HERITAGE SPORTING EVENTS AND PLACE MARKETING

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty years, many cities, regions and countries have introduced strategies and policies to systematically host sports events, and allocated human and financial resources to attract elite or mass-participation single-sport or multi-sport competitions (Chappelet 2006, Mantei 2011, Zakias 2014). Such policies have often been inspired by cities hosting a major event and then seeking ways of reusing facilities built at great cost for the occasion. An early example of this is Sheffield, in England, where a special unit of the council, set up after the city hosted the 1991 Universiades, has brought a whole series of events to the city (Henry 1999). Several urban centers in the UK have now copied this pioneering strategy, supported by the government body UK Sport. The culmination of these strategies was the attribution of the 2012 Olympic Games to London and of the 2014 Commonwealth Games to Glasgow.

However, the 1990s saw a huge increase in the number of cities wishing to host major sports events, starting with the Olympics. Bids for the 1984 and 1988 Summer Olympics were received from only one (Los Angeles) and two (Seoul and Nagoya) cities, respectively. However, the organizational and financial success of Los Angeles 1984 and Seoul 1988 inspired many more cities to consider an Olympic future. As a result, six cities bid for the 1992 Games, awarded to Barcelona, eight cities bid for the 2002 Winter Olympics, awarded to Salt Lake City, and a record eleven cities bid for the 2004 Olympics, awarded to Athens.

Today, competition to host the Olympic Games and a number of other sports events, such as major championships and the Football World Cup, is so great that entire countries have begun introducing, either explicitly or implicitly, policies to attract sports events. Such countries include Denmark (through Sport Event Denmark), Qatar (via the National Olympic Committee) and Russia (whose prime minister, re-elected president in 2012, takes a personal interest in the matter). Following the Euro 2008 football championships in Switzerland and Austria and the failed bids for the 2002, 2006 and 2010 Winter Olympics, Switzerland now has a federal policy for attracting sports events (Weber 2010). France also has a strategic committee for international competitions (CNOSF 2011). Created in 2010, this committee is charged with carrying out feasibility studies for hosting major events and proposing any legislative, regulatory and financial measures needed to maximize France's chances of being attributed such events. It also includes an "Expertise and International Resources" unit, coordinated by the National Center for Developing Sport, whose tasks include assessing potential bids for major sports events and examining requests for bid subsidies. Paris should bid for the 2024 Olympics together with Boston, Hamburg, Rome and other cities, although the number of Olympic bids has dwindled since the 1990s.

As a result of the sometime frantic race to obtain major competitions, many cities and sub-national territories are turning to smaller or less coveted sports events, events in minor sports or trendy events that do not require major infrastructure. This is the case for Lausanne. In the 1990s Lausanne hosted several world championships, under the impetus of former International Olympic Committee president Juan Antonio Samaranch (curling 1988 and 2001, badminton 1995, figure skating 1997, gymnastics 1997, triathlon 1998, chess 1998, etc.). Today, Lausanne focusses on less-prestigious competitions that nevertheless provide a substantial boost to the local economy due to the number of participants involved. For example, the orienteering world championships (2002, 2012) or the World Gymnaestrada 2011 which brought almost 20,000 gymnasts, of all ages and backgrounds, and of 55 nationalities to the "Olympic Capital", as well as the candidature for the 2020 Winter Youth Olympic Games.

One drawback of downsizing event-hosting strategies to smaller events is that their promotional effects are much more limited than those of major competitions. In addition, smaller events do not have a great impact on regional development, especially in terms of enabling a city or area to stand out on the tourist-destination

map. Even the biggest one-time events are often forgotten as soon as they are over, despite receiving extensive media coverage during the event. Who remembers where most world championships took place a year after the event? And who would choose a holiday destination or a base for their company on the basis of such a championship?

Given the difficulty of promoting development via the classic approach to event hosting, ever larger numbers of cities and regions are turning towards "heritage sporting events" or events that have the potential to become heritage events over the years. The present article provides a definition of this relatively new concept and, focusing on Switzerland, examines possible ways in which such events can be used to boost territorial development. This analysis suggests that local authorities, especially in Europe, should implement policies to host heritage sporting events as a way of reinforcing development and resisting the escalation in bids to host major competitions being driven by certain countries such as Azerbaijan, Qatar and Russia.

THE NOTION OF HERITAGE SPORTING EVENT

Although many sports events have close links with a particular city or a specific venue - for example, the Roland-Garros tennis arena in Paris - and are part of a place's heritage, the literature rarely associates the concepts of sports event and heritage. A heritage sporting event can be defined as an event, generally involving a single sport, that has taken place in the same place for many years and that has been held regularly since its foundation. Table 1 provides examples of such events that were founded more than 50 years ago (outside Switzerland, which will be examined in the next section) and that are still held every year, even if there have been breaks in their histories.

Table 1: Examples of heritage sporting events founded before 1970 (outside Switzerland)

Founded	Official name	Sport	City	Country
1656	Palio di Siena	Horse riding	Sienna	Italy
1780	The Derby Stakes	Horse riding	Epsom, England	Great Britain
1839	The Henley Royal Regatta	Rowing	Henley-on-Thames	Great Britain
1850	Wenlock Olympian Games	Multi sports	Much Wenlock	Great Britain
1860	The Open Championships	Golf	Ayrshire, Scotland	Great Britain
1875	The Kentucky Derby	Horse riding	Louisville, Kentucky	United States
1877	The All England Lawn Tennis Championships Meeting	Tennis	Wimbledon, London	Great Britain
1884	England test matches	Cricket	Lord's, St John's Wood, London	Great Britain
1892	Liège-Bastogne-Liège	Cycling	Liège to Bastogne and back	Belgium
1896	Paris-Roubaix	Cycling	Paris to Roubaix	France
1897	Boston Marathon	Athletics	Boston, Massachusetts	United States
1905	Australian Open	Tennis	Melbourne	Australia
1907	Milano-San Remo	Cycling	Milan to San Remo	Italy
1909	Hatsu basho	Sumo	Tokyo	Japan
1909	Elfstedentocht	Speed skating	From and to Leeuwarden, through 11 towns	Netherlands
1922	Vassaloppet	Cross-country skiing	Sälen to Mora	Sweden
1925	Internationaux de France Roland-Garros	Tennis	Paris	France
1928	Holy Saturday Cross Country Cycle Classic	Cycling	Belize City	Belize
1931	Hahnenkamm-Rennen	Alpine skiing	Kitzbühel, Tyrol	Austria
1934	The Masters	Golf	Augusta, Georgia	United States
1945	Sydney-Hobart Yacht Race	Sailing	Sydney to Hobart	Australia
1950	Boxing Day Test	Cricket	Melbourne	Australia
1951	La Sainté Lyon	Athletics	St-Etienne to Lyon	France

Founded	Official name	Sport	City	Country
1952	Vierschanzentournee	Ski jumping	Obserstdorf, Garmisch, Innsbruck and Bischofshofen	Germany and Austria
1960	Tuen Ng Dragon Boat Festival	Rowing/ Kayaking	Hong Kong	China
1961	Pokal Vitranc	Alpine skiing	Kranjska Gora	Slovenia
1968	Mostar Bridge Diving Competition	Diving	Mostar	Bosnia

Source: Author's compilation

The ancestors of these heritage events are the ancient Olympic Games held every four years since 776 BC for almost twelve hundred years, and the various Panhellenic games held throughout Antiquity (Pythian Games, Nemean Games, etc.). These ancient games have been succeeded by multi-sport events that move from city to city and are therefore not part of any single city's heritage (modern Olympic Games, Mediterranean Games, Commonwealth Games, Student Games or Universiads, etc.). Sienna's Palio, a horse race through the Tuscan city's main square that was first run in 1656, is another of these ancestral events, as modern sport had not yet been invented when it was founded. The Palio is now a major tourist attraction. The Wenlock Olympian Games, founded by Dr William Penny Brook and held since 1850 at Much Wenlock in Shropshire (England), was one of the inspirations for the modern Olympics, founded by Pierre de Coubertin in 1892. Unlike almost all other heritage events which are centered on one sport, the Wenlock Olympian Games is a multi-sport event.

In the case of modern sport, invented in the 18th century in Great Britain, it is unsurprising that the oldest heritage sporting events are in this country and involve sports that were once a British preserve, such as rowing, golf, horse racing, and lawn tennis. At the end of the 19th century, continental Europe and the United States entered the arena with different sports (cycling, athletics, and winter sports). However, except for Australia, there are very few other countries and continents on this list because the rapid growth in global sport did not begin until the 1950s.

In the French-language literature, the notion of heritage event has been associated with the concept of "place of memory", defined by the historian Pierre Nora in his 1984 book "Lieux de mémoire". According to Nora, places of memory

can range from the most highly concrete objects, possibly in a specific geographical location, to the most abstract objects. Hence, they may be monuments, important people, events or institutions. For example, he considers the Tour de France to be a place of collective memory built on the experiences shared by very large numbers of people throughout France during the 20th century. Pfister (2011) argued that this concept can be applied to the modern Olympic Games, citing the 1896 Athens, 1936 Berlin and 2000 Sydney Olympics. Thanks to their long tradition, the Olympics, like the Tour de France, can be seen in a continuum between "pure HSE" (always in the same place) and one-off events. The concept of HSE is even more applicable when a sports event has been held in the same place for many years, has become an institution, or even has its own museum, as is the case for the Henley Royal Regatta, founded in 1839.

The English-language literature contains the concepts of "hallmark event", "signature event" and "heritage event"; however, these concepts are defined slightly differently than the definition of heritage sporting event given above. Jago and Shaw (1998) divided major sports events into two categories: hallmark or mega. Hallmark (typical) events are "occasional" and have "an international profile and a permanent venue", whereas mega events are "one-time" events that change venue for each edition. However, Goldblatt (1997) considers the modern Olympic Games, which do not have a permanent venue, to be a hallmark event. Hall (1989) defines hallmark events as "major fairs, expositions, cultural and sporting events of international status which are held on either a regular or a one-off basis. A primary function of the hallmark event is to provide the host community with an opportunity to secure high prominence in the tourism market place" (Hall 1989). Richtie (1984) does not distinguish between recurring hallmark events (which are held regularly in the same place) and one-time hallmark events (for which every edition is held in a different place). He notes that hallmark events "rely for their success on uniqueness, status or timely significance" (anniversary, celebration, commemoration, etc.).

More recently, Jones (2008) introduced the concept of "signature events", which he defines as "one-time or more likely recurring events developed primarily to enhance the image and cultural identity" of the place in which they are held. A signature event gradually becomes an important date in the local calendar. Jones mentions such events as a key part of the Welsh government's events policy, although the examples he gives are all cultural events.

Ramshaw and Gammon (2005) and Ramshaw (2005) proposed the notion of "heritage event" as a way for the North American sport industry to reconnect with the past. One of the examples they give is the "Heritage Classic Outdoor Ice Hockey Event", which was held in Edmonton in 2003 to nurture nostalgia for outdoor ice hockey in Canada. Reconstitutions of jousting tournaments and mob football games in the mediaeval fairs held by some old European towns fall into this category. But these heritage events are quite different from our concept of HSE.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HERITAGE SPORTING EVENTS

The above mentioned authors provide a starting point for drawing up a definition of heritage sporting events. Above all, such events must belong to a specific place and be held there regularly, usually every year, sometimes every two years, without interruption other than under exceptional circumstances. The owner of the event must be a local organization, generally a not-for-profit association or a local council, but not an international organization. Consequently, there is no need to bid to host the event. This makes it easier to capitalize on the expertise needed to stage the event, through local skills that are progressively built up and honed with each edition. Finally, there is usually a strong link between the event and the place it is held, through the venue (even though the venue may change over time) and/or the commemoration of a historic event. The older the event, the more deeply it is part of the area's heritage and the stronger its brand in commercial terms. On the other hand, it is far from essential for the event to be large or international. In fact, it is more important for it to suit the place it is staged. For example, the cycle race that is held every Easter Saturday in Belize City attracts only a hundred racers and is unknown outside Central America. However, it was founded in 1928 and is part of this small capital city's heritage.

The All England Lawn Tennis Championships Meeting, better known as the Wimbledon Tournament, is an iconic example of a heritage sporting event. Founded in 1877, it will celebrate its 130th edition in 2017. The tournament is held every July at a specialized venue in Wimbledon, the London suburb where the world's first tennis club was created (as part of a cricket club). The facility has changed a lot since the event began but the tournament has never moved and Wimbledon has become a legendary place for tennis fans. The site is also home

to the British tennis federation and a museum. It hosted the Olympic tennis tournaments at the London Games in 1908 and 2012. In 1948, when the British capital hosted its second Olympics, tennis was not included in the program. The only interruption to the championships was during the Second World War. Rather than belonging to a federation, the event is owned by the All England Lawn Tennis Club (Championships) Limited (AELTC), which runs the Championships in conjunction with LTA Operations Limited. AELTC is a wholly owned subsidiary of the All England Lawn Tennis & Croquet Club, whose patron is Queen Elizabeth II. Its circular, green and violet logo is one of the world's best-known brands and is so powerful that no advertising is allowed on the courts other than that of the official timekeeper (as for the Olympic Games). Wimbledon is undoubtedly the world's largest and most famous heritage sporting event, but the Swiss Open, in Gstaad, Switzerland (see below) is also a heritage event for its region, although it is less famous than Wimbledon.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of the location of heritage sporting events. In order to firmly anchor an event to its "home", the place name (neighborhood, city or region) is nearly always part of the event's official title, or has been subsequently added if it was not included when the event was founded. The event's home has a permanent naming right that is rarely supplemented by the name of a title sponsor, which could compete with the place name for recognition (especially as sponsors change over the years: first sponsored by Ebel, the European Masters golf tournament at Crans-Montana, Switzerland, subsequently became the Canon European Masters, and is now the Omega European Masters). The principality of Monaco has used this strategy since the 1920s to increase its tourism profile, hosting competitions throughout the year, such as the Monte-Carlo Rally, Monte-Carlo Rolex Masters tennis tournament, Monaco (F1) Grand Prix, Herculis athletics meeting, Monaco Marathon, Monaco Regatta, Monte-Carlo Circus Festival, etc. A recent advertising campaign has reinforced this message by presenting together all the events held in the principality, using their fame to increase the profile of this small state. Although it is not old enough to be considered a true heritage event, the Vendée Globe yacht race uses the same idea. The Vendée *département* (territorial unit of France) took over the event in 2003 in order to ensure the race's future. In Great Britain, sports history enthusiasts publish a collection of books, called "Played in Britain", that relate the history of places and the events that are held in them.

Championships for team sports (such as The FA Cup, held since 1871-72 by the English Football Association), cycling stage races (such as the Tour de France, founded in 1903) or rallies (such as Monte-Carlo, founded in 1911) are not heritage events in the strict sense of the term as defined here, even if their final games or stages are held in the same place every year (London, Paris and Monte-Carlo for the three examples given). Nevertheless, they can be considered part of the heritage of their host country (England, France and Monaco). The European Union recognized this heritage quality to a certain extent when it enacted the 1989 "Television without frontiers" directive, which requires all member states to draw up a list of sports events that are "of major importance for society" and which must be broadcast freely (not on a paying channel) to the public (CEE 1989). The men's and women's singles finals at the Roland-Garros tennis tournament are the only two heritage events on France's list. (The finals of the French football and rugby cups do not comply with the strict definition of heritage sporting event: although they are usually held in Paris, they do not always take place in the same stadium.) Some venues can also take on a heritage dimension if they exist for long enough. This was the case for London's Wembley Stadium before it was demolished and is still the case for Lord's, the temple of cricket in London.

In its October 2011 ruling (paragraphs 100-102) in the famous Murphy case, the European Court of Justice recognized the unique character of sports events, "which can transform them into subject-matter that is worthy of protection comparable to the protection of works" and paved the way for member states to introduce national intellectual property legislation giving sporting events similar protection to other works (Killy 2012). This ruling is particularly important in what are now referred to as "betting rights" to events. Thus, the French Tennis Federation (which owns Roland Garros) won a case against sports betting operators who were taking bets on the tournament without the Federation's agreement.

In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003). By 2012, almost 130 countries had ratified the convention (not to be confused with the conventions for natural and cultural sites), thereby undertaking to draw up an inventory of their country's heritage. UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage." Although article 2.2 (c)

of the convention states that "social practices, rituals and festive events" should be included in the world inventory, it includes very few sports events. However, Bruges city council (Belgium) has requested that the Tour of Flanders cycle race be included, and Chappelet (2009) encouraged the International Olympic Committee to apply for the Olympic Games to be included.

SWITZERLAND'S CASE

Switzerland has long been a popular destination for tourists and hosts an impressive collection of heritage sporting events, the oldest of which was founded at the end of the 19th century. Table 2 lists the most important of these events that are more than 30 years old and that are held every year (with the exception of the biannual Patrouille des Glaciers, organized by the Swiss Army. This event did not take place between 1951 and 1984 following a tragic accident in 1949).

Table 2: Main heritage sporting events in Switzerland

Founded	Official name	Sport	City/resort (Canton)	STP member*
1884	CSIO Schweiz	Horse riding	St-Gallen (SG)	yes
1907	White Turf	Horse riding	St-Moritz (GR)	no
1915	Swiss Open	Tennis	Gstaad (BE)	yes
1921	Coupe des Nations	Rink hockey	Montreux (VD)	no
1923	Spengler Cup	Ice hockey	Davos (GR)	yes
1923	European Masters	Golf	Crans-Montana (VS)	yes
1926	CHI-W	Horse riding	Geneva (GE)	yes
1928	Zurich Weltklasse	Athletics	Zurich (ZH)	yes
1930	Lauberhorn-Rennen	Alpine skiing	Wengen (BE)	yes
1933 (1883)	Ruderwelt	Rowing	Luzern (LU)	yes
1933	Morat-Fribourg	Running	Morat to Fribourg (FR)	no
1939	Bol d'Or	Sailing	Geneva to Villeneuve (VD) and back	no
1943	Patrouille des Glaciers	Ski mountaineering	Zermatt to Verbier (VS)	no

Founded	Official name	Sport	City/resort (Canton)	STP member*
1967 (1955)	FIS Ski World Cup	Alpine skiing	Adelboden (BE)	yes
1969	Engadin Ski Marathon	Cross-country skiing	St-Moritz (GR)	yes
1970	Swiss Indoors	Tennis	Basel (BS)	yes
1971	La Mara	Cross-country skiing	Les Rasses to St-Croix (VD)	no
1974	Davos Nordic	Cross-country skiing	Davos (GR)	yes
1977	Athletissima Lausanne	Athletics	Lausanne (VD)	yes
1977	L'Escalade	Running	Geneva (GE)	no
1978	Kerzerslauf	Running	Kerzers (FR)	no
1979	Int. Hot-Air Balloon Festival	Ballooning	Château d'Oex (VD)	no

* Swiss Top Sport Association
Source: Author's compilation

Table 2 includes sports introduced into Switzerland by English tourists in the 19th century, such as horse-riding and tennis, and the winter sports with which the country is more traditionally associated, such as alpine and cross-country skiing and ice hockey. Unsurprisingly, more than half of these events are held in mountain (notably St-Moritz) or lakeside resorts (Montreux). For many years, the tourist office for the Vaud Canton has published a brochure promoting sports events (such as Athletissima Lausanne) and cultural events (such as the Montreux Jazz Festival) that are held in the area on a regular basis (Lake Geneva Region 2012).

Most Swiss heritage sporting events are organized by local clubs or independent not-for-profit associations, many of which are presided or dominated by a local figure, often the long-standing organizer or founder of the event (e.g., Jacky Delapierre for Athletissima Lausanne, Fredy Fuchs for the Lauberhorn ski races, and Jean-Louis Botani for the Escalade in Geneva). As in family-run SMEs, this situation can lead to problems when this person retires or has to step down. The Gstaad Swiss Open, founded in 1915 and now part of the ATP (Association of Tennis Professionals) "500 Series", is a notable case in point. In the 1960s, the upmarket resort in the Bernese Alps confided the organization of its historic

clay-court tournament to the director of the city's tourist office, who turned the event into a family fiefdom. He even owned the ATP license, which had to be bought off him when he was forced to retire.

In 1995, around twenty Swiss heritage events, including the Swiss football cup and the Tour of Switzerland cycle race, were brought together into the Swiss Top Sport association (www.swisstopsport.ch) in order to increase recognition of their importance for tourism and the country's economy. Swiss Top Sport's partners include Switzerland Tourism, the Federal Office for Sport and Swiss Olympic (Switzerland's National Olympic Committee). A study commissioned by Swiss Top Sport found that major sports events in Switzerland generate an annual added value of CHF 355 million and have "precious" indirect impacts (Stettler 2008). These events are subsidized by their host cities/cantons. They would also like to obtain subsidies from the Confederation; however, this is not possible according to the current Swiss legislation, which only permits the federal government to subsidize one-time international events (article 17 of the 2011 federal law for the promotion of sport and physical activity). A closer look at the events in table 2 shows that most are elite competitions, with the few exceptions being mass-participation running events, cross-country ski marathons and a sailing race (the Bol d'Or on Lake Geneva). Since 1994, Switzerland's most famous heritage running events have been organized by the association Swiss Runners (www.swissrunners.ch). Several of these mass events have more than 20,000 participants yearly and have become a real tradition for their region.

In line with the 2003 UNESCO Convention, which it has ratified, Switzerland's cantons have drawn up an inventory of the country's intangible cultural heritage. The Federal Office for Culture published the official list in 2012 at www.bak.admin.ch/traditionsvivantes . It includes a number of traditional "social practices" linked to sport, most notably the Abbayes Vaudoises (shooting and archery), the Rhine Swim (swimming), the Hauenstein bikers' meetings (motorcycling), the Uhrencup (football), the Escalade (running), the Unspunnen Festival (stone throwing), the Knabenschiessen and the Tir Fédéral en Campagne (shooting). The Swiss national sports of hornussen and schwingen (Alpine wrestling) are also listed but without mentioning a specific event, although there are (itinerant) federal festivals for these sports.

CONCLUSION

Heritage sporting events provide an escape from regimented and homogenized commercial events that attach little importance to the place in which the competition is held as long as it provides the required conditions. Such events are typified by formulaic major football competitions played in standardized stadiums where the name of the host city has to be spelt out on signs around the pitch in order to be known (for instance, UEFA Champions League). In contrast, heritage events allow the host area to develop media and popular recognition year after year, and to build the expertise needed to ensure the event's continuing success. As a result, they avoid being dependent on an "event owner" (generally a transnational federation) that dictates conditions, notably financial, while rarely taking an interest in the development of the host territory. They are also a response to the fierce competition to host major one-time events from emerging countries, many of which are prepared to invest considerable resources to obtain the biggest international competitions. Just like professional clubs that bear the name of a city or region, events anchored in local traditions provide excellent marketing opportunities for a territory, with the added advantage that local authorities have greater control over such events than they do over private clubs. Some international federations (athletics, rowing, archery, etc.) are beginning to understand this and have started organizing new competitions based on circuits that return to the same cities year after year.

Every heritage sporting event is the result of inventing a tradition (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983) that symbolizes a form of social cohesion, an identity and local expertise. In other words, it takes many years to "invent" a heritage event. Some newly created events will become heritage events. Others will not be sufficiently innovative in terms of their concept, their management or their promotion, and will disappear. To a large extent, this will depend on the policies for hosting events implemented by the territories concerned, that is, whether they decide to favor recurring events or one-time events.

Heritage sporting events have not yet been given the recognition they deserve by public authorities or researchers. As shown above, generally they are not considered part of their country's intangible cultural heritage. This "oversight" needs to be remedied, perhaps via a specific list. To do this, an international association for these events could be created, perhaps along similar lines to Swiss Top Sport. Such an association would help place this topic on UNESCO's agenda and facilitate

the sharing of expertise and experience for organizing heritage events. Since the 1980s researchers have tended to focus on one-time events, especially the biggest international competitions. HSE have been under researched in the literature. It may be that the time has come to pay more attention to heritage events, in order to catalogue them and evaluate their impact on the sustainable development of host territories. Doing so would further highlight the paradox of trying to create something durable from something ephemeral.

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