

Places that Glow:
Evaluating the Legacy of the 2015 Toronto Pan/Parapan American Games

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Abstract

Toronto is two years removed from hosting the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games. Within the two-year span, from the event's commencement to its end, ample time has been given to debate and consider whether the legacy of the Games has benefitted or hindered wider municipal and regional planning goals. Both the City of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area witnessed the mounting of large infrastructure projects (mega sporting infrastructure) across city and regional landscapes. Each project differs, however, as they provide different benefits (or none at all) and produce separate outcomes that impact local communities and tie together physical and social goals. This paper investigates the legacy of the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games and examines how infrastructure built for the Games contributes to a positive or negative legacy.

A case study of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough presents the impacts of Pan Am infrastructure on the overall legacy. The relation between the Pan Am overall legacy and success of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre confirms that the post-Games positive legacies are virtually tied to inclusive and responsible planning practices. This relationship also shows that cities choosing to host mega sporting events run the risk of cost overruns and mistimed project goals. Whether the outcomes of economic and social promises lay solely on the municipality or not, the success of these events, and eventually, their legacies, are tied directly to governmental commitment and increased partnerships.

Foreword

This research paper is written as a completion to the Master in Environmental Studies (MES) program at York University. The MES program is a diverse and interdisciplinary program, centered around the Plan of Study, that challenges students to explore a variety of topics in unison with their own interests. My initial Plan of Study focused on the impact of mega-events and mega-event infrastructure on cities. Furthermore, I made a concentrated effort to expose how planning plays a role in the success or failure of such events, and is used as a tool to fast track, design and control the function of projects leading to negative outcomes for cities and communities.

Through an exhaustive examination of mega-event and mega-project related literature, I discovered that material focusing on these topics are framed in a way advising cities not to invest in mega-projects or host mega-events. With the Pan/Parapan American Games coming to Toronto in 2015, I chose to use this opportunity to explore the “mega-event syndrome” and divulge further into how these large-scale sporting events, and the infrastructure that accompanies them, impact host cities. My goal was to uncover the ways in which the mega-event legacy is impacted, or framed, by the success of the projects built for the event.

Acknowledgements

Since January of this year I have been conducting research on the topic. At the beginning I had little knowledge of how planning and the outcomes of the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games in Toronto impacted people living in the City and surrounding areas. However, I am satisfied with the result I have been able to achieve.

A special thanks goes out to my helpful advisor, supervisor and mentor, Liette Gilbert. Your supervision truly assisted the progression of my research. Without your support, the progress and framework of my research project would not have demonstrated such conclusions and contributions to mega-events research. Your valuable insights and directions gave me the necessary guidance to complete the research and complete this paper. Your assistance has not gone unnoticed.

A great deal of appreciation goes to the contribution of my interviewees who agreed to assist with my study. Your cooperation, accompanied by the warm hospitality and insight into your professional lives was extremely crucial to my research. Your initiative to help me with my research brought forth several themes that I outline in my research essay.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents, Karen Escoffery and Jose Costa, who have always given me all of their support through the toughest of times. Without you, I would not be the diligent student and human being I am today. I love you both.

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Introduction

Hosting major sporting events provides a gateway for cities to justify, fund and encourage the intensification of large-scale development projects throughout the urban landscape. Discourse pertaining to the planning and assessment of mega-events has perpetuated themes such as urban and economic regeneration, urban boosterism, and international branding. As argued by Anholt (2007), the ambitions and appeal of place are part of city branding strategies that brings together residents, tourists, and the international community. Rehan (2013: 224) defines the concept of urban branding as “the process by which unique physical features of the city are defined, and come to encapsulate the essence of the place.” The relationship between the physical features of a city and branding in general becomes a mechanism through which a city can communicate their brand. Using a mega-event as a branding mechanism means that city branding should not only achieve an identity that is locally acceptable, but one that transferred and relatable to people on a larger and even global scale.

Mega-events play a crucial role in city branding. Such events draw domestic and foreign sustainable attention, create jobs, attract funds and bring economic and social benefits (Yu, Wang, and Joochwan, 2012). Mega-events can produce significant alternations to a city’s urban landscape and functions that in turn, have a positive affect on city branding (Jafari, 1988). Some of these changes include producing architecture for the servicing of the event and landmarks of urban space, upgrading city identity through enhancing and improving economic capacities and international relations (Yu et al., 2012). Most importantly, the publicizing of a city’s identity through media coverage leaves the door open for a variety of interpretations of the effectiveness of city branding through hosting

mega-events. For Fainstein (2008: 768), “mega-projects involve a costly scheme for development of a contiguous area, requiring new construction and/or substantial rehabilitation. Implementation may take a number of years and may be the responsibility of a single or multiple developers. Mega-projects always include a transformation of land uses.” This shift is often intensified through public-private partnerships in urban redevelopment, and therefore Fainstein (2008) concludes that mega-projects have both negative and positive impacts on cities and communities.

The Pan-American Games has evolved as a tangible method of urban reorganization, which perpetuates large reconfigurations of urban management, economic policy and public resources in large cities. As the world’s third largest hallmark and multi-sport event next to the Olympics, the Pan American Games stretches across entire regions promoting urban development and change. Looking at the Brazil’s 2007 Pan American Games (but also World Cup 2014 and Olympics 2016), de Oliveira (2010: 189) demonstrates how the hosting of the games followed a “strategic planning model” that offered up reasoning for the rapid development in some of Brazil’s most crowded districts. The shift in economic policies and public resources outline how the mega-event planning agenda is flawed and requires a lot of reconfigurations within cities and regions. According to de Oliveira (2010), Brazil’s largest cities witnessed major improvements in social and physical infrastructure, while others smaller cities were left with nothing. Heavy investments into larger cities were meant to intensify Brazil’s branding scheme through infrastructure development and spectacle. De Oliveira (2010) is critical of this, as many Brazilians living below the poverty are in need of health care, transit and education, not sporting facilities.

Through a case study of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough built for the 2015 Pan American Games in Toronto, this paper considers the opportunities and challenges Toronto faces when planning for mega-events. This paper seeks to illuminate how discourses circulated prior and post-Pan Am Games were and are used to brand Toronto as a city with a progressive planning agenda in terms of infrastructure and development. This paper also aims to provide insight into how infrastructural and developmental legacies from the 2015 Pan Am Games impact communities and nurture relationships between community and state.

Since the announcement of the Pan/Parapan Am Games in 2009 and throughout its tenure in 2015, the Games have instigated the creation and construction of new infrastructure, communal spaces and a rejuvenated sense of civic pride. Prior to its commencement, the Pan Am Games received quite a bit of scepticism on its overall intention and goals for the City of Toronto. Throughout the Games, civic pride and diversity was spread throughout the entire city landscape. Infrastructure Ontario has been tasked with delivering state-of-the-art facilities that are functional pre, during and post-Pan Am 2015. Finally, after the Games, whispers of Olympic bids and financial and social impacts were the main topics of conversation. While significant impacts have been felt throughout the city, a variety of neighbourhoods and communities have been affected on several different levels.

This paper draws from a discourse analysis of the Pan Am Games related grey literature (reports and other literature from Pan Am Games organizations and City of Toronto) and newsprints from the *Toronto Star* from the announcement of Pan Am Games to after the event to evaluate the discourses that were circulated around the

Games. It also aims to evaluate how the infrastructure built for the Pan Am Games impacts communities and neighbourhoods by honing in on the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough.

What are the Pan American Games all about?

In December 2008, City Council endorsed the City of Toronto's bid to host the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games. Following the announcement in 2009, it was inevitable that the event would have significant impacts on the city's cultural, physical and social landscapes. In the summer of 2015, 41 different countries from North, South, Central America and the Caribbean participated in 48 different sports across 17 municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) over a span of 3.5 weeks (Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, 2011b).

First held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the Pan Am and Parapan Am Games have been held every 4 years by the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO) for athletes of the 41 member nations in North America, South America and the Caribbean to compete. The Pan Am Games are held one year prior to the Olympic Summer Games; the event serves as an opportunity for athletes to qualify for the Olympic Games (Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, 2011). Recognized as the world's third largest international multi-sport games, the event is only surpassed in size by the Olympic Summer Games and the Asian Games.

The Pan Am Games attracts approximately 8,000 to 10,000 officials and participants, along with over 250,000 tourists who attend the different competitions and events. Over 40 venues, some existing (with modifications) and some built solely for the event, offered shelters and hosted the activities. While the activities held throughout the Games were dispersed across the GTA, the majority of venues, tourists and athletes were centralized in the City of Toronto (Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, 2011b).

Through a variety of financial aid including large investments from the regulating body overseeing the Games, the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO), the Games created a network of “International High Performance Olympic Centers” across North and South America, ultimately strengthening relations between the two continents (Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, 2011). The significance of both the Pan Am Games and the Parapan Am Games and their impacts on host cities are often felt through infrastructure improvements and strengthening of the local economy. However, addressing recreational needs in specific neighbourhoods along with providing opportunities for youth leadership and civic participation are usually benefits that are left uncovered. Social exclusion and underestimated costs are identified as the major negative impacts.

Research Question and Research Design

Major sporting events are periodically held, and there are now many continental Olympic affiliates. Similar to the Olympics, the Pan Am Games have greatly expanded

and in 2015 Toronto hosted 7000 athletes from 41 nations (Toronto 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, 2011). Immediately after being awarded the 2015 Games in 2009, Toronto began making preparations for six years in the future when the eyes of the world (hopefully attached to bodies with hands reaching for wallets) would be upon us. Many narratives about the benefits, impacts and legacies of the Games were argued and debated from beginning to end.

This research examines the narratives surrounding the legacy of the Pan/Parapan American Games prior to its commencement and how these legacies, or promises, compare to what has been produced. This paper highlights important promises made by all levels of government through a variety of reports. More specifically, this paper looks at how particular themes such as infrastructure were consistently promoted by the Games' public and private players. These themes emerged from reports in support of the event and a review of articles published in *The Toronto Star* (between 2009 and 2016) expressing concern, optimism and celebration surrounding the Pan Am Games. Three vital themes that arise from the announcement of the Games to its end include: infrastructure, civic pride, and lived experiences.

Such narratives are generally seen as positive throughout the preparation and tenure of mega-events; however, perspectives tend to shift once the events have concluded.

How was infrastructure development promoted? Which particular venues were promoted? What were the main positive and negative arguments?

How was the branding message deployed by the City and organizers? What were main arguments/themes? What were main critiques?

To answer these questions, I first review the following key reports produced by the Pan Am organizers:

- City of Toronto's City Council Consideration for Rezoning Application
- City of Toronto's Scarborough Community Council Consideration for Rezoning Application
- City of Toronto's 2015 Pan American/Parapan American Games: City Expenditures and Related Legacies
- City of Toronto's 2015 Pan Am Games and Parapan Am Games: Organizing Partners
- TO2015's Toronto 2015 Pan Am Games End on a High Note
- Toronto Organizing Committee's Audited Financial Statements
- Toronto Organizing Committee's Bid Book
- Ontario Chamber of Commerce's Beyond the Finish Line
- Toronto Organizing Committee's The Flavour of Diversity

Through a close reading of these reports, I ask: **how do the goals and promises (related to infrastructure, economic development, diversity) presented before the Games compare to the legacy left behind post-Pan Am?**

This research paper also includes a literature review of academic journals on a variety of topics pertaining to mega-events including legacies of Olympic and Pan Am Games,

social, economic and environmental impacts of large-scale sporting events, and community benefits of mega-events.

The comparison of Pan Am promises vs Pan Am legacies is more closely examined through a case study of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough, keeping in mind infrastructural, economic and social responsibility. The case study informs this paper and helps to determine the impacts of left over infrastructure on local communities. Primary research was conducted in the form of interviews with residents of the Scarborough area, planners involved in the erection of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre, and various stakeholders to understand whether the planning vision aligns with the current use.

Furthermore, my research path was markedly influenced by the direct involvement I had with the Pan/Parapan American Games as a volunteer. Working with the events team stationed at both the Exhibition and Caledon venues enabled me to witness the functionality of two separate event spaces hosting multiple sporting events. As an events team volunteer, my role was to ensure the Games commenced in an orderly fashion, while enhancing the Pan Am experience for users alike. The transformation of space for the Games was ultimately to enhance the experience of its users; whether volunteers, workers, sport fans and general public. The flexibility and transformation of venues during the Games and the prior and post-Pan Am functionality of them, further developed my interest in the Games, but most importantly helped me to hone in on my research topic. Having the chance to be exposed to the pedestrian experience of the Games and its venue provided me with the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the impacts of the Pan Am Games. Through my invested

interest mega sporting events and cities, accompanied by past and present volunteer experiences and fascination with research, I made the decision to utilize my skills, training and theoretical background to gain a better understanding on the impacts of mega-events on cities.

The Promises

The 2015 Toronto Pan/Parapan American Games was more than a sporting event or international competition it was an urban promise. It was a promise made by municipal, provincial and federal government bodies and agencies to the Pan American Sports Organization that the Toronto 2015 Games experience would be unprecedented in its scale and impacts. It was a promise to the larger Greater Toronto Hamilton Area (GTHA) residents and their communities that positive trickle-down benefits of infrastructure, tourism and economic advancements would be felt years down the road. With promise, comes great responsibility in delivery, which the host region and province had to bear during the summer of 2015 and onward.

The Pan Am Games spans governmental jurisdictions, however, it was particularly the government of Ontario and its partners who took action to ensure the Games left a positive and lasting legacy. As a part of a Multi-Party Agreement (MPA), each entity was designated roles and responsibilities with respect to the funding and delivery of the Games (City of Toronto, 2016). Both the Government of Canada and Government of Ontario were key funding contributors to the Games, each one donating \$500 million dollars to the Games. The federal government acted as a major funding source, committing its investments to the construction and restoration of sporting

infrastructure, the 2015 Legacy program and providing services (City of Toronto, 2014). The provincial role was further defined, as the Government of Ontario took initiative in comprising a 'Sport Plan', which builds on existing foundations to better the experience of future athletes and communities through investment in sport infrastructure (Government of Ontario, 2014). The funding contributions from federal and provincial governmental bodies, alongside additional stimulated investment from the Canadian Olympic Committee, Canadian Paralympic Committee, and TO2015 Organizing Committee ensure the success and legacy of the Pan Am Games (see Figure 1).

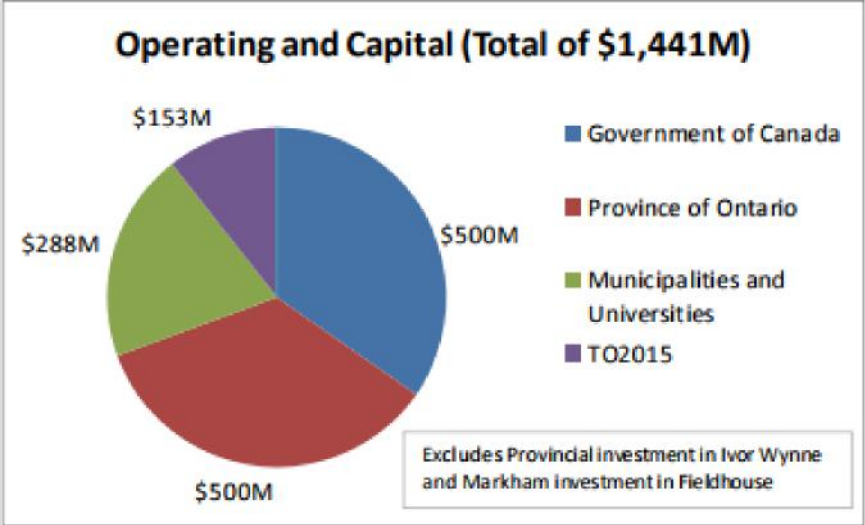


Figure 1: Operating and Capital Costs (Source: Toronto Organizing Committee, 2013: 11)

A hosting city’s government is seen as a crucial component to success of mega sporting events in general, but also to maximize the benefit for the host region. The City of Toronto, along with several municipalities, were major contributors to tourism and infrastructure development prior to the Pan Am Games, with the City championing many projects and upgrades. Toronto City Council’s commitment to spend \$96.5 million

resulted in the repaving of 20 kilometers of roads, upgrades to Etobicoke Olympium, Birchmount Park, Centennial Park, and most notably, the construction of a new Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough. The City's commitment to funding to these projects secured over \$200 million in additional investments from the Federal and Provincial governments as part of the *Capital Program* to incur economical, social and infrastructural benefits.

According to the Multi-Party Agreement, the City of Toronto made a commitment to support the Games in two significant ways: The *Capital Program* and operations. The *Capital Program* outlined all funding responsibilities for governmental and private entities, with the City funding 44% of the cost for 11 capital projects on its lands (City of Toronto, 2016). From an operational standpoint, municipal services and resources were provided at the City's expense to meet the Games' requirements. The Multi-Party Agreement established clear roles and commitments to funding infrastructure as it is seen as being one of the Games most important contributors to its legacy. These roles included obligations by federal and provincial government to fund a portion of the cost for the construction of 11 capital projects. The duties of the City of Toronto and the TO2015 Organizing Committee were to manage operations by providing municipal services and ensuring promotional activities were established during the duration of the Games.

In partnership with Infrastructure Ontario, Waterfront Toronto developed a residential village for the Games. As a corporation established by federal, provincial and municipal governments to be in control of Toronto's waterfront, Waterfront Toronto were responsible for the vision of the Port Lands and its Athletes Village. As the project lead,

Waterfront Toronto selected Dundee Kilmer Developments as the preferred bidder on proposals issued by Infrastructure Ontario to design, build and finance (DBFO) the Village (Waterfront Toronto, 2011). The entire team is comprised of a number of local and foreign parties, including: Dundee Realty Corporation, Kilmer Van Norstrand Co. Limited, Ellis Don Corporation, Ledcor Design Build (Ontario) Inc., Brookfield Financial Corp., Architects Alliance, Kuwabara Payne McKenna Blumberg, Daoust LeStage., and TEN Arquitectos (Downes and Stork, 2011). The investment, commitment and cooperation of multiple organizations, along with the important network of municipalities across the GTHA region, produced an attempt to sustain housing, transportation, educational and recreational legacies beyond 2015 and for decades to come.

The Games were expected to bring 250,000 new visitors, create 26,000 new jobs to the Greater Toronto Hamilton Area (GTHA), but it is the economic and social benefits following the Games that is of most importance to the future of mega-events. To complete this task, the Government of Ontario chose to work closely with Ontario businesses to maximize province-wide benefits. The Ontario Chamber of Commerce is an independent, non-partisan advocate of Ontario businesses. The Ontario Chamber of Commerce seeks to support economic growth in Ontario by working with members and improving business competitiveness across all sectors (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). By steering public policy conversations to reflect the needs of both the province and local communities, the Ontario Chamber of Commerce enables the growth of business in Ontario and in export markets. The organization was responsible for ensuring that the province of Ontario lays the groundwork for the Games and work in unison with its business partners. This meant

ensuring what the City of Toronto would gain by means of infrastructure and development investments and how the Games were going to assist the City and its surrounding areas. As Ontario's largest business organization, the goal of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce was to enhance the economic benefits retained by the province as a result of the Games.

A 2014 Ontario Chamber of Commerce report titled "*Beyond the Finish Line: A Successful Legacy for the 2015 Pan Am and Parapan American Games*" identifies the crucial steps that government and private sector entities needed to ensure the province capitalized on the Games, but also leave a strong legacy. The report highlights four important facets of mega sporting events that contributed to the legacy of the 2015 Toronto Pan/Parapan American Games: infrastructure, fiscal impacts, employment, and tourism (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). Each of these qualities is defined as contributing factors to the success of the Games and more importantly, the legacy. However, for the purpose of this paper, I will focus solely on the significance of infrastructure.

For Toronto, growth and promotion processes in planning are complementary. The *Places to Grow Act* is a policy document to help the Ontario government "plan for growth in a coordinated and strategic way" in order to reflect the "needs, strengths and opportunities of communities and the economy" (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2005). Through this legislation, the Ontario government develops regional growth plans that guide government investment and direct policy. In terms of goals, the *Places to Grow* policies seek to support economic prosperity while simultaneously achieving a higher quality of life for all Ontarians. Its initiatives are grounded in sustaining a robust

economy, building strong communities and promoting health and conservation. All of the initiatives mentioned are only achieved in relation to development, whether residential, commercial or institutional. The foundation is the *Places to Grow Act, 2005*, which allows for identification of growth plan areas and the development of plans for how and where growth should occur. All plans are formalized with the help of stakeholders, local officials, public groups and residents.

For mega-event planning, plans are not necessarily developed on a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood basis, but instead placed in the context of the entire city. This approach creates a contradiction between whom the Games are supposed to serve, who has access to the Games, but also who benefits. However, in an attempt to recognize the “needs, strengths and opportunities of communities and the economy” the 2015 Pan Am Games are committed to ensuring local communities are an integral part of the post-Games legacy (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2005; Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). Much infrastructure development for the Games is in the form of sport facilities with the opportunity to accompany all persons and a wide range of activities. The most notable keepsake is the Canary District, previously the Athletes’ Village. The development has been transformed into an instant neighbourhood catering to Toronto’s real estate market offering a mix of private and assisted residential units, with amenities surrounding the neighbourhood. The Canary District aligns with the *Places to Grow* initiatives to plan for growth strategically and support economic prosperity. The difference is that the *Places to Grow Act, 2005* legislation supports and sets out guidelines for what growth and development should highlight in relation to community needs, while the 2015 Pan Am Games seeks to illuminate Toronto’s

landscape through the construction of and investment in large scale infrastructure projects to satisfy economical cravings.

Significant infrastructure discrepancies exist which summons the participation of all levels of government to make use of “alternative partnership arrangements... and... strategic staging of infrastructure investments” (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2005: 6). For the most part, this statement highlights the methods which have been taken for the development of the Athletes’ Village. The *Places to Grow Act, 2005* also identifies complete communities as the vision for Ontario. The idea of complete communities recognizes that neighbourhoods should be well-designed, offer choice in transportation, integrate a mix of housing, jobs, and provide access to services and amenities for a diverse population at all stages (Government of Ontario, 2005b). Under the direction of the provincial agency, Infrastructure Ontario, this vision speaks to the type of development being established throughout GTHA communities.

Infrastructure Ontario was responsible for the delivery of many facilities prior to the commencement of the Games, most notably the Athletes Village built in the old portlands of Toronto. As a public entity, Infrastructure Ontario (2011) manages and finances government facilities and projects while simultaneously maximizing the value of real estate and public infrastructure. As it prepared for the Pan Am Games, the Government of Ontario promised to think long-term by developing a plan aligned with Ontario businesses that “leveraged Pan Am sports infrastructure creating future economic development opportunities and community hubs for GTHA communities” (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). However, without a well-thought long-term plan

for venue usage by both Infrastructure Ontario and the provincial government, these facilities run the risk of being underused.

The provincial and federal governments held a key role for the Pan Am Games, which meant developing a plan that highlights how planned infrastructure was to be used by its end audience. As the main link between “many regions and a source of funding,” the Government of Ontario promised success of the Games through investment in infrastructure, sport programs and legacies, all falling within a particular budget (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). The Ontario Chamber of Commerce report highlights promises and expectations of the Province that confirm how beneficial the Games infrastructure would be following its tenure. The joint foundation between the federal and provincial governments outlined in the *Sport Legacy Fund* is comprised of \$70 million in contributions to the operation and future maintenance of new Games facilities (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014). The mission was to “enhance and then follow through on a plan to use the Games’ facilities to attract other major sporting events in the future, and brand the Greater Toronto Hamilton Area as a region of sports excellence” (Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2014: 15). However, the promise is that the benefits of these facilities were to be maximized by community, recreational and high performance sport users in the future, but not at the expenditure of an underestimated budget. Venues were not only meant to provide short-term gain for host cities and regions at a reasonable and estimated budget, they were to be the foundation of the infrastructural future.

Contributions to existing communities nurtured through Pan Am infrastructure represents another component of promises made prior to the Games’ commencement.

Similar to the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, the 2015 Pan Am Organizing Committee pledged to initiate developments and improvements in infrastructure, while staying committed to community benefits throughout the 2015 Pan Am planning process. Discourses surrounding infrastructure define newly built Pan Am venues as “world class” and manifesting principles of “universal design” (Pan American & Parapan American Games, 2009). According to the TO2015 bid book titled *Toronto 2015: Your Moment is Here*, the Games were to “enable the development of high performance sport facilities” which in turn were to be “key community legacies” (Pan American & Parapan American Games, 2009: 199). New infrastructure built for the Games made claims to assist in the revitalization of the communities they are located in once the Games are complete. This form of revitalization included the redevelopment of under-utilized areas, brownfields and transportation networks (Pan American & Parapan American Games, 2009). Social inclusion opportunities were also guaranteed by means of grassroots programming and public participation in decision making processes. Such vision spoke to the type of promises and expectations being promoted under the direction of the province, but also the 2015 Pan Am Organizing Committee.

The significance of planning for the Pan Am Games and the promises made were also coerced through the media. Through the above analysis of the two Pan Am produced reports, including reports produced by government agencies, it is clear the 2015 Pan Am Games had the complete support of its constituents. The support that the Pan Am Games received from the media was equally positive. *Toronto Star* reporter Christopher Hume, an urban affairs and architecture critic, exceedingly championed the 2015 Pan Am Games before they begun. Throughout a series of *Toronto Star* articles,

Hume (2015a) explains that “an impressive array of sports facilities will permanently enhance local athletic culture” which is the initiation of a new urban scheme that “empowers the individual and the sidewalks on which they walk, run, and stand.”. Hume’s comments demonstrate how support for the Games existing within the hosting region trickled down to citizens and media outlets. While Hume’s comments frequently concern the Athletes’ Village, he identifies a sense of place that residents of Toronto were given after the Village, other key infrastructure projects, and the Games themselves were completed. Hume (2015b) states that “a new model of Canadian urbanism is emerging just in time for the 21st century.” What Hume meant by such statement is not entirely clear but his view conveyed an informed message of post-Pan Am hope across the GTHA, not stemming from the major financial contributors and boosters. The intention to provide promises of benefits prior to the commencement of the Games exemplifies the importance of considering the linkages between how infrastructure functions and could function post-Pan Am.

The processes and relationships established in building the Games and engaging various communities were meant to sustain permanent inclusionary decision-making processes and benefits for all. These are the promises. The legacies, however, focus on the impacts of those promises on infrastructure, the economy and local communities, but also the legitimacy of them. The following section of this paper describes and compares the legacies left behind from the 2015 Toronto Pan Am Games and how these legacies align, or not, with promises made earlier in the process.

The Legacies

Mega sporting events are considered to be a massive opportunity for hosting municipalities, despite all the associated costs. Hard (infrastructure, buildings, etc.) and soft (less tangible) legacies exist and are evaluated following the tenure of a mega-event, such as the Pan Am Games (Alberts, 2011). According to Alberts (2011), some of the potential benefits (or legacies) include, but are not limited to:

- tourism revenue (during and after the event);
- construction of new, and improved, sporting facilities region-wide;
- brownfield (re)development;
- the creation of jobs; and
- the fast tracking of large-scale projects.

Budget and support must be present within the hosting region for a legacy to exist, and in turn, these two factors are what the legacy is dependent upon. If new facilities are built, but are too large and do not support local communities, they will be deemed to have created a negative legacy. On the other hand, if newly built infrastructure has the ability to provide sustenance for a community beyond its short-term use, and align with the planning goals of a larger region, the legacy of the mega-event can be deemed a positive one. Throughout this paper it will become clear that the combined efforts and support of municipal and provincial government organizations heavily contribute to the long-lasting impacts of the Pan Am Games.

Canada and more specifically Toronto surely take pride in their hosting of the 2015 Pan Am Games as they were delivered on time, without any major incidents, and

the country recorded their best medal count ever at a mega sporting event. However, the nature of impacts stemming from mega-events must be considered and debated for current and future reference. In an article titled *Impact of the Games on Olympic Host Cities*, Cashman (2010) focuses on a few of these impacts, including: infrastructure improvements, increase of costs and taxes, culture, new venues and their post-Games use, community involvement and engagement, alterations to the city and built environment, and the representation and reputation of a city. Each of these considerations are crucial in analyzing the specific and overall impact, but more relevantly, the legacy of the Pan Am Games for the GTA and its communities.

Hosting mega sporting events like the 2015 Toronto Pan American and Parapan American Games can evoke different reactions. The Province of Ontario and City of Toronto were aware that if the Games were not carefully planned, cost overruns and elite benefits would overshadow the contribution of infrastructure and social benefits to the 2015 Games' legacy (Office of the Auditor General of Ontario, 2016). A report published by the *Office of the Auditor General of Ontario* evaluates the legacy of the Pan Am Games and offers suggestions to be applied in the future. The report particularly outlines some key deficiencies, or broken promises, now that the Games are over. Some of these deficiencies include:

- Cost overrun since the Ontario government contributed more than its original \$500-million bid in 2009;
- Athletes' Village size was reduced to remain within budget;
- Bundling of construction projects contributed to project delays, and eventually deficiencies (some venues continue to experience these deficiencies); and

- Senior TO2015 employees received full bonuses despite directly managing less than 2% of the budget (Office of the Auditor General of Ontario, 2016).

Budget is a key, if not the key, component to the success and legacy of mega sporting events and is often extensively evaluated once the events are complete. An examination of this report can showcase a confession by the province that some of the financial and infrastructural promises made prior to the Games have not been fulfilled. Bundling dissimilar projects together have lead to deficiencies at the Tim Horton's Field stadium in Hamilton and York University Athletics Stadium in Toronto, while incomplete initial cost estimates created massive cost pressure for the province (Office of the Auditor General of Ontario, 2016). The deficiencies stemming from the overvaluation of several of the Games' projects were necessitated by the attempt of Pan Am partners to construct and complete a diverse collection of capital projects on budget and on time for the Games. The lack of efficiency and economic accountability during the construction of these venues in particular, run the risk of damaging the Pan Am legacy.

In turn, the report highlights key components of the Games that contributed to the legacy. Long-term public benefits for people and communities from capital investment are one of the celebrated components of the report and the Pan Am legacy as a whole. This notion is to be tested in the next section of this paper through a case study of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough. While reaping community benefits is extremely important to the Pan Am legacy, and will be further examined throughout this paper, the contribution of finances and budgets to the legacy cannot be ignored. Through examination of the *Office of the Auditor General of Ontario's* report, it is clear

that the attitudes of major government players toward the existing legacies post-Pan Am generally align with their initial feelings, not necessarily the promises made.

Preliminary reactions to the Games and its legacy, especially from the media, were reasonably modest. Discourse surrounding the \$2.4-billion budget was dominated by statements such as “on budget” and “meeting of fiscal targets” (Benzie and Ferguson, 2015). Other writers went so far as to say that the unenthusiastic moods of critics shifted during the tenure of the Games, and were eventually positive post-Pan Am. Christopher Hume’s support for the Games, which was exemplified prior to its commencement, continued as the event concluded. Hume (2015c) considers that “across the Greater Toronto Area, the built legacy will enhance quality of life for countless residents, not just athletes. In addition to the new sports facilities, major infrastructural elements were completed throughout the region. We now have a velodrome and an airport express train, a state-of-the-art aquatic centre and a badly needed student residence.” Hume’s prolonged support for the 2015 Pan Am Games highlights the many facets of the mega-event, which brought Toronto multiple infrastructure projects, and forecasts the impact these projects will have on local communities. While the support is warranted, not much proof exists stating the Games were a complete success for local communities and the GTA as a whole.

An additional examination of media accounts differs from earlier claims, as several sources state that the entire Games, which were budgeted for \$2.4 billion, cost the province \$2.5 billion (Battersby, 2016; Battersby 2016b; Brennan and Ferguson, 2015; Cortez, 2016). A further examination into these articles prove that although the Games came in over-budget, bonuses were still provided to over 50 Pan Am

executives, who shared up to \$6 million amongst themselves (Brennan, 2015). It is clear the Games have the support in terms of its legacy; it is the legitimacy of particular actions that raises issues about such legacies.

While questions still exist concerning the cost and budget for the Games, government-generated reports have made sure to hone in on what type of legacy should be perpetuated as a result of the Games. A report published by the City of Toronto titled *2015 Pan American/Parapan American Games, City Expenditures and Related Legacies*, highlights the City's key role during the Pan Am Games, and how the City of Toronto stayed committed to its goals as the host city. The members of the Multi-Party Agreement (MPA) followed through with their commitment to support the Games through the *Capital Program* and a variety of municipally led operations. Initial cost estimates were eradicated, and additional costs were included in the budget. The City generated report states that the costs endured by the City of Toronto were approximately 17% below the budgeted \$95.5 million through the *Capital Program* (City of Toronto, 2016). The City's "most significant financial contribution to the Games" by way of the *Capital Program* was the construction of new facilities and upgrades to existing ones (City of Toronto, 2016: 5). Echoing the report published by the Auditor General of Ontario, the City of Toronto's position is similar in that Pan Am capital projects have relayed their benefits to the public, while other facilities are experiencing work to their ongoing deficiencies (see Figure 2).

Project	Total Approved Budget	Budgeted City Contribution (typically 22% or 44%)	Projected Variance from Budget	Projected Variance to City Contribution	Status
Toronto Pan Am Sport Centre ("TPASC")	\$248.930	\$54.770	-\$42.138	-\$8.816 * ¹	Complete
TPASC Site Remediation	\$52.000	\$23.000	-\$21.914	-\$9.607	Complete
Etobicoke Olympium Retrofit	\$20.000	\$8.800	-	-	Complete
Centennial Track Resurfacing	\$1.660	\$0.730	-	-	Complete
Birchmount Track Resurfacing	\$1.040	\$0.456	-	-	Complete
Toronto Track & Field Centre	\$3.630	\$1.596	-	-	Complete
BMX Track Project	\$1.550	\$0.678	\$2.849	\$1.509 * ¹	Complete
West Channel Project	<i>Not included / budgeted in original capital program.</i>		\$4.874	\$2.148 * ¹	Complete
Nathan Phillips Square	\$4.146	\$1.825	-	-	Complete
Road Resurfacing (Cycling)	\$8.537	\$3.197* ²	-\$4.545	-\$1.465	Complete
Program management (1 FTE)	\$0.460	\$0.460	-\$0.049	-\$0.049	N/A
Bus Depot & Staging Area	<i>Not included / budgeted in original capital program.</i>		\$0.450	\$0.190 * ³	Complete
TOTAL	\$341.960	\$95.530	-\$60.473	-\$16.090	

Figure 2: Capital Program Projects (Source: City of Toronto, 2016: 6)

The effort and investment from all three levels of government into the organization and planning of the Games, ensuring the legacy left behind is a positive one, contributed to the Legacy Fund. An investment of \$65 million into the \$70 million total by the Government of Canada lead to the establishment of the Toronto 2015 Sport Legacy Fund and ensured that new facilities will be maintained and accessible for both athletes and communities following the Games (Government of Ontario, 2017). By linking planning, sport, education and health, the spaces and programming that these facilities offer are geared toward inclusiveness and accessibility for a diverse group of individuals, allowing surrounding communities to connect with the Pan Am legacy that is directly reflected in the urban fabric.

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) mention that one method in which people make sense of places is through planning. The role of planning in communicating a city's legacy is embedded in the application of a specific brand to a specific place. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) argue that attaching brands to place acts as an instrument of planning, largely dependent on the construction, communication and management of the physical landscape (or infrastructure) of cities that planning controls. The importance of planning in communicating the brand and overall, the legacy of the Pan Am Games ultimately determines how the Games will connect with communities across the GTA. Investments into the Legacy Fund prove that there is a commitment to formulate and ensure the legacy of the Games is positive.

The following section of this paper draws from interviews conducted with key professionals who were instrumental in the planning of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough. Residents from Scarborough communities who are directly impacted by the development of Pan Am infrastructure were also interviewed. It is clear the legacy of the Games had the support of all levels of government, but the support from local communities will help to evaluate whether the promises and legacies of the 2015 Pan Am Games align with each other, and constitute good, inclusionary urban planning.

Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre

No other project built for the Pan Am Games garnered as much attention as the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough did, and for good reason. As the largest project

undertaken for the Pan Am Games, the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre (TPASC) (formally known as the Pan Am and Parapan Am Aquatics Centre and Field House) served as a venue for several events during the 2015 Pan Am Games. Constantly deemed a world-class athletic facility, the TPASC opened in September 2014 and contains 6 Olympic-sized pools, a climbing wall, fitness centre, gymnasium, studios, a track, retail store and food court. The facility is also the home and training venue for several national-level competitive sports organizations, including Judo Ontario, Gymnastics Canada, Synchro Swim Ontario, Wheelchair Rugby Canada and Wheelchair Basketball Canada (City of Toronto, 2016). TPASC is co-owned by the City of Toronto and the University of Toronto, a partnership that has attempted to ensure the facility provides a meaningful legacy beyond the Games, for the University of Toronto Scarborough community, immediate neighbourhoods and all residents across the City of Toronto (City of Toronto, 2016). The potential impacts of the TPASC on the surrounding Scarborough communities and in relation to the Pan Am legacy exist -- whether positive or negative; this paper will identify what those impacts are.

Designed by NORR Architects in Toronto, the funding for the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough was approved in 2011 and construction of the facility commenced in July of 2012. The \$205-million field house and aquatic centre located at the north end of the University of Toronto Scarborough Campus (a plot of land jointly owned by the University and the City) played host to several Pan Am and Parapan Am events including swimming, diving, synchronized swimming, fencing and modern pentathlon (Toronto Organizing Committee, 2013). Described as the “largest single infrastructure investment in Canadian sports history”, the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre received a

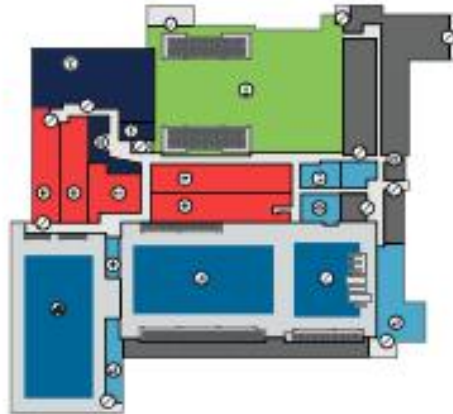
great amount of support from news outlets government representatives, educational officials and even Pan Am athletes (Coyne, 2014). Tom Coyne's (2014) *Toronto Star* article highlights the discourse surrounding the facility prior to the commencement of the Games, continuously referring to the TPASC as a "state-of-the-art facility". The TPASC has been designed to LEED Gold certification standards. It has already gathered recognition and awards for its overall design, engineering innovation and environmental features including solar panels, geothermal heating and cooling, green roof, rainwater reuse. The building (including the pool, dressing rooms, washrooms and showers) is fully accessible.



Figure 3: Toronto Pan Am Sports Center (Source: <http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca>)

Level / Niveau

1



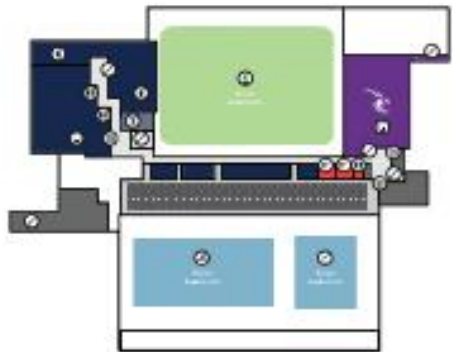
Level / Niveau

2



Level / Niveau

3



Map Legend / Légende de plan		Colour Legend / Légende des couleurs	
Information	Field House Complexe sportif	Clothing Wall Un secteur d'habillement	Corridor
Box Office Billetterie	Sports Store Magasin d'articles de sport	Opening Counter Comptoir d'entrées	CFO
Canadian Sport Institute Centre Centre canadien de sport de haut niveau	Atrium Bar Bar à boissons	Food Court Aire de restauration	Pool Room Complexe sportif
Competition Pool Bassin de compétition	Fitness Centre Centre de conditionnement physique	Security Sécurité	Primary Aquatics Area Espace aquatique principal
Club Floor Bassin de natation	Dryland Training Entraînement sur terrain sec	Map Desk Bureau d'accueil	Secondary Aquatics Area Espace aquatique secondaire
Gymnasium Gymnase	Sports Injury Clinic Clinique de médecine sportive	Training and Warm-up Pool Bassin d'entraînement et d'échauffement	Restroom/Change Room Toilettes / vestiaires
Training Studio Studio d'entraînement	Leadership Training Formation en leadership	Administration Administration	Swim Area Espace aquatique
Pool Deck/Loggia Promenade sur bassin/balcon	Entrance Entrée	Bike Storage Entreposage des vélos	ATM
		Bicycle Washroom Toilettes cyclistes	ATM
		Men's Change Room Vestibule hommes	Back of House Area Culinaire
		Men's Washroom Toilettes hommes	
		Men's Change Room Vestibule hommes	
		Women's Washroom Toilettes femmes	
		Women's Change Room Vestibule femmes	
		Bike Storage Entreposage des vélos	

Figure 4: Floor Plans of Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre (Source:

<http://www.tpasc.ca/facility/location>)

Coyne (2014) commends the planners involved for constructing a facility that is meant to be active both during and after the Games. More interestingly, Coyne (2014) draws from several opinions of selected government and Games officials. According to Coyne (2014), City Councillor Mark Grimes (Etobicoke Lakeshore) calls the venue “one of the greatest facilities we’re going to build for the Games” and “one example of what’s going to happen here in Toronto.” While it is not uncommon for a City Councillor to praise development and growth in their area; it is quite rare for a Councillor from a different ward to praise infrastructure development outside of their ward. Furthermore, Ontario’s Minister of Tourism, Culture and Sport, Michael Coteau, applauded the collaboration between municipal, provincial and federal governments for delivering a world-class facility, on-time and under-budget (Coyne, 2014). According to the individuals quoted above, the \$70 million project (solely comprised of legacy funding) is relieved of several negative characteristics plaguing mega-projects; budget and completion time, to name a few. However, many alternative factors exist when considering the impacts of large infrastructural investments on local communities. Coyne (2014) concurs that the venue will become a joint campus-community centre facility post-Pan Am. The potential existing, or non-existing, impacts relating to the legacy of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre requires a response; the following section of this paper attempts to measure what exactly the legacy of the TPASC is.

The legacy of the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games, and more importantly the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre, is dependent on the resulting economic, environmental and social impacts. As these factors are interrelated, some of the ideas and concepts reiterated by the respondents may align and overlap. The following section includes

interviews with TPASC stakeholders, City officials and community members of the surrounding area, which will help determine the legacy of the TPASC and Pan Am Games in its entirety.

The development of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre in Scarborough represents a major effort by both the City of Toronto and TPASC Committee to build a multi-faceted infrastructure project that impacts existing and surrounding communities. As mentioned earlier, infrastructure usage, access and contributions to local communities post-Pan Am are important to the legacy and for the Games. The Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre represents a conscious effort of doing so. An interview with a planner from the City of Toronto outlines how the planning process was extremely open-ended, involving several different parties. According to this planner (2017), “The TPASC facility involved several different development applications, including an OPA, zoning by-law amendment and site plan control applications.” The application process to both amend the Official Plan and rezone the lands to permit the use of the lands for a recreational facility represented some of the initial steps taken by City officials to move towards approval of the facility. “Our preliminary applications were not met with much contestation, it was the mandatory public consultation we were concerned with”, the planner stated. Initially, submitted applications were met with no opposition, albeit until Ward 43 and 44 residents began to bemoan to their Ward Councillors about concerns over the future use of the facility in relation to their communities. This event marked one of the first instances in which public voices were combating the ‘state-of-the-art’ facility.

Resident concerns were warranted, however, as the site is located between two of Scarborough’s priority area neighbourhoods, Malvern and Kingston Galloway (City of

Toronto, 2011). Eventually, the Scarborough Community Council and City of Toronto held a statutory public meeting on May 25, 2011, with notice given in accordance with the *Planning Act*. According to the planner interviewed, “the public meeting was a success, with many surrounding community groups mobilizing and encouraging their neighbours to attend and voice their opinion.” While being careful not to smother the public with planning jargon concerning land use conformity, Official Plan amendments and consistencies with the Provincial Policy Statement (Government of Ontario, 2005b), the public meeting was focused on how the marriage between the City of Toronto and University of Toronto will provide recreational opportunities for not only residents of all ages and abilities, but also aid the development of high performance athletes (City of Toronto, Scarborough Community Council Consideration, 2010). The appropriateness of the proposed use of the lands, coupled with the desire to build a recreational centre for surrounding communities, equally contributed, in the opinion of the planner, to the recommended approvals of all applications submitted for the construction of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre.

Recognizing the contributions and commitments of not only the City of Toronto, but the University of Toronto to the overall legacy of the TPASC is crucial in understanding how the facility was to be and is used post-Pan Am Games. A representative of the University of Toronto Scarborough Campus and member of the TPASC Board of Directors provided immense insight into why the facility was not solely built for the Games. Prior to addressing the elements of the facility, the representative (2017) provided a background of how they got involved: “In 2008, when the bid was first made... I made the decision to become more involved in the planning and legal process

of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre after realizing how impactful the facility would become after the Games finished.” This realization symbolizes an initial shift in understanding prior to the construction of the TPASC and bodes well for the legacy of Pan Am infrastructure as a whole.

The legacy of the TPASC, as stated by the representative, lies within its guiding philosophy to bridge athletic community, university community and the immediate/Scarborough community into one, shareable space. Part of satisfying the joint needs of all three communities was to team up and thus the City of Toronto teamed up with the University of Toronto. As the UTSC representative explains, “our situation here in Canada is a bit different – it’s not like the US – cities do not (or no longer) have the ability to access funds to build athletic infrastructure due to financial burdens... The result is a formation of multi-level partnerships.” The partnership between the University of Toronto and the City of Toronto was necessary, and proved to be extremely important to the success and future of the facility. Since both the lands and cost/maintenance responsibilities are shared, neither proponent was able to build the facility without the other.

The University of Toronto Scarborough stood as a strong proponent for the location of the facility in Scarborough. “When the bid was first made public, David Miller was City mayor. The plan was that the Scarborough LRT would be the end line – this plan was negated when Rob Ford stepped into office. Luckily, John Tory has revived this idea with the conversations surrounding the Crosstown LRT” (UTSC representative, 2017). The location of the facility was never solely based on a single factor; a

contribution of social, economic and environmental elements were considered when selecting the location for the TPASC.

Today, the facility is set-up as a prominent landmark for Scarborough, which is stunningly visible from the 401 freeways and Morningside Road. However, the location did not sit well with everyone. The UTSC representative (2017) mentioned how Markham combated the facility's location, posing questions such as "why should Scarborough get a large (futuristic) pool?" and "the facility would better fit the needs of Markham's population." In the face of such opposition, City of Toronto and Scarborough politicians would not budge; they were determined to be catalysts of future investment in infrastructure, athletics, and most importantly, the communities within Scarborough. In the words of the UTSC representative (2017),

"I was filled with excitement when I heard we were getting the facility, and it is part of the reason why I took the job at UTSC. Not only was I going to be a part of the decision making process, but I was living within it as well. I have lived in Scarborough for most of my life (10-minute bike ride from the facility), so I was ecstatic to hear the facility would be built in my community."

A significant portion of the underlying agreement, and another facet of the location choice, is the time allocated for each user group to equally utilize the facility. The shared space within the TPASC represents a great opportunity to bring all three communities and funding partners together, and highlights the joint-partnership between the City, the University and Scarborough community.

Celebrating the success and legacy of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre cannot be explained without the experiences of Scarborough residents. For the duration of the Games, the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre functioned solely as a high-level sporting arena for Pan Am athletes. For residents of Toronto and the GTA who could afford tickets, the TPASC represented another manifested spectacle of a mega-event that was the Pan Am Games. Although deemed a state-of-the-art facility, the existence, or the legacy, of the TPASC would be dependent on how tangible and accessible the facility is to the community. Today, the multi-faceted facility is rented out by local high schools for different types of programming, while on the other hand the City of Toronto provides a variety of programming for local residents. City administered programs include: mom and toddler sessions, elderly programs, youth health and active programs and family programming offered year-round. Conversations with a TPASC director (2017) highlight how the joint ownership between the City and the University guides joint usage. He states:

“The community is involved in variety of ways - many programs run through the facility, including City programs and TPASC programs, which contribute to 22% of community programming. Pick-up sports are one of our popular programs – drags a lot of kids out of the house and keeps them out of trouble. We also have 3,500 community members (non-university) who belong to the fitness centre. While not everything is extremely affordable, we offer a combination of both paid and free programming.”

It is clear that both the TPASC committee and City of Toronto make a concentrated effort to ensure that community directly access and use of the facility. According to this TPASC director, the three pillars that provide a model for the financing and maintenance of the facility are affordability, free and fiscal responsibility. He mentions that “the Legacy Agreement does two things: first, it outlines the financial contributions to maintenance of the facility of all parties involved; and secondly, the agreement supports high performance user groups providing them with training space and home offices, for example Judo Canada.” Convincingly enough, the goal for the members of the TPASC committee is to build relationships with the community, while ensuring that all parties involved are fiscally responsible. There seems to be a commitment from TPASC and City of Toronto to provide an accessible and affordable facility for local Scarborough residents. However, while the facility itself is said to accommodate neighbouring residents, first-hand experiences of community members are required to endorse stakeholder comments.

As mentioned earlier, the legacy for the Games and its facilities is contingent upon a number of factors, including existing budget, accessibility, funding, transportation, among many others. As well, newly built facilities must take into consideration local needs or run the risk of producing a negative legacy. Adaptive or multi-faceted facilities have a better chance of success and provided contributions to local community needs, especially if they align with larger planning goals. Interviews with community members of the immediate Scarborough area highlight how the functionality of the facility represents a shift in how cities interpret the post-Game consumption of large infrastructure projects. Because the Toronto Pan Am Sports

Centre is built in between two of Scarborough's priority neighbourhoods, adapting and incorporating the community vision is crucial to the legacy of both the Games and TPASC.

The lived experiences of Scarborough and Toronto residents alike are significant to the legacy of major sporting infrastructure and are often what the success of these capital projects hinge upon. Through interviews with members of the immediate Scarborough area, and who sit on the city-university-resident joint advisory committee for the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre, it is clear the TPASC is a foundation model for both the delivery and longevity of major sporting infrastructure. Deemed a state-of-the-art facility by media outlets and TPASC stakeholders, individuals who utilize the facility in different capacities share similar impressions. According to resident A living in the immediate area of the TPASC, "This is the type of facility that can be used by all... at one point, you can see UTSC students studying, Scarborough mothers participating in the moms and tots program and Canadian Olympic athletes' participant a training session." The elements, which comprise the facility, and formulate it as a multi-use space, ultimately contribute to the accessibility and availability of the facility for all essential user groups. A fitness centre that is occupied by Olympic athletes, students and community members symbolizes not only a multi-faceted facility but also a space that is inclusive (as shown in Figure 4). If the TPASC can continue to preach accessibility and inclusivity, the facility's strong, positive legacy will be long-standing.

During the beginning of the process, however, residents were wary and critical of how the facility would translate into community benefit following the Games. Further interview with resident B confirmed this:

“When the project was finishing up construction, there were whispers around the community that the facility would be opening up for a 6-month trial period before the Pan Am Games would start. Once it did, we had no access to it. Only students (with a student card) and Pan Am athletes were able to enter, then, 6 months later it closed and the Games started. A few of us questioned whether this facility was for the community and if we would ever be able to enter.”

The facility’s trial period prior to the commencement of the Games clearly led to a bit of scepticism among the community, and for good reason. Nevertheless, once the Games were finished the community began to witness how invested TPASC organizers and the City of Toronto was in the community. An advisory committee was formed post-Games with the task of tackling community issues such as access and engagement. The committee comprised of TPASC individuals, City of Toronto employees, University of Toronto members and residents currently meets up to 8 times a year inside TPASC meeting rooms, confronting all barrier matters relating to accessibility, engagement and cost. Most importantly, Scarborough community groups are imbedded in this process and are genuine contributors to the amount of youth, elderly folks, single-mothers and families who utilize the facility.

“The Mornelle Court resident group and my group, Kingston-Galloway, have a good relationship with the people at the Toronto Sports Centre – getting our youth to stay active and out of trouble is one of our main concerns and these people help us achieve that. It’s nice to be included in a lot of the decisions that affect our community” (Resident B, 2017).

As a proactive response to the claims made by City, UTSC and TPASC staff concerning the success of the facility in relation to the existing community, the two residents interviewed endorsed these statements, calling the facility “a jewel of Scarborough” and how it has been “fully embraced by the community”. It is clear that stakeholders whom are involved with maintaining and programming the facility will continue to build off recent success by working with acclaimed community groups and residents. This joint effort will attempt, if not ensure, that the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre is an everlasting inclusive, accessible and multi-faceted space, and that the diversity of its user groups is reflected in its function.

Conclusion

This paper examined the legacy surrounding 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games in Toronto and what the legacy meant for users of the infrastructure left behind. Both primary and secondary research methods were conducted to gather information for this paper. Academic, provincial and municipal literature was reviewed to inform this paper. A case study of the Toronto Pan Am Sport Centre was included to highlight the ways in which infrastructure built for the Games has contributed to future planning objectives for the broader community.

The Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre, currently the largest infrastructure investment in Canadian amateur sport history, has the potential to transform the way Toronto designs, finances, maintains, builds, operates and plans for large-scale infrastructure projects.

This paper investigated how the post-Games functionality of the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre contributed to a positive legacy of the 2015 Games for the facility’s proponents and residents of Scarborough.

The legacy of the TPASC has been a source of several benefits for residents; however, if the City has interest in following this developmental model for future projects, further arrangements would need to be made to serve the needs of community members. Results from the research shows, on a preliminary basis, that while the Toronto Pan Am Sports Centre post-Games may now serve a separate purpose than it did during the event, the facility has become a catalyst for delivering extensive programming that serves athletes, students, community groups and residents. The successful transition from the temporary use during the Games to the permanent use as year-round recreational facility, community space, high-performance training centre and fitness centre bodes well for the future of the facility, community and long-term, mega-development projects for the City of Toronto.

The legacy of major sporting events can be perceived in several ways. It can be seen as positive, negative, tangible, intangible, territorial or personal. This paper has aimed at determining the 2015 Pan/Parapan American Games legacy by using utilizing infrastructure as the measurement framework. Research completed for this paper has also suggested that if the Games' legacy is to be measured by cost estimates and overall benefits, the legacy outcome changes. The ways in which a legacy might be measured, and the key elements that support it, can help determine how a legacy is identified and what the legacy entails. Therefore, the legacy of mega sporting events can be perceived in several different ways.

Legacies of major sporting events might be better understood or evaluated in specific terms – as in this case, infrastructure. By measuring the mega-event legacy through one facet or lens, it creates the ability to better determine the success and long term benefits of an event, rather than assessing the overall event. Assessing legacies through a variety of factors, which in turn would could produce many different legacy outcomes, run the risk of distorting the positive impacts a mega-event may have on host cities and communities. The influence of planning and urban contextual processes are also major factors for mega-event production and legacy. The *Places to Grow Act, 2005* helps the Ontario government plan for growth – similarly mega-event planning can fast forward projects and execution processes, allowing for advancements in development across city landscapes. It is the branding, or ‘glowing’, of landscapes resulting from mega-events that provides an appealing and attractive factors among an international audience. Whether urban branding acts as a supportive tactic to support growth in cities, or simply a method of attracting international visitors, when coupled with new mega-development projects the branding exercise and results are maximized.

However, assessing the legacy of an event through infrastructure, and in turn the success of particular infrastructure, can suggest that planning is a key contributor to the general legacy of an event. The evaluation of the 2015 Pan Am legacy, for example, highlights how planners have made a concentrated effort to join forces with stakeholders to ensure the legacy of Pan Am infrastructure is related to its capability of accommodating members of immediate communities. It appears that the Games have the support in terms of its legacy; it is the legitimacy of particular actions that raises issues about such legacies. Underestimated costs, short-term infrastructure use and elite benefits highlight facets of mega-sporting events that deem them a failure and massive burden on host cities and local communities. That being said, it is difficult to

evaluate the legacies of mega-events beyond the Games. Overall the mega-event is a multifaceted concept; its legacies are dependent on what tool of measurement is used to define its outcomes.

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