

JULIA JASTRZĄBEK^a

THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AS POLICYMAKER: IDENTIFYING THE LEADING AREAS OF CHANGE IN CANDIDATURE, DELIVERY AND LEGACY ASPECTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

MIĘDZYNARODOWY KOMITET OLIMPIJSKI JAKO TWÓRCA
POLITYKI: IDENTYFIKACJA GŁÓWNYCH OBSZARÓW ZMIAN
W PROCESACH KANDYDATURY, REALIZACJI IGRZYSK
OLIMPIJSKICH I ICH DZIEDZICTWA

Studies on policy process provide a practical methodological approach for analysing how identified problems are addressed, or how other issues receive special attention from the entities responsible for policy design. In this article, it is argued that the International Olympic Committee (IOC), as an international non-governmental not-for-profit organization, has its own initiative to design policies and reforms aimed at solving problems and challenges that emerge during each stage of the Olympic Games lifecycle: candidature process, event organization, and realization of legacy strategy. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to identify the leading areas of change in the policy created by the IOC, based on the analysis of strategic documents published by this organization or its appointed commissions. The research applies qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative part is based on a critical literature review, elements of a case study, desk research, and comparative analysis. Quantitative methods are represented by the visualization of statistical data and the ‘text as data’ approach, where the IOC documents are analysed in the integrated development environment R Studio by using functions included in the *quanteda* R package. The main findings demonstrate the growing importance of sustainability and legacy in all aspects of the Olympic Games lifecycle, along with the implementation of consecutive policy reforms. One interesting conclusion that emerged from the analysis is that some recommendations are very similar or even recurrent. In this study, the research attention is also drawn to the fact that the usefulness and effectiveness of the policies implemented at various stages of the Olympic Games lifecycle are contingent upon the quality of the institutions of the host countries.

Keywords: Olympic Games; International Olympic Committee; policies; reforms; qualitative and quantitative text analysis

JEL: D78, L31, L39, Z28

^a Poznań University of Economics and Business, Poland /
Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Poznaniu, Polska
julia.jastrzabek@ue.poznan.pl, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5628-6560>

¹ Funding: The author acknowledges the support from the National Science Centre (Poland) under the MINIATURA 7 programme (2023/07/X/HS4/00086).

Badania nad procesem tworzenia polityk dostarczają praktycznego podejścia metodologicznego do analizowania sposobów, w jaki rozwiązywane są zidentyfikowane problemy lub jak inne kwestie są traktowane ze szczególną uwagą przez podmioty odpowiedzialne za projektowanie polityk. W niniejszym artykule przyjmuje się, że międzynarodowe organizacje pozarządowe typu not-for-profit, takie jak Międzynarodowy Komitet Olimpijski (MKOl), posiadają własną inicjatywę w zakresie tworzenia polityk i reform mających na celu rozwiązanie problemów i odpowiedzi na wyzwania, które pojawiają się na każdym etapie tzw. cyklu życia igrzysk olimpijskich: procesu kandydowania na gospodarza, organizacji wydarzenia i realizacji strategii dziedzictwa olimpijskiego. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest określenie głównych obszarów zmian w polityce kreowanej przez MKOl na podstawie analizy dokumentów strategicznych opublikowanych przez MKOl lub powołanych przez niego komisji. Badanie zostało przeprowadzone z wykorzystaniem metod jakościowych i ilościowych. Część jakościowa opiera się na krytycznym przeglądzie literatury, elementach studium przypadku, badaniach źródeł wtórnych i analizie porównawczej. Metody ilościowe obejmują prezentację danych statystycznych oraz ilościową analizę tekstu, w ramach której treść dokumentów MKOl została poddana analizie w zintegrowanym środowisku programistycznym R Studio za pomocą funkcji zawartych w pakiecie *quanteda*. Wyniki badań wskazują na rosnące znaczenie zrównoważonego rozwoju i dziedzictwa we wszystkich aspektach cyklu życia igrzysk olimpijskich, wraz z wprowadzaniem kolejnych zestawów reform. Jednym z interesujących wniosków z badania jest to, że niektóre zalecenia są bardzo podobne lub nawet powtarzają się w kolejnych dokumentach. W niniejszej pracy zwrócono również uwagę, że przydatność i efektywność tychże polityk, realizowanych na poszczególnych etapach cyklu życia igrzysk olimpijskich, jest uwarunkowana jakością instytucji krajów gospodarzy tego sportowego wydarzenia.

Słowa kluczowe: igrzyska olimpijskie; Międzynarodowy Komitet Olimpijski; polityki; reformy; jakościowa i ilościowa analiza tekstu
JEL: D78, L31, L39, Z28

I. INTRODUCTION

The Olympic Games is a global phenomenon that is a part of our modern civilization. Restored by the French baron Pierre de Coubertin, they have grown to be the largest stage of international multisport competition. Over the past decades, the number of sports events, participating countries, and athletes has increased substantially. But the growing scale of the Olympic Games – both winter and summer editions – is also underlined by their evolutionary character, embracing geographical, urban, and financial expansion. As Müller et al. (2021, p. 340) aptly point out in their article evaluating the sustainability of the Olympic Games, this event today is ‘the most expensive serial human intervention in the world’.

The global challenges concerning climate change, technological progress, the social protection and development of children and young people, declining democracy, and human rights violations, to name just a few, have led to increased focus on sustainability in economic, social, and environmental domains. Such circumstances urge the International Olympic Committee (IOC),

as the owner and governing body responsible for the Olympic Games, to find adequate and versatile solutions, which become roadmaps and guidelines for candidate and host cities to make the Olympic Games sustainable, and to secure their long-lasting effects. From this point of view, we can conclude that the IOC, as one of the leading international non-governmental organizations (INGO), has a capacity to produce highly formalized documents aimed at dealing with strategic and detailed issues referring to each stage of the Olympic Games. Within its prerogatives, the IOC establishes the ‘Games template’, which can be conceptualized within frameworks and tools derived from the field of policy studies. This template comprises numerous operational requirements that future host cities must fulfill. It regulates the conditions for hosting the Olympic Games, defines the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders involved in delivering the Games, and provides specifics on planning, organizing, and financing. Additionally, it guides the adaptation of tangible and intangible assets, as well as infrastructure, for the post-Games era. For that reason, the Olympic undertaking may be viewed as an integrated system of recommendations, measures, and procedures that structures the Olympic Games lifecycle (Candidature, Delivery, Legacy) and the interactions between Olympic stakeholders.

Therefore, this paper aims to fill the research gap on the topic of the evolution of strategic documents, here defined interchangeably as the IOC policy frameworks or reforms, that have been created over the last two decades (2003–2022), and with reference to each stage of the Olympic Games lifecycle. These reforms are presented in the following documents: Report by the Olympic Games Study Commission 2003 (OGSC 2003 or OGSC 2003 Report; Pound, 2003), Olympic Agenda 2020 & The New Norm (OA 2020 & TNN; IOC, 2014, 2018), and the Olympic Agenda 2020+5 (OA 2020+5; IOC, 2021c). The main research issues revolve around the premises of the subsequent reforms introduced by the IOC, how they evolved in terms of key topics and issues, and whether their content and character include important aspects for delivering economically, socially and environmentally sustainable Games. This will also lead to a discussion of the potential factors determining the utility of IOC reforms. The analysis will be presented by applying the stages model of the policy cycle, and with the use of qualitative and quantitative methods.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In Section II, the theoretical framework is outlined by presenting the role of policy design and policy evaluation in the literature, with its adaptation to the conceptual framework of this study. Then, in Section III, the emphasis is placed on the literature review of the Games’ expansion and development, as well as the effects of staging the event. In Section IV, an analysis of the evolution of the IOC policy frameworks is presented, with qualitative and quantitative approaches. Section V discusses the reasons why the IOC policy frameworks might not be sufficient for making sustainable Games. Section VI concludes.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Anderson (1975, as cited in Potůček & Rudolfová, 2017), a policy can be defined as ‘a purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern’. There are several types of policy that affect various aspects of socioeconomic life, whether by increasing their quality or by making them more difficult. Examples include policies related to the economy, sports, housing, the environment, and many other areas of interest. In general, in the literature, the term policy is often equated with public policy, which relates both to a scientific discipline and social practice (Potůček & Rudolfová, 2017, pp. 23–25). Public policies are mainly developed by the state or local government. But if the term public policy is reduced to the definition cited at the beginning of this paragraph, with the addition that by actor(s) we mean individual(s) or organization(s), a universal sense of policy in different fields of action can be conceptualized. Therefore, these actor(s) have significant autonomy and power to design and then implement their own policy frameworks.

The policy process is frequently explained through the stages model of the policy cycle (Capano & Pritoni, 2020). This cycle is usually divided into five stages: problem identification/agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. The first stage identifies and specifies the problems that may become the goals of public policies, and so an examination of agenda-setting allows policy makers to best decide what problems to address. Policy formulation involves the creation, identification, or borrowing of proposed actions, often referred to as alternatives or options, to resolve or improve (public) problems. Decision-making requires deciding which suggested alternatives, including no action, will be used to handle a problem. Implementation is basically the application of the policy by the government or its agencies. Finally, there is a policy evaluation to determine whether the policy was effective, and why or why not. This conceptual tool allows researchers to make further developments in theoretical and empirical fields, as well as to make the complexity of policymaking easier to understand and more feasible for implementation (Capano & Pritoni, 2020).

In this study, it is assumed that an international non-governmental organization (INGO) like the IOC can also develop its own policy frameworks, which candidate and host cities should follow not only to deliver the Olympic Games, but which also create a long-term planning strategy for a durable post-Games legacy. Such a conceptualization appropriately suits the reforms that have been implemented by the IOC over the last two decades. As a result, the IOC policy frameworks can be defined as sets of ideas, recommendations, and measures that structure each stage of the Olympic Games lifecycle, encompassing the candidature process, host city election, preparation and delivery, and the Olympic legacy, taking into account the roles, responsibilities, and interactions of all the stakeholders involved. In this study, the main focus is on the following stages of the policy cycle: problem identification to determine the main issues and difficulties concerning each phase of the Olympic

Games lifecycle, and policy formulation to present the recommendations and measures proposed in the IOC documents around the leading areas of action. Then consideration is given to implementation and the process of their introduction. Finally, there is a policy evaluation, which will be supported by some statistics and reports on the Olympic Games that followed the IOC reforms, starting from Athens 2004 and concluding with the recently selected host city – Brisbane 2032.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The modern Olympic Games have been subject to the processes of neo-liberalization, globalization, commercialization, and commodification, which have fundamentally shaped the concepts of hosting this sports spectacle over time (Horne & Whannel, 2020). As a result, the Olympic Games can be perceived as both a reflection and product of these changes. According to Tomlinson (2005), there were three main phases in the development of the Olympic Games. The first describes the Olympics between the years 1896 and 1928 as ‘a grand socio-political project with a modest economic profile’. The second covers the years 1932 to 1984, which were characterized by ‘a political intensification of the event at the heart of international political developments’. The 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles began an era of the event that is ‘fuelled by the global reach of capital ... in the international economy of a global culture’. Indeed, the position of capitalism as the dominant economic system, coupled with the nearly unlimited flow of capital, has become a driving factor in the business and governance models of today’s sports mega-events. In this vein, the Summer Olympics in the years 1896–2012 are aptly described as an ‘enduring enterprise’, which embraces organizational complexity on the one hand and long-lasting effects on host cities on the other (Gold & Gold, 2017). Undoubtedly, this expression remains valid even in contemporary times.

Over the last two decades, numerous changes have emerged that could mark a new phase in the evolution of the Olympic Games. This period aligns with the timespan of the IOC policy frameworks that are the focus of this research. During this time, we have witnessed an increasing role of public opinion in assessing and evaluating the impacts of hosting the Olympic Games (Hiller & Wanner, 2018). This trend is combined with increasing public participation in collective decision making, which has been reflected in the growing number of referendums ‘for or against’ hosting the Olympics in their city (Maennig, 2017), as well as the emerging social movements with an opposing attitude towards the event (Lauermann & Vogelwohl, 2017). Given the growing number of public needs and services that form part of the underlying goals of public policy, a decision to bid for the Olympic Games is subject to thorough public scrutiny. This scrutiny is warranted, as such an event is a costly undertaking, often financed by public funds. Predominantly, this is the case of democratic countries where people enjoy civil liberties and political rights.

In flawed democracies or authoritarian states, governments are much less accountable and transparent to their citizens. According to Könecke and de Nooij (2017), in light of declining interest in hosting the Olympic Games from democratic countries, the IOC is rather forced to sustain good relations with authoritarian states in order to secure the fate of future editions.

As shown in Table 1, the growth of the Olympic Games could also be manifested through statistics on the number of athletes, events, and participating National Olympic Committees (NOCs). Here we can observe the extent of the expansion of this event from its initial summer and winter editions to the recent ones held in Tokyo and Beijing, respectively. These statistics also reflect the organizational growth and the scale of investments related to the event.

Table 1

The growth of the Olympic Games

Category	Summer			Winter		
	1896–2020	1896–2000	2004–2020	1924–2022	1924–2002	2006–2022
Athletes	241 to 11420 (4739%)	241 to 10651 (4420%)	10625 to 11420 (7%)	258 to 2897 (1123%)	258 to 2399 (930%)	2508 to 2897 (16%)
Events	43 to 339 (788%)	43 to 300 (698%)	301 to 339 (13%)	16 to 109 (681%)	16 to 78 (488%)	84 to 109 (30%)
NOCs	14 to 206 (1471%)	14 to 199 (1421%)	201 to 206 (2,5%)	16 to 91 (569%)	16 to 77 (481%)	80 to 91 (14%)

Source: the author's own elaboration based on IOC (2017a, 2021a, 2021b).

On the one hand, the candidate and host cities present their own vision and concept to capitalize on the Olympic Games organization. However, on the other hand, as a sports mega-event owned and governed by the IOC, the Olympic Games represent a number of features that are standardized for each stage of the Olympic Games lifecycle, namely candidature, operation and delivery, and legacy phases. There are several documents that set the tone for the legal and organizational framework of the Olympic Games. The first is the Olympic Charter, a major document comprising the codification of the Fundamental Principles of Olympism, rules and by-laws adopted by the IOC.² This document governs, among other things, the organization, actions, and functioning of the Olympic Movement and regulates the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games. The second is the Host City Contract,³ which describes the

² The first version was published in 1908. It is worth mentioning that some of the rules are contained in the current document (in force from 15 October 2023).

³ Before Agenda 2020, it was formally known as the Host City Contract; afterwards, it was referred to as the Olympic Host Contract. Thus, to maintain its universal character, this article will refer to it as the Host City Contract.

relationships between the Olympic Host City, the Host NOC, and the IOC, and thus their respective responsibilities and tasks regarding the planning, organizing, financing, and staging of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. The Host City Contract complements the Operational Requirements for the host city. It is important to note that in the event of a conflict between the provisions of the Contract and the Charter, the Contract shall take precedence. In addition to these two documents, we could distinguish others that refer to the rules and principles governing the Olympic Games (IOC, 2020):

- Guarantees from third parties, encompassing essential elements required to deliver the Olympic Games provided by the host country's government, other pertinent public authorities, and private entities,
- Marketing and broadcasting agreements,
- Olympic laws and other special legislation enacted by the public authorities to facilitate the delivery of the Olympic Games.

Considering the expansion of the Olympic Games and the myriad resources they encompass – financial, material, and non-material – it becomes crucial to ask how the impacts of hosting are measured and reported. To address this, it is necessary to differentiate between the types of reports: those that are official and those that are unofficial or independent. The first category includes all the documents and reports that are officially prepared or recognized by the IOC. The second group includes all independent research such as studies, reports carried out by academics, organizations. The Official Reports of the Olympic Games are the most significant, as they refer to each edition of the modern era. These reports are submitted by the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) after the conclusion of the Games, as mandated by the requirements outlined in both the Olympic Charter and the Host City Contract.

While the Official Reports represent a predominantly qualitative approach, in the past the IOC also made an effort to develop a more quantitative tool to assess, manage, monitor and guide the parties involved with, and affected by, the preparation and hosting of the Olympic Games. In the early 2000s, the IOC launched the Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study (IOC, 2006, pp. 1–2). To measure the impact of the Olympic Games in each host city over the time frame of more than ten years, the 150 indicators were established and categorized into three spheres: economic, social, and environmental. The outcome of this ambitious project dedicated to thoroughly examining the global impact is that only the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games delivered a complete study covering twelve years (VanWynsberghe et al., 2007, 2009, 2011; VanWynsberghe & Kwan, 2013). Also, the London 2012 Olympic Games issued a set of four reports (Initial Situation, Pre-Games, Games, Post-Games), however, in a shorter time frame encompassing years 2008–2015 (University of East London, 2008, 2010, 2013, 2015). The OGI was supposed to be mandatory for host cities, but was eventually terminated in 2017 (Müller et al., 2021, p. 340).

Other international organizations also contribute to creating comprehensive guidebooks that detail the methodologies and indicators ideally suited for conducting impact evaluations. Additionally, they provide a set of recom-

mended actions that hosts of global events – including cultural, sporting, and business events – can undertake to enhance impact assessment. One of the most recent that is worth mentioning is launched and edited by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The first part addresses approaches to impact assessment, including the potential issues, challenges, and considerations that may arise during the evaluation process. It also offers examples of actions that host cities can employ to enhance their impact assessments (OECD, 2023a). The second part sets out a framework of indicators to measure the economic, social, and environmental impact of global events on local development and offers practical guidance and advice on how to implement this framework (OECD, 2023b). Both documents support the OECD Recommendation on Global Events and Local Development (OECD, 2021), which assists current and future hosts in achieving greater local benefits and legacy from global events.

Since the 1980s, the expansion of the Olympic Games and their significant impact on host cities have spurred a surge in research papers, analyses, and reports. These documents analyse both the tangible and intangible impacts of the Games, employing a mix of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This body of work forms the unofficial/independent group of studies. Within this group, qualitative research predominantly includes individual or comparative case studies focusing on the effects of hosting. These qualitative studies are diverse in topics and research objectives, utilizing methods such as critical literature reviews, analysis of relevant sources, and semi-structured interviews (Gaffney, 2014; Grix et al., 2015; Parent et al., 2018). In turn, the qualitative studies contain qualitative methods like econometric modelling, economic impact analysis, cost-benefit analysis, and computable general equilibrium models (CGE). By applying appropriate variables to econometric models, these works attempt to estimate whether the staging of the Olympic Games has a statistically significant impact on host cities/countries' socioeconomic indicators (Billings & Holladay, 2012; Maennig & Richter, 2012; Rose & Spiegel, 2011). More frequently, they are underpinned by custom-built databases, thus substantially contributing to evidence-based longitudinal systematic studies on various impacts on regional and national level, but also directly evaluate host city performance in delivering sustainable Games (Müller, Gogishvili & Wolfe, 2022) or examine whether costs exceed revenues (Müller, Wolfe et al., 2022).

IV. RESEARCH METHODS

This research combines qualitative and quantitative approaches in the applied methods.⁴ The qualitative part of the study is based on a critical literature review, case study elements, desk research, and comparative analysis.

⁴ The author acknowledges the use of ChatGPT-4, developed by OpenAI. This AI tool supported the quantitative part of this research by generating and correcting code and syntax, which were then applied in the data analysis conducted in R Studio, as well as in the interpretation of

The research sample, understood as the set of IOC policy frameworks, includes the following documents: 1) The Olympic Games Study Commission Report to the 115th IOC Session; 2) Olympic Agenda 2020: 20+20 Recommendations; 3) Olympic Agenda 2020: Olympic Games & the New Norm; 4) Olympic Agenda 2020+5: 15 Recommendations. Due to their complementary character, the OA 2020 and TNN are considered as one IOC reform. These documents underpin the analysis of the evolution of the IOC reforms, its leading topics, and whether they have led towards greater emphasis on the notions of sustainability and legacy. All the documents are available online from the Olympic World Library.

Quantitative methods are represented by the ‘text as data’ approach (Gentzkow et al., 2019), where the set of documents is analysed using functions included in the *quanteda* R package for the quantitative analysis of textual data (Benoit et al., 2018). The field of computational social sciences (CSS) allows the researcher to apply natural language processing to analyse sizable amounts of text in a concise and rigorous manner and to draw major topics from the content. In this study, functions such as a lexical dispersion plot are applied, based on the keyword-in-context feature, to discover differences between the documents. Additionally, a co-occurrence matrix is used to represent the strongest relationships between words in a text corpus. Initially, the documents were cleaned by removing the headers, footers, and any sentences or paragraphs (i.e. repetitions) irrelevant to the investigation. The documents were then converted into a corpus object, a specific R data type used to perform textual analysis. To transform the text into data amenable to quantitative study, the following preprocessing steps were carried out: tokenization, stemming, and optionally the removal of stopwords and punctuation. The proposed research design and its results provide a thorough and evidence-based overview of the IOC policy frameworks and how their main topics have evolved over time.

V. RESULTS

The first part of the research results is presented in Table 2. Each of the subsequent IOC policy frameworks was analysed through the stages of the policy cycle. Interestingly, the reasons for the reforms enumerated in the OGSC 2003 Report are directly indicated. Among the expressions that accurately describe the above problems are ‘benchmark inflation’, ‘inflation of expectations’, and ‘knock-on effects’. The OA 2020 & TNN narrative to justify the creation of both documents is more orientated toward the progress, change and challenges that should be managed in the future. They also

the results. The responsibility for the content, interpretations, and conclusions presented in this paper rests solely with the author.

highlight the importance of fostering every aspect that contributes to the uniqueness of the Olympic Games, along with the overarching goals underpinning these recommendations. Accordingly, the OA 2020+5 is presented with a primary focus on offering solutions to address global challenges in the post-pandemic world.

The time factor is crucial, considering that the IOC's position as the owner of the Olympic Games influences the number of bidding cities. Notably, when the OGSC 2003 Report was released, interest in hosting the Olympic Games was significantly higher among cities. For the 2008 Olympic Games, ten cities expressed their official interest in hosting the event and were awarded the status of Applicant Cities, and seven for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Despite that, the OGSC 2003 addressed several measures to counteract overspending and organizational gigantism, as well as a better level of the IOC assistance in transferring knowledge from the experiences of past and current organizers – 'to ensure that cities or countries are not discouraged from bidding to host the Games' (Pound, 2003, p. 4). A serious crisis emerged during the candidature process for the 2022 Winter Olympic Games, characterized by bid withdrawals due to political concerns, lack of financial guarantees, and public referendums. The negative outcomes of these referendums led to the cancellation of four official bids (Fabry & Zeghni, 2020). Another four were terminated even before official submission. Only Beijing and Almaty were left in the race for the hosting rights, representing countries with poor human rights records and autocratic political systems. It marked the final candidature process conducted under the two-phase process, initially involving the applicant phase and, if approved by the IOC Executive Board, progressing to the Candidate City phase.

Comparing the OGSC 2003 Report with OA 2020 & TNN reveals several common themes, such as the utility of existing venues to enhance cost efficiency, ensuring a positive legacy for the host city, and reducing non-essential services and activities. However, an evaluation of the IOC policy frameworks, as presented through selected data on venues and costs in Figures 1 and 2, indicates that the decade following the OGSC 2003 Report did not yield entirely satisfactory results. In some cases, host cities managed to maximise the use of existing venues or temporary constructions, but there are some exceptions, such as Sochi 2014, where almost 100% of the venues were built from scratch. As anticipated, future Olympic sport events are set to be hosted primarily in existing or temporary venues. In terms of costs, the two winter editions – 2014 and 2022 – stand out as outliers with the highest figures in these statistics. Following the OA 2020 & TNN guidelines, future hosts are projecting their costs at a relatively lower level compared to their predecessors. This could indicate a trend toward the financial sustainability of the Olympic Games.

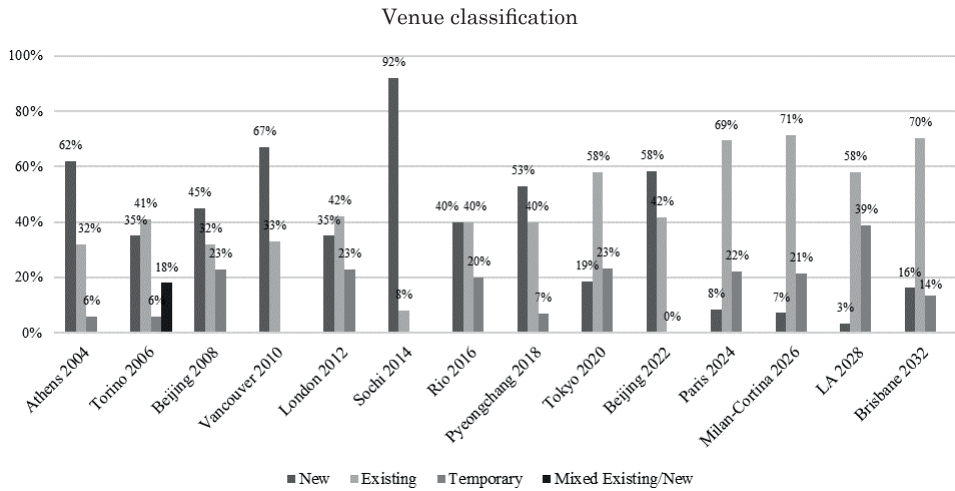
Table 2

The IOC policy frameworks over the last 20 years

Stage of the policy cycle	OGSC 2003 Report	OA 2020 & TNN	OA 2020+5
Problem identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inflation of expectations: Growing trend among host cities and stakeholders to constantly improve services to deliver 'the best Games ever'. • 'Knock-on' effects: Decisions and actions made in 'silo' can have an impact on other aspects of the organizational process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IOC official rhetoric: 'The Olympic Games success as the best reason to change. ... The success of today gives you only the opportunity to drive the change for tomorrow.' • Some problems experienced by past hosts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Skyrocketing costs, ◦ Ambiguity of legacy effects, ◦ Decrease in cities interested in hosting, ◦ Precedence of requirements over host city needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Far-reaching social, financial, economic, and political consequences in the post-pandemic reality, • Recommendations based on scientifically recognized key trends that are likely to be decisive in the post-COVID-19 world.
Policy formulation: selected themes, principles and recommendations referring to non-sport aspects of the Olympic Games	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule of 'One Games – One City', • Games 'template' to ensure that costs are kept under reasonable control, • Optimal size of venues and their maximal post-Games use, • Reduction of non-essential services and activities, • New venues only if post-Games use is secured, • Ensuring the positive legacy, • Effective communication of requirements, • Minimise the cost of the Olympic Village, • Non-duplication of facilities and services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New bidding procedure based on non-edition and non-committal approach, • Flexible timeline for host city election, • Flexibility in selecting sites for competitions outside the host city, where suitable sports infrastructure is in place, • Maximize the use of existing sports venues or other infrastructure, • Emphasis on ensuring legacy and sustainability, • The alignment of the Olympic Games into long-term urban development plans, • Cost efficiency: cutting costs and limiting public funding, • Partnership: the IOC provides more support and expertise for future hosts, • Transparency, good governance and integrity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen the Games uniqueness and universality, • Mainstream sustainability, • Foster lasting benefits for host communities surrounding the Games, • Optimize the Games delivery in collaboration with the Olympic Movement, • Use Olympic digital and social media for ongoing engagement, • Strengthen the role of sport as an important enabler for the UN SDGs, • Strengthen the Olympic Movement through good governance, • Innovate revenue generation models to ensure the long-term viability of the Olympic Movement.
Policy implementation and evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No official report on the implementation, • Policy evaluation can be based on available data, Official Reports, case studies, academic research, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation plans (2015, 2016, 2017), • OA 2020 & TNN midway (2017) and closing report (2021), • Policy evaluation can be based on data, Official Reports, case studies, academic research, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Midway report (October 2023), • Some updates in documents on good governance and ethics.

Source: the author's elaboration based on IOC (2014, 2018, 2021c); Pound (2003).

Figure 1

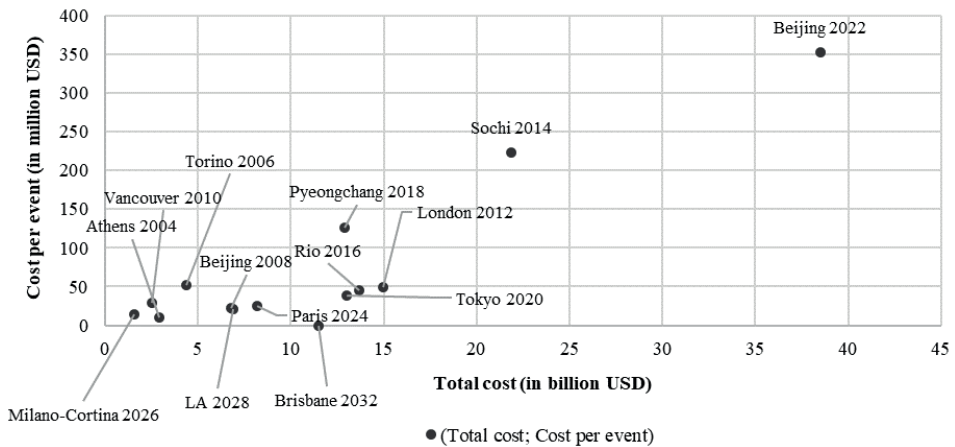


Note. The percentage values are calculated as a share of each category of the competition venues in the total number of venues.

Source: the author's elaboration work based on the Olympic Studies Centre (2022).

Figure 2

Total cost vs cost per event (not adjusted for the current inflation rate)



Note 1. Values for Paris 2024, Milano-Cortina 2026, LA 2028 and Brisbane 2032 are projections, and for Brisbane 2032 no cost per event is provided.

Note 2. By 'event' we mean each of several particular contests that make up a sports competition.

Source: the author's elaboration based on Flyvbjerg et al. (2021), Lloyd (2023) and Smee (2023).

The second part of the research findings, derived from quantitative text analysis, is presented in plots that illustrate the main differences and similarities in the text content of successive policy frameworks. Figures 3 and 4 depict lexical dispersion plots of each reform with selected keywords. It is a measure of how frequently a word appears across the parts of a corpus. A corpus class object holds the original texts, which are subsequently subjected to text preprocessing. This type of textplot records the occurrences of a word, noting its position relative to the start of the corpus. It is based on the results of the keywords-in-context (*kwic*) function. This function generates a list of researcher-supplied keywords along with their immediate context, pinpointing the source text and the word's index number within that text (relative token index) (Benoit et al., 2018). In Figure 3, the set of keywords⁵ contains the following: *legac** (e.g., legacy, legacies), *sustainab** (e.g., sustainability, sustainable), *cost** (e.g., costs), *econom** (e.g., economy, economic), and *stakeholder** (also e.g., stakeholders). In turn, Figure 4 comprises: *environ** (e.g., environment, environmental), *develop** (e.g., development, developing), *soci** (e.g., social, society), *venue** (also venues).

Based on the values of the relative token index, Figures 3 and 4 show that the variants of legacy aspects are present in the OGSC 2003 Report as well as in the OA 2020 & TNN.⁶ These results differ with regard to the notion of sustainability, as there is a striking contrast between the OGSC 2003 Report and the latest reforms, where sustainability is one of the most significant issues. Similarly, the above conclusion highlights the growing importance of Olympic stakeholders and their role at each stage of the Olympic Games lifecycle and in the Olympic Movement as a whole.

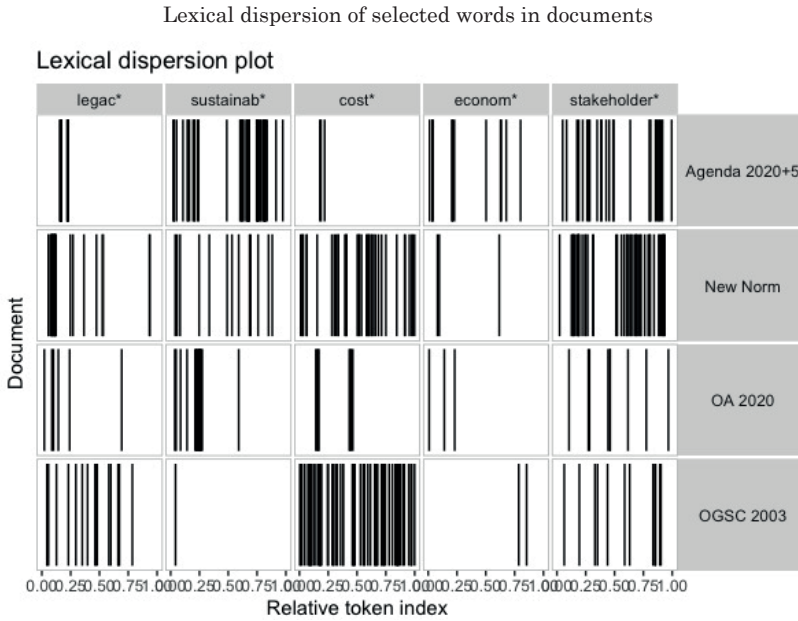
Among the OA 2020 & TNN recommendations is to 'Maximise synergies with stakeholders of the Olympic Movement'. Indeed, the IOC has placed substantial emphasis on fostering cooperation and partnerships with key stakeholders and has also established new initiatives, such as the International Partnership Against Corruption in Sport (IPACS).⁷ Apart from OA 2020+5, cost-related aspects emerge as one of the major issues in both OGSC 2003 and OA 2020 & TNN. This underscores that enhancing the cost-efficiency of the Olympic Games has been a pivotal feature of the reforms. When it comes to economic, social, and environmental aspects, more importance has been gained in the latest reforms. Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate that the leading themes in OA 2020+5 are sustainability, stakeholders, forms of development, and society. Interestingly, competition and non-competition venues are the core issues for the OGSC 2003 as well as OA 2020 & TNN. Both sets of reforms emphasize that host cities should maximize the use of existing venues, and that they should only construct new ones if a post-Games legacy is assured.

⁵ It is a word stem and the keywords-in-context, as well as lexical dispersion plots, also include words that either are stems or appear in expressions containing keywords.

⁶ This is a reminder that, in this article, both the OA 2020 and TNN documents are treated as one set of reforms.

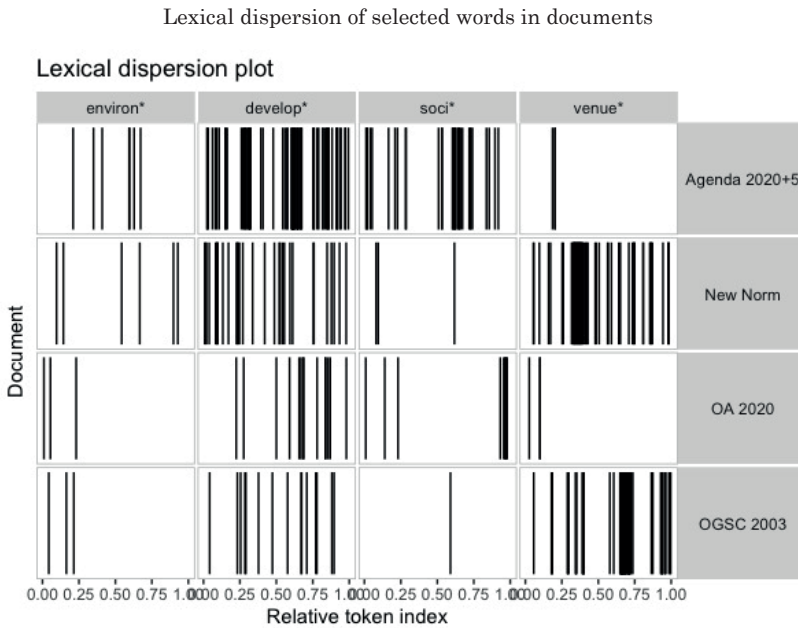
⁷ From the official website about IPACS: 'It is a multi-stakeholder platform with the mission to bring together international sports organisations, governments, inter-governmental organisations, and other relevant stakeholders to strengthen and support efforts to eliminate corruption and promote a culture of good governance in and around sport' (IPACS, n.d.).

Figure 3



Source: the author's analysis based on IOC (2014, 2018, 2021c) and Pound (2003).

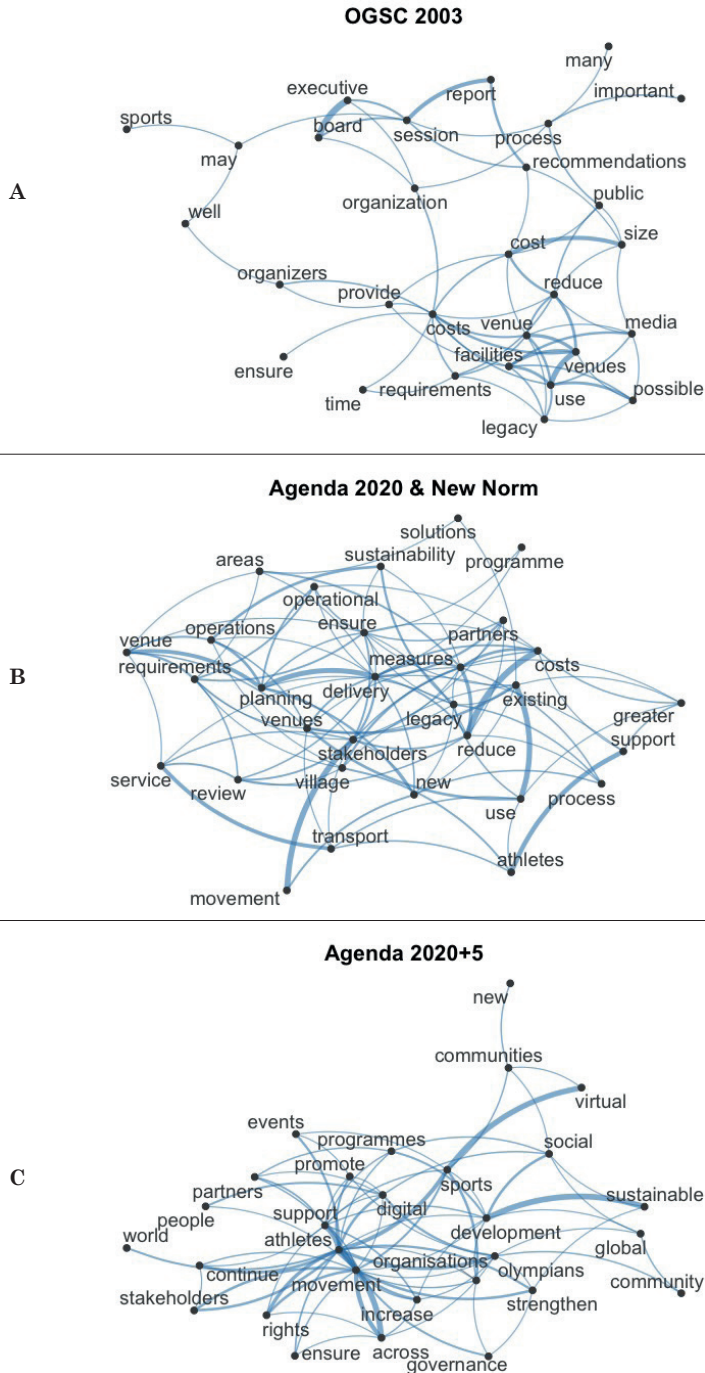
Figure 4



Source: the author's analysis based on IOC (2014, 2018, 2021c) and Pound (2003).

Figure 5

Co-occurrence matrices for the IOC policy frameworks



Source: the author's analysis based on IOC (2014, 2018, 2021c) and Pound (2003).

Other interesting research findings are visualized in Figures 5 A–C. From feature co-occurrence matrices (fcm), it was possible to directly plot networks that present measures of co-occurrences of features within a user-defined context; in this study, the context is defined as ‘documents’. In case of the OGSC 2003 Report, the most robust co-occurrences are venue(s) – use – facilities – costs, and cost – size.⁸ OA 2020 & TNN cover a wide and abundant range of topics, including sustainability, planning, delivery, stakeholders, and transport. In contrast, OA 2020+5 centres its reforms around themes such as athletes, the Olympic movement, sustainable development, and the digital and virtual aspects of sport and events. This approach reflects current trends in sports, technology, and sustainability.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that legacy and sustainability are fundamental to the planning strategies associated with the contemporary Games. According to the IOC, the aspects of legacy and sustainability are ‘interrelated and complementary, but distinct. While legacy refers to the long-term benefits or outcomes of putting the Olympic Movement vision into practise, sustainability refers to the strategies and processes applied in decision making to maximise positive impacts and minimise negative impacts in the social, economic and environmental spheres’ (IOC, 2017b, p. 17). Undoubtedly, the IOC’s policy frameworks have aligned with global trends and challenges. However, it is equally important to consider other aspects when assessing the utility of these reforms. This issue will be discussed in the next section.

VI. DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that, over the last two decades, the IOC policy frameworks have evolved to reflect emerging trends, focusing on making the Olympic Games more sustainable and cost-efficient. However, the decade following the recommendations of the OGSC 2003 Report witnessed a continuous expansion of the Olympic Games. This trend contrasts with the goal of ‘optimization’, which aimed to temper expectations and move away from the perennial pursuit of ‘the best Games ever’.

One of the potential explanations is the growing number of candidacies and host cities from countries such as China (Beijing 2008, 2022), Russia (Sochi 2014), Brazil (Rio 2016), which have sought the organization of sports mega-events as a type of socioeconomic development fast-track policy, enhancing competitiveness and bolstering presence in the international market (Braathen et al., 2015). These countries use sports mega-events as an important instrument of soft power strategy (Grix & Lee, 2013), and when it comes to authoritarian countries such as Russia and China, it has overshadowed the real intentions of using the Olympic Games as a tool of sportswashing

⁸ The paired presence of executive – board refers to the IOC Executive Board, whose role is to manage the affairs of the IOC.

and propaganda (Human Rights Watch, 2008; Orttung & Zhemukhov, 2017; Roan & Capstick, 2021). Likewise, Cornelissen (2010) indicates that emerging countries demonstrate a shared agenda in the organizational aspects of the sports mega-events, in general, to manifest economic performance, to signal diplomatic status, or to project and boost their soft power. As a consequence, for such megaprojects, public authorities allocate huge amounts of money that significantly exceed initial projections (Flyvbjerg et al., 2021). The problem with these host countries is that the Olympic Games are instrumentalized by political and business elites, who exploit the state of urgency and mobilization to deliver the event on fixed deadlines and so to remake the city in their own image (Sánchez & Broudehoux, 2013). Therefore, there is an asymmetry between the public interest represented by social expectations and the private interest of business elites.

Taking into account the above circumstances, even though the Olympic Games is a highly standardized product, with the Host City Contract and Operational Requirements as integral documents, the quality of institutions – such as those ensuring economic freedom, public funds transparency, democratic authority, property rights, and inclusive governance – is of great importance. The institutional system in either candidate or host countries determines how Candidature Files are conceptualized, how the Olympic Games are delivered, and how legacy is planned and then fulfilled. Obviously, none of the host cities, regardless of their institutional system, was able to avoid negative impacts. Nevertheless, it is evident that the political and economic contexts, rather than the event itself, significantly influence the reported impacts. This aligns with research findings indicating that ‘cities in democracies with more market-led economies experienced fewer adverse impacts and were better able to use the event for urban development than those in less democratic countries with more state-led economies’ (Müller & Gaffney, 2018, p. 247).

Despite the ambitious goals behind the IOC policy frameworks, in this article it was argued that they are not sufficient condition to deliver a sustainable event. This assumption is in line with the results obtained by Van-Wynsberghe et al. (2021), who claim that policy reforms such as OA 2020 & TNN should ‘embed meaningful and measurable accountability standards in the hosting process’ (p. 443), and thus move beyond just legacy and sustainability rhetoric as foundations of legitimacy of the IOC. It seems that future hosts promise to convert the ambitious sustainability goals presented in the Candidature Files into positive outcomes. For instance, Paris 2024 embedded sustainability in a governance and delivery model throughout the whole Olympic Games lifecycle. To confirm that, Paris 2024 has acquired the standard ISO 20121 – the first time a bidding city has achieved this (Butler, 2017). Sustainability is also a key guiding principle of other future host cities and the planning is focused on successful organization. We may expect that democratic foundations, transparency, and market-led economies – examples of inclusive political and economic institutions – could contribute to fulfilling these goals.

Paradoxically, the efficiency of IOC policy reforms may be weakened by the quite straightforward fact that they are merely recommendations and proposed measures, not binding rules. The IOC role comes down to proposing the best course of action, but what matters the most is to have the Olympic Games prepared on time. Thus, the IOC does not have a formal power to interfere, for example, in the non-OCOG budget that is dedicated to wider investments and infrastructure projects. Therefore, based on the research results to date (Müller et al., 2021), it is recommended that independent sustainability standards referring to economic, social, and environmental aspects should be enforced. Otherwise, transparency in decision-making and evaluation of the Olympic Games vision and concept for legacy might not be fully guaranteed.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has provided a review of the IOC policy frameworks with the main focus on recommendations and measures pertaining to the bidding procedure, delivery, legacy, and sustainability. The research results obtained through qualitative methods have outlined the most important aspects of each reform and the evolution of the main themes and goals within a framework of policy design. This study has also presented a novel approach to analysing documents by using methods appropriate to quantitative text analysis. Taken together, the main findings show the growing importance of sustainability and legacy in all aspects of the Olympic Games lifecycle with each subsequent reform under the aegis of the IOC. One interesting feature that emerged from the analysis is that some recommendations in the OGSC 2003 Report and OA 2020 & TNN are very similar or even recurrent, especially regarding the maximum use of existing venues or introducing measures aimed at making the event more cost-efficient. Undoubtedly, each formal effort made by the IOC should deserve approval; nevertheless, in this article, it is argued that the proposed recommendations and measures are not sufficient to deliver sustainable Games, in terms of the economic, social, and environmental aspects. It is asserted that high-quality of institutions, such as respect for property rights, economic freedom, integrity, democratic authority and inclusive governance structures, to some extent condition the utility of IOC policy frameworks for all organizational aspects of the Olympic Games, and that host countries with inclusive institutions can distribute the benefits from the Olympic-related projects in a more fair and transparent manner.

The article was limited to analysing the IOC policy frameworks only since 2003, so it is recommended that future studies on this topic address, for example, the evolution of sustainability and legacy practices since the 1980s, when they started to be widely recognized as one of the major aspects of the Olympic Games. This issue has spurred increased attention on these practices among Olympic stakeholders and the wider global audience. Furthermore, more research inquiries are needed to evaluate the effects of these policy frameworks

in a more rigorous and quantitative manner, as well as to determine whether there is a significant relationship between institutional quality and observed impacts. Finally, a seminal contribution to the field could be made through the conceptualization of the Olympic Games as a type of public policy designed by the host government, both on the local and national level.

References

- Benoit, K., Watanabe, K., Wang, H., Nulty, P., Obeng, A., Müller, S., & Matsuo, A. (2018). *quante*: An R package for the quantitative analysis of textual data. *Journal of Open Source Software*, 3(30), 774. <https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.00774>
- Billings, S. B., & Holladay, J. S. (2012). Should cities go for the gold? The long-term impacts of hosting the Olympics. *Economic Inquiry*, 50(3), 754–772. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1465-7295.2011.00373.x>
- Braathen, E., Mascarenhas, G., & Sørboe, C. (2015). Rio's ruinous mega-events. In A. Garcia & P. Bond (Eds.), *BRICS: An anticapitalist critique* (pp. 186–199). Haymarket Books.
- Butler, N. (2017, 27 March). Paris 2024 become first Olympic bid to receive sustainability award [Information]. Inside the Games. <https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1048595/paris-2024-become-first-olympic-bid-to-receive-sustainability-award>
- Capano, G., & Pritoni, A. (2020). Policy cycle. In P. Harris, A. Bitonti, C. S. Fleisher & A. Skorkjær Binderkrantz (Eds.), *The Palgrave encyclopedia of interest groups, lobbying and public affairs* (pp. 1–7). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13895-0_69-1
- Cornelissen, S. (2010). The geopolitics of global aspiration: Sport mega-events and emerging powers. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27(16–18), 3008–3025. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2010.508306>
- Fabry, N., & Zeghni, S. (2020). Why do cities withdraw from hosting the Olympic Games? In M. Delaplace & P.-O. Schut (Eds.), *Hosting the Olympic Games: Uncertainty, debates and controversy* (pp. 9–23). Routledge.
- Flyvbjerg, B., Budzier, A., & Lunn, D. (2021). Regression to the tail: Why the Olympics blow up. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 53(2), 233–260. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X20958724>
- Gaffney, C. T. (2014). The mega-event city as neo-liberal laboratory: The case of Rio de Janeiro. *Percurso Acadêmico*, 4(8), 217–237. <https://ludopedio.org.br/biblioteca/the-mega-event-city-as-neo-liberal-laboratory-the-case-of-rio-de-janeiro/>
- Gentzkow, M., Kelly, B., & Taddy, M. (2019). Text as data. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 57(3), 535–574. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20181020>
- Gold, J. R., & Gold, M. M. (2017). The enduring enterprise: The Summer Olympics, 1896–2012. In J. R. Gold & M. M. Gold (Eds.), *Olympic cities: City agendas, planning and the world's games, 1896–2020* (pp. 21–63). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315735887>
- Grix, J., & Lee, D. (2013). Soft power, sports mega-events and emerging states: The lure of the politics of attraction. *Global Society*, 27(4), 521–536. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2013.827632>
- Grix, J., Brannagan, P. M., & Houlihan, B. (2015). Interrogating states' soft power strategies: A case study of sports mega-events in Brazil and the UK. *Global Society*, 29(3), 463–479. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2015.1047743>
- Hiller, H. H., & Wanner, R. A. (2018). Public opinion in Olympic Cities: From bidding to retrospection. *Urban Affairs Review*, 54(5), 962–993. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087416684036>
- Horne, J., & Whannel, G. (2020). *Understanding the Olympics* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429345272>
- Human Rights Watch. (2008). "One year of my blood": *Exploitation of migrant construction workers in Beijing* (Report Vol. 20, no. 3(C)). <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/china0308/china0308webcover.pdf>

- IOC. (2006). What is the Olympic Games Global Impact Study? *Olympic Review*. https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Reports/EN/en_report_1077.pdf
- IOC. (2014). *Olympic Agenda 2020: 20 + 20 Recommendations*. https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Olympic_Agenda_2020/Olympic_Agenda_2020-20-20_Recommendations-ENG.pdf
- IOC. (2017a). *Factsheet: The Games of the Olympiad*. <https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Factsheets-Reference-Documents/Games/OG/Factsheet-The-Games-of-the-Olympiad-January-2017.pdf>
- IOC. (2017b). *IOC Sustainability Strategy*. https://library.olympics.com/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/171454/ioc-sustainability-strategy-international-olympic-committee?_lg=en-GB
- IOC. (2018). *Olympic Agenda 2020. Olympic Games: The New Norm. Report by the Executive Steering Committee for Olympic Games Delivery*. <https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2018/02/2018-02-06-Olympic-Games-the-New-Norm-Report.pdf>
- IOC. (2020). *Contractual framework for hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games*. <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Games/Future-Olympic-Hosts/Contractual-framework-for-hosting-the-Olympic-and-Paralympic-Games-January-2020.pdf>
- IOC. (2021a). *Factsheet: The Games of the Olympiad*. <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Factsheets/The-Games-of-the-Olympiad.pdf>
- IOC. (2021b). *Factsheet: The Olympic Winter Games*. <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Factsheets/The-Olympic-Winter-Games.pdf>
- IOC. (2021c). *Olympic Agenda 2020+5: 15 Recommendations*. <https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/IOC/What-We-Do/Olympic-agenda/Olympic-Agenda-2020-5-15-recommendations.pdf>
- IPACS. (n.d.). *About IPACS*. Retrieved 13 May 2024, from <https://www.ipacs.sport/about-ipacs>
- Könecke, T., & Nooij, M. de. (2017). The IOC and Olympic bids from democracies and authoritarian regimes – A socioeconomic analysis and strategic insights. *Current Issues in Sport Science (CISS)*, 2, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.15203/CISS_2017.009
- Lauermaann, J., & Vogelpohl, A. (2017). Fragile growth coalitions or powerful contestations? Cancelled Olympic bids in Boston and Hamburg. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 49(8), 1887–1904. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17711447>
- Lloyd, O. (2023). Milan Cortina 2026 budget same as initially proposed despite economic difficulty. Inside the Games. <https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1135185/milan-cortina-2026-budget>
- Maennig, W. (2017). Public referenda and public opinion on Olympic Games (Working Paper 57). Hamburg Contemporary Economic Discussions. <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/175037>
- Maennig, W., & Richter, F. (2012). Exports and Olympic Games: Is there a signal effect? *Journal of Sports Economics*, 13(6), 635–641. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527002512454663>
- Müller, M., & Gaffney, C. (2018). Comparing the urban impacts of the FIFA World Cup and Olympic Games from 2010 to 2016. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 42(4), 247–269. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723518771830>
- Müller, M., Gogishvili, D., & Wolfe, S. D. (2022). The structural deficit of the Olympics and the World Cup: Comparing costs against revenues over time. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 54(6), 1200–1218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X221098741>
- Müller, M., Wolfe, S. D., Gaffney, C., Gogishvili, D., Hug, M., & Leick, A. (2021). An evaluation of the sustainability of the Olympic Games. *Nature Sustainability*, 4(4), 340–348. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-021-00696-5>
- Müller, M., Wolfe, S. D., Gogishvili, D., Gaffney, C., Hug, M., & Leick, A. (2022). The mega-events database: Systematising the evidence on mega-event outcomes. *Leisure Studies*, 41(3), 437–445. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2021.1998835>
- OECD. (2021). *The OECD Recommendation on global events and local development: A toolkit*. <https://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/global-events-recommendation.htm>
- OECD. (2023a). *How to measure the impact of culture, sports and business events: A guide – Part I. 10*. <https://doi.org/10.1787/c7249496-en>

- OECD. (2023b). *Impact indicators for culture, sports and business events: A guide – Part II. 11*. <https://doi.org/10.1787/e2062a5b-en>
- Olympic Studies Centre. (2022). *Over 125 years of Olympic venues: Post-Games use* (OSC Reference Collection). <https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Olympic-legacy/Full-report-venues-post-games-use.pdf>
- Orttung, R., & Zhemukhov, S. (2017). *Putin's Olympics: The Sochi Games and the evolution of twenty-first century Russia*. Routledge.
- Parent, M., Rouillard, C., & Chappelet, J.-L. (2018). Empirical issues and challenges for multilevel governance: The case of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games. *Revue Gouvernance / Governance Review*, 15(2), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1058086ar>
- Potůček, M., & Rudolfová, V. (2017). *Public policy: A comprehensive introduction*. Karolinum Press.
- Pound, R. W. (2003). *Olympic Games Study Commission: Report to the 115th IOC Session*. Olympic Games Study Commission. https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Reports/EN/en-report_725.pdf
- Roan, D., & Capstick, A. (2021, 4 February). Beijing 2022: Human rights groups call for Winter Olympic boycott. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-55938034>
- Rose, A. K., & Spiegel, M. M. (2011). The Olympic effect. *The Economic Journal*, 121(553), 652–677. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2010.02407.x>
- Sánchez, F., & Broudehoux, A.-M. (2013). Mega-events and urban regeneration in Rio de Janeiro: Planning in a state of emergency. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 5(2), 132–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2013.839450>
- Smee, B. (2023, 21 July). 'Full steam ahead' and no way out: How much can we trust cost estimates for the Brisbane Olympics? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2023/jul/22/commonwealth-games-2026-cancelled-brisbane-olympics-2032-cost-estimates-accurate>
- Tomlinson, A. (2005). Olympic survivals: The Olympic Games as a global phenomenon. In L. Allison (Ed.), *The global politics of sport: The role of global institutions in sport* (pp. 42–56). Routledge.
- University of East London. (2008). *Olympic Games Impact Study: Initial Situation Report for London 2012* (Vol. 1. Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012). <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-161895>
- University of East London. (2010). *Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012 Pre-Games Report: Final* (Vol. 2. Olympic Games Impact Study). <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-161895>
- University of East London. (2013). *Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012 Games-time Report* (Vol. 3. Olympic Games Impact Study). <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-161895>
- University of East London. (2015). *Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012 Post-Games Report* (Vol. 4. Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012). <https://library.olympics.com/Default/digital-viewer/c-161895>
- VanWynsberghe, R., & Kwan, B. (2013). *Olympic Games Impact (OGI) Study for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: Post-Games Report* (Vol. 4). The University of British Columbia. <https://cfss.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2011/10/OGI-UBC-Post-Games-Report-2013-10-23.pdf>
- VanWynsberghe, R., Bischel, T., Gatzeva, M., Hambrook, M., Kwan, B., & Lim, C. (2007). *Olympic Games Impact Program: Baseline Report*. The University of British Columbia. <https://cfss.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2011/10/OGI-Baseline-Report-2007-10-11.pdf>
- VanWynsberghe, R., Bischel, T., Gatzeva, M., Hambrook, M., Kwan, B., & Lim, C. (2011). *Olympic Games Impact (OGI) Study for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: Games-time Report* (Vol. 3). The University of British Columbia. <https://cfss.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2011/10/The-Olympic-Games-Impact-Study-Games-time-Report-2011-11-21.pdf>
- VanWynsberghe, R., Derom, I., & Pentifallo Gadd, C. (2021). Legacy and sustainability in the Olympic Movement's new norm era: When reforms are not enough. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 13(3), 443–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2021.1898442>
- VanWynsberghe, R., Gatzeva, M., Hambrook, M., Kwan, B., Lim, C., & Abdjalieva, F. (2009). *Olympic Games Impact (OGI) Study for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: Pre-Games Results Report* (Vol. 2). The University of British Columbia. <https://cfss.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2011/10/OGI-UBC-Pre-Games-RESULTS-Report-2009-12-01b.pdf>

