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## Chapter

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#### Analysis of territorial intermediation tools to build the Paris 2024 legacy.

### Introduction

The Olympic and Paralympic Games are used to boost the development of host cities (e.g. Roullet, Lefebvre, Adjizian, 2014) in order to achieve material but also cultural and social Olympic legacies (Attali, 2019). However, *"a sports event has, intrinsically, almost no effect on a territory. What will generate social impact is essentially the host territory that will support the event and make it a reality for the population. This is why, according to [Girginov (2013)], the analysis must focus on the investment made by the stakeholders in the territory towards complementary policies"* (Charrier et al., 2020: 11). Paris 2024 is presented as *"a common good to be shared, [...] a project of metropolitan and overseas France"* (Paris 2024.org). The aim is to address the observation that a mega-sport event *"is a flash in history"* (Solberg & Preuss, 2007: 220), by mitigating the usual spatial concentration of the Olympic Games in the host city and its region, and to *"engage all the territories of France in the dynamics of the Olympic Games"* (CNOSF, 2018). However, the territorialisation of the Olympic legacy outside the host city and the deconcentrated event sites remains a near blind spot in science. Smith (2009) considers that areas remote from organized events sites can only target incidental effects, take advantage of partial dislocation of sports event sites, and deploy various kinds of leverage. Since June 2019, the Paris 2024 Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games has been offering two tools to local authorities and the sports movement: 1) the Terre de Jeux 2024 (TdJ) label, awarded to more than 3,000 local public authorities (municipalities, inter-communalities, departments, regions, etc.) and sports movement organizations (CROS, CDOS, etc.) in January 2023, with the aim of promoting local activities and social cohesion; 2) the Centre de Préparation aux Jeux (CPJ), which concerns just over a thousand sports venues in about 500 municipalities to promote sports tourism and territorial attractiveness.

The first observation concerns the fact that the bidding process and the public policies implemented are useful indicators to evaluate whether *"the Paris 2024 Games will be the Games of all of France"* (Paris 2024.org), as announced by the actors of Paris 2024 (COJOP, CNOSF, etc.). A second remark is based on the idea that the successful territorialization of a globalized sports event is possible beyond the host city and the deconcentrated sites of the event, depending on the existence of efficient territorial intermediation mechanisms (Lacour, 1996; Nadou and Pecqueur, 2020) within local actors. Therefore, what is the nature and dynamics of the spatial diffusion (Hägerstrand, 1967) or, at least, of the spatial distribution of

the TdJ (Terre de Jeux) label and the CPJs (Centre de Préparation des Jeux)? Does local appropriation of these labels favor processes of territorial intermediation (Lacour, 1996)?

## **Methods and Objectives**

Answering this double question requires the design and implementation of a mixed methodology. On the one hand, a cartographic analysis of the deterritorialization of Paris 2024 through the dissemination of the TdJ label and the CPJs is required. To this end, the data was collected on the Paris 2024 website dedicated to Terre de Jeux, the database was cleaned up (to avoid duplication, etc.), and linked to INSEE data (number of municipalities per territorial entity) in order to draw a map of these initiatives. On the other hand, a more qualitative, exploratory study of the typical case (Yin, 1984) of the city of Orleans (117,000 inhabitants 120 km south of Paris; labeled TdJ and holding nine CPJs) is suggested to understand the dynamics of reterritorialization of Paris 2024 outside of the host city and the deconcentrated sites of Olympic events. For this purpose, the three-phase nested public policy analysis method designed by Padioleau (1982) is used:

- "Gathering" (constitution of a corpus of documents on the case studied: scientific and expert literature);
- "fishing" ("opening the grey cabinets of the administration": archive survey and grey literature (specifications of the systems; minutes of meetings; etc.));
- "data hunting" (ethnographic observations; on-the-spot interviews with local stakeholders of the schemes).

All of this should contribute to a better understanding of the methods of dissemination and local appropriation of these territorial enhancement mechanisms for the Paris 2024 Olympic Games.

The objective of this chapter is to find out how and to what extent the relative deterritorialization of Paris 2024 *vis-à-vis* the host city is accompanied by a reterritorialization that contributes to the logic of accumulation of the Olympic system and its reproduction through the local appropriation of this sports mega-event. By testing one of the key couples of Deleuze and Guattari's principles (1972; 1980) - "deterritorialization and reterritorialization" - we could better understand the pre-Olympic dynamics of appropriation of Paris 2024 outside the host city. To this end, the chapter will start with a conceptual framing, before addressing the methodological approach. We will then analyze the relative deterritorialization of Paris 2024, through the spatial diffusion of the TdJ and CPJ dispositifs, then its reterritorialization via the processes of territorial intermediation linked to the activation of these dispositifs in Orleans. Finally, we will present a series of concluding remarks.

### **Conceptual framework: Olympic legacy, Terre de Jeux label and CPJ system**

According to the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2017), the Olympic legacy is divided into five categories: "sport", "social", "environmental", "urban" and "economic". The legacy can be tangible ("new sports infrastructure"; "transportation networks"; etc.) or intangible ("renewed national pride"; "new or strengthened skills in terms of workforce"; "feeling of well-being in the host country's population"; "rediscovery of culture"; "environmental awareness"...). The negative externalities of hosting the Games (cost overruns; reluctance or refusal of populations; urban congestion; privatization and militarization of public space; post-Olympic oversizing of infrastructure; etc.) have led the

IOC to impose the production of Olympic legacies since Rio 2016 (Andranovich and Burbank, 2011), even though this concept dates from the Rome Games in 1960 (Gold and Gold, 2009). According to Collinet et al (2020), the notion of social legacy has multiple dimensions: transformation of physical and sport activities, engagement of populations in sport practice, social inclusion through sport, etc. In this context, Paris 2024 innovates compared to the previous Games by developing a new aspect of the Olympic legacy through the creation of the TdJ label and the CPJ system, both of which target all local public authorities and sports movement organisations in France.

The concept of a label is part of the "recognition" market according to Corporate Social Responsibility issues based on criteria that are often less rigorous than those of a service certification. Unlike service certification, the concept of a label has neither a precise legal definition nor general rules for framing, application and evaluation. The value accorded to it in this "recognition" market depends on the idea of the relevance of the specifications drawn up, the accompanying labelling system and the credibility of the parties involved in its development (Sutter, 2005). Finally, obtaining a label is only accompanied by the granting of a simple attestation of labeling rather than a certificate in due form. Thus, according to the Association Française de Normalisation (AFNOR), the concept of a label is simply a general principle: it is a "mark of recognition by a third party of a system implemented by an organization on a specific theme, in relation to the provisions of a set of specifications, in particular by means of recurrent evaluations, whether or not on site" (AFNOR).

In this context, the TdJ label appears to be a nebulous entity that takes the form of umbrella brands in terms of urban development (e.g. active design), social inclusion (sport and parity), territorial marketing (#Explore), sponsorship (Actions Partenaires), merchandising (Ticketing Program), etc. The lack of criteria means that the label can be obtained on request. Terre de Jeux echoes other schemes set up by the French government (Plan 5000 terrains de Sports; etc.) and Paris 2024 (Generation 2024). The latter defines "Terre de Jeux 2024 [as] a label intended for all levels of local authorities and the sports movement (federations, CROS-CDOS, CTOS) that wish, regardless of their size and means, to commit to the adventure of the Games. This label is intended to highlight their good practices and to encourage them to put even more sport into everyday life, everywhere in France" (Paris 2024). Three pillars structure this label: the heritage: "to change the daily life of the French thanks to the sport"; the celebration: "to make live in all the emotions of the Games"; and the commitment: "the project must benefit to the greatest number". According to the Director of Engagement at Paris 2024, the TdJ label aims to "ensure that the Olympic Games are not limited to one month around the competition sites. The challenge is to create the conditions, tools and content to engage the public, local authorities and sports clubs. They must go from being spectators to players" (Picot, 2021).

However, this label does not provide any funding. Paris 2024 simply explains that "thanks to our partnerships (...) we give you the opportunity to respond to calls for projects that will allow you to obtain funding for specific projects (Impact 2024, Active Design with the Action Cœur de ville scheme, Call for projects with the National Sports Agency, Call for projects with the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs, etc.)" (Paris 2024). In addition, beneficiaries

are not allowed to associate the label with local partners, to use the Olympic symbols or the emblem of Paris 2024. The label logo is the only symbol that can be used. Many beneficiaries complain about the lack of support for the activation of the label. Paris 2024 provides free visual identity and exemplary activations but sells its goodies on its online store. In short, the use of this label without entry barriers appears to be very limited. Nevertheless, it remains the necessary sesame to the much more coveted status of Center of Preparation to the Games (CPJ).

This tool lists the host sports sites (929 in the online catalog of Paris 2024 in January 2023) for foreign delegations wishing to prepare in France for the Olympic Games in 2023. The strict requirements of the CPJs define the technical characteristics of the sports facilities and services (accommodation, catering, transport, security, etc.). The 206 National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and 182 National Paralympic Committees (NPCs) will send their teams to the CPJs they consider best suited to their needs in terms of the sports offered, the geographical areas (metropolitan France and overseas) and the services available (Table 1).

<b>Training &amp; Recovery</b>	<b>Staff &amp; Confort</b>	<b>Security</b>	<b>Environment</b>	<b>Services</b>
Ice Bath	Internet Access	Private use	Hosting on the site	Illuminated infrastructure
Infirmary	Relaxation room	Lockers	Proximity to an international airport	Standard competition wheelchairs
Physiotherapy room	Meeting room	Security services	Proximity to a hospital	Transportation service for rent
Fitness room	Video Screening Room			Rental transportation service accessible to persons with disabilities
Sauna				

Table 1: Set of conditions required by Paris 2024 to become a CPJ.

Initially, the CPJ mechanism aims to ensure that local public authorities are involved in the Olympic timeline in order to promote cross-disciplinary action within organizations and governance systems, as well as partnerships with the sports movement, for the construction and renovation of facilities. These actions represent an important part of the Paris 2024 legacy policy in terms of social, economic and tourism development.

### **Deterritorialization of Paris 2024: the spatial diffusion of the Terre de Jeux label and the CPJ system**

This label and system are innovative in the history of the Olympic Games. According to T. Hägerstrand (1967), the diffusion of an innovation takes place in four phases: initiation; expansion; condensation; saturation. This theoretical framework, formalized after 1952, offers a priori a relevant framework for the analysis of the spatial diffusion of the TdJ label and the CPJ system. Diffusion implies that an innovation emerges somewhere, is diffused from this source and has one or more receivers. It is also necessary to establish a media as a vector of diffusion. Finally, this process is de facto embedded in a temporal dimension (Jeanne, 2000). When we apply this theory to the TdJ label and the CPJ system, two instruments of relative deterritorialization of Paris 2024, we see that the main emitting poles are the Olympic venues in Paris, the surrounding area and Marseille.

Indeed, it is the Paris 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games Organizing Committee that has designed these two instruments for local appropriation of the Games, starting in 2019. The innovation represented by these instruments for the Olympic movement, which are intended to be spread among the 35,000 municipalities and their inter-municipal groupings, is part of a strategy of territorial coverage to bring the Games closer to the inhabitants. The voluntary approach advocated by Paris 2024 relies on the willingness of sports organizations and local public authorities to take up this dynamic of relative deterritorialization of the Paris Games.

The initial stage of spreading of the label across the territory concerned the areas close to Paris (inner suburbs), the Orleans region, Brittany, the North (rear base of the London 2012 CPJ) and a few municipalities between the Alps (the only French territory to have hosted the Games outside of Paris: Grenoble 1968 and Albertville 1992) and the Mediterranean areas close to Marseille, which will host the sailing events. The expansion phase saw the number of labeled institutions increase in the northwest and the Paris region as well as in the south around the Olympic site in Marseille. Finally, the condensation and saturation phases of the labeling process accentuated these initial trends, particularly around the Olympic sites (departments bordering Paris and Bouches-du-Rhône around Marseille).

In contrast, the diagonal between the Belgian and Spanish borders is characterized by a very low diffusion of the label. This is also the case for the departments that formerly hosted the Winter Olympics in the Alps. The spread of the cultural innovation represented by the TdJ 2024 label is carried out by "extension" from the transmitting urban centers and according to a progression of contagion from one to the next, evacuating the idea of a haphazard, erratic, "leopard-skin" spread. This purely spatial logic is combined with another, properly territorial, correlated with sociological, geographical and cultural factors. Thus, the French Grand Ouest, where the highest rates of membership in sports federations are observed, appears to be very concerned. Former industrial regions (Picardie, Nord Lorraine, Alsace, Lyonnais, etc.) are also concerned because the local sports movement, deeply rooted in the working class culture, is an efficient relay for central political initiatives (Chaboche, 2002) such as Paris 2024.

## Taux de communes labellisées Terre de Jeux par département

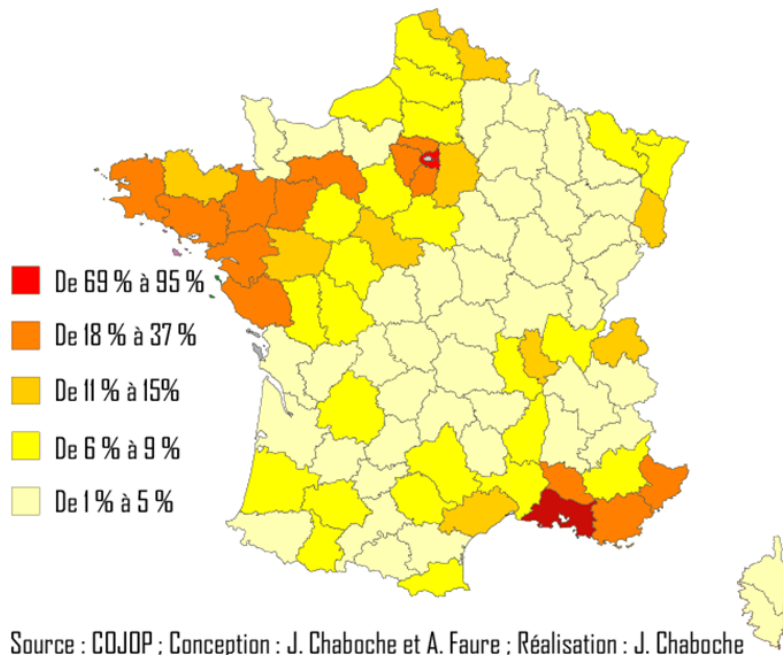


Figure 1: Rate of communes with the Terre de Jeux label by department in France in December 2022.

The CPJ system will make it possible to welcome athletes from one or more disciplines of the 206 Olympic committees and 182 Paralympic committees to prepare for the Games in facilities that are compliant with international federal standards, thanks to the financial aid agreed between the French State (National Sports Agency, Ministry of Sports, Interministerial Delegation for the Olympic and Paralympic Games), the COJOP and the Société de livraison des ouvrages olympiques (Solideo - a public company founded for the purpose and chaired by the mayor of Paris). In this context, 47% of the first 500 municipalities and inter-municipalities to receive the Terre de Jeux label are also CPJs. This proportion decreases thereafter. The density, quality and specificity of local infrastructures have clearly encouraged applications and have created an unprecedented geography of sports tourism. Numerous towns in the Paris suburbs, close to the competition sites, have obtained the status of CPJ. Globally, its diffusion corresponds to the dynamics visible with the TdJ label, necessary to become a CPJ; even if several differences can be observed. The Departments with the highest concentration of CPJs are undeniably urban Departments, particularly in the Paris suburbs and in the north. Although Brittany and the west of France have many CPJs, the proportion is lower than for the TdJ label. In the south, too, the distribution is slightly different. Although there is a concentration of CPJs around the urban centers, the number of CPJs is much lower than for the TdJ label. Finally, the Alpine and former Olympic regions are present through the promotion of sports tourism in ski resorts accustomed to hosting professional sports teams preparing for French and European competitions. Also, although the CPJs are linked to the TdJ label from an institutional point of view, the rationale for obtaining and appropriating these two mechanisms does not reflect the same territorial ambitions and strategies.

## **Logics of reterritorialization: territorial intermediation processes linked to the TdJ label and the CPJ system**

At the crossroads of economic geography and territorial economy, territorial intermediation highlights the coordination of actors in a process of socio-spatial reconfiguration. It is defined as the "relational and organizational dynamics between local actors [in which] (...) the territory, the fruit of interactions and social constructions, [plays] as a revealer of their behaviors, their practices and the processes that drive them" (Nadou, 2013 cited by Nadou and Talandier, 2018: 3).

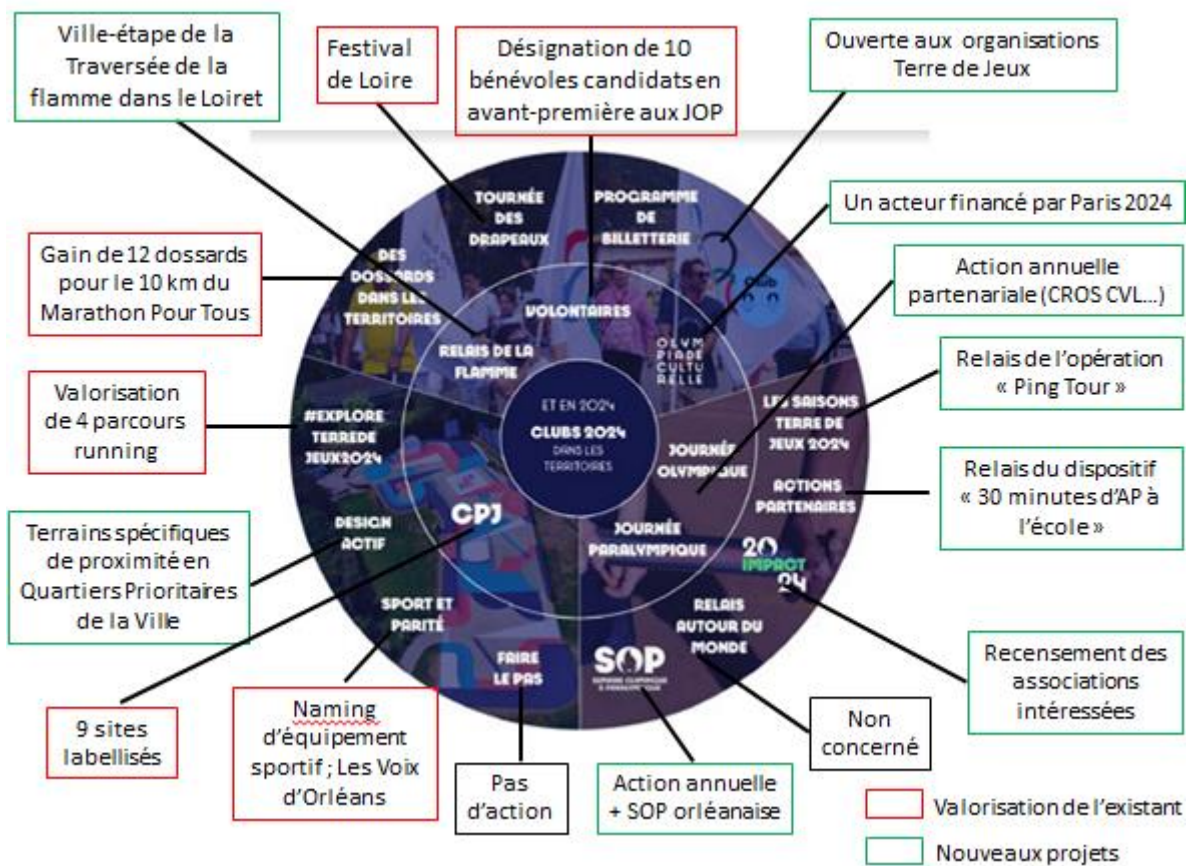
According to P.-O. Schut, "the labeling is an excellent tool for the heritage to be declined on the entire country (...) but it is not simple to distinguish the enhancement of the existing from the emerging new projects. (...) Many projects would have happened without the Games and the organizers have simply put the Olympic label on the existing. The other projects, created thanks to the dynamics of the Games, constitute the real heritage" (Picot, 2021). From this point of view, it is worth evaluating what the activation of the TdJ label and the CPJ mechanism do at the local level through the case of the city of Orléans.

Orléans obtained the TdJ 2024 label in July 2020 and is using it to transform its sports policy (high-level sport, health sport, etc.) by deploying the Paris 2024 programs to build a local Olympic legacy (health sport on prescription and health sport in primary prevention, etc.). The municipality uses TdJ and the CPJ system as levers for local development to create an ecosystem of actors (neighboring municipalities, the department, the region, sports associations, top athletes, etc.) to help transform the Orleans sports dynamic by activating territorial intermediation processes. Based on the approximately twenty measures introduced by Paris 2024, a series of actions have been undertaken. Half of these actions are based on operations launched before the TdJ label was obtained. On the other hand, the other half is really part of the local production of the legacy of Paris 2024 (fig. 2).

<b>Existing or new</b>	<b>Paris 2024 related domain</b>	<b>Associated action in Orleans</b>
Existing	Torch Relay	Stage city
Existing	Tour of Flags	Festival of the Loire
New	Ticketing	Quota for labelled cities
New	Cultural Olympiad	artists funded by Paris 2024
New	Terre de Jeux seasons	Relay of the "Ping Tour" operation
New	Olympic Days	Annual action in partnership with sports associations
New	Initiatives from the partenaires	30 minutes of daily sports activities at school
New	Impact 2024	Survey of interested associations
	Worldwid relay	Not applicable
New	Olympic week	Annual Action + Orleans Olympic Week



	Taking the step	Not applicable
Existing	Sport and Parity	Naming of sports equipment
Existing	Centre de Préparation des Jeux (CPJ)	9 registered sites
New	Active design	Sports facilities in low-income neighbourhoods
Existing	#Explore Terre de Jeux 2024	Valuation of 4 running routes
New	Bibs in the territories	12 bibs for the Marathon for all



We need to study in more detail the logic and effects of these actions by applying to our case the model of the three stages of territorial intermediation: 1) the activation of proximities through a joint diagnosis; 2) the building of an internal dynamic; 3) territorial anchoring. Table 2 presents examples illustrating these three stages.

<b>The three stages of territorial intermediation</b>	<b>Examples of actions initiated or relayed by the municipality of Orléans</b>
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<b>Activation of proximities by construction of a shared diagnosis</b>	Synergies between clubs to facilitate the stays of national delegations (e.g. between badminton and weightlifting).
<b>Building an internal dynamic</b>	Creation of a joint Tourism & Sport guide between the City, the Department and the Region to promote the territory's amenities (3-star hotels and more, high-level sports facilities, gastronomy, related services, etc.).
<b>Territorial anchoring</b>	Creation of a web story for the high level athletes of the Orléans clubs to show their gratitude to the city based on their training day in the sports facilities in order to arouse the attachment of the local population.

Table 2: Examples of territorial intermediation effects of the Terre de Jeux label and the CPJ system. Design and production: authors.

Other examples of local actions are observed internally: cross-functional work within the municipal services; and externally: using the networks of local clubs to canvass foreign delegations to stay here, and synergy between the tourist office, hotels, the city of Orléans and the company operating the municipal aquatic center to develop preferential rates (accommodation; athletic recovery; etc.). Together, these initiatives will help to promote the Paris 2024 Games locally and thus reterritorialize them from the pre-Olympic phase.

## Conclusion

The relative deterritorialization of Paris 2024 is occurring in a context of growing contestation over the hosting of globalized sporting mega-events in liberal countries with free market and open economies. The goal of reterritorialization, on a local scale, is to legitimize the event for the citizens and taxpayers concerned through the creation of a long-term dynamic before, during and after the event. For local authorities, the Games promote territorial intermediation by structuring ecosystems of local actors that were initially dispersed and had weak links. At the national level, the deterritorialization of the event by the creation of devices aiming to reterritorialize the effect of the Games well beyond the host territories alone reflects a quest for acceptability through the multiplication of places, moments of celebration, and the promotion of citizen engagement. The President of the Republic, Emmanuel Macron, has declared "the practice of sport as a great national cause in 2024", another form of Olympic legacy. Finally, for the IOC and the Olympic movement, the Paris case can appear as an experiment to renovate the Games and their image.

The spatial diffusion of the Terre de Jeux (TdJ) label and one of its mechanisms (the Centres de Préparation des Jeux - CPJ) works less according to Hägerstrand's model (initiation, expansion, condensation, saturation) than in the form of a rhizome, "multi-topical" (Régnauld, 2012: 199), given that "any deterritorialization implies a subsequent reterritorialization. It therefore works by leapfrogging (...): the successive impacts are a multiplicity of places that

make rhizome" (Régnauld, *ibid.*). Their propagation does not take place by contiguity but by disjunction in the national space.

The City of Orléans is using Terre de Jeux, of which the CPJ program is a part, to transform its sports policy (high level, health sports, etc.) by applying what Paris 2024 is proposing and by designing its own action program. Thus, the City contributes to territorial intermediation within the framework of a multi-partner and multi-scale process to reveal and develop an ecosystem of actors who are a resource for the transformation of the local sports dynamic. One of the assets of this dynamic is the presence of a full-time coordinator. At the same time, it plays a role in the design and implementation of action engineering, that of "day-to-day support and management" (Janin et al., 2011, cited in IngeTerr Auvergne et Rhône-Alpes (2012, p. 3), and project engineering, that of "intervening in the time of projects contributing to the evolution of territories (diagnosis, production of knowledge, etc.)" (*ibid.*: 3), both of which are generalist. What remains to be strengthened is organizational engineering, i.e., the networking of the three figures of territorial engineering, "in the long term of territorial construction (animation, networking of actors, capitalization of knowledge, etc.) [in which] the engineering part 'of the link' is crucial" (*ibid.*: 3). The challenge is to provide additional territorial intelligence, defined as "the capacity for collective intelligence that can be mobilized on a territory or as the result of a collective approach" (Bertacchini, 2010). From this perspective, it is first and foremost up to politicians to ensure this role of mobilization and cohesion in favor of the production of the territorialization of the legacy of Paris 2024 in order to articulate the pre-Olympic, Olympic and post-Olympic temporalities.

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