation (including cost of kit etc) might be a very useful comparative tool in comparing different levels of sporting impact in different social and economic areas following the Games. Furthermore, given the particular interest in the impact on ethnic minority populations and the young, pricing may be a key variable in different levels of impact.

Community Interest

10.26 The success of the Games in producing a genuine 'community of interest' - as has been claimed by Sydney 2000 – and the links between this and sporting impact needs to be assessed. In particular, the danger of the Games creating '*a self-serving commercial circus of property developers, construction companies, equipment suppliers and commercial sponsors*' who *do not have the local community's best interests high on their agendas*' could be a crucial factor.

10.27 One key element is that the perception of the local population and local communities are important in how people respond to a major event - if their experiences and perceptions are negative, they may be less likely to be enthusiastic about taking up the sports involved. Understanding these reactions also suggests the need for some qualitative research before, during and after the Games.

Evaluating Case Studies of Community Sport Initiatives

10.28 If UK Sport decide to undertake specific case study research on identified sports initiatives linked to the Games, to assess their impact, the Collins (1999) report suggests a number of guidelines and indicators developed by Thomas and Palfrey (1999), listed above, in 3.19. In evaluating the sporting impact of specific community sports projects, these criteria should act as a starting point.

Social Exclusion

10.29 The extent of social exclusion, and the success of the Games in overcoming this, will be important in generating sports participation across all groups in society. As we have already argued, the capabilities and 'social capital' needed for some disadvantaged groups to become sports participants and the need for capacity building in order to give some groups the ability and confidence to become sports participants will be key elements in explaining impact levels.

10.30 These are our findings from a survey of available literature on previous major sporting events. For the final report we will refine these recommendations following consultation with UK Sport and Sport England, should it be required. There may also be important lessons from research into the Sydney 2000 Olympics which is not yet available, but which will be vital to inform the ongoing research.

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