

# Rio 2016: Experience of Latin American Stakeholders

Luana Cristina dos Santos Held<sup>1</sup>, Alexander Hodeck<sup>2</sup>, Gregor Hovemann<sup>3</sup> and Daniel Eckert-Lindhammer<sup>1</sup>

*1. International Relations Department, Sports Science Faculty, University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Saxony 04109, Germany*

*2. Department of Sports Management, EBC Hochschule, Hamburg, Hamburg 20354, Germany*

*3. Department of Sports Economy and Sports Management, University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Saxony 04109, Germany*

**Abstract:** Mega sport events have been in the focus of scientific work since years. Most of the authors deal with effects, impacts or the legacy of them, concentrating on economic aspects in that field. This study uses a stakeholder approach and tries to examine peculiarly the whole range of the Olympic Games of Rio 2016 by using a qualitative research method. Stakeholders from Latin America were asked about their expectations and perceived experiences regarding the first games in South America. Even if from different perspectives, respondents expected and perceived both positive and negative effects through RIO 2016. Their wishes were related to their individual development, further development of sports, intercultural exchange, and social learning. A similarly varied picture may be observed regarding the experiences perceived. In order to determine a comprehensive picture of RIO 2016 and its legacy, it is important to do a short-term as well as a long-term investigation.

**Key words:** Impact of mega sport events, Rio 2016, stakeholders, legacy, Olympic Games.

## 1. Introduction

The eyes of the world were on Brazil especially in the last 10 years, when sport became even more a political tool. The Olympic Games in Rio 2016 were after the Pan American Games (2007) and the FIFA World Cup (2014) the third big sport event within this period in Brazil. The country in Latin America with the most impressive investment in sport in 2015 brought particular expectations when Rio de Janeiro was chosen as the first host city in South America for the Olympic Games (US\$ 842.4 million, almost four times more than the second biggest investor Mexico with US\$ 233 million [1]). Legacy is a topic usually spoken about in connection with the Olympic Games. Absolutely there is still a lack of a term definition for legacy [2]. In order to contribute for a clarification of this term, our research dealt with the expectation and perceived experience of RIO 2016<sup>1</sup> based on a

stakeholder approach [3].

Stakeholders can be understood as organisations, groups or individuals which either have influence on the underlying organisation or are somehow affected by them. In general stakeholders are composed of companies, employees, shareholders, supporters, and consumers [4-6].

With regard to Olympic and Paralympic Games, there is a big diversity of Stakeholder groups including for example full-time staff, volunteers, governments, international delegations, sponsors, the population—especially the local community of the host city, local companies, as well as universities and schools [6].

The happiness of the Brazilian population expressed in 2007, when the country was starting its candidature for RIO 2016, at the same time hosting the Pan Americans Games, and living a progressive economic growth, could not be seen a couple of years later. In June 2013, during the Confederations Cup, two years after Rio being chosen as the stage of the Games 2016, and only one year before the FIFA World Cup, the whole country stopped because of several manifestations against the mega sport events coming to

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**Corresponding author:** Luana Cristina dos Santos Held, doctoral candidate, research fields: impact of mega sport events, alumni tracking, sport in social development.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of RIO 2016 in this text is valid for both Olympic and Paralympic Games. For a better readability the same applies when spoken about the (Olympic) Games.

the country [7]. All the euphoria, positive and hopeful expectation with regard to the mega sport events in Brazil decreased more and more because of misinvestment in not sustainable sport facilities known as “white elephants” [8]. The political, economic, and health crisis faced not only in Brazil but in the whole continent, increased the feeling of disillusion and obfuscated the joyful anticipation of the Olympics Games 2016.

This research focuses on the expectation and perceived experiences of RIO 2016 from the view of Latin American stakeholders, who actively participated in the Olympic Games. By means of qualitative investigation, this study tries to analyse and compare expectations before and actual legacy after the Games from an unprecedented perspective. In contrast to many other investigations of mega sport events which focus on economic effects, this research does not strive for quantitative assessments or analyses of the impact of RIO 2016, but emphasises social effects of RIO 2016. Thereby this investigation differentiates itself clearly from the already existing studies on the Olympic Games and its impacts. As Olympic Games can be seen as an arena for politics [9] the research might also discuss ideas of the questioned stakeholders about this topic.

## 2. Effects of Mega Sport Events

Olympic Legacy is classified into 4 categories: sporting, social, environmental and economic, and can be perceived as tangible (for instance new infrastructure as transport, sporting facilities, improvements in urbanisation, all with the aim to increase the living standards of the local population) and intangible (increasing the national pride, rediscovery of national culture, improving the sensibility for environmental matters) [10].

Several authors have already concentrated their researches on the effects of mega sports events. It is noteworthy that they especially focused on tangible effects, for instance the economical impacts or the adjustments in the infrastructure of the host cities [11-13]. It should be noted that this point of view can only be shortly reached. The promotion of the sustainability of mega sports events should not only be reduced to economical aspects. At least three directions of action should be considered [14]. In addition to economical impacts, social and ecological impacts should be included. Recent publications [2] complemented the direction of action with the observed period and questioned the duration of the impact. Throughout it is possible to discern impact, leveraging, sustainability and legacy. Table 1 shows which dimensions this concept includes:

**Table 1 Delimitation of the concept of legacy, sustainability, leveraging and impact related to the chosen dimensions (following Preuss, 2015, S. 6).**

		Legacy	Sustain-ability	Leveraging	Impact
Time	Longer than the actual activity	X	(X)	(X)	
New initiatives	New possibilities resulting from the actual activity.	X		(X)	
Value	Positive	X	X	X	X
	Negative	X			X
Measurability	Tangible and intangible	X	X	X	X
Space	Global und local	X	X	X	X
	Individual	X			
Intention	Scheduled	X	X	X	X
	Unscheduled	X			X
	Balance of economical, social and ecological		X		

X = included in the concept; (X) = indirect included in the concept.

Each concept differs from their chronological consideration, kind of effect (positive or negative) and is based on the distinction if the effect was planned or not. Impacts are often observed from the economical perspective and are delimited by the time of the event itself. The concept of sustainability is built by a balanced mix of all forms of effects and seems especially interesting for the evaluation of events. Summarizing, the concept of legacy can be more comprehensively described when each aspect of it is analysed, but at the end legacy is presented by the sum of different aspects.

### 3. Methodology

A total of eight return qualitative semi-structured interviews were held with the stakeholders before and after the games [15]. All of the interviewees have sports science education, they attended an international post-graduation study, therefore have an expertise generated from the know-how of different sports systems and know the richness of international exchange. The group of respondents were composed of representatives from Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, which participated actively in the Games 2016 in different positions. So through this investigation various perspectives give a broader impression of Rio 2016 from the view of Latin American stakeholders. They are presented in Table 2.

The interviews were led, dependently of the mother tongue of the respondents, in Portuguese or Spanish. They were tape-recorded after the interviewee agreed

to this process. The interviews were conducted in June 2016 (part I), two months before the beginning of the Olympics, and in November 2016 (part II), two months after the end of the Games in Rio de Janeiro, with help of the communication software “Skype” by means of interview guidelines.

Before beginning with the semi-structured interviews, social demographic and general questions were done. The interviewees were asked about their age, academic level, civil status, current job position and information about their participation in the games (function and further experiences in previous Olympic/Paralympic Games). For part I, the length of an interview ranged between sixteen and thirty minutes with an average duration of twenty-two minutes, and for part II, the length of an interview ranged between twelve and seventeen minutes with an average duration of fourteen minutes. Ultimately, the audio files were transcribed with the software F5, Version 2.1 [16].

The interview guideline was composed of two main structure parts. First of all, the interview partner was asked about his/her expectation (part I) and his/her perceived experience (part II) about the games in Rio. Meanwhile it was checked if the topics results, own experience, social, ecologic and politic impacts were quoted. The second part of the interview’s structure regarded the opinion of the population of the experts’ countries and their opinion about the Games. Social, ecologic and politic impacts were controlled as well as the population’s opinion in favour or against the games.

**Table 2 Stakeholders of RIO 2016 interviewed.**

Code	Age	Country	Stakeholder group
M.	32	Mexico	National coach during the Paralympic Games in table tennis
A.	35	Brazil	National coach during the Paralympic Games in track and field
L.	39	Argentina	Senior member of the international table tennis federation
G.	34	Argentina	Volunteer
A.	26	Argentina	Spectator in gymnastics
C1.	27	Brazil	Volunteer
C2.	41	Brazil	National coach in track and field
M.	46	Brazil	Physiotherapist of the Judo National Team & citizen of Rio de Janeiro

The data were analysed by two independent experts using a qualitative content analysis [17]. The interview transcripts were classified into different categories by extracting meaningful units using an open search procedure. These units represented, for example personal/direct expectations, general/indirect expectations. After having been analysed separately, both interviews (parts I and II) were compared.

The interviews were coded with the coding software MaxQDA (Version 12), by allocating single statements from each interview to the developed coding system [18]. This procedure allowed a first insight into the different perspectives of the chosen stakeholders, and therefore only shows a limited view of the actual developments. Regarding the obvious restrictions, like for example small number of interviews and limited areas of the chosen experts, of the used methodology generalizations taken from the study must be reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, the results can provide important indications for further studies, and show a yet unique Latin American picture of the games.

## 4. Results

Even if from different perspectives, the Latin American stakeholder respondents expected and perceived both positive as well as negative effects through RIO 2016. Their wishes were related to their individual development, a further development of sports generally, an intercultural exchange, and a so-called “observational” or “social learning<sup>2</sup>” [18]. With regard to the experiences perceived, a similar varied picture can be observed.

### 4.1 Intercultural Aspects & Personal Impact

Volunteer stakeholders during the Olympics and Paralympics expected to use those international events as a big chance to extend their international sports network, getting to know different cultural

backgrounds within the Olympic values [19, 20].

“...my expectations are the best possible, I’m hoping for Olympic Games of excellence, respect and friendship...athletes free of doping and that we have an adorable atmosphere to get to know other cultures, other people, exchanging knowledge...I’m really hoping to live it!” (G., 34 years old, volunteer).

The positive environment which sport itself can offer to individuals involved on it, independent of their function, has such power, which can change people’s world. As the founding father of the modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, said “For each individual, sport is a possible source for inner improvement.” [21], so agreed stakeholders, which experienced RIO 2016.

“The culture and experiences exchanged was great... to be with people from different countries in a close ambient...” (C1., 27 years old, volunteer volleyball).

“I’ve met a lot of people from the same field...the chance to talk to them and exchange information...it motivated me very much! The Games brought visibility to Rio de Janeiro, and I took the chance to show that there are good professionals here. People were interested to know more about it... The Games facilitated it...” (M. 46 years old, Judo National Team Physiotherapist & citizen of Rio de Janeiro).

The Olympic and Paralympic Games are the biggest events in the world in the sport sector. Stakeholders who have the chance to attend RIO 2016, independent of their role, see this once in a life experience as a tool on their career’s development, to get more recognition, for example coaches who have their expertise for coaching proofed (activities, tasks, and competence [22]), and also even attending as “active spectators”, using the competitions as a learning laboratory to collect knowledge and experience [23].

“My participation in the games was personally very good. To my profession as personal trainer and also as TV commentator the games made a very positive impact. It put me in a better condition...now I’m not longer a personal trainer, I’m an Olympic coach.” (C2.,

<sup>2</sup> Observation or social learning designates a theory of cognitive learning. Learning processes are comprehended by the observation of behaviours based on human as role model.

41 years old, national coach track & field).

“To watch the Olympics is always a further qualification, as we did, when we were in ITK<sup>3</sup> to watch the World Championships in Stuttgart, we can always learn from everything: the athletes, the coaches, the situation on the field of play, I believe I will be able to use it all later, a lot!” (A., 26 years old, spectator in gymnastics).

The perspective changes when we consider the expectation of international federation members. In this case, the development of the sport comes in foreground compared to individual success.

“... go ahead promoting Table tennis and to have a high quality event...” (L., 39 years old, staff of the International Table Tennis Federation).

RIO 2016 was a real opportunity to use international connections, approaching worldwide sport leaders and convince them to work together on the further development of sports as well as social development through sports, already looking at the agenda 2020 into the new Olympic cycle.

“The games were very good. We could work through the 6 continents and the worldwide federations with a program of 4 years development which coincide with the Olympic cycle 2017-2020...” (L. 39 years old, staff of the International Table Tennis Federation).

#### 4.2 *Politic and Social Aspects*

From a spectacular economic situation during the candidature phase to a drastic economic and political situation, besides the epidemic boom of Zika Virus between 2015 and 2016, especially in states as Rio de Janeiro with 209 cumulative cases per 1000 inhabitants (PHO/WHO Health Emergencies Department [24]), the lack of money for further investments for the development sports bothered stakeholders.

“...the truth is that we are not expecting a fascinating post games legacy, neither for the athletes nor for the coaches and sports in general. We are hoping for

changes, but in face of what we have seen in the past 7 years of preparation, unfortunately the expectations are not the best... There was a considerable amount for this project, but they released only 10% of its total for a 2 years' project. We were waiting for a 10 years' project... to detect talents in 2 years is not possible...” (C2., 41 years old, national coach in track and field).

Resuming, the multi-dimensional challenges the country is facing, shadowed further positive aspects of the games and the possibilities of a sportive legacy.

“Sports were in upward, but we have at the moment a huge political problem. This problem started before the Olympics and till now is a mess and it has overshadowed the games. During games time, people got so excited and were interested and searching for sports, but on the way things are running here, I guess this willing lost its power and it didn't last longer...we are not talking about the games anymore, it seems like something that happened long time ago, and it was now. I believe it is like that, because the moment is unfavourable. There was also the questioning of scholar physical education, they want to remove sports from the scholar curriculum. So the politic walks in the opposite direction of the Olympic games' proposal and destroy the chance we had to make it a great sportive legacy...” (C1., 27 years old, volunteer volleyball).

Different from the candidature period (10 years ago), when Brazil was the tenth world's largest economy (GDP<sup>4</sup> of US\$ 1.3 trillion), in constant growth and with projections from the World Bank to reach in the ranking the fifth place until 2016 [25], the country is living since 2014 a hard economic recession and at the same time a political crisis. Some stakeholders believed, it could affect the games and its organisational issues, putting in risk the success of the event.

“...my expectation is huge, even regarding the moment which we are living now in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro... it is very complicated. There is a big concern

<sup>3</sup> ITK—International Coaching Course of the Sports Science Faculty of Leipzig University, Germany (abbreviation of “Internationaler Trainerkurs”).

<sup>4</sup> This entry gives the gross domestic product (GDP) or value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a given year [33].

regarding the security here in Brazil. The most of the people with a certain intellectual and cultural level are quite faithless because of the political abuse. I'm very apprehensive regarding this issue, because the basic conditions established by UN (United Nations), which are security, education, public transportation, health..., all those aspects are very complicated here." (M., 46 years old, judo national team physiotherapist & citizen of Rio de Janeiro).

This stakeholders' disbelief was partly confirmed and partly controversial. Not as promised (one year before the games), but at least on time for RIO 2016, the investment of about US\$ 5.1 billion for improvement on the rail network, extension of the metro line, construction and implementation of the BRT (Bus Rapid Transport) etc., were ready on time and made the mobility the biggest legacy of the games to Rio [26]. The urban integration is supposed to attend from 2016 with mass transportation about 63% of the population (4,080,277 habitants), a big improvement, compared to 2009 when it was attending only 18% (1,165,793 habitants) [27]. On the other hand, social aspects as seeking for a healthier life quality or respect the rights of disabled people, for example the access to parking spaces [28], only had a small impact in games time. A very important aspect during the bidding process to host the Games is usually the security, however it has no significantly long-term social impact [29]. About 60,770 security staffs (among federal police, federal highway police, state military police, state civil police, firefighting force, state civil security, municipal civil security, city guard, private security, armed forces, national public security force) were ready to guarantee the security during RIO 2016 [30], but only a few months after the games, the fuels for police vehicles were cut because of a debt of R\$ 31,386,426.38 with Petrobras (fuel supplier), so the police was not able to perform their duties properly [31]. Besides, at the beginning of 2017 the civil police of Rio de Janeiro paralysed their activities for lack payment of December 2016, and other social benefits

[32].

"For the Brazilians, the games happened, but there is no political legacy of the games... We have heard a lot about billing, but nowadays people do not talk about it anymore. As it says, Brazilians have short memory... (A., 35 years old, Paralympic National Coach Trach & Field).

"The unique legacy of the games was the Metro of Barra da Tijuca, the 'transolímpica access', which worked very well and the entertainment area of Porto Maravilha...but people are still without basic sanitation and we are living a moment of violence. The police have no money. They are rationing fuel, so they cannot conduct patrols with their vehicles." (M., 46 years old, Judo National Team Physiotherapist & citizen of Rio de Janeiro).

#### 4.3 Impact of Mass Sport

According to the data of the Global Observatory for Physical Activity [34], in average 64.6% of the Latin American population are physically active and about 12% of deaths rates are related to physical inactivity. In terms of games legacy in the mass sport, asked stakeholders believed that RIO 2016 may be a precious tool to promote sports, increasing activity's level among the population. Obviously, the results of the athletes play a big role.

"... in the last Olympic Games Federico Molinari, specialist on rings was the first Argentinian gymnast to get an Olympic diploma, so the sport became very famous here, was also on the television. After that the number of matriculation for male gymnastics increased a lot, it became much more popular..." (A., 26 years old, spectator in gymnastics).

In fact, stakeholders of RIO 2016 perceived that athletes can be role models, transgressing traditional gender stereotypes [35].

"Now there is a big demand of Paralympic sport in the club where I work. People come frequently looking for sports for disabled people...the games were important to divulgate the sports for the disabled, so the

demand of youth between 13, 14 and 16 years old increased...” (A., 35 years old, Paralympic National Coach Track & Field).

On the other hand, Ref. [29] observes critically the impact of the Olympic Games in domestic sport policy, considering that many countries prioritize the investments on elite sports and there is a consequence on the finance available for the community sport and particularly on youth sport.

#### *4.4 Sport Infrastructure and Ecologic Aspects*

Stakeholders saw a positive investment in sport structure, pointing it as a strong legacy for the Paralympic movement.

“In Imigrantes road was inaugurated a new Paralympic Centre, and I’m pretty sure it is TOP 3 in the world. There is lodging structure, and many amenities which help a lot. Unfortunately, it is a unique centre in whole Brazil and the country is so big...” (A., 35 years old, Paralympic National Coach Track & Field).

However, the legacy should be not only considered by physical structures...

“I guess in Brazil, and South America in general science is missing, we make a few science. Maybe that’s why all people who have Olympic intentions go abroad: Cielo swims in USA, we went to Germany...” (A., 35 years old, Paralympic National Coach Track & Field).

Even finding the investment in sport infrastructure important, Latin American stakeholders disbelieved on what concern post games legacy.

“I’m really worried about the post games legacy. I’ve worked as a volunteer during the Pan American Games in Rio 2007, and nothing was done. It was only done what they showed on TV, and what was not ready, was not finished, and probably it will be the same legacy of RIO 2016...some arenas will not be used anymore...so many investments for something that will not be continued. The sports minister said already, that after the Olympics, the federations’ investment

will be cut...”. (A., 35 years old, paralympic national coach track & field).

With regard to the post event phase the negative expectation was confirmed. Especially the Brazilian stakeholders assumed that the sport-related investments will not be used after the games and again white elephants, as in previous mega sport events, will remain as heritage of RIO 2016, or even facilities and infrastructural construction works were done in a hurry and do not present a standard quality, which reduces its shelf live and shows another example of waste of money. That was acknowledged as a lack of strategical plans for a sustainable development.

“The idea to leave the ‘Future Arena’ for the schools is awesome...they will divide the arena for the classes...I think it is fantastic. On the other hand, I’m afraid the Paralympic Training Centre will become a White Elephant: the state government pushes it to the federal government and vice-versa and in the end nobody else wants to manage this field. Now we are facing a reduction of the investment in sports and I’m pretty sure the Olympics and Paralympics investments will be on the sidelines...” (A., 35 years old, paralympic national coach track & field).

“I read some final reports and there were a couple of failures...one of the tracks for warming up rushed through, because there was not enough time, because of auction and interruptions ... so they made it in a hurry. The track will be useful only for 1 or 2 years.” (C2., 41 years old, national coach track & field).

The games have many aims, but one important task is it to initiate, promote and stimulate sustainable ideas, as well as to develop different infrastructure which may last, being useful for the population. Those effects may probably not be perceived in the whole Latin America, but only in the host country or even only in the host city. Stakeholders with a tight relation to Rio de Janeiro had different expectations related to the infrastructure and ecologic effects of RIO 2016.

“We are not seeing the legacy of structure. An example of the strategic plan for Rio 2016 were

environmental aspects, such as the de-pollution of Guanabara bay and Rodrigo de Freitas lagoon (also used as venue for sailing), they did not manage it, as well as the building of bicycle paths, in order to collaborate with the traffic, also stimulating people to be physically active, but in less than 3 months it collapsed. (M., 46 years old, judo national team physiotherapist & citizen of Rio de Janeiro).

The negative expectations related to the ecological impact were either confirmed. The reports of stakeholders show clearly that strategic plans for ecological matters were often not taken in consideration.

“...There was the House of Switzerland, which was on the street. They built an excellent house, with toilettes... and those toilettes had a pit through which the sewer went into the lagoon...” (M., 46 years old, judo national team physiotherapist & citizen of Rio de Janeiro).

“In all sport facilities we could find cardboard waste bins with 3 subdivisions in order to separate the garbage (biological, plastic, and papers) what seems fantastic...the problem was that there was a unique plastic bag into the cardboard it means, it was only a ‘make-up’, the trash was never really separated...” (G., 34 years old, volunteer).

## 5. Discussion

As result of the Olympics we could recognize in different aspects positive and negative impacts. Before the beginning of the games there was a lot of insecurity and doubt among the stakeholders, especially with regard to the promised mobility improvements which were not ready some weeks before the beginning of the games. Before the beginning of the games, there were a lot of negative expectations from the interviewed Latin American stakeholders regarding mobility. For general surprise, the construction of Metro Line 4 was concluded just in time as well as the VLT (Tram)—an extra attraction for many tourists. The BRT (Bus Rapid Transit), considered the main transportation means in

games time, transported 11.7 million passengers during the Olympics & Paralympics, which also helped to reduce the traffic of vehicles in games time by up to 5.6% per day. Additionally to other improvements on the mobility in Rio, those are considered the main legacy of the games. About 450 thousand Cariocas, residents, and tourists take advantage of BRT every day [36], a visible social heritage of the games. On the other hand, certainly hybrid or electric buses would provide more environmental sustainability than the BRT and would reward Rio de Janeiro with a long term and ecological legacy.

Other areas showed some problematic development. The sport venues concept of RIO 2016 was considered very positive but we see venues and temporary installations without utility. It is hard to imagine how the whole material needed to build the temporary Volleyball Arena in Copacabana could be used. Probably only a very few events with a need of such structure would take place in South America. A similar situation is the tennis stadium. Considering the organizations’ point of view, the construction of this stadium would be finally a big chance for Brazil to host big tennis tournaments in South America. What was forgotten, are the low chances for the country to get one of the hot licences for hosting such event. In order to get it, Brazil should invest an enormous amount to buy a licence, for example from the Middle East or Asia, but even such a big tennis federation as the German Tennis Federation cannot afford that any more. So, it is to believe, that this venue will become another “white elephant”.

On the other hand, when we compare Rio 2016 to previous games, we unfortunately find other negative impacts. While in London after the games a new curriculum for UK school was introduced requiring every primary school student to participate in a competitive sport [10], in Brazil there is a big discussion about the continuation of physical education classes in the scholar curriculum. The organisation of Barcelona 1992 was a tremendous opportunity for



improving its method of management and its organisational capacity, and for establishing better connections with the international sports network [20]. Statistics from the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992 shows that the proportion of the population doing some kind of physical or sporting activity at least once a week rose from 36% in 1983 to 51% in 1995 [10]. In Rio de Janeiro the lack of an effective strategic plan left several “well-meant” projects only on the paper and left already some facilities in a non-useable condition.

Generally, our results show the several aspects which stakeholders from Latin America consider. These aspects differentiate in specific points from those considered as common when dealing with Olympic Games such as doping or terrorism, which did not play any role in our sample. Throughout the identification of typical issues of relevant stakeholders, it might be possible to create strategies which help to increase the acceptance of local stakeholders for hosting future Olympic Games. Therefore, our research project can provide new insides for the IOC.

## 6. Closing Remarks

Finally, regarding the experiences of the interviewed stakeholders we could conclude that RIO 2016 shows positive and negative aspects in its history. Latin American Stakeholders, independently of their position during the games have lived to see different kinds of experiences, which represented a positive impact on their social and professional life. Recognition, international exchange, observational learning, social competences are key words to illustrate the positive impact for those experts [19, 20]. The experiences of the Latin American stakeholders show a picture that is more even and balanced than the one presented for example in the European media [37]. In general, the Olympic Games marked a very important step regarding the development of sports in South America. The findings of this study bring important aspects to be considered by the review of the IOC regarding the Agenda 2020 and the host countries to analyse how

they can improve and do better to promote long-term social impacts. Nevertheless, this investigation only shows a first insight. To identify the actual impacts not only the short-term effects but also intermediate-term and long-term effects have to be analysed. Useful means to do that would be further qualitative studies as well as quantitative analyses and comparisons with previous mega sports events. Economical aspects have been deliberately disregarded at this point.

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