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The List Managers are Dick Kuiper (d.kuiper@massey.ac.nz), Mark Paine (painem@agresearch.cri.nz), Roger Wilkinson (wilkinsonr@landcare.cri.nz), and Noel Bridgeman (noelb@taranaki.ac.nz).

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JAMIE NEWEL AND NICK TAYLOR

Showing off or showing up the city?

The social impacts of major events

A paper presented at IAIA 96, the 16th Meeting of the International Association for Impact Assessment, Lisbon, Portugal, 17-22 June, 1996 and reprinted in SIAN with the permission of the author.

Around the world urban areas (sometimes nations) are using big events to try to regenerate and promote particular places. It sometimes seems that there is scarcely a city that is not claiming loudly that it is hosting, about to host or just bidding for the event that will make the eyes of the world shine upon it, the feet of the world itch to visit it and the cash of the world pour forth to rejuvenate it. (Moorhouse 1991: 822)

Events present special challenges for social impact assessment (SIA). The larger events typically have wide ranging impacts over space and time. Procedures for their assessment tend to be ad hoc or even vague and uncertain. Rarely are the events themselves captured in legislated environmental impact assessment (EIA) provisions. Institutional

responsibilities are sometimes unclear, multiple and even contested. Some impacts associated with hallmark events are both difficult to analyse as well as to mitigate.

Many of the impacts of hallmark events are cumulative impacts which present added problems for the impact assessment of large events. Especially for events with long lead times, such as Olympic Games, the nature and dimensions of the event may change significantly over time, further complicating effective impact assessment and management.

This paper will firstly define the term hallmark event and capture some of the dimensions that impact assessment must address. The motivations behind staging events-showing off the city-will be examined, with examples drawn from recent events. Events have impacts and often negative ones. These impacts frequently show up the city rather than show it off. Some of the common and not so common impacts of events will be briefly discussed. Finally, the social impact assessment of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games will be analysed and some critical lessons for the assessment of

similar large scale events will be highlighted.

What are hallmark events?

In the tourism literature, such big events, as described by Moorhouse in the quotation above, have been termed hallmark events. The most quoted definition of hallmark event is Ritchie (1984: 2):

Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention.

This definition emphasises the role of hallmark events in promoting and developing a city's or a region's tourist image or tourist market. Ritchie

(1984: 4-10) analyses the effects of these events in terms of economic, tourism/commercial, physical, socio-cultural, psychological, and political impacts. Hall (1989: 4) reiterates this concept of the hallmark event, emphasising that its primary function is 'to provide the host community with an opportunity to secure a position of prominence in the tourism market for a short, well defined, period of time'.

The hallmark event is thus more than a mere sporting event or cultural festival, it is an instrument of economic development. Figure 1 shows the main features of hallmark events. The larger scale hallmark events (such as Olympic Games, Expos, Formula One races, historic milestone celebrations) have significant environmental and social impacts and can often condition changes in the development of urban areas, especially inner cities.

Figure 1: Impact model of hallmark events

Organisational features:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• establishment of dedicated event organising authorities by government;• components of the event, such as venue construction, may be private/public sector partnerships, though some events are solely private sector organised and funded;• special enabling legislation may be enacted.
Tourism impact:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a focus on national and international tourist markets;• high visitor numbers, both attracted to the event itself and to the general promotion of the destination.
Financial impact:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• possible major national, state or municipal financial involvement;• high expenditure on staging the event (including construction of venues) and by the visitors themselves.
Environmental and social impact:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a wide range of environmental, social and economic impacts that may not be confined to the specific duration of the event or the physical environs of staging sites;• impacts may be cumulative in nature and difficult to quantify or to assign precise cause and effect;• these wider impacts may be positive and/or negative on the host communities.
Special impacts:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• there is a major psychological emphasis, which may take the form of city boosterism, increase in civic or national pride, or merely a 'must see' promotion;• host population attitudes (positive, negative, neutral, conflicting) to the event may be a significant component of the event's success.
Time dimension:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• major impacts may occur well before to well after the event (possibly up to 5 years each side).

Source: author, work in progress.

Motivations behind hallmark events – showing off the city

Usually the motivation to stage hallmark events is framed in terms of local, regional or national tourism development (Frisby & Getz 1989: 7; Hall 1992: 17; Ritchie 1984: 5). This is considered either in terms of increasing tourist numbers, tourism industry profitability, or destination promotion and awareness.

However, increasingly hallmark events, especially the larger events, are sought in order to boost a city's broader international status, promote investment or to accelerate urban redevelopment (Hall 1992: 17).

Hallmark events provide an opportunity to 'show off' the city for a variety of economic, political and status reasons-motivations that exceed the simple chase for the tourist dollar. This is even more so for the global or world city. However, many hallmark events do not take place in world cities.

Out of the five final contenders for the 2000 Olympic Games, only Sydney and Berlin could be designated as world cities. Possibly, the lure of a hallmark event for the non-global city is partly the fame of world city status for albeit a short period of time.

One quality that surrounds the promoters of hallmark events, be they governments or private organisations, is enthusiasm. The benefits, particularly economic and status enhancement, are regarded as too alluring to dismiss. This enthusiasm tends to the hyperbolic with events like the Olympics; the most prominent example being the nationalist fervour surrounding the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.

Opposition to hallmark events is often labelled unpatriotic by event organisers and host governments alike. This political backdrop can make the task of dispassionate impact assessment especially difficult. This is even more the case if formal or informal impact assessment occurs during the bidding phase for events such as Olympic Games.

The impacts of hallmark events — showing up the city

Major events, such as the Olympics and international sporting competitions, have often been the site of political demonstrations or protests (Hall 1992:94-6). The most dramatic recently were the protests surrounding the Berlin Bid for the 2000 Olympics. This campaign largely targeted the likely housing impacts of the event and the need to direct investment into the pressing infrastructure

problems facing that city. Hallmark events have a repeated tendency to show the bad sides of cities, as well as having a range of negative effects in themselves. Too often with the staging of hallmark events, showing off the city results in 'showing up' the city.

In some instances, the showing up of the city can be spectacular. For instance, the Mexico City Olympics in 1968 were designed to show Mexico as part of the first world; however, the violence surrounding the event and the army presence told a different story. Montreal's massive debt post the 1976 Olympics revealed a city overwhelmed by union troubles, construction delays and spectres of corruption (Sudjic 1992: 237).

Barcelona's high-handed treatment of prostitutes and the homeless made press headlines around the world during the 1992 Olympics (Winnipeg Sun, 5 June 1992; Journal de Genève et Gazette de Lausanne, 11 July 1992), a situation which is feared to recur during the Atlanta Olympics this year (Atlanta Task Force For The Homeless 1993: 20).

The impacts of hallmark events are not confined to the spectacular or headline grabbing. They span the full spectrum of environmental, social, economic and political impacts. They also can occur well before to well after the event. For example, new house prices in Barcelona rose by 250% between the Olympic announcement in 1986 and the actual event in 1992, a spectacular rise by domestic standards (Barreiro et al 1993:34). In terms of after effects, Olympic debts can skew city finances more than a decade later.

Roulac (1993:18) comments that Olympic Games do not automatically bestow favourable publicity or economic prosperity. He asserts that with these events both 'positive and negative aspects about a region are showcased and magnified'.

Figure 2 selects some of the observed or predicted impacts of recent hallmark events. Many of the impacts associated with wider processes of urban change that hallmark events engender may be categorised as cumulative impacts.

The table also lists the varied forms of impact assessment conducted. It demonstrates the diversity of impacts emanating from hallmark events and also the lack of standardised procedures for assessing such impacts. The real value (and the damage) of such events for cities is quite unpredictable. Ultimately, these impacts show up a city's ability to manage the extremes of everyday existence when placed under pressure by a major

Olympic debts can skew city finances more than a decade later

Figure 2: Social impacts of recent hallmark events

Event and location	Type of SIA conducted	Type of impact predicted or observed
Olympic Games Los Angeles, USA July – August 1984	Community economic impact assessment prior to the event.	Predicted traffic congestion impacts did not occur.
Grand Prix Adelaide, South Australia November 1985	Economic impact assessment within a broader post-event impact study.	Increased traffic accidents due to mimicking behaviour. Noise and decrease in amenity around location of track. Anti-social behaviour and vandalism.
America's Cup Fremantle, Western Australia October 1986 – February 1987	Standard SIA prior to the event by Fremantle City Council, a housing impact study, resident attitudinal surveys, and post-event impact assessment.	Loss of low income housing, especially boarding houses. Consumer price increases. Positive enhancements to the city through urban improvements.
Australian Bicentennial Sydney, New South Wales Milestone was 26 Jan. 1988; events throughout 1988.	No SIA; limited monitoring of housing impacts by local groups.	Loss of low income housing. Conversions of boarding houses to tourist accommodation.
World Expo Brisbane, Queensland April – October 1988	Community initiated impact assessment by local groups. Federal government sponsored post-event impact assessment.	Loss of low income housing and escalation in rents. Evictions for redevelopment of exhibition site.
Winter Olympics Calgary, Canada February 1988	Limited SIA prepared by the City of Calgary. Economic impact assessment prior to the event. Comprehensive series of resident attitudinal surveys from 1983–88.	Increased tourism. Enhanced status for local industry and local economic benefits. Long term community benefit from Olympic facilities.
Olympic Games Seoul, Korea July 1988	Tourism industry attitudinal survey, encompassing wider economic, political and social issues.	Enhanced tourism destination status and promotion of distinctive Korean cultural identity. Beautification' schemes resulted in evictions in poor neighbourhoods.
Olympic Games Barcelona, Spain July – August 1992	Strategic approach to SIA, due to context of extensive urban redevelopment and infrastructure programs. Economic impact assessment prior to the event. Post-event impact studies by Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.	Land price escalation. Large rent increases for commercial and residential property. Gentrification of working class neighbourhoods. Large scale urban redevelopment and infrastructure works. Harassment of homeless persons and street sex workers during Games. Out-migration of youth and disadvantaged groups.
Winter Olympics Lillehammer, Norway January - February 1994	Project Environment-Friendly Olympics formed by local and national environment groups as a direct response to threats of environmental degradation.	House price rises. Road and public transport improvements. Environmental enhancements. No increase in crime.
Olympic Games Atlanta, USA July – August 1996	The city sponsored a profile of the 'six Olympic impact neighbourhoods' and developed an economic development plan. Community impact assessment by local housing groups. Investigations by expert professional panels.	New city ordinances enacted which compromised the civil rights of homeless persons. Demolition of public housing for Olympic Village. Accelerated gentrification of African-American neighbourhoods.

Source: author, work in progress.

event.

Social impact assessment of the Sydney 2000 Olympics

In Monte Carlo, on 23 September 1993, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced Sydney as the successful city to host the 2000 Olympic Games. Initially, the theme for the Sydney Games was to be 'The Athletes' Games' (McGeoch & Korporaal 1994:138).

However, with the involvement of Greenpeace Australia in the preliminary design of the Olympic Village, it soon became known as the 'Green Games'. This focused the public mind both on the potential of the Olympics to achieve sustainable benefits but also on the possibility of negative effects too.

The initial obligation for an SIA for the Olympics derived from the commitment made in the Environmental Guidelines, drawn up by Sydney Olympics 2000 Bid Limited's Environment Committee. This was for SIA to be conducted as part of the planning and construction of Olympic facilities (Environment Committee 1993: 3).

The guidelines were subsequently annexed to the NSW environmental planning and assessment system through the gazettal of State Environmental Planning Policy No. 38 in November 1993. However, the triggering of the so-called Preliminary Social Impact Assessment of the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games (Keys Young 1995) was essentially a political decision made outside of legislative mandates.

The scope of the SIA was far broader than the impact of specific venues and focused on the effects of the event itself. This allowed a 'clean slate' approach to be taken, permitting inclusion of issues not directly related to venue sites and also involving rural communities in the SIA process.

A framework document was produced in mid-1993 to guide the SIA process should the Sydney Bid be successful (Johnston & Deakin 1993). This was prepared by a State government agency, the Social Policy Directorate, which was responsible for the development of social policy. The Sydney Olympics SIA was viewed by the Directorate as an opportunity to promote the practice of SIA more widely for a range of public and private decision-making processes.

The framework document strongly advocated a participatory issues based approach and cited the work of Taylor, Bryan and Goodrich (1990) as a

model. The document also commenced the task of scoping both the range of likely impacts and also the various publics potentially affected by the Games.

A public issues paper was released in August (Keys Young 1994) to aid the public consultation process, which involved six public workshops in the metropolitan area and two in rural New South Wales. Public submissions were called for and the final report was publicly released in February 1995 (Keys Young 1995).

Some of the impact categories identified in the final report were: accommodation and housing, transport, employment and training, consumer protection, environment protection, health and human services, security and civil liberties, sport and recreation, cultural activities and cultural diversity, disability issues, local/metropolitan/regional effects, public finances, ticketing and media coverage, and on-going information, consultation and decision-making.

The SIA report was released prior to a State election. Consequently, the

implementation framework was unresolved and the report focused on broad principles for impact management. The fate of the report's 37 detailed recommendations will be decided once the impact management framework has been established, following a reorganisation of Olympic co-ordination and venue construction responsibilities.

A number of non-government organisations took a lead role in steering the SIA and in the wider public debate surrounding the event. An economic impact study (KPMG Peat Marwick 1993) had been produced prior to the IOC decision, primarily to bolster public support for the Bid in its final stages. This asserted that the net benefit of the Games to the Australian economy would be A\$7300m and 156,200 annual new jobs.

A study commissioned by Shelter NSW, a housing lobby group, compared six hallmark events and their impacts on housing (Cox, Darcy, Bounds 1994). The comparative approach of this study underlines the value of post-event assessments in informing processes in other cities.

The Shelter study warned of potential negative effects such as rising rents, conversion of boarding houses to tourist accommodation and also harassment of the homeless during the event. Similarly, the Public Interest Advocacy Centre pointed to potential civil liberties concerns and advocated that Sydney had the opportunity to make

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the Games the 'human rights Games' (Johnston 1994:1).

Direct public consultation involved focus groups and public discussion workshops. The focus groups generally reported a positive attitude to the Games, with some concerns about ticket availability and free-to-air television.

The workshops were mainly stakeholder consultations and were more critical of likely Games impacts, particularly negative housing impacts. Intervenor funding, as practised fully during the SIA for the Toronto Bid for the 1996 Olympics, was not utilised, though the initial framework document had suggested its use during the impact management phase (Johnston & Deakin 1993: A-13).

In the Toronto case, seven groups were funded by the City Council to develop their own independent SIAs or 'intervenor reports'. These groups included the Canadian Folk Arts Council, Citizens for a Safe Environment, Women Plan Toronto, the Metro Tenants' Association and the Waterfront Coalition (Lenskyj 1993: 83-4). No intervenor report was uncritical of the Toronto Bid and two groups urged withdrawal and use of the funds for local social and environmental projects.

Recommendations and conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that hallmark events have widespread social as well as environmental impacts. For this reason, hallmark events should be captured in EIA processes and procedures. Since hallmark events are by definition public events, public involvement should be part of such SIA procedures, with the conscious aim of minimising negative impacts and sharing the benefits of the event. Due to the one-off nature of such events as well as their unpredictable impacts, retrospective impact assessment or audit is especially warranted.

For events such as Olympic Games and Expos, such retrospective assessment should form part of the international bodies' post-event reporting requirements. Such assessments would become a valuable aid in the EIA and SIA of similar events in other cities or regions. Therefore, this paper recommends the following:

Recommendation 1

That large scale events be subject to social and environmental assessment processes and procedures with public participation in the process.

Recommendation 2

That organising bodies for large scale events be required to conduct a full retrospective environmental and social assessment/audit of the

impacts of the event in order to inform future planning and assessment, in particular the International Olympic Committee should require host cities to produce such an assessment/audit along with the Official Reports of the event and that these form part of the official event archive for use by future bidding or host cities.

The legacies of hallmark events are far-reaching, going beyond the monuments or white elephants left after the last visitor leaves. Hall (1992: 82) acutely observes that SIA asks the difficult question of who benefits? As such it 'goes to the very heart of why cities host hallmark events in order to improve or rejuvenate their image and attract tourism and investment'. The theme of Sydney's Olympic bid was Share the Spirit. This could be adopted as a motto for SIA-sharing a spirit that not only addresses cultural and market disadvantages but also bequeaths beneficial legacies to future generations.

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