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Social Capital Creation Through Olympic Games

Theoretical Modelling and Evidence on Olympic Values

DISSERTATION

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List of Abbreviations

DOSB	German Olympic Sports Confederation
EF	English Proficiency Index
IFs	International Sport Federations
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
LYOG	Lillehammer Youth Olympic Games
NOC	National Olympic Committee
OCOG	Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OSIF	Olympic Spectator Involvement Framework
OVS	Olympic Value Scale
ROG	Rio de Janeiro Olympic Games
SCAL	Social Capital Analysis Level
SOG	Summer Olympic Games
WOG	Winter Olympic Games
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America
YOG	Youth Olympic Games

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Doi: 10.1504/IJSMM.2017.10008117

1. Introduction

(...) [T]o create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.

(...) [T]o place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.

(...) [T]o oppose any political or commercial abuse of sport and athletes.

(...) Sport organizations within the Olympic Movement (...) [to] have the rights and obligations of autonomy (...) and the responsibility for ensuring that principles of good governance be applied.

(International Olympic Committee, 2018)

These principles held by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) show that over the years, the Olympic Games have been well defined to encompass all socio-economic and political matters and have been purposed to be everything; however, they primarily serve as a good example. At present, for athletes, the Olympic Games represent an athletic highlight in their lives; for spectators, they mainly represent entertainment and spectacle (Tomlinson, 1996); and for host nations, they represent a medium to achieve economic and political aims (Grix, 2013). Each country that hosts the Olympic Games is committed to designing its Games to be the best in history and to outdo their predecessor. Future generations should remember these Games, and a comprehensive legacy for posterity should be created as well (Preuss, 2007). Therefore, the Games should create leverage in areas such as tourism and urban development, and they are used as a production factor for this purpose (Essex & Chalkley, 1998, 2002).

While critical voices refer to the sporting core of the Olympic Games and focus on it, the large development of the Olympic Games and their symbolic force over the past decades can no longer be denied. The Olympic Games have developed in equal measure with society and satisfy – as an event that attempts to be all things to all people – contemporary demands in various areas. In addition, the stakeholders of the Olympic Games create infrastructure for international relations, a multi-lateral platform and a growth machine (Evans, 2003; Surborg, VanWynsberghe, & Wyly, 2008). In the Olympic Charter of 1949, the autonomy of sport was described for the first time, and since 1990, it has also been included within the intergovernmental organization of Europe (Chappelet, 2010). As described in the Olympic Charter, the IOC is committed to protecting the Olympic Games from political and commercial exploitation. However, they

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are instrumentalized on all micro- and macro-political levels (Seifart, 1984). For example, regarding the Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, the city, with the help of the staging of the Olympic Games, has been converted to a year-round tourism resort. However, the Olympic Games were originally founded on a political basis (Houlihan, 1994), with a social goal – it was Baron de Coubertin's basic idea to instrumentalize the Olympic Games for the purpose of promoting a peaceful society and to place sport at the service of a harmonious development of humankind. Therefore, the deeper input of human and social capital is strongly demanded especially by host cities and countries (Minnaert, 2012).

A one-sided instrumentalization of social needs is not possible without accompanying economic and political aspects (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2020). So there should be a suitable global governance of social, economic and political investments (Chappelet, 2016). However, the interdisciplinary interaction of commerce, gigantism, societal values and efficiencies in their potential has not yet been sufficiently clarified within research. For a long time, it lacked a coherent and theoretic foundation of conceptual approaches, effective sport governance as well as corresponding evidence regarding this challenge of the Olympic movement (Chatziefstathiou & Henry, 2012a). Furthermore, there are still too few studies on corporate social responsibility activities in sports organizations (Breitbarth, Hovemann, & Walzel, 2011).

The complex concept of social capital offers such a base. It can disclose, within a socio-economic environment, the interdependencies of the interdisciplinary Olympic Movement, on whose structural basis governance measures can be derived. In previous studies on professional sports mega-events and the Olympic Games, social capital has mainly been applied as a theory to instrumentalize and leverage economic transactions and impacts, not social standards.

Other researchers confirm that sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games can create *added value* for society, which creates social capital (Taks, 2013). However, especially the creation of social capital at the Olympic Games, with their commitment to social exchange and education, is important due to the inherent Olympic values. In this context, the strengthening of Olympism could be an effective instrument, to build up again social trust and social capital. The Olympic Games have these postmodern characteristic features which potentially inspire people in times of progressive commercialization and omnipresent eventization. Moreover, such social capital can be strengthened through a global media network structure, which on the one hand is created by the Olympic Games and, on the other hand, reaches an enormous variety of

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different populations, making such social value extremely valuable (Nauright, 2004; Smith & Westerbeek, 2007).

The aim thereby, is the use and transfer of the Olympic values. The Olympic values, as a mindset and value orientation in the attitude of people, can serve as an example for respectful, friendly social interaction, encouraging new action. The complex levels of the underlying social interactions must be thoroughly examined to derive an effective governance of such a common good (Berkes, 2008). Normally, social capital is accumulated through active sports over a period of time and through the fulfilment of three conditions: the same goal, the same experience and simultaneity (as further elaborated in the summary of Article 2 and the discussion). It is a challenge to meet this aim within passive spectators since the same goal does not originate through active sports but only through, for example, an interest in sports or entertainment, and varies at different levels of involvement. However, the same simultaneous sports experience is possible and creates a community.

There are two central requirements: (a) the existence of social capital within the host nation, which enables a successful awarding of the Olympic Games within existing structures and (b) the successful and targeted hosting and implementation of the Olympic Games to create new social capital. For example, in Germany, there already have been five successful Olympic applications: 1916 Berlin, but cancelled due to the First World War; 1936 Berlin & 1936 Garmisch-Partenkirchen; 1940 Garmisch-Partenkirchen, but cancelled due to World War II and Munich 1972. However, there also have been five failed Olympic applications: 1992 Berchtesgaden against Albertville; 2000 Berlin against Sydney; 2012 Leipzig against London; 2018 Munich against Pyeongchang; 2022 Munich against the population and 2024 Hamburg against the population (IOC, 2019a).

Against the backdrop of these recent rejections in recent years, predominantly in Western democratic nations, and of the criticism of hosting the Olympic Games (Cottrell & Nelson, 2010), the first requirement appears to be a weak point with consequences for the second requirement. Currently, in democratic nations, new political forms of social involvement are arising, and referenda are held to decide whether the Olympic Games take place or not, thus, the perception of spectators as the most important stakeholder group of the Olympic Games plays a key role (Boykoff & Zirin, 2016; Gratton, Shibli, & Coleman, 2006) in creating social capital in society. In Germany, the expectation of positive, intangible effects has a

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positive influence on whether Germany will host the Olympic Games again (Wicker, Whitehead, Mason, & Johnson, 2017).

Discourse on Social Capital

As both a concept and theory, social capital has attracted major intellectual attention in different scientific fields in recent years. Among other things, this is due to the fact that it is closely related to the other four capital theories, i.e., economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and human capital (Coleman, 1988), and as a comprehensive term, it involves many different social and socio-economic concepts (e.g., norms and values, social integration, social trust, social networks), which in turn can be interpreted differently. The free interpretation of the construct, on the one hand, and its collectivity on the other hand, make it even more difficult to grasp and to measure (Coleman, 1988). Therefore, in more specific investigations, social capital has already been examined depending on the perspective of evaluation (individual or collective), definition (trust, social networks, community participation), theoretical statements (open or closed networks) and after markets (social capital for economic and political development) (Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001; Putnam, 2001).

The social effects of the Olympic Games as a global event are multi-dimensional. They apply to both individual persons and the collective and are dependent on the community participation and the trust of the population. Furthermore, they contain open networks (spectators) and closed networks (athletes) and serve after markets (sponsorship, media, ticketing etc.). Hence, initially, there is a need for a further explanation of a generally valid definition of the social capital concept, based on which the Olympic Games can then be specifically classified. Based on the definition of the general concept of capital by Marx (1995), on the one hand, social capital is created through *investment* in products, services and social relations and, on the other hand, as *added value*, that is, as the return of products, services or social relations. The term added value is also often described as an impact or as a legacy of the Olympic Games in regard to what is left over during and after the event. The term leverage, however, describes what is needed in the run-up to the planning of positive added value.

While researchers such as Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam end up with specific definitions of social capital, depending on their research design, Lin et al. (2001, p. 6), in accordance with

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Marx, arrives at a socially oriented, simple summarizing definition of social capital that can be used universally: “investment in social relations with expected returns”.

Applying the social capital concept to the Olympic Games, this investigation follows a central, more fine-grained definition of social capital provided by Lin (1999), which is based on more specific investigations of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam: “resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 1999, p. 35).

Combining these two definitions to a research model of social capital (figure 1), they result in three central elements with subcategories: (1) *investment*, which includes (1.1) structural embeddedness and (1.2) accessibility (perception), as well as (3) *added value*: action-oriented (use) aspects (mobilization). Over the course of this dissertation, the most important key element, (2) the *environment*, will be added which has an impact on both contexts, investment, and added value (Waddock, 2001). Especially the diverse social environments may be drivers of, or obstructive to social capital creation.

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), summarize investment with “cognitive dimension” and added value with “relational dimension”, which is based on different values.

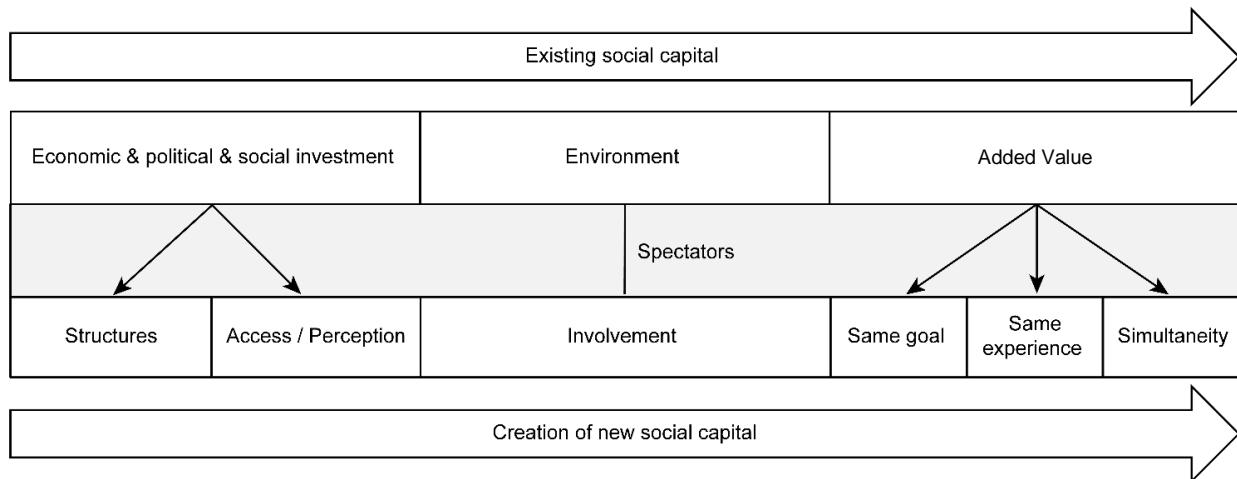


Figure 1. Research Model: Social Capital Analysis Levels (SCAL)

Structure of the Work and Research Questions

Against the backdrop of the (a) existing social capital structures in Western democratic nations and the associated, often failed hosting of the Olympic Games, the main objective of this study is to make a theoretical and empirical contribution, to show implications for a (b) targeted hosting and social instrumentalization of the Olympic Games, which can create new social capital in

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society. When the Olympic Games successfully manage to reframe and change the viewpoint from which a situation is perceived by spectators and introduce another frame that better fits the situation, they are able to create a new meaning in the spectators' environment by expanding or changing their perception (Barnard, 1994). This change in perception, under certain conditions, is the point of reflection that induces new actions and manifests social capital in society.

Therefore, first in Chapter 2, the (a) general extent of the existing social capital in society is discussed as a (1) social *investment* depending on the society's (1.1) structures (embeddedness), (1.2) its access, (perception) and (2) its *environment* for the most important stakeholder group of the Olympic Games, spectators. Then, it is shown (3) what *added value* arises for the spectators. In doing so, it is checked which preconditions exist in Western democratic nations for the creation of new social capital.

Accordingly, Chapter 3 starts with the first step in the second phase of the investigation (b) on the direction of a successful and targeted hosting of the Olympic Games. There, the complete research model for new social capital creation is conducted again. This starts with the (1) Olympic *investment* in the form of the Olympic values, which are (1.1) produced, (1.2) accessed and perceived within the Olympic Games as a common, inspiring vision. In this chapter, for appropriate governance, the environment in which such governance must take place to create new social capital is particularly essential. Hence, in Chapter 3, the second step of the investigation represents (2) the *environment*.

In Chapter 4, the intensity of the perception of spectators in different environments is described and the research design and methodology of the study is consequently deduced in different survey contexts. In this regard, the environments in which people were consulted are described in more detail and are validated by quality assessment.

Accordingly, in Chapter 5, summaries of three different articles are presented in three core environments, each with different levels of social capital analysis.

The complexity is analytically reduced, as the individual elements of social capital creation are investigated, as applied to spectators, at six access points.

1. *How do German residents respond to major issues of the Olympic Movement against the backdrop of Olympic gigantism?* (investigated in article 1)

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2. *How to effectively communicate to the residents of Olympic candidate cities, with the objective of securing public support for the bid? (investigated in article 1)*
3. *How is the concept of social capital associated with the construct of Olympism and the Olympic values (Olympic capital)? (investigated in article 2)*
4. *What is the strongest moderating variable within the OSIF framework that changes spectators' perception of the Olympic values? Is it the experience channel, the intensity of emotional exposure and/or the governmental or situational environment? (investigated in article 2 and the discussion)*
5. *In what context is Olympic capital larger: the context of the live spectator or the broadcast spectator? (investigated in article 2)*
6. *Do the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) make it possible, through their young and new format, to change spectators' perception of the Olympic values? (investigated in article 3)*

In the following, Chapter 6 shows the key findings of the articles against the backdrop of the theoretical framework of social capital and discusses concrete governance strategies to leverage a positive (3) *added value*. In the further course of the discussion, figure 4 summarizes the SCAL for the creation of new social capital, described in Chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6. Furthermore, it is discussed in which of the presented environments the emergence of new social capital for spectators is especially favoured. Afterwards, a further outlook for research and practice is presented.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with a short summary and prospects.

Among all the factors of social capital, social trust within spectators is a central explanatory factor for the existing social capital in a society that should be considered more precisely; however, it has not yet entered the intellectual debate about the Olympic Games. Social trust is the strongest element in a society, particularly in the value creation of an organization. Regarding the role of organized sports, social trust has become particularly important in society in recent

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years (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009; Walker & Parent, 2010). Putnam (2001), has investigated this moderating factor in more detail in his study on the existing capital in society.

2. Transformation of Social Capital Investment in Western Democratic Society

The primary basis for a positive, democratic referendum on the staging of the Olympic Games is the social capital within a nation, which is based on the nation's civic values, followed by political and then economic benefits (Putnam, 1993; Whiteley, 2000). Different nations within Europe and further democratic OECD nations with a similar high index of human development (UNDP, 2019) had an enormous increase in their social before the 1980s; afterwards, however, there was a transformation in their social capital (Putnam, 1993, 2002; Stolle & Hooghe, 2005). A central factor of this transformation is the rapidly growing economic structures in the post-war years (Bartolini & Bonatti, 2008) and the decline in social trust in society (Putnam, 2001). Civic values, which form an integral part of social trust and are embedded in these structures, have changed with rapid economic growth in a path-dependent manner (Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

Investment in the Post-Modern Economy

Just since the beginning of the 1980s, the Western economy has developed as never before (Callon, 1987; Friedman, 2004), and it is now characterized by its fast pace and change. Steady progress, globalization and economic growth are just some of the challenges that shape today's European generation (Halman, Sieben, & van Zundert, 2012).

Structures

Several economic growth theories classify technological progress as the central driver of changes in the world (Keynes, 2016; Mankiw, Romer, & Weil, 1992; Romer, 1986, 1990; Schumpeter, 1947). In the last 40 years, technological progress has led to both the expansion of and growth in media institutions and the development of a global information infrastructure. Therefore, the expansion and transformation of a technological and information-oriented institutional infrastructure are central drivers (Coase, 1998; Preuss, 2007; Winters, 2014). Worldwide development is further promoted by growing international inter-connectedness and the establishment of a multi-polar system of international relations (He, 2008). These changes have resulted in not only competition within a nation and a closed system but also a novel international competitive structure within an open international economy that stimulates faster growth (Blecker, 1989; Daddow, 2017; Ridley, Cheong, & Juma, 2006; Tang & Wälde, 2001).

The demands of society and expansionary fiscal policy public are exogenous drivers (Calderón & Servén, 2004; Dosi, Fagiolo, & Roventini, 2010). Additionally, imported capital in the form of production factors such as human (Galor, 2005; Galor & Weil, 2000; Mankiw et al., 1992) and social capital (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2020) promotes endogenous socio-economic growth within a human-oriented infrastructure.

The Environment

In this interdisciplinary environment, the generation of information has to be planned quite extensively. The technological development of communication channels has contributed to the fact that mass communication has obtained a central agenda-setting role in society (McCombs, 2014). Hence, one of the main objectives of the agenda-setting by the mass media is to generate attention to certain issues within a stream of information (Coleman, 1988; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The embeddedness of these new structures has permanently changed traditional social connectedness, as well as the cultural and political life of the citizenry; above all, however, it has caused people to perceive in different manner (Bell, 1976; Putnam, 1995). Through these changes in the structure of society, the accessibility of these resources has changed as well.

Accessibility

In particular, access to new (information and communication) technology (Atkinson & McKay, 2007) is the new, central catalyst of economic growth and social exchange. An increasing number of nations have developed such access and, thus, the potential that lies in the exchange of information. This social exchange is a pre-condition for further actions and the development of new social capital (Coleman, 1988).

Path-Dependent Transformation of Civic Values

Due to the transformation of economic structures, society, including its civic values, has changed as well. In intellectual debate, this refers to the change from the post-modern society to the information society. Through technological progress, contemporary demands have shifted from the satisfaction of material needs, to the goal satisfaction of information values and individual goal achievement needs (Masuda, 1980) and quality of life. Global growth has provided an international component to values, which, on the one hand, means a renunciation of tradition and, on the other hand, a further development and redefinition of the word tradition (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). For example, at present, religious values are, contrary to popular

expectations, more important than ever, and therefore, they play a strong role in spite of global growth since people often question the meaning of their lives (Inglehardt, 2018; Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

On the one hand, the trends of pluralization and individualization respond to the sensation and experience-seeking trend of society (Ehrenberg, Juckes, White, & Walsh, 2008; McCrae & Costa, 1997; Roberts & Ulla, 2008). On the other hand, the main objective of the present information society is to de-emphasize further economic growth and to focus on values that may be useful to the individual achievement within the society. This often leads to an apparent refusal and rejection of consumption. This refusal predominantly does not result in abstinence from consumption and services; rather, a moral component (e.g., environmental) is added. Hence, new product categories can originate, which in turn stimulate consumption and growth and relieve the burden on the conscience of their buyers while criticizing other consumers (Pauser, 2018) or producers and businesses (Cherrier, 2009). The consumption of these products contributes to the creation of an own personal and cultural identity.

Therefore, economic growth satisfies the aspiration of society for distraction, and due to a diverse supply, those in the population can individually decide for themselves which distractions to select. Thus, in a mutually dependent exchange, economic growth depends on leisure and social input; in turn, long-term social growth depends on an economic institutional structure (Alier, 2009; Gershuny, 2000). The priority setting within this context will then decide how the society selects and experiences information (Webster, 2006). Within this information stream, due to asymmetric information, the population often cannot optimally assess whether official and economic stakeholders act for the benefit of all and behave honestly (Grönlund & Setälä, 2012).

Numerous economic institutions use this attention (Kurscheidt, 2004), which is created by media technology and institutional communication paths, not for the purpose of instrumentalization for social purposes with a common goal but, again, to individually maximize the satisfaction of all stakeholders involved in the economic process and to influence consumers (Bloch & Richins, 1983). When an institution is changing, or is in a growth phase, the attention of the population is directed to the moral component of the company to legitimate the change within the institution and to transfer existing social capital (Buchanan & Keohane, 2006; Dolsma & Verburg, 2008). However, according to Marx, as a result of this development, the traditional values of an

institution's philosophy, change over the course of this progress and are commodified with economic growth (Marx, 1993); as a result, trust in this institution changes.

This results in uncertainty, a change in the existing perception and a decline in trust if no trust signalling measures are taken (Six, 2007). However, complex economic, political and social systems are dependent on growth based on institutional trust and the attention of the population (Warren, 1999). Gursoy, Yolal, Ribeiro, and Netto (2017) have asserted a significant correlation between people's trust in the organizing committee of a major sporting event, positive support and the expected positive impact (Gursoy et al., 2017).

Decline in the Social Trust of the Population in the Olympic Games

With the approval of professional athletes in the 1980s, the Olympic Games in Los Angeles followed the economic principle of maximizing attention (Cantelon & Letters, 2000; Green & Houlihan, 2008; Rose & Spiegel, 2011; Silk, Andrews, & Cole, 2005). These Olympic Games are the best example of the embedding of a sporting event in the changing global context of international capitalism (Chatziefstathiou & Henry, 2012b).

Indeed, the umbrella organization of the Olympic Games, the IOC, is embedded in monopolistic structures; however, the growth rules that are applied to their product, the Olympic Games, are similar to those in the private sector (Postlethwaite & Grix, 2016; Wamsley, 2002). The Olympic Games represent a so-called international information ground platform on which special instrumental, contextual, social and temporal settings arise (Fisher & Naumer, 2006). Many different forces contribute to the growth of the games, which can be an instrument for economic, political and social agendas on different levels and which in turn are a unique booster of internationalization (Black, 2007; Emery, 2010; Getz & Page, 2016; Pinson, 2016; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996).

With the prospect of sending a signal on the world stage more prominently than ever before and generating international attention, this meant that the bids of potential host cities worldwide rose very quickly (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Daddow, 2017; Preuss & Alfs, 2011; Rose & Spiegel, 2011; Whitson & Horne, 2006). Everyone tried to be a participant in the franchise business system (Nickisch, 2016).

Governmental Environment

However, the Olympic Games have recently been staged in several countries, such as Brazil with the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro or Russia with the 2014 Olympic Games in Sochi, whose government and environment have been described by some as the worst ever (Arnold & Foxall, 2014; Gibson, 2014).

Meanwhile, as the final authority over the Games, the IOC has legitimated the change in the Olympic Games and their traditional values of sport and the guiding principles of Olympism – friendship, respect and excellence, as stated in the Olympic Charter of 2018 – even though the situation in some host countries has indicated that adherence to those values is currently not a top priority. For example, in Sochi, Russia, Amnesty International pointed out the suppression of freedom of expression in Russia and requested consequences from the IOC for the awarding of further Games (Amnesty International, 2014). By hosting the Olympic Games in a country that did not meet the basic ethical attitude of the Olympic Games, the credible dissemination of the Olympic values was interrupted. This exemplary paradoxical thesis leads to an unclear signal and responsibilities (Preuss & Alfs, 2011; Preuss & Solberg, 2006; Walker, Heere, Parent, & Drane, 2010; Whannel, 2012). As a result, the European population increasingly shows a problem of trust in hosting the sports mega-event, as people have come to realize that the basic values of the Olympic Games only serve a legitimating function for the interests of stakeholders and that the focus has been, regardless of the host country, on the individual attention satisfaction of economic stakeholders (Boykoff & Zirin, 2016; Cottrell & Nelson, 2010; International Olympic Committee, 2013, 2018; Storm, Wagner, & Nielsen, 2017).

Due to the growth and size of the event, European citizens no longer know what *added value* to expect from hosting the Olympic Games. The population is influenced by negative information, which the media and so-called communication centres communicate, on different aspects of hosting, thus influencing the public opinion of the population. Kim, Choi, and Kaplanidou (2015) show that the expected outcome of the Olympic Games significantly influences the attitude of the audience towards hosting the Games.

This results in a change in civic values and, thus, in the social capital *investment* in society. On the other hand, people increasingly show a trust problem due to the behaviour of and communication by the IOC regarding the reasons for hosting the Olympic Games in their own country or their own city. In this context, they do not find access to the Olympic values to be

a resource. Therefore, amongst others, in recent years, many public referenda held in European countries to host the Olympic Games failed (Imhof, 1996; Könecke, Schubert, & Preuß, 2016; MacAloon, 2016). This is accompanied by an erosion of social trust. The decline in social trust in the Olympic Games is strengthened by the fact that the decision making in this referendum-based democratic process is a long-term process, in which, to date, too few structures have prevailed in democratic parliaments, while short-term organized campaigns overtake the formation of public opinion (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005). The economic and political governance of the Olympic Games are perhaps the greatest example of the criticism of citizens in post-modernism (Brauer, 2014). However, this criticism is primarily directed not at the growth of the Olympic Games themselves or the diversity of sports and side events but at the destination route of the attention maximization of the IOC and the associated erosion of trust.

Figure 2 represents the SCAL for existing social capital, which were discussed in this Chapter. The figure is divided into the three columns. (a) It shows the change of existing social capital in western society, the erosion of social trust and the consequences for Olympic Games. The first column on the left shows the investment, divided into the economic, political and social investment. The second column in the middle shows the environment as interface between investment and added value and how spectators are affected in this environment. The third column on the right shows the resulting added value. Thus, it is checked which preconditions exist in Western democratic nations for the creation of new social capital.

Transformation of Social Capital Investment in Western Democratic Society

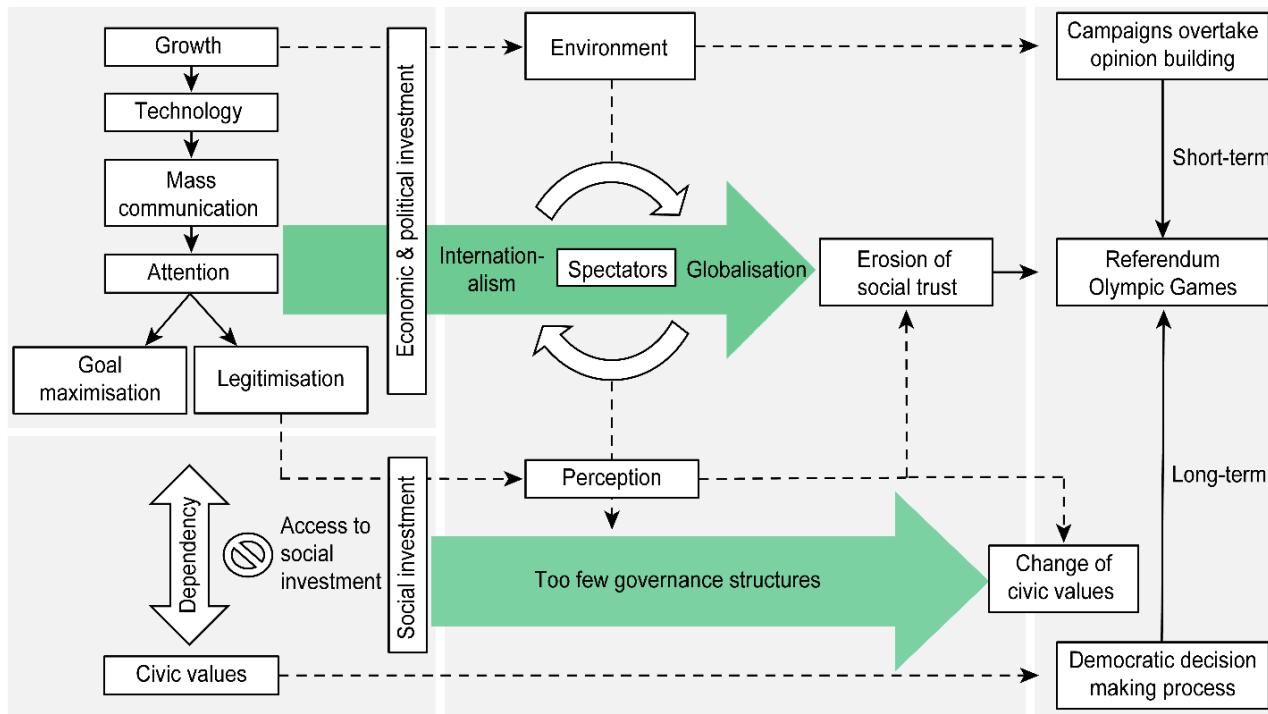


Figure 2. Existing Social Capital in Western Society Regarding Olympic Games

Against this backdrop, however, the Olympic values, in spite of their poorly targeted use at the Olympic Games, can be the key to creating social capital through the Olympic Games. To date, the event management literature has not attached much importance to the meaning of metaphors and symbols. To create this social capital, however, there must be an expert in the creation of the metaphors and symbols from which social capital is constructed (Chalip, 2006).

Above all, this raises the question of how spectators can gain access to the social investment of the Olympic Games in this environment of economic institutional structures and how can they also perceive it.

3. Olympic Values as Social Capital Investment

The Olympic Movement is the action of all stakeholders involved in the process of the Olympic Games, which are elated by the philosophy of Olympism. It is governed by the IOC and has the purpose of educating young people through the practice of sports, thus contributing to the development of a peaceful world. It is based on three central pillars, i.e., the IOC, the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and the International Sport Federations (IFs), and it consists of other members, such as the Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG), athletes, officials and other involved institutions and stakeholders (International Olympic Committee, 2018).

Olympism, as part of the Olympic Movement, takes the normative stance with respect to how the Olympic Games should be governed. The IOC describes this as a “philosophy of life” that combines sport, culture and education and situates sport, through its human and universal value set, as a vehicle for the peaceful development of the world (International Olympic Committee, 2018). The Olympic Games are determined by their core values to disseminate Olympism in the population.

Even the Olympic values are a set of human values that apply to everyone, regardless of nation, gender, religion or ideology. Through their humane basis, they provide an already existing social capital investment in society – resources that, through their human application, are embedded in a social structure and have to be mobilized in purposive actions. Existing social capital facilitates the creation of new knowledge and institutions, which due to their structures have the possibility of distributing and spreading these new ideas internationally (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

Creak (2019) even says that the central Olympic values have created the Olympic Games, and not the Olympic Games have created the Olympic values. Thus far, this statement accords with the claim of social capital theory that the Olympic values, through their existing social capital and *investment* in society, create the Olympic Games in the first place; thus, the Olympic Games, so to speak, are the *added value* of society.

For the emergence of new added value and new social capital through the Olympic Games, there are two initial requirements that have to be taken into account in this investigation. On the one hand, as in existing economic structures, an investment in the form of the Olympic values as a common, inspiring vision is produced (1.1); on the other hand, it is accessed and *perceived* as

added value (1.2). This requires rigour in the discussion of the Olympic values literature and in the modelling of the interdisciplinary context to derive measurable constructs and to realize the potential of the Olympic Games. Therefore, in the subsequent investigation, an initial distinction is made between *production* and *perception*.

Theoretical Discourse on the Production of Olympic Values

Numerous researchers have already been engaged in the normative discourse about the production of Olympic values and how the values should be, and these researchers have defined these values more precisely. First, in the first Olympic Charter in 1908, the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Pierre de Coubertin seeks to make the Olympic celebration accessible through perfection and respect and to base it on the values of its renovator (International Olympic Committee, 1908).

In particular, Coubertin found in the Olympic values of respect, fair play, the pursuit of excellence, joy in effort and the balance between body, mind and will the central companion of the Olympic Movement. In the Olympic Charter of 1950, for the first time, these values are applied to active athletes and passive spectators gives some suggestions as to how they can be implemented in their respective environments. Central to this is the idea that in addition to active athletes, sports spectators should at all times act with dignity and sportsmanship, inside and outside the stadium (International Olympic Committee, 1950). Other researchers, such as Lenk (1963), noted in their discourse on the Olympic Movement that the Olympic values have not really changed with the changes brought by time. He calls for a contemporary intellectual debate on Olympic values that go beyond the sporting core and include further elements. According to DaCosta (2006), these form the core of a so-called “process philosophy” of Olympism, which is derived from the ideas of Coubertin and whose values set the direction.

To make Olympism more understandable and to better communicate it, in 2007, the IOC simplified the articulation of the Olympic values to those values that fit the sporting environment and the contemporary context; this was also done to be able to better merchandise these values (Payne, 2006). The three core values that accompany the Olympic Games from this point in time, for the improvement of human beings and humankind, are excellence, friendship and respect (International Olympic Committee by Steven Maass, 2007). Excellence stands for perfection in action on both the supplier and consumer sides of the Olympic Games.

Friendship involves reaching people all over the world and, therefore, building peace through understanding. Finally, there is respect, which means not only self-respect but also respect for other nations, the environment and fair play. The new core Olympic values present concrete components for a new legitimization of the Olympic Games. However, they have not changed; they have only been made more concrete.

In particular, Lenk agrees with former IOC President Avery Bundage that the benefits such as world-wide “understanding among different people” mainly originate from the symbolic power of the Olympic value system (Lenk, 1982). According to Creak (2019), the effect of these values is symbolic, at least until they are underpinned with far-reaching theory that proves how the Olympic values can effectively be perceived and be implemented in society. In turn, this is consistent with the theory of symbolic capital of Pierre Bourdieu, who states that symbolic capital can be converted to a different form of capital, such as social capital, only if the actors perceive and acquire it (Bourdieu, 1983). However, before the persons involved can acquire the existing capital, according to social capital theory, they must first *perceive* it.

Theoretical Discourse on the Perception of Olympic Values

In the Olympic Charter of 1950, the applicability of the Olympic values for active athletes and passive spectators was already a subject of discussion. Especially in the case of mass amateur athletes, access to the Olympic values is logical and has already been sufficiently studied, as they are an integral part of (Olympic) sports (Downward, Pawlowski, & Rasciute, 2014). In a long-term value study from 1996, Preuss, Schütte, and DaCosta (2014) for the first time examined which values are perceived by passive persons such as Olympic scholars on the one hand, and by the residents of Brazil, the USA and Germany, on the other hand. In 2018, Preuss and Königstorfer confirmed these core values issued by the IOC in their investigation of an Olympic Value Scale (OVS). In studies with Olympic Games experts and residents from the United States and Germany, they verified the perception of the values of the Olympic Movement. They summarized the perceived values in three main categories: “achievement in competition”, “friendly relations with others” and “appreciation of diversity”; subsequently, they expanded the factors to include “enjoyment” and the “value excellence” communicated by the IOC. While the first two categories of the OVS correspond to the core Olympic values of excellence and friendship communicated by the IOC, “appreciation of diversity” corresponds

only in the broadest sense to the third core value, *respect*. In addition, in 2005, in her study of the Olympic values, Chatziefstathiou (2005) discussed in detail how the perception of the values has changed over time. She shows that the involved stakeholders perceive the values depending on the context in different ways and then act accordingly.

Taking a marketing perspective, Woratschek, Horbel, and Popp (2014) confirm the thesis that values not only unilaterally arise from an organization but also emerge in a common value-in-exchange process involving the organization, the public and other stakeholders. Values are value propositions that can, without an inner context, be interpreted in different ways depending on the approach (Parry, 2006). A person on the street has his/her own idea of the Olympic values, and this idea is blended with the individual's heterogeneous mixed motives and value patterns (Bouchet, Bodet, Bernache-Assollant, & Kada, 2011). Depending on the use by the population at the Olympic Games, there are different individual or collective outcomes and different perceptions (Woratschek et al., 2014). Centrally, value for the people involved is always created depending on the context (Horbel, Popp, Woratschek, & Wilson, 2016). Chatziefstathiou and Henry (2012b), summarize the meaning of these values as their use, and each stakeholder uses them in his/her own way.

Thus far, this is consistent with the claim of social capital theory that the added value of the Olympic Games results through its access to its social investment and individual use.

Numerous researchers have already been engaged in scientific studies on the production and basic perception of the Olympic values. However, one of the central limitations in the design of such studies involves the comparison of studies with each other and their interpretation in an overall context since their analyses involved taking different perspectives, such as those of Olympic scholars, residents, ethics or marketing, and the results can be falsified by, for example, organizations, scholars or residents themselves (Koenigstorfer & Preuss, 2018). The degree of bias depends on the experience with the Olympic values.

Theoretical Discourse on the Production of the Added Value of the Olympic Games

As already described in Chapter 1, the added value of the Olympic Games is also often summarized in the theoretical literature under the term impact or legacy or described in terms of leverage. In the literature, the term legacy is clearly distinct from the terms “impact” and “leverage”. The term “impact” describes a short-term stimulus and sets an ex-post focus in the

analysis of the Olympic Games (Preuss, 2007), while the term "legacy" describes a long-term action that arises ex-post at a certain point from "structural changes" and that was initiated by the Olympic Games (Preuss, 2018). The changes are a trigger that results in a change in the natural function of the system. The term "leverage", however, is defined as a preparatory strategy and tactic and has an ex-ante focus on the production of positive event legacies, with the ultimate goal of impacts or legacies (Chalip, 2006).

Constituting a legacy is difficult, as it is a multi-dimensional construct (Agha, Fairley, & Gibson, 2012). It can be positive in one area, but at the same time it can be negative in a different area (Preuss, 2007). In an extensive report, Scheu and Preuss (2017) describe the state-of-the-art of legacy research on the Olympic Games. In doing so, the legacy of the Olympic Games is examined more precisely in six different studies in the fields of urban development, environmental enhancement, policy and governance, skills, knowledge and networks, intellectual property and beliefs and behaviour. However, the focus in these areas lies predominantly on the collection and *production* of structural changes in infrastructure systems, tourism, sports markets or the democracy of sports or signalling effects by the host nation (Funk, Mahony, Nakazawa, & Hirakawa, 2001; Kaplanidou, 2009). Therefore, several researchers emphasize that there is a major lack of perceptions of and access to intangible legacies, as these are more difficult to quantify (Li & McCabe, 2013). Especially structural changes in the fields of attitudes and perceptions can help to explain the development of social capital among spectators. It is important to understand that, in turn, social capital creation at the Olympic Games is an important prerequisite and the most important step for the successful implementation of a long-term intangible legacy.

Theoretical Discourse on the Perception of the Added Value of the Olympic Games Depending on the Environment

In a longitudinal study before, during and after the Olympic Games in Vancouver in 2010, Karadakis and Kaplanidou (2012), evaluate host and non-host residents' perception of a legacy. This approach includes, in addition to the stakeholder group of residents who have already been extensively researched, further spectator groups. They take social exchange theory as a basis, which in this context means that the attitude of the residents towards the expected legacy and the expected outcomes complies with what the residents expect in return (Fredline, 2005). Thus, in

their assessment, socio-cultural efforts in addition to environmental and economic efforts account for the utmost importance for the respondents. Additionally, Preuss, Seguin, and O'Reilly (2007), classify different event-affected groups of persons during the event time as, among other things, residents, tourists and event visitors in their analysis of the Olympic Games, but they do so to determine their economic impact.

The production and perception of the Olympic values themselves and of an Olympic legacy have already been investigated by several researchers, but not in regard to their dependence on the environment. In addition, the mechanism of adaptation and transmission of the Olympic values as a function of the given social environment has not yet been addressed. In particular, in relation to the environment, the perception of the Olympic values changes with the mindset; such changes are induced by different frames and can lead to a change in perception.

Therefore, there is a need for further investigation, not of the perception of the values themselves or of their direct benefits but, rather, the perception of Olympic values in different environments serves as the explanatory factor and proxy for a mindset and value orientation in the population as also described by Coubertin's basic idea of Olympism at the beginning of the dissertation. This provides a key parameter for the social capital of spectators (Barrett, Mesquita, & Gendron, 2011). Therefore, in this chapter, (2) the *environment* in which the mental attitude of spectators takes effect is a second requirement. In particular, the mindset of the spectator regarding the Olympic values, as the main investment in society, represents the social leverage to create new social capital through the platform of the Olympic Games depending on different environments.

The theory of attention development states that a fundamental human perception or action does not necessarily precede a state of focused attention (Sohlberg & Mateer, 1987). If a state of perception, however, is changed or should be changed, attention is the critical trigger point that precedes a new human perception or action (Norman & Shallice, 1986).

Since the Olympic Games are not a unidimensional product but a situational business system, the different socio-economic environments must be taken into account. Such environments create and control the attention of the population to determine the added value of the Olympic Games and, thus, their social capital in accordance with communicating the Olympic philosophy of "building a better world through sport" in the perception of the wider population. Depending on which environment of the social structure resources – in this particular case, the activated

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Olympic values – are embedded in, they can also be differently accessed and mobilized in purposive actions.

Therefore, in different environments, attention to and the mindset towards the Olympic values are the central point of *access* and either are contingent based on external circumstances, or must first be created. Although the values of each individual can be interpreted in different ways depending on their use, a shared vision still represents a common result (Freeman & Gilbert, 1988). Based on common goals, attention forms different groups of individuals with diverse, common objectives, in which they can be examined. Hence, there is a need for a systematic survey of the recipients of the Olympic message in environments in which the recipients each have a different degree of attention to this message.

This study examined a population group of spectators (open networks) covering all natural persons who are affected in their everyday life by the Olympic Games and follow them; however, it excludes professional participants and economic and political stakeholders of the Olympic Games.

4. Research Design and Methodology

The IOC creates attention maximization to satisfy economic stakeholders. But the principle of attention maximization is also crucial for a social investigation, but in this case, to maximize the involvement of the spectator and thus to be able to provide a trigger for a change in perception (Wright, 1973). While basic business research analyses the involvement of individuals depending on their level of attention to products and purchase decisions (Richins & Bloch, 1986; Zaichkowsky, 1985), the purpose of this research is to target the involvement of spectators depending on their attention to their value orientation at the Olympic Games in different environments to derive recommendations for action and governance strategies. The personal relevance of an issue is one determinant of the route of persuasion that has to be followed (Petty, Cacioppo, & Goldman, 1981).

Therefore, in table 1, Zaichkowsky's (1985) involvement framework is modified for the Olympic Games depending on the following factors in response to the environment:

i.)	Personal	Personal norms and values that motivate engagement with the Olympic Games as well as the experience channel of the Olympic Games that increases interest in the Olympic Games
ii.)	Situational	The inner event environment, based on the format and event context
iii.)	Governmental	The outer event environment, based on governmental and environmental characteristics that increase interest in the Olympic Games

Table 1. Olympic Spectator Involvement Framework (OSIF)

i) The personal environment explains the personal standards and values that cause the spectator to engage with the Olympic Games. In this investigation, it mainly concerns the communication path that spectators choose to interact with the Olympic Games. Due to the large amount of information, the recipient probably has to spend more time selecting and making a decision with regard to whether and how he/she wants to experience the information. The recipient depends on critical information for this decision (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In deciding, the population can therefore be overburdened due to the wealth of information (Jacoby, 1984).

According to Webster (2006), this can lead to either of the following:

- (1) Theoretical knowledge and observation of the information or whether the information is useful to the individual, or
- (2) Practical knowledge and (emotional) experience of the information.

Furthermore, the spectators' experience channel categorizes how spectators experience the Olympic Games. Since the aim of the analysis of this work focuses on the reaction in different environments and non-economic determinants, the term "experience" has been chosen, and the term "consumption channel" has been intentionally rejected.

In accordance with the 1950 Olympic Charter, this results in two central survey contexts. Spectators are interviewed personally on site, live at the Olympic Games and online, broadcast. Neuroscientific studies confirm the assumption that an emotional context, such as a live visit to a stadium, cannot manipulate the perception of spectators as easily as a neutral context, such that of a broadcast spectators group, which can strongly manipulate the perception of spectators (Pastor et al., 2008).

ii) The situational context refers to the inner event environment of the platform. This environment can be divided into various Olympic Game formats: The Summer Olympic Games (SOG), Winter Olympic Games (WOG) and Winter YOG.

The SOG are the largest format of the Olympic family. The last time they were held, in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, they attracted the participation of 11,238 athletes from 207 countries in 306 medal events. The WOG represent the second largest format. In the last WOG in Pyeongchang in 2018, 2,833 athletes from 92 countries took part in 102 medal events. The Winter YOG in Lillehammer in 2016 are the smallest and most recent event format. A total of 1,067 athletes from 71 countries visited and took part in 70 medal events (International Olympic Committee, 2019a). The event context includes the following four levels in the environment of hosting the Olympic Games in which the spectator will be confronted: before the application, before the hosting, during the hosting and after the hosting.

In the environment before the application to host the Olympic Games, the application committee must proceed through different phases. The first is the invitation phase. In this phase, the IOC aims to have a dialog with the potential candidate cities and invites them to Lausanne to present

their ideas for the Olympic Games. At the end of this phase, the interested candidate cities are invited to announce an official candidature in the application process. This is also the period in which citizen referenda were held for the staging of the 2022 Olympic Games in Munich and for the 2024 Olympic Games in Hamburg. The referendum on the WOG in Munich failed in November 2013, nine years before the planned staging of the event. The referendum on the 2024 SOG in Hamburg failed in November 2015, also nine years before the planned staging of the event. Könecke et al. (2016) noticed that in the media, the awarding of the Olympic Games has a negative reputation, for example, due to corruption, and that negative reputation is projected onto the Olympic Games. Additionally, Wicker and Coates (2018), identify a lack of trust in Olympic officials and propose to dispense with a voluntary referendum for future German applications since citizens need more detailed information to vote.

If a nation overcomes the hurdle of official candidature, then the applying city is officially a candidate city. This part takes two years, in which the candidate city works in different phases – vision, games and strategy, governance legal and funding, delivery, experience and venue legacy – towards the election in the IOC session. Since the London Olympic Games in 2012, the Paralympic Games must also be included in the concept of the candidate city. In case of a successful candidature, the Paralympic Games are hosted by the OCOG and are organized by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC), which is based in Bonn, Germany (International Paralympic Committee, 2019). Since the Paralympic Games are based on different basic values, they will not be further considered in this investigation.

It is then at the IOC session that the host city is finally selected, leaving seven years for planning the staging of the Games (International Olympic Committee, 2019b). In this phase, the orientation and the purpose of the Olympic Games become visible. In doing so, many interests face each other, for example, corporate, state, civic, and sporting interests and interests tied to self-imagining and host city re-branding (Falcous & Silk, 2010).

iii) The third perspective, the governmental context, deals with the outer event context: (Youth) Summer and (Youth) Winter Olympic Games are hosted every four years in a host city around the globe, that has a variety of governmental and environmental requirements. Kurscheidt, Preuss & Schütte (2008) show that the input-output relation at sport mega events also depends on the governmental environment. While one event can produce overall positive macro-economic outcomes in one country, it can produce different results in another country. Based on this

phenomenon, there have been frequent discussions with regard to organizing the Olympic Games, whether the Olympic Games can take place several locations at the same time, or organizing them at a fixed location to end the rotation of Olympic Games (Dure, 2016). This would reduce the load on a single city; however, it does not conform with the basic philosophy of the Olympic Games: bringing athletes and spectators together at different locations.

Generating Quantitative Data on Olympic Spectators

The aim was to address a wide variety of spectators from different governmental environments. Western democratic governments and governments with ongoing issues in their own country were involved. Therefore, quantitative surveys of the Olympic Games have been conducted in Sochi, Russia, in 2014, Lillehammer Norway, in 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2016, and in Pyeongchang South Korea, in 2018; surveys were also conducted with regard to the applications of Munich, Germany, for 2022, Hamburg, Germany, for 2024, and Rhine-Ruhr, Germany, for 2032. The interviews took place across all formats: the SOG, WOG and the YOG. Furthermore, different event contexts, such as before the application and before, during and after hosting, were integrated. Spectators who experienced the Olympic Games live on site and via broadcast through digital media were interviewed in both contexts. A total of $N=9.884$ spectators from different environments completed the overall survey.

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The following table 2 represents the categorization of the spectators and the interview (OSIF) in their respective event contexts.

Governmental		Situational							Personal				
	Format	Event Context							Spectator Experience Channel		Interview Context		N
		Summer Olympic Games	Winter Olympic Games	Youth Olympic Games	Before application	Before hosting	During hosting	After hosting	Live	Broadcast	On site	Broadcast	
Sochi Russia 2014		✓				✓				✓		GER	266
Lillehammer Norway 2016			✓				✓		✓		NOR		275
Rio de Janeiroiro Brazil 2016	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	BRA	BRA GER	1.609
Pyeongchang South Korea 2018		✓				✓	✓			✓		GER	2.736
Munich Germany 2022		✓		✓					✓		GER	GER	541
Hamburg Germany 2024	✓			✓					✓		GER	GER	1.279
Rhine-Ruhr Germany 2032	✓			✓					✓		GER	GER	3.178
												Σ	9.884

Table 2. Empirical Overview Categorized into the Olympic Spectator Involvement Framework (OSIF)

In this broad sampling, a total of $N= 2078$ spectators are analysed in this dissertation in the three most contrasting environments: the 2014 WOG in Sochi, the 2016 YOG in Lillehammer and the 2016 SOG in Rio de Janeiro.

Table 3 classifies the three contrasting environments into the OSIF analysis level and the SCAL.

Sampling	OSIF Analysis Level	Interviewees	Event Context	Interview Context	SCAL	Article
Environment 1	Governmental, Situational Personal	Spectators (N=266)	Before the Winter Olympic Games	Broadcast	(a) Mainly existing social capital; (b) the creation of new social capital	Article 1, Article 3
Environment 2	Governmental, Situational Personal	Spectators (N=1609-72 employees)	Before, during and after the Summer Olympic Games	Live & Broadcast	(a) Existing social capital; (b) mainly the creation of new social capital	Article 2
Environment 3	Governmental, Situational Personal	Spectators (N=275)	During the Youth Olympic Games	Live	(a) Existing social capital; (b) mainly the creation of new social capital	Article 2

Table 3. Sampling Stages Combined with the Social Capital Analysis Levels Measurement

Environment 1

The WOG took place in Sochi, Russia, from 7 to 23 March 2014. With a budget of \$55 billion, they are considered to be “the most expensive Olympic Games of all time” and are also known as a gigantic project. Sochi is known as Russia’s most popular summer destination with a subtropical climate, and it was believed that the city was unfavourable for successfully hosting the WOG. The competitions took place approximately 50 km west of Adler in the west Caucasian mountains, and all of the venues and facilities had to be newly built in a nature reserve without the guarantee of snow. In this process, residents were resettled, and human rights were violated. In Germany, the preparation for the Olympic Games received highly critical reportage in the media. In this extremely negative environment in Germany, a survey was conducted as a cross-sectional convenience sample from 8 September to 18 October. The survey was conducted in German and was positioned as an online survey by a survey assistant in online forums and social media. The participation of N=266 potential broadcast spectators was self-selected based on interest and was independent of external funding.

After the survey, the data were captured by the survey assistant and prepared for further data processing. The questions are included in the Sochi data manual in Annex B (pages 158 following). The questionnaire was designed both to obtain the attitude of potential broadcast spectators towards the WOG within the environment of gigantism as well as offered solutions to

the problems of gigantism and involving the YOG. Therefore, the sample was a highly informative source for Article 1 and Article 3. Further insights into the environment and a more detailed explication of the interview selection process and data generation are presented in Article 1, on pages 66 following and in Article 3, on pages 127 following. A follow-up investigation was conducted with the same survey at the 2018 WOG in Pyeongchang with N=440 respondents. In an additional survey about the Olympic Games, the German Olympic Sports Confederation (DOSB) supported the investigation. With their support the author was able to administer the survey to N=2296 potential broadcast spectators.

Environment 2

The SOG were held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 5 to 21 August 2016, the first Olympic Games to be held in South America. Brazil is a country as large as some continents; it has a diverse culture and social inequality. Rio de Janeiro and the country were suffering from various social, economic and political problems. Safety issues, as well as cost overruns and corruption scandals, were overshadowing the event. Additionally, health risks caused by the Zika virus frightened the athletes and visitors (McGowan, 2016). This environment was considered the “worst environment ever”. Regarding the preparation for the Games, the media coverage was also particularly negative. In the first part of the survey, N=930 potential broadcast spectators were enquired regarding their attitude towards the upcoming games. The survey took place from 1 to 8 July in Bayreuth, Germany, a medium-sized town, in the pedestrian area on a self-administered, paper-pencil basis. This procedure represented a reliable sampling and forced to control for every questionnaire during data entry. Thus, invalid or dubious responses were easily detected (Li, Pitts, & Quarterman, 2008). An online survey with N=219 respondents ran in parallel. During the event, some stadiums with partly empty tiers had to be protected by soldiers and tanks. The fear of illness caused by mosquitos was unfounded because the temperatures in the Brazilian winter were not suitable for mosquitos. Due to their joyousness and desire to celebrate, the Brazilians frequently created “Olympic moments”. During the games, N=388 live spectators were consulted at the Olympic Games through direct social contact from 11 to 20 August. To reach many different spectators, they were interviewed on a self-administered, paper-pencil basis at the beach volleyball facility at Copacabana, at the Olympic festival areas at Ipanema, in the city centre and at the German House in Barra da Tijuca. After the Olympic Games in Brazil, another online sample was conducted with N=72 employees of the German House in Rio de Janeiro. However,

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this sample is not incorporated into further examination. Conducting the survey in two different environments, i.e., before and while hosting the Games, made it possible to measure the relationship between them. After the survey, the data were collected and prepared for further processing. The questions are included in the Rio de Janeiro data manual in Annexe B (pages 177 following). Further insights into the environment, the interview selection process and data generation are presented in Article 2, on pages 94 following. In the Education First (EF) English Proficiency Index, Brazil is categorized under “low knowledge” (ranking 55th) (EF, 2019); therefore, the questionnaire was translated into two other languages by the author so that the spectators had them in three languages: German, English and Portuguese.

Environment 3

The YOG took place on 21 to 21 February 2016 in Lillehammer, Norway. In 1994, the Winter Olympic Games were hosted in Lillehammer, and they are considered the “best Olympic Games of all time”. At that time, there were no excessive security measures necessary, and the Norwegians were extremely hospitable. Winter sports are an integral part of life in Norway, and the residents of the country love them. The spacious snow and great weather contributed to the perfect mood, and the enthusiasm became evident in the preparation for and staging of the Games (Caple, 2014). It seemed easy to successfully host the YOG in this environment. Additionally, in 2016, it was possible to host the YOG without enormous safety measures due to the friendly hosts, sufficient natural snow and perfect weather conditions. N= 275 live spectators were consulted at the YOG from 13 to 19 February through direct social contact. To reach many different spectators, the survey was conducted at the Olympic stadium, the pedestrian area in Lillehammer and at the main station.

After the survey, the data were collected and prepared for further processing. The questions are included in the Lillehammer data manual in Annexe B (pages 233 following). Further insights can be found in Article 2, on pages 94 following. The questionnaire was translated into English by the author, and was provided in only English since 90% of the citizens speak English and Norway is one of the top five nations in EF English Proficiency Index (EF, 2019).

Quality Criteria

To legitimize the data collection in the environments, the following quality criteria are discussed, along the survey.

Objectivity

Objectivity represents the independence of the results of the persons who are involved in participating within the implementation, evaluation, and interpretation of the samples (Himme, 2009). Since the majority of the data in this work is produced by using the paper-pencil method and in direct social contact by the author, it can be ensured that a similar amount of information is provided to the participants and that they are contacted in the same way. When survey assistants were involved in the data collection, they oriented the respondents using a guideline that was provided by the author. The online surveys were provided standardized by Qualtrics software. Double blind review by international journals has further enhanced the objectivity of the interpretation.

Reliability in Attitude Measurement

A study is defined as reliable when the same measurement under the same conditions will lead to the same results. Attitude questions that offer more response options normally have higher reliabilities because respondents are allowed to make a concrete response that reflects their particular attitude. The “don't know” option constitutes an exception because the respondents have no attitude towards the issue. Alwin and Krosnick (1991), show that older respondents with less schooling provide the least reliable attitude reports. In all surveys during the conception of the questionnaire, attention was paid to the use of 5-point Likert scales to offer different response options. In particular, in the Lillehammer and Rio de Janeiro surveys and the surveys regarding gigantism issues, younger people with high levels of education were highly represented; thus, their attitude reports should meet the criteria for reliability.

Validity in Attitude Measurement

Validity is a very important quality criterion in attitude measurement. In the questionnaires used, it is possible that the Likert score does not always correspond to the true attitude of the spectators. Sometimes, respondents complete a questionnaire based on their social desirability and present themselves as open minded and unprejudiced (Roberts, Laughlin, & Wedell, 1999). To increase the validity of the measurement of a complex phenomenon, in empirical social science research, the method of triangulation is used. Data triangulation within a chosen sampling method means the collection of different data for the same phenomenon to better

understand the phenomenon. Data collection, for example, in different times or at different locations, gives the researcher a new perspective on the investigated phenomenon (Denzin, 2009). In particular, the variance in places, situations, events, times and persons adds value to a study because of the possibility of obtaining different data or underlining similar patterns (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Thurmond, 2001). The triangulation of the data can be ensured since the data were scattered across various locations, were collected at different times, and were obtained from different spectators because the surveys were conducted in different governmental, situational and personal environments. This supports a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of social capital creation at the Olympic Games.

Limitations

A limitation of the data collection can be found in environment 1. The questionnaires were not specifically designed to measure the constructs of interest regarding social capital and the YOG (Paper 3). Nevertheless, there were a number of items in the questionnaire that met methodological needs or were close proxies for relevant constructs and that were sufficient to measure the mindset of the spectators. Furthermore, the relatively small sample size was not satisfactory and could not guarantee representativeness, but the samples exhibited enough variance and randomness to meet statistical requirements. The statistical validity is sufficient for early findings. That said, the findings have to be verified in follow-up studies. As already described in regard to environment 1, during the Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang, a collaboration with the DOSB facilitated conducting a follow-up survey with N= 2736 spectators.

5. Findings

Three articles provide the bridge between theory and practice and specifically discuss the different SCAL in the different environments presented. In this chapter, a summary of the theoretical and practical findings of the three articles is provided. In Chapter 6, which follows, these insights are incorporated into the overall general context (3), and recommendations for specific governance strategies for the Olympic Movement, for the effective implementation of added value and for the creation of new social capital will be given. Since the theoretical and practical studies lie in the interdisciplinary environment of the Olympic Movement, where commercialism, gigantism and societal values interact, the articles have also been published in different interdisciplinary areas, such as sports management, general sports science and sports research. The latter field combines the research interests of three German institutions – an unification of the German Association of Sports Science, the German Federal Institute of Sports Science and the DOSB.

Article 1

Kurscheidt, M. & Prüschenk, N. (2020). Attitudes Toward Olympic Gigantism: Evidence from Germany. *German Journal of Exercise and Sport Research*.
Doi: 10.1007/s12662-019-00642-w

Conducting a study on the run-up to the WOG in Sochi and against the backdrop of the failed bid for the 2022 WOG in Munich, this article discusses two research questions: *how do German residents respond to major issues of the Olympic Movement against the backdrop of “Olympic gigantism” and how to effectively communicate to residents of Olympic candidate cities, with the objective of securing public support for the bid?* Regression analyses show that respondents who appreciate the Olympic idea are significantly less critical towards the size and costs of hosting the WOG. Therefore, future communication strategies may emphasize the social goals of the Olympic Games.

In the words of IOC President Thomas Bach as he ended his congratulatory remarks regarding the awarding of the 2026 WOG, “the passion and knowledge of Italian fans will create the perfect atmosphere, combining the attractions of a modern European metropolis with a classic Alpine environment”. Previously, the WOG were hosted three times in new Eastern sport regions

governed by autocratic regimes. In the public and academic literature, the socio-political constellations in which these WOG took place were associated with dysfunctional developments of the Olympic values with regard to economic, sociological and ecological sustainability. Now, however, they once again take place in a Western democratic nation. Hence, in the intellectual debate on the Olympic Games, there arise two main branches that try to develop solutions to manage the key problem of the Olympic system: gigantism and legacy. While the 1994 Olympic Games in Lillehammer represented an environmentally friendly approach to organizing Games and fulfilled their legacy goals, the negative impressions of the 2014 WOG in Sochi put challenges on the agenda, such as the growing size and escalating costs of the Olympic Games.

However, the original starting point of Olympic growth has been the trends of globalization and commercialization, which have impacted the international sports business in general. For instance, the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo were the first to be internationally broadcast and to reach worldwide attention, leading to a high number of participating countries, athletes and visitors at the Olympic Games. Later, the Olympic system was further expanded by the global trend of digitalization. In general, regarding the Olympic Games, there is a distinction between exogenous growth drivers, such as demand shifts, population growth and transport and infrastructural investments, and endogenous growth drivers, such as technological innovation accompanied by human and social investments, for example, strategically extending the sports programme of the Olympics. The urban governance structure of staging the Olympic Games bundles these exogenous and endogenous growth drivers by activating local growth machines, such as urban networks of corporate actors, and linking them to international business. In particular, autocratic states tend to spend large amounts in their pursuit of global recognition and to signal the political and economic strength of the host country to its population. However, there are also other mechanisms in the Olympic system, such as the bidding process, which can fuel a cost spiral.

The population is aware of costly, publicly funded facilities without sufficient after use; thus, numerous referenda on Olympic bids in Western democratic countries have failed during the past decade, making the IOC more dependent on autocratic states. However, there is no straightforward approach to providing a theoretical explanation of the greater perception of residents since the phenomenon of the Olympic Games is a multi-faceted symptom of various

Findings

causes and residents are confronted with this complexity. Previous findings suggest that the socio-economic environment and media tendencies coverage to influence the public perception of the Olympic Games.

Against this backdrop, the attitudes of the population in Western democratic countries towards Olympic gigantism and the determinants of these attitudes are a key subject for Olympic studies and for voting for or against Olympic bids. Therefore, a multi-purpose survey on the attitudes of German residents towards Olympic gigantism was conducted. It is highly insightful from a German perspective because the online survey ($N=266$ with $N=192$ valid finishers) was conducted four months prior to the 2014 WOG in Sochi and one month prior to the negative referendum on the bid for 2022 Olympic Games in Munich, controlling for media influence. Most importantly, the survey has two proxies for the difficult construct of Olympic gigantism (“too large”, which has a causal relationship with being “too expensive”) and two proxies for the appreciation of the Olympic idea (“the idea is important” and “the idea conveys values”). Since previous research found that basic beliefs are crucial in the decision-making of voters with regard to a referendum on Olympic bids, such rough measures are sufficient. While the size of the Olympic Games plays a greater role for only business-oriented respondents, more than half of the respondents evaluate the Games as being too expensive. However, those with a general interest in sports might perceive the expenditures as being worthwhile because of the sporting cause and the upgraded sporting entertainment. Regression analysis on the construct of Olympic values within the environment of gigantism shows that the higher the appreciation for Olympic values is, the lower the scepticism towards Olympic gigantism. This result is in line with findings on business-oriented respondents, who are shown to be equally interested in social standards. Hence, first, strengthening the Olympic values in the Olympic system would be a dominant strategy to raise support for Olympic bids. Residents who are inspired by the Olympic idea tend to be significantly less concerned with Olympic gigantism. Second, the hosting model may place a credible emphasis on the social goals and expected social legacy of the Olympic Games. Third, communication officers need to honestly thematize the Olympics not only as a luxury good but also as a generational project that can serve as an educational opportunity and is a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

There is a further need for substantially larger and differently clustered sampling and for further theory development regarding Olympic gigantism based on social capital theory.

Article 2

Prüschenk, N. & Kurscheidt, M. (2020). Towards a Model of Olympic Social Capital: Theory and Early Evidence. *Current Issues in Sport Science*, 5(1).
Doi: 10.15203/CISS_2020.001

This article is structured in two parts. Regarding the first research question, the article discusses how the *concept of social capital is associated with the construct of Olympism and the Olympic values*, called *Olympic capital*. Then, it examines the social exchange of Olympic messages and the symbolism created by live spectators compared to broadcast spectators. While the former are a smaller group than the latter, they are much more exposed to the experience of the Olympic values. The article also discusses the second research question: *what is the strongest moderating variable within the OSIF framework that changes spectators' perception of the Olympic values? Is it the experience channel, the intensity of emotional exposure and/or the governmental or situational environment?* The overall findings answer the third research question and show that the amount of *live Olympic capital generally tends to be larger than the amount of broadcast Olympic capital*.

Social capital creation is argued following Putnam's theory of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Based on Bourdieu, the construct of Olympism, which is based on the three Olympic values of excellence, friendship, and respect, is divided into three different social environments that can be applied to the Olympic Games. These values build a social context and become relational qualifications through social interaction: Olympism through (1) active sports and passive sports as well as (2) local live and (3) broadcast consumption. Bonding social capital is found in smaller, strongly inter-connected groups, such as in the case of active athletes at the Olympic Games. These meet all three social capital creation criteria: the same goal (victory), the same experience (excellence, effort), and simultaneity (experience). Bridging social capital is found in heterogeneous groups, such as in the case of passive Olympic spectators. Due to their (social and economic) needs, spectators have no common goals in regard to their consumption of sports mega-events. Depending on their experience of the spectator experience channel context (live or broadcast), they are categorized into a social context in which they have stronger or weaker emotional exposure and perceive a simultaneous experience. The bridging social capital of Olympic spectators is created by decentralized mutual exchange, and therefore, it cannot be

directly influenced by the IOC or the OCOG; it can be influenced only indirectly through institutionalized structures, linking social capital. Bonding and bridging social capital are thus supplemented by the linking capital of commodification, which extends from global media coverage to global awareness. These three types of capital convey social capital, now called Olympic capital, from the micro level of the individual dimension to a collective phenomenon on the macro level of the social dimension. Olympic capital is therefore multiplied by the forces of the market mechanism and requires effective governance depending on the respective experience channel. The division into the two social contexts of live and broadcast is supported by the theory of two-sided markets, as the broadcast demand for a sporting event depends on the general interest in the event documented by the live attendance.

The group of live spectators not only perceives the Olympic Games simultaneously but also experiences them in a leisure context and actively shapes the event through the social interaction of group members. Therefore, this study group meets two of the three criteria for long-term social capital creation. The length and intensity or emotional exposure is the moderating variable; it saves the experience in the long-term episodic memory of the spectators and hence creates live Olympic capital or leads to inattentional blindness. A positive perception definitively has a stronger impact on the willingness to apply experience and take self-actions. In the broadcast spectator group, however, the information selection process in the media agenda-setting context is the moderating variable; in everyday life, this process leads spectators to decide to watch the Olympic Games. Semantic memory is created by observation. In the bridging social capital group of broadcast spectators, this results in a smaller amount of broadcast Olympic capital. There is still simultaneity while watching, but the experience is lacking; thus, the broadcast spectator group meets only one of the three social capital creation criteria. The lack of personnel exchange should be replaced by communication. This form of capital can then be converted into live capital if the observed message corresponds to a personal experience and if it confirms beliefs. This live capital can then not only create Olympic capital but also evolve into an investment in business development.

Therefore, the (a) live or (b) broadcast experience channel, the intensity of emotional exposure and (c) the environment constitute the centre of interest. The first proposition (1)(a), according to which the Olympic capital created by Olympic values is higher among live spectators than among broadcast spectators, was significantly confirmed in a live sample ($N=585$) and a

broadcast sample (N=1149) drawn from the YOG in Lillehammer, Norway, and the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, using descriptive and multivariate analysis procedures. The Lillehammer YOG (LYOG) sample represented a positive governmental environment of legacy, whereas the governmental environment of the Rio de Janeiro Olympic Games (ROG) was seen as the worst ever. The second proposition tests whether (2)(b) a higher intensity of emotional exposure and (c) a positive environment result in a higher amount of Olympic capital. In the group of live spectators at the ROG and LYOG, (b) the higher intensity of emotional exposure as a moderating variable for the ROG and (c) the positive environment for the spectators of the LYOG was confirmed.

In the next examination, the relationship between intensity and the environment should be examined in more detail to derive concrete management implications.

Article 3

Prüschenk, N., & Kurscheidt, M. (2017). Do the Youth Olympic Games have the potential to shift perceptions of Olympism? Evidence from young people's views on Olympic values. *International Journal for Sport Management and Marketing*, 17(4/5/6), 351-380. Doi: 10.1504/IJSMM.2017.10008117

This article discusses the research question of *whether the YOG make it possible, through their young and new format, to change spectators' perception of the Olympic values*. Logit regression in a German study on the run-up to the controversial WOG in Sochi shows that especially young spectators appreciate the YOG more than older respondents. In particular, for younger people, there is a chance for the Olympic Movement to foster Olympic values.

The commercialized environment of the Olympic Games endangers the transmission of the Olympic idea and social capital creation. The economic success of the Olympic Games is a financial blessing for the Games themselves but a curse for the IOC in regard to conveying the Olympic idea. Expanding the sports programme to include five new sports at the Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo, the Olympic Games capitalized on innovation, flexibility and trends, and it did so less on the basis of their claim to leadership and more on the basis of their claim to excellence and prestige. Therefore, in the global perception of spectators and, in particular, European spectators, public referenda have shown that there is a level of discomfort that is predominantly based on the tangible parts of event organization and the lack of trust in

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politicians and sports officials. Declining social trust, however, is not only a problem for the Olympic Games but also a general phenomenon facing large institutions in post-modern societies. Within this socio-economic environment, it is even more difficult to create lasting positive effects from staging the Olympic Games. Such effects require a cooperative approach of top-down and bottom-up organizing processes to create social capital in the population. However, not only changes in the linking organization but also a shift in the attitude of spectators can create lasting effects and, thus, bonding or bridging social capital through shared experiences. While the emergence of social capital is similar in each context, its size is dependent on the social, political and economic environment. The more social capital is present, the greater the return of the associated individuals.

As a young, new, modest event format that took place for the first time in 2010, the YOG were created to support young athletes between 14-18 years of age and, in particular, strengthen the Olympic values at a young age, placing less emphasis on the competitive meaning of excellence. They appear more like the Olympic Games of a century ago, and therefore, the YOG appear to be better suited than the SOG or WOG to serve as an environment in which to shift attitudes of Olympism. Nevertheless, whether the IOC will pursue commercial interests in hosting the YOG and whether the education planned for athletes can be transferred to spectators remain open questions.

This investigation has deliberately chosen not to explain the construct of Olympism to spectators. Similar to the construct of “friendship”, spectators have a personal connection to the term, and indeed, this connection is directed by official structures, but it is shaped by their own experiences and perceptions. Thus, Olympism is assessed as a construct with a positive or negative interpretive connotation. For this purpose, a natural experiment and social litmus test of perceptions of Olympism were conducted in Germany (N=192) during the negative governmental context created by the highly controversial 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi. If such a persistence of appreciation of Olympic values was observed, it can be supposed that it constitutes the precondition for the accumulated *social capital of the Olympic Movement* to be leveraged and renewed. Against this backdrop, it is remarkable that still two-thirds of the respondents value the Olympic idea and that more than 80% view it as being an integral part of the Olympics, embodying bridging social capital. However, social capital is not completely eroded. Controlling for confounders, multivariate analysis shows that elderly respondents believe

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in the function of the Games as a platform for Olympism, while young adults (age 20-30) perceive the games as a professionalized and commercialized mega-event. This difference may be an indication of a certain erosion of Olympic values, especially among young people. Here, targeted campaigns of Olympic education surrounding the Olympic Games are necessary to re-involve youth. From the social capital creation perspective, the social capital creation that arises in young people builds the basis for trust and respect when they grow older.

However, the results show that young adults appreciate the YOG significantly more than older generations. Young respondents prefer the YOG to be centred on new and trendy sports rather than focusing on mega-event components such as opening ceremony or competitions. Here, the presentation of the Olympic Games mega-event seems to better satisfy the interest in spectacle and excellence. This positively influences the appreciation of the YOG. Thus, positive perceptions of Olympism are more likely to be found among respondents valuing the YOG. This is clear evidence for the potential of the YOG to revive Olympism. The environment of the YOG provides a different reality that endorses a smaller-scale social, economic and political agenda to be filled with sustainable content. Non-significant findings show that the respondents are less affected by negative media coverage of the Olympic Games. Therefore, the YOG do not need governance measures concerning conflicting effects; rather, the YOG should be strengthened. Together with the basic appreciation for the format, the YOG offers a fruitful platform that raises positive connotations of Olympism. Here, the key policy is to keep the YOG as pure and original as they currently are. On the one hand, creating more awareness of the YOG would attract more young people; on the other hand, this would inevitably be accompanied by some degree of rationalization and commercialization.

This study provides insight into the inner relationships between the perception of Olympism and the YOG from the perspective of young adults and serves as a model for further research on the social capital creation of sports and Olympism.

6. Discussion: Social Capital Creation Through Olympic Games

The aim of this dissertation was to demonstrate the use and transfer of Olympic values in society that create new social capital in society. At the beginning of the investigation, six access points of social capital creation among spectators were listed, which were discussed in the individual articles. In this chapter, the key findings of the articles are presented against the backdrop of the theoretical framework of social capital, the interrelationships are shown and concrete governance strategies are discussed to create *new social capital* through the Olympic Games (3). Furthermore, it is summarized, in which of the presented environments the emergence of new social capital for spectators is especially favoured.

Governance Strategies for Creating New Social Capital Through Olympic Games

As described at the beginning of this work, a one-sided instrumentalization of the Olympic Games for social purposes is not possible. To create new social capital through the Olympic Games, the IOC and the OCOG must regularly intervene in various social, economic and political levels of the organization process of the Olympic Games. How commodification impacts social capital creation is a question of effective governance. At the levels of the event contexts, before the application and before, during and after hosting, effective governance can regulate investment in the form of the Olympic values and establish appropriate structures and channels to enable access to spectators. The *added value* and direct experience of spectators, however, cannot be influenced by the OCOG or the IOC. They are only indirectly controllable by institutionalized linking structures. However, their control is facilitated if this mindset is implemented at every stakeholder level.

Building Up Trust Before Applying to Host the Olympic Games (Research)

Questions 1 & 2)

If a country plans to host the Olympic Games or to bring them back (e.g., Germany and its plans for the 2032 Olympic Games in Rhine-Ruhr), targeted value-based communication that conveys enthusiasm must be the main strategy to address potential spectators. Often, moving the population to vote in favour of a referendum to host the Olympic Games is not only a matter for the OCOG. In 2016, Könecke et al., already determined the influence of the media and various communication centres on the population, such as the NOlympia grouping in the context of a

failed referendum. Here, however, the question that arises is why the media can have such a strong influence on the population at all. For this purpose, it is necessary to take a closer look at the central factor that determines the attitudes of spectators. Indeed, the media are a comprehensive source of information within the population since they cover various areas of life (Imhof, 1996). When people are confronted with uncertainty, which provides a potential risk (Westerman, Spence, & Van der Heide, 2014), such as the fear of attacks at a major event, unsafe cost development, gentrification and thus more expensive rents, a city's debt level, and the rush of tourists, etc., they selectively look for information to eliminate this uncertainty. Here, the consequence of the change in existing social capital and the erosion of social trust in the Western population is shown. Since citizens no longer have confidence in the officials involved in applying to host the Olympics, they have to retrieve information from other sources that is provided by gatekeepers, such as journalists. As described in the second chapter, as an essential part of media agenda setting, the more attractive a headline is, the more it generates the attention of readers, listeners, or viewers, who in turn build their opinion regarding the Olympic Games on this basis. With newer social media, the gates have even been displaced to other citizens.

To weaken the negative media influence, officials must develop strategies to restore their credibility as sources, which is known as “source credibility”. Thus, it is in officials’ hands to again build up social trust in society and stabilize existing social capital. Then, the media can be used as a strong vehicle to exert a positive influence. According to Kouzes and Posner (2011), three “source credibility” mechanisms are required to be perceived as credible within society: trustworthiness, expertise and dynamism. Figure 3 shows how to meet these requirements. First, one’s own values have to be compatible with the guiding principles. Second, the competence to deliver on promises is required. Third, voices that express the needs of the public must be heard, for example, by implementing a forum to talk about spectators’ values and interests. Credible officials must know what to do and how to do it and know that their commitment becomes visible through their actions.

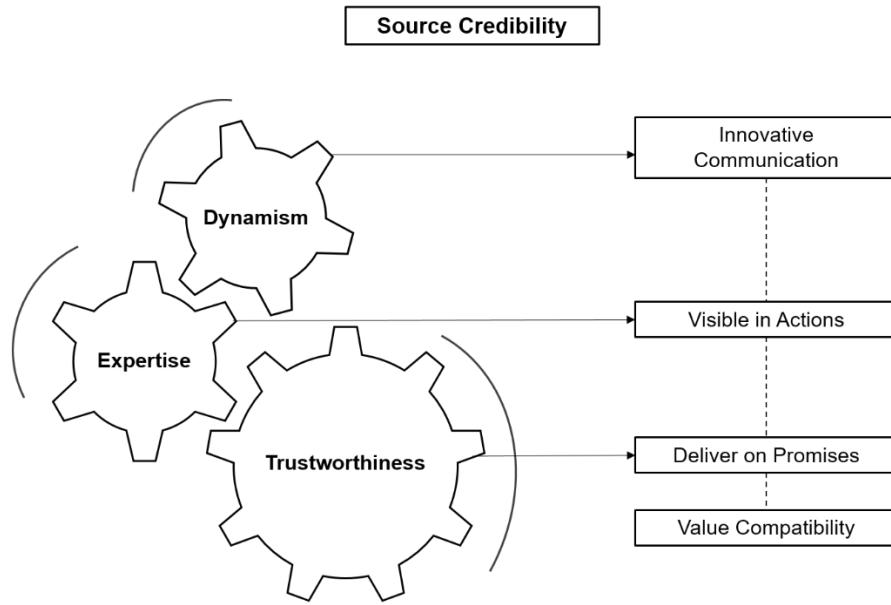


Figure 3. Social Trust Signalling

Indeed, the Agenda 2020 provides a governance approach that, among other things, demands the implementation and protection of social standards at the Olympic Games, such as recommendations 22 and 23, spreading Olympic value-based education and engaging with communities, and recommendation 39, fostering dialog with society and within the Olympic Movement (International Olympic Committee, 2014). However, some points have been formulated in such general terms that neither the specific goal of the concern is visible nor can a result be demanded. When a specific objective is not revealed, a result cannot be communicated. This is also a reason why intangible social implications are so difficult to grasp. Hence, there is a lack of institutional controls to monitor the success of the Olympic Movement (Merton, 1948; Thurow, 2004).

Therefore, it must be a goal to strengthen the implementation of the Olympic values in society so that social progress can be measured. Surprisingly, as proven in Article 1, spectators who appreciate the Olympic idea are significantly less critical towards Olympic gigantism. The positive perception of Olympic values has thus evoked a change in perception of Olympic gigantism. Spectators may be aware of the overall value that the Olympic Games can bring to a society and accept the expenses in return, as long as social standards are respected. At the same time, commercialization is less of a problem for the people involved than the costs that accrue to host the Olympic Games. This is true both for socially oriented spectators and for business-

oriented spectators. In addition, this requires honest communication about the costs that explains the benefits. To achieve broader acceptance in the population, the IOC should communicate messages that are directed to relevant stakeholders. In contrast, news that indicate a strategic orientation are rejected because the population assumes a tactical approach (Walker et al., 2010). Interestingly, these findings apply to German broadcast spectators, who still show a positive attitude towards the most expensive Olympic Games of all time in Sochi. However, in regard to hosting the Games in their own country, Germany, it remains questionable whether they will decide equally. In contrast to residents, who are more severely affected by the effects of the Olympic Games, spectators are only temporarily affected in a comfortable leisure context. Therefore, the creation of trust is all the more important for residents. Furthermore, even before a possible referendum is held, researchers continue to propose involving the population in the plans for the staging of the Olympic Games (Taks, 2013). In two other studies in 2018 and 2019, residents of the Rhine-Ruhr area and of two German cities, Hamburg and Munich, in which applications to host the Olympic Games failed were interviewed by the author; N= 3.178 data were collected from respondents with regard to their attitude towards staging the 2032 Olympic Games in the Rhine-Ruhr area. These data will be analysed in further research.

Creating Experience Hubs and Using the Media as a Vehicle While Hosting the Olympic Games (Research Questions 3, 4, 5)

The spectator perceives Olympic capital differently depending on various parameters, resulting in different forms of Olympic capital. As described in Article 2, the three social capital creation criteria, i.e., (1) the *same goal*, (2) the *same experience* and (3) *simultaneity*, are the concrete key to social capital creation at the Olympic Games.

The strongest parameter that determines the size of Olympic capital is the *experience channel*, i.e., whether the spectator perceives Olympic capital live or broadcast via media. This is also the governance channel, which is the easiest for the IOC and the respective OCOG to regulate.

Live spectators share similar experience motives, such as interest in entertainment or sports. Therefore, this constitutes a same goal that is as stable as the common interests of live spectators. Furthermore, they feel, for example, in the stadium, Olympic parks, Olympic houses or the city, the same experiences simultaneously in regard to the atmosphere, entertainment, sporting events and cultural exchange (Chalip, 2006). They share common moments and may communicate

intensely. Through these experiences, not only are they the sole receiver of impressions, but they shape them as well. This common active exchange of Olympic values produces several stimuli that create an atmosphere of learning. Thus, live spectators actively create new social capital at the Olympic Games. Live attendance is thus the leverage for new social capital. To further intensify the experience and to thus create a larger amount of Olympic capital, organizations need to create opportunities that promote common experiences. These opportunities can, for example, be spontaneous experience hubs, such as lounging areas; alternatively, test areas can be built in which spectators can test the sports that are currently running in competitions. This currently takes place on Olympic Day each year. Olympic Day marks the anniversary of the IOC, and 130 countries participate (Deutsche Olympische Akademie, 2019). Integrating parts of it into the staging of the Olympic Games would be a good bridge to once again connect and, in particular, to link the Olympic values more closely with the Olympic Games. As a result, some spectators would live be stimulated to participate in active sports and thus create an even larger amount of Olympic capital. The media attention on 23 June each year then would also likely be greater. Strategic projects, such as volunteer programmes (Misener & Mason, 2006), can also constitute further opportunities. The findings of Article 2 confirm that the amount of Olympic capital is significantly greater in the live context than in the broadcast context. Additionally, the findings of Article 2 show that the greater the length and intensity of the emotional exposure are, the greater in the live context the episodic memory, which is stored as long-term memory. In the broadcast context, semantic memory is stored as short-term memory.

Indeed, broadcast spectators also share similar experience goals, such as interest in entertainment and sports, but in a weaker form than with live spectators. Such spectators do not make a conscious decision, such as taking a vacation and travelling to the Olympic Games. Their experience is created by the linking structures of the media and is part of the daily information selection process, which represents the moderating variable in this social capital creation process. As described in Chapter 2, access to television, the internet, social media and newspapers constitutes the gatekeeper for their experience. Hence, spectators have a different point of access to the contents of the Olympic Games and do not share the same experiences. When spectators watch live broadcasts, simultaneity is a given. However, the spectators are only receivers of impressions; they do not have active social exchange. This lack of personal exchange should be compensated through accompanying communication to build a global

bridge. Instead, as described in Chapter 2, the conditions are provided by global communication channels. The Olympic Games provide great potential for worldwide exposure. Mediatization has the massive power to multiply Olympic capital by the forces of market mechanisms from the micro level of the individual dimension to a collective phenomenon on the macro level of the social dimension. However, this form of Olympic capital can be converted into live Olympic capital if there is a personal experience within the spectator that identifies the observed message as credible and confirms beliefs. This is likely to happen at public viewing events (Woratschek, Durchholz, Maier, & Ströbel, 2017). While live Olympic capital is only disseminated at specific locations, broadcast Olympic capital is created in almost every event environment. As described in the previous discussion section, stable relationships with trustworthy media partners should be developed to generate lasting effects to convey the Olympic values. The Olympics have a TV channel and, among other things, are represented in new social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, to reach younger target groups. As depicted in Article 3, younger spectators are a group who lost access to the Olympic values at the WOG. For those who do not have access to on-site education at the Olympic Games, online tools, such as value-based Olympic online games, can help them regain access to the Olympic Games.

Emotional exposure is the second strongest parameter determining the size of Olympic capital. It is created based on the *governmental* and *situational environment*, which is the third strongest parameter of Olympic capital creation. Larger Olympic Games, such as the SOG in Rio de Janeiro, serve different spectator motives and create a stronger emotional exposure for spectators through their publicity, media coverage, famous, excellent athletes and a wide range of side events given that they cover several areas of interest and thus have a significantly larger amount of Olympic capital than, for example, a smaller event, such as the YOG in Lillehammer. However, the findings of Article 2 also show a high level of emotional exposure in the live spectators of the Lillehammer YOG. This result is due to the positive governmental environment in which the games took place. Organizers can govern the emotional exposure of spectators only in the live context such that spectators have an intensive experience with high involvement. To continue to build social trust in society towards the Olympic Games, the governmental environment can be influenced only by the awarding of the Games. In doing so, the IOC should choose hosting venues that meet social, environmental and ethical standards and in which no governmental issues overshadow the staging of the Olympic Games.

Discussion: Social Capital Creation Through Olympic Games

Figure 4 summarizes the SCAL for the creation of new social capital, which were discussed in Chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6. The figure is divided into the three columns. The first column on the left shows that Olympic Values provide a social investment in society. This investment is embedded in the economic and political investment. The second column in the middle shows the environment as interface between investment and added value. The spectators each have, in different personal, situational and governmental environments, a different degree of attention and perception to this social investment. Thus, they become a creator or receiver of the discussed Olympic mindset. The third column on the right shows the resulting added value. Depending on their function of creator or receiver, action is created in different ways. Especially the social capital creation criteria experience and simultaneity are essential preconditions. The governance line at the bottom of the figure shows strategies that should be applied in practical implementation, to (1) facilitate the regulation of the social investment within the economic and political investment, (2) to address the spectators in the different event environments and (3) to enable access to the spectators and foster action within the respective experience channel.

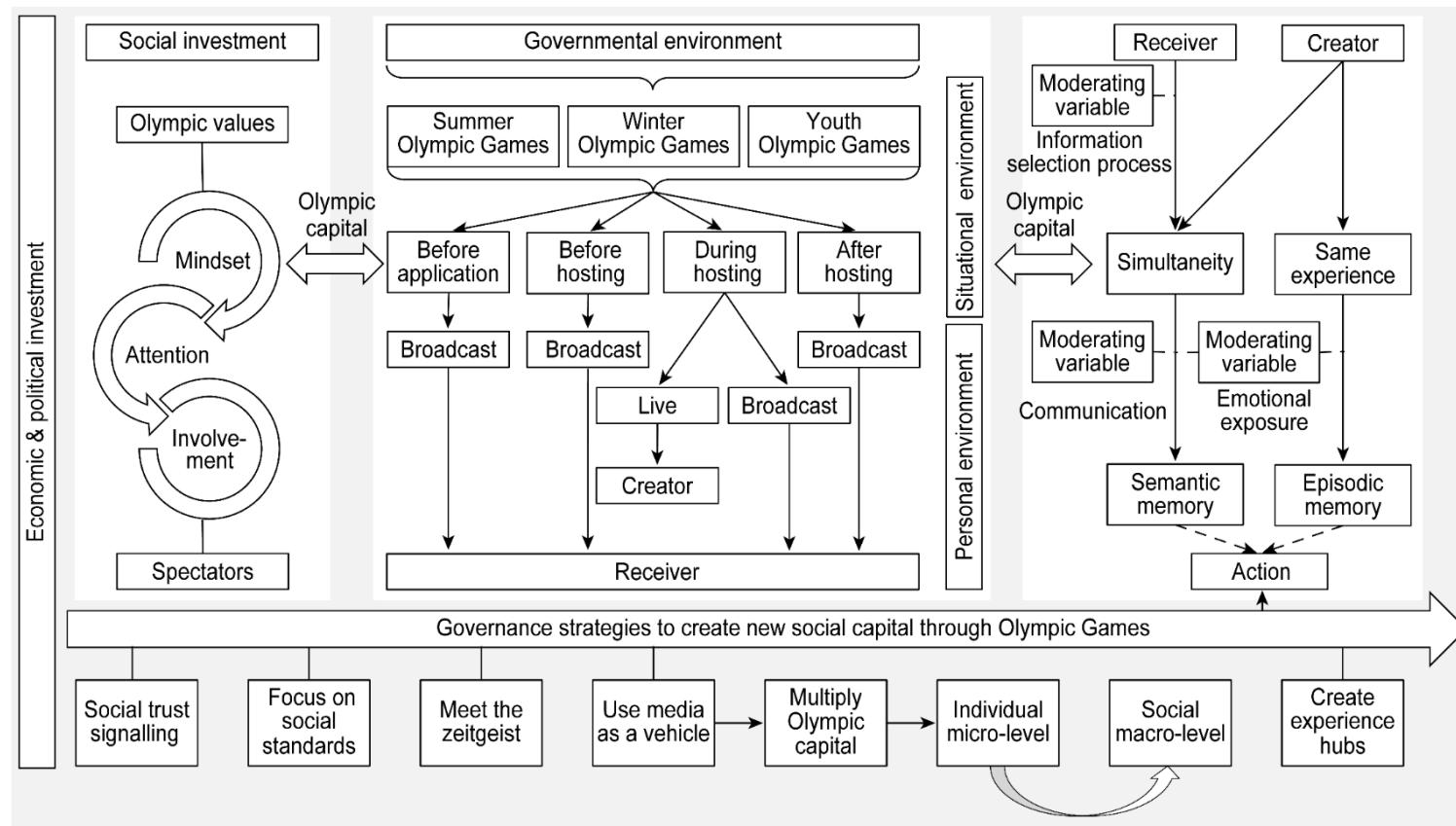


Figure 4. Social Capital Creation Through Olympic Games

(b) Then the social capital can be multiplied by the forces of the market mechanism from the micro level of the individual dimension to a collective phenomenon on the macro level of the social dimension.

Providing Olympic Education Through a New Format (Research Question 6)

As described in Chapter 4, the Lillehammer YOG were hosted in a governmental environment that is known as the “best of all time”. As described in the previous section, this environment positively influenced the emotional exposure of spectators and led to a large amount of Olympic capital. However, to determine the value of the situational environment and, thus, of the format for spectators, the spectators in Article 3 evaluated the format of the YOG in the commercialized environment of the WOG in Sochi. The YOG are presumed to be the most important innovation in the Olympic Movement. In 2010, they were explicitly founded with the aim of educating young athletes in Olympism, skills development and social responsibility. They are often hosted as part of the legacy of previous SOG or WOG; thus, few additional sports facilities have to be built (Hanstad, Parent, & Kristiansen, 2013).

Article 3 demonstrates that younger spectators appreciate the YOG more than older respondents. Against the backdrop of the WOG in Sochi, this result is interesting because it was precisely there that younger respondents appreciated the Olympic values less than older respondents. Therefore, younger spectators seem to strive for new, younger formats, with social media lounges, street sports such as BMX freestyle and break dancing and food trucks; in their perception, these formats, such as those at the 2016 YOG in Lillehammer and the Buenos Aires YOG in 2018 (International Olympic Committee, 2019c) better match the zeitgeist more. That is, in their opinion, they are better suited to convey the Olympic Values. Thus, the format of the YOG creates increasing social capital with their spectators.

The results of Article 1 show that the more the values are appreciated, the more external effects, such as growth and gigantism, can be mitigated. As the YOG are a smaller format and are a less commercialized event, the governance focus for their visitors must be placed less on managing conflicts and more on strengthening the YOG and, therefore, the Olympic Values. Conversely, however, this means that the more stronger, newer, younger, and trendier forms, such as sports or street festivals, are adopted at the SOG and WOG, the more the support for the Olympic Games from young people will increase, as more commercial components, such as the opening ceremonies, will be phased out. This will also increase the appreciation of young people and, therefore, the internalization of the Olympic values, as well within other formats of the Olympic Movement, leading to greater social capital.

Due to their small size and their education-based and trendy content, the YOG are suitable for conducting Olympic education and for creating social capital. The key policy should be to focus on exactly these benefits and to not produce more awareness of the Games, as this would inevitably go hand in hand with increasing economic and political instrumentalization. Therefore, the YOG are well suited to provide an additional source of social capital that is Olympic in origin.

Governance Recommendations and Implications for Further Research

In summary, every format of the Olympic Games provides possibilities to create new social capital at the different levels of application and hosting. The YOG and WOG create great social capital, despite their smaller event format, among spectators if they are particularly hosted in a positive governmental environment. Because of their size and format, the SOG create social capital among spectators even if the hosting governmental environment faces critical ongoing issues. The amount of Olympic capital is even greater if the Games' governmental environment does not try to instrumentalize the Olympic Games to solve problems in the country in which they are being held (see for example Strittmatter, 2016). According to the findings of the data triangulation, the SOG are the most suitable format for responding to spectators' different motives, and they are also most suitable for social capital creation if controlled as described above. Since the SOG are the largest Olympic Games format, their efficient control is the most influential. The hosting during a summer period contributes to a positive basic mood.

Discussion: Social Capital Creation Through Olympic Games

Regarding governance guidelines, the following strategies should be applied in practical implementation:

Mode of governance by the organizing institutions - the IOC and the OCOGs	Governance aims
direct and indirect by institutionalized linking structures	Build social trust
	Communicate in a credible manner
	Do not address Olympic Games as a governmental problem solver
	Focus on the Olympic values and social standards
	Integrate the public into designing the application to host the Olympic Games
	Address spectators in different environments to maximize the outcome of social capital
	Use the media
	Maximize the emotional exposure
	Create experiences

Table 4. Governance Strategies to Create New Social Capital Through Olympic Games

As a further line of research, the already collected data from the follow-up study on the WOG in Pyeongchang are going to be evaluated as well as the collected data from the planned bid to host the Olympic Games in the Rhine-Ruhr area in 2032 and further governance measures for the Olympic Movement will be derived. In subsequent research, the complete SCAL should be included in a questionnaire – investment, structures, access, the environment, the same goal, simultaneity, and experience. Additionally, with regard to the implementation of governance measurements, which specific forms of social capital may arise through the Olympic Games should be analysed, for example, increased awareness of social values, an increased sense of community through participation in planning at the policy level, increased social trust, an understanding for different cultures, friendships through common experiences, and networks.

mindset = leverage

7. Conclusion

The country- and cross-cultural appreciation of the Olympic values in a variety of environments, such as Germany, Brazil, and Norway, and among spectators worldwide (for example including Uzbekistan, Spain, Brazil, Norway, Iceland, Argentina, and South Africa), with a wide variety of social, political and economic influences, clearly shows that the Olympic Games are a powerful instrument for creating social capital in society. Nevertheless, social capital creation is complex and depends on the interaction between different actors.

Therefore, it sometimes seems as though the creation of social capital in society through the Olympic Games is a gargantuan task, not because their importance in society is doubted but because it is unclear whether today's Olympic Games are still needed at all and whether people would prefer to place a focus on other sectors of society. Among other things, this expectation stems from the fact that the policy makers of host nations often legitimize the hosting of Olympic Games through rhetoric concerned with problems in their environment, such as improving physical activity in the country, building employment, raising participation levels in sports clubs, renewing the environment and constructing an energized city. As a result, the Games are instrumentalized for various political and commercial purposes. Thus, the original problems usually are not solved, but at least they come to the fore of the public and are discussed.

In the global world, there is so much information about unresolved problems, such as global warming, which also emerges from economic growth, that there is often a culture of fear. However, so many people want to help and contribute to a better world. To do so, they need a role model or a guideline based on which people can orient themselves. For example, many people want to counteract global warming, and they have found a role model based on which they can orient themselves. The aspirations of the Olympic Games are not to solve the problems of the world but to also be a guideline for people based on which they can orient themselves. Every society needs a basis of shared values that citizens can use to orient themselves. In particular, in a time in which traditional values are overlaid by new values, a unitary structure is important, so that a familiar culture of trust can counter a culture of fear. Usually, it lies in the nature of people to trust each other, albeit to different degrees since not everything can be controlled. Additionally, with successful communication with one or more individuals from the IOC, more people will take a leap of faith in regard to this organization.

Conclusion

Real confidence, however, arises only when the familiar resists the temptation to focus on own interests and instead acts for the common good. While courageously and openly dealing with unpleasant topics and possible conflicts almost always generates trust, being conflict averse and engaging in cover-ups almost always generate fear and a loss of trust. Therefore, the achievement of the implementation of the Olympic values may not be thematized as an empty shell and empty phrase. This only creates disappointment in society because people initially gain hope, only for it to be destroyed again when they realize how far the current condition of hosting the Olympic Games is from the ideal. Therefore, basic social trust in the Olympic Games can work only when the content of symbols and metaphors is also represented in society and when all concerned stakeholders work together under a common goal so that they increase their mutual benefits. Growing is merely a process. It is not expected that during growth, the individual components have already met the aim. However, growth must be well targeted and focused. The focus should therefore not be on the aim but, rather, on the process that leads to the aim. If each stakeholder is focused on the maximization of his/her own benefits, the focus is on separation, not connection. Therefore, rule violations must be consistently regulated by the IOC. Thereby they confront short-term organized campaigns that want to overtake public opinion formation. Nevertheless, the IOC is only the builder of the framework through whose structures social capital can circulate in the world. The spectators are those who fill it with life. Through their strong mindset, their appreciation and their faith in the Olympic values, they can transfer them within society to other spectators. To believe in something and to place one's trust in something or someone always means to develop a relationship, whether with those who have trust, those who communicate trust, or a different entity. To have trust also means to open oneself. The belief in something is the only common feeling that can reduce the selfishness in society and that can contribute to problem solving. Thus it must be the main aim, to maintain and build up social trust, then the dissemination of social capital by Olympic Games will considerably be facilitated. Through the unifying Olympic values, the Olympic Games, as the largest civic social association, have the potential to set positive incentives in the world and to become the most powerful resource of social capital in society.

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Annexe: Articles

Article 1

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Attitudes toward Olympic gigantism: Evidence from Germany

Introduction

In June 2019, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded the 2026 Olympic Winter Games to the Italian bid of Milan–Cortina by 47 vs. 34 votes for the remaining Swedish competitor of Stockholm–Åre. IOC President Thomas Bach stressed after the decision that “we can look forward to outstanding and sustainable Olympic Winter Games in a traditional winter sports country. The passion and knowledge of Italian fans ... will create the perfect atmosphere ..., combining the attractions of a modern European metropolis with a classic Alpine environment” (IOC, 2019). The official statement suggests that the IOC President was relieved that the host of the 2026 Winter Games will be an established winter sports destination in a Western democratic country after three events in a row staged in new Eastern winter sports regions (such as recently Pyeongchang 2018, South Korea), moreover, with Russia (Sochi 2014) and China (Beijing 2022) being governed by controversial regimes (Könecke & de Nooij, 2017). Such sociopolitical constellations of staging the Winter Olympics have been criticized both in the public and scientific literature for lacking compliance with Olympic values and guidelines as well as with economic, social and ecological sustainability (e.g., Könecke & de Nooij, 2017; Könecke, Schubert, & Preuss, 2016; Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017).

In the Olympic studies literature, the debate regarding *dysfunctional developments* at Olympic Games and within the

Olympic movement is longstanding and ongoing. Both the past and presence of the modern Olympics have been questioned, for instance, regarding the consistency of actual regulations and practices with the high ethical and social ambitions constituting the philosophy of Olympism (e.g., Chatziefstathiou, 2011). Over the past two decades, two major branches emerged in the literature from this academic criticism that try to develop strategic solutions to manage key problems of the Olympic system.

One branch addresses the so-called *Olympic legacy* in terms of a socioeconomic and environmental sustainability of staging the Games (e.g., Girginov, 2012; Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Clearer constructs and analysis schemes were proposed to better identify, leverage and measure legacies as long-term benefits for the host cities and regions of the Olympic Games (Preuss, 2007, 2015). The other major branch in the Olympic studies literature draws back on earlier criticism under the striking notion of *Olympic gigantism* (e.g., Preuss, 2004). This stream of research challenges the growing size and commercialization of the Olympic Games, largely attributed to technical progress and, in particular, to the rising influence of the media (e.g., Barney, Wenn, & Martyn, 2002; Seifart, 1984). A key issue in this context are the escalating costs of infrastructure and operations induced by the large numbers of athletes and competitions (Preuss, Andreff, & Weitzmann, 2019). At the same time, consumers, sports federations, the media, and corporate sponsors demand a higher quality of the event product than

in previous decades. This further drives facility and production costs for Olympic hosts. Moreover, autocratic regimes tend to spend outrageous amounts on staging the Games in their pursuit of global recognition and to signal the hosting country's political and economic strength to their own population. As a result, the Summer Games 2008 in Beijing and the Winter Games 2014 in Sochi are regarded as the most expensive Olympics ever (e.g., Müller, 2014; Preuss & Alfs, 2011). To compete against such heavily subsidized Olympic bids Western democratic nations are also forced to upgrade their hosting bids (Könecke & de Nooij, 2017).

Hence, on the one hand, there are fundamental drivers of Olympic growth determined by the socioeconomic and political environment in a globalized world. On the other hand, mechanisms within the Olympic system, such as the bidding procedure, fuel a cost spiral of staging the Games and endanger Olympic legacies. Increasingly, the population is aware of the threat of costly, publicly funded facilities for the Games without sufficient after use and, thus, jeopardizing tax money (Scheu & Preuss, 2018). Numerous referendums on Olympic bids in Western democratic countries failed during the past decade, making the IOC more dependent on the hosting offers of autocratic states (Könecke et al., 2016; Könecke & de Nooij, 2017). Therefore, the IOC strengthened the criterion of public support in the bidding regulations which has apparently been crucial in the latest decision on Milan–Cortina 2026. IOC President Thomas Bach expressed the view that the residents' support of the



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bid in opinion polls by 83% compared to 55% for Stockholm–Åre was decisive (Livingstone, 2019).

Against this background, the attitudes of the population in Western democratic countries toward Olympic gigantism and the determinants of these attitudes should be a key subject for Olympic studies. Without the support of residents, an Olympic candidate city has low chances of being chosen or, sometimes, may even be urged to cancel the bid already before the IOC's decision (Könecke & de Nooij, 2017; Preuss & Solberg, 2006). Yet, the literature and evidence on the topic are scarce.

Therefore, this article presents results of a *unique multipurpose survey* on attitudes toward major issues of the Olympic movement that has been conducted in Germany prior to the 2014 Sochi Winter Games. It is not only the first survey to measure attitudes of the population in Western democratic countries toward Olympic gigantism. But it is also highly insightful from the German perspective because the online survey ($N=266$ with $N=192$ valid finishers) was conducted shortly before the failed referendum on the Munich bid for the Winter Games 2022 (Coates & Wicker, 2015). Thus, the sample captures the public opinion in Germany under the critical impression of the contested German candidature and the controversial upcoming Sochi Games (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017). The focus here is to study the survey data by regression analyses of attitude constructs on Olympic gigantism with respect to other attitudinal and sociodemographic determinants. The findings provide evidence on the research question how to effectively communicate to residents of Olympic candidate cities with the objective to secure public support for the bid.

In the following, the literature is reviewed to derive a theoretical reasoning for the empirical modelling. In the subsequent section, the sampling, data, and statistical approach are described. Then, the results are presented and interpreted toward management and policy implications. The article concludes with a discussion and outlook.

Causes and perception of Olympic gigantism

Literature concerning Olympic growth and residents' perception

Although the debate on Olympic gigantism is to some extent present throughout the Olympic studies literature, there are only a few relevant publications that focus on the topic or devote significant parts to the growth, size and costs of the Olympic Games. The early research discusses Olympic gigantism primarily in the context of the rapid commercialization of the Games starting in the 1980s. Seifart (1984) published a prominent international article of this kind while, for instance, Barney et al. (2002) built upon this earlier work. Already, Chappellet (2002) and Preuss (2004) deepened the empirical analysis of the phenomenon, both at the Winter and Summer Games, and enlarged the debate by reasoning on the main growth drivers. In the follow-up research of these authors, Chappellet (2013, 2016) turned toward the conceptual question how the IOC could govern and manage the rising size of the Olympics, whereas Preuss et al. (2019) analyzed the development of the costs of staging Olympic Games and provided economic arguments for the observed cost overruns.

Crucial for the outcome of bidding processes for the Olympic Games (and other major events) is however the perception of spectators (Prüschenk and Kurscheidt, 2020) and, in particular, of the residents of candidate cities as voters in referendums (Scheu & Preuss, 2018). This was first empirically analyzed by Preuss and Solberg (2006), showing that the strongest support was observed in low-income nations as well as in large and emerging countries. For the residents of the former nations, the motivation for the affirmative vote seemed to be the socioeconomic growth prospects while, for the latter, the costs of staging major events might have been deemed affordable and a luxury good in which one could indulge.

Kim, Choi, and Kaplanidou (2015) demonstrated the influence of the media coverage on residents' perception for the

case of Pyeongchang's Winter Olympics bids. In a similar vein, Könecke et al. (2016) conducted a media content analysis to reconstruct the themes that may have affected the failure of the referendum on Munich 2022. Coates and Wicker (2015) attempted to isolate explanatory factors of negative voting by regressions of survey data of the Munich referendum, finding that basic political and value judgements, such as supporting left-wing over conservative parties, are statistically significant. This evidence is in line with early survey results on the perception of the novel and substantially smaller Olympic event format of the *Youth Games*. Prüschenk and Kurscheidt (2017) and Schnitzer, Walde, Scheiber, Nagiller, and Tappeiner (2018) showed that respondents who commit to Olympic values (i.e., excellence, respect and friendship as defined by the *Olympic Charter*; IOC, 2015) tend to appreciate the modest format of the Youth Games more. Furthermore, the experience that young residents obtained at the Youth Games fosters the support for an Olympic bid (Schnitzer, Walde, Scheiber, Nagiller, & Tappeiner, 2019). In addition, Prüschenk and Kurscheidt (2020) found in large visitors' survey data that attendees of Youth Games are, at least, as inspired by the Olympic idea as visitors to the much larger Summer Games. Based on a *social capital* model, they argued that, besides the intensity of exposure to the Olympic experience (higher at the Summer Games), the quality of the social interaction and communication (higher at the Youth Games) is decisive in building positive attitudes toward Olympic values.

In the earlier literature, the attitudes of residents are mostly explained by the theory of *social exchange* which states that residents expecting a positive individual net benefit are more likely to support Olympic Games (e.g., Karadakis & Kaplanidou, 2012; Scheu & Preuss, 2018). Prayag, Hosany, Nunkoo, and Alders (2013) showed, for instance, that the overall attitude is influenced by perceived economic and sociocultural outcomes, less by expected environmental outcomes. However, the theory of social exchange is also criticized for its rational choice approach and related sim-

	Abstract · Zusammenfassung
<p>plifications, such as the focus on perceived individual costs and benefits without considering social actions. Therefore, Smith, Ritchie, and Chien (2019) proposed the theory of <i>social dilemmas</i> to obtain a broader understanding of the residents' attitudes. They argued that citizens may also balance their personal interests against common interests when building their opinion on a public project like a major event.</p> <p>With regard to the existing literature on Olympic gigantism, it can be summarized that the empirical evidence is still scarce and not entirely conclusive. While the phenomenon of Olympic growth in size and cost measures is well described and undisputed, the determinants of residents' attitudes have been addressed by a limited number of studies. The previous findings suggest that the socioeconomic environment and, notably, the tendencies in the media coverage substantially influence the public perception of the Olympic Games. Moreover, basic value judgments of residents in their political views, in their preferences toward sports and major projects as well as their experiences with and appreciation of the Olympic idea seem to be relevant factors when it comes to supporting an Olympic bid. However, the theoretical and empirical approaches as well as the socioeconomic contexts of these studies are diverse. As a result, they are difficult to compare. Thus, more evidence and theoretical advances are needed to improve our understanding of the residents' attitudes toward Olympic Games and other major events.</p> <p>Hence, currently, this topic warrants further <i>exploratory research</i> which is provided by the survey study presented in this article. Nevertheless, the operationalization of the questionnaire, empirical modelling and interpretation of findings have to reflect the broader reasoning and theoretical propositions made in the pertinent literature. Therefore, the remainder of this section briefly reviews (exogenous) fundamental drivers of Olympic growth induced by the socioeconomic environment and (endogenous) growth mechanisms within the Olympic system.</p>	<p>Ger J Exerc Sport Res https://doi.org/10.1007/s12662-019-00642-w © Springer-Verlag GmbH Deutschland, ein Teil von Springer Nature 2020</p> <p>M. Kurscheidt · N. Prüschenk</p> <p>Attitudes toward Olympic gigantism: Evidence from Germany</p> <p>Abstract</p> <p>The growth and large size of the Olympic Games and the induced extensive costs of hosting the Olympics are controversially discussed under the striking notion of Olympic gigantism, both in the public and scientific debate. However, there is a lack of evidence on the attitudes of the population toward Olympic gigantism which is deemed to be a crucial explanation for failed referendums on Olympic bids in Western democratic countries. This study is the first to measure constructs of Olympic gigantism in a thoroughly clustered online survey of German citizens ($N = 266$). Moreover, the sample captures the public opinion in a decisive moment, one month before the negative referendum on the Munich bid for the 2022 Winter Games and under the influence of critical media coverage prior to the Sochi 2014 Winter Games. In ordered logit regressions, it is found that, all else equal,</p> <p>respondents who appreciate the Olympic idea are significantly less critical toward the size and costs of hosting Winter Games. Generally, the size is not seen as the key problem, but rather the large expenses for Olympic facilities. The high costs are however more accepted when social standards are respected and respondents perceive the Olympics as a public good that is nice to have. Thus, the evidence suggests that a strategic campaign for the next German Olympic bid should highlight the value of the Olympic Games as a generational project that inspires people for sport participation and fosters social capital in society.</p> <p>Keywords</p> <p>Olympic Winter Games · Economic growth · International Olympic Committee · Olympic values · Major sport events · Sport governance</p> <hr/> <p>Einstellungen zum olympischen Gigantismus: Befunde zu Deutschland</p> <p>Zusammenfassung</p> <p>Das Wachstum und die großen Dimensionen der Olympischen Spiele sowie die dadurch bedingt erheblichen Austragungskosten werden unter dem plakativen Begriff des olympischen Gigantismus kontrovers diskutiert, sowohl in der Öffentlichkeit als auch in der Wissenschaft. Es fehlt jedoch an Daten über die Einstellungen der Bevölkerung zum olympischen Gigantismus. Kritische Einstellungen gelten als eine wesentliche Erklärung für gescheiterte Bürgerentscheide zu Bewerbungen um die Olympischen Spiele in westlichen Demokratien. In der vorliegenden Studie werden erstmals Konstrukte des olympischen Gigantismus im Rahmen einer sorgfältig geclusterten Online-Umfrage in Deutschland erhoben ($N = 266$). Darüber hinaus erfasst die Stichprobe die öffentliche Meinung in einem entscheidenden Moment: einen Monat vor dem negativen Bürgerentscheid zur Münchner Bewerbung um die Winterspiele von 2022 und unter dem Einfluss der kritischen Berichterstattung vor den Winterspielen in Sotschi 2014. In Ordered-Logit-Regressionen zeigt sich, dass Befragte,</p> <p>welche die Olympische Idee wertschätzen, unter sonst gleichen Bedingungen signifikant weniger kritisch gegenüber Größe und Kosten einer Austragung der Winterspiele eingestellt sind. Allgemein wird nicht die Größe, sondern eher der hohe finanzielle Aufwand für olympische Sportstätten und Einrichtungen als Kernproblem betrachtet. Die hohen Kosten werden jedoch eher akzeptiert, wenn soziale Standards eingehalten werden und die Befragten die Olympischen Spiele als ein wünschenswertes Gemeingut „nice to have“ betrachten. Die Studienergebnisse zeigen also, dass eine strategische Kampagne für die nächste deutsche Olympiabewerbung den Wert der Spiele als ein Generationenprojekt betonen sollte, das die Menschen für sportliche Aktivität begeistert und das Sozialkapital in der Gesellschaft erhöht.</p> <p>Schlüsselwörter</p> <p>Olympische Winterspiele · Wirtschaftswachstum · Internationales Olympisches Komitee · Olympische Werte · Großereignisse im Sport · Sportgovernance</p>
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Exogenous and endogenous drivers of Olympic growth

From a systems theoretical perspective on sport governance (Kurscheidt & Deitersen-Wieber, 2011; Kurscheidt, Klein, & Deitersen-Wieber, 2003), drivers of Olympic growth may be distinguished in external determinants that are exogenous to the *Olympic system*, i.e., the inner sphere of social and economic interaction at the Olympics, and internal determinants that are endogenous to the Olympic system. Likewise, economic growth theory differentiates *exogenous growth*, induced by demand shifts, population growth, exports, and public spending (e.g., Mankiw, Romer, & Weil, 1992), from *endogenous growth*, largely driven by corporate innovation and technological change within the dynamics of competitive markets (Romer, 1994). In particular, the latter has the capability of creating increasing returns and may even cause structural shifts or (periods of) exponential growth. This is notably the case when technical progress is effectively accompanied by human, social and infrastructural investments (Galor & Weil, 2000). The accumulated network, human, and social capital facilitates and accelerates technological change, in particular, in a globalized economy (Alier, 2009; Mankiw et al., 1992; Putnam, 2000).

The Olympic Games actually represent an outstanding case of a globally connected industry and innovative production system that combines all key drivers of endogenous growth identified by economic growth theory. Moreover, the Olympics are a post-modern services platform that efficiently supports the creation of network, human, and social capital while being receptive to exogenous growth drivers (Chappelet, 2013, 2016; Preuss, 2007, 2015). The starting point of Olympic growth has been the strengthened trends of globalization and commercialization in the 1980s, impacting on international sports business in general, primarily, through the global marketization of TV rights (Barney et al., 2002; Seifert, 1984). However, the Olympic system was innovative even before. For instance, at the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo, all competitions were already broadcasted

worldwide (Preuss, 2004). As a result, the global popularity of the Olympics rose substantially and attracted increasing numbers of participating countries, athletes, and visitors to the Games (Chappelet, 2002; Johnson & Ali, 2004). This effect was fueled by improved transportation networks and decreasing airfares (Banister & Berechman, 2001; Preuss, 2004). Thus, the international interconnectedness of the Olympic system was intensified and subsequently expanded by the global trend of digitalization (Preuss, 2007).

Since the 1990s, the IOC strategically fostered the endogenous growth by innovating and extending the sports program of the Olympics. Increasingly, new action and trend sports were adopted both at the Winter and Summer Games to attract younger clientele, to raise customer retention, and to modernize the Olympic image for an improved mediation (e.g., Strittmatter, Kilvigner, Bodemar, Skille, & Kurscheidt, 2019). In addition, the monopolistic and urban governance structure of staging the Olympic Games (Postlethwaite & Grix, 2016) effectively bundles exogenous and endogenous growth drivers by activating *local growth machines*, i.e., productive urban networks of corporate actors, and linking them to international business (Surborg, VanWyngaerde, & Wyly, 2008). This enables Olympic cities to reposition in the global economy and induces image and signaling effects that foster long-term growth (Preuss & Alfs, 2011; Rose & Spiegel, 2011). Yet, the downside of this urban bundling is, on the one hand, that the large size of the Olympics is expensive for hosting cities and challenging to manage in such restricted geographical areas (Chappelet, 2013). On the other hand, the bidding competition between the Olympic candidate cities triggers a cost spiral which is known in economic theory as the *winner's curse*. The investment arm's race of Olympic candidates may prompt the bidders to upgrade their Olympic hosting offers to an extent that may jeopardize the expected benefits (Preuss et al., 2019).

Therefore, it is important for Olympic hosts to develop long-term strategies to leverage not only the post-event busi-

ness opportunities of staging the Games, but also to target *intangible social legacies* (Preuss, 2015). Current Olympic research has shown theoretically and empirically that the potential for creating social capital and legacies is substantial (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2020). However, the governance of the underlying mechanism is demanding and the risk of failure high (Chappelet, 2016).

Methods and data

In order to measure attitudes toward Olympic gigantism and related determinants, the reviewed key constructs and themes that are discussed in the literature have to be operationalized in a standardized questionnaire. Since there is no unified theoretical approach to the topic, a largely *exploratory design* was chosen with a *multipurpose survey* instrument that covers a variety of issues in the debate on the Olympic movement and Olympic Games. The questionnaire contained nineteen separate questions, including nine item batteries (five to eight items each) measuring behavior and attitudes toward sports and the Olympic Games with five-point Likert scales (nearly) throughout (5 = agree to 1 = disagree) (e.g., Jones, 2015). The latest methods research confirmed that the statistical performance of the intuitive five-point scale is equivalent to larger scales (e.g., Revilla, Saris, & Krosnick, 2014). The completion of the questionnaire required approximately fifteen minutes. It is available from the authors upon request.

Most important for the present study are two proxies for the diffuse construct of Olympic gigantism. The items simply state that the Olympics are "too large" (TOOLARGE) and "too expensive" (TOOEXPENSIVE), respectively. Since previous research found that basic preferences and beliefs are crucial in the decision-making of voters at referendums on Olympic bids (Coates & Wicker, 2015), such rough measures are sufficient. They distinguish between the attitudes toward the mere size and the financial risk of the large numbers at the Games. Moreover, these items will be statistically related to other attitudinal

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Description
<i>Dependent variables (proxies for Olympic Gigantism)</i>				
TOOLARGE	215	2.73	1.12	Winter Games are too large (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
TOOEXPENSIVE	215	3.67	1.04	Winter Games are too expensive (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Attitudes toward the Olympic idea and Olympic values</i>				
IDEAIMPORTANT	204	3.58	1.47	Olympic idea is important (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
IDEAUNCLEAR	204	1.73	1.33	Olympic idea is unclear (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
OLYMPICIDEA	208	4.23	0.96	Like Olympic values/idea at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
CONVEYVALUES	215	3.51	1.20	Winter Games convey values (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Interest in (winter) sports and the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
SPORTINTEREST	226	4.07	1.09	General interest in sports (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
WINTERSPORT	226	3.57	1.28	Interest in winter sports (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
FOLLOWER	250	0.65	0.48	Follow Winter Olympics regularly (1 = yes)
SOCHIFOLLOW	249	0.80	0.44	Intent to follow Sochi Games (0 = no; 1 = TV; 2 = live)
NICETOHAVE	215	4.36	0.92	Nice to have Winter Games (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Behavior in active and passive sports</i>				
DOSPORT	226	3.98	1.17	Practice sports actively (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
DOWINTERSPORT	226	2.88	1.62	Practice winter sports actively (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
VISITWINTERSPORT	226	1.84	1.07	Visit winter sports events (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
WATCHWINTERSPORT	226	3.08	1.46	Watch winter sports regularly (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
GROUPWATCH	174	1.46	0.74	Watch Games with friends (1 = definitely won't; 4 = definitely will)
<i>Preferences toward the event product of the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
COMPETITIONS	208	4.60	0.73	Like sports competitions at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
NEWSPORTS	208	2.71	1.17	Like new/trendy sports at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
CEREMONY	208	2.83	1.20	Like opening ceremony at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
PATRIOTISM	208	3.86	1.07	Like supporting German athletes (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Attitudes toward critical issues of hosting the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
MAJORCITIES	197	2.22	1.26	OWG are for major cities (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
SOCIALSTANDARDS	197	3.58	1.25	OWG to respect social standards (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
YOUTHGAMES	195	2.26	1.26	Appreciate Youth Winter Games (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
SPORTSFIRST	196	3.77	0.97	Sport is focus of OWG (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
ECONOMYFIRST	196	3.69	1.08	Economy is focus of OWG (0 = don't know; 5 = agree)
<i>Sociodemographics</i>				
AGEGROUP	194	3.71	1.78	Age group (1 ≤ 20 years; 6 ≥ 60 years)
GENDER	194	0.61	0.49	Gender (1 = male)
EDUCATION	194	4.91	1.44	Education (1 = no certificate; 6 = academic)
INCOME	192	3.18	1.38	Monthly net income (1 ≤ 500 €; 6 ≥ 5000 €)

SD standard deviation, OWG Olympic Winter Games

determinants and traits of respondents to detect patterns of residents who are critical toward staging Olympic Games and less critical residents. Thus, the findings help to identify *focal themes* and *target groups* to effectively communicate to residents with the objective to secure public support for hosting the Olympics.

Therefore, further determinants must be considered in the data analysis. The most relevant variables for this purpose

have been selected from the survey data. **Table 1** provides an overview of these variables, representing four to five items each of the determinants of (1) attitudes toward the Olympic idea, (2) interest in (winter) sports and the Olympic Winter Games, (3) (self-reported) behavior in active and passive sports, (4) preferences for the event product of the Winter Olympics, (5) attitudes toward critical issues of hosting Winter Games, and

(6) sociodemographics. In total, 29 variables were included in the multivariate data analysis, representing two nominal variables (FOLLOWER and GENDER), 22 variables with five-point Likert scales, including seven items related to Olympic values and issues with the added option "don't know" (= 0) to account for possibly lacking knowledge in this area, and five ordinal variables (e.g., SOCHIFOLLOW and EDUCATION).

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However, the bivariate analysis (*Spearman* rank correlations) focusses on the relationship between the proxies for Olympic gigantism and attitudes toward the Olympic idea. This follows the previous evidence that basic value judgements largely determine the attitudes toward Olympic Games and the voting on Olympic bids (Coates & Wicker, 2015), and it considers the social capital nature of the commitment to Olympic values (Prüschenk and Kurscheidt, 2017, 2020; Schnitzer et al., 2018). Two proxies out of four items for the appreciation of the Olympic idea appeared to be statistically most revealing (IDEAIMPORTANT and CONVEYVALUES) and exhibit nearly the same rank correlation, $r_s(204) = 0.33$, $p < 0.001$, as between the proxies of Olympic gigantism, $r_s(204) = 0.31$, $p < 0.001$. Thus, all four variables are supposed to be equally consistent measures of the underlying latent constructs. In a next analytical step, *ordered logit regressions* (Wooldridge, 2013) are run on the proxies of Olympic gigantism while controlling for confounding effects of the remaining variables of **Table 1**. The data analyses were performed using *Stata/SE 13.1* (updated).

The self-motivated online survey was conducted in Germany (September 8 to October 13, 2013) four months prior to the Sochi Winter Games (February 7–23, 2014) and one month before the negative referendum on the Munich 2022 bid (November 10, 2013). Therefore, the survey is unique and insightful because it captures German residents' opinions in an extraordinary period during which the public awareness of the Winter Games was particularly high and overshadowed by critical media coverage (Könecke et al., 2016). Methodically, the data represent a nonreplicable *natural experiment* under a comparatively controversial socioeconomic environment. Thus, reflecting previous research, it is controlled for the media influence (Kim et al., 2015), i.e., a negative one in this case (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017).

Against this backdrop, it is acceptable that the sample size, $N = 192$, of valid finishers is restricted. Moreover, it is the first scientific survey to measure attitudes

toward Olympic gigantism, in addition, based on a suitably *clustered online sample* comprising relevant *control groups* (e.g., Jones, 2015). Without reward for participants, this was achieved by active digital field work over five weeks via five large sports forums, Facebook distribution, and targeted emails to sufficiently attract (1) elderly respondents (41.2% over 49 years), (2) nonsports interested people (26.1% with weak interest; 35.2% do not follow Winter Games regularly), and (3) participants who are not engaged in winter sports (46.9% with weak winter sports activity). Hence, though not representative, the sample provides substantial variance to study the inner structure of attitudes toward Olympic issues while showing also a high response rate (72.2% finishers of $N = 266$ registered visits of the online questionnaire).

Empirical results: interpretation and implications

Descriptives and correlations

Under the controlled negative socioeconomic environment of the survey, surprisingly nearly two thirds of the respondents commit to the Olympic idea (64.2% [somewhat] agree to IDEAIMPORTANT) and more than half of the respondents trust in the conveyance of Olympic values at the Winter Games (54.4% [somewhat] agree to CONVEYVALUES). This shows that a clear majority still adheres to the value foundation of the Olympic system and apparently believes that it is compatible with the commercialization of the Winter Games. This interpretation is insofar confirmed as the correlations of the proxies for Olympic values with ECONOMYFIRST are nonsignificant. Additionally, the latter highly significantly correlates with SOCIALSTANDARDS, $r_s(196) = 0.28$, $p < 0.001$, indicating that a business focus of staging the Winter Games may largely be accepted if social standards are respected. However, the primacy of the sporting cause is seen as conflicting with the business interests at the Olympics, evidenced by the negative correlation between ECONOMYFIRST and SPORTSFIRST, $r_s(196) = -0.22$, $p < 0.01$.

Hence, the observed persistence of the value orientation, even in the context of the highly commercialized Olympic Games, is consistent with previous research on the creation of social capital among spectators by the Olympic experience (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2020).

More divided are the results on the proxies for Olympic gigantism. Whereas only less than a quarter of the interviewees find the Winter Games too large (23.3% [somewhat] agree to TOOLARGE), a solid majority criticizes the rising costs of hosting the Olympics (57.2% [somewhat] agree to TOOEXPENSIVE). Obviously, the size as such is not so problematic for the German residents. In particular, the sports-oriented respondents rather recognize the opportunities of the Olympic growth because they appreciate the increase of exciting competitions. This is evidenced by the correlation between SPORTSFIRST and COMPETITION, $r_s(196) = 0.23$, $p < 0.01$. As a result, SPORTSFIRST negatively correlates with TOOLARGE, $r_s(196) = -0.18$, $p < 0.05$, and is nonsignificant towards TOOEXPENSIVE. Thus, the sports fans are less sensitive to the cost side as they might perceive the expenditures worth it for the sporting cause.

By contrast, the business-oriented respondents are skeptical both toward the size and the costs of staging the Olympics with a somewhat stronger position against public spending on hosting Winter Games. So ECONOMYFIRST highly significantly correlates with TOOLARGE, $r_s(196) = 0.20$, $p < 0.01$, and TOOEXPENSIVE, $r_s(196) = 0.28$, $p < 0.001$. This group of residents appears to have understood the vicious circle between Olympic growth and escalating costs as discussed in the literature (Chappelet, 2002, 2013; Preuss, 2004; Preuss et al., 2019). Hence, the question arises how these skeptics who are strict opponents of Olympic gigantism may be reached by communication policies of future Olympic candidate cities in Germany. The findings here suggest that there are prospects for such a strategic campaign.

First, as reported above, ECONOMYFIRST does not correlate with the

	(1) <i>with control</i>	(2) <i>without</i>	(3) <i>with control</i>	(4) <i>without</i>
	TOOLARGE	TOOLARGE	TOOEXPENSIVE	TOOEXPENSIVE
TOOEXPENSIVE	0.640***	—	—	—
TOOLARGE	—	—	0.788***	—
IDEAIMPORTANT	-0.455**	-0.420**	n.s.	n.s.
CONVEYVALUES	n.s.	n.s.	-0.403*	-0.469**
WINTERSPORT	-0.472*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
NICETOHAVE	n.s.	n.s.	-0.438**	-0.451**
DOSPORT	-0.369**	n.s.	0.388*	n.s.
DOWINTERSPORT	0.434**	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
SOCIALSTANDARDS	n.s.	n.s.	0.411**	0.436**
ECONOMYFIRST	0.279*	0.304*	n.s.	n.s.
AGEGROUP	n.s.	n.s.	0.401*	n.s.
GENDER	-0.312*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
INCOME	n.s.	0.304*	n.s.	n.s.
<i>N</i>	156	156	156	156
McFadden's <i>R</i> ²	0.160	0.125	0.139	0.100
McKelvey & Zavoina's <i>R</i> ²	0.395	0.318	0.346	0.262

"With control" denotes the models (1) and (3) that consider the other proxy for Olympic gigantism as a control variable whereas the models (2) and (4) are "without" this control variable. The models are run with all relevant variables described in **Table 1**. Standardized beta coefficients are however displayed only for significant variables in at least one model. The variables are listed in order of the appearance in **Table 1**. The alternative and robust ordered probit models that performed slightly worse than the logit regressions are not displayed. Likewise, the logit and probit regressions on binary variants of the dependent variables are not presented because they do not add new information to the evidence. However, they confirm the robustness of the ordered logit findings, while showing partly a higher model fit. McKelvey and Zavoina's (1975) *R*² also suggest an acceptable quality of the models despite the relatively low McFadden's *R*². The significance levels are *p*<0.10, **p*<0.05, ***p*<0.01. "n.s." denotes nonsignificant variables.

proxies for Olympic values. Thus, there is a potential to arouse a spirit for the Olympic idea among the business-oriented persons since, regarding Olympic values, there is no significant opposition to overcome. Second, a comparatively strong, highly significant correlation between ECONOMYFIRST and SOCIALSTANDARDS was found. So the communication on rational narratives may thematize credible advances in regulating and creating social legacies at the Olympics. Third, the proxies for Olympic values correlate negatively (nearly) throughout with the variables on Olympic gigantism: IDEAIMPORTANT as to TOOLARGE, $r_s(204) = -0.23$, $p < 0.01$, as well as CONVEYVALUES with respect to TOOLARGE, $r_s(215) = -0.16$, $p < 0.05$ and to TOOEXPENSIVE, $r_s(215) = -0.16$, $p < 0.05$. Hence, apart from the nonsignificant relationship between IDEAIMPORTANT and TOOEXPENSIVE, the evidence

supports the insight that the higher the appreciation for Olympic values, the lower is the skepticism toward Olympic gigantism.

Regression models

The bivariate results need to be tested for confounding effects and robustness in a multivariate modelling. For this purpose, ordered logit regressions (Wooldridge, 2013) are run on the proxies for Olympic gigantism with the explanatory variables listed in **Table 1** and commented in the previous section. **Table 2** shows the results of these regression models. As a robustness check, there are two models for each of the two analyzed proxies as follows: one with the other proxy included as control variable and one without. Moreover, ordered probit models as well as logit and probit regressions of binary variants of the dependent variables were tested.

All alternative models confirm the presented ordered logit findings and are therefore not displayed. However, they partly show a better model fit and, thus, prove the robustness of the ordered logit models. In addition, the more differentiated *R*² by McKelvey and Zavoina (1975) indicate that the regressions are acceptable despite a relatively low McFadden's *R*².

First, the regression evidence underlines that the controls are important because they are the only highly significant variables and, in addition, the strongest regressors. Moreover, their presence in the models captures the key economic growth relationships, supporting, by the higher beta coefficient in model (3), the proposition that the size of the Olympics is causal for the extensive costs of hosting. On average, the respondents seem to have understood this. As a result, the influence of the controls opens explanatory power to more specific effects. This is why more variables are significant in the control models. However, more insightful are the robust findings in the comparison of the models.

Second, one of the proxies for Olympic values is always a strong, significantly negative determinant throughout. Hence, strengthening the Olympic values in the Olympic system would be an undoubtedly dominant strategy for raising support for Olympic bids.

Third, ECONOMYFIRST and SOCIALSTANDARDS are clearly confirmed as complementary determinants to be addressed in the communication strategy in order to reduce opposition to hosting Olympics. Fourth, NICETOHAVE is a highly significant, negative predictor of TOOEXPENSIVE. This is an intriguing result, suggesting that theematizing the Olympics as an enjoyable (luxury) good, which is affordable for a wealthy country, such as Germany, and worth the costs, may be effective in the communication policy. Interestingly, this is in line with the earlier findings discussed by Preuss and Solberg (2006).

Discussion and conclusion

Against the background of numerous failed referendums on Olympic bids

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in Western democratic countries over the past decade, the findings were presented from a unique multipurpose survey of German residents on issues of the Olympic Winter Games, conducted before the residents' decision against Munich 2022 and the controversial Sochi Games 2014. In Germany, after two candidatures for the Olympics—also, Hamburg for the 2024 Summer Games (Scheu & Preuss, 2018)—that were rejected by local referendums, it is a major question for the national sport policy whether or not to dare another bid and how to secure public support.

The backing of residents has become indispensable for successful Olympic bidding competitions as, lately, the award of the 2026 Winter Games to Milan-Cortina demonstrated. The IOC President stressed that the high percentages of support in opinion polls among residents were crucial for the awarding decision (Livingstone, 2019). In this context, notably, neither in the case of Milan-Cortina nor in the cases of the prospective 2024 Summer Games in Paris and the following 2028 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, referendums were held. However, in the local and national decision-making process on a possible German bid, the political pressures may be such that a candidature for the Olympics could not be legitimized without a referendum (Könecke & de Nooij, 2017). Even if it could, the IOC increasingly considers public support as a decisive criterion like in the case of the 2026 Winter Games where Stockholm-Åre lost due to lack of local support. Thus, if, for instance, the currently debated German Summer Olympics bid of "RheinRuhr 2032" is pursued, a comprehensive promotion campaign needs to be developed. Such a communication policy would need to target not only the local residents, but also beyond, to arouse a nationwide enthusiasm for hosting the next Olympic Games in Germany after more than six decades.

However, while some studies have surveyed the attitudes of residents in Western democratic countries toward controversial issues of the Olympic Games, the evidence and theoretical insights are not conclusive (Karadakis & Kaplanidou, 2012; Prayag et al., 2013; Scheu & Preuss,

2018; Schnitzer et al., 2018, 2019; Smith et al., 2019). Therefore, additional evidence is needed, in particular for the German case, to provide empirical insights on how to design a strategic communication policy to mitigate residents' opposition against Olympic bids. The central criticism of residents and scholars, alike, is related to the large size and extensive costs of staging the Olympics (Chappelet, 2013; Könecke et al., 2016; Scheu & Preuss, 2018; Preuss et al., 2019), which is often discussed in the literature under the notion of Olympic gigantism (e.g., Preuss, 2004). This study is the first in the international literature to focus on constructs of Olympic gigantism and, making reference to Winter Games, adds to earlier insights on the views of German residents in the context of a Summer Olympics bid (Scheu & Preuss, 2018).

The results of the survey particularly showed that, first, the dominant strategy in a communication approach should be to strengthen Olympic values in the perception of the Olympic system. Residents who are inspired by the Olympic idea tend significantly less to be concerned about Olympic gigantism. Generally, the mere size and the commercialization of the Games are much less seen as a problem by the interviewees than the substantial expenditures for hosting the Olympics. Hence, a promotion campaign has to be a well-founded, long-term endeavor that highlights themes on the cost side of the Games and provide spaces for Olympic experiences to enthuse the residents by the Olympic idea.

Second, and interestingly, calling for social standards when staging the Games is found to be consistent with the business objectives of the Olympic system. Therefore, the communication strategy and the hosting model may put an emphasis on the social goals and the expected social legacy of the Olympics (e.g., stimulating more sport participation). Yet, initiatives and the measures to create social sustainability have to be credible and verifiable. Otherwise, the social theming in the communication will be dismissed by residents as not reliable.

Third, sport politicians and communication officers need to have the courage, at the same time, to honestly thematize

the Olympic Games as a luxury good that may be expensive, but worth it as a once in a lifetime experience (Preuss & Solberg, 2006). Hosting the Olympics is indeed a generational public project that is simply "nice to have", especially in the case of Germany with the last Games on home soil in the 1970s. The findings of this study suggest that residents are responsive to such an argument.

Fourth, committed skeptics and residents who are oriented towards economic issues also have to be targeted. Certainly, convincing a critical clientele that tends to rational and finance-based arguments is a great challenge for communication officers. Furthermore, the communication approach must be long-term and targeted. Based on previous evidence (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017, 2020; Schnitzer et al., 2018), the answer could be a well-designed Olympic education strategy, again with interactive elements that create Olympic experiences to inspire participants by the Olympic idea. In this context, it a promising finding of this study that business-oriented respondents showed, at least, no reactance toward Olympic values and appreciated social standards which is consistent with the Olympic idea.

Fifth, regarding rational arguments, the advances of the Olympic movement should be stressed, notably, the *Olympic Agenda 2020*, approved in December 2014, which highlights regulations aiming at more sustainable and less costly hosting models of the Olympics (IOC, 2014). While the following Olympic Games did not yet convincingly comply with the Agenda 2020 (e.g., Strittmatter et al., 2019), Schnitzer and Haizinger (2019) showed, for the case of the 2026 Winter Games bids, that more existing facilities are used, raising the distance between Olympic venues. Moreover, the communication policy should be more honest about the real expected costs. Previous research evidenced that underestimated construction costs largely explain higher costs after the event compared to the figures communicated during the bidding phase (Preuss et al., 2019; Preuss & Schnitzer, 2015).

Finally, the survey study has multiple limitations. Though the presented evi-

dence is highly insightful and captures the German public opinion in a unique moment, the sample size is not satisfactory. Due to the suitable clustering of the sample, the statistical validity is sufficient for early findings. However, follow-up surveys with substantially larger and differently clustered samples are urgently warranted. Moreover, there is a need for further theory development on Olympic gigantism and related issues. Yet, the largely exploratory evidence of this study may inform and encourage theoretical reasoning in novel directions. For instance, one fruitful line of thinking about the Olympic system and the Games is definitely social capital theory (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2020).

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Compliance with ethical guidelines

Conflict of interest M. Kurscheidt and N. Prüschenk declare that they have no competing interests.

For this article no studies with human participants or animals were performed by any of the authors. All studies performed were in accordance with the ethical standards indicated in each case.

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Towards a Model of Olympic Social Capital: Theory and Early Evidence

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT

Regarding sports, it has been argued that social capital is created by value-based cultural practices and social exchanges. However, empirical evidence is scarce and does not capture causal relationships. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to develop a causal model of social capital formation within the Olympic movement as an exemplary case of value-based cultural practices in sports. The model focuses on the bridging capital accumulated by Olympic spectators. The main theoretical insight is that the interrelationship among the three Olympic key values of respect, friendship and excellence is perceived and adopted by live spectators via a cyclic process of simultaneous experience resulting in a sustainable episodic memory. In contrast, broadcast spectators develop a dichotomous semantic memory that is negatively influenced by tensions in the socioeconomic environment. The plausibility of the model's propositions is illustrated by data from a cluster sample ($N=1,703$) of German broadcast spectators of and visitors to the 2016 Summer Olympics and 2016 Winter Youth Olympic Games. Notably, the Olympic social capital among the live attendees is found to be significantly larger than that among the broadcast spectators, while the evidence concerning the emotional exposure of the live visitors is mixed and warrants further research.

Keywords:

social capital – social exchange theory – Olympic Games – Olympic values – Olympism – International Olympic Committee – sport spectators – sport broadcast

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Introduction

Olympic values form the core of the Olympic Games and are considered a unique selling proposition of the Olympic movement (International Olympic Committee [IOC], 2015). The Olympics are supposed to propagate a life model that consists of the interplay of work ethic, moral performance, social responsibility, respect for global ethical principles and learning through exchange and education (Coubertin, 2000). The use and transfer of these Olympic values create social capital within society. The complex levels of the underlying social interactions must be thoroughly examined to derive effective

governance of such a common good (Berkes, 2008). In addition to the targeted activities of key influencers, the IOC and Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG), this requires the integration of all stakeholders in the Olympic movement (Davis, 2012) based on a large-scale perception and adoption of Olympic values.

However, the societal desire to create positive reinforcement can provoke the opposite, a negative reinforcement entailing the erosion of values (Skinner, 1948). One example of this phenomenon is the Olympic Games' profound turn to commercialisation (Dauvergne & Lister, 2012; Seguin, Richelieu, & O'Reilly, 2008). This may generate negative perceptions by the directly

and most affected stakeholders, in particular, athletes and residents of Olympic host cities. Increasingly, spectators also hold a critical stance depending on the level of their awareness and information behaviour. The more they have a sense of social responsibility, the more they may develop a negative image of the Games or even refuse them (Andorfer, 2013; Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2005). The result of these tensions could indeed be an erosion of the social capital created by Olympic values. Therefore, communication campaigns, when bidding for and staging Olympic Games, have to be credible and verifiable (Kurscheidt & Prüschenk, 2020). However, this is largely a question of given socioeconomic constellations that have to be further empirically investigated (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017; Schnitzer, Walde, Scheiber, Nagiller, & Tappeiner, 2018).

In general, there is a substantial need for empirical studies on social capital related to a variety of social phenomena (Schuller & Field, 1998). However, Mouw (2006) notably criticised social capital theory for its lack of foundations of causal relationships, which represents a significant restriction on precise measurement. For instance, regression analyses test causal empirical models and may therefore not be applicable to studies on social capital, although they are best suited to identify hidden relationships in complex social environments. Prüschenk and Kurscheidt (2017) were the first to show the explanatory power of such an empirical approach to social capital in the Olympic context. They found that the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) may be an effective instrument to shift perceptions of Olympic values (see also Schnitzer et al., 2018). These insights could be derived from the causal relationships only in multiple regressions. Therefore, the aim of this article is to develop a causal model of the social capital created by Olympic values with a focus on the largest stakeholder group of spectators. The theoretical reasoning and modelling of causalities could enhance the understanding of the process by which social capital is created in different contexts of Olympic Games and the moderating variables that could prevent spectators from contributing to social capital creation. Since the model is restricted to the particular characteristics of the context of the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games, this specific construct will be called '*Olympic capital*'. Regarding the focus on the perception of spectators, *live spectators* must be distinguished from *broadcast spectators*. While the former are a smaller group than the latter, they are much more exposed to the experience of the Olympic values. Social capital creation among spectators will be argued following Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) and Putnam's (2000) theories of social capital and social exchange theory (Emerson, 1976). Finally, the plausibility of the key propositions of the model is illustrated by data from cluster surveys ($N=1,703$) of live spectators at the 2016 Summer Olympics and 2016 Winter YOG compared to German broadcast spectators of the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Games.

In the following section, the model is reasoned in two major steps. First, the creation of social capital by Olympic values is argued. Second, the social exchange of Olympic messages and symbolism experienced by live spectators compared to broad-

cast spectators is modelled. The third section introduces the methods and data, while the fourth section presents early evidence for the model's propositions. The final section concludes with first insights and an outlook on follow-up research needed to advance the model and empirical findings on Olympic capital.

Modelling Olympic Capital Creation

Olympic Values, Social Capital and Spectator Perception

The guiding principle of Olympism is summarised into three core values: *respect, friendship and excellence* (IOC, 2015). These are understood worldwide and apply to humanity in general, not just to athletes and spectators at the Olympics. Initially, Olympic values affect the athletes who actively shape the Games and represent the heart of the Olympic movement (IOC, 2014). The construct of Olympism may be split into three components as a function of the social context (Bourdieu, 1984): Olympism through (1) active sports, (2) local live consumption and (3) (global) broadcast consumption.

By its nature, active sports embody the central values of Olympism. Thus, athletes can actively experience Olympic values at the Olympic Games. They are supposed to show respect towards the achievements of other athletes, which is reinforced when respect is returned in a social exchange within the contest environment. The friendship based on such mutual *regard, trust and tolerance* forms the centre point of Olympism (Putnam, 2000; Schulenkorf, 2010, 2012). It aims for an exchange among all parties involved and is associated with further values such as dialogue, diversity and solidarity. Excellence requires giving the best of oneself in every context of life (IOC, 2013). These values build a social context and become relational qualifications through social interaction (Coleman, 1990; Esser, 1999). Social capital is notably created when the values are *simultaneously experienced* (Bourdieu, 1986). The IOC uses the Olympic values originating from active sports, generalises them and purposefully places them into the wider social context of spectators.

Various studies have shown how active sport contributes to conveying and strengthening values by social exchange (Coalter, 2008; Downward, Pawlowski, & Rasciute, 2014; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008). Hence, social capital is substantially created in mass amateur sports, since it is consistent with sport's primary function of joint physical activity and fostered by socialisation in sport clubs (Lindström, Hanson, & Östergren, 2001; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). In the context of professional sports, social capital has been used as a general theoretical explanation for socioeconomic outcomes of major sport events. They are argued to generate social capital that may be leveraged to improve economic transactions and impacts (Groeneveld, Houlihan, & Ohl, 2011; Misener & Mason, 2006; Spaaij & Westerbeek, 2010). Other articles consider social capital an outcome that is typically limited to the period of the Olympic Games unless social strategies are intentionally

incorporated into the hosting strategy, such as the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games strategy of inclusion of Australian aborigines (Koenigstorfer et al., 2019). Therefore, the Olympic Games have the potential to induce changes in the beliefs of residents and spectators when targeted in the hosting policy (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017; Schnitzer et al., 2018). In particular, Olympic experiences may inspire both residents and spectators by the Olympic idea. As a result, they tend to be less critical about the size and costs of the Olympics (Kurscheidt & Prüschenk, 2020) and to support future bids for the Games (Schnitzer, Walde, Scheiber, Nagiller, & Tappeiner, 2019). However, changes in beliefs do not necessarily cause changes in habits (Preuss, 2019). Moreover, the mechanisms of the transmission and adoption of Olympic values as a function of the given *socioeconomic environment* is not sufficiently addressed in this literature. Thus, this article attempts to theoretically model these mechanisms while focusing on spectators of Olympic Games.

The consumption of sport spectators is characterised by heterogeneity, complex behaviours and attitudes influenced by the social context (Bouchet, Bodet, Bernache-Assollant, & Kada, 2011; Van Leeuwen, Quick, & Daniel, 2002). In addition, following the theory of two-sided markets, the broadcast demand for a sporting event depends on the general interest for the event as documented by the live attendance. However, increasing commodification and commercialisation may generate mistrust from the public and harm the attachment of sport fans (Block & Polanyi, 2003; Julianotti, 2005). In such a social environment dominated by business and political interests, the principles of Olympism are likely to be undermined and become ineffective. Silk, Andrews, and Cole (2005), for instance, conclude that the key product of the Olympic Games is no longer international understanding, as

embodied in the Olympic values, but instead global capitalism and consumption.

Thus, Olympism has become a by-product of the Games, which currently are a unique global entertainment product serving diverse politico-economic interests. This has provoked substantial opposition worldwide against the Olympic Games and IOC over the past two decades (Shaw, 2008; Simons, 2015). Hence, the controversial social context of the Olympic Games has to be taken into account when modelling social capital among spectators created by Olympic values.

Olympic Capital Created by Olympic Values

The social capital generated by the Olympic movement should be examined on the basis of the following three fundamental forms of social capital (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017) introduced by Woolcock (1998) and Putnam (2000): *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking capital*. Therefore, the basic model of Olympic capital depicted in Figure 1 is developed through a theoretical analysis of the three forms of social capital based on the Olympic values. This leads to the identification of components and mechanisms of social capital creation to be discussed in the following.

Bonding capital is typically found in communities that tend to be smaller, strongly interconnected and homogeneous. This is the case in active sports (Downward et al., 2014) and may also apply to athletes at Olympic Games (Schulenkorf, 2010). Both the concept of nation, linking the teams that compete at the Olympics, and the common ideals of sports, embracing all athletes, create strong connections among the participants. Moreover, they share the same experiences, have to meet the same requirements given by the regulations of the Olympic Games and pursue the same target of showing sporting performance.

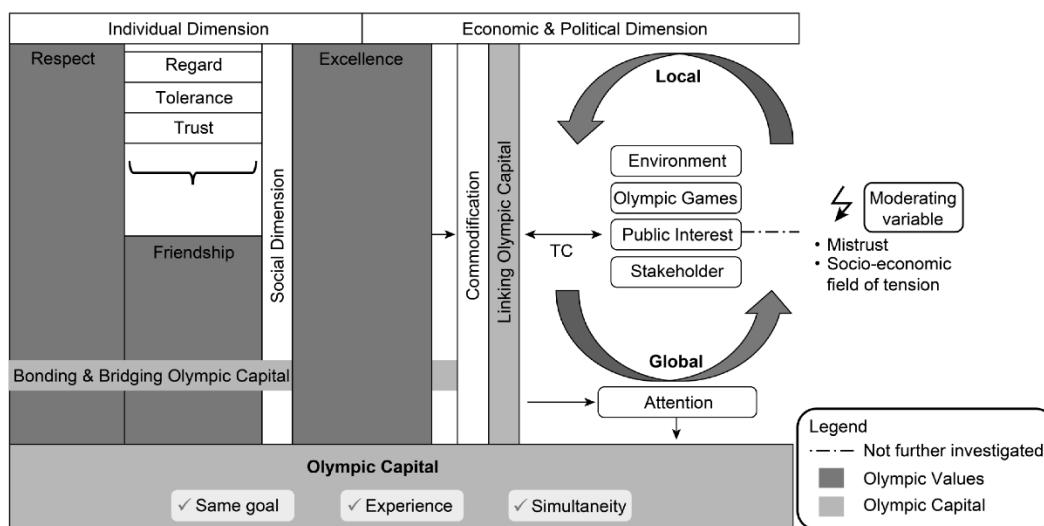


Figure 1. Olympic capital created by Olympic values.

Hence, despite the competition among athletes, they build a community fulfilling three criteria of effective social capital formation: *same goal*, *experience* and *simultaneity* (Bourdieu, 1986).

Spectators, in contrast to the athletes, do not necessarily have common goals, though the social and economic needs and preferences that induce their sport consumption will be similar (Trail, Fink, & Anderson, 2003). In addition, depending on the type of consumption (live vs. broadcast) and *emotional exposure*, spectators are interconnected by either a strong or weak social exchange (Granovetter, 1973; Koo & Hardin, 2008). Certainly, however, their social ties as a large group of live attendees and worldwide TV viewers are not as close as those of athletes at the Games. Thus, their interrelations rather constitute bridging capital as opposed to the stronger bonding capital in the case of athletes (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017). However, both forms of Olympic capital are to be found on the horizontal level in the model of Figure 1 because both arise from a decentralised mutual exchange of the involved communities and stakeholders. The IOC and the OCOG cannot directly control this process or intervene effectively (Christesen, 2015), but they may provide structures and platforms related to the Games that facilitate social capital formation among the involved groups (Misener & Mason, 2006) by benefitting from processes of value co-creation (Horbel, Popp, Woratschek, & Wilson, 2016; Woratschek, Horbel, & Popp, 2014).

In contrast, linking capital is directly influenced, i.e., on the vertical level in Figure 1, by the IOC, business representatives and sponsors (Christesen, 2015; Preuss, 2007b; Walker, Heere, Parent, & Drane, 2010; Xing et al., 2008). It emerges from institutionalised interrelations of stakeholders in the *economic and political dimension* of the Olympic movement and builds upon the bonding and bridging capital created in the *social dimension*. At the intersection of these dimensions, the *commodification* of the Olympic Games represents a major leverage for Olympic capital. The exciting and outstanding sporting performance, following the Olympic value of excellence, determines the entertainment product that generates global awareness, which, in turn, drives the advertising product of the Olympics. As a result, the overall Olympic capital is multiplied by the forces of the market mechanism.

However, this sphere of the model in Figure 1 is fraught with tensions caused by the diverging logics of social and professional interactions. Therefore, the Olympic value of excellence has become ambivalent in relation to social capital creation. For instance, the criticism has been presented that the athletes are transformed from social actors into producers striving for economic optimisation (Digel, 2008). At the same time, governmental and sport officials contend that elite sport encourages participation in sports and social communities (Grix & Carmichael, 2012). Hardly any nation has not utilised sport and the Olympics as a strategic instrument for pursuing politico-economic interests (Houlihan & Green, 2008). However, while the tensions have been extensively discussed in the international literature (Grix & Houlihan, 2014; Houlihan, 2012; Houlihan

& Zheng, 2013; Minnaert, 2012; Preuss, 2004; Preuss, 2007a, 2019), the virtues of commodification and professionalisation have been largely overlooked.

Christiansen (2010) found, for example, that elite athletes perceive themselves rather as professionals and appreciate the global visibility of elite sports and the Olympics. As argued above and in the model, Olympic capital creation starts with the *individual dimension* of the athletes who experience and practise Olympic values. Apparently, they manage to unite the mentioned competing logics in their self-concept. Actually, this is in line with early writings on social exchange theory. Blau (1964) argued social exchange as being linked to economic organisation since it provides the incentive framework for social interaction. Moreover, basic values are not lost with economic development (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The resulting bonding and bridging capital is rather supplemented by the linking capital of commodification, which is also value based in the Olympic context concerning the value of excellence. Thus, it is rather a question of effective governance how this commodification impacts Olympic capital creation. Efficient institutions may reduce transaction costs (Coase, 1998) and, thereby, enable a smoother and quicker dissemination of Olympic capital. An important outcome is notably the unprecedented global media coverage of the Olympic Games (Black, 2007; Payne, 2006). This guarantees the tremendous worldwide awareness that generates the 'feel-good factor' as evidenced in major sport events (Kavetsos & Szymanski, 2010), which may also be attributed to the appreciation of Olympic values.

Hence, the mechanism of Olympic capital creation begins with the athletes practising respect (e.g., fairness in sport contests) and friendship (e.g., team spirit), but, at the same time, showcasing excellence (in particular, outstanding sporting performance). The commodification and mediatisation of Olympic excellence then turn the origin of Olympic capital from the micro-level of the individual dimension into a collective phenomenon on the macro-level of social dimension. Thus, the theoretical analysis confirms that Olympic values indeed provide a potentially powerful platform for the Olympic Games to build bridging and linking capital also collectively among the worldwide spectatorship. This insight can be particularly derived from the perspective of social exchange theory on the link between the individual and collective formation of social capital (see also Brandes, Dharwadkar, & Wheatley, 2004; Burt, 1997; First, 2017). However, communication channels play an important role in facilitating the social interaction between individual bridging groups and linking institutions (Mohr & Sohi, 1996). These issues of spectator perception of Olympic values will be argued in the following and modelled by Figure 2.

Transfer of Olympic Capital to Spectators by Social Exchange

The global attention of the Olympic Games must be leveraged to convey Olympic values to the spectatorship. Generally, social capital is increasingly perceived, the more attention the good (i.e., the Olympic Games) and its attributes (i.e., Olympic values)

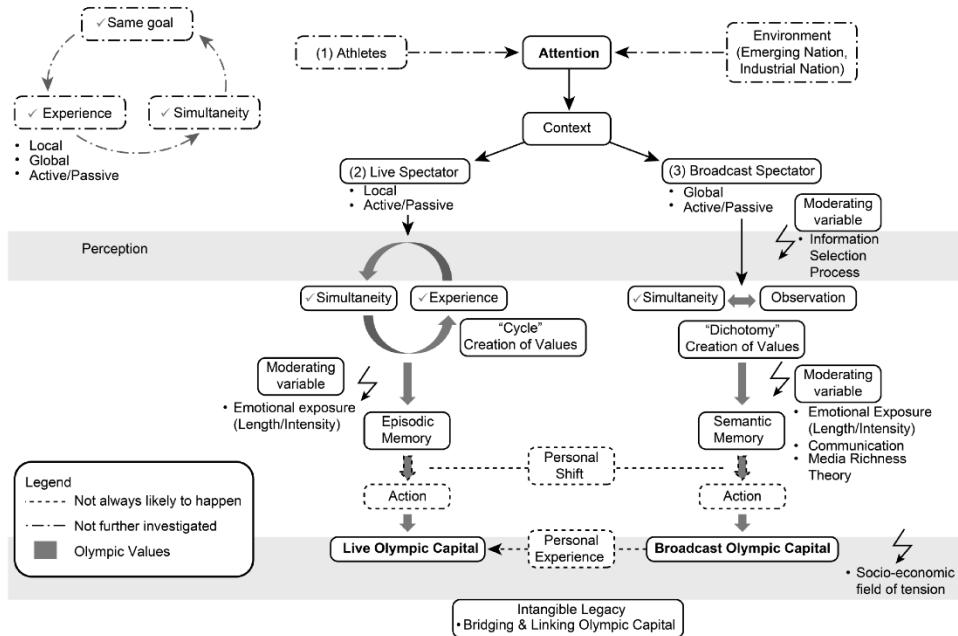


Figure 2. Olympic capital creation among spectators by social exchange.

receive (Ferrand & Pages, 1999; Mackenzie, 1986). In addition, the higher is the individual engagement with the object of social capital creation and the greater is the personal exposure, the larger the social capital generated (Misener & Mason, 2006; Olney, Holbrook, & Batra, 1991; Schulenkorf, 2009). However, the groups of spectators may not only differ in exposure to the Olympic Games but also perceive Olympic messages in varying contexts (Vargo & Lusch, 2016). Therefore, spectators from diverse national and cultural backgrounds may have different access to Olympic capital. In addition, the level of involvement has an impact on the perception of Olympic issues (Kurscheidt & Prüschenk, 2020; Schnitzer et al., 2018), such as future support of Olympic bids (Schnitzer et al., 2019). Moreover, viewers who collectively follow the Olympics (e.g., in a sports bar) are expected to have a different perception from those watching individually at home (Woratschek, Durchholz, Maier, & Ströbel, 2017). While such differentiations could be subject to further research, the following model in Figure 2 focusses on live spectators compared to broadcast spectators (Morley & Robins, 2002).

Live spectators. Individuals attending the Olympic Games may share similar consumption motives and have comparable experiences. Their perception is influenced by the following two major determinants of Olympic capital creation: *simultaneity* and *experience*. Simultaneous experiences may notably occur with regard to the atmosphere, entertainment, sporting competitions and cultural exchange (Chalip, 2006). Therefore, live spectators are not merely recipients but also actively shape

the event through their social interactions (Horbel et al., 2016; Woratschek et al., 2014). Thus, such a social exchange should be understood as a *cycle* rather than a dichotomy (Crawford, 2004; Mehus, 2005). It is based on information and values that depend on the individual's experience (Cook & Rice, 2003; Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1961; Leik, 1992; Skinner, 1953). The personal exchange produces individual and social stimuli that create an atmosphere of learning (Atkinson & Wickens, 1971; Broadbent, 1963; Simon & Newell, 1964; Thorndike, 1931). In contrast to residents, whose quality of life is sometimes impaired by the hosting of the Olympic Games (e.g., by congestions, noise and crime; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012), spectators are only temporarily affected in a comfortable leisure context. The more they are involved and the more intense are their interactions with a large group of other spectators, the larger is the value created for all attendees (Horbel et al., 2016; Vargo, Maglio, & Akaka, 2008; Woratschek et al., 2014). In addition, common values may be mutually confirmed (Hofer, Reinders, & Fries, 2010). While attendees encounter each other and engage in intercultural contacts, they however maintain their national and social identities but share the special moments and may communicate intensely. The greater the personal input as well as the length and intensity of the emotional exposure (moderating variable), the more likely the experience is to remain in the spectators' memories (Thorson, Chi, & Leavitt, 1992). This form of recalling emotional experiences is called *episodic memory* and is characterised by the fact that it is lived. Therefore, it can be saved as a long-term memory whose importance

is memorised proportionally to the duration of the experience (Conway, 1997). It moreover stimulates interaction with the environment (Glenberg, 1997) and further commitment (e.g., volunteering activity; Green & Chalip, 2004).

Irrespective of the tensions discussed above, live spectators enjoy a positive personal experience. However, this individual and emotional experience cannot be transferred to other locations (e.g., fan meetings such as public viewings; Uhrich & Benkenstein, 2010; Woratschek et al., 2017). This kind of social capital is inaccessible to other spectator groups because it has to be personally experienced. Observers may notice only the local atmosphere, which might stimulate their interest in attending. In the model, this special form of an intense bridging capital shall be called *live Olympic capital*. This can make attendees of Olympic Games into ambassadors of Olympic values recommending the live experience to others. In contrast, low involvement of live spectators can result in low emotional attention. This leads to inattentional blindness (Mack & Rock, 1998; Simons, 2000) and causes the Olympic capital to not be perceived (Rensink, O'Regan, & Clark, 1997).

Broadcast spectators. The strong personal experience of live spectators is not accessible to TV viewers. Their perception of the broadcast is embedded in everyday life and is part of an information selection (Fisher & Naumer, 2006). It is not as conscious a decision as taking vacation, travelling to the Olympic Games and attending live. In the model, the information selection is therefore understood as a moderating variable in a continuous process of attention and perception of the daily routine. It also depends on the schedules of the coverage of the Olympic Games in various communication channels, such as television, the Internet, social media and newspapers (Thompson, 1995). However, media consumers do have a pronounced interest in the Olympic Games since it is easy for them to switch off or turn away to another activity. Therefore, the *simultaneity* is given when they watch live broadcasts. However, there is no active social exchange or involvement of personal resources. Thus, their isolated viewing constitutes a *dichotomy* of value creation which is not based on an emotional exposure.

Depending on the length and intensity of the exposure, the broadcast spectator will keep the viewed content in mind. This is called *semantic memory* and is characterised by a conceptual knowledge obtained by *observation* (Conway, 1997). Consequently, broadcast spectators acquire a substantially weaker form of bridging Olympic capital than the live attendees. Nevertheless, they perceive the symbolic and informational content, which may or may not result in action that is maintained only by linking structures of the media (e.g., comments via social media). In the model, this form of weak bridging capital is called *broadcast Olympic capital*. It can be however converted into live Olympic capital if there is a personal experience that identifies the observed message as credible and confirms beliefs.

Opposed to the social capital created by live attendance, broadcast Olympic capital is centred in the mentioned field of tensions between the social and economic logic dependent to the agenda-setting of the media. More importantly, broad-

casting revenue is by far the largest component of the Olympic turnover and remains with the IOC whereas the ticketing revenues are left for the OCOG (IOC, 2017; Preuss, 2004). It is therefore not surprising that the business focus of the Olympic Games has become the selling of media rights, downgrading the live event to a media content and figurehead to construct brand awareness for the Olympic movement (Maguire, Butler, Barnard, & Golding, 2008; Nickisch, 2016). Therefore, broadcast Olympic capital is subject to a communicated reality that may be distorted by the media coverage and could result in likewise distorted memories (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973).

Testable propositions. The modelling of Olympic capital discussed in this section and depicted in Figures 1 and 2 provided a number of testable propositions. In particular, the mechanisms of Olympic capital creation were argued in much more detail than in the previous literature. Moreover, sound statements were derived on the causalities of Olympic capital formation. However, the whole complexity of the theoretical modelling cannot be expected to be captured in one coherent empirical approach. Notwithstanding, the remainder of this article addresses at least some basic tests of the key propositions to illustrate the empirical plausibility of the model. The following two propositions are selected for this early evidence of the developed theory:

Proposition 1: The Olympic capital created by Olympic values among live spectators is higher than that among broadcast spectators;

Proposition 2: A higher intensity of emotional exposure and a positive environment result in higher Olympic capital.

Methods and data

The data used for the empirical tests to be presented in the next section were gathered by a cluster sampling ($N=1,703$) of two surveys of live spectators at Olympic events and one survey of broadcast spectators. For the first cluster ($N=243$), live spectators at the Winter YOG, held from 12 to 21 February 2016 in Lillehammer, Norway, were surveyed (IOC, 2016b). The second cluster ($N=1,118$) of broadcast spectators was drawn from non-sporting-event occasions in a medium-sized German town (Bayreuth, Northern Bavaria) during the run-up to the 2016 Summer Olympic Games. The third cluster ($N=342$) was sampled among live spectators at the Summer Olympic Games staged from 5 to 21 August 2016 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (IOC, 2016a). As a self-motivated study, the surveys were free of any heteronomous interests but had to cope with limited funding. Therefore, a cost-effective and still statistically viable sampling procedure was chosen. It is a purposeful, multistage cluster sampling that sufficiently captures control groups for the research aim. Such a sampling is recommended when the distribution of the studied subject in the population is unknown and will be approximately representative with rising sample size (Li, Pitts, & Quarterman, 2008).

However, representativeness is not a major concern of this research given that the relationship between the measured constructs is in the centre of interest and because a control group design helps to detect the relevant relationships (Jones, 2015). More important according to the theoretical model was to capture different environments of Olympic capital creation influencing spectator perception. In this regard, the Winter YOG in Lillehammer can be qualified as a very positive environment for conveying Olympic values. The event built upon the legacy of the 1994 Winter Olympic Games, which is seen as one of the best Winter Games ever (IOC, 2016c; Owen, 2014). The new and more modest format of the YOG is moreover argued as a particularly suitable platform for conveying Olympic values (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017).

In contrast, the intensity of the emotional exposure is lower than that found at the much larger 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, while the environment of those Games was partially described as the worst ever (Gibson, 2014). The city and the country were suffering from various social, economic and political problems at the time. Cost over-runs, corruption scandals, safety and pollution issues overshadowed the event. In addition, health risks caused by a Zika virus epidemic frightened the athletes and visitors (Phillips, 2016). Thus, the question arises whether Olympic capital is still generated under such circumstances. Finally, the German sample of broadcast spectators was gathered between 1 and 29 July 2016 shortly before the Rio Games. Therefore, respondents might have been influenced by controversial media coverage. However, at the same time, the awareness of broadcast spectators for the Games was generally given due to the public debate on the Olympics ahead of the event.

All surveys were conducted by direct social contact with survey assistants and on a self-administered, paper-pencil basis. This procedure represents a reliable sampling and forces control of every questionnaire during data entry. Thus, invalid or dubious responses are easily detected (Li et al., 2008). The questionnaire was available in German, English and Portuguese to facilitate understanding and took approximately 10 minutes for the respondents. It was designed as a multipurpose instrument asking questions on the perception of Olympic values and item batteries on attitudes towards social, economic and political issues of the Games and the Olympic movement. Sociodemographic characteristics closed the questionnaire. For the measurement, 5-point Likert scales (1='disagree' to 5='agree'), partly complemented by the choice 'don't know' (=0), were applied (Jones, 2015). With regard to statistical validity and efficiency, 5-point Likert scales have been shown in recent methods research to be equivalent to larger scales and have the advantage of being very intuitive (Revilla, Saris, & Krosnick, 2014; Wakita, Ueshima, & Noguchi, 2012).

Since the purpose of the data analysis in this article is simply to illustrate the plausibility of the developed model in relation to the above raised Propositions 1 and 2, it is sufficient to focus on the perception of Olympic values as a measure of Olympic capital. The following two variables are relevant:

(1) VALUESIMP measures whether the respondents think that Olympic values are important at the Olympic Games (0='don't know' to 5='agree'), and (2) OLYMPVALUES represents the mean of eleven values associated with the Olympic Games (1='disagree' to 5='agree'; excellence, respect, friendship, dialogue, diversity, tolerance, fair play, solidarity, development, peace and inspiration; Cronbach's $\alpha=.87$). Both empirical constructs were related to binary variables (1=yes, 0=no) representing the three surveys and, thus, testing for differences in the perceptions of live spectators at the Rio Olympics (RIOOLIVE) versus live spectators at the YOG (LILLELIVE) and (German) broadcast spectators (GERMROITV). Descriptives, analyses of variance, correlations and regressions, without considering control variables (Jones, 2015; Wooldridge, 2013), were applied using Stata/SE 13.1.

Empirical Results

Descriptive Statistics and Hypothesis Testing

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics. It can be observed that VALUESIMP has a high overall mean, which is obviously driven by the general interest of all three spectator groups in the Olympic Games. As expected, the highest mean is found among the live spectators of the Rio Olympics, which is closely followed by the attendees of the YOG. The broadcast spectators rate considerably lower. Still, they are affirmative on average. This finding is the first indication that substantial bridging Olympic capital is observable and that Proposition 1 that Olympic capital among live spectators is greater than that among broadcast spectators is plausible. Moreover, the average score of Rio visitors exceeds that of the YOG attendees, who presumably exhibit less emotional exposure due to the smaller nature of the event, which features less known young athletes. In addition, the Rio live spectators attended the established platform or symbol of the Olympic idea, and thus, the question of the importance of Olympic values at the Games was closer to their current experience.

However, regarding OLYMPVALUES, the result is not confirmed. Here, the YOG attendees show slightly higher rates on average than the visitors of the Rio Olympics, while the TV viewers again rate the lowest. Here, the positive environment of the YOG may come into play. It may also be that people attending the less prestigious YOG tend to be more value oriented in general, while the Rio visitors instead seek outstanding entertainment at an event of global esteem.

However, the standard deviation of the live spectators of the YOG is slightly higher than that of those at the Rio Summer Games. Therefore, the question arises of whether the descriptive evidence holds in inference testing. A Kruskal-Wallis test will disclose whether or not the three samples differ in Olympic capital. Indeed, both for VALUESIMP, $\chi^2(2, N=1,691)=90.6$, $p<.001$, and OLYMPVALUES, $\chi^2(2, N=1,529)=416$, $p<.001$, the samples are found to be significantly different. However, Dunn and Conover-Iman tests, respectively, prove that the findings

Table 1. Descriptive results on Propositions 1 and 2.

Sample	VALUESIMP				OLYMPVALUES			
	M	SD	Mdn	N	M	SD	Mdn	N
German broadcast spectators Rio 2016	3.86	1.22	4	1,112	3.48	0.64	3.55	1,023
Rio Summer Games 2016 live spectators	4.45	0.91	5	339	4.21	0.54	4.27	292
Lillehammer YOG 2016 live spectators	4.36	0.95	5	240	4.29	0.67	4.36	214
Total sample	4.05	1.16	4	1,691	3.74	0.73	3.82	1,529

Notes: VALUESIMP stands for the variable (0='don't know' to 5='agree') on the item 'Olympic values' within the item battery 'How important are the following aspects for Olympic Games?'. OLYMPVALUES stands for the mean of eleven values associated with the Olympic Games (1='disagree' to 5='agree'; excellence, respect, friendship, dialogue, diversity, tolerance, fair play, solidarity, development, peace and inspiration; Cronbach's $\alpha=.87$).

are clearly dominated by the consistently lower ratings of the broadcast spectators, whereas the two groups of live spectators do not significantly differ (for VALUESIMP, $z=1.29$, $p=.30$, and for OLYMPVALUES, $z=-1.48$, $p=.21$, in the Conover-Iman tests with Bonferroni adjustment).

The hierarchy among the three samples found in the descriptive statistics is maintained, with the Rio visitors yielding the highest average rank (1,021) for VALUESIMP in the Kruskal-Wallis test, followed by the YOG attendees (973), while the opposite is true for OLYMPVALUES (1,120 versus 1,070). Hence, Proposition 1 that Olympic capital among live spectators tends to be higher than that among broadcast spectators is confirmed. However, the findings on the emotional exposure and environment, when comparing the two groups of live spectators (Proposition 2), are mixed with regard to the different constructs of Olympic values. Therefore, the differences between

the Rio visitors and YOG attendees (by LILLELIVE) should be examined for the subsample of live spectators. *Mann-Whitney U* tests between the two live spectator groups reveal that they are significantly different for OLYMPVALUES, $z=-2.60$, $p<.01$, $r=-.07$, but not for VALUESIMP, $z=1.32$, $p=.19$, $r=.05$. Thus, further data analyses on the full sample are needed.

Correlation and Regression Analysis

The Spearman rank correlations shown in Table 2 reveal high significances throughout and a consistently stronger positive relationship between the proxies for Olympic capital and RIOLIVE compared with LILLELIVE. In contrast, GERMRIOTV is negatively correlated with VALUESIMP, documenting a distinct difference from the live spectators because RIOLIVE and LILLELIVE are positively linked to the value construct. Regarding

Table 2. Rank correlation and regression results on Propositions 1 and 2.

	VALUESIMP		OLYMPVALUES	
	Spearman coefficient	Ordered probit beta coefficient	Spearman coefficient	OLS beta coefficient
GERMRIOTV	-0.26***	–	-0.52***	–
RIOLIVE	0.18***	0.65***	0.33***	0.40***
LILLELIVE	0.11***	0.53***	0.31***	0.39***
N	1,572	1,691	1,572	1,526
R ²	–	0.076 (McKelvey-Zavoina's R ²), X ² =106***	–	0.25, F=249***

Notes: VALUESIMP stands for the variable (0='don't know' to 5='agree') on the item 'Olympic values' within the item battery 'How important are the following aspects for Olympic Games?'. OLYMPVALUES stands for the mean of eleven values associated with the Olympic Games (1='disagree' to 5='agree'; excellence, respect, friendship, dialogue, diversity, tolerance, fair play, solidarity, development, peace and inspiration; Cronbach's $\alpha=.87$). GERMRIOTV, RIOLIVE and LILLELIVE stand for binary variables (1=yes, 0=no), controlling for the three cluster surveys of German broadcast spectators of the Rio Summer Games 2016, live spectators at the Rio Summer Games 2016 and live spectators at the Lillehammer YOG 2016, respectively. The significance levels are * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

OLYMPVALUES, the gap between the effect size of GERMRIOTV and those of RIOLIVE and LILLELIVE is accentuated, while the results of the live spectators are closer. Hence, in contrast to the previous evidence, the Rio visitors now appear to exhibit significantly more Olympic capital than the YOG attendees, which may be attributed to a more intense emotional exposure at the larger Rio Olympics. Moreover, the findings are robust based on the Pearson correlations, indicating that parametric regression analyses of the constructs of Olympic capital towards RIOLIVE and LILLELIVE as explanatory variables (i.e., the broadcast group represents the base estimation) are expected to yield meaningful results.

Since VALUESIMP is a Likert-scaled variable, ordered probit or logit models must be applied (Wooldridge, 2013). In the probit regression shown in Table 2, RIOLIVE again has a significantly stronger effect on VALUESIMP than LILLELIVE. However, although the regression is significant, the model fit is weak without further control variables. Nevertheless, the finding that RIOLIVE explains VALUESIMP slightly better than LILLELIVE is also documented by the higher average change in the probabilities of 0.085 versus 0.069 as predicted by the probit model. In addition, the results are robust, both in an ordered logit model and in regressions on a binary variant of VALUESIMP accentuating affirmative answers (1='agree' and 'somewhat agree'; 0=otherwise). Hence, the higher explanatory power of RIOLIVE in causal regression models underlines the correlation findings.

Finally, this is also tested for OLYMPVALUES in the OLS regression shown in Table 2, which yields a high explanation of variance, given that no control variables are considered in this simple modelling. Again, it is confirmed that the marginal effect of RIOLIVE on OLYMPVALUES is slightly higher than the predictor of LILLELIVE. Thus, in both the correlation and regression analyses, it is found that the Rio visitors rate Olympic values significantly higher than the YOG attendees, further proving the relevance of emotional exposure as stated in Proposition 2. However, the difference in Olympic capital evidenced by the two live spectator groups is marginal. Consequently, the results may change when controlling for confounders, which could strengthen the impact of the positive environment at the Lillehammer YOG on the perception of Olympic values. Hence, the results presented here for Proposition 2 are not conclusive in terms of whether emotional exposure has a stronger effect on Olympic capital than a positive environment or vice versa.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Olympic movement and its primary product, the Olympic Games, benefit from the value foundation of Olympism (Coubertin, 2000), which is unique in the global sports world. This not only fosters the brand of the Olympic rings and customer loyalty (Davis, 2012; Seguin et al., 2008) but is also the starting point of social capital creation through the Olympic key values of respect, friendship and excellence. Along the perception, simultaneous experience and cultural practice of the

Olympic values, they are transformed from the individual level to a collective level and, thus, form bonding and bridging social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000), particularly among Olympic athletes and spectators. At that point of the process, the commodification of the Olympic value of excellence leverages Olympic capital via extensive global media coverage and supplements linking social capital in the economic and political sphere.

At the same time, this phase is fraught with tensions due to the diverging logics of social and professional interactions and may also cause erosion of the Olympic capital. In this context, it is crucial that the largest Olympic stakeholder group of the worldwide spectatorship is effectively reached by the Olympic message. It was argued that live spectators run through a cycle of shared simultaneous experiences, resulting in an episodic memory of Olympic values that is stronger and more sustainable than the semantic memory developed by broadcast spectators based on dichotomous observation. Additionally, the perception of Olympic values by the latter may be distorted by information selection and media coverage. However, for both spectator groups, the length and intensity of the emotional exposure is a moderating variable. This reasoning was depicted in two graphical models, proposing notably that live Olympic capital is larger than broadcast Olympic capital (Proposition 1). Then, the propositions were tested using data collected from three surveys of German broadcast spectators of the 2016 Rio Summer Olympics, live attendees at those Games and visitors to the 2016 Lillehammer Winter YOG. Moreover, the two latter samples enabled an examination of Proposition 2 concerning emotional exposure and environment when comparing the live spectator groups at the large Summer Games with those at the smaller, less prestigious Olympic event format.

First, the empirical results overall showed a high appreciation of the Olympic values and, thus, documented considerable Olympic capital. Second, Proposition 1 was clearly confirmed that live spectators exhibit a significantly larger Olympic capital than broadcast spectators. Third, it was found that the Rio visitors rate Olympic values significantly higher than YOG attendees do (Proposition 2). However, the difference in Olympic capital between the two live spectator groups is marginal. The higher Olympic capital for Rio visitors may be attributed to the more intense emotional exposure at the Olympic Games, while the small difference may be explained by the positive environment of the YOG in Lillehammer or the more value-oriented spectatorship at the modest event format (Prüschenk & Kurscheidt, 2017).

However, the empirical study did not control for confounding effects in either the individual and social dimensions or the economic and political dimensions of Olympic capital creation. For instance, preferences for sport and the Olympics, motives for visiting the event, attitudes towards the governance of the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement as well as sociodemographics can be expected to influence the perception of the Olympic values. Thus, more sophisticated, multiple regression models should be tested on the data to examine the incremen-

tal effect of emotional exposure and the environment (Proposition 2). The evidence might lead to different conclusions on the two constructs.

However, this follow-up research will benefit from the theory concerning the process and causalities of Olympic capital creation developed in this article. Such detailed reasoning on the formation of social capital on the basis of the Olympic values was missing in the previous literature. Moreover, the theoretical determinants and structure of the model may be generalisable to other areas of social capital creation, in sports and beyond. In addition to empirically studying Propositions 1 and 2, two further theoretical insights are notable. First, the commercialisation of the Olympic Games is not necessarily detrimental to Olympic capital creation because in particular, the media coverage also contributes to the global dissemination of Olympic values. The relevant question is how well the commercialisation – as the commodification of the Olympic value of excellence – is governed and balanced with the conveyance of other Olympic values (i.e., respect and friendship). Second, the lower Olympic capital creation among broadcast spectators compared to the live attendees may be leveraged.

The aim of a strategic event leveraging approach should be to interlink the semantic memory of TV viewers and the episodic memory of live spectators and other highly involved stakeholder groups. The lack of personal exchange could be compensated by accompanying communication to build a global bridge. According to media richness theory, complex contents require complex transmitters (Robert & Dennis, 2005). In particular, stable relationships with trustworthy media partners ought to be developed to generate lasting effects for the conveyance of Olympic values (Hall & Widén-Wulff, 2008; Lee & Maguire, 2009). Life-long learning through a constant exchange of values and information could generate not only Olympic capital but also an investment in business development (Biesta, 2006; Field, 2005). A positive perception has a definitively stronger impact on the willingness to apply experience and take self-actions (Biscaia, Correia, Rosado, Maroco, & Ross, 2012).

In future research, these considerations may be further developed theoretically, and effective governance models and management strategies should be identified. Moreover, the topic still warrants empirical work regarding diverse issues, which may be guided by the presented model. In this article, the purpose of the data analysis was simply to illustrate the plausibility of the model. To address the statistical limitations of this early evidence beyond the mentioned multivariate analyses, further sampling is needed. Larger surveys with a more culturally and statistically diverse population should be conducted. If and where possible, representative samples would be highly desirable, though they are difficult and costly to construct. Improved evidence will certainly contribute to an explorative refinement of the deductive model discussed here. Ultimately, future modelling and findings will lead to more tangible policy and management implications, whereas the present article focussed on a basic theoretical understanding of Olympic capital creation.

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Competing Interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

Data Availability Statement

All relevant data are within the article.

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Article 3

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Do the Youth Olympic Games have the potential to shift perceptions of Olympism? Evidence from young people's views on Olympic values

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Abstract: Spectator perceptions of Olympism are discussed in the literature as being dependent on the observed and experienced socio-political environment. For some time, however, the public debate on Olympic gigantism and related issues has been highly critical. By contrast, the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) represents a more modest event format launched primarily to feature young athletes. The YOG may therefore have greater potential to inspire youth and to more authentically revive the Olympic idea. Following social capital theory, this hypothesis is tested by logit regressions on data from an online survey in Germany conducted prior to the controversial Sochi Winter Games. While controlling for various confounders, it is shown, among other findings, that under-30-year-olds and value-oriented respondents tend to appreciate the YOG significantly more than other respondents. This result may represent an opportunity for the Olympic movement to foster Olympic values, particularly amongst youngsters.

Keywords: Youth Olympic Games; YOG; International Olympic Committee; IOC; spectator perception; social capital; Olympic education; Olympism.

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1 Introduction

“Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.” [International Olympic Committee (IOC), (2015), p.13]

This is how de Coubertin (2000) described his idea of modern Olympism, the roots of which trace back to antiquity. Through the association of sports, culture and education, the Olympic movement is supposed to be a model of how social responsibility can be exemplified through sporting education and respect for international ethical principles. Olympism includes the vision of a better life and gives humanity an opportunity to align social changes with the guiding principles of the Olympic movement (Loland, 1995). In this context, the so-called Olympic idea stands for the continuing and practical application of the basic Olympic values: respect, friendship and excellence. It establishes a normative framework and should be implemented between the sports ground and everyday life (IOC, 2013).

To meet this demand, Coubertin’s idea of amateurism used to be interpreted literally and was considered an integral part of his concept of the modern Olympic Games. However, de Coubertin’s (2000) initial notion of amateurism was later replaced by growing professionalism, capitalist values and commercial activity caused by the heteronomous development of the modern Olympic Games (Milton-Smith, 2002; Toohey and Veal, 2000). In fact, amateurism has never been at the centre of hosting the Olympic Games and neither has the guiding principle for participating athletes, i.e., to retain a healthy body within a healthy spirit. With the participation of professional athletes permitted since the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, the modern games appear to be based on an anachronism (IOC, 2012). Moreover, the idea of amateurism as well as other beliefs and practices of the early Olympic movement of de Coubertin’s times are not compatible with today’s concepts and values of humanity. Amateurism was a social construction of the aristocracy and bourgeois of the predominantly European western world. At that time, amateurism was exclusionary to women and workers in particular. Coubertin himself repeatedly stated western-centric, sexist and racist views, thereby marginalising defined groups in the Olympic movement (Chatziefstathiou, 2011; Chatziefstathiou and Henry, 2012; Llewellyn and Gleaves, 2016). But irrespective of these historical shadows, de Coubertin’s Olympic philosophy and its symbolic capital remain visionary and fundamental to the Olympics of today.

Yet, new shadows have emerged due, at least in part, to the unrestrained growth of the games, criticised in the literature as Olympic gigantism (Maennig, 2008; Meyer, 1971; Preuss, 2004), which is driven by commercialisation and so-called eventisation,

i.e., the experience- and entertainment-oriented transformation of the Olympic Games (Hamberger et al., 2013; Pound, 2012). As if to confirm these trends, five new sports were recently adopted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for the upcoming 2020 Tokyo Summer Games. The decision was praised by the IOC (2016b) as “the most comprehensive evolution of the Olympic program in modern history” with a “focus on innovation, flexibility and youth”. Typically, young trendy sports such as snowboarding or skateboarding are added to the Olympics, creating governance problems in these more industry-based, subcultural sports. For example, they have to adapt their organisational culture and institutional structure to the strictly nation-based IOC regulations, resulting in conflicts between established governing bodies and market suppliers, as documented by the experience of snowboarding (Strittmatter et al., 2017).

In addition, the governance of the IOC has been questioned in the international media and by the general public regarding compliance with principles of good governance for some time (Geeraert, 2014; Geeraert et al., 2014). The bidding for and staging of the Olympics is notably controversial. Several high-profile cities worldwide have withdrawn their bids, either more or less deliberately by political bodies or after having been forced by negative referenda (Brauer, 2015; Coates and Wicker, 2015; Könecke et al., 2016; Streicher et al., 2016). Given the critical public opinion, opponents in western countries currently have a walk-over in mobilising votes against hosting the games, which may increasingly harm the integrity of the entire Olympic movement. Thus, there is an urgent need to revive the primal Olympic idea and develop effective policies and strategies to revive Olympism.

In this context, the new format of the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) seems to create a novel socio-political environment in stark contrast to the highly critical public debate on its established and much larger counterpart. The YOG are indeed a more modest event launched primarily to feature young athletes (14- to 18-year olds). Therefore, they have a lighter and fresher appearance, literally representing the youth of the world as claimed in the original idea of the modern Olympics. Since the inaugural 2010 games in Singapore, the YOG have been staged four times, twice in the summer and twice in the winter. Thus, the format is still young enough to develop a genuine image and more positive perception than the Olympic Games. Hence, it may be argued that the YOG provide a crucial opportunity and separate platform for the Olympic movement to inspire particularly young people as well as to more authentically renew the Olympic idea in public opinion. In particular, the details of the Olympic idea may be better conveyed in the context of the YOG than at the Olympic Games.

This paper therefore investigates whether the YOG have the potential to shift perceptions of Olympism. First, based on social capital theory, this is done by conceptual reasoning on the social environment and mechanisms of the YOG compared to those of the Olympic Games. Second, a data set from an online survey conducted in Germany shortly before the 2014 Sochi Winter Games is used to test the relationship between the perception of Olympism and the YOG with a focus on the views of younger people.

Regarding the empirical study, it must be noted however that an average respondent does not know the term Olympism nor will she or he have an academically precise notion of the Olympic idea. Therefore, the term Olympism was avoided in the questionnaire and in any communication with respondents, whereas the notion of the Olympic idea has always been coupled with the notion of Olympic values. So, the respondents could associate their individual concept of Olympic values, which is basically an ethical stance,

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with the Olympics. In addition, four different constructs on attitudes towards the Olympic idea and Olympic values, respectively, are tested as proxies for perceptions of Olympism. The responses and findings will prove that people do appreciate values and identify the Olympic idea with desirable values that may indeed differ from the official set of Olympic values (i.e., respect, friendship and excellence). But only one-fifth of the respondents state that the meaning of the Olympic idea is unclear to them. Such a pragmatic concept and understanding of Olympism is fully sufficient for the purposes of the empirical study, as will be shown. Moreover, it should be noted that, in the context of this multipurpose survey, the empirical construct on the YOG is not related to a specific event, but rather asked as a general option to reduce the size of the Winter Olympic Games. Finally, the underlying concept of spectator is a TV viewer, not necessarily a live attendee.

The data are insightful at least in two respects, although the sample size is restricted ($N = 266$ registered visitors of the online questionnaire and $N = 192$ finishers) and irrespective of the usual limitations of online convenience sampling. This survey was conducted in an environment in which media coverage and public debate in Germany was highly critical of the IOC from September to October 2013. It therefore is a barometer of public opinion on the Olympic movement in a particularly negative social context created by the controversial Sochi Games. Thus, it may be interpreted as a natural experiment and rigorous test of perceptions of Olympism. Moreover, representativeness is not a predominant concern for the research question studied here; more important is the variance across opinions and different groups of individuals in the sample. This is because we are interested in the inner structure between attitudes, preferences, past behaviour and socio-demographic characteristics, in particular, from the perspective of young people. In relation to the aim of this study, it is rather favourable that youngsters under 30 years are overrepresented in the sample by 45%. Hence, older respondents must be understood as control groups for the analysis of the perceptions of the younger age groups. Overall, bearing the empirical limitations in mind and understanding that the sample is non-representative; the sample is not only statistically valid, but also very insightful as initial evidence on the raised questions. It goes without saying that the findings have to be replicated and verified in follow-up research.

This paper is organised as follows. The first section reviews the literature and recent developments with regard to factors influencing Olympism. Among other things, the change of the institutional environment of the IOC, the causes and drivers of the growth of the modern Olympic Games as well as people's perceptions on these issues within their social context are outlined. Against this contextual background, the second section presents the concept of social capital as a suitable theoretical framework for the present study. After a brief introduction to the theory, the Olympic Games and the new event format of the YOG are discussed regarding the mechanisms in forming perceptions of Olympism and creating social capital. Both the formation of public perceptions and the creation of social capital are driven by common experiences of human values, feelings and attitudes. However, social capital should not be understood as unidirectionally causal for perception forming and vice versa. Rather, the theoretical concepts complement one another in the understanding of underlying social processes (Mouw, 2006). The aim here is to examine the theoretical potential of the YOG as a reform concept to shift perceptions on the Olympic idea. The third methodological section comments on the sampling procedure, measurement of constructs and data, while the following section presents the results of the data analysis. Notably, other things being equal,

under-30-year-olds and value-oriented respondents tend to appreciate YOG significantly more than other respondents. This is discussed in the final section as an opportunity for the Olympic movement to foster Olympic values among youngsters in particular. Then, we conclude with policy and research implications.

2 Contextual background: factors influencing the current state of Olympism

2.1 Institutional change and the IOC

The IOC is the initiator and main founder of the modern Olympic movement. It is an international non-governmental organisation (INGO) based on the universal principles of international law presented in the charter of the United Nations (UN, 1954). However, over the years, the IOC has become a business international non-governmental organisation (BINGO), which follows the rules of commercialisation and professionalism and has the power to leverage a national state by awarding the Olympic Games (Postlethwaite and Grix, 2016). In the past decades though, Olympic officials have failed to inspiringly communicate the guiding principles of the Olympic Games (Milton-Smith, 2002) and, therefore, the IOC appears to function as a normal business corporation, but with a lack of competition given that the Olympics are a global monopoly. This dominant market position increases the risk of inefficiencies and misbehaviour even more because in terms of political economy, IOC officials are supposed to maximise their personal goals by increasing their pay, power and prestige (Kubat, 1998).

The Olympic claim of leadership, originally based on and driven by the notion of diversity, mutates into an Olympic claim of prestige (Grix and Houlihan, 2014). By the same token, the Olympic Games could be referred to as a global prestige project that the Olympic movement has adapted to. The guiding principle of Olympism is therefore no longer considered as providing a vision of social change, as Coubertin had proposed. Phenomena, among others, such as the commodification of sports, omnipresent media coverage and the evolution of the IOC into a BINGO, is evidence that gigantism has become a major problem for the Olympic movement, more so as the underlying processes of commercialisation are ongoing. Ultimately, the economic success of the Olympic Games itself may be seen as the principal cause of gigantism (Gold and Gold, 2013) and as such, turns from a financial blessing for the IOC into a curse for conveying the Olympic idea. Additionally, neither the financial nor social or ecological sustainability of hosting the Olympics is easy to establish. Beyond the organisational difficulties with the sheer size of the Olympics, sport venues in general are a challenge for planning, financing and management (Preuss, 2004). Empty and abandoned or underutilised facilities after staging the prestigious games are a frequent reason for the disappointment of local taxpayers living in Olympic cities (Könecke et al., 2016).

2.2 Causes and drivers of Olympic gigantism

The continuous development of transportation and communication networks is a major reason for the growth and success of the Olympic Games. Live participation is facilitated for both athletes and spectators due to the extension of air transport and declining travel costs. Likewise, already at the 1964 Summer Games of Tokyo, media and

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communication technology was so advanced that, for the first time, all competitions as well as the opening and closing ceremonies could be broadcast worldwide (Ludwig and Northoff, 2009; Preuss, 2004). This technical progress transformed the Olympic Games from an international multisport event into a mega event of global reach. Nowadays, more than 200,000 media representatives are accredited at the Olympics (Maennig, 2008) and are responsible for the greatest possible global attention for hosting cities (Laemmer and Wacker, 2008).

However, huge worldwide awareness is bought at a high price with even higher risks of cost inflation beyond initially planned budgets. This occurs because in light of global exposure, the officials of host cities have incentives to extend their spending for new infrastructure and sometimes extravagant sports facilities to outdo previous Olympic hosts (Essex and Chalkley, 2002). They tend to strive for the acclaim of sports officials at the closing ceremony and public esteem (Kelso, 2012). In addition, organising a visibly costly event may also be intended to signal the economic and political strength of the host city and country (Preuss, 2008). If the Olympic Games are used as a signalling instrument in a suitable economic constellation, the overwhelming budget as a signal can even be efficient in solving agency problems, for instance, in attracting direct investments from abroad or in motivating citizens of the host country by stimulating a sense of industrial pride. However, in practice, it is impossible to assess the expenditure level necessary for an effective signal by hosting the games such that inefficient cost overruns are likely when pursuing that strategy (Kurscheidt, 2009).

More genuine sport policy drivers for Olympic gigantism are incentives and lobby pressures to extend the Olympic sports program while reducing the number of competitions at the Olympics is unattractive for IOC officials. Kubat (1998) argues that a larger program serves the objectives of actors in the Olympic system as to pay, power and prestige. Preuss (2004) shows the empirical outcome by describing the constant growth in sports and contests at the Olympic Games over time. There are indeed good reasons for adapting the selection of Olympic sports to the increasing diversity of the sports landscape and to changing spectator preferences. Yet, no disciplines are removed from the program to offset new entries, although debates on downsizing the games have occurred in the Olympic movement at least since the early 1970s (e.g., Meyer, 1971). Lately, rather the opposite has occurred, which violates the original idea of the path breaking Olympic Agenda 2020 (IOC, 2016a; Strittmatter et al., 2017). In fact, it allows for proposals of new sports by Olympic hosts, but the extension approved for Tokyo 2020 is indeed historical. Five new sports will induce a further growth of 18 events and 474 athletes (IOC, 2016b), not to mention problematic governance impacts on subcultural sports, most notably skateboarding (Strittmatter et al., 2017).

Finally, a general source of Olympic gigantism is that the Olympic subsystem is embedded in a broader political, economic, social and cultural environment (Perryman, 2012). Notably, the vested interests between sports, media, business and spectators are constitutive for any sports industry (Stettler et al., 2008) and result in self-sustaining growth tendencies by the forces of two-sided markets. That is, the more the Olympics generate public interest, the more media, sponsorship and related businesses will be attracted. Quite obviously, this creates a virtuous circle for the revenues of the IOC, but it might be a vicious circle for the more value-based Olympism. In any event, perceptions of consumers as well as the offered utility propositions for customers are crucial for economic organisation (Kubat, 1998). However, when customers' perceptions are decisive in the business sphere of the Olympics, the increasing scepticism of many people

towards the organisational change of the Olympic movement might generate reactance to overcommercialisation and further unrestricted growth of the Olympic Games (as in football; Kurscheidt, 2016). Thus, the public may actually be the balancing element within the mechanisms driving Olympic gigantism because the general opinion is currently more controversial than ever in the history of the Olympic movement (Agha et al., 2012; Brauer, 2015; Simons, 2015).

2.3 Public opinion on the state of Olympism

While public opinion is undoubtedly important for Olympism, it is a somewhat blurred notion and requires precision for further academic scrutiny. A first epistemological approach to a tangible concept of the notion is the dictionary definition stating that public perception is ‘a belief or opinion, often held by many people and based on how things seem’ (*Cambridge Dictionary*, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/perception>). Thus, it is neither demanded that public opinion is well thought out nor that it captures the truth in terms of objective facts. It just must be shared by a sufficiently large group of people to have an impact; thereby, it is often based on incomplete information. Thus, public opinion may simply reflect a general feel or mood. Davison (1958) already observed that it mainly emerges in areas that are interconnected by effective channels of communication. Since the Olympic Games are a social phenomenon of unique worldwide awareness, Olympism is even an archetypical subject of public opinion creation.

In public debate, however, Olympism is not reflected in its philosophical entirety. The public understanding of the notion may be compared to the social construct of friendship. Both are more an individually interpreted theory of everyday life. In the public context, Olympism may therefore be understood as a personal construct about which everybody has her or his own feeling, guided by official structures, personal attitudes, experiences and perceptions. In the end, it cannot be measured exactly, but it can be assessed as a construct with positive or negative connotations for interpretation.

Thus, it is not surprising that the modern Olympic movement has not only been subject to lively discussion throughout history, but has also become part of the global consciousness and deserves consideration as part of a world cultural heritage (Malfas et al., 2004). Currently, however, Olympism is overshadowed by controversial perceptions on hosting the Olympic Games. The most striking recent observation is that the Olympic bids of cities in countries with pronounced freedom of speech have predominantly failed in referenda, in Germany even twice, Munich for the Winter Games and Hamburg for the Summer Games (Könecke et al., 2016). Furthermore, in Poland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, local voters rejected bids for the 2022 Olympic Winter Games (Burgener and Kistner, 2013; Spiegel.de, 2014; Sport1.de, 2014).

Apparently in Europe, the public mood shows a growing discomfort with the Olympics, irrespective of distinct differences between local and national environments in the mentioned cases. The main reasons for the critical public opinion and negative referenda are uniform and lie in the tangible part of event organisation. People do not trust politicians and sport officials anymore in their promises of giant gains in income, employment and general quality of life through hosting the games. They fear that the organisational challenge of staging such a mega event might jeopardise large public budgets for a prestige project while schools, hospitals and the like suffer from funding

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cuts and run-down buildings. The disappointment and concern of many citizens with numerous infrastructure projects that failed or significantly exceeded the initially planned costs has become dominant, be it in general or related to hosting the Olympics (Brauer, 2015; Könecke et al., 2016).

Indeed, as previously mentioned in the discussion of the sustainability of sports facilities, creating lasting positive effects from staging the Olympic Games is challenging. In the Olympic movement and the event literature, issues of long-term impact are discussed under the notion of event or *Olympic legacy* (Agha et al., 2012; Leopkey and Parent, 2012; Preuss, 2007). The concept not only refers to tangible legacies, such as infrastructure, but also to intangible legacies, such as social and business networks, memories, pride and perceptions. While tangible legacies are already challenging to plan and communicate effectively to stakeholders, the task of creating and sustaining intangible legacies is even more complex. The construct of perceptions (of Olympism), which is the focus of this study, appears to be particularly difficult to control since it is largely heteronomous. The perceptions of stakeholders, notably the general public, cannot be prescribed or scheduled to the liking of the IOC, local organisers or politicians (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). Typically, those officials and leaders prefer to have control over procedures and processes, i.e., to exert power and gain prestige (Kubat, 1998).

Yet, in order to foster intangible legacies, a cooperative approach is necessary that includes elements of conflict management and the integration of civic action, town hall meetings and non-governmental organisations. This requires the acceptance of a loss of power by corporate and political elites, but it would substantially and credibly increase transparency, civic engagement and trust. In addition, sharing Olympic responsibility in a combined top-down and bottom-up process with relevant social groups will foster democratic legitimacy and civic values (Steelman and Ascher, 1997; Uslaner, 2003). Such a mixed power approach, involving civic engagement, would be an intangible legacy in itself by creating social capital, as will be argued in the next section.

Thus, the very characteristics of intangibles, that they are not visible and elude precise measurement of their value, render them problematic in policy-making. In general, they materialise in a shift of attitudes (Nye, 2008) which have to be described coherently in relation to the respective social context (Ajzen, 1985; Gawronski, 2007), for instance, as to Olympism, like in this study. An increasingly accepted conceptual framework to explain relationships and mechanisms of attitude formation is social capital theory (Cowan and Arsenault, 2008). According to which, in brief, individual experiences in social situations and how they are adopted, determine attitudes that may facilitate the creation of social capital by the accumulation of social values and investments (Matiaske, 1999; Rosa, 2016). This will be discussed in the following section in more detail and applied regarding the above-outlined social environment of the Olympic Games and then compared to the novel social setting built by the YOG.

3 Social mechanisms in forming perceptions of Olympism

3.1 Social capital as the theoretical framework

A starting point for understanding the collective construct of social capital is the individual's assets, i.e., human capital. Following the seminal article of Coleman (1988),

human capital arises from a shift in an individual's personality. Such a personal shift is achieved when an individual develops skills and values that lead to innovative actions or enable her or him to perceive the same facts from another perspective (Burge, 2003; Coleman, 1988). So on the individual micro-level, the notion of capital refers to personal qualifications and contributes to the shaping of a distinct personality. This can be particularly effective if the individual experiences an intense and emotional moment that attracts and affects her or him. The personal attitude evolving is driven by experiences or, in other words, by individual memory (Petty et al., 2007). It follows, however, that one cannot tell with certainty whether an observed attitude is stable and rigid or rather transient and fluctuating. Hence, attitudes may be either a short-lived snapshot or a long-lasting stance, yet both can be changed through controlled and targeted situational influences (Conrey and Smith, 2007). In any event, newly built human capital is transferable from the individual micro-level onto the macro-level when the personal competences are of general relevance and value; the process of which is governed by economic organisation. Within the collective context of society, individual human capital ultimately becomes a relational qualification, which may be strengthened through interactions with other people (Coleman, 1990; Esser, 1999).

Social capital is particularly created when the common experience of human values at a specific moment induces people to interact (Bourdieu, 1986). Then, a sense of mutual respect, regard, tolerance and trust, facilitated by social norms, arises within the individual and may affect the development of society (Granovetter, 1973; Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Schulenkorf, 2010; Spaaij and Westerbeek, 2010). From these social relations, accumulated by social exchange, common identities or obligations will emerge (Bourdieu, 1986). Such social capital can be leveraged by collective participation in a joint cause and by fostering social networks, allowing access to economic resources (Bourdieu, 1990). This form of social capital, called bonding capital, is typically found in families, among friends or in closed ethnic groups of equal educational and social status. It may be understood as the foundation of society or the basic pillar of the overall social capital accumulated in a society. Apparent examples within sports are sport teams. In a broader setting at the Olympics, the national teams of a given country may develop close bonds and a common identity as well. But also across nationalities, athletes share the same special and emotional experiences linking them together through a unique spirit as the chosen few in the Olympic movement under the label *Olympians* (Seippel, 2006).

In contrast to the tight social relations of bonding capital, more heterogeneous, loosely bound or even distant social groups in society, living literally side by side (Weber, 2002), do however possess social capital. These social interactions are of course less pronounced and institutionalised. They are collectivisations and are not completely or strictly separated, but rather embracing community clusters. Associations are still observable – by common subjects and topics or notions and broader themes. They are not negligible and fulfil a bridging function across society. These social contexts are therefore referred to as *bridging capital* (Bourdieu, 1986). Schulenkorf (2010) argues, for instance, that spectators and fans form such capital by their common interest in sport. Nevertheless, the bond is rather weak and occasional or situational. It is notably the platform of the sport event they attend that brings them temporarily together while staying with their separate peer groups of friends, relatives or other accompanying persons.

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Finally, the third social capital category of *linking capital* goes a well-defined step beyond the more informal, transient and abstract tie between peer groups and communities represented by bridging capital. Social relations here are distinctly and explicitly institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). In the terminology of management theory, groups of individuals building linking capital are actually *stakeholders*, whereas in political economy, they would essentially be perceived as interest groups. Whatever the label or notion may be, Peachey et al. (2015) categorise social networks of volunteers, sport and public officials, reporters, sponsors and other business representatives at sport events as linking capital. The social interactions between these groups of individuals may be described as acquaintance, transaction contacts or, in business terms, as supplier, employment or customer relationships. In any case, the social context of the relationships tends to be rather formal, targeted and more controlled than the other social capital categories and purposefully reciprocal, i.e., simultaneous social and economic exchanges. Yet again, these social networks constitute, like the more abstract bridging capital, a substantial social value for society as a whole. They should not merely be interpreted as business transactions of money for goods and services. The social sphere can never be fully separated from a supposed, purely technical exchange or economic mechanism as usually occurs in mainstream economics and business theory.

While Bourdieu (1986, 1990) coined the notion of social capital and analysed the reviewed categories, Coleman (1988, 1990) clarified the relationship of the concept to the construct of human capital and to economic organisation. The credit for enlarging social capital theory to the socio-political macro-level of analysis is due to Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 2000). He argues that social capital is not individually determined, but rather a collective phenomenon created by and relevant in the interaction of organisations and states. Putnam emphasises, as does Coleman (1988, 1990), in the general context of economic organisation, that social capital, as accumulated assets of societies, contributes to social cohesion, economic and social development as well as trust. Burt (1997) therefore reasons that stakeholders with large social capital may be more effectively able to convert this asset into human capital of individuals, e.g., employees, which effects collective interactions and entities as well.

Synthesising the propositions and branches of the theory, on the one hand, it can be generally stated that the greater the social capital an organisation or nation controls, the higher the re-turn of associated individuals. On the other hand, the general nature of the theory is strength as to the application in various social contexts (Woolcock, 2001). The downside, as with any basic and thereby abstract theory, is that the approach requires case-specific operationalisation to be manageable in empirical research. However, in the present study, it provides hands-on categories and schemes to structure both the reasoning on environments of Olympism and on implications from the evidence. Since the Olympic Games with all their constituent parts offer a complex symbolic platform, they should be analysed beyond the usual social and economic interpretations. The use of social capital theory can provide, for instance, a frame for understanding leverage effects on the hosting community (Misener and Mason, 2006). Beyond the sports and Olympic examples given above, the analytical value of the theory will become apparent in the next two subsections on the Olympic Games and the YOG as well as in the discussion of the empirical findings.

3.2 Social capital creation by Olympism and the Olympic Games

The constitutive Olympic values of respect, friendship and excellence may be argued as key components and drivers in processes of social capital creation. Respect is a principal precondition for positive social interactions, whose accumulation will foster the initial *respect* and may transform it into tolerance and trust. Those mutual sentiments tie individuals to one another and thus create bonding social capital (Granovetter, 1973; Schulenkorf, 2010). The result of this social mechanism is *friendship*, characterising close peer groups beyond family bonds. *Excellence*, however, may be ambivalent. On the one hand, striving for performance and efficiency has positive value connotations since it encourages engagement and the best use of resources. On the other hand, excellence may mean the search for competitive advantage and even dominance and, thus, be aimed at discriminating against weaker performers. Both characteristics play a part in sport in general and at the Olympics in particular since sporting contests are about winning. Yet, teams may strive for performance in friendship, i.e., developing a team spirit and show respect for their opponents during competition and afterwards in the moment of victory or defeat. Ultimately, it is about sportsmanship and fair play. Hence, the balance of the three Olympic values is decisive for the social capital creation where the Olympic idea provides the bridging capital between more separate communities.

However, the effectiveness and outcome of the Olympic values towards social capital creation strongly depend on the social, political and economic environment. On a meso-level, the Olympic Games represent the platform and institutional context for Olympic values. As sufficiently discussed above, both the organisational change of the Olympics as a sport mega event and of the IOC as a global sport governing body has created a socio-political environment that is detrimental to conveying Olympic values (Allison, 2004; Fusetti, 2011). In such institutional constellations, the social capital literature clearly states that the bridging capital may not emerge at all or might erode (Coleman, 1988; Franklin, 2007; Pickel and Pickel, 2006; Putnam, 2000). Thus, the question arises as to what extent the YOG are a more suitable platform for conveying and symbolising Olympic values, which may result in shifting perceptions of Olympism.

3.3 Social capital creation by the YOG and Olympic education

In 2007, the former IOC president, Jacques Rogge, supported the idea of introducing YOG, which was adopted by the IOC with a focus on the Olympic education of young athletes (IOC, 2014a; Wade, 2007). The YOG were explicitly meant to strengthen Olympic values while giving less emphasis to the competitive meaning of excellence as noted above (Wong, 2012). The new event format was indeed perceived by many as the most important innovation in the Olympic movement since the relaunch of the Olympics of modern times, representing both a reform project and educational program of Olympism (Parry, 2012). Moreover, it has a more modest format than the Olympic Games, owing to the use of existing facilities that often had been built for the games years before and, thus, extending the legacy of the former Olympics held by host cities of the YOG. Indeed, the number of stakeholders, such as media representatives, volunteers, visitors and athletes, is substantially reduced to less than half of the Olympic Games (Hanstad et al., 2013; IOC, 2007; Ivan et al., 2008).

Although the event concept of the YOG shares numerous characteristics institutionalised by the IOC and the Olympics, they have their own identity. They

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explicitly address young people and communicate a free stance while renewing the Olympic spirit to express, embrace and embody the Olympic values (IOC, 2013). Hence, a key aim is to introduce Olympism to youth at an early stage of life and, thereby, develop a long-standing intangible legacy (IOC, 2014a; Judge et al., 2009). Consequently, the YOG are clearly distinguished from their much more commercialised and oversized counterpart. In fact, it has more the appearance of the Olympics half a century ago (DaCosta, 2006; Slater, 2009). The newly introduced *Culture and Education Programme* (CEP) at the YOG is also remarkable in that it obviously places emphasis on Olympic education and documents the reforming nature of the YOG for the Olympic movement (IOC, 2011).

Irrespective of these strengths and opportunities of the YOG for the Olympic movement, there are of course weaknesses and threats (Parent et al., 2015). Although the education of the youth is an inspiration, it is questionable how the educational aims will match with the sport ambitions of elite young athletes and with a public that wants to watch the competitions. There are time constraints and a substantial distraction from Olympic education due to the competitive focus of the sporting contests. The relatively smaller size of the YOG compared to the gigantic Olympic Games should not hide the fact that the YOG are quite big as well. They are conducted for two to three weeks with approximately 3,500 athletes. It is unavoidable and obviously intended that such a large event attracts the interest of mass media. Hence, it would be naïve to think that the IOC is not also pursuing commercial interests with the YOG (Digel, 2008). If and when the format is commercially successful, there will again be pressures for further growth, similar to the Olympic Games, since the market mechanisms will be the same. These pressures are likely to have unintended effects on the function of conveying Olympic values and will certainly damage the educational value for the youth.

All things considered, the YOG are nevertheless a welcome innovation for the Olympic movement and a fruitful platform designed to revive Olympism (Krieger, 2013). So, from a theoretical view, the potential for social capital creation is there. The remainder of this paper is devoted to the analysis of empirical data that explores the impact of the YOG on the public's view of Olympism.

4 Methodology and data

4.1 Sampling: online survey prior to the 2014 Sochi Winter Games

The data used for the empirical analysis in the present paper originate from a survey in Germany prior to the Sochi Winter Games held from 7 to 23 February 2014 (IOC, 2014b). It is an academically motivated study of our research group, independent from external funding and other heteronomous interests. Yet, it is a *multipurpose survey* that was not specifically designed to measure the constructs of interest here, but many of which were anticipated. Thus, we benefit from a number of items in the questionnaire that either perfectly meet the methodical needs of this paper or are close proxies of relevant constructs focused on in the present study.

The principal idea of this survey was to seize the opportunity to obtain a barometer of public opinion on Olympic values in a social environment which, by then in Germany, was extremely negative due to highly critical media coverage on the Sochi Games. We recognised this constellation as a social litmus test or *natural experiment* for the

persistence of positive perceptions of Olympism in times of pronounced criticism of the Games as the prime symbol of the Olympic idea. If such a persistence of appreciation of Olympic values is observed, it can be supposed that this constitutes accumulated *social capital of the Olympic movement* to be leveraged and renewed. The counterhypothesis is that value associations with the Olympics are eroding; at least in the view of the German population and that this negatively affects perceptions of Olympism and the prospects of the Olympic movement in general.

Indeed, there were and are good causes to criticise the Sochi Winter Games as exemplary of Olympic gigantism, uncertain sustainability as well as violations of ecological, social and democratic standards. First, they marked another record in the number of competitions, athletes and participating nations at the Winter Games (IOC, 2014b). The location, which was a non-typical winter resort – rather known as a summer vacation destination at the Black Sea, without existing snow sport facilities, that had to be built from scratch in a nature reserve and without snow guaranteed – raised well-founded incomprehension. The required gigantic construction works not only made the Sochi Olympics the most expensive games of all time, with a budget of \$55 billion, i.e., even more than the larger 2008 Beijing Summer Games, by then believed to be the most costly ever (Preuss, 2008), but Sochi 2014 also entailed forced relocation of residents, questionable real estate deals with dubious oligarchs and finally, not to mention general problems with homophobia, human rights violations and the like in Russia (CNBC, 2014; Müller, 2015).

The survey period from 8 September to 18 October 2013 falls exactly at the height of negative media coverage to capture the mentioned natural experiment. However, the advantage of the independence of the research was hindered by lacking funds. Therefore, this study could not be designed representatively using costly services of a survey agency. Consequently, we conceived an easily feasible online survey by the use of *Qualtrics* software, i.e., it is, in principle, a convenience sample but with targeted clustering sufficient to represent control groups (Li et al., 2008). This was meant to generate a sample with enough variance in the characteristics and attitudes of interest to be able to statistically detect significant findings on relationships in analysed constructs and on relevant groups of individuals. A more homogenous sample would not allow a meaningful analysis of the target groups of sport and Olympic fans. In other words, the procedure follows the idea of generating data that sufficiently cover characteristics of a representative sample, at least, for the inner structure of the problems investigated.

Thus, a focus was to attract

- 1 enough elderly respondents (41.2% are over 49 years)
- 2 people who are not (much) interested in (winter) sports (26.6% with modest or less interest in sports and 26.1% with weak interest in winter sports) or
- 3 in the (Winter) Olympics (35.2% do not follow Winter Games regularly) as well as
- 4 those who do not participate in (winter) sports (31.4% with modest or less sports activity and 46.9% with weak winter sports activity), etc. (21.7% do not intend to follow the Sochi Games; 37.6% do not watch winter sports and 78.3% do not visit winter sport events regularly).

Consequently, respondents who are representative of social communities in society that are not much involved in sports and the sport system are included.

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Those groups of course, have a lower motivation to participate in an online survey on sports and had to be encouraged to respond. Moreover, targeted clustering strategies and field work was necessary because the sampling was conducted by a male sports student under our supervision. Hence, it was easy to attract

- 1 youngsters (45% are under the age of 30)
- 2 well-educated people (17.5% hold A-levels whereas 57.7% are postgraduate students or hold master's degrees)
- 3 males (61%)
- 4 sports-related respondents (47.4% and 31.9% fully agree to be interested in sports and winter sports, respectively; 46.0% and 25.2% fully agree to practice sports and winter sports, respectively).

But these overrepresentations in the sample are also an advantage for this study, especially the high proportion of younger age groups.

In addition, it turned out that the participation in an online survey on an Olympic subject is much less attractive for respondents visiting pertinent sports web fora than, for example, in the football environment. Kurscheidt (2016) conducted a comparable survey on football fans generating more than 1,000 respondents with $N = 682$ valid finishers in just two weeks by merely placing the survey in relevant online fora. In our study, more than one month of online presence and intense field work attracted 266 registered visits of the survey, of whom 250 started the questionnaire and, then, the participation dropped quickly to 226 at the second item battery and 208 at approximately halfway through the survey to finally reach $N = 192$ valid finishers [i.e., 72.2% of total visits, a good result compared to 66.8% found by Kurscheidt (2016)]. Hence, while these empirical difficulties may raise concerns about the validity of the sample, they simultaneously underline its value. It is a challenge to construct a meaningful primary sample on the Olympic issues studied here. It is fortunate to have this sample at all.

Regarding the sampling procedure, participation was predominantly purely voluntary, i.e., self-selected response by interest, yet, partly encouraged by slight social obligation of acquaintance and friendship to raise incentives for participation. However, no respondent received any reward such that every response was truly voluntary. The starting point for recruitment was through the sports student, who was responsible for the sampling and invited approximately 300 Facebook friends to the survey with the request to repost his invitation not only to their peers, i.e., mainly young people and students, but also to older relatives and other people. In addition, 50 e-mails were sent to friends and family with the request of forwarding, rather with a focus on social groups deviating from the typical Facebook friends of the student. Finally, the invitation to the questionnaire was placed in five relevant, national online fora that generated more than 450,000 registered contacts possibly reading the post. Again, the low participation rate may not be a significant source of bias. Conversely, every valid response in the sample should be appreciated, given the problems in the field work.

In the end, we cannot guarantee that the sample is representative in the relevant characteristics or that, given the restricted sample size; the approximate representativeness of a well-structured cluster sampling is achieved (Li et al., 2008). Notwithstanding these reservations, the data exhibit both enough variance and randomness that they meet statistical requirements. Put in a nutshell, it is a

cross-sectional convenience sample that is sufficiently clustered to represent control groups (Jones, 2015). It provides fruitful data of the first evidence on a phenomenon that has not yet been tested empirically. It goes without saying that the findings have to be verified in follow-up research.

4.2 Measurement and variables

The multipurpose questionnaire comprises 19 separate questions, ten of which featuring item batteries (five to eight items each) of attitude measurement with five-point Likert scales (1 = disagree to 5 = agree), partly supplemented by the option 'do not know' (= 0) (Jones, 2015). In contrast to accounts made in many methods textbooks (e.g., Li et al., 2008), Revilla et al. (2014) lately reported rigorous evidence that five-point scales are at least equivalent to seven-point or larger scales in terms of statistical validity and efficiency. Besides, five-point scales are very intuitive for respondents and researchers alike, with a middle point (i.e., modest) standing for indifference in preference measurement.

Before offering a first item battery on TV-viewing behaviour towards the Winter Games, the questionnaire begins with two simple questions on watching the Winter Olympics and the Sochi Games. Two more batteries follow on sports interest and behaviour as well as attitudes towards the Winter Games. Then, questions concerning preferences towards sport disciplines at the Winter Olympics are asked, whereas the next two item batteries address, among other things, Olympic values and preferences for elements of the Olympic event format. Finally, three batteries address critical issues and objectives of hosting the games as well as proposals for reducing the size of the Olympics, among which one item assessed the YOG. The survey ends with the usual socio-demographic questions. Respondents required approximately 15 minutes for the questionnaire, which also offered three options for comments.

In the present study, the most meaningful items of the data set were selected as the 31 variables listed in Table 1, representing roughly one-third of all items from the questionnaire. We are particularly interested in

- 1 the appreciation of YOG (YOUTHGAMES measured in a five-point scale and BINYOUTHGAMES, a binary measure of YOUTHGAMES capturing non-negative attitudes) in relation to
- 2 the perception of Olympism, i.e., attitudes towards the Olympic idea (IDEAIMPORTANT and IDEAUNCLEAR) and Olympic values (OLYMPICIDEA and CONVEYVALUES), respectively
- 3 in the view of age groups (AGE GROUP) with a focus on young people under 30 years old (YOUNGSTERS).

Further determinants in that context may be

- 1 the interest in (winter) sports and the Olympic Winter Games
- 2 (self-reported) behaviour in active and passive sports
- 3 preferences towards the event product of the Winter Olympics
- 4 attitudes towards critical issues of hosting Winter Games
- 5 socio-demographics (beyond age group affiliation).

Table 1 Overview and descriptive statistics of variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Dependent variables (on age groups and attitudes towards the Youth Olympic Games)</i>				
YOUTHGAMES	195	2.26	1.26	Appreciate Youth Winter Games (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
BINYOUTHGAMES	195	0.36	0.48	Binary of YOUTHGAMES (1 = modest to agree)
AGEGROUP	194	3.71	1.78	Age group (1 = < 20 years; 6 = > 60 years)
YOUNGSTERS	194	0.45	0.50	Under-30-year-olds (1 = < 30 years; 0 = otherwise)
<i>Attitudes towards the Olympic idea and Olympic values (proxies for perceptions of Olympism)</i>				
IDEAIMPORTANT	204	3.58	1.47	Olympic idea is important (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
IDEAUNCLEAR	204	1.73	1.33	Olympic idea is unclear (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
OLYMPICIDEA	208	4.23	0.96	Like Olympic values/idea at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
CONVEYVALUES	215	3.51	1.20	Winter Games convey values (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Interest in (winter) sports and the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
SPORTINTEREST	226	4.07	1.09	General interest in sports (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
WINTERSPORT	226	3.57	1.28	Interest in winter sports (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
FOLLOWER	250	0.65	0.48	Follow Winter Olympics regularly (1 = yes)
SOCHIFOLLOW	249	0.80	0.44	Intent to follow Sochi Games (0 = no; 1 = TV; 2 = live)
NICETOHAVE	215	4.36	0.92	Nice to have Winter Games (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)

Table 1 Overview and descriptive statistics of variables (continued)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Behaviour in active and passive sports</i>				
DOSPORT	226	3.98	1.17	Practice sports actively (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
DOWINTERSPORT	226	2.88	1.62	Practice winter sports actively (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
VISITWINTERSPORT	226	1.84	1.07	Visit winter sports events (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
WATCHWINTERSPORT	226	3.08	1.46	Watch winter sports regularly (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
GROUPWATCH	174	1.46	0.74	Watch Games with friends (1 = def. will not; 4 = def. will)
<i>Preferences towards the event product of the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
COMPETITIONS	208	4.60	0.73	Like sports competitions at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
NEWSPORTS	208	2.71	1.17	Like new/trendy sports at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
CEREMONY	208	2.83	1.20	Like opening ceremony at OWG (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
PATRIOTISM	208	3.86	1.07	Like supporting German athletes (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
<i>Attitudes towards critical issues of hosting the Olympic Winter Games</i>				
TOOLARGE	215	2.73	1.12	Winter Games are too large (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
TOOEXPENSIVE	215	3.67	1.04	Winter Games are too expensive (1 = disagree; 5 = agree)
MAJORCITIES	197	2.22	1.26	OWG are for major cities (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
SOCIALSTANDARDS	197	3.58	1.25	OWG to respect social standards (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
SPORTSFIRST	196	3.77	0.97	Sport is focus of OWG (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
ECONOMYFIRST	196	3.69	1.08	Economy is focus of OWG (0 = do not know; 5 = agree)
<i>Sociodemographics (beyond age group affiliation listed under dependent variables)</i>				
GENDER	194	0.61	0.49	Gender (1 = male)
EDUCATION	194	4.91	1.44	Education (1 = no certificate; 6 = academic)
INCOME	192	3.18	1.38	Monthly net income (1 = < 500€; 6 = > 5,000€)

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These are *control variables* for the confounding effects on the relationship between attitudes towards YOG and Olympism by age groups. They are relevant in the multivariate regression models on the dependent variables listed in Table 1. Each determinant is captured by four to six variables. Overall, the set of 31 variables is divided into four nominal variables (1 = yes; 0 = otherwise), 22 variables with five-point Likert scales, of which seven incorporate the option ‘do not know’ (= 0) and five other ordinal variables (e.g., EDUCATION and INCOME), including age, which is operationalised by age groups to analyse generational differences as opposed to the usual metric measurement of age. Finally, all data analyses were performed by programming in *Stata/SE 13.1*.

5 Results: perceptions of Olympism related to the Youth Games and age groups

5.1 Descriptive statistics and correlations

As argued above, a key motivation for conducting this survey was to test the persistence of positive perceptions of Olympism in a time of highly critical public opinion of the Olympic Games. This may be interpreted as evidence of social capital generated by the Olympic movement bridging separate communities in society under the umbrella of the Olympic idea. The findings actually exceeded our expectations by far. Nearly two-thirds of respondents (somewhat) agree that the Olympic idea is important to them (64.2%), whereas only one-fifth is not sure about the meaning of it (21.1% modest to agree). Impressively, 82.2% support (somewhat to agree) the Olympic idea as an integral part of the Games. This is interesting insofar as nearly one-quarter of respondents do not believe that the Games still convey Olympic values (23.7% somewhat to disagree). Here, we might observe the divide in the (sample) population and inner conflicts of proponents of the Olympic idea. Thus, there is – maybe rising – scepticism about whether today’s appearance of the Games sufficiently meets the ethical demands of the Olympic idea. But the appreciation of Olympism is still pronounced and, hence, its social capital is not yet substantially eroded.

The focus of this study is on the strategic role that the YOG may play in (re-)inspiring the youth with the Olympic spirit and enthusiasm. First, support (somewhat to agree) for the YOG is at 20.0% not overwhelming, while a further 16.4% (modest) are at least not against the YOG. Admittedly, this might be owing to the context of the question, placed in an item battery on measures concerning Olympic gigantism. However, this group represents more than one-third of respondents, which might be considered a respectable result for the young event format with much less media attention than the Olympic Games. Regardless, we are not interested in the size of support for the YOG as such, but rather how this relates to Olympic values and age.

Pearson’s correlation was used as a bivariate test of the linear relationships (e.g., Jones, 2015). It turns out that the link between the YOG and attitudes towards the Olympic idea is observable but not as strong as expected. Only one construct (CONVEYVALUES) out of four on Olympism significantly positively related to YOUTHGAMES ($r(195) = .26, p < .001$) as well as to BINYOUTHGAMES ($r(195) = .23, p < .01$). So CONVEYVALUES clearly differentiates between respondents who appreciate the YOG and those who do not, possibly because it is the construct that is

most closely associated with scepticism about the Olympics. This is interesting insofar as neither CONVEYVALUES nor the other value constructs are significant towards AGEGROUP and YOUNGSTERS, whereas they do show internal consistency. The pairwise correlations between the variables on Olympism find (highly) significant coefficients of 0.17 up to 0.56 with the expected signs. Hence, the Olympic values are in principle understood and likewise appreciated across generations. Again and even more importantly, this evidences bridging social capital of Olympism, independent of the respondents' age. This is good news for the Olympic movement.

The generations are divided in their attitudes towards the YOG. In particular, YOUNGSTERS are significantly more likely to welcome the new Olympic format ($r(194) = .18, p < .05$, for YOUTHGAMES and $r(194) = .23, p < .01$, for BINYOUTHGAMES). Somewhat weaker are the findings on AGEGROUP. Here, only the relationship to BINYOUTHGAMES is significant and negative ($r(194) = -.19, p < .01$), i.e., younger age groups appreciate the YOG more. But, although the linear correlation towards YOUTHGAMES was marginally non-significant ($r(194) = -.14, p = .0505$), the rank correlation supports the result ($r_s(194) = -.17, p < .05$). Besides, all other linear findings discussed here are robust in Spearman's rank correlation (e.g., Jones, 2015) or even accentuated.

The question is, however, whether it is the generational difference that explains the attractiveness of the YOG for the youth or rather their preference for innovations and new (trendy) sports. This is because NEWSPORTS is correlated with both YOUTHGAMES ($r(195) = .20, p < .01$) as well as with BINYOUTHGAMES ($r(195) = .17, p < .05$) and comparatively strongly with YOUNGSTERS ($r(194) = .31, p < .001$) as well as negatively with AGEGROUP ($r(194) = -.35, p < .001$). Thus, there are clear indications for other underlying effects that may confound the relationship between YOUTHGAMES and YOUNGSTERS. These must be controlled for in multivariate models to prove the significance, direction and incremental contribution of the variables relevant to our research question. The best way to do this is via regression analysis (e.g., Wooldridge, 2013).

5.2 Logit regressions on attitudes towards the YOG and age groups

It follows from the theoretical discussion and the previous findings that YOUTHGAMES should be selected as a dependent variable since we want to explain the potential of the YOG towards young people and for reviving Olympism. In a multiple regression, this can be performed while controlling for the influence of numerous other determinants of attitude formation on the YOG (e.g., Greene, 2012). In Table 1, we distinguish between

- 1 interests, i.e., persistent preferences built over time by socialisation
- 2 past behaviour as revealed preference
- 3 product preferences for the event format of the Olympics
- 4 attitudes towards the current public debate on the Olympics
- 5 socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., Li et al., 2008).

Each is represented by, at least, four independent variables to sufficiently capture the possible influence of the respective determinant as listed in Table 1.

Table 2 Results of (ordered) logit regressions

	BINYOUTHGAMES		YOUTHGAMES		YOUNGSTERS		AGEGROUP	
	Full		Reduced		Full		Reduced	
<i>YOUTHGAMES</i>								
YOUNGSTERS	<i>1.642**</i>	<i>1.372***</i>	<i>0.390**</i>	<i>0.334**</i>	<i>1.949**</i>	<i>1.303***</i>	<i>-0.148</i>	<i>-0.209*</i>
IDEAUNCLEAR	-0.878	-0.340	0.010	-0.054	-0.323	0.418	-0.069	-0.192*
CONVEYVALUES	<i>2.612***</i>	<i>1.785***</i>	<i>0.701***</i>	<i>0.624***</i>	<i>-2.854***</i>	<i>-1.631***</i>	<i>0.376***</i>	<i>0.280***</i>
SPORTINTEREST	<i>-1.587***</i>	<i>-0.878*</i>	<i>-0.394**</i>	<i>-0.247*</i>	<i>1.522*</i>	<i>1.513**</i>	<i>-0.194</i>	<i>-0.239***</i>
NICETOHAVE	-0.993	-0.467	-0.051	-0.152	<i>1.505*</i>	0.504	-0.186	-0.088
DOWINTERSPORT	-0.565	-0.394	-0.203	-0.095	1.251	<i>1.019*</i>	-0.178	-0.223*
VISITWINTERSPORT	-0.817	-0.213	-0.090	0.062	0.159	0.798	-0.162	-0.260***
COMPETITIONS	0.358	-0.224	0.058	-0.145	<i>-2.906***</i>	<i>-1.208*</i>	0.176	0.116
NEWSPORTS	<i>1.152*</i>	<i>0.914**</i>	<i>0.342**</i>	<i>0.345***</i>	<i>1.234*</i>	<i>1.048***</i>	<i>-0.213*</i>	<i>-0.256***</i>
CEREMONY	<i>-1.424***</i>	<i>-0.877*</i>	<i>-0.334***</i>	<i>-0.237*</i>	-0.476	-0.412	0.053	0.085
PATRIOTISM	<i>1.508***</i>	<i>1.162**</i>	<i>0.549***</i>	<i>0.429***</i>	0.149	0.358	0.021	0.027
TOOLARGE	0.737	<i>0.754*</i>	0.204	0.190	0.263	-0.450	-0.019	0.091
SPORTSFIRST	-0.932	-0.121	-0.146	0.013	<i>2.177***</i>	<i>1.033***</i>	<i>-0.206*</i>	-0.127
ECONOMYFIRST	-0.298	0.456	0.156	<i>0.242**</i>	<i>-1.432**</i>	<i>-1.169***</i>	<i>0.276***</i>	<i>0.293***</i>
GENDER	0.080	-0.153	-0.109	-0.120	0.622	0.242	-0.212*	-0.123
EDUCATION	-0.575	-0.701	-0.232	<i>-0.254**</i>	<i>3.622***</i>	<i>2.876***</i>	<i>-0.496***</i>	<i>-0.562***</i>
INCOME	-0.716	-0.720	-0.094	-0.117	<i>-4.605***</i>	<i>-3.225***</i>	<i>0.653***</i>	<i>0.673***</i>
N	156	192	156	192	156	192	156	192
McFadden's <i>R</i> ²	0.297	0.213	0.134	0.112	0.569	0.458	0.257	0.249

Notes: Full and reduced denote the full models with all relevant variables described in Table 1 whereas the reduced models remove seven insignificant variables from the full model with one to three of which in each determinant category.

AGEGROUP is omitted in the regressions on BINYOUTHGAMES and YOUTHGAMES because of collinearity with YOUNGSTERS.

Standardised beta coefficients are displayed only for significant variables in at least one model.

Significant findings are in italics.

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01.

Table 2 shows two regressions each for BINYOUTHGAMES and YOUTHGAMES to vary the modelling for robustness checks. The former is a binary variable that accentuates non-negative attitudes, i.e., modest to agree (36%), whereas the latter comprises the full Likert scale from 0 = do not know to 5 = agree. Both variables contain censored data such that categorical logit or probit models have to be applied and, in the case of YOUTHGAMES, ordered variants of the binary model for BINYOUTHGAMES (e.g., Greene, 2012). We ran both models and found that the logits performed slightly better than the probits while the results were robust. Notably, AGEGROUP was omitted as an explanatory variable because of the strong collinearity with YOUNGSTERS ($r(194) = -.89, p < .001$), which is the more relevant construct to our research question. Other correlations between independent variables did not raise serious concerns. Finally, again for checking robustness, Table 2 presents one full and one reduced model for each analysis. The full model contains all 28 independent variables of Table 1 whereas the reduced model drops seven variables from the full model that were not significant and exhibited the least explanatory power (one to three variables per determinant).

Overall, six variables turn out to be significant throughout and thereby robust. First, it is confirmed that YOUNGSTERS actually tend to appreciate the YOG significantly more than older generations, other things being equal. However, NEWSPORTS exhibits nearly the same explanatory power. Hence, independent from one another, both effects show a substantial incremental contribution to explaining the attitudes towards the YOG. Interestingly, in the multivariate models, CONVEYVALUES appears again to be not just the only significant construct of Olympism, but it is also the strongest predictor of all variables. Thus, positive perceptions of Olympism, *certis paribus*, are associated with respondents substantially valuing the YOG more. This may indeed be interpreted as evidence for the potential of the YOG to revive Olympism.

The findings of the other three significant and robust variables are intuitive. Yet, while they control for confounding effects, they are less insightful for policy implications. A rather strong variable of this kind is PARTIOTISM. Here, the main reason may be that people wanting to cheer for their compatriots at the Olympics and to see their athletes winning medals expect another welcome opportunity to do so with the YOG. Moreover, CEREMONY and SPORTINTEREST are quite strong predictors with negative signs. This may be because those respondents rather have preferences for big-time sports and the great show of a mega event. Their needs will not be satisfied by the YOG. Finally, the non-significant findings are also informative. Neither past behaviour nor attitudes towards the current critical public debate on the Olympics play a relevant role. These determinants may be too evenly distributed. However, this might be an indication that people receptive to criticism of the Olympic Games as well as those less associated with sports may add to the potential of YOG. This can only be suspected due to the lack of significance and robustness.

Despite the evidence on YOUNGSTERS, NEWSPORTS and CONVEYVALUES regarding YOUTHGAMES, whether these three independent variables are constitutive for the youth as a target group of a reformed Olympism requires clarification. If so, then, the YOG do not induce conflicting effects that ought to be addressed by suitable measures. The strategy would be undoubtedly to focus on and strengthen the YOG. Additionally, the young generation is an interesting object of empirical measurement of Olympism from the social capital perspective. This is because social participation and interest of the youth significantly contribute to the formation of relationships, trust and

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respect when they get older (Offer and Schneider, 2007). Furthermore, they can form their own groups of interest where cultural and social values match together and may differ from the environment of general society (Holland, 2009).

Therefore, Table 2 shows two more regressions, each with a full and reduced model, following the described method and reasoning on robustness checks. This time, YOUNGSTERS (binary for under-30-year-olds) and AGE GROUP (six-point scale from under 20 to over 60-year-olds) are the dependent variables while YOUTHGAMES becomes independent in this logic and perspective on the youth and other generations as target groups of the Olympic movement. Nine variables turn out to be significant and robust for YOUNGSTERS and five for AGE GROUP. Interestingly, the constitutive characteristics in the profile of young people are distinct from those of the older age groups. Since the socio-demographic variables are particularly strong, we will briefly comment on them first. EDUCATION is more advanced for the youth and younger age groups alike. This is documented by the switch of signs from positive towards YOUNGSTERS to negative in the AGE GROUP models. INCOME shows the opposite association. These findings are essentially generational effects, i.e., compared to older age groups, young people benefit from improved educational environments and from a trend towards academic education, whereas income typically rises with seniority.

More relevant for this study are the other results, in particular, the strong evidence of YOUTHGAMES for young people while the results are weakly significant and negative for AGE GROUP, but only in the reduced model. This confirms that indeed, the generational preferences of young people drive the positive findings of YOUNGSTERS in the regressions on the YOG. In the same direction and even accentuated compared to those of AGE GROUP, are the NEWSPORTS results, which are more robust and also change signs. Thus, the preference for new and trendy sports is constitutive for under-30-year-olds and younger age groups. Conversely interpreted, older age groups tend more to appreciate the traditional Olympic sports. Thus, the positive attitudes of youngsters towards innovations in the Olympic program drive NEWSPORTS, which, in turn, had a positive effect on the YOG in the previous regression models. Hence, this is a separate and more specific generational effect that positively influences the appreciation of the YOG.

A striking result, which warrants the attention of the Olympic movement, is the opposite finding on CONVEYVALUES in the comparison of the models on YOUNGSTERS and AGE GROUP. Here, the explanatory power is the highest – apart from the above discussed socio-demographics – for young people, but with a negative sign, whereas for older age groups, it is very strong and positive. Since, once more, no other variable on Olympism is significant, this is remarkable. CONVEYVALUES was already the strongest variable in the regressions on the YOG but with a positive effect. It appears now that this is rather driven by the older age groups.

This is surprising as the correlation analysis did not find significances of constructs on Olympism towards young people and age groups, i.e., Olympic values were found to be appreciated across generations. However, controlling for confounders in the multivariate analysis, the youth appear to be distinctly sceptical about the symbolic meaning of the Olympic Games for the Olympic idea, while older generations still believe in the function of the games as a platform for Olympism. This may be due to the organisational change of the Olympic movement over the past roughly three decades as discussed above. Under-30-year-olds have experienced the Olympic Games as a commercialised and professionalised mega event throughout their lifetime, whereas older

generations might still have a more idealised image of the games in mind – whether or not rightly so, since doping and financial interest have actually been present at the Olympics for many decades. In any event, this critical finding may be an indication of a certain erosion of Olympic values among the youth compared to older people, at least regarding the conveyance of the Olympic idea by staging the games. The less people trust in the symbolic meaning of the Olympic Games for the values of respect, friendship and excellence, the less bridging social capital is generated. Furthermore, decreasing trust is no exclusive problem of the Olympic movement, but a general issue for large institutions in postmodern societies (Newton, 2001).

But the remaining significant and robust evidence might be a source of hope in relation to inspiring the young generation with the Olympic idea, notably by means of the YOG. Thus, SPORTINTEREST is constitutive for the youngsters in contrast to older age groups. Although this general sport preference was negative in the regressions on the YOG, it stands for the sport-focused orientation of the youth. This is more pronounced by the positive finding of SPORTSFIRST whereas ECONOMYFIRST is found negative. In contrast, the latter is positive in the models on AGEGROUP, whereas the former is significant and negative only in the full model. While these variables are not significant in the regressions on the YOG, they clearly indicate different mindsets between the youth compared to the older generations. The latter also recognise the economic potential of hosting the Olympic Games.

Youngsters however prefer that the Olympics concentrate on their primary function as sport events rather than on economic objectives. Simultaneously, COMPETITIONS is a negative predictor of YOUNGSTERS. That is, young people are interested in sports and want the games to be sports-centred, but the competitions at the Olympics are not in their focus. Thus, the youth may value the aesthetics and virtues of sport more than just winning contests and medals. The youngsters do show an ethical stance towards sports and the Olympics, which is exactly the core of Olympism. When answering the questionnaire, they might have displayed a reduced association of their ethical view on sports culture with Olympic values in a narrow sense. This interpretation is supported by the highly significant correlations between SPORTSFIRST and constructs of Olympism ($r(196) = .33, p < .001$ for IDEAIMPORTANT, $r(196) = .27, p < .001$ for OLYMPICIDEA and $r(196) = .30, p < .001$ for CONVEYVALUES). After all, young people seem to be receptive to sports and Olympic values, which represent a potential to leverage the bridging social capital of Olympism among youngsters.

6 Discussion and conclusions

The YOG were introduced by the IOC as a reform project of Olympism and, first of all, to further the Olympic education of participating young athletes. However, to represent a real reform targeted at youngsters, the YOG must also reach the minds and hearts of young spectators. While the former is a prerequisite to achieve the latter, there has to be a basic appreciation for the YOG among young people to be receptive to the symbols and message of Olympism conveyed by the YOG. Hence, when such a basic appreciation is given and when these are in place, this indeed is an indication of a potential to shift the currently negative perceptions of Olympism.

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In discussing the findings within the context of social capital theory, it was concluded that the Olympic values are congruent with the theoretical drivers of bonding and bridging capital. Yet, the commercialised environment of the Olympic Games endangers the mechanism of social capital creation. Therefore, this empirical study sought to test how receptive spectators would be to the YOG, with a focus on youngsters. The survey used in this study may be considered a rigorous test and natural experiment of perceptions of Olympism due to the negative social context in Germany created by the highly controversial Winter Games of Sochi 2014. Against this background, it is remarkable that still two-thirds of respondents value the Olympic idea and more than 80% see it as an integral part of the Olympics. This finding, moreover, holds for both young people and older age groups, while under-30-year-olds significantly appreciate the YOG more than older respondents. When controlling for diverse confounders in logit regressions, this evidence was confirmed and found that, in addition, value-oriented people liked the idea of the YOG as well. However, the latter finding is not driven by the youth. They rather appear sceptical about the conveyance function of the Olympics towards the Olympic idea. But this does not mean that youngsters lack value orientation. Instead, they are somewhat more pragmatic and appreciate in particular sports culture, while older respondents also consider the economic needs when staging the Olympic Games.

Ultimately, both the theoretical and empirical results presented in this paper support the view that the YOG have the potential to reach young people and that they are receptive to basic sports values, i.e., likewise Olympic values. Thus, the YOG are likely to foster the bridging capital of Olympism, notably among youngsters. The reasoning behind this key insight is in line with social capital theory: human values, social interactions and the application of personal attitudes shape perceptions of Olympism. As found in the empirical study, the first condition that human values are appreciated and adopted appears to be confirmed. The question is to what extent this value orientation affects social interaction and application in daily life. In this regard, the open-mindedness of youngsters and the acceptance of the concept of the YOG by young people may be triggers to foster social capital creation.

This finding is not, however, a ‘free lunch’ emerging from the YOG without accompanying strategies and policies. Young people grew up with the commercialised Olympic Games and already show certain disillusionment with their symbolic meaning. Here, targeted campaigns of Olympic education surrounding the YOG are necessary. But it is imperative that the latter will not become as commercial as the Olympic Games. Social capital theory and empirical evidence clearly point to the insight that the potential to shift perceptions of Olympism by the YOG will be jeopardised if the objectives of the YOG are too much mingled with rational politico-economic interests. The well-educated youngsters will recognise this contradiction of messages and might turn away from Olympism as embodied in the YOG as they have done with regard to the Olympic Games.

Certainly, this poses a challenge to the IOC since it has to raise the awareness for the YOG to generate sufficient outreach to youth and other target groups. This will inevitably be accompanied by some degree of rationalisation and commercialisation of the YOG. These processes should be undertaken carefully so as not to overshadow the YOG, as in the case of the Olympic Games. The YOG then, as a more modest Olympic event format, provide a different reality (MacRury and Poynter, 2012) that endorses a smaller-scale social, economic and political agenda to be filled with day-by-day sustainable content.

Together with the given basic appreciation for the format, the YOG offer a construct that raises positive connotations for Olympism. Hence, the key policy and management implication is to focus on keeping the YOG as pure and original as they currently are.

Finally, it has been discussed at length that the evidence reported here is not representative. In addition, the sample size is a restraint because of difficulties in encouraging responses to surveys of Olympism, compared, for instance, to topics in football fan culture. Therefore, the insights and implications might not hold for wider statistical populations and, therefore, may rather be understood as a litmus test of the perceptions of Olympism. Anyhow, given the substantial lack of empirical findings on the subject, it is valuable initial evidence, at least, on the inner relationships between the perception of Olympism and the YOG from youngsters' perspectives. This study could serve as an example, or perhaps a model, for further empirical research on the potential of social capital creation of sports and Olympism as well as for investigations into the perceptions of youth on these constructs.

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