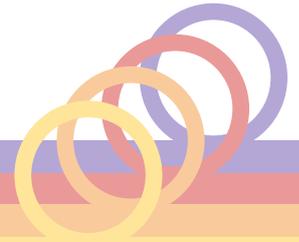


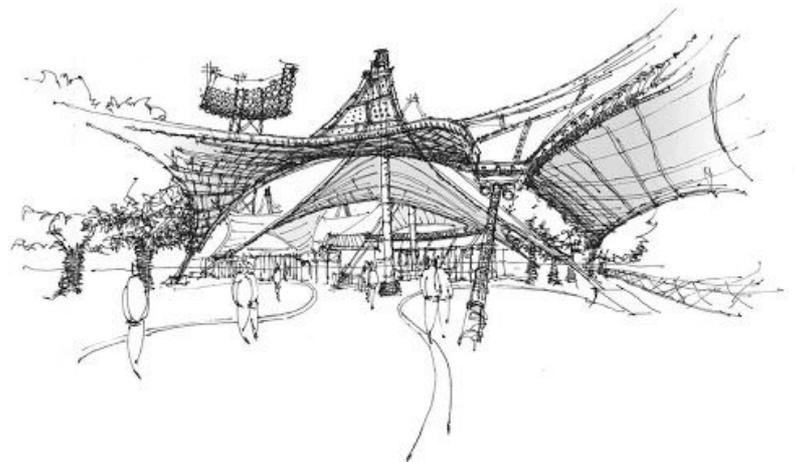
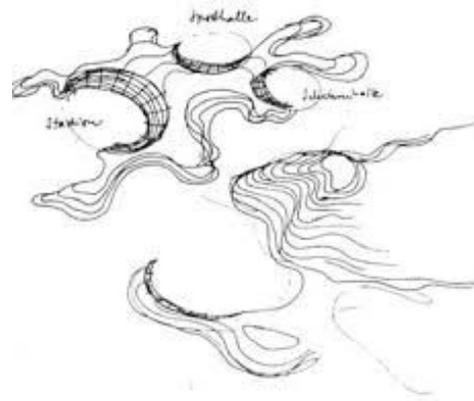
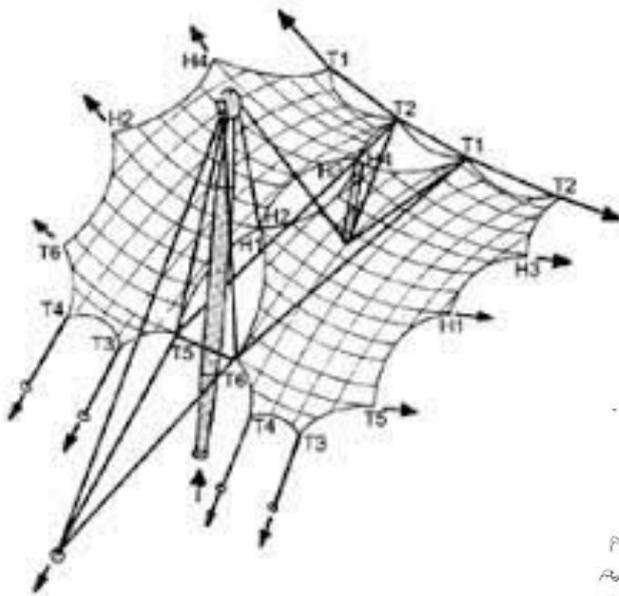


# Munich 1972



## The Spatial Impacts of Mega-Events

How is the Olympiapark Munich (incl. Olympic village) an exemplary model for post-mega-event legacy planning and large scale sustainable urban design?



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## **Abstract**

Munich's 1972 Olympic grounds provide a stellar example of a mega-event and urbanism coming together. The area has become an essential part of the city's urban fabric; a site for leisure, attractive housing and business. Seven semi-structured interviews are conducted with citizens and experts to gain insight into the legacies of the area. Though the literature on mega-events is growing, it is still limited, and this exploratory research might contribute to understanding the conditions that give rise to legacies that resonate with local populations. This research indicates that the long-term vision of the mega-event as a tool, stakeholder designation and planning conditions of the day are three critical factors that gave rise to the current conditions and create the local legacy. As seen in today's Munich, the area retains its considerable social legacy, most clearly manifested in the physical spaces being conducive to social exchange, as well as the international ambience of the space.

Keywords: *mega-event, legacy, urban legacy, sustainability, urban planning, Olympics*

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

The 1972 Munich Olympics represent a crucial moment for Germany, Munich and the future of the sports-based mega-event. On a national level, the games helped Germany rid the lingering image of WWII and served as an opportunity to introduce the world to a changed country free from past ideologies. This was reflected in the light architecture, convivial slogans, open attitude, international spirit and an outright rejection of any color or form that invites association to the country's Nazi history (Schiller & Young, 2010). Munich was awarded the Olympics in 1966, energizing an urban regeneration plan drafted in 1963 to drastically modernize the city as it continued to rebuild. Inspired by contemporaries like Jane Jacobs and Lewis Mumford, Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel seized the moment, focusing on the 1972 Olympics as an opportunity to lift Munich from yesteryear's city to a modern metropolis (Schiller & Young, 2010). Central to the plan was the eponymous park and village. Transformed from an old, no longer used airfield into green space with state of the art sports facilities, the Olympic park continues to outlast the event by fifty years. The design by Otl Aicher, architecture by Frei Otto and landscape design by Günther Grzimek continue to impress and inspire with their longevity. The area including the park, the modernist athlete-turned-student village, part of the middle ring road and a segment of the Nymphenburg Canal continues to determine northern Munich's urban landscape. Fifty years on, many experts regard it as a gold standard for blending mega-event with long lasting development (Viehoff & Kretschmer, 2014).

### 1.2 Introduction to the Area & Research Problem

The area is in Munich's northern Schwabing-West neighborhood. Notable infrastructure within the grounds include the famous Olympic stadium, the tower, the concert venue and various other smaller spaces used for sports-related purposes. On the other side of the highway, the Mittlerer Ring, is the former Olympic village. The housing built for male athletes was turned into affordable housing and the women's bungalows into student accommodation. The park has been in use since the 1972 Olympics and continues to be one of Munich's largest recreational areas.

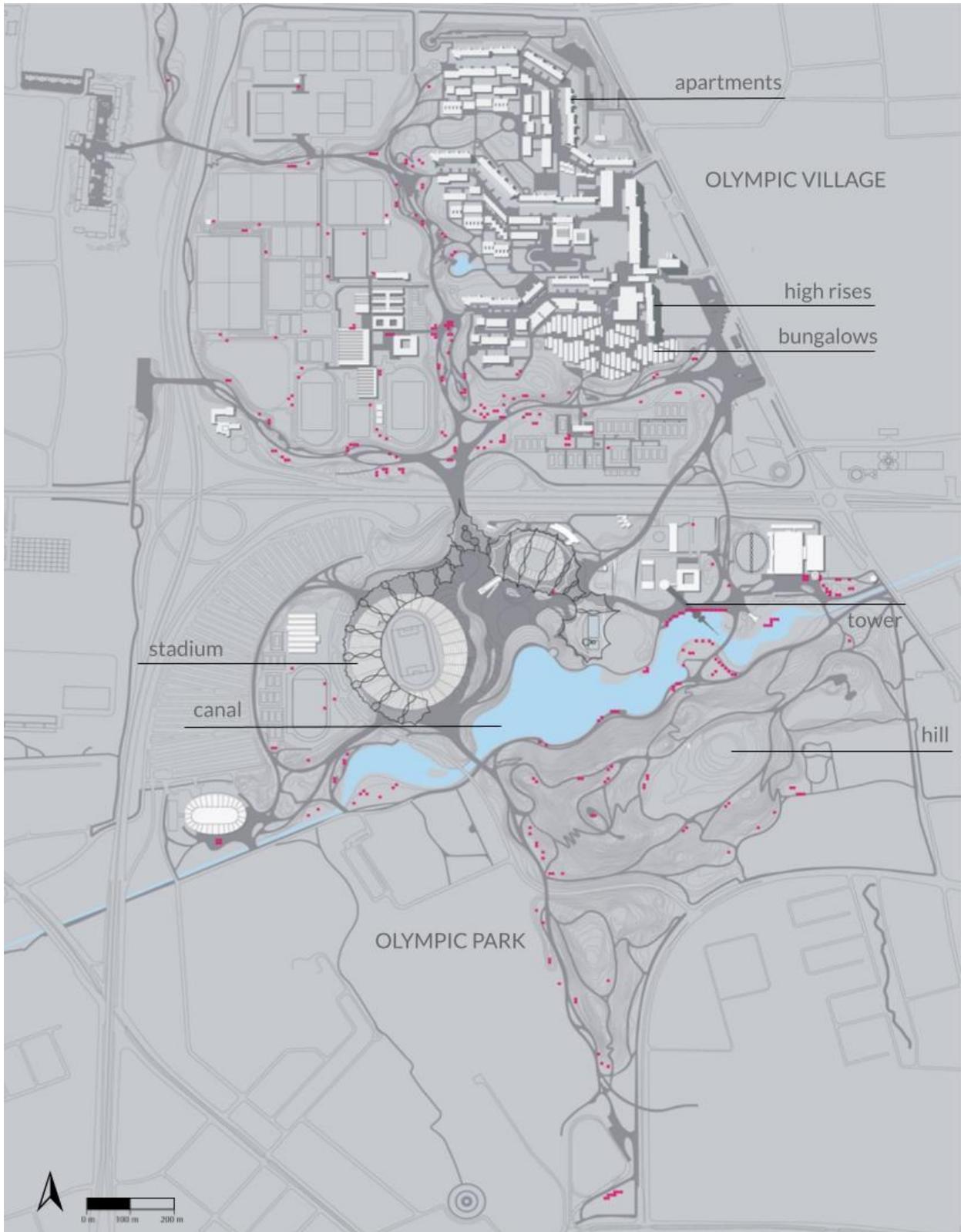


Image 1: Map of the area including park and village (Keller Damm, n.d., edited by Author, 2021)

This paper aims to investigate the legacy of the event's main area, the park and the village<sup>1</sup>. Munich 1972 is lauded as one of the best examples of using a mega-event as a springboard for urban development, and the village housing remains one of the most sought after properties in the city. This paper aims to understand what lies at the root of its success. Munich could then be used as a case study to further understand the spatial impacts of mega-events in a broader sense.

### 1.3 Relevance and Research Gap

The concept of legacies, and mega-event legacies, is still fairly new and has developed over the last twenty years. Additionally, it is often centered around mega-events like London and Sydney. Therefore, Munich (with the exception of Viehoff & Kretschmer, 2014) is an under researched mega-event, as far as legacies go. In terms of societal relevance, proponents of legacy literature will point towards the myriad potential benefits for urban development (e.g. Kassens-Noor et al., 2015). Critics may counter with the adverse effects felt by locals. Few papers integrate citizen participation to gain insight into legacies, focusing instead on administrators or city officials. This is precisely the gap this paper aims to bridge, understanding the impact and the legacies with a holistic approach, involving citizens and experts.

### 1.4 Research Questions

The following research question will be answered in this thesis, along with two further sub-questions:

How is the Olympiapark Munich (incl. Olympic village) an exemplary model for post-mega-event legacy planning and large scale sustainable urban design?

*/ How has Olympiapark Munich developed over time and how does it fit into Munich's urban fabric?*

*// How does the citizen's perception of the park and village compare to the planners of the past's vision?*

### 1.5 Overview

The thesis includes six main chapters. To put the findings into a literary and historical context, it will begin with a theoretical framework (2). Next, the methodology (3) section provides an overview of the process, followed by the results (4). The thesis concludes with a discussion before presenting the findings (5 & 6).

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<sup>1</sup> Other areas of Munich and the Olympic infrastructure used for the Olympics outside of the city (e.g. Kiel) will be disregarded.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Definition “Mega-Event”

The definition of “mega-event” is elusive (Gratton & Preuss, 2008), and different authors focus on different aspects. Hiller (1999) considers mega-events “short-term high-profile events [...] thought of in terms of their tourism or economic impacts”. Zhang (2008 pp. 209-226) adds to the definition by pointing to more commonly associated impacts of mega-events, urban regeneration and transformation of space, with an emphasis on the everyday lives of locals. Common examples of mega-events include world expos, football world cups and the Olympics.

### 2.2 Sports Mega-Events, the Olympics

A specific subcategory of mega-events is that of the sporting variety, and within that, the Olympic mega-event poses an entirely unique set of implications for an urban region. The Olympics are the sporting event bar none, in size and notoriety, and the event tends to leave a mark on a city’s urban fabric for decades. Gaffney (2010) calls this a sort of unique mega-event and its spatial impact a sort of “Olympic geography,” in which infrastructure, village, park and space, is connected to other places of interest by public transport and roads in a way that serves the event, but would not occur organically.

### 2.3 Definition & Explanation of “Legacy”

Mega-events are complex and bleed into every conceivable facet of life (Gaffney, 2010), from the physical reality of a city, to the abstract image of it, all of which have implications into the far future. This notion of a lasting impact is called a legacy. Cashman & Richmond (2011) identified the following as ways in which a legacy may manifest: economics; infrastructure; information and education; public life, politics and culture; sport; symbols, memory and history. The key to an event's legacy is that it straddles the middle between temporary and durable (Lauermann, 2016). So-called “event legacy planning”, which started around the time of Barcelona 1992 (Viehoff & Kretschmer, 2014) aims at incorporating future use into the event, planning with an eye towards the following decades. Nevertheless, “legacy planning” remains highly uncertain, and is more of an abstract goal than a planning strategy, as the 2012 Olympics in London demonstrate (Wergeland, 2012). Weber-Newth et al. (2017), again using London as their example, discuss the evident disconnect between the vague idea of “legacy” and the real life aftereffects a city may face. Smith (2013) embellishes this, with the example of Greenwich Park in London, and how modern events are staged in public places for symbolic capital, rather than their transformative capacity. Like the definition, the goals of event legacies are difficult to pin down. Preuss (2018) outlines six elements that can aid in measuring an event's legacy. These six are (1) urban development, (2) environmental enhancement, (3) policies and governance, (4) human development, (5) intellectual property and (6) social development. However, they add that two factors make legacies somewhat difficult to measure: uncertain causality and the intangible quality of many of these elements.

Deng et al. (2016) specify further with the “built legacy” of a mega-event, which is the physical structures facilitating the ephemeral event that serve as an urban asset thereafter. They distinguish between “legacy making” (split into “site” and “building” level) and “legacy management,” with both phases separated by

the event itself (Deng et al., 2016). The “site level” involves placing the area into a local context and considers the relationship to the rest of the city. The “building level” concerns incorporating flexible and complimentary objectives in the event infrastructure. Finally, “legacy management” involves the post-mega-event designation of responsibilities and social dynamics.

## 2.4 Critical Perspective

Critics of mega-events focus on the effects felt by locals, even on the most micro of levels (Vento, 2017). Commonly referred to as a one-size-fits-all economic solution, the Olympics can often lead to poor redistributive justice and unequal development (Kontokosta, 2011). Even the preparation of a mega-event may have significant impacts: the announcement of the 2012 Olympics in London led to a 5% rise in property prices around the area of the yet to be constructed stadium (Kavetsos, 2012). Furthermore, mega-events have always been used as a tool to wield political power. Examples of this include Berlin’s Nazi organised games in 1936 and Munich’s attempt to rid itself of that same image thirty-six years later (Schiller & Young, 2010). Recently, in the age of digital capital, critics are vocal about the intersection of mega-events, mega-projects and neoliberal policies favoring private industries over public interest (Vento, 2017). After the Sydney Olympics in 2000, there was pressure to generate revenue on the initial investment, which often compels cities to turn to commercial interest (Davidson & McNeill, 2011). This however, is incompatible with visions of sustainability and social integration. Sustainability in particular is shifting toward the center of the urban legacy discussion and has become a main component of the official reports (IOC, 2021). The focus on “greening” was introduced by the IOC in 1994 (KAS, 2011) and nearly every sporting mega-event since has incorporated similar aspects.

## 2.5 Conceptual Model

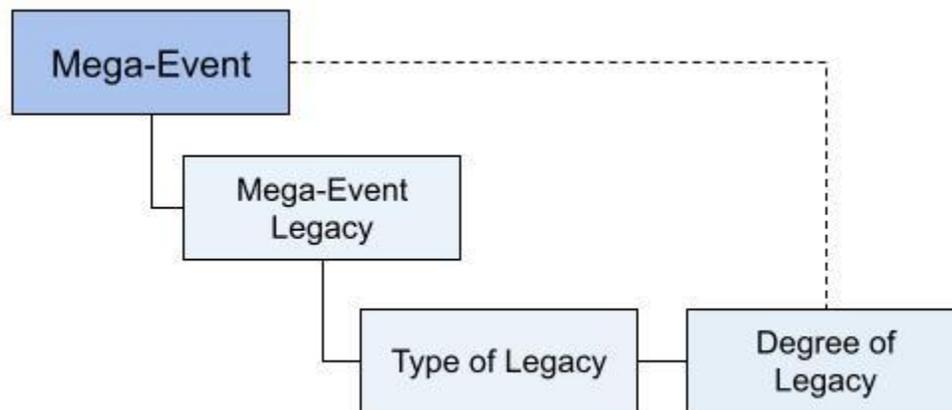


Figure 1: *Conceptual model (Author, 2021)*

Once the mega-event is held, different legacies develop along different time frames, depending on short, medium or long-term effect (Chappelet, 2012), but can in theory last indefinitely. Once a legacy has developed, it can take many forms. These legacies can have minor or major impacts, hence “degree” of legacy. The dotted line represents the way these findings and legacy frameworks consequently inform future mega-events and mega-event legacy frameworks.

## 2.6 Expectations

Given that the village is conventionally held to be a desirable place to live (Britzelmeier, 2015), I expect the citizens to have positive associations with the area. For the experts, I anticipate the planners to reference the transition from Olympic to post-event infrastructure as the central reason for the development of the area. I hypothesize that the interviewees will give reason to believe that the Olympic area has a positive legacy and that this manifests itself most clearly in the social and historical legacies.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Reasoning & Selection Process

Taking inspiration from past literature, I have taken a qualitative approach by conducting semi-structured interviews with different people of interest involved in the area, as well as a number of former and current residents of the village and the city. Because part of my research is concerned with the perception of the area, qualitative research lends itself best to subject-oriented opinions and beliefs. For this, I devised eleven questions (see Appendix A) probing the perception of the area and more logistical and practical matters of stakeholder involvement, post-event activity, timelines and so forth. These semi-structured interviews are in line with previous research, such as that of Davidson & McNeill (2011). Three former citizens of the village and one citizen of Munich who lives in a building adjacent to the park were contacted for this research. Expert opinions I have sought for the interviews include research assistants at the Technical University of Munich, project leaders for the heritage of the grounds and planners of the city planning office. Additionally, various other relevant actors provided me with suggestions, data and advice that may have influenced and contributed to the research, but do not qualify as an interview.

#### 3.2 Logistical & Ethical Considerations

Due to the lockdown measures in place during the research and data collection phase of my project (March - May 2021), in-person interviews were not possible. Therefore, all interviews (see Appendix A) were conducted via eMail, telephone or video chat. Before each of the interviews, I provided my interviewee with a spoken or written statement (see Appendix B) expressing my intentions as a researcher and asking for their consent to be recorded. Because most of the interviews were conducted in German, the statement included a section about the need to translate the answers. The interviews were transcribed using the software AmberScript, and relevant sections of the interview were translated by the author<sup>2</sup>.

<b>Interviewee #<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>Role in Interview (Time Period)</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Date</b>
Interviewee #1	resident, student (80s)	phone	19.04.2021
Interviewee #2	resident, student (10s)	phone	21.04.2021
Interviewee #3	expert, planning department of Munich	video	26.04.2021
Interviewee #4	resident, student (10s)	phone	28.04.2021
Interviewee #5	expert, scientific assistant at the TU Munich	eMail	28.04.2021
Interviewee #6	expert, heritage foundation	phone	03.05.2021
Interviewee #7	resident, Munich's Schwabing district	phone	14.05.2021

Table 1: *List of interviewees, additional information*

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<sup>2</sup> The author is fluent in German.

<sup>3</sup> The number corresponds to the date of the interview.

The interviews were coded by hand and using the software *Atlas.ti*. Answers were analysed inductively and sorted into 12 categories listed below, with two additional categories added for the experts.

POSITIVE PHYSICAL PARK	POSITIVE SOCIAL PARK	NEGATIVE PHYSICAL PARK	NEGATIVE SOCIAL PARK
POSITIVE PHYSICAL VILLAGE	POSITIVE SOCIAL VILLAGE	NEGATIVE PHYSICAL VILLAGE	NEGATIVE SOCIAL VILLAGE
GENERAL PARK	GENERAL VILLAGE	SYMBOLISM	SUSTAINABILITY

Table 2: *Citizen codes used in Atlas.ti*

STAKEHOLDERS	DEVELOPMENT
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Table 3: *Additional expert codes used in Atlas.ti*

### 3.3 Data Reflection

In terms of positionality and bias, it is worth mentioning that I am German and the 1972 Olympics have a certain cultural significance in the country. To the best of my abilities, this will not influence the results. The experts all had profiles and information about them available online, and there is no reason to question their reliability. I did not conduct any background checks on the former inhabitants of the village. By coincidence, two of my interviewees knew one another, which could lead one to believe that they may harbor similar notions about the area. Perhaps if the interviews were held with randomised citizens, the outcome would be somewhat different. The qualitative, semi-structured, case-study approach is fitting given the complex and subjective nature of the research goals, and the outcomes may have been different if I had provided interviewees with options instead of prompts.

## 4. Results

The results of the interview process are split into expert and citizen sections. Furthermore, the citizen interviews are separated by park and village, as visualized in Table 4. These interviews gain insight into the legacies of the area and aid in answering the sub-questions outlined previously.

### 4.1 Expert Interviews

#### 4.1.1 Context & Planning Era

Prior to the Olympics, the brownfield site Oberwiesenfeld was a barren aviation area (Viehoff & Kretschmer, 2014, Schiller & Young, 2010). As part of the development plans for the city in 1963 this area was foreseen to become a stadium site (Interview #3). The entire space served as a compact area for the city to host the Olympics when the city won the IOC bid three years later. Making use of this space helped transform not only the field, but also the neighboring districts of Munich (Interview #3 and #6). Interviewee #6 notes that the mega-event helped stimulate a housing boom that has not yet ceased. This was needed, as Munich grew more than any other West German city in the post-war period and welcomed approximately 140,000 new inhabitants between receiving the winning bid and hosting the event six years later (Schiller & Young, 2010). Much of this was possible because the planners and elected officials seized an opportunity with the 1972 Olympics (Interview #3). Zoning plans (Bebauungspläne) were drafted after the event and the 1974 FIFA World Cup had been held, meaning planners were less beholden to standards and guidelines that would have drawn out the process and made a six-year planning and construction period unfeasible (Interview #3). According to Interviewee #3, the planners of the 1970s were compelled by a dynamism to “pull together” and realize something, merely because “everyone wanted it.” The expert notes that there was a spirit of optimism in post-war Munich that, along with having recently elected a young mayor, urged people to mobilise behind grand ideas.

*“What do I value on a social level? What the country dared to try back then. The dynamics that existed back then. I think that this is very much reflected in the park and the infrastructure. When society manages to pull in the same direction, things can be mobilised so quickly.” - Interviewee #3*

Both #3 and #6 agree that such a planning environment is impossible today, and consider this as both positive and negative. Interviewee #6 mentions that one reason why Munich 1972 “worked” is because it was a very top-bottom decision and execution. Interviewee #3 adds that this approach is longer feasible, because housing plans and regulations are a good measure to ensure safety and reduce negative impacts.

#### 4.1.2 The Principle of “Nachhaltigkeit”

When asked about sustainability, the three expert interviewees made a clear distinction between sustainability in the sense of longevity (Nachhaltigkeit) and sustainability in a more environmental, “green” sense. While Munich, in comparison to other host cities, was very successful in transitioning the event infrastructure to post-Olympic use, the material itself was not geared towards the future (Interview #6). The stadium roof for instance, is predominantly acrylic glass (Interview #6), a thermoplastic (Planet Schule, n.d.). It has been renovated and replaced three times since the event, and was a precarious

building material at the time of construction (Interview #6). Similarly, many of the buildings in the village have been renovated since construction and are made from conventionally unsustainable building materials like concrete (Interview #6, Watts, 2019). But the experts often reiterated that it would be a mistake to take the 1972 Olympics out of their planning context and era (Zeitgeist); that the entire notion of sustainability has changed over the last fifty years, as it will continue to change (Interviewee #6). The same interviewee considers this one of the greatest challenges for the area and their field in the near future. Interviewee #6 also notes that the landscape architecture and gardening has adapted to more modern and contemporary conceptions of sustainability. They mention that with time, some of the trees and plants that were less suited to the local environment were replaced with indigenous ones. However, because the area is a world heritage site, it is required to uphold many of the architectural and design principles of the 1970s (Interview #6).

#### 4.1.3 Stakeholder Designation

Before the Olympics were held, an organisation (Betreiber-gesellschaft) had been created (Interview #6) to manage the area after the games. The area was delineated along the highway, separating the state of Bavaria (Freistaat Bayern) north of the ring, from the state capital Munich (Landeshauptstadt München) as primary stakeholders (Interview #3). The village is then further divided by the Studentenwerke student organisation and apartments (Interview #3). Interviewee #3 considers this key to Munich's trajectory as a host city; the vast majority of the area has been owned by the public sector, as opposed to other places, where private or private-public agreements dominate (Interview #3). Interviewee #6 gives a sense of the speed at which this transition took place, noting that people moved into the athlete accommodation a week after the event. However, the stakeholders of the area are changing, something Interviewee #6 attributes to a structural issue, wherein the organisation has a financial obligation or incentive to make profit in the area. This has led to private companies like Sea World and BMW using park space for exhibitions, and other companies like AOK sponsoring fitness infrastructure (Interviewee #6, Olympiapark München, 2021). Interviewee #6 laments that this is a sign of the park organisation becoming less driven by the principles of the past, these new developments being irreconcilable with the planning ideals of the 1970s.

## 4.2 Citizen Interviews

<b>Citizen Associations</b> ● VILLAGE ● PARK	<b>#1</b>	<b>#2</b>	<b>#4</b>
connectedness to city	+	+	+
fit to rest of city	+	+	
car-free environment	+		
general associations	+	+	+
- bungalows	+	+	+
- apartments	-	-	-
general social opportunities	*	+	+
- bungalows	+	+	+
- apartments	-	-	-
sports facilities	+	+	+
- social function of sports	+	+	
park architecture	+	+	
park landscape architecture	+	+	
- greenery	+	+	+
social opportunity	+	+	+
international ambience	+	+	+
symbolism of area, general		+	
- symbolism of Olympics	+	-	+

Table 4: Results of interviews with former citizens, “+” positive association, “-” negative association, “ ” (blank) respondent without comment, “\*” positive association in 1980s and negative association in 2010s

## 4.2.1 The Olympic Village



Image 2: *Post-renovation plan of bungalows, formerly used by female athletes (Keller Damm, 2021)*

### **PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ASSOCIATIONS**

All residents remarked on the importance of distinguishing the social dynamics of the bungalows from those in the high rise apartment blocks. Independently, they mentioned a sense of anonymity in the apartments that made social connection strained. Interviewee #2 associated their time in the high rises with loneliness, adding that they spent the year not knowing their neighbours. Interviewee #4 adds that the high rises had a “prison-like” ambience and often reiterated during the interviews that their positive social associations were exclusive to the bungalows. In contrast, all interviewees spoke positively and fervently about the communal atmosphere of the bungalows, calling it a “city within a city” (Interview #1) as well as a “little empire of its own” (Interview #4). Despite that language, none of the respondents gave any indication that the area seemed insular, and frequently remarked on the sense of openness felt throughout the space, as well as the connectedness to the surroundings.

When considering any changes to the area, Interviewee #1 found that a recent visit revealed less of a social atmosphere than during their time in the village. They considered this based on the perception that fewer people involved themselves in the creative opportunities of the village; both the individual designs of the bungalows<sup>4</sup>, as well as the community groups. They attributed this in part to what they imagined were recent renovations. Indeed, the bungalows had been renovated in 2006, due to poor ventilation, outdated materials and regulatory standards, shrinking from 24 to 18 square meters (Architektur Museum & Glasmann, 2020). However, Interviewee #2 and #4 did not share this sentiment, and both still

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<sup>4</sup> A wall of the bungalows is deliberately left blank for the inhabitant to paint and design to their liking.

considered the area rich with social opportunity. Interviewee #4 who spent a year in the bungalows post-renovation, did not mention the smaller unit or any downsides.



Image 3: Bungalows (front) and high rise apartment blocks background (BR, 2021, cropped by Author, 2021)

All former residents remarked on the physical and social environment of the bungalows reinforcing one another. They lauded the sense of community and spoke warmly about the ample space for interaction. Interestingly, all three mentioned the narrowness of the alleys, but never negatively, and often said that the tighter spaces made conversation natural. Interviewee #1 and #2 suggested that narrower paths fostered connections that would then move to the more open areas. The planning strategy behind this was a “central and sectorally grouped city” creating a “utopian recreation of urban [...] services, leisure and consumption” (Muñoz, 1997). “Varied community life,” as described by the organisational committee, was central to this idea. The additional participatory elements encouraged bungalow-dwellers to make the area their own; they could paint the facade and had space to plant a small garden (Architektur Museum & Glasmann, 2020). Interviewee #1 often used jargon and phrases that seem very in line with the intentions of the planners, calling some of the public areas “spaces of encounter” (Orte der Begegnung). They stressed these were quintessential to the student experience; it made living in the bungalows, and having the luxury of the park nearby very special. A *Der Spiegel* (1972) article written before the games called these spaces “contact-zones” (Kontaktzonen) where athletes could mingle during the event. The sense of international community seems to be a thread, with the ‘72 Olympics as the origin. Both Interviewees #1 and #4 mention a unique international atmosphere and worldliness that came with living in the area, #1 calling it a sort of cosmopolitanism, that #4 attributes to the various Erasmus students living in the area.

When asked for positive physical attributes, Interviewee #1 mentioned that the area was car-free. Interviewee #3, the citizen and planner, corroborated this, saying the car-free space allowed for ample greenery and a calm ambience that gives pedestrians the sense of being in an actual village. At the time, this planning strategy was a shift from conventions, especially in Germany, where planning an

“Autogerechte Stadt” (car-oriented city) was the norm. In contrast to the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, where the village was overshadowed by the forest surrounding it, Munich blended the two. The “human aspect [was] to be enhanced despite the necessary large-scale [...] buildings” (Viehoff & Kretschmer, 2014).

#### 4.2.2 The Olympic Park



Image 4: Park from above with the village in the background (Reichmann, 2011, cropped by Author)

#### **SOCIAL AND SPORT**

All interviewees who lived in the student village mentioned that the social dynamics of their immediate environment meant they felt less compelled to socialise in the park, and predominantly have physical associations with the area. Often these memories are tied to activity, and all cite the park as an area where they frequently exercised. Interviewee #1 called the sport facilities “phenomenal” and stressed the importance and capability of and for sports to bring people together, something that was a crucial part of the “overall ambience” at the time. In this way, the social and sport-related environment reinforced one another and communal play was central to community in a broader sense.

*“Playing sports together generally promotes a communal atmosphere. And when you encounter people, then preconceptions and prejudices, well, you get to know people personally, and those kinds of conversations allow for an exchange and an insight into different forms of living.” - Interviewee #1*

Interviewee #2 also makes this connection, and cites the sports facilities as a good way to facilitate connections among students and people living in the village. Having been designed primarily for the

Olympics, sports was a central feature of the planning. Planners and organisers stressed the event being held at “eye-level” (auf Augenhöhe) and made the Olympians’ practice area visible to the public (Interviewee #3). The Olympics and sports as a social function was key to the planning and in that sense, Interviewee #1 described an ambience that is closely related to what the planners of the previous decade had envisioned. In addition to the sports facilities, they often cited the “events” taking place in the park after the Olympics, particularly concerts in the atrium by the lake (Interviewees #1-4). Interviewee #1 added that they first and foremost associate the park with “sporty people, and those who move,” but stressed that this may have been a personal projection. This raises an interesting point; one could argue that this goes against the planner’s intention, that while purporting to be a welcoming space, the symbolism of the Olympics creates a tacit understanding of the area being for activity above all else.

#### **BLEND OF PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL**

Interviewee #2 and #4 both commented on the physical and social merging. One noting that the design of the park and overall emphasis on culture gives the impression that the planners and organisers put a lot of thought towards facilitating space for exchange. Günther Grzimek, the landscape architect and primary planner of the park, was aware of the context the park had within the city and intended for city life to happen within it (Pauli, 2012). Grzimek himself said, “the Olympic landscape differs from traditional parks, not only in its programme and separate elements of green. It deliberately creates and withstands the visual integration of the city. It provokes an urban feeling”<sup>5</sup> (Pauli, 2012, trans. Author, 2021).

#### **PHYSICAL ASSOCIATIONS, ARCHITECTURE**

In terms of architectural qualities, two interviewees immediately recalled the iconic landmarks of the park: the stadium, the tower and the hill. The unique and world renowned roof in particular was mentioned by the residents, often as the first association they had with the area. Interviewee #2 was the only one to go into depth about the significance and symbolism of the roof. They said they appreciate the intentionality to reflect symbols of international unity in the park’s architecture. Frei Otto, the architect behind the stadium and the German Pavilion of the Montreal Expo, did not intend for this to be an immediate association. Otto, a strict functionalist, opposed the architecture firm B+P’s desire for the stadium roof to capture the era and imagination of the event (Schiller & Young, 2010).

#### **PHYSICAL ASSOCIATIONS, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE**

As with the social ambience of the park and the role of sports, Grzimek’s intentions with the landscape and greenery finds itself reflected in the answers. The landscape architect designed the park to be a place of multitudinal, at times contradictory, use. For it to at once be a place to seek privacy and communion, stillness and movement, to see and be seen (Schiller & Young, 2010). The physical topography contributed to this, with the varied terrain offering places of presentation, atop the hills, and retreat, in the valleys and mounds (Hennecke, 2012). Both sides of the spectrum were referenced by the interviewees, either citing the views atop the hill (e.g. Interviewee #3) or the shaded space they provided (e.g. Interviewee #1). Grzimek too, was a proponent of functionalism and wanted to avoid artistic sensibilities in his landscapes, instead emphasising the everyday, humane aspects (Schiller & Young, 2010). He wanted the park to serve as a way for “people to escape from social coercive relations in favour of free, playful communication” (Schiller & Young, 2010), invoking his duty to create a certain “utopia.” The Olympiapark was a conscious reversal of the tacit message behind the city’s other parks: the

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<sup>5</sup> Original quote: “Die Olympialandschaft unterscheidet sich von traditionellen Parks nicht nur in ihrem Programm und nicht nur in ihren einzelnen Grünelementen. Sie beabsichtigt und verträgt die visuelle Einbeziehung der Stadt. Sie provoziert ein urbanes Lebensgefühl.”

Nymphenburg Palace (Nymphenburger Schlosspark) and the English Garden (Englischer Garten) (Schiller & Young, 2010). In line with the message of the mega-event, it was a “Demokratisches Grün,” (a democratic green space) (Pauli, 2012) prioritising inclusivity over the exclusivity and aristocracy of the other two (Schiller & Young, 2010). This sense of inclusivity was on the interviewees minds: #3 spoke fondly of childhood memories at the park, with their appreciation of the space growing into adulthood. Interviewee #1, #2 and #7 remarked that it felt as if the park was truly an open space for everyone.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Qualitative Data Findings

The interviews with the experts give a structural and historical background to the citizens' perceptions. These interviews determined three factors that were of particular relevance to the development of the area that are linked with the legacy of the space today.

- 1) the mega-event as a tool for development
- 2) pre-event stakeholder designation
- 3) temporal planning context

The experts reiterated the catalytic character of the Olympics, and the way in which the event was instrumental in Munich's modernisation. They cited many developmental effects on the whole city, such as transportation and addressing some of the issues the city faced in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Because the Olympic infrastructure aligned with the city's plans, the mega-event could be seamlessly integrated into the urban development. They addressed multiple issues under the umbrella of planning for a singular event. The planners of that era very much had posterity on their minds during the process and the grounds were designed to serve the peoples' interest. All experts reiterated the successful way Munich managed to transition to post-Olympic use by finding long-term solutions to the infrastructure. This would not have been possible without the management of the area; stakeholder responsibility of the area had been determined before the event. This designation made the transition phase easier, especially because so much of the space remained public. Finally, the experts note the dynamics of the planning world, institutional arrangements and bureaucracy has changed considerably since the 1970s and that the spirit of "doing" in the post-war period was fundamental in the planning and execution of the event.

The interviews and subsequent analysis with former residents of the Olympic village indicated two factors that were particularly noteworthy in their perceptions of the area:

- 1) an emphasis on built environment that is conducive to social interaction
- 2) an international ambience, symbolic reference to Olympics and that era

A common thread throughout the interviews was a positive association for the built environment conducive to interaction. The former residents harbored the most positive associations with the bungalows, where the tight infrastructure fostered a sense of communal atmosphere. They referenced the architecture of the bungalows and the planning of the alleys as two ways this manifested most clearly. This sense of the physical and social spheres merging extended to the park, where the facilities and landscape architecture gave them a sense of community. Furthermore, the respondents often made reference to a worldly atmosphere in the village and attributed this to the people living there and the built environment that reflected these values. While they did not share the same impression of the Olympics' symbolic legacy, all referenced places in which this association was palpable. Their associations echo the intentions of the planner and give firsthand experience to supplement the experts.

## 5.2 Connection to Theoretical Framework

The expert interviews echo many findings outlined in the theoretical framework, particularly the framework developed by Deng et al. (2016). Borrowing their terms, the execution of “site” (brownfield, close to city), “building” (infrastructure for long term use) and “legacy management” (stakeholder designation), were critical in Munich's development. Moreover, the comments by Interviewee #6 about the increasing private business presence in the park connects to Davidson & McNeill’s (2011) research on the Sydney Olympic grounds, though it seems, as opposed to Sydney, Munich managed to stay predominantly public. Despite legacy jargon not entering the mega-event planning world for another 20 to 30 years after the 1972 Olympics, the Munich planners managed to pre-empt much of the ensuing discourse. Using Cashman & Richmond’s (2011) indicators for legacies, the interviews suggest definite connections to infrastructure, public life, culture, sport, symbols and memory in particular. Looking at Preuss’ (2018) measurement indicators for event legacies, the ones most prominently featured in the answers of citizens and experts are urban and environmental development, as well as social development. In Scheu & Preuss (2017), a post-event survey, similar to the interviews in this research, is only one of many measurements; others take a more quantitative approach. This dilemma is succinctly put by Preuss (2018): “notwithstanding, when a legacy is measured, it creates different values based on the context in which a stakeholder experiences a legacy.” Therefore, in keeping with Preuss’ (2018) framework, the results from these interviews certainly reveal elements of legacies, but are only a fraction of the holistic approach required to conceptualise them.

## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Return to Research Questions

How is the Olympiapark Munich (incl. Olympic village) an exemplary model for post-mega-event legacy planning and large scale sustainable urban design?

*/ How has Olympiapark Munich developed over time and how does it fit into Munich's urban fabric?*

*// How does the citizen's perception of the park and village compare to the planners of the past's vision?*

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The citizens' responses imply that the 1972 Olympics, and the park and village area, have a positive legacy. For the three former residents, the many positive associations with the built environment and the subsequent social function, indicate a positive "social" legacy. Moreover, the meaning of the Olympics and the importance of that space within the greater context of the city suggests a "cultural" legacy as well. The developmental nature of the mega-event suggests that the Olympics also had a considerable urban legacy, with various modernisation and housing projects starting as a result of the won bid and execution of the event. Despite this, the enduring nature of the area's built environment and continued appreciation fifty years on is the biggest indication of the area's legacy. In terms of the space's sustainability, the answer to the research question is twofold. While the area has been pioneering in its ability to transform infrastructure to post-mega-event use, the planners of the area are faced with the challenge of maintaining buildings made from predominantly unsustainable material.

To address the two sub-questions, the citizen responses and expert interviews indicate that the area is well integrated into Munich's urban fabric. All respondents consider the area an inextricable part of the city, seamlessly embedded into the neighborhood. The experts note that because of the uniqueness of the mega-event and planning era, much effort has been expended at maintaining as much as possible of the original urban landscape. It is rather the surrounding area that has developed drastically, with housing and industry growing rapidly. The interviews with the citizens corroborated the intentions of the planners, while serving as an indication of the value and importance of the area. Particularly the dynamic between the physical and social realm is of importance to both the planners of yesterday and the citizens of today.

### 6.2 Broader Context

Through understanding the foundation of the Olympics and their spatial execution, recent and future host cities can better evaluate the variables conducive to fostering a legacy of their own. Conventional wisdom and literature suggests that cities are struggling to create a legacy for mega-events in line with the expectations of locals. As this study indicated, the planning and political era is of critical importance to the execution of an event. This encourages considering the degree to which today's political structures are conducive to legacies. London 2012 and Rio de Janeiro 2016 are two recent events whose legacy remains to be seen, but for which there is an indication of poor investment, underused infrastructure and general misallocation of resources. As previously indicated, legacies are elusive and difficult to narrow down. Even though cities might plan for beneficial outcomes, the reality is often subject to factors that cannot be

anticipated. This makes planning for and the measuring of a legacy difficult, but simultaneously underlines why planning within a successful framework, like that of Munich, could serve long term goals.

### 6.3 Reflection

This study serves primarily as an exploratory analysis into the area. Because of the sample size, these conclusions are indicative. Should this study be repeated in the future, input from more respondents should be considered. This may include other residents of the village, more residents of the northern districts of Munich and a wider selection of planners. Furthermore, a tremendous benefit to the study would be to involve planner and citizen perceptions of people who lived through the mega-event itself. As far as my own approach, I would consider it of immense value to integrate more of a critical and conceptual perspective in the future. Given the answers of the respondents, it would be interesting to delve into the reinforcing relationship between aesthetics, symbolism and public space. This could include a foray into the notion of mega-event as a form of spectacle.

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## 8. Appendices

### Appendix A (Interview Guide, translated from German)

1. Can you describe some of the associations you have with the particular area of the Olympiapark, as well as the Olympic village? Have your perceptions changed over time?
2. Given this, how do you perceive the area in its relation to the rest of the city?
3. What about the Olympiapark and Olympic village do you value on a physical level?
  - *In terms of architecture, landscape architecture, infrastructure, urban planning?*
4. What about the Olympiapark and Olympic village do you value on a social level?
  - *In terms of social environment?*
  - *In terms of symbolism, history?*
5. How have / have the park's design principles adapted to the state and needs of the city?
6. What kind of design principles guide the maintenance and organisation of the park?
7. How did this notion (of a long term vision for a short term event) develop?
  - *Role of the 1963 Stadtentwicklungsplan?*
8. Is the current day planning of the area influenced by the area's history?
9. Who are the stakeholders involved in the organisation of the park?
  - *What kind of role do institutions play in the legacy of Munich's Olympiapark?*
  - *Which institutions are particularly important?*
  - *Has this changed over time?*
10. Have the lessons learned from the Olympics been important for other areas of Munich?
11. What can other host cities learn from Munich's approach?

## **Appendix B (Consent Statement) (German)**

Thema: Inwiefern ist der Olympiapark München (inkl. Olympisches Dorf) ein beispielhaftes Modell für die Planung eines "urbanen Erbes" (urban legacy) und für nachhaltige Stadtgestaltung?

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Der Zweck dieser Studie ist es, das städtebauliche Erbe des Münchner Olympiaparks zu verstehen, mit Blick auf die Planung von Mega-Events im weiteren Sinne. Alle Information, die durch diese Interviews gewonnen wird, ist ausschließlich für den Zweck dieser Studie. Es werden in der These keine Namen verwendet, nur Arbeitstitel. Sie sind nicht verpflichtet, alle Fragen zu beantworten und können gerne Bedenken bezüglich bestimmter Formulierungen äußern. Da diese These auf Englisch geschrieben wird, werde ich für meine Datenanalyse alle Antworten übersetzen. Dieses Gespräch wird für die Datenanalyse aufgezeichnet. Wenn Sie mit irgendeinem Punkt unzufrieden sind, äußern Sie sich bitte. Falls Sie irgendwelche weiteren Fragen haben, können Sie mich gerne kontaktieren. Wenn Sie möchten, kann ich Ihnen gerne im Juni/Juli die fertige These schicken.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme!

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## Appendix C (Codebook)

<b>Code Group</b>	<b>Code</b>
Park	Positive Social Association
	Positive Physical Association
	Negative Social Association
	Negative Physical Association
	General
Village	Positive Social Association
	Positive Physical Association
	Negative Social Association
	Negative Physical Association
	General
Both	Sustainability
	Symbolism
	Development
	Stakeholders