Open Essays and Researches

The legacy of the Turin 2006 Olympic Games through a long-term development perspective. Reflection and opinion about the physical and social change in the post-Olympic period

Valerio della Sala

Università di Bologna, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
valerio.dellasala@gmail.com

Abstract. The Olympic legacy, whether temporary or transitory, can manifest itself before, during or after the Games. It can quickly disappear after the event if efforts are not made to keep it alive through, for example, cultural programming, new environmental legislation, public awareness programming or new, more comprehensive applications. The study has the objective of recounting the Olympic legacy of the Torino 2006 Games through the results of the qualitative interviews held with the main actors of the event. In recent years, the Olympic legacy and the planning of the Olympic legacy have become increasingly important in the choice of host cities. The importance has allowed many cities, such as London, Sydney, and Tokyo, to develop an entity in charge of planning and managing the post-Olympic legacy. The intangible possibility of training and involving new profiles in the territory is fundamental to managing the Olympic structures in the post-Olympic period. The professionalism of resources, the definition of objectives, management tools and human resources are some of the critical elements for the organisation of a working team that can promote the post-Olympic transformation of host cities. The promotion of an Olympic city and an urban model to pursue can catalyse supra-local transformations that support the intangible knowledge of citizenship. The social transformations through the promotion of the city and its image can become a "Know-How" of the organising committee which, in the post-Olympic phase, will support the future strategies of the city regarding the organisation and planning of the mega-event. These elements allow us to advance a new hypothesis on the development of new modernity induced by sports and mega-events.

Keywords: Olympic Games, Olympic legacy, sustainability, urbanism, territorialisation approach.

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE OLYMPIC LEGACY

The relationship between mega-events and the tangible and intangible values of the event is complex and needs to be analysed over a medium to long-term period (Roche 2003). For this reason, the development prospects for host cities are a topic of growing interest that can be defined as the Olympic legacy. The term "legacy" can be defined as the totality of Olympic works, infrastructure, accommodation, projects and the Olympic experience. Meanwhile, legacy is a new wedge rooted in the philosophy of transforming host cities to encourage sport. On the other hand, Olympic heritage is used to describe the positive elements and long-term post-Olympic effects on the candidate cities. For this reason, the term *legacy* is used to define the tangible and intangible benefits of the Olympic Games. The following emphasis on benefits over time has created a lot of confusion among Olympic organisers and researchers. The international debate over time has focused on the difference between impact and heritage. The principles and philosophies of the Olympic movement, founded by Baron de Coubertin, sought to provide the territory with sports facilities to promote the sport in the post-Olympic period. Sports practice is understood as a means of training with a catalysing power. Of values and principles of respect, fraternity and overcoming limits. For this reason, the effects of the Olympic legacy must be observed from a particular perspective, and its effects can be: a change in image, economy, tourism, and sports practice. Moreover, the legacy can be found in different multidisciplinary areas such as culture, economy, environment, and territory. «In addition to being determined by Olympic history, the legacy must be contextualised in different local contexts» (Dansero, Mela 2004, 2012). Other authors, such as Hiller, for example, propose replacing the term "legacy" with "outcomes" (Hiller 2000, 2014). Hiller's concept introduces a reading of outcomes in terms of sporting/non-sporting and programmable/non-programmable. On the other hand, Cashman (2002), about the Olympic legacy, identifies some fundamental characteristics to understand the term legacy.

Cashman allows us to state that legacy includes both expected and unexpected aspects, which should not essentially be linked to the celebration of the Olympic event (Fig. 1).

The issue of the Olympic legacy grew from Atlanta 1996, which was introduced in the post-Olympic reports. Subsequently, Sydney 2000 was the first edition to introduce some critical points about legacy and post-Olympic planning in a cross-cutting manner. The Sydney project introduced specific sections on the Olympic legacy, tourism, economy, technology, sports facilities and social identity (Chalip 2010). Since Sydney, the concept of legacy has been introduced into official IOC documents and, over time, has been incorporated into the host city contract and post-Olympic documentation (Davidson, McNeill 2012).

Today, post-Olympic legacy planning is essential for hosting the Olympic Games. Cashman (2002, 2005) introduced six categories to classify Olympic legacy (Fig. 2).

According to Cashman (2002), legacy should be as in Fig. 3.

In addition, we find other equally important reasons why legacy is critical (Fig 4).

Since Turin (2006), the international debate has evolved to make legacy the sponsorship element for Olympic bids. Moreover, post-event legacy planning is a sensitive moment for the future of the host city. The definition of the uses and the allocation of the managing bodies of the Olympic structures is a fundamental process for the long-term exploitation of the territory (Dansero 2002, 2012, 2014). However, a lack of foresight can become a misleading advertisement for citizens. Unfortunately, in Sochi, Rio, and PyeongChang, we have seen overestimated constructions, which today are abandoned. The preparation, management and planning of the event must be clear from the beginning to avoid criticisms in the post-Olympic period. The solution does not exist. Setting up a specific body to manage the post-Olympic legacy is advisable. The Organising Committee is constituted only for organising the Olympic event and is dismissed one month after the closing ceremony. Montreal, Athens, Turin, Sochi, Rio, and PyeongChang are some of the experiences that produced a significant post-Olympic management deficit, which was transferred to the public so as not to compromise the works. One of the risks for local communities hosting winter editions is creating «White Elephants» (Cashman 2002).

However, one aspect that remains under-researched concerns the temporal dimension of the Olympic legacy. International references do not refer to a specific period for longitudinal studies. Moreover, being different scales,
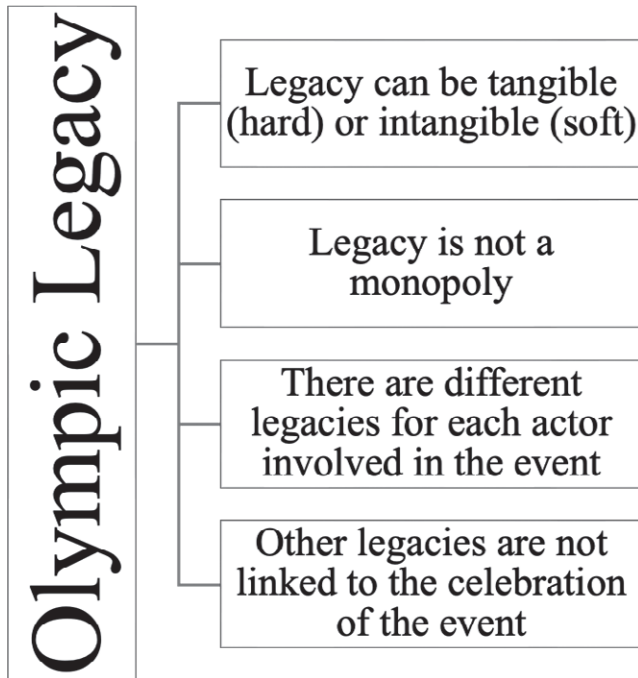
Fig. 1. Olympic legacy (Cashman, 2002).
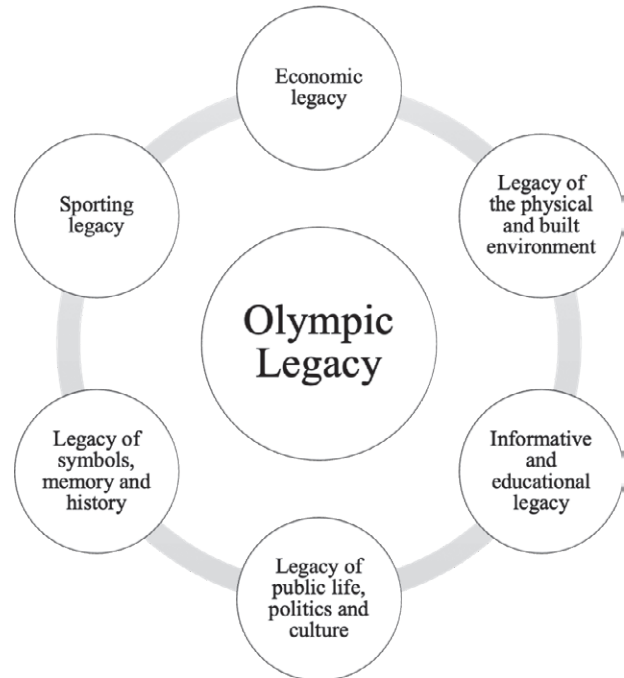
Fig. 2. Olympic Legacy (Cashman 2002, 2005).
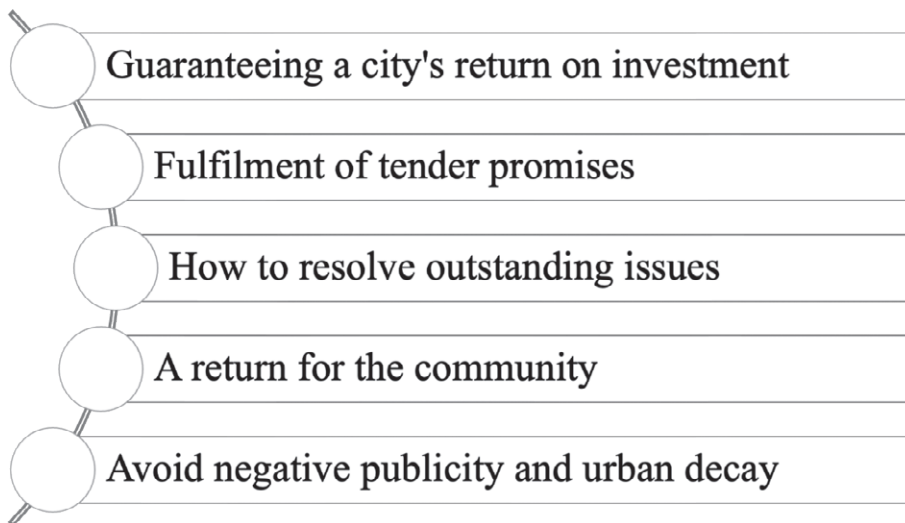
Fig. 3. Legacy aspectative (Cashman, 2002).
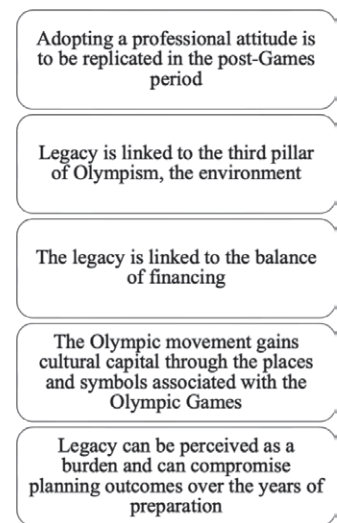
Fig. 4. Legacy is a critical (della Sala, 2022).

the spatial and temporal dimensions must be analysed specifically for each project scale. Therefore, we can introduce a global, national, regional and local scale. However, each of these scales needs continuous investments to achieve the objectives for post-Olympic planning.

Therefore, structure, space and time are the factors to be considered in investigating the temporal dimension of the Olympic legacy (IOC 2012). The continuous investment and implementation of the Plan allow cities to dynamise the objectives of the actual demands of the citizens. However, the objectives of each specific context must

Tab. 1. The five dimension of legacy (IOC 2010).

Five dimensions for legacy research (IOC 2010)	
1	The degree of planned/unplanned structure
2	The degree of positive/negative structure
3	The degree of tangible/intangible structure
4	The duration and timing of a change of structure
5	The space is affected by the change of structure

respect the promises made during the bidding process. Moreover, it would be interesting to introduce a contract between the city and the citizens, as they are the main actors of the Olympic legacy. Bid reports often contain high expectations, but they are often left as significant unfulfilled projects by the organising countries. The non-fulfilment of certain expectations in Olympic cities feeds a collective feeling of dissatisfaction, facilitating the creation of new movements against the organisation of mega-events Poynter 2010).

The only solution is often adopting a long-term vision that includes the local community in the post-Olympic project. An extended timeframe can reduce criticism from citizens. However, the Olympics can accelerate ordinary transformation processes, while on the other hand, it can destroy the city's image and public administration worldwide. The construction of new facilities and infrastructure throughout Olympic history has developed in the presence of a set of elements of a more intangible nature, associated with the urban legacy of the Games (Chalkley, Essex 1999; Essex, Chalkley 1998). This new aspect of urban planning integrates both elements of social and cultural identity, associated with the collective legacy that the memory of the Games represents on the transformation of the city, and tangible criteria of sustainability and resilience applied in the construction of Olympic Villages (Chappellet 2008). Therefore, the contribution aims to answer the following research question: Should 'Olympic urbanism' in general, and the design of Olympic Villages in particular, be included in a long-term strategic city project embedded in conventional urban planning schemes? Finally, it is suggested that the post-Olympic legacy be planned so that the objectives are achieved, and the processes can be applied daily, as an example of good practice in local government.

2. METHODOLOGY

The use of a qualitative methodology of in-depth interviews made it possible to contemplate the specificities of the Olympic Village and its management in the post-Olympic period. The qualitative methodology was based on a semi-structured interview that allowed us to delve into the elements of sustainability, heritage and impact. The testing of the hypotheses will allow us to observe the Olympic legacy within the post-Olympic planning of Turin 2006. The empirical research and theoretical elaboration of the Turin 2006 case proceeded intertwined, as many interviewees were among the protagonists and founders of the OMERO Centre.

The interviews are part of the doctoral study conducted in international co-tutelle between the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Polytechnic University of Turin (see della Sala 2022).

After having formulated my hypotheses, I was able to develop a semi-structured interview through five (5) questions about the profile of the interviewees, six (6) general questions about the Torino 2006 Olympic Games, five (5) questions about the Olympic legacy, two (2) specific questions to observe the different opinions and perspectives on the impact and seven (7) specific questions about the Olympic Village.

The questionnaire is structured in four (4) parts: 1. Profile; 2. Turin 2006; 3. Olympic Legacy; 4. Olympic Village. The semi-structured interview was provided in two blocks, the first block was fundamental to know the interviewees' involvement in the Olympic Games and their basic information, while, in the second part, specific questions were asked on the topic of legacy, sustainability and impact of the Olympic Village.

The choice of teachers, managers and Olympic planners was made based on their involvement and relationship with the Turin 2006 Olympic event. The chosen subjects have had relations with the Centre for Olympic Studies of Lausanne, the University of Turin, the Polytechnic University of Turin, the University of Genoa, the City of Turin, the Region of Turin and, over time, have collaborated directly in the planning of the Olympic Games.

Thanks to the possibilities induced by my direct involvement in the Centre for the Study of Mega-events (OMERO) of the University of Turin and my PhD in co-tutelle with the Polytechnic University of Turin, I was able to contact all the interviewees to carry out an interview that could clearly explain all the different opinions on the specific topic of the thesis.

Participants were selected based on the following selection criteria:
· Members of the OMERO centre
· Mayor and councillor of the City of Turin, Bardonecchia and Sestriere
· Teachers who have published about the Turin Games 2006
· Responsible for the regional development of Piemonte.
· Members of the Organising Committee of the Turin 2006 Olympic Games
· Members of SITI and ARPA PIEMONTE
· Members of Fondazione 20 marzo 2006

The Table 2 details the participants (14) and the information related to the provision of the interview.

The OMERO group and interviewees have continued the study of mega-sports events and the development of mega-event-specific academia. It can be considered that this research group, together with *SITI*, *IRES* and *ROTA*, was an essential part of the study of the Turin Olympic event. Moreover, over time, these groups organised many initiatives, conferences and symposia to observe and study the Olympic phenomenon. The institutional interviewees, meanwhile, continue to participate in the sports and tourism policies of the Olympic areas in the mountains of Piedmont. The heterogeneity of the sample allows us to observe the Turin Olympics in all their magnitude. All the interviewees are familiar with the territory of Piedmont and its development over time.

3. THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURIN WINTER GAMES

This thematic block is based on the aspects relating to and specific to each participant's experience in the organisation, study and observation of the Turin Olympics. One could begin by observing how the sample affirms that the most evident and permanent changes were the physical changes in the city and the territory (Dansero 2010). Moreover, it is interesting to note how the interviewees are optimistic about the change in the city's image of Turin due to the Olympic event. Beside the physical aspect highlighted by the interviewees also social changes are relevant These two aspects were the essential aspects observed by the interviewees in the period following the Turin Olympics.

«As Scamuzzi's research shows, at the national and international level, the image of Turin used to be linked to the automobile, but this image no longer exists. The population perceives Turin as a city of culture and leisure. And the image of Fiat and the Agnelli family has disappeared» Interviewee 4 (Researcher of the OMERO group).

The physical changes induced by the Turin Olympics began with the end of the industrial era, and only through the Olympic event were they realised. It is therefore fundamental to point out the Strategic Plan of the city of Turin of 2000 and the general master plan of 1995. These two plans are fundamental elements for the organisation and execution of the Olympic works in Turin.

Firstly, the city's Strategic Plan of Turin was the first document to mention the Olympic event as a strategy for the revaluation and reconstruction of a new post-industrial city. Through specific lines of intervention, this document has been able to guarantee the city of Turin an intangible development. The interviewees affirmed that this Plan made it possible to have some general guidelines for the construction and the predisposition of the Olympic project. Secondly, the 1995 master plan is another fundamental element for the revaluation and re-use of empty spaces in Turin. The 1995 Turin masterplan was a plan that began to take shape already in the 1970s and then

Tab. 2. Participants of semi-structured inteerview.

Persons interviewed	Location	Profile	Date
Interviewee 1	Turin	Researcher of the OMERO Group	08/04/2021
Interviewee 2	Turin	Researcher at the Rota Institute	09/04/2021
Interviewee 3	Turin	Director of Institutional Relations with the Territory TOROC	09/04/2021
Interviewee 4	Turin	Researcher of the OMERO Group	12/04/2021
Interviewee 5	Turin	Mayor of Turin from 1993 to 2001 President TOROC from 2001 to 2006	15/04/2021
Interviewee 6	Turin	Researcher of the OMERO Group	07/05/2021
Interviewee 7	Turin	Councillor for Urban Planning Assets of the City of Turin From 1995 to 2011	10/05/2021
Interviewee 8	Turin	Researcher at the SITI Institute	12/05/2021
Interviewee 9	Turin	Head of Press Department – TOROC	17/05/2021
Interviewee 10	Turin	Director of the environment – TOROC	30/06/2021
Interviewee 11	Turin	Mayor of the Olympic Volunteers TOROC	27/07/2021
Interviewee 12	Turin	Responsible for the Olympic Education Project – TOROC	29/07/2021
Interviewee 13	Turin	Mayor of Bardonecchia from 2001 to 2011 and from 2016 to 2021 – Councillor of the Foundation XX March 2006 since 2010	09/09/2021
Interviewee 14	Turin	Mayor of Pragelato from 1999 to 2009 and Sestriere from 2009 – Member of the Board of Directors of the Foundation XX March 2008 – Member of the Board of Directors of Agenzia Torino 2006 from 2001 to 2006	17/09/2021

accelerated. This Plan was based on the radical changes in the city's industrial structure. For the city of Turin, as for other cities in Italy and Europe, these radical transformations led to changes in railway lines, the closure of industrial plants and the relocation of production activities outside the city (Vanolo 2008). The central location of industrial plants had long conditioned the urban reconstruction of many industrial cities without allowing for a new post-industrial future. During the 1990s, through the new general Masterplan of 1995 by Gregotti and Cagnardi, a new city was developed in a context of radical economic change for Turin and the Piemontese territory. These changes referred to the stereotypes of the time: 1.The industrial decline of traditional sectors; 2. The promotion of tertiary activities; 3.The office drive; 4.The re-user-use of abandoned areas.

From the first decades of the twentieth century, Turin became the capital of big industry through a high concentration of scientific and technological knowledge and ample availability of capital induced by the decisive role of the public administration. The industrial crisis of the FIAT automobile industry triggered essential social and urban transformation processes in Turin. Since the second half of the 1990s, some 3 million square metres of industrial areas have been abandoned in Turin. In addition, thousands of small businesses and commercial activities were closed down, causing social unrest through hundreds of suicides of people expelled from production. In this context, the city of Turin realised its master plan through an almost unanimous political and cultural convergence based on the following fundamental choices: a) The decision to create a new urban layout; b) The decision to seek investment in mobility infrastructure favours restricted zones; c) The decision to find a strategic alliance with the owners of Turin industries.

In this context, the choice of Valentino Castellani's administration was to accept the processes of de-industrialisation by trying to accelerate the tertiarisation of the city. The general master plan of 1995 can be considered the primary tool supporting the change of the socio-urban form of the city of Turin. The capacity of the Plan was 1.5 million inhabitants. This is probably significantly overestimated if we take into consideration that today 900,000 thousand people live in Turin. In 1995, the new PRG of Turin was approved, which was first characterised by its attention to the issue of the structuring of the urban territory. Secondly, as a reference tool for the implementation of new urban policies. The structural vision of territorial organisation has as its founding elements the transforma-

tion of infrastructures, mobility and the proposal of a new urban design. The Plan's status as a reference is linked to the commitment of the city administration to manage the certainties of the approved Plan while at the same time questioning some of its parts. The Turin Master Plan, approved by the region in 1995, includes the following main lines: 1. Elimination of industrial zones. Including the so-called *Spina Centrale* areas, covering 3 million square metres; 2. The identification of the central corridor of the city consisting of the *Spina Centrale*. This *Spina Centrale* is crossed from north to south by the so-called "Boulevard", created to cover the metro line, as a privileged place for the settlement of 23,000 inhabitants and 32,000 workers in the service sector. It concerns this location's suitability and the heights of the various skyscrapers, already identified by the Master Plan and subsequently enhanced by specific initiatives. Are being discussed today: the Intesa-San Paolo offices, the regional offices, and the Ligresti skyscraper. In essence, the *Spina* areas are considered by the Plan as the place to concentrate functions and forms charged with symbolic importance to be exhibited (and exploited economically) locally, nationally and internationally. In the Turin Olympic bid dossier, this area of the Spina Centrale was identified as the proposed area for developing the Turin Olympic Village. After the nomination of Turin as an Olympic city, the planning of the Village was shifted to the southern area of the city. This change in the initial project also allows us to observe how the planning and organisational conditions of the Olympic Games changed after the Olympic nomination. Meanwhile, other fundamental elements of the Plan are related to the indifference with which the Plan treats the environmental conditions of the city, in particular, that of the older neighbourhoods near the *Spina* (Centro, Crocetta, San Paolo, Cenisia, Cit Turin, San Donato, Aurora-Rossini, Barriera di Milano). Very densely populated neighbourhoods (about 350,000 inhabitants), characterised by a high density of buildings and mainly tertiary activities (7.5 million square metres), absolutely lacking specific social services spaces. Observing the urban transformations of Turin, it seems that the urban planning drawing board of the *Spina* areas has been completely separated from the rest of the urban context. The work is to be covered with elements (in terms of quality and quantity) alien to the urban reality and summarised in the theme: «To concretise rare functions in the central sector of the city». Finally, the Plan included other lines of interventions related to the lack of attention to the cultural heritage that has characterised many of the city's industrial settlements throughout its history. So, in 1995 the Plan was approved and put into action. A vital element of the Plan is the rediscovery of an old theme that was already present in the debates of the 1950s: the effort to connect the north and south of the city by creating the central road axis. The *Spina* is built by covering the railway and connecting a series of disused industrial areas called "Spina: 1,2,3,4".

The *Spina Centrale*, the most attractive of the transformations, is crossed by the grand boulevard, served by the rail *Passante* and the existing and planned stations. In addition, the *Spina* is served by the interchange with the metro line under construction and the provision to include the most important public functions in these areas. Equally important to the General Plan is the Strategic Plan for Turin, which includes a specific line of action for promoting Turin as a cultural, tourist, commercial and sporting city.

As confirmed by most interviewees, the inclusion of the 2006 Olympic Games in the 2000 Strategic Plan of the city of Turin has ensured standard lines for the transformation of the city of Turin at the urban and tourism

Tab. 3. The strategic line of the 2000 strategic plan (Torino Internazionale 1999)

	The strategic line of the 2000 Strategic Plan
1	Valorisation and development of cultural heritage
2	Coordination of cultural activities and planning of international events
3	Develop the tourism industry
4	Positioning of the destination Turin/Piedmont on the international tourism market
5	Support the growth and innovation of the commercial network in the area
6	Promote sport
7	Use the Winter Olympics as a development and international promotion engine

levels. The interviewees affirm that the city of Turin, thanks to the Olympic nomination, has benefited from and implemented some challenges that have been waiting to be realised for 50 years. Furthermore, it is interesting to reflect on the change in the image and perception of the city of Turin towards the outside world. As some authors state (Guala, Crivello 2006; Dansero, Mela 2007; Vanolo 2008) the image changes have brought about a change in the socio-economic fabric of Turin. The interviewees agreed on the importance of these plans, which were the primary support for the management structure of the Olympic works. Several interviewees considered that the management structure of the Games would be challenging to replicate. Having and pursuing a common intervention philosophy in the organisation of the Turin Olympic project is a very complex thing to do in observation of the Olympic past experiences.

> While it is true that in terms of design, they tried to respect the environment as much as possible, now you have something that clashes with the environment. But it's a post- Olympic problem. Interviewee 10 (Environment Director – TOROC).

Moreover, the synergies between the different political currents between the city and the region made it possible to establish a common objective that went beyond political ideals. Observing a strategic line, having a shared plan, and executing the Plan in the directory, allowed for fluidity in communications and interventions on the territory. While on the other hand, the social changes in the city of Turin can be observed through the guidelines of the Strategic Plan and in the legacy of the Olympic Games in Turin. Reflecting on the interviewees and considering the 2000 Strategic Plan, the Olympic event should be seen as an opportunity to create a new image of the city of Turin. At the same time, resources were made available for investments in certain parts that would have benefited from these specific Olympic investments. According to the interviewees, the Turin Olympics were an excellent opportunity to implement and update mechanisms that the city has needed since the end of the industrial era. In this sense, the Olympics allowed for all the interventions in the urban fabric that redefined the image of the post-industrial city of Turin. The constitution of cultural spaces, international exhibitions, film promotion, regional tourist agency support and international communication through the Olympic Games, as most of the author's state, contributed significantly to the reconstruction of the image of the city of Turin.

Moreover, the interviewees state that the change in Turin's image occurred at the national level but, above all, at the international level. The interviewees who have participated in international sessions for the study or dissemination of the Olympic event affirm that in the early 2000s, the city of Turin was not known at the international level. Turin is the historic capital of Italy and an industrial and technological city of world excellence. So, the city of Turin has been able to develop its own identity thanks to the organisation of the 2006 Olympic Games. As some authors claim, this change of perception at a global level was a long process favoured by many transversal programmes and longitudinal research designed to promote the city and the territory at an international level. Thus, the city of Turin, thanks to the Olympic Games, started a process of internationalisation that continues to this day and changes how it relates to sporting and cultural events. Some interviewees affirm that this process of internationalisation of the city of Turin was long and guaranteed the city's entry into the international travel and event circuits. This new philosophy of intervention can be considered the main element for the international positioning of Turin as a historical, cultural and sporting city.

On the other hand, an analysis of the Strategic Plan of the city of Turin shows the main actions for the valorisation and development of the cultural heritage (Fig. 5).

The main actions in the development of the tourism industry were the following: a) Expand, develop and diversify the accommodation offer, focusing on the 2006 Winter Olympics and encouraging the creation of international hotels; b) To develop the fair-trade centre by promoting events dedicated to the automobile, culture, training and gastronomy; c) Develop the congress centre by creating a *Convention Bureau* with a unified policy for promoting congress activities.

Moreover, the positioning of Turin and Piedmont as a destination in the national and international tourist market was pursued through these main actions: 1. To create and reinforce the Turin/Piedmont product on the national and international tourist market, defining historical, cultural and sporting itineraries; 2. Build itineraries
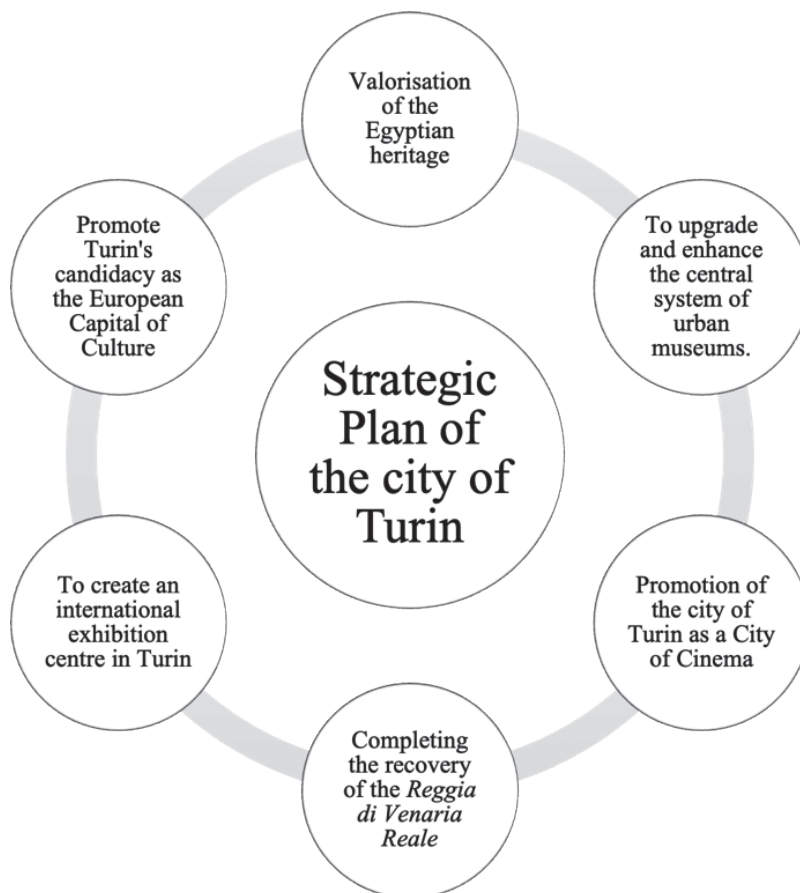
Fig. 5. The Strategic Plan of Turin (Torino Internazionale 1999).

Tab. 4. Main action for the promotion of Turin (della Sala, 2022).

	Main actions for the promotion of Turin
1	Promote sport as a means of improving quality of life and social cohesion
2	Increase and improve the usability of sports facilities
3	Promote the internationalisation of sport in Turin as a tourist and cultural attraction
4	To develop the tourism movement linked to sport

and programmes for specific tourists such as youth, school, religious, business, cultural or sports tourism; 3. Facilitate the creation of specific tourism packages; 4. Create a committee to disseminate the food and gastronomic culture of the city and its territory at the national and international levels by opening a regional wine shop in Turin. Finally, the change in the image of the city of Turin was based on the promotion of sport and the channelling of the Winter Olympics into a global transformation of the perception of Turin's image.

Moreover, Turin's Strategic Plan, among its strategic lines, included and considered the Olympic Games as an engine for the development and international promotion of the city.

As most interviewees stated, the Turin Olympics were included in a reconstruction and revaluation project that had already been launched at the end of the industrial era.

Location and construction of the Olympic Village in *Spina* 3, a factor of urban regeneration and new centrality of the athletes' complex

Build new sports facilities and adapt existing ones for the Winter Olympics to be used as sports and/or cultural centres

Locate the construction of the two Media Villas in new centrality and redevelopment areas, defining their strategic use

Fig. 6. Olympic Games of Turin and Strategic Plan (della Sala, 2002).

This project was integrated into the Strategic Plan to observe global lines related to other aspects and objectives for the post-industrial future of Turin. In the Strategic Plan, the use of the Olympic Games was based on the following specific actions:

As expressed in the Strategic Plan, the image of Turin, before the Olympics, was still very much linked to the industrial tradition of the city. For this reason, the Olympic Games were of fundamental importance to enhance, strengthen and promote Turin's historical and cultural potential in the broader sense of tourist interest. The Strategic Plan expressed the need to bridge the gap between Turin and the remaining part of Piedmont through a mechanism of synergies that are differentiated based on the relationship between the potential of these two territories. Regarding positioning the city of Turin in the tourism market, the project was very ambitious to realise the objectives. This project, so ambitious in its objectives, was carried out through the involvement of all the city and region actors working in the tourism sector. The inclusion of all the actors has allowed for a global vision and a recovery of the identity of the local food and wine tradition, thus bringing about new development and a boost to trade and entrepreneurship. The Strategic Plan notes that failure to implement an integrated project in the food production sector would gradually disappear the culture and typical products of the Piemontese food and wine tradition too. At the same time, the promotion of sports aims to improve the opportunities for sports practice through the use of the spaces and facilities developed for the Olympic Games and the promotion of Turin as a sports city. A city with an international vocation cannot forget the aspect of the sport, which improves urban quality both in terms of the services offered and sports as a factor of social integration. In this sense, guaranteeing access to facilities for the most disadvantaged sectors of society is highly important, reinforced by the administration's desire to organise and develop the Winter Olympics and Paralympics. The city of Turin, before the Olympics, was in the process of apparent regression in terms of the disappearance of sports facilities destined for the city, causing rapid deterioration and reducing the possibilities of use by the citizens, which could even lead to a worsening of the quality of life.

The 2006 Winter Olympics was an available opportunity for all local sports. The link with a world-class international event allowed Turin to host a series of sporting events culminating in the 2006 Winter Olympics. The

contact points between international and local amateur sporting events must be parallel to have a broad resonance. The specific actions for developing Turin as a city of sporting events, thanks to the Olympic Games, aim to create a network of sporting events either in the form of venues or as trails, allowing all users to understand the value and richness of the territory. The sporting tradition of the city of Turin was the ideal breeding ground for the accomplishment of this important and complex task: sport, like other sectors, cannot live or be managed separately or apart from the economic, historical, social and landscape aspects of the territory itself.

About this specific point, the Strategic Plan defines three different levels for the development and promotion of Turin as a sports city: 1. The sporting event is a once-in-a-season or one-off event; 2. Sport as a spectacle, as a periodic event; 3. Recreational sport is considered a moment of relaxation and enjoyment of the natural and scenic aspects of the area.In this sense, the promotion of Turin as a sports city was based on tourist facilities and services. Another aspect is related to the urban quality of the re-user-use and upgrading interventions. New centralities, urban renewal, and social integration as a strategy for disseminating cohesion and urban regeneration were the critical points for exploiting the Turin model. The Winter Olympic Games represent an opportunity for the host city to move forward and take significant steps in improving the accommodation capacity of the local area. The Olympic Village, the Media Villas and the new student residences have allowed the city of Turin to activate new centralities in the *Spina* and southern areas of the city. Moreover, the new areas are effectively connected to the city centre thanks to the construction of the metropolitan railway service.

Changes should always be supported by strategic plans and the master plan, as they include the extraordinary realisation of the Olympic Games in the normality of urban changes. However, simultaneously, the organisation of the Olympic Games induces some social changes that form the immaterial part of the intangible elements of the Olympic Games. The results show how the city must provide and develop the Olympic project 10 to 15 years in advance in order not to provoke a boomerang effect on the city and the urban fabric. This intervention philosophy has allowed Turin to position itself internationally as a historical, cultural and sporting city. Also, the city of Turin, through the reconversions and revaluations of the industrial zones, has enjoyed new processes of re-using-using the areas, strengthening the relationships of all territorial stakeholders. The results show how the Turin Olympics were a vital means of promoting and channelling processes and practices that are still part of the Piemontese population today. Openness and social participation are two of the most emblematic points for perceiving a new image of the city of Turin. Viano states that the city of Turin was able to make human resources available, as it was well aware that this opportunity could not be missed within the framework of the medium and long-term transformation of the city of Turin. Thus, most interviewees affirm that leadership and teamwork are two fundamental elements that can positively or negatively influence the realisation of the event, determining its future success.

4. THE OLYMPIC LEGACY OF TURIN

The interviewees about the post-Olympic management of the Turin Olympics agree on the lack of a specific organisation that could have been developed during the Olympic event. The qualitative samples allow us to observe how this aspect is critical in planning the post-Olympic legacy. Professors, researchers and Olympic consultants affirm that the Olympic legacy needs to be managed separately and in parallel to the Olympic event. According to those interviewed, the lack of planning for the Turin Olympics has led to a lack of transparency in the management of the post-Olympic legacy. Furthermore, it is essential to point out that in 2006 a public foundation was developed for managing the Olympic facilities on the territory of Turin. The *Fondazione 20 Marzo 2006*, a private entity created after the Olympic event, sponsored by its public bodies: Regione Piemonte, Provincia di Torino, Comune di Torino and CONI, to manage the movable and immovable heritage of the 2006 Turin Olympic Games. Thus, since 2006, the interviewees affirm that the Foundation has been the only entity responsible for the post-Olympic heritage. The Foundation, an organisation under private law and created by public entities, is managed as if it were a public entity. In addition, the Foundation has transferred the management of the Olympic assets and facilities to a joint venture company over the years. *Parcoolimpico s.r.l.* was founded in 2012 to carry

out maintenance work through a joint venture with a private partner chosen through a general agreement. The company *Parcoolimpico s.r.l.* is 10% owned by the Foundation and 90% by a private partner (Get Live 2 – Controlled by *Live Nation*). This company is currently responsible for managing and maintaining the Olympic facilities and heritage as a whole. Interviewees claim that this solution has saved public money, valorising and exploiting the Olympic venues for events over 16 years. The Foundation was the first example of a physical legacy organisational structure related to the Olympic event. In the past, only public or private companies had been set up to manage and maintain all Olympic facilities. For example, in Barcelona, the structures were transferred to the public promotion entity, which is in charge of the operation and maintenance of the Olympic structures. About the *Fondazione 20 Marzo 2006*, some interviewees affirm that this entity was planned too late without a specific plan for developing the sport in the Piedmont community.

On the other hand, some authors claim that the lack of foresight was the factor that negatively influenced the use and exploitation of Olympic facilities. The bobsleigh and ski jumping facilities are still abandoned today with an uncertain future. The interviewees affirm that these two Olympic facilities were and still are the problem and the most negative point of the 2006 Turin Olympics. On the other hand, their abandonment has led to a lack of interest on the part of the Italian Olympic Committee, which, according to the interviewees, did not fulfil its commitment. Meanwhile, regarding the entity responsible for the structural legacy of the Turin Olympics, the 20 March 2006 Foundation, most interviewees had no involvement in the post-Olympic period. Among all the interviewees, only Francesco Avato, Valter Marin and Piero Gros have had or continue to have relations with the 20 March 2006 Foundation. Francesco Avato is the incumbent president of the Foundation after Valter Marin was president from 2013 to 2018. Meanwhile, Piero Gros had a two-year relationship in the post-Olympic period (2006-2008). This sample identifies a lack of involvement of the subjects who participated directly or indirectly in the planning and study of the Olympic legacy.

As affirmed by the interviewees and the contributions of Guala, Dansero and Mela, the Turin Olympics have allowed the city to change its image for the whole world. This transformation can be identified as the ultimate intangible legacy of the Turin Olympics. As affirmed by some respondents, the transformation of Turin's image is a process that continues to evolve to this day.

> In 2004 and 2005, 23 new tourist guides were published in 10 foreign languages dedicated exclusively to Turin. Whereas before, Turin had no ad hoc tourist guides. But it was included in the tourist guides of Northern Italy. Interviewee 4 (Researcher of the OMERO group).

Looking at the sporting calendar for 2021, Turin's city will again be on the international sporting events circuit. The possibility of hosting the ATP tennis final, the European Baseball Championships and a National League football match is one more example of the indirect and subsequent benefits of the Turin 2006 Olympic Games. The Olympic legacy has allowed Turin to boost and reactivate itself as a central city in the regional space, successively asserting itself as a metropolitan city. This development perspective has enabled the city of Turin to transfer new values and symbols to its citizens. Strengthening group values and local identity has allowed Turin to develop a voluntary organisation, which is still the main sponsor of organised sporting events. As stated by the interviewees, this phenomenon of citizen participation can be considered as the intangible heritage of the renaissance of Turin's post-industrial society. Moreover, according to the respondents, the Olympic legacy project should clearly involve all local entities to act and develop specific long-term actions. Equally important is the creation of a specific post-Olympic planning entity that can exploit the physical legacy of the Olympic Games. As stated by the authors, the City of Turin only developed the post-Olympic management foundation in 2006. According to most interviewees, this fact has caused a loss of opportunities for the Piedmont territory. Therefore, it can be stated with certainty that post-Olympic planning needs a specific long-term plan that includes citizens and local entities. According to this study's participants, post-Olympic planning nowadays should be considered a fundamental piece in the organisation of the citizens' heritage. Moreover, some interviewees state that planning should be specific to the post-Olympic phase as some processes are different and need other entities, resources and tools. Finally, respond-

ents stated that the lack of a specific entity and commission for developing sports events at the national level led to a loss of specialised human resources. Thus, being two different processes in two different stages, the Olympic legacy should always be carried out with the maximum attention and participation of citizens, universities and local entities. Only through the integrated participation of all subjects sharing the territory the host city will be able to benefit from the intangible legacy in the long term. Moreover, continuous and integrated planning will allow the territory to update the overall planning processes according to the citizens' demands. According to the interviewees, the Olympic project should be seen as a dynamic and long-term process. Only through a longitudinal observation the Olympic event can be considered in the totality of its positive and negative effects. Thus, the interviewees state that the city of Turin identified the city of Barcelona as its urban model of post-industrial transformation to follow. Coordination between the mayors of the two cities and the participation of consultants, such as Enric Truño in the Turin Olympics, allowed for implementing measures that followed a transformation model in another Olympic city. The project's orientation through the experiences of the other cities is a process that has become more and more relevant nowadays. The lack of consideration of host cities' experience can be seen as a flaw in the Olympic design. The organising committees should consider the experiences of host cities to reduce the chances of defeat observed in Montreal '76, Athens '04, Sochi '14 and Rio '16. The interviewees agree on the influence of the other cities on the host city project. According to the interviewees, the International Olympic Committee's exchange and knowledge transfer programmes are a fundamental part of the host city's transformation process for the organisation of the Olympic event. While experiences differ in different urban and territorial morphologies and structures, Olympic experiences continue to evolve, and the Olympic territory continues to expand. This expansion of the territorial dimension of the Winter Olympics began with the Turin Olympics and will continue with the choice of Milan and Cortina for 2026. The organisation of the 2026 Winter Olympics follows a territorial expansion project that other territories and regions of the host country will implement. This expansion aspect can be related to the Turin model, which the Organising Committee has taken as an example in its organising tables. In addition, it is interesting how the Milan-Cortina project aims to develop the involvement of local communities in different phases of the Olympic project and at different levels of intervention. The interviewees agree on the importance of a long-term strategy underpinning different plans for the future of the host cities and the territory. Barcelona, like Turin, had different strategic plans and renewed master plans to support the major physical and social transformations observed in the different Olympic cities. Strategic plans allow cities to develop different scenarios that can and should be implemented over time. The programming of strategic lines and defined objectives makes it possible to observe a common development plan and strategy among all the stakeholders of the territory. So, in this sense, the Olympic Games were only a few elements within a larger and more complex strategy that could not have been generated if the cities had not been Olympic cities. As argued by many authors, these extraordinary Olympic projects were embedded in an urban structure that fitted into more complex plans for deeper transformations in the post-industrial society of Barcelona and Turin. The interviewees agree on the importance of the Olympics as simply an intangible opportunity for the socio-urban transformations of the host cities. Identifying the Olympic project as extraordinary within an ordinary transformation of the urban fabric can be a key factor in the physical transformation of Olympic cities. Viano argues that the consideration of the Olympic event as a stand-alone event can become a phenomenon that becomes very complex to manage in the post-Olympic period. For example, Viano recalls how the 1961 Expo as a one-off event was a mistake that still creates problems in separate areas of the city today. So, a shared, long-term vision supported by strategic plans will enable cities to reduce the chances of defeat, enjoying the Olympic legacy in all its fullness and breadth. It has been shown that the Olympic legacy is linked to the planning process, with most interviewees stating that the IOC is an active participant in the planning process of the Olympic event. Sessions, conferences and exchange experiences of the organising committees are only some of the activities organised by the IOC for the transfer of knowledge of the Olympic event. The interviewees state that this involvement of the IOC is due to the ownership of the Olympic brand and its interests related to the functioning of the Olympic event. The International Committee's interest is directed solely at the purpose of the event and its perceived global media coverage. Interviewees agree on the lack of global and longitudinal support from the International Olympic Committee. Participation and involvement in a complex pro-

cess such as the organisation and planning of a mega-event should be supported by the International Committee and a global development programme. In addition, the International Olympic Committee will shortly have to consider, support and support the bidding cities in all phases of the Olympic process. The Olympic process is divided into 4 phases: bid, pre-event, event, and post-event; it needs organisation and support, not only technical support from the International Committee. The interviewees agree on the importance of establishing common objectives between all the candidate cities and the International Olympic Committee. Some of the interviewees affirm that, in the event's organisation, the International Olympic Committee should have a larger role in the decisions of each host state. On the other hand, the involvement of the International Olympic Committee in the political decisions of the cities could contrast with the cities' participatory roles and citizens' future decisions. So, there could be a contrast between the Olympic works and the ordinary works of the candidate cities. The interviewees agree on the importance of political relations and the relations of the Olympic movement. These relationships, planned and organised, can enhance the relationships and reputations of candidate cities over time. Through these statements, the interviewees affirm that the dialogue between the International Olympic Committee and the city should be more intense and wider. It should not only consider technical indications related to competitions and the realisation of Olympic works. During the evaluation phase of the Olympic cities, the International Olympic Committee does not fully consider the city's typology, the citizens' participation, territorial acceptance, and the implementation of new strategies to change the city's image. With participatory planning in mind, citizens and local authorities should be part of the Olympic project in all its phases. In addition, the IOC should implement the bidding process, supporting the candidate cities throughout the entire bid cycle. So, the Olympic legacy has a dual purpose: one for the city and its citizens, one for the Olympic movement. This division of objectives in the future requires guidelines for planning and implementing detailed programmes that can help the citizens and the city choose the Olympic project. The local authorities and the population cannot be excluded from the bidding process and the planning of the Olympic Games. The success of the Olympic project allows an intangible image to return to the whole Olympic movement. The city's image will be projected on the international event circuits and will develop as a role model. Over the years, many Olympic cities have been chosen as role models for future candidate cities. Rome, Mexico, Munich, Los Angeles, Barcelona, Sydney, Turin, London, and Tokyo, are just some of the projects that have been developed through a reference model or by creating a new spatial development model for the city. These cities' success was manifested in their Olympic Plan, the transformation of the city's image, and the economic and financial development of the territory. Successful and future successful editions will be represented as an Olympic model, influencing future projects of new Olympic cities. Equally important are the negative experiences in terms of urban transformations. Editions such as Montreal, Athens, Sochi, and Rio, promote and disseminate unsustainability, causing a lack of credibility for the whole Olympic Movement. Due to these negative experiences, the International Olympic Committee has had to modify the city allocation process so that the Olympic Games can always be a clean and dynamic product for sponsors and the media. The promotion of an Olympic city and urban role model can crystallise into supra-local transformations that sustain the intangible knowledge of the citizenry. The social transformations through the promotion of the city and its image can be transformed into a knowhow of the organising committee in the post-Olympic phase. The intangible value will support the city's future strategies for organising and planning major events. As we have observed, the Olympic legacy is very imprecise regarding its dynamism over time. The Olympic legacy, tangible or intangible, direct or indirect, over time modifies its space and its temporal performance. The change of scale of the post-Olympic project also allows the introduction of the terms impact or results. Some researchers prefer to define legacy as hardware (facilities and infrastructure) and software (culture, image and identity). This division of tangible and intangible resources does not allow us to reflect on the importance of defining the Olympic project. In line with Raffestin and Turco's contributions, territorialisation can be defined as the production of territory, a territory considered a space produced by the action of all the actors who promote projects on the territory. This territorial space can be defined as a space where energy and human capital have been applied (Raffestin 1981). Territorialisation in the Olympic Games starts from the bidding phase, transforming itself during the organising phases of the event until a process of deterritorialisation begins in the post-Olympic period. In this last phase, works have often been dismantled or abandoned over

time. Meanwhile, the last phase of territorialisation is defined through the cities' legacy plan, which allows the heritage to be transformed into a tangible heritage for the city and its citizens. According to Turco, Olympic territorialisation, observed as the production of new spatial territory, fits into the ordinary transformation dynamics of cities through a T-R-D cycle and can be observed as different acts of territorialisation that would be defined through three categories: Denomination, Reification and Structuring (Turco 1988). In Turin, the Olympic territorialisation stands in contrast to the re-territorialisation of the post-industrial era started in 1995 through the Gregotti-Cagnardi master plan. Through the Olympic nomination, the city of Turin has accelerated the processes of re-use-use of urban and industrial areas that were carrying out other social problems. Meanwhile, the territorialisation in the mountain areas and the Olympic territory can be considered a great legacy for mobility, connections and exploitation of tourism in the whole of Piemonte. The following tangible legacy of infrastructures and services allowed the implementation of different territorial and strategic plans in a single target territory. The denomination of the Olympic territory is related to the control of the symbols of the territory: Olympic stadium, Olympic square, Olympic Village, Olympic track, etc. These symbols over time will inevitably change shape and specific weight of their involvement and performance over the years (Muñoz 1996, 2006). Throughout Olympic history, these symbols have sometimes been renamed in the post-Olympic period for the exploitation of the sponsor's brand offering the most long-term contributions. In this sense, Olympic facilities and works in the post-Olympic period will change their value and significance in the city. The construction of defined Olympic strategies ensures the development of a city brand that will inevitably be promoted worldwide. Meanwhile, the transformation of temporary sites during the Olympic event can be identified as the first phase of territorial production.

The Olympic designation starts with the bid dossier, which will be seen and promoted worldwide before the allocation of the Olympic event. The International Olympic Committee, through the delivery of the bid dossier, obliges Olympic cities to communicate the name of the city in English and the year of the future bid. This aspect is one of the most important for defining the intangible legacy and creating the Olympic brand as a host city. The name projects the Olympic territory and refers to an exact space and time, legitimising the IOC's symbolic ownership and the city's image to the world. In the specific case of Turin, the Olympic designation renewed the image of the post-industrial city that allowed the implementation of new territorial marketing strategies for sponsors, tourists and companies that planned to get involved in the project. Thus, as stated by Dansero, symbolic control is transformed into practical centres of space. The territorial appropriation by the event can be observed through the global and local sponsors who, during the Olympic period, cannot promote any products or services in the Olympic area.

Furthermore, during the Olympic Games, candidate cities must apply temporary rules for the exploitation of Olympic sponsors. This temporary law should preserve the value and attraction of the Olympic brand around the world. The legacy issue of this day has become a fundamental element and should be considered the last phase of the Olympic cycle as it relates to the Olympic territory and its territorialisation.

The phase of deterritorialisation can bring about these territorial transformations is shown in Fig 7.

As we have observed above, territorial transformations in the post-Olympic period are defined as a process of deterritorialisation that, in the case of the Turin Olympics, did not fully consider the Olympic territory and the near future. The significant risk for the IOC and the candidate cities is producing an excess of Olympic territorialisation which in the post-Olympic period may turn into an abandoned structure. Excessive production and a too-dispersed project can lead to a territorial deficit, squatting, the re-use-use of spaces and mountainous transformations. This last transformation is due to the importance of the future of the Olympic cities in the winter edition. After Turin, the Winter Olympics have become a much more complex territorial phenomenon than we have seen until 2006. This excess of territorialisation and territorialised events allows us to identify significant implications in the local transformations that force cities to host new editions of the Olympic Games of international sporting events. After the Olympic event, many candidate cities were obliged to promote sports and host sporting events in the city. This intangible legacy aspect has changed many cities' attitudes towards mega sporting events. The Olympic event, through its project, its structures, its image and its infrastructures, gives the Olympic city an increase in the stable capital of the city, which is mainly made up of containers and infrastructures. As most authors have argued, Turin was obliged and legitimised by the success of the Olympic Games and by the need to transform its
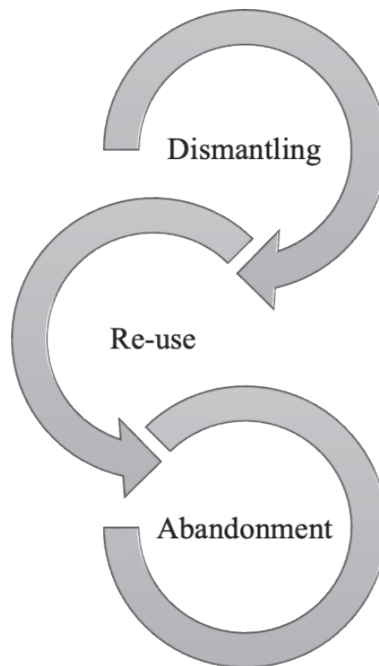
Fig. 7. Deterritorialisation model (Adapted from Turco 1988).

industrial past to manage and plan positively for the citizens. These transformations already during the bid period will be supported by many sponsors who will use the city to promote a clean and reliable image. In this sense, a new vision of the Olympic project stands out, which changes continuously in the different phases of its participants and sponsors. This aspect of the Olympic project will, in the future, be one of the most critical aspects for the citizens' support and the winning project's choice. Continuing with the reflection on the Olympic legacy, it is fundamental to note how most interviewees affirm that the Olympic legacy project is a project that cannot be defined only in the final period of the Olympic event.

Moreover, it should be planned and include criteria and tools that can dynamically respond to the city's future demands and its citizens. Some elements that can be included in the territorial marketing strategies of candidate cities are introduced. These elements and their implementation depend only on whether the elites and the local society recognise themselves in them. The Olympic city should be well recognised through a strong, visible and segmented brand. For example, Barcelona has distinguished itself as a cultural and sports city. The future of the Olympic city should include new forms of economic, administrative and cultural participation. Implementing museums, exhibitions, and public and private offices are all fundamental elements for developing a new image of the city. The city must transform into a global city that enters into new business networks and world economic circuits (Guarrasi 2002). Meanwhile, the local community should include some social capital to favour its evolution throughout the post-Olympic evolution. These elements allow us to advance a new hypothesis on the development of new modernity induced by sports and Mega-events (Harvey 1991).

5. THE WINTER OLYMPIC GAMES IN A GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION

The qualitative analysis of the interviewees helps us to observe how the evolution of the Olympic Games in Turin over time has consolidated its urban strategy to the point of becoming an intangible heritage for the metropolis. The consolidation of Olympic urbanism through the Olympic Village and Olympic facilities has ensured a tremendous tangible legacy in the post-Olympic period. The Games went from being an exceptional event for cities

to become a constitutive and recognisable element to being considered a unique urban planning tool. Therefore, it must guarantee its identity over time. The Olympic Village has now become a place that can redefine territorial strategies and become a territorial unknown about new urban functions. As we have seen from the survey, the inclusion of the Olympic facilities in a territorial transformation project is the only option to favour the development of the metropolis over time (della Sala 2022). Including the facilities in a comprehensive spatial transformation project reduces the risks of abandonment and favours the intangible possibilities associated with the tangible legacy in the post-event phase. Furthermore, heritage planning in the post-Olympic period has a dynamic impact on the city and its citizens. The choice of an organisational model and the implementation of a specific management model for the post-Olympic phase are two critical elements in the planning and organisation of the socio-structural legacy in the territory.

The construction of sports facilities in the territory will inevitably lead to new relations between the transport system and the city (Kassen-Noor 2013). Over time, we have observed different housing solutions that have transformed the relationships within cities, leading to a change of centralities in the territorial space (Lenskyj 2006). The new urban relations induced by the Olympic event should be established through participatory planning that respects citizens' needs. In conclusion, it can be said that the Olympic Games have become a constitutive element of the extraordinary urban planning of contemporary metropolises. They are also an urban planning tool that can acquire their own identity over time, becoming a catalyst for other elements that make up the socio-economic fabric of host cities.

On the other hand, the Winter Olympic Games have become more complex elements in a new spatial dimension. The location of the different Olympic Villages on the territory entails a new dimension of the Olympic event and its impact on the region. As we have observed through the qualitative analysis of Turin 2006, the spatial dimension of the Olympic event has become a regional strategy that has favoured the processes of metropolisation of the city of Turin. The different dynamics established in the post-Olympic territory, as we noted above, can determine new social changes in the city and its citizenship (Kovac 2002). The Olympic Village has established itself as an urban piece with its own identity that had to be inscribed in the transformation and revaluation programmes of the urban fabric in the long term. Barcelona, Turin and London are just a few examples that confirm the evolution of the Olympic Village as the ultimate expression of Olympic urban planning and as a catalyst for other urban processes. The evolution of organisational models can help us understand the Olympic urban planning issue and its post-Olympic legacy. Furthermore, given the evolution of the Olympic legacy, it is good to reflect on the organisation and management of artefacts. This contribution has tried to provide some elements to help candidate cities decrease the risk of abandoning Olympic facilities in the post-Olympic phase.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the Olympic experience in Turin, one can observe how the event dimension acquired new material and immaterial meanings. The case of Turin is emblematic for the new consideration of the use of existing or temporary structures. These new elements of urban recycling guarantee the reuse of urban structures in the post-Olympic period, promoting and catalysing new processes of socio-urban regeneration. Furthermore, in consideration with the IOC's new selection criteria, the sustainability of the facilities and the legacy to be left to the community have become key elements for the awarding of the event. Therefore, the consideration of the Olympic legacy for the planning of the Olympic Village as an optional event is a fundamental tool for the consideration of the urban legacy in host cities. In conclusion, this hypothesis allows us to state that the Olympic legacy must take on specific planning for the post-event phase. However, the interviewees suggest and confirm the need for a post-Olympic strategy of at least 10-15 years developed together with territorial stakeholders.

Among the limitations of the research, the following can be identified: 1. Evolution of the topic of scientific production; 2. Geography; 3. Opinions and consideration of the interviewees.

For example, awareness of sustainability and legacy issues over time has changed and continues to change in relation to the new management and organisation models of the Olympic Games. Today, the awareness of the United Nations and the IOC on this issue has been able to induce some intangible changes in the thinking of each respondent.

In addition, consideration will have to be given to the limitations induced by each target state, the geographical limits of my study and the evolution of the topic of scientific production. Together, longitudinal and cross-sectional effects induced by the time of the research and the evolution of the topic will be taken into account. In addition, the interviewees may have changed their opinions and considerations about the past Olympic Villages and their evolution in the city over time Also in the academic production on this topic.

Therefore, the organisation of a new Olympic symposium is of paramount importance to reflect and discuss on the evolution of the new spatial models that have taken place over time, almost three decades after the original one. The evolution of organisational models can help us to understand specifically the issue of Olympic urbanism and its post-Olympic legacy.

> The protocol and these measures have contributed to creating a sustainable culture. Interviewee 5 (President TOROC).

REFERENCES

Cashman R. (2002), *What is "Olimpic Legacy"?, The Legacy of the Olimpic Games*, Losanna: International Olympic Committee.

Cashman R. (2005), *The bitter-sweet awaking. The legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*, Sidney: Walla Walla Press.

Chalip L. (2010), *Leveraging the Sydney Olympics for tourism*, in «Centre d'Estudis Olímpics», UAB.

Chalkley B., Essex S. (1999), *Urban development through hosting international events: A history of the Olympic Games*, in «Planning Perspectives», 14(4).

Chappelet J.-L. (2008), *Olympic Environmental Concerns as a Legacy of the Winter Games*, in «The International Journal of the History of Sport», 25(14).

Dansero E. (2002), *I luoghi comuni" dei grandi eventi. Allestendo il palcoscenico territoriale per Torino 2006,* in «Bollettino della società geografica italiana, VII.

Dansero E. (2014), *I grandi eventi: spazi per una discreta geografia del cambiamento continuo*, in «Atti del XXXI Congresso Geografico Italiano», Vol. II.

Dansero E., Mela A. (2004), *Trasformazioni territoriali e ambientali come eredità di Torino 2006. Le percezioni degli attori del territorio olimpico*, in A. Segre, S. Scamuzzi (a cura di), Aspettando le olimpiadi, Roma: Carocci, pp. 109-153.

Dansero E., Mela A. (2007), *Olympic territorialisation*, in «Revue de Géographie Alpine», (95–3).

Dansero E., Mela A. (2012), *Bringing the Mountains into the City: Legacy of the Winter Olympics, Turin 2006*, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dansero E., Puttilli M. (2010), *Mega-events tourism legacies: The case of the Torino 2006 winter Olympic games – a territorialisation approach*, in «Leisure Studies», 29(3), 321–341.

Davidson M., McNeill D. (2012), *The redevelopment of Olympic sites: Examining the legacy of Sydney Olympic Park*, in «Urban Studies», 49(8).

Della Sala V. (2022), *The Olympic Villages and Olympic urban planning. Analysis and evaluation of the impact on territorial and urban planning (XX-XXI centuries)*, Doctoral theses, Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, Politecnico di Torino.

Essex S., Chalkley B. (1998), *Olympic games: Catalyst of urban change*, in «Leisure Studies», *17*(3).

Guala C., Crivello S. (2006), *Mega Events and Urban Regeneration. The background and numbers behind Turin 2006,* in N. Muller, M. Messing, H. Preuss (eds), *From Chamonix to Turin. The Winter Games in the Scope of Olympic Research*, Kassel: Agon.

Harvey D. (1991), *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural* Change, New York: Wiley.

Hiller H. H. (2000), *Toward an urban sociology of mega-events*, in «Research in Urban Sociology», 5, 181–205.

Hiller H. H. (2014), *Host Cities and the Olympics: An Interactionist Approach – 1st edition*, London: Routledge.

IOC (2010), *Olympic Games: Legacies and Impacts / Jeux Olympiques : Héritages et Impacts*, in «*Legacy*», (December), 1–64.

Kassens-Noor E. (2013), *Transport Legacy of the Olympic Games*, 1992–2012, in «Journal of Urban Affairs», 35(4).

Kovac I. (2002), *The Olympic Territory: A way to an Ideal Olympic Scene*, in Moragas M., *The legacy of the Olympic Games 1984-2000*, International Symposium: Lausanne.

Lenskyj H. J. (2006), *The Olympic (affordable) housing legacy and society responsibility*, in «Eighth International Symposium for Olympic Research», International Symposium: Lausanne.

Muñoz F. (1996), *Historic evolution and urban planning typology of Olympic Village. Hundred years of urban planning and shared experiences*, Universitat Autonoma of Barcelona.

Muñoz, F. (2006), *Olympic Urbanism and Olympic Villages: Planning Strategies in Olympic Host Cities, London 1908 to London 2012*, in «The Sociological Review», 54(2_suppl).

Poynter, G. (2010), *Mega Events and the Urban Economy: What can Olympic Cities learn from each other?*, Universitat Autonoma of Barcelona.

Raffestin C. (1981), *Per una geografia del potere*, Milano: Unicopli.

Roche M. (2003), *The Olympics and the Development of "Global Society"*, in M. De Moragas, C. Kennett, N. Puig (a cura di), *The Legacy of the Olympic Games*, Document of the Olympic Museum, International Olympic Committee: Losanna.

Turco A. (1988), *Verso una teoria geografica della complessit*à, Milano: Unicopli.

Vanolo, A. (2008), *The image of the creative city: Some reflections on urban branding in Turin*, <<Cities>>, 25(6).