

Olympic Legacies: Intended and Unintended

Political, Cultural, Economic and
Educational

Edited by

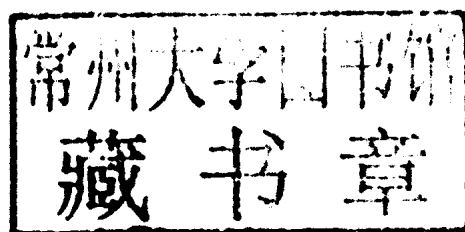
J.A. Mangan and Mark Dyreson



Olympic Legacies: Intended and Unintended

Political, Cultural, Economic and Educational

Edited by J.A. Mangan and Mark Dyreson



First published 2010 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Taylor & Francis

Typeset in Minion by Value Chain, India

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN10: 0-415-55016-5
ISBN13: 978-0-415-55016-1

Olympic Environmental Concerns as a Legacy of the Winter Games

Jean-Loup Chappelet

In 1994, exactly 100 years since its creation, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted the environment as the 'third pillar' of Olympism. The Olympic ideology promoted by the IOC since its creation was henceforth no longer founded on the unity of sport and culture alone, as extolled by Baron Pierre de Coubertin at the beginning of the twentieth century, but was completed – for the twenty-first century – by ecological concerns. Five years later, the IOC adopted an Agenda 21 for the Olympic Movement, that is, a series of sustainable development principles to be respected by all the organizations it coordinates in order to stage Olympic summer or winter games every four years. On the same occasion, it added a thirteenth mission to the long list in the Olympic Charter of those it has taken upon itself. The new mission seeks 'to encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport and to require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly'. [1]

The IOC's thirteenth mission represents a major development within Olympic ideology. The new concern for the environment is not only a sign of the times but

also a positive legacy of the Olympic Winter Games. In fact, although the principles of environmental protection are today applied at both the summer and winter games, they have progressively won recognition after initially being addressed in relation to the winter editions. After a brief definition of the concept of legacy, the gradual emergence of ecological ideas within the Olympic saga will be retraced via three periods, demonstrating the incontestable contribution of the winter games in this respect. The conclusion addresses the future of this legacy in the light of recent developments within Olympic history and the first winter games of the twenty-first century.

The Concept of Legacy

The concept of legacy is relatively new within Olympic circles: it appeared in the 1990s, during the organizational phase of the 1996 Atlanta games. The private organizers of these centennial games felt compelled to highlight what they would leave behind for the host city. For example, during the inauguration ceremony of the Georgia Tech Aquatic Centre – built for the Olympic swimming competitions in 1996 – the university's president evoked, in the presence of the president of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, the legacy that the games would leave for the campus: one that would be not only one of 'brick and mortar' but also one of experience and knowledge gained for the city's academic community. [2] A year after the Atlanta games, economist David Sjoquist published an edited collection entitled *The Olympic Legacy: Building on What Was Achieved*. [3] The concept of legacy was naturally adopted by Sydney for the organization of the Millennium Games, in a similar anglophone context. Those behind the candidacy of the Australian city had, moreover, already stressed this topic. [4] During its successful candidacy for the 2004 games, Athens presented its project under the title of 'A Legacy for Olympism'. [5] In its report in 2001, the IOC Evaluation Commission that was created to assess candidacies for the 2008 games – apparently inspired by Juan Antonio Samaranch, who during his last year as the IOC president fervently wished to see the games awarded to the world's most populous nation – stated: 'It is the Commission's belief that a Beijing Games would leave a unique legacy to China and to sport.' [6]

In 2002, the University of Barcelona Olympic Studies Centre organized an important symposium at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne under the title, 'The Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984–2000'. [7] The new IOC president, Jacques Rogge, attended some of the discussions. Rogge stressed: 'The recommendations formulated by this symposium should be considered as a starting point for a sustainable and useful legacy of the Olympic Games.' [8] A first overview regarding the legacy of the winter games was presented at the symposium by the author of this article. His work explicitly mentions the increasing awareness of the environmental dimension as a non-material legacy of the winter games. [9]

Drawing upon the ‘Olympic buzz’ and the concerns of the host cities, the IOC modified its charter in 2003 to include a fourteenth mission: ‘to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries’. [10] The concept of legacy thus took its place among the official concerns of the IOC. Several researchers have published works on the subject. [11]

In the wake of historian Richard Cashman’s work on Olympic legacies, a distinction between hard and soft legacies emerged; that is, between material legacies such as sports facilities – relatively simple to identify – and non-material ones, such as socio-cultural development, which are harder to distinguish. More precisely, according to Cashman, legacies can be broken down into six categories: an economic legacy; a legacy of the built and physical environment; an information and education legacy; a legacy of public life, politics and culture; a legacy of sport; and a legacy of symbols, memory and history. The advent of ecological ideas within the world of Olympism can be seen as a legacy of public life, politics and culture. It could also be deemed an information and education legacy since it is, above all, a case of new knowledge being acquired by the organizers of an edition of the games and passed on to their successors, possibly with the IOC as an intermediary. [12]

According to the Olympic scholar John McAloon, a distinction should be made between legacy and heritage. The heritage of the games consists of those aspects that remain positive long after their organization and which therefore contribute – whether in economic, social, cultural or symbolic terms – to the Olympic capital that is acquired. Since the 1990s, sustainable development ideas have incontestably formed part of this capital that is handed down from one Olympics to the next. Little by little, this capital accrues and becomes part of Olympic tradition. [13] The ecological components of Olympic tradition can be traced back to the creation of the winter games more than to the revival of the summer games.

The First 40 Years of the Olympic Winter Games

The first winter games took place in Chamonix, France, in the form of an international winter sports week organized in January 1924 as a prelude to the Olympic Games held in Paris in the summer of the same year. It was only a year later that the IOC was officially to ratify the idea of a winter Olympic cycle. At the time, Chamonix was France’s leading winter sports resort and promoted as such by the Paris–Lyon–Marseille Railway Company (PLM), a network that served south-eastern France with the terminus of one line in Chamonix. The resort built for the occasion an extremely large, outdoor ice-skating rink, the world’s largest at the time, as well as a circular skijoring track, a nearby sports pavilion, a bobsleigh run and a ski jump. These first games enjoyed sporting and political success but proved to be a financial disaster. [14]

Chamonix marked the beginning of the rise in popularity of skiing and other winter sports in France, culminating in the organization of the 1968 winter games in Grenoble. This popularity also contributed to the progressive development of facilities in the French Alps in order to make them more accessible to city dwellers,

mainly in the form of road building, mountain railways, cable cars, ski lifts, and the construction of hotels and holiday flats to house these new tourists. [15] The development took place without any real regard for ecological ideas, which until the 1960s were virtually non-existent in France. Within the context of international competition at a period when winter sports tourism was an emerging industry, the predominant considerations were of an economic nature; that is, how to develop the skiing areas.

It was without doubt not by chance that the second winter games took place in St Moritz, Switzerland, in 1928, in a country and a resort that since the nineteenth century had gained a reputation as the leading destination for winter sports tourism. This town in the canton of Graubünden was a logical choice for the IOC since the organizers of the 1928 games in Amsterdam could not host the winter games in the Netherlands although – according to the IOC rule at the time stating that such games were to take place in the same country as their summer counterparts – they would have been entitled to do so. Moreover, Switzerland constituted neutral territory in order for a German team to take part in the games once again after the First World War. For the occasion, St Moritz built a ski jump that at the time was the steepest in the world, and it is still in use today, a good example of sustainability. Bobsleigh and skeleton required no facilities to be built since the runs for these disciplines were traced on the snow and ice of the Celerina district, where they remain today, virtually without any negative impact on the local environment. The only dark shadow over the event was a lack of snow, which (already!) led certain journalists to predict impending doom for the winter games. [16]

The 1932 winter games took place in the United States at the resort of Lake Placid, New York, while the summer games were held in Los Angeles. Certain promoters would have preferred to keep that edition of the winter games in the western United States at Lake Tahoe, Yosemite Valley or Denver. The American West had to wait until the IOC awarded the 1960 winter games to Squaw Valley, California, a resort created specifically and completely for the event. The Lake Placid games were the first to raise environmental questions. the Lake Placid resort was in the Adirondack State Park, whose charter stressed it should remain ‘forever wild’. New York state law forbade the felling of trees or any other changes in the ‘natural’ state of the landscape. The construction of the bobsleigh run, however, required the felling of 2,500 trees. [17] In March 1930, a local activist group (the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks) lodged a successful objection to the construction of the run. [18] An alternative venue was found in South Meadows Mountains, later renamed Mount Van Hoevenberg. The site was redeveloped for the bobsleigh and luge runs for the 1980 winter games. The organizers nevertheless refused to build a skeleton run, so the discipline, which had taken place in St Moritz for the first time, only returned to the games in 2002 on the Utah combined bobsleigh and luge run. The Lake Placid organizers did, however, force the village authorities into debt as a result of building an indoor ice rink. The size of the rink was, according to the New York government, disproportionate to its post-Olympic use, so the state refused to subsidize it as it had

the other facilities that were built. [19] The skating rink nevertheless permitted the resort to become a renowned training centre for skating after the Second World War, and was renovated to form part of the ice sports complex for the 1980 games. [20]

The grandiose backdrop of the Bavarian Alps served as the setting for the 1936 winter games, awarded to Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Nazi Germany spared no effort to make the event – a prelude to the Berlin games – a success. Arenas that were immense for the time were built, notably a stadium with a capacity of 60,000 for the ski jump and an artificial, outdoor skating rink for 10,000 spectators. [21] The monumental ski jump arena from 1936 was among the venues proposed in Munich's bid for the 2018 winter games. [22] These facilities and others that used pre-existing sites led to no protests, from an environmental point of view, within a regime sensitive to ecology, as French philosopher Luc Ferry stresses. [23]

The same phenomenon of reusing facilities occurred after the Second World War when the winter games cycle resumed. In 1948, St Moritz used its original sites from the 1928 Olympics, slightly extended and improved. [24] The winter games during the third quarter of the twentieth century were held at times in cities (Oslo in 1952, Innsbruck in 1964 and Grenoble in 1968) and also in mountain resorts (St Moritz in 1948, Cortina d'Ampezzo in 1956 and Squaw Valley in 1960). This move by some hosts to opt for a city was a result of the already significant size of the event, an aspect that, as of 1964, finally led the IOC – with a few exceptions – to select increasingly large cities. Winter resorts were no longer able to handle the large number of Olympic participants and spectators. During the 1950s and 1960s, controversies surrounding the construction of the various facilities that were required focused more on their cost and size than on environmental considerations, an issue that emerged only at the end of the period. [25]

The 1968 Grenoble games were the emblematic example of a failure to take environmental issues into account. The bobsleigh run on the Alpe d'Huez was too exposed to the sun, meaning that it proved necessary to hold the competitions at night. The ski jump at Saint-Nizier was too exposed to the wind, which disrupted the Olympic training sessions. The Chamrousse downhill ski runs were too much affected by mist, and at an altitude too low for snow cover to be guaranteed. The luge run at Villars-de-Lans (not yet an artificial one) was at an altitude too low to guarantee ice. In fact, most of the sports facilities for those games were to be abandoned a few years later, and the buildings for the Olympic and Press Villages in the 'new town' rapidly became derelict. [26] Some 40 years later, Grenoble is nevertheless preparing to submit its candidature for the 2018 games in order to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of those in 1968, which turned the town into a regional metropolis thanks to the many non-sport infrastructures built for the games.

The Period from 1970 to 1980

Political ecology emerged at the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s, notably following the publication by the Club of Rome of a report entitled *The Limits to*

Growth, which was to become a best-seller. [27] The ideas therein rapidly found their way into Olympic circles, which were aware of the proportions that the games had taken on. Some thought that the games had already reached the limits of what was possible, and spoke openly of gigantism regarding the summer editions. The size of the games was not, however, seen as a threat to the environment at the time. Today, we can, of course, interpret the student demonstrations that preceded the 1968 Mexico City games and led to dozens of deaths, as a criticism of the lack of sustainability within the development policies adopted by the Mexican government. At the time, however, the demonstrations were considered more as a purely political confrontation. [28]

The first edition of the winter games to take the environment into account in a serious way was that of Sapporo in 1972. The election of this Japanese city in 1966 had been a surprise, since Banff, in the Canadian province of Alberta, was convinced it would be awarded the games because a joint bid with nearby Calgary had been narrowly defeated for those of 1968. Certain sources saw in the IOC's decision the key influence of environmentalists, since the Canadian Wildlife Association was actively opposed to a venue near Lake Louise in Banff National Park. IOC members mentioned the looming conflict with Canadian environmental groups shortly before they voted. Moreover, the main promoter of the Japanese candidacy was an engineer, a bobsledder and the head of the Hokkaido Comprehensive Development Institute. He promised to develop his region while protecting its natural environment. [29]

Like Grenoble, Sapporo derived considerable benefit from the overall infrastructures that were put in place for the winter games, including a metro, a railway station, new roads, and improved urban heating systems, water supplies, and sewage treatment facilities. On the other hand, Sapporo chose to organize all the sports competitions within a maximum radius of 35 km from the Olympic Village (shorter than the over 90 km in Grenoble), with most of them taking place in the city itself. This meant a reduced transport system and easy reuse of the facilities after the games. For environmental reasons, the smaller ski jump was relocated from the site initially proposed. The Mount Eniwa downhill run, the only one with a sufficient gradient in the region, had to be traced out on the slopes of Shikotsu National Park. It was removed after the games in order to replant the trees that had to be cut down in order to create it. [30]

Innsbruck, Austria, owed its opportunity to organize the winter games for a second time in 1976 to the withdrawal of Denver, United States, following referendums held at a city and state level and initiated by a group of activists under the name of 'Citizens for Colorado's future'. A massive turnout for these referendums of 93% led to more than 60% of votes going against the allocation of public subsidies for the Denver games. [31] Beyond the financial aspects, those opposing the organization of the games also feared their environmental impact on fragile mountain zones. The cross-country ski events, for instance, were to be held in Evergreen, a name that indicated the rarity of snow cover there. The resort of Aspen had already been

eliminated from the candidate dossiers as a result of opposition by certain residents who were concerned by environmental issues. [32]

When it obtained the 1976 games after Denver's bid failed, Innsbruck stated that its aim was to hold 'simple games' and that it would recycle facilities from 1964. In fact, the winter games had grown considerably over 12 years, and therefore required more infrastructure. Innsbruck found it necessary, for example, to create – at enormous cost – an artificial bobsleigh and luge run. Innsbruck's challenge was thereafter to be repeated at every edition of the winter games that followed, with the exception of Lake Placid in 1980, where improvements were made in the 1932 courses. Indeed, bobsleigh and luge runs constitutes the main 'white elephants' among Olympic facilities. It is of course difficult to justify this type of facility given the small number of athletes competing in these disciplines and the quantities of ammonia necessary to refrigerate the runs, a potential danger to the environment if leaked. [33] This question was to be a particularly sensitive one for the 1992 Albertville games.

These problems, together with others that affected the summer games (gigantism, boycotts, terrorism) became more widely known and led to a dearth of bids for the Winter Olympics. Lake Placid was the only candidate for the 1980 games, since Vancouver (Canada) withdrew just a few days prior to the IOC's decision. Since 1932, this small village in the Adirondacks had grown at a far slower rate than the winter games, and many ecological associations had emerged. A Federal Environmental Impact Statement was issued after the IOC's decision to grant the games to Lake Placid. Several of the facilities proposed (the Mount Van Hoevenberg bobsleigh run, the new luge run, the cross-country and biathlon tracks, and the downhill runs) were located on land belonging to the Adirondack Park and under the administration of the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (ENCON), which was to build and operate these venues for the games. Considerable opposition arose, notably to the height of the large and small ski jumps (brought together for the first time), which were considered to be too close to a historical site; the extension of the downhill runs on Whiteface Mountain; and the size of the new ice rink in the centre of the village. The opposition was finally withdrawn, but it considerably delayed building work to the point that the organization of the games was at risk. The journalist Jane Keller provided an extremely clear analysis of the environmental debates surrounding the 1980 Lake Placid games. [34] Moreover, major transport problems turned the beginning of the games into chaos. [35]

A few months after the Lake Placid games, a large majority of the citizens of the Swiss canton of Graubünden voted against the candidacies by Davos and St Moritz, and also those by Chur and Arosa for the 1988 games, based on ecological and cultural concerns. [36] The same fate had affected planned candidatures by Zürich-Hochybrig and Interlaken for the 1976 winter games.

After Lake Placid, the 1984 games in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, and those in 1988 in Calgary, Canada, that rounded off the decade were less remarkable from an environmental point of view. In Yugoslavia, political ecology bore little weight in the

face of the government's determination to become the first socialist state to organize the winter games. Most of the sites were completed over a year prior to the games without having suffered any delays due to opposition. In Calgary, the businesslike style of the organizing committee left little room for ecological considerations despite powerful local and national associations for the protection of nature. For 1988, the downhill skiing venue was relocated to Mount Allen, despite its well-known lack of snow, and the sport relied on artificial snow cannons. Bobsleigh, luge and ski jumping were organized in a wind-exposed park built for the occasion at the edge of the city rather than the more appropriate Bragg Creek site that was too far away from Calgary. For the first time, the speed-skating events took place in an indoor stadium. This arena then became the standard for future winter games and a heavy burden for the new Winter Olympic cities, which were frequently at a loss to know what to do with such a huge covered space once the games were over. [37]

The 1990s

The winter games returned to Europe at the beginning of the 1990s, those of Albertville in 1992 and Lillehammer in 1994 firmly bringing the concept of ecology into the minds of the organizing committees and above all of the IOC. Both of these editions were staged in small towns in the heart of the mountains, and they were separated by only two years, since the IOC decided to change the practice of holding the winter games in the same year as their summer counterparts. These were the games that initially led the Olympic movement to develop an awareness of the importance of environmental questions, and then to tackle the issue of sustainable development. The summer games in Barcelona and Atlanta, which took place during the same period, did not place the same emphasis on these questions, since they were held some distance away from natural surroundings. Nevertheless, Barcelona – and to a lesser extent Atlanta – took advantage of the games to rehabilitate certain industrial wastelands, but neither city stressed the ecological dimension of these urban development projects. Economic development took precedence over environmental and above all social aspects. Both editions of these summer games in fact led to numerous housing evictions in order to construct the Olympic sites. [38]

As soon as the games were awarded to Albertville in 1986, Michel Barnier, the co-president of the organizing committee and the future French Minister for the Environment, promised exemplary games with the lowest possible impact on the environment despite the spread of the competition venues over 13 Alpine communities. [39] These games were both the climax within the intensive period of developing tourist facilities in the Savoie Region and the prelude to the phase of improving the quality of tourism products there and advertising them internationally. [40]

The Albertville Olympic projects took environmental considerations into account. For instance, the cross-country tracks on the Les Saisies site were relocated in order to protect high-altitude turf beds. The route and the construction work on the

motorway between Chambéry and Albertville were the subject of particular care with a view to protecting the fragile surroundings. The new Bellegarde downhill run included a so-called 'columbine' turn to avoid a field where this alpine flower grew. Nevertheless, the ski jumps and the bobsleigh and luge run were very controversial. The ecological organizations expressed numerous criticisms, which were taken up by the press as the games approached. An environmental group – Fédération Rhône-Alpes de la protection de la nature (FRAPNA) – raised many issues and organized a march before the opening ceremony, carrying coffins as a representation of the environmental damages caused by the games. [41] The IOC could not afford a repeat of Albertville environmental criticism in subsequent games.

In 1988, when the preparations in the Savoie Region were already well under way, the IOC awarded the 1994 winter games to Lillehammer (Norway) after an impressive presentation by the Norwegian Prime Minister, including a call for 'an ethic of solidarity with our current and future generations, a responsibility to the global balance of nature and an understanding of our role within it'. [42] After the unexpected victory, the Norwegian government decided to make the event a showcase for its environmental policy. In 1990, the country's parliament – which needed to vote on massive credits to finance the games – decided to expand the initial objectives of Lillehammer's bid to include five 'green goals'. The legislation required Norway's Olympic organizers to increase international awareness of ecological questions; to safeguard and develop the region's environmental qualities; to contribute to economic development and sustainable growth; to adapt the architecture and land use to the topology of the landscape; and to protect the quality of the environment and of life during the games. [43] Certain groups, however, strongly opposed the games, and not for ecological reasons alone. [44]

It should be recalled that the Norwegian Prime Minister at the time was Gro Harlem Brundtland, former president of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which popularized the phrase 'sustainable development' and organized the famous Earth Summit of June 1992 in Rio, at which an IOC representative took part within the framework of the forum for non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In January 1991, President Samaranch had also taken part in the Davos World Economic Forum that addressed the same topic, accompanied by Jean-Claude Killy, the co-president of the Albertville organizing committee (and by Sebastian Coe). In September 1991, the question of holding major events in mountainous zones and in particular the Alps was widely discussed in the presence of the IOC president during the First International Conference of Winter Olympic Games Host Cities and Regions in Chambéry, near Albertville. These conferences raised Samaranch's awareness of the environmental issue. [45]

That same year, the Olympic Charter was amended to state that the Olympic Games should be held under conditions that respected the environment. [46] The manual for cities wishing to host the games was modified accordingly. For the first time, candidates for 2002 were required to answer several questions on 'environmental protection', which formed Chapter 5 of the candidacy files to be submitted to

the IOC. The city of Sion (Switzerland) accompanied its responses, which according to the IOC's instructions could not exceed six pages, by an additional document called the 'green paper'. [47]

Such a document was moreover demanded of candidates as of 2004. Those behind the 2002 Sion bid promoted it as a device for insuring a 'balanced games', based on existing facilities that respected the environment in a canton – the Valais – known at the time for taking liberties with legislation on land development and environmental protection. To seal this 'green' strategy, the promoters signed a 'nature contract' with the cantonal authorities and four ecological associations in January 1995. Sion was nevertheless easily beaten by Salt Lake City, which did not particularly highlight its ecological concerns but focused on lobbying among the IOC members. This exaggerated lobbying was to lead to a scandal in 1999 that forced the IOC to impose sanctions on around 20 of its members and to undertake major reforms. [48]

The scandal in question, provoked by a Swiss IOC member, was to a large extent responsible for the failure of Sion's bid for 2006. [49] Beyond environmental protection, the second consecutive Swiss candidacy highlighted sustainable development. The 'green paper' gave way to a 'rainbow paper' stating the intentions of the Valais regarding balanced development, via the games, in the economic, social, cultural political and environmental sectors. These ideas were also adopted by the Piedmont region for the city that would defeat Sion, Turin. [50]

The idea of a 'green' winter games, which had become commonplace in bids by the early twenty-first century, took root in 1994 in the Olympic movement in Norway. The Lillehammer games were a resounding success from many points of view. The small town covered in snow and in an idyllic setting was to some extent responsible for giving back some virginity to the Olympic movement. At the opening ceremony, Samaranch spoke of white and green games. All through the years of preparation, the organizing committee provided a great deal of communication on the subject, and the world's media drew upon it comprehensively. An environmental coordinator was appointed within the committee at a very early stage, to review all the Olympic projects. The Norwegian government even allocated US\$100,000 per year in order for the ecological organizations to be associated with a group named Project Environment-Friendly Olympics and thus to cooperate with the organizing committee. One of the best-known results of their actions was the relocation of the speed skating arena in Håmår in order to protect a sanctuary for rare birds. Like its sponsors, the organizing committee made a commitment to operate their offices and activities in line with strict environmental standards (green office protocol): a protocol that was later adopted up by over one-quarter of Norway's municipal administrations. It should nevertheless be noted that vast sections of forests were cleared to make way for the ski runs and even to draw a giant on the mountainside that was visible from the town. [51]

Lillehammer went beyond the concept of environmental protection and towards that of sustainable development, as emphasized in 1992 by the IOC in a statement of principle that was adopted by its executive board and drawn up by Canadian member

Richard Pound. [52] In 1993, a special edition of the *Olympic Message*, an official IOC publication, was devoted to the same topic. [53] In 1994, the International Ski Federation adopted a green manifesto at its Rio congress. [54] In Lillehammer, the determination to promote sustainability took the form of reflection on the post-Olympic use of the facilities as sports centres but also as schools and congress centres. The wooden houses of the Olympic Village were dismantled after the games and sold throughout Norway. The organizers also wished to mark their solidarity with the city of Sarajevo, destroyed during the civil war, by creating the Olympic Aid programme. This programme, today run by an organization known as 'Right to Play', inspired the IOC to launch humanitarian programmes and those for development through sport in conjunction with several UN agencies. [55]

The 1994 winter games were also the first to benefit from the Olympic Truce following a resolution by the 1993 UN General Assembly, which also declared 1994 to be the International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal. [56] The year coincided with the IOC's centenary, and for the occasion the IOC organized an Olympic Congress in Paris, the city where it had been founded in 1894. IOC leaders chose sport and the environment as one of the subthemes of the congress. Among the 26 contributions under that heading, Jean-Loup Chappelet suggested modifying the motto 'citius, altius, fortius', since it served as a synonym for unrestricted growth and had become incompatible with the ideas of sustainable development. [57] The suggestion was not adopted, but, in 2005, Coubertin's chosen Latin motto quietly disappeared from the IOC's headed paper. In the final declaration of the Congress, the IOC also created a permanent Sport and Environment Commission and decided to organize conferences on the subject every two years, in cooperation with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), with which it signed a special agreement. The first conference took place in Lausanne in 1995. In 1995, the UNEP co-signed a brochure with the Norwegian Minister for the Environment that highlighted the exceptional results of the Lillehammer games. [58] This intergovernmental organization has been since involved in Olympic environmental efforts. [59]

In 1998, the games in Nagano, Japan, continued along the path traced by Albertville and Lillehammer. Respect for nature was mentioned as one of the three aims of the organizing committee, along with the promotion and participation of children, and peace and friendship. [60] The sites proposed in the bid for downhill skiing and biathlon were changed, and existing runs were used. The start of the downhill run was nevertheless highly controversial right up to the eve of the games because of the sensitive ecologic zone in which it was located. Many young trees were planted at the Olympic sites. Particular attention was paid to recycling materials and the waste from the games. For example, the volunteers' uniforms were made from recyclable materials. Not everything was perfect, however, and after the games certain criticisms were made regarding the environmental policy adopted by the organizers and the government. [61]

At the very end of this decisive decade in terms of incorporating notions of sustainability through Olympism, the IOC adopted in June 1999 an Agenda 21 for

the Olympic movement. Its new policy had three major directions. It sought to improve socio-economic conditions; to conserve and manage resources for sustainable development; and to strengthen the role of major groups (women, young people and indigenous populations) in Olympic decision-making. This fundamental document was, however, completely overshadowed by the 'Salt Lake crisis' that the IOC was undergoing at the time. [62] The IOC followed Agenda 21 six years later with a more practical manual, drawn up by the same authors, on the implementation of sustainable development by the various Olympic sports, notably the winter sports. [63] In 2000, the IOC launched the OGGI (Olympic Games Global Impact, later the Olympic Games Impact) programme, which urges organizing committees to use around 150 performance indicators in the three areas of sustainable development in order to measure their achievements. [64] The IOC has now made this tool, which is to be used over the 10 years spanning a candidacy and the organization of an edition of the games, mandatory for all host cities. [65]

The Future of the Environmental Legacy of the Olympic Games

The first winter games of the twenty-first century continued the pioneering environmental policies of those held during the 1990s. Naturally, the organizers of the summer games in Sydney (2000), Athens (2004) and Beijing (2008) also took the environmental concerns adopted in the 1990s very much into account. For example, in September 1993, Greenpeace drafted the concept of a 'Green Olympics' for the Sydney bid. [66] Sydney's organizers also needed to address many other concerns such as ensuring that the Olympic venues were ready in time and defending their plans for projecting images of their city and nation. The winter games of Salt Lake City (2002), Turin (2006) and Vancouver (2010) all constituted progress in terms of the ecological organization of the games and enhancing their environmental legacy.

Overshadowed by the corruption scandal linked to their bid and the security problems just before they were staged, the contribution of the Salt Lake City games to environmental issues did not receive a great deal of attention. The organizing committee (SLOC) nevertheless implemented, from the outset, an efficient environmental management system for all aspects of the games, including site construction, water and energy conservation measures, transport and accommodation systems, and educational programmes. SLOC's plan adopted four aggressive objectives. They insisted on zero waste, net zero emissions, urban forest advocacy, and zero tolerance for environmental and safety compliance errors. According to SLOC, Salt Lake City's plan met the first two goals, notably by recycling or composting 95% of the waste. Over 100,000 trees were planted in Utah by primary school classes under the 'Tree-cology' programme implemented in cooperation with the US Forest Service. The sponsors, suppliers and contractors to the games were involved in the various initiatives. The SLOC was certified as climate-neutral by Climate Neutral Network, an NGO that no longer exists but that listed companies and organizations whose products and services had a net zero impact on the environment. [67]

The 2006 Turin games went even further. In accordance with its intentions stated during the candidacy phase through a plan called 'pastille verde' (green card), the organizing committee (TOROC) adopted a Charter of Intents and carried out a strategic environmental assessment, as required by an Italian law of 9 October 2000 specific to the games. TOROC also adopted an environmental management system that permitted it to gain ISO 14001 certification in March 2004 and to be registered in accordance with the European Union EMAS (Eco-Management and Audit Scheme) six months later. It was the first major sports event to receive such certification. The organizers also launched the HECTOR (Heritage Climate Torino) programme that aimed to compensate for the production of 100,000 tonnes of greenhouse gas during the period of the games and to increase awareness regarding questions of climate change. Over 7 million euros was spent on these measures, intended for the recovery of alpine land in the province of Turin and thus create a long-term legacy, notably in the form of building waste water treatment plants and artificial freshwater basins in the mountain sites for the games. [68]

In addition, TOROC cooperated with the UNEP regarding the publication of annual sustainability reports, which are the main tools to verify that the principles of the Charter of Intents are respected and for communicating its commitments regarding the economic, social and environmental impact of the 2006 games. [69] TOROC was also the first organizing committee to publish a report on Olympic social responsibility within the framework of a European Commission project entitled 'Ethics and Social Values in Sport'. [70]

The organizing committee for the 2010 Vancouver games (VANOC) has yet to reveal fully its intentions but has clearly placed its candidacy and its organizational plans for the games in the category of sustainable development by defining six performance goals for itself, i.e.: accountability, environmental stewardship and impact reduction, social inclusion and responsibility, Aboriginal participation and collaboration, economic benefits from sustainable practices, and sport for sustainable living as basic goals. [71] These objectives combine the classical environmental themes with new ones such as governance (accountability), diversity and social responsibility. Paralleling VANOC's plan, the provincial government has created a company called Legacies Now! to put in place and support action aimed at ensuring that each region of British Columbia benefits from the games during the organizational phase and, of course, beyond it. [72] The idea of working towards an immediate legacy – to all appearances an oxymoron – has been made possible by the environmental practices of the winter games.

The IOC has awarded the 2014 winter games to the seaside resort of Sochi, Russia. The snow events are to take place in the resort of Krasnaya Polyana, located in the Caucasus Mountains around one hour from the host city. The Russian government's aim is to develop this small mountain village by means of massive cash injections into a resort that can rival even the most famous alpine winter sports towns. Several environmental organizations expressed concern at the time of the candidacy since several sites were planned in Sochi National Park, a pristine area of over 800 hectares.

The Olympic Village in Polyana and the bobsleigh and luge run were even planned for locations in the buffer zone of the Caucasus State Biosphere Reserve – a UNESCO World Heritage site where, due to the re-zoning of Sochi National Park, the construction of infrastructure for tourism and recreation has been permitted. [73] In September 2006, prior to the election of Sochi, Greenpeace Russia decided to file a complaint with the Russian Supreme Court against the organizers and the IOC regarding plans for Olympic development in the region. In 2008, this complaint has not yet been adjudicated. Greenpeace Russia's chances of success are considered to be low despite intense media coverage. The Sochi games could thus represent in the environmental history of Olympism a step backward. However, as IOC President Jacques Rogge declared in a commentary on the situation for the *Financial Times*, the 'Olympics must go for green as well as gold'. [74]

Conclusion

The emergence of concerns relating to environmental protection and sustainable development has been considerably more significant in relation to the Winter Olympic Games than to their summer counterparts. These concerns, which began to appear as early as the 1930s, have become fully integrated in Olympic rules and ideology. After a somewhat shaky start, notably on the occasion of the 1932 games in Lake Placid, which represented the first time that environmental questions were taken into account to any real extent by the organizers of winter games, environmental issues became increasingly important during the 1970s and 1980s, notably for Sapporo 1972 and Lake Placid 1980, albeit without the IOC taking any notable or direct action. During the 1990s, these questions became the focus of media attention and were taken into account to a significant degree by organizing committees: particularly by those of Albertville (1992) and Lillehammer (1994). On the occasion of its centenary in 1994, the IOC made the environment the 'third pillar' of Olympism. In a few years, the IOC had adopted an environmental policy fully integrated into its philosophy. [75] Almost simultaneously, the concepts of sustainable development were introduced in bids by several candidates for the winter games, notably that by Sion in 2006. These new concepts were integrated by the successive organizing committees of both summer and winter editions but also by the IOC. Olympic leaders adopted the Agenda 21 for the Olympic movement in 1999 and in 2007 made respect for both sustainable development and the environment one of the three core values of Olympism. [76]

This evolution, which has taken place over more than 70 years, has occurred in parallel to the progressive change whereby the winter games have moved away from mountain resorts (Chamonix, St Moritz, Lake Placid, Garmisch, Cortina) towards cities in alpine valleys (Innsbruck, Grenoble, Nagano), and then to metropolises on the plains (Calgary, Salt Lake City, Turin) or even seaside cities (Vancouver, Sochi) relatively far away from the mountains. This change has come about as a result of the ever-increasing size of the winter games, and could be perceived as a consequence of