# TOWARDS A CULTURAL POLICY FOR GREAT EVENTS.

## Local and global issues in the definition of the Olympic Games cultural programme.

## Lessons from the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festivals.

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# Abstract

This thesis studies the current state and application of cultural policy principles in the production of a great event's cultural programme. The thesis departs from the idea that cultural policy principles can be a useful tool to guide the design, management and promotion of an event's cultural programme. Furthermore, it is considered that the cultural relevance of a great event is highly dependent on the consistency of the policy choices informing its cultural dimensions both at a global and a local level. In this context, the thesis aims to explore whether notions of cultural policy provide a good platform for managing and communicating the cultural dimension of a great event such as the Olympic Games, in particular, the Games official cultural programme. The thesis uses the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festivals as a case study.

Notions and applications of cultural policy are analysed according to the event's global network – the IOC – and its local host – Sydney and Australia. The influence of the event's global network is studied through a historical review of notions of culture in the Olympic Movement and an analysis of the cultural structures and agendas within the IOC. At a local level, convergences and divergences between the event's cultural programme and the cultural policy of the local host are explained on the grounds of the Sydney and Australia's social and political context, the event structures of management, its promotional strategy and its short-term impacts.

A key finding of the research is the very limited influence that cultural policy principles have in the production of a great event's cultural programme. The IOC does not have a clearly defined cultural policy and is thus unable to offer a consistent guide for respective Games organisers. This means that success in implementing locally representative cultural programmes depends entirely on the event host community. However, research on the Sydney case and commentary on prior events reveals that cultural planners and policy-makers have a marginal role in the planning and organisation of great events. Instead, events are driven by economic interests and marketing strategies.

The thesis concludes that great events such as the Olympic Games frequently fail to leave long-term cultural legacies and are often unable to provide an experience that fully engages and represents the host community. This occurs because there has been an over-emphasis on economic interests while the social and cultural aspects of the event have been deemed secondary. Regardless of the success in developing event marketing and promotional strategies, only the creation of coherent cultural policies can assist securing an event legacy that goes beyond economic impacts and touches host communities and global viewers in meaningful and distinctive ways.

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# Acronyms

ABC: Australian Broadcasting Commission
AC: Australia Council
AOC: Australian Olympic Committee
ATC: Australian Tourism Commission
COOB'92: Comité Organizador de los Juegos Olímpicos de Barcelona 1992
CoS: City of Sydney
IBC: International Broadcasting Centre
IOC: International Olympic Committee
IOA: International Olympic Academy
MPC: Main Press Centre
NSW: New South Wales
OAF: Olympic Arts Festivals
*OAF'2000*: abbreviation for the Olympic Arts Festival taking place in year 2000
OCA: Olympic Coordination Authority
OCOG: Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
ORTA: Olympic Roads and Transport Authority
SMC: Sydney Media Centre
SMH: Sydney Morning Herald
SOCOG: Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
VIK: Value in Kind

# PART ONE:

# Research background

# 1. Introduction

This thesis studies the current state and application of cultural policy principles to the production and promotion of a great event's cultural programme. This interest derives from various considerations. Firstly, of importance is the premise that, in the context of globalisation, the notion and uses of cultural policy are converging with practices in media communication (Council of Europe 1997). This means that, increasingly, cultural policy is being used as a tool for the promotion of the values and practices of differing areas in the cultural sector, which has led some authors to speak of uses of cultural policy as an "image strategy" (Bianchini 1993: 15-16). Secondly, there is a perception that the use of cultural policy as a guide for creating and sustaining images is applied mainly at a local level, within cities and regions, but that this exercise has often a global vocation (García Canclini 1999). This tendency has led cultural policy makers to seek communication vehicles that work well at the level of cities and regions and that can capture local idiosyncrasies at the same time as having the ability to reach global audiences. Lacarrieu states that great or mega events are increasingly seen as one such vehicle (1999: point 1.1.). This leads to the third interest of the thesis: *the use of great or major events as a cultural policy vehicle for cities and regions*. There is a wide range of research dedicated to study the economic impacts of great events. However, little is known of the mechanisms set in place so that great events respond to the cultural policy choices of their hosts and, when applicable, to the choices of the global networks in charge of sustaining the event in the long term. This final interest characterises the central issue that the thesis addresses.

The following sections present the conceptual framework on which the described premises and considerations are based. Fundamental notions to review consist of the following:

- cultural policy in the context of globalisation
- the trend towards merging culture with communication and promotional strategies, and
- the use of great events as a key resource for these practices.

The chapter concludes with a definition of research purposes and a description of the structure of the thesis.

## *1.1. Conceptual framework*

This section offers a review of arguments on existing linkages between globalisation, cultural policy, promotional strategies and events. Fundamentally, it consists of a revision of literature produced by international institutions such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe and renowned scholars in the field.

The section starts by briefly reviewing the impacts of globalisation on the notion and functions of cultural policy around the world. This leads to a discussion about the uses of cultural policy as a communication and promotional tool for cities, regions and nations. The emphasis is placed on the case of cities, which are becoming key economic actors in the global environment. Finally, the role and significance of great events is introduced. Events are understood as key components in the cultural agenda of (global) cities and, consequently, as an important element that contemporary cultural policies must understand. It is argued that this must be done from the perspective of the cities hosting respective events and from the perspective of the global networks that define and

contribute to the long-term sustainability of great events. This situation is remarkable in the case of the Olympic Games and its umbrella organisation, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), a case that will be introduced at the end of the section, and which will form the basis of the core research data within this thesis.

## a) Cultural policy and globalisation

From the mid 1990s, the United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organisation (UNESCO) has been looking at the implications of globalisation processes on the notion of culture. Numerous studies have taken place about this issue, notably after the publication of the study 'Our Creative Diversity' in 1995, which led at the beginning of 1998 to the 'World Culture Report' (UNESCO 1996, 1998a). Both documents included a passage that analysed the notion of globalisation and looked at its effects in the shaping of cultural matters and cultural policy making. An important effect was the realisation that culture has an economic dimension and, thus, that it is possible to talk of cultural goods. Moreover, these works revealed that cultural goods are likely to develop an ever-growing position within contemporary production and industrial systems. Subsequently, in 1998, UNESCO started a series of meetings to study the potential of the trilogy "culture, the market and globalisation" (UNESCO 1998b). In year 2000, this research process resulted in the publication of various working documents on 'Cultural Diversity and Globalisation' (UNESCO 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). These papers emphasise that, as a result of globalisation, there is an increasing influence of new technologies on shaping trends and aspirations within the cultural sector. Moreover, there is an increasing need to consider the communication media as a vehicle to transmit these aspirations.

In order to understand the influence of these conclusions on current transformations and their effect on cultural policy making, it is relevant to start by framing the variety of meanings and uses of the concept of cultural policy. The use of the term 'cultural policy' is fairly recent and, according to most authors, has never been understood in an homogeneous way throughout the globe. Nevertheless, the origin of cultural policies can be traced to other kinds of concepts, which would appear to address similar concerns for culture. Such roots deserve recognition as they extend far earlier than the UNESCO documentation, arguably, can be consider as critical for influencing the current cultural milieu. This calls for a brief review of the evolution of cultural policy and an account of some of its most extended uses.

### *Evolution of the notion of cultural policy*

To explain the many ambiguities surrounding the term cultural policy Fernández Prado (1991) refers to the many variations in its uses and interpretations according to different languages and different countries. For instance, the author argues that, in English speaking countries, it is more frequent to see the term 'arts policy', while in many parts of Africa and Asia the term 'cultural policy' is used interchangeably with 'education policy' (p.17). According to Fernández Prado,

> "differences in the definition of what encompasses the cultural sector [...] derive from important differences in historical processes that have led different States to intervene massively in the most emblematic aspects of cultural life" (p. 17, Spanish in the original)

Fernández Prado offers some examples of these historical references by pointing out the massive intervention of the state on the management of national communication media in communist

countries, while in Western Europe it is common to see a strong presence of the state in the protection of traditional artistic production. These different emphases have naturally influenced the current notions of cultural policy that are hold in respective countries.

In general, Fernández Prado states that the notion of cultural policy encompasses artistic creation, scientific research and the diffusion of new ideas that lack immediate application and/or are the result of leisure activities, pleasure and the search for personal development (p. 18). However, the author acknowledges that these areas are blurring into other spheres due to the growing interaction between cultural and communication policies, and the ever closer interaction between cultural, industrial and economic policies that encompass, "not only the communication media, cinema and audiovisual productions, but also some aspects associated with cultural tourism" (p. 26). These issues are reviewed in following sections.

Taking a historical perspective, Fernández Prado argues that it is possible to identify a series of key periods that offer a distinctive perspective on the meanings and uses of the term cultural policy. An initial period is found in the 18th Century, with the appearance of various forms of state and aristocratic patronage of the arts and the support to Academies that would establish aesthetic and scientific criteria. This changed radically in the 19th Century, a time dominated by the expansion of social class conflicts and the emergence of grassroots movements that would oppose the power of the state and the domination of the Academia in defining criteria for culture and the arts. During this period, the notion of welfare state emerged. This resulted in the creation of policies for the support of cultural endeavours that transferred the emphasis from traditional arts into the protection and expansion of educational programmes.

The beginning of the 20th Century saw the options and evolution of cultural policy uses marked by World War One and World War Two. Prior to and during war time, most European states were dedicated to emphasising notions of national identity through the regulation and control of national education institutions and, remarkably, the growing presence of the mass media. During the post-war era of the 1940s, the predominance of nation-state based organisations was substituted by the cultural leadership of major international institutions, such as the United Nations and the Council of Europe. These institutions had an important role in supporting the moral and cultural reconstruction of nations during the 1950s. During this decade, national and international organisations placed an emphasis on the notion of 'cultural democratisation' as the most important aspiration of cultural leaders and administrators. This meant that the policy for governments and cultural institutions ensured that the notions of arts and culture they were in charge of protecting were appreciated and understood by the general population. The focus was to facilitate the access to arts and cultural experiences that had traditionally excluded the participation of the masses. Typical cultural policy actions at this time were the reduction of prices to attend arts events and the organisation of workshops to explain their value and meanings.

However, it was not until the mid 1960s that the notion of cultural policy started to become embedded in the discourse of opinion leaders and was referred to, explicitly, as a tool necessary to protect and ensure the fair development of the cultural sector. It was a time when UNESCO worked strongly for guaranteeing the existence of public institutions dedicated to cultural matters in all country members of the United Nations system. As such, from the mid 1960s, a series of meetings were arranged to place cultural policy onto the international agenda. This culminated in 1970 in Venice with the first World Conference on Culture, which, according to Ander-Egg (1991), was the

first conference to clearly address the question of what cultural policy is and what it can do (p. 78). A series of conferences followed and culminated in Mexico in 1982 with the 'World Conference on Cultural Policies'. These conferences were focused on debating notions of cultural democracy as a substitute to the principle of 'cultural democratisation,' which was so popular in the 1950s. Influenced by the expansion of social movements, such as the youth movements, this process promoted the acceptance of wider notions of culture. However, this time it was not defined by the elite to keep their supremacy or to educate the masses. Rather, it was captured from the grassroots levels. In this context, the notion of popular culture would be revisited and the traditional distinctions between high and low culture would start blurring (see Gans 1974).

The last two decades of the 20th century can be seen as another remarkable turning point in the definition and use of the concept of cultural policy. The process started in the 1980s, when it became evident that cultural matters were of interest for the private sector and would, increasingly, be funded and promoted by corporations independently from public administrations. Officially, this process has been titled the 'privatisation of culture' and has encouraged extensive projects and research works in institutions such as the New York University, under the guidance of Toby Miller and George Yúdice (Goldstein 1998). At this point, we find the work of García Canclini, who argues that this process is to be understood as a direct effect of the movement towards globalisation.

> "Néstor García Canclini approached the debate on the privatization of culture as symptomatic of the broader processes of contemporary global restructuring, linking these processes to the attendant reconfiguration of the concept of modernity. He identified four principal tendencies of the modern project, each of which are eroded in the confrontation between multinational corporations and national societies that attempted to maintain their cultural differences: 'emancipation' (the secularization of the cultural field); 'expansion' (the conquest of nature, scientific advance, mass education, industrial development, and the diffusion of material and symbolic commodities); "renewal" (innovation and the endemic obsolescence suggested by Paz's 'tradition of rupture'); and 'democratization' (dissemination of specialized knowledges through education and mass participation in rational and moral evolution)" (Goldstein 1998: Contexts and Conditions of the Support of Culture, paragraph 3)

However, this brief history is not the only antecedent of the modern uses of cultural policy. To accompany the evolution of these terms, within the process of privatisation, it has been remarkable to see the re-emergence of the concept 'cultural industries'. This concept was first used in the 1940s by Horkheimer and Adorno in reference to "all existing process of mercantilisation of culture that have led it to lose its autonomy" (Saperas 1990: 83). For Horkheimer and Adorno, the notion of 'industrialisation of culture' meant that culture was to become a means for achieving non-cultural ends, such as economic benefits and political control (*ibid*). In contrast, by the end of the century, the term 'cultural industries' has lost its critical taint to become a descriptive expression referring to the wide range of communication media that act as producers of culture, information, entertainment and promotional activities (*ibid*).

Cultural policies in Europe and around the world are currently under revision in order to face the new situation. To further complicate the situation, since the end of the 1980s, there has also been a sharp growth of cultural policy initiatives, this time without the clear leadership of UNESCO. Many academic and other sorts of professional institutions have emerged with a clear vocation to explore and promote the concept of cultural policy. These have varied from the so-called cultural observatories, frequently found in Europe and many South American countries (Remer 1997), to specialised university research centres – very common in the UK, Australia, New Zealand and

Canada – and a wide array of foundations and other private groups – in particular, in the United States.

These various trends and histories suggest a need to re-define what is meant by cultural policy today and how it affects governance and the debate over critical issues such as social inclusion, international understanding, multiculturalism, representation and identity among many others.

Additionally, the contested concept of a cultural policy indicate that the debate about cultural policy issues is being brought to broader spheres in the political agenda than is reflected in contemporary policies within important organisations, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The concept of cultural policy seems also to be increasingly incorporated into key debates about economical and social questions. Consequently, the definition and application of cultural policy principles is becoming an instrument of analysis and regulation for all cultural actors, not only traditional government bodies but also private corporations and the associative sector. Some of these issues are considered in the following point, where the new positioning of cultural policy is reviewed. Indeed, it is critical that a cultural policy takes into account these emerging trends, if it is to be workable.

### *New senses for cultural policies in the global context: culture and communications*

As already mentioned, in the 1960s, UNESCO became the leading institution for promoting the notion of cultural policy and ensuring its development and application within most nation states. However, in the context of globalisation, it has become evident that cultural policies need a framework different from the one used in the 1960s and 1970s. With that purpose, since the beginning of the 1990s, UNESCO has set up a series of projects aimed at exploring the links between cultural activities and development, notably in regards to the world economy and the communication media. This was the case for the World Decade for Cultural Development that started in 1987 and culminated in 1998. The experiences of the decade were discussed in the 'UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development' (UNESCO 1998b) and in the 'Symposium of Experts on Culture, the Market and Globalisation' (UNESCO 1999).

A significant feature of both conferences was the influence of the new cultural industries – in particular, the global media networks – and the effects of privatisation on notions and uses of culture. Additionally, an aspect that was seen to emerge was a growing link between these global processes and the increasing protagonism of local actors such as regions and cities. This new emphasis on the local has brought renewed cultural leaderships to institutions seen, perhaps, as alternatives to the cultural leadership of UNESCO, which has traditionally debated cultural matters from the perspective of nation-states and that has, mainly, networked with state ministries and parallel bodies. Alternative institutions have focused their interest in regional and municipal forces. This is the case for the Council of Europe, the European Commission and a wide range of cultural observatories and specialised research centres around the world.

During the 1990s, the Council of Europe engaged in major collaborative research to analyse current cultural trends across Europe. This resulted in the publication of 'In from the Margins' (Council of Europe 1997) a report that anticipates the findings by UNESCO (1998a, 1998b, 1999) in regards to the influence of cultural industries, privatisation and the emergence of local movements. It is argued there that cultural policy matters are, today, closely linked to the nature and conditions of a new

communication society. This presents a further challenge to the derivation of a useful concept of cultural policy, currently overlooked in present articulations.

> "11.2.19. *The role of culture in the new communication society*. Traditionally, communication has been the key link between culture and development. Cultural trends in society have always been 'communicated' in a more or less formal way: the quicker and more extensive the communication is, the greater will the impact be. The need to communicate culture (in special audiovisual culture) has been one of the motor forces for technological innovations and the arrival of the 'information society'" (Council of Europe and Interarts 1999: 254, in Catalan in the original)

Pessimistically, the Council of Europe adds that,

> "11.2.25. New structural changes in communications, culture and communication media provoke similar problems regarding identity and participation. Active participation is diminishing since the arrival of radio and television" (*op. cit*: 256, in Catalan in the original)

However, the communication media are also allowing the development of new cultural forms, which means that the transmission of values and identities can be either empowered or diminished depending on how the links between communication and culture are used. As such, this raises the importance of considering parallels between cultural and communication media policies, when seeking to understand the meaning, utility and function of cultural policy. More specifically, Martín-Barbero (1989) suggests that it makes a case for reflecting on the need for cultural policies to incorporate communication policies within their design.

In summary, cultural activities are growing in parallel with the new communication media. They are becoming more or less accessible, appealing and known, depending on their ability to meet the requisites of the media that are to diffuse them. Indeed, the power of the communication media to place cultural issues on the global agenda or to eliminate them from it has been an object of study and reflection among cultural policy makers (for instance Australian Democrats 2001, Council of Europe & EricArts 2000, Foote 1998, Machet & Robillard 1998, Murray 1998). Many confrontations and disagreements have arisen, as there are still many cultural planners that reject the idea of culture as a product to be exchanged or promoted in similar ways to commercial goods. However, the importance of economic benefits has led to the acceptance of this approach to utilising culture, which has led to its incorporation within the market place, and has implied its adaptation to some of the most common rules of the market. The importance of these circumstances is analysed further in the following section and provides some rationale for understanding how cultural policy must be oriented in future research.

## b) Cultural policy and the promotion of the local

Departing from the basis that culture is now finding its place within the market, it is natural that new associations are found between cultural policy and promotional strategies. Interestingly, the use of cultural policies as promotional tools has occurred mostly at a local level. The promotional uses of cultural policy are, thus, being applied as a guide for revitalising the notion of the local in a global context, with regions and cities being the preferred points of reference. (See Bianchini 1999, Bianchini, Fisher, Montgomery & Worpole 1988, Borja & Subirós 1989, Council of Europe 1997, Delgado 1997, European Commission 2000, García Canclini 1999, Lacarrieu 2000, Landry 1999, Martín-Barbero 1997, Murray 2001, Roche 2000).

This situation can be explained on the grounds that the process towards globalisation has led to questioning the viability of sustaining the model of nation-state as a reference point for projecting cultural identities (Anderson 2000, Council of Europe 1997, Roche 2000). This has accelerated the re-emergence of the regions and cities as key actors in defining and promoting notions of cultural policy. The Council of Europe (1997) corroborates this in its study of the state of debates about culture and development in Europe,

> "5.3.1. As the world becomes more homogeneous, it is natural to try to distinguish the experiences we own from the experiences of others. This might be one of the reasons inspiring the development of regionalist movements throughout the 1970s and 1980s" (Council of Europe & Interarts 1999: 85, Catalan in the original).

> "5.3.6. The process of decentralisation has encouraged a great potential for the concordance between culture and the arts and the needs of local and/or regional governments [...] 5.3.8. Interregional and even interurban co-operation is a growing force in Europe. The Council of Europe has received an enthusiastic response to its project to encourage this sort of collaboration. Regions with interstate frontiers have began common programmes....Cities have also became organised throughout the continent" (*op. cit*: 87, Catalan in the original).

> "5.3.10. The city has been one of the beneficiaries of the weakening of the nation state as a unit for social and political integration. The roots of urban autonomy set up in the Middle Ages and the city-state as a basis for the 'republic' have been re-born and have inspired modern urban strategies. The search for a municipal identity has become very urgent in the light of new factors that signal a trend towards segmentation and alienation, including social mobility and migration, [...], the arrival of global culture, the de-regulation of habitation and real state and the cuts in social provision." (*op. cit*: 88, Catalan in the original).

These processes have grown throughout Europe and, as noted by UNESCO (1998a), can also be detected in other areas of the world. UNESCO's 'Culture in the neighbourhood' (UNESCO- Swiss National Commission 1990) project is an example of the initiatives supported by international institutions to stimulate the process of decentralisation. Indeed, this situation has increased the power of influence and global significance of cities. Equally, it has accentuated the challenges they must face to ensure an equilibrated development. Nevertheless, this trend indicates the importance of considering the placement of cities as a basis for understanding the way in which cultural policy operates in relation to these developing priorities. In this context, there have been continuous calls to strengthen the role of cultural policy, not only as a tool to promote the outcomes of local development, but also as a guide to decide how this development is to be undertaken (Bianchini 1999, Borja & Subirós 1989, Landry 1999). Moreover, it would seem that the city is considered to play a key role in this pursuit for cultural flourishing.

### *Culture: a local tool for sustainable development*

A factor that has become evident throughout the process to project cities and regions at a global scale is the importance of culture to guarantee their sustainable development. Notably, the continuous growth of cities has required the strengthening of cultural policies to support the long-term benefits of decentralisation and urbanisation processes (UNESCO 1998a, Borja & Subirós 1992)

> "11.3.11. The wish to develop urban planning that is sensitive with cultural needs has been one of the characteristics of the social and economic motivations guiding the renovation policies of the 1970s and 1980s. The priority of urban planners was to revitalise urban centres to eliminate marginal neighbourhoods [...] and

> to provide a safer environment for business, leisure and tourism." (Council of Europe & Interarts 1999: 260, Catalan in the original)

The interesting conclusion here is that the definition of what constitutes the definition and function of a cultural policy is no longer the responsibility of public institutions exclusively. Private corporations and various non-for-profit associations, from the communication media to a wide range of community groups, are taking a larger responsibility to survey and promote the application of cultural policy guidelines. Thus, all of these agents have the ability to influence the way culture is administered, regulated and sustained.

However, despite these interests to define and problematise cultural policies, there is still a remarkable lack of economic funding for cultural activities. The decentralisation of responsibilities in the cultural sector has accentuated this situation. As argued in a Canadian conference on cultural development,

> "It is paradoxical that in the context of financial disengagement by federal and provincial governments, municipalities have become the most effective level for the delivery of cultural policy, yet they face considerable financial constraints" (Fréchete, Roy & Durantaye 1998: 53).

In response, there is a trend towards widening fundraising sources for cultural activities and, importantly, towards increasing the variety of techniques and mechanisms used to attract and secure these sources. The influence of private corporations is remarkable in the increasing use of marketing strategies to promote cities and regions. Tourism has become a very important economic tool within which to invest and culture has been seen as a key selling point for tourism. The city and other sorts of local image development have accompanied these processes. As such, cultural policy choices have, in many cases, taken the form of local image strategies and, thus, have been transformed into tools for the marketing of cities and regions.

### *Favourite formats for local promotional strategies: culture, leisure and tourism*

On the basis of these trends, it is now frequent to speak about cultural tourism as a separate form of leisure activity. These links cannot be defined as a completely new trend since leisure and tourism have long been regarded as major areas for the development of cultural activities (Council of Europe and Interarts 1999: 256, par. 11.3.1). Nevertheless, the frequency of the associations and the unprecedented use of the term 'cultural tourism' as a distinguished form of leisure have introduced a new debate that affects the making and definition of cultural policies. Consequently, it is becoming a common trend to design cultural policies that encourage the promotion of local cultures through tourism and leisure (Bianchini & Parkinson 1993, Bianchini 1999, Klausen 1999c).

Coupled with the importance of the city, the above combination has highlighted the interest of using events as a vehicle for developing local cultural policies. In corroboration, Getz (1989) argues that events are becoming viewed as an integral part of tourism development and marketing plans for cities, regions and countries alike. Getz also suggests that events can play a number of important roles as image-makers of the local host and as catalysts for other urban development and renewal strategies. At this point, it becomes evident that the exploration of how notions of culture and policy are being affected by the process of globalisation needs to pay attention to the case of events, great and hallmark events in particular.

## c) Cultural policy and great events

A contemporary approach to the effects of globalisation on the notion of culture cannot overlook the implications and impacts of major events. Today, major events are a clear example of a product designed and aimed at a global market, highly dependant on the support of global media and global corporations. Equally, major events are also the result of the place where they take place, the host-city in particular. It is for these reasons that a comprehensive study of an event's cultural dimension will require an understanding of the event purpose as defined by its global supporters and a sensitivity to the cultural policies of its local host. Indeed, these two characteristics can be said as presenting one of the salient challenges of implementing contemporary cultural policies as it is not clear that they are always complementary.

After reviewing some key literature on events and cultural impacts, it can be argued that the cultural policy implications of great events such as the Olympic Games, Universal Expos and World Cup Finals are particularly revealing for the current discussion (see Getz 1991, Heller 1999, Roche 2000, Hall 1992a). These sort of events have become key cultural actors at a global level through their remarkable impact on international communication media, the increasing financial contributions of multinational corporations they involve, and the extensive use they make of global marketing and promotional campaigns. As such, they respond particularly well to the current priorities and challenges within the study and development of cultural policy. From a cultural perspective, a critical question can be asked about how these effects have a repercussion on the image projection of the cities and nations hosting the event. It is important to consider whether the global communication opportunities brought by these events are, or can be, maximised at a local level by the host cultural institutions and policy makers.

At another level, it is also relevant to consider the role of the international networks in charge of defining the format of the event and guaranteeing its sustainability. As argued throughout this thesis, the potential to secure an appropriate representation of the event's cultural dimension is dependent on the ability to balance the cultural aspirations of the local policy-makers with the aspirations of the event long-term umbrella organisations. It seems persuasive that great events can be a particularly useful tool to develop and implement a successful cultural policy for a locality, though it is not clear whether this is done or what kinds of challenges prevent its taking place. Theoretically, events present a context that is conducive to promoting culture. However, it is necessary to see whether such aspirations are possible to implement through events, accepting the contemporary social and economic pressures within cultural policy.

### *Cultural policy as an image strategy*

As a response to this challenge, Bianchini argues that the use of events and other flagship schemes as a cultural policy strategy for the promotion of cities and regions has been a growing trend since the early 1980s (Bianchini 1993). Bianchini comments on the use flagship schemes to project cities as a distinctive form of cultural policy in what he defines to be an application of "cultural policy as an image strategy" (p. 15). To corroborate this, Bianchini offers some examples of European cities that used cultural policies to improve internal and external images in the early 1980,

> "Prestigious cultural projects acted as *symbols of rebirth*, renewed confidence and dynamism in declining cities like Glasgow, Sheffield and Bilbao. [...] Cultural policies were used *as symbols of modernity and innovation* in cities like Montpellier, Nimes, Grenoble, Rennes, Hamburg, Cologne, Barcelona and Bologna, that wished to

> *develop sectors of the economy* such as fashion, crafts and design based manufacturing and high-tech industry. [...] [As such] cultural flagships like the Burrell collection in Glasgow [...] [and] the 160 new public squares created in Barcelona in the build up to the 1992 Olympics all became powerful physical *symbols of urban renaissance."* (Bianchini 1993: 15-16, emphases in italics have been added)

In this quote, Bianchini suggests four different uses of prestigious cultural projects, which can be interpreted as a response to four different objectives in cultural policy. First, these projects can act as "symbols of rebirth", thus assisting in processes of city regeneration and development. Second, they can act as "symbols of modernity and innovation", for instance, being at the forefront of city marketing strategies to attract new visitors and corporate business to the city. Third, they can be used as a catalyst to "develop sectors of the economy" of the city, thus stimulating the cultural sector to be more productive and engaged in market trends. Finally, they can be used as a "symbol of urban renaissance", which can be interpreted as a stimulus for the growth of the city, originated and informed by the cultural sector. These four uses can easily overlap but indicate slight variations according to the main interests of policy-makers and the characteristics of respective cities or locations. Nevertheless, the four uses embrace a common pursuit for revitalising the image and activity of a location through culture.

Lacarrieu (2001) considers that great events are one of the favourite formats for cities and regions to improve their image, far beyond other sort of great projects or flagship schemes. In her opinion, great events are particularly appreciated by cultural-policy makers because they offer a "space that condenses a defined notion [an image] of the local... and intends to be the sum of the diverse 'micro-cultures' or 'local cultures' or 'local identities' that constitute a city, a region or a nation" (p. 11, Spanish in the original).

Subirós (1989) corroborates the principle that great events are a good tool for policy-making and for leveraging the image of the cities hosting them. The author is opposed to the argument that they are superficial or ephemeral in comparison with other flagship projects. He argues that the support for special events and special cultural activities can be the ideal platform to attract the investments necessary for creating infrastructures and other long-term cultural endeavours (p. 6). Roche (2000) concurs, adding that events have the advantage over other flagship projects of being extremely appealing for the media and, thus, more visible. The author cites Verdaguer to support this point,

> "Cities are becoming more and more a stage, if not a final destination, as a cultural resource, alongside other new destinations [...] Mega-events could be considered [...] one of the most visible elements of the current local strategies for [urban] survival" (Verdaguer 1995: 203, cited in Roche 2000: 147)
>
> "Mega-events are global [and thus particularly visible] events because of the development of media systems" (Roche 2000: 10)

It is a common argument that the advantageous visibility of great events is a direct result of their media appeal (see Dayan & Katz 1994, Getz 1991, Roche 2000). This has led authors such as Moragas (1992b, 2001) to assert that the greatest events are also the most appealing media events. Indeed, this also means that the 'utility' or success of great events depends strongly on the communication media. This implies that, in order to achieve a global resonance, great events must meet efficiently the requirements of the media. As such, the challenge for event organisers and cultural policy makers is to succeed in balancing the interest for promoting an image that represents local cultural values, with the need to adapt them to formats that are easy to communicate and distribute through the global media (Moragas 1988, 1992, 2001; Klausen 1999b).

In this context, from the perspective of cultural policy, it is critical to consider the responsibilities of the organisers and supporters of the event. At first view, the tension seems to be between focusing on,

- representing the local community, providing a sense of ownership and being coherent with other local cultural policy initiatives.

- creating a global impact, projecting an image that is spectacular and appealing for foreign audiences, beneficial for tourism and business purposes, and responding to the needs of the media.

This dilemma leads to re-considering the notion of cultural policy and the uses that are commonly agreed as more appropriate for it in present times. It must be questioned whether cultural policy must be dedicated exclusively to promote culture as an end, or whether it can be used as a means for other – economic, social, political – purposes. The Council of Europe presents this dilemma in these words,

> "11.3.11... the new focus of cultural planning and cultural protection strategies was to test this utilitarian strategy [the ambition to use cultural policy as a tool for local promotion with an emphasis on flagship projects]. Two schools of thinking appeared, each of them capturing the 'uses' that, ideally, had to be given to culture in the urban environment. Despite possible overlaps [...] we can talk, schematically, of a 'political-symbolic' beautification [which is the case of special events and flagship schemes] and culture as a 'resource' of the community" (Council of Europe & Interarts 1999: 260, Catalan in the original)

According to the Council of Europe, the first approach is focused on creating extrinsic images for the city, while the second encourages action and auto-determination and thus allows the creation of intrinsic images. In the first case, culture is seen as a finished outcome; in the second, culture is seen as an instrument for the community to define and produce the outcomes that are more relevant to them *(ibid*).

Thus, the production of great events as a vehicle for cultural policy encounters a series of important challenges. It needs to reconcile the needs and interests of the city and region hosting the event with the needs and mechanisms of the global media. As well, the production needs to be appreciated by foreign audiences but also owned by the local communities. Finally, it needs also to be visible and representative, while also spectacular and true.

These challenges will be more or less poignant depending on the size and scope of the event. Indeed, the greater the event, the greater will be the impacts and chances for cultural policy makers to project the image of a particular place. However, the opposite might be said that, for smaller events, other kinds of considerations should be prioritised. As it is important to make this distinction to clarify which should be the most important strategy, it is useful to review the meaning of 'great' or 'mega' event by comparison to other sort of events of small or medium scale.

### *Definition of great events and mega-events*

In his study of community involvement in a 'mega-event' hosting process, Haxton (1999) includes a review of event typologies. The author starts by offering a list of characteristics that define 'special events or festivals' according to a group of industry experts and academics working for the National

Task Force on Data in Canada (Statistics Canada cited in Haxton 1999: 13). This group considered that the most essential characteristics of a special event are,

> " it is open to the public;
> - its main purpose is the celebration or display or a specific theme;
> - it takes place once a year, or less frequently;
> - it has predetermined opening and closing dates;
> - it does not own a permanent structure;
> - its program may consist of separate activities;
> - all activities take place in the same local area or region." (*ibid*).

However, according to Haxton, these criteria, although comprehensive, exclude some important event types, for instance, travelling shows and events that occur more regularly than once a year (*ibid*). Haxton then cites the "event tourism typology" formulated by Getz in 1991 where events are classified according to number and origin of participants, number and origin of spectators, and media coverage (p. 14). Haxton explains that these attributes are key to assist determining the 'scale' or 'size' of an event and thus allow to propose an event hierarchy. As such, depending on the number of participants, media attention and so on, events can be considered "local events, regional events, national/continental events and mega-events" (*ibid).* In this typology, mega-events respond to the following characteristics,

> "*Participants [number and] catchment area*: usually under 10,000 however, may be as many as approximately 100,000. [They are] *usually* more international than local
> *Spectators [number and] catchment area*: from approximately 100,000 to one million or plus. [They are] mainly domestic but large international contingent move to the place because of the event as *primary purpose* (extremely high international demand for available tickets)
> *Media coverage and live demand*- very high levels of international coverage and exposure. Very *high demand* [of live coverage]. Rights for extended media coverage typically require bidding to an international governing body (if not, one or more national networks may provide live coverage)" (*op. cit:* 15, emphasis in the original)

In an attempt to capture the characteristics of each event category and also specific examples or events within categories, Haxton adds further attributes that help distinguishing events are,

> " [the] *catalysts to event production* (ie. the major reasons behind and event taking place) [...] the *event mobile/temporal nature* [fixed, touring or transient], [and the] *activity type* (sporting, cultural, industrial, religious, or community etc.)" (*op. cit*:. 20, italics in the original).

In the context of this thesis, the sort of event that is most relevant to study is an event characterised by its great size (mega-events), motivated by an interest to project the cultural image of a location, having a transient nature and involving cultural activities. The reasons for this are the following,

- A mega-event is a clear by-product of the current globalisation processes. As already suggested, the success and scope of great events is directly associated with their appeal for the communication media, a fact that, according to Getz (1991) makes them "the largest and most visible events" (p. 340). They are thus, one of the phenomena with a greater ability to have a global impact.

- A transient event is an interesting case to study because of its mobility and the resulting effort it requires from respective hosts to consider the messages or 'images' they want to transmit in the context of that event specifically. This effort will be repeated every time that the event takes place, thus offering continuous opportunities to new hosts to re-evaluate processes, images and the cultural policy strategy that best suits each occasion.

- Finally, the sort of event that is of interest here must be motivated by the ambition to project a cultural images and must incorporate cultural activities, so that it allows and invites the contribution of cultural policy-makers.

On the basis of the conceptual framework thus far, the Olympic Games stands out as a paradigmatic example, offering multiple opportunities for the exploration of each of the concepts signalled in previous pages and their practical implications.

## d) Olympic Games, globalisation and cultural policy

The Olympic Games is a key example of the tensions between the global and the local, because it is the event that incorporates the greatest number of participant countries and spectators in a common space, and the event gathering the greatest media audiences in a common time. In regards to local promotions, the Games represent an outstanding opportunity for host nations and cities to present themselves to the world. This is so because of the great media resonance of the event (see Berkaak 1999; Moragas, Rivenburgh & Larson 1995; Roche 2000). Finally, in relation to the concepts and uses of cultural policy in general, the Games are embedded within a centenary Movement under the auspices of the IOC. This means that the event incorporates an extensive cultural and symbolic background which is integral to its celebration and thus, implies continuous negotiations with cultural actors and policy-makers (see Moragas 1988, 1992a, 1992b, 2001).

### *Communication and cultural value production in the Olympic Games*

By the beginning of the 21st century, the quadrennial celebration of the Olympic Games is considered to be the greatest peacetime event on earth. Moragas (1992a) argues that the global scope the Games have achieved "cannot be understood without considering their close relation, their dependence on the communication media" (p. 15). Moragas has often referred to the various communicative dimensions of the Olympic Games as critical to interpret their relevance in the international stage and appreciate their ability to accelerate the production – semantisation – of cultural values. Thus according to the author, at present times, "the promotion and selection of values developed through a complex communication production process – signs, rituals, images, *mise en scène*, advertising, information – is the principal cultural – and politic – responsibility of the Olympic Games staging process" (1992b: 17, Catalan in the original).

This impression is reinforced by Klausen (1999b) in his research on the Lillehammer '94 Winter Games. Klausen explains how the massive media coverage of the event made the Norwegian government realise the cultural potential of the Games beyond the sporting competitions,

> "...the main scope of the Games was now formulated metaphorically as 'a showcase of modern Norwegian society'. The cultural dimension became very important, both in the sense of culture as artistic activities and in the sense of culture as identity and way of life" (*op. cit*: 3)

The statements by Moragas and Klausen thus corroborate the principle that a great event can be a good promotional tool for the local host and, consequently, a vehicle for the implementation of cultural policy strategies. However, Berkaak (1999) notes that there is an important challenge in this

process. As signalled earlier, he production of values and symbols representing a host culture to the world must consider two different interpretation dimensions. First, there is the local and national impact and appreciation of the image that is selected by the event organisers. Second, there is its international and global interpretation (pp. 49-74). Berkaak quotes a paragraph from 'OL-Status', the official newsletter of the Lillehammer '94 Games, to exemplify this dialectic:

> "An Olympic event is an opportunity to be focused on – with an assured benefit [...] We have a lot to show the world and a lot we can point to and proudly say is typically Norwegian. This we can do standing upright and erect, without losing ourselves in our own reflection in the window- pane. The glass is transparent. It allows us to see from the inside and the outside. It provides us with an opportunity to see ourselves with the eyes of strangers. We can discover our blind spots, our way of life and culture. We will be able to see the good qualities, the comical aspects, and the more doubtful sides. The sooner we start on this introspective task the sooner we will be able to choose which aspects we want to emulate, which we want to change, and which we want to retain as they are." (From the brochure *'Offisiell leverandor'* published by the Lillehammer Olympic Organising Committee in 1991, cited in Berkaak 1999: 68).

According to Moragas (1992b) the local acceptance of a particular set of cultural values requires a complex interaction process among influential host-city institutions. Normally, this involves the organisation in charge of producing the Games or 'Olympic organising committee' (OCOG), public administration bodies, private corporations and political and civic groups. At this stage, the main objective is typically to 'summarise' or frame the political and cultural personality of the host country in a way that is both representative in the eyes of the local community and easy to understand by foreigners.

Nevertheless, once this initial local agreement is reached, the aspiration to transform it into a global statement will logically require the involvement of the international media. Indeed, since the moment when the media take on the role to interpret and transmit this framed image to the world, the host-city loses control of the communication process and the final transmission of information. Consequently, the global character of the Games, which has the ability to put the host-city the international communication agenda, offers as many possibilities for the local-national promotion of its image, as it increases the risk of local, national and international misunderstandings, criticism and rejection.

In an effort to avoid international misunderstandings and to keep as much control as possible on the media interpretation and transmission of the city socio-cultural briefing, the host cultural policy-makers will tend to define the local culture on the basis of the media production mechanisms. As such, the focus will be on those identity signs more suitable for photographic and audio-visual expression (*ibid*). Moragas states that the features and attractions of the local culture can be successfully displayed only if they are presented in an organised and schematic manner within the complex communication network of the Olympic Games,

> "...the question is to synthesise a complex reality in an image consisting of the adequate attributes [...] All cultures own some 'brand images' resulting from history, prior tourist promotional strategies or the universal success of some of its more representative features. However the celebration of the Olympic Games also represents an historic opportunity to reconstruct and renovate certain pertinent characteristics [which may be out-dated] or have resulted from situations of politico-cultural domination" (Moragas 1992b: 32; text in brackets from Moragas 1992a, Spanish in the original)

Typically, the issues considered to more representative or appropriate to showcase the host culture will be selected, and those considered to be negative or misleading will be rejected. Moreover, the

selection process will be conditioned by what can better suit the media production process. As an example, Moragas lists the elements included in the strategy for the construction of the Barcelona '92 image as follows:

- selection of cultural values which already had an international projection;
- use of samples from different arts manifestations (painting, sculpture, architecture, music, cinema, video)
- selection of buildings and monuments representing sporting and Olympic architecture complemented by both civil and religious emblematic city examples
- selection of popular culture and folklore together with economic and technology features, and some personal city representation.

*Source: Adapted from Moragas (1992b: 30-33)*

Moragas adds that these examples are indicative of the ways a 'semantic field' is constructed in order to promote a city internationally, according to the selection and simplification criteria of any advertising strategy (p. 33). These advertising strategies will become national and international campaigns with different foci and emphases depending on the specific target and timing. The national campaigns will tend to focus on obtaining the approval, pride and sense of belonging of the population in regard to the Olympic project, while the international campaigns will share similar characteristics to the promotion of "films, songs or tourist offers" (*op. cit.:* 34, Catalan in the original). As such, Moragas concludes that, "the Olympic Games are a laboratory of incalculable value to understand the logic behind the commercialisation of nowadays culture" (*ibid*).

### *Olympic values, transmission of culture and commercialisation*

The word 'commercialisation' leads to reflect on an intrinsic danger of these processes. An excess of commercialisation of values may result in an impoverished definition of the local culture, which is based exclusively on elements easily adapted and appealing to the media but not representative of the host community. As an example, the focus on cultural components that are easy to represent through the media may prevent the inclusion of less 'visual' cultural values such as literary, oral and other community traditions.

This problem became evident in Atlanta after the extreme success of the Barcelona '92 in promoting the city and its cultural values according to city marketing strategies. In Atlanta, the implementation of an image strategy became a very difficult exercise because the city had not the same "architectural sophistication" as Barcelona (Turner 1995: 4). The fascination brought by the Barcelona value production strategy made most of Atlanta cultural leaders and population sceptical about their ability to 'position' their city urban landscape of shopping malls, interstates and skyscrapers in a truly appealing at the same time as representative way. In this regard, Dana White, an Atlanta history expert at Emory University criticised that "it's kind of cheapening of a culture to try to capture a complex culture in a few words" (White cited in Turner 1995: 4). In contrast, Maria Luisa Albacar, head of the foreign relations for *Turisme de Barcelona*, wondered about, "the rest of the world, what will it make of Atlanta? Will it ever want to come back? What kind of product will you be?" (Roughton 1996: 9). Albarcar had been to the United States to think of how using the Games to position Atlanta as a tourist destination. She would insist that the most important question that the city needed to consider was "You have to create a product. You can invent one" (*ibid*).

The anthropological and cultural theorist approach of A. Martin Klausen and his team in Norway, has become a relevant source for contrasting the opportunities and dangers that cultural policy makers must face in the context of the Games (see Klausen 1999a). Berkaak (1999) discusses the way in which the Olympic ideology and its symbolic repertoire fits within the logic and ideology of the market and warns against the reductionist effects that can result from intertwining symbolic interpretative frames with the pragmatic ones. The author refers to the change of orientation of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement, from de Coubertin's humanistic ideals, to Samaranch's economic and pragmatic motivations. In Berkaak's words, this has resulted in an Olympic discourse characterised by the coexistence of two seemingly opposite orientations,

> "the hedonism of the festival and the pragmatics of the political arena and the market place [...]. The symbolic and artistic elements, the 'signifying materials of a culture' have clearly become instrumental in a way that is described by Andrew Wernick as typical of all promotional culture" (Berkaak, *op.cit*: 63).

Consequently, during the 1994 Lillehammer Games,

> "it became quite legitimate to evaluate cultural forms and performances in terms of their potential to attract customers and secure contract partners [...] and not to see them simply as expressions of inherent identity." [...]"The athletic achievements and the festive aspects of the Olympic events were meant to catch and hold the attention of the world and direct the 'eye of the world' to Norway, not just as a nation, but as a tourist destination and a production site, or, more generally, as a commodity" (Berkaak, *op. cit*: 65).

Berkaak concludes that,

> "It seems that the process of national reconstruction in Norway, with the XVII Winter Olympics at Lillehammer, has reached the moment at which the country discursively has been transformed from being a nation, ie., an idea of an abstract community based on the shared feeling of particularity and difference, to becoming what Wernick calls a 'commodity sign' [... ] When the promotional strategies take over and supplant all other motivations concerning the phenomenon, the promotional devices are no longer decorative embellishments – additions- but become its new character. The indications are that the centuries-old national ideology of culture is being gradually supplanted by a strategy of self-promotion in a rhetoric of hyperbole; for many actors the country is no longer thought of as a nation, but increasingly seen as a site of consumption with itself the prime commodity." (Berkaak, *op. cit*: 72)

Again, this suggests that the Games, as much as other great events, offers as many opportunities as challenges to implement and promote the cultural policy of the host-city. The visions of policy makers must be balanced with those of event sponsors, tourism boards, trade organisations and so on, which have agendas that are, at times, in competition with the priorities of cultural leaders. This makes a case for exploring which are the most obvious sources for the implementation of cultural policy choices within an event such as the Olympic Games.

### *Sources of cultural policy within the Olympic Games*

In the context of the Games, Moragas (2001) has argued that the cultural policy options of the host organisers should be focused on constructing the values and symbols of the event to ensure the coherence of its cultural dimension:

> "The Olympic Games, in contrast with what is common in other mega-events, demand the host organisers to develop a programme where most of its components are fully defined. The sporting competitions, the organisation and management structures, but also the Games rituals, are all objects that have been pre-planned and are subject to guidelines increasingly controlled and detailed by the International Olympic Committee [...]

> Nevertheless, the host-city has a wide autonomy in the creation of one of the key aspects of the event preparations: the cultural programme and the event symbolic production [...] Thus, in order to 'win the Games' it is necessary to start by appropriately interpreting its cultural dimension. This interpretation requires the development of six fundamental axis:
>
> - know how to define and interpret the event- the Olympic Games- understanding it as a cultural phenomenon
> - find the appropriate position for the local and global audience of the event
> - develop a cultural programme that defines the host-city identity –ceremonies, Cultural Olympiad, street celebrations-
> - establish a communication policy, in particular in regards to television
> - new challenges in the Internet era" (Moragas 2001, Spanish in the original)

Although Moragas does not explicitly list the possible sources of cultural value production within the Games staging process, a review of his work and his main arguments suggests the following list of cultural and communication elements:

- The promotional strategy for the Games and 'brand image' of the host-city: This includes the construction of city marketing strategies, including the synthesis of attractive features for promotion, among others.

- The cultural activities programme: This refers to the organisation of special cultural and arts events prior and during the Olympic period. The choice of events and programming is normally associated with the 'brand image' strategies related above.

- The 'symbols' of the Games and the Olympic Movement: This includes the logo and emblem of each Games, the mascots, all merchandising materials and commercial applications of those symbols (eg. accessories, clothing, decoration...), the Olympic posters, the corporate design or 'look of the Games' and all that it involves (the pictograms Olympic buildings design, staff uniforms, stationery design, publications design and so on) and other symbols such as the traditional Olympic numismatics (stamps and coins), Olympic slogans and Olympic songs.

- The Olympic ceremonies and rituals: Initially, this includes, both the opening and closing ceremonies which are considered the peak event of the Games in terms of public awareness and interest and has become the greater most viewed event in the world with the contribution of TV coverage; secondly the torch relay, which is one of the greater Olympic experiences in terms of public participation and community interest; and finally the medal ceremonies which involve the podium, raising of winners national flags, and national hymns

All of these elements, though at a lesser extent IOC controlled rituals such as the medal ceremonies and sections of the opening and closing ceremonies, contribute to the creation of a determined image of the host-city culture and its approach to the Games celebrations. Furthermore, they are a powerful source for the transmission of values and identity signs that can assist promoting the city cultural policy choices among the international media. For example, one could say that the choice of mascot design, Olympic emblem and the look of the Games in Barcelona was aimed at reflecting the contemporary, stylised and design-loving character of the host-city.

However, it could be argued that many of these elements flatten these cultural values and images. This is the case for logos, slogans and merchandising materials that are, nowadays, marketing and advertising tools with a strong commercial focus. From a different perspective, the Olympic opening and closing ceremonies may offer great opportunities for the showcasing and representation of a host-city's culture. Nevertheless, their great scale, strict time concentration, and ever growing

dependence on television demands, is tending to transform them into gigantic spectacles where the surprise factor and the scale of components seem far more relevant than the meaning and consistency of the cultural discourse that is being presented.

In his study of the opening and closing ceremonies phenomena, MacAloon (1984, 1996) distinguishes different presentation models. These range from the most spectacular-show oriented one – case of Los Angeles in 1984, or 'impresario model' – to the more anthropologically oriented, with a focus on national folklore and cultural identity representation – Seoul in 1988, or 'cultural experts model' (MacAloon 1984, 1996). In the case of the 'cultural experts model', it is the ritual that prevails, not entertainment, where the focus is on sequences of gestures and events that "participants and congregants [the audience] always know or think they know, in advance" (1996: 31). When the impresario model prevails, the focus is on spectacle and the 'unexpected'.

According to MacAloon, the different models of authority and deployment make a great difference in terms of ceremonies, not because of its intrinsic character, but rather because the public cultures of the producers and the receivers in each Games are different. Nevertheless, these basic models share a series of similarities and they reflect that, ultimately, what is presented needs to reach a universal audience in a simultaneous framework and needs to be easily transmitted and interpreted through the media. MacAloon discusses ways of interpreting the choice of models much further than these brief lines can comprehend. However, it is important to note that the choice of models and presentations has, in the end, "to be committed to be internationally sensitive to very different cultures and to avoid offending highly diverse and highly politicised social and cultural groups" (1996: 39-40). Moreover, on most occasions, this tends to the "regular production of historically deracinated, abstract and culturally neutered representations [...] of Olympic rituals" (*ibid*) and leads to simplistic interpretations by the public.

In contrast, among this ensemble of value production sources, there is a component that might be seen as a source for more complex, sophisticated and representative messages about the host cultural identity and policy choices. This component is the cultural programme of the Olympic Games, a programme that from Barcelona'92 on has been implemented as a four-year event or Cultural Olympiad. The latter decision has offered host cities greater chances to develop consistent cultural policy initiatives and build up longer term strategies to promote and expand awareness on the host-city and nation idiosyncrasies.

This argument is a point of departure for the current research and will be detailed in subsequent sections. However, prior to this, it is necessary to review some arguments that have questioned the notion of the cultural programme as being key to the presentation of the host-city cultural identity. Such arguments have questioned the sense of a cultural programme as a separate notion from the wide Olympic programme itself.

### *The cultural programme of the Games versus the Games as a cultural event*

The existence of a cultural programme within the Olympic Games has traditionally been understood as a complement to the sporting components. This is the result of a separate conception of two entities, 'sports plus culture', which comes from the founder of the Modern Games, Pierre de Coubertin (Monreal 1997). This separate conception is currently sustained by the 'Olympic Charter', the main policy document of the IOC, where it is stated that the Olympic Movement is

composed of three main and differentiated strings: "sport, culture and education" (IOC 1999: 4). Authors such as Good (1998) have also supported the idea of a contrast between sport, education and culture by identifying them with the traditional Greek concept of the balance between the body (sport), mind (education) and soul (culture). The tradition of understanding these three concepts as separate entities might somehow explain the low levels of interaction taking place between the programmes created to sustain them during the Olympic Games celebration.

Nevertheless, it is argued here that sport, culture and education should be seen as dimensions of the very same principle. As discussed by many authors in sports and recreation sciences sport is, among other things, a cultural manifestation and an activity through which education takes place. Thus, it is not possible to understand the concept of sport or Olympic sport, without reference to the concepts of culture and education (Blake 1996; Horne, Tomlison & Whannel 1999). For this reason, the concept of a cultural programme separated from the sporting and educative programmes seems to be redundant. One would expect all of them to be integrated and perceived accordingly by everybody involved within the Olympic experience, from athletes to coaches, organisers and spectators. However, the lack of an integrated sporting cultural discourse perceived as such by average Olympic audiences and promoted as such by Olympic organisers, supporters and media, reveals that the idea of a perfect and evident integration of these concepts within people's minds is far from being a reality.

Moragas (1992b) corroborates the argument that culture and sport are intrinsic and inseparable components of the Games taking a communication point of view. In his view, there are two aspects in the cultural dimension of the Olympic Games that must be observed. In the first place, the Olympic Games is a cultural phenomenon and not only the opportunity to implement cultural or other activities alongside the sports competitions. Second, the targets of the Olympic Games as a cultural event are all Games communication audiences, both local and international, direct and mediate (p. 11). This is why Moragas considers it to be of critical relevance to distinguish between the content and scope of the Olympic cultural programme or Cultural Olympiad from what could be defined as the Games cultural project in general.

> "If the Cultural Olympiad consists of a programme to promote cultural activities for the Olympiad period, and it is fundamentally destined to host citizens and surroundings, or those who travel expressly to the host-city during Games time, then we should say that we are only considering a part, and very limited, of the Games cultural project. The cultural project must be understood in a wider sense, as all expressions of value production updated through the mass media not only dedicated to the public opinion in the host-city but also to the international public opinion" (Moragas 1992b: 12)

Moragas advocates that a consideration of the Games as a cultural event should lead to the creation of consistent cultural policies throughout the Games preparations and that this would help to avoid the dangers of excessive commercialism and reductionism in the transmission of meanings and values. He argues that, by accepting the idea of an Olympic cultural project beyond the limits of the Cultural Olympiad programme, the basic levels of organisation and production of the Games should be influenced, "especially in what regards the production of symbols and the informative coverage of the event" (1992b: 12). As a whole, with his cultural analysis, Moragas argues that,

> "the idea of the Games being seen as an advertising opportunity to sell local product must be rejected. We cannot forget that, through its organisational decisions, the host-city is converted into a world meeting point, a point for the dialogue between its own culture and other world cultures" (*ibid,* Catalan in the original)

This argument identifies some of the weaknesses of the current processes to stage the Olympic Games, where the emphasis on marketing and global business strategies is overcoming the idea of a humanistic movement with the ideal of peace and universal understanding as its reason of being. However, it is important to note that the cultural programme of the Games, now defined as Cultural Olympiad, might have a specific and significant role to play as a distinguished element of the Games. This role could be understood as the balanced representation of the host-city and culture not only to local audiences, but to an international public opinion, as Moragas suggests.

As a step towards interpreting the Games as a cultural event, the cultural programme or Cultural Olympiad offers a context through which it is possible to synthesise the commercial aspects of the games with its cultural policy ambitions.

* * *

This thesis has been set up to explore how notions of cultural policy are reflected in the design, management and promotion of the Olympic cultural programme. Subsequent chapters review the history of the concept and its evolution and the corpus of the thesis will focus on the description and analysis of a specific case study: the cultural programme of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. The next section presents a definition of the main research question and specific research objectives.

## *1.2. Research purposes*

### a) Research aims and objectives

This thesis studies the current state and application of cultural policy principles in the production of a great event's cultural programme. Following the main arguments exposed in the conceptual framework, the thesis departs from the idea that the use of cultural policy principles can be a useful tool to guide the design, management and promotion of an event cultural programme. Furthermore, following Moragas (1988, 1992a, 1992b, 2001) it is considered that the cultural relevance of a great event is highly dependant on the consistency of the policy choices informing its cultural dimensions. In this context, the thesis aims to explore whether current notions of cultural policy provide a good platform for managing and communicating the cultural dimension of a great event such as the Olympic Games, in particular, the Games official cultural programme or Cultural Olympiad.

A working premise for this thesis is the notion that the cultural programme of a great event must reconcile its global vocation with the fact that it takes place in a specific location. The first involves an intrinsic relationship with the world media and multinational corporations, the second means that the programme can act as a platform for the promotion and representation of the host local issues. Consequently, the application of cultural policy principles must be considered both at the level of the local host an its particular interests, and at the level of the global networks supporting the event in the long term. This involves a reconciliation between the expectations of local governments, cultural organisations or other host opinion leaders with the expectations of the event permanent umbrella organisation and its global supporters, in the case of the Olympic Games, the IOC and its world-wide corporate partners.

To address the thesis main aim and its working premise, this thesis responds to the following research questions:

- How is an Olympic cultural programme informed by the cultural policy of the IOC?
- How is an Olympic cultural programme informed by the cultural policy of the local host?
- Is the Olympic cultural programme able to play a relevant role in defining the Games' cultural dimension?
- Is the Olympic cultural programme perceived as a relevant component of the Olympic Games?

These questions can be framed, respectively, by the following objectives and operational areas of analysis,

1) Study the general characteristics of the Olympic cultural programme and the cultural policy provisions of the IOC. To achieve this, it will be necessary to
   - Analyse the notion of the Olympic cultural programme as it is supported by the IOC
   - Analyse the defined or implicit cultural policy of the IOC
2) Study the specific character of an Olympic cultural programme and the cultural policy provisions of the local host. This will require
   - Analysing the historical, political and/or cultural context of the host of an Olympic Games
   - Analysing the design and definition of its cultural programme
3) Study the procedures to facilitate the production and promotion of the cultural programme in the context of an Olympic Games. This will involve
   - Analysing the procedures to manage the cultural programme
   - Analysing the procedures to promote the cultural programme
4) Study the perceived relevance of the cultural programme within the great event
   - Analysis of the interests and influence of key Olympic stakeholders
   - Analyse the media interpretation and resonance of the cultural programme

The research for this thesis has been framed within the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games and uses the Sydney Cultural Olympiad or Olympic Arts Festivals as a case study.

## b) Content structure

The thesis is composed of four parts and eleven chapters. The first part presents the study's conceptual framework and definition of the research object (*chapter 1*) and the description of the research methodology (*chapter 2*). The research analysis and summary of findings are distributed in the second and third part. Within these parts, each chapter offers a detailed description of the particular area it is dedicated to and ends with a summary section that is reviewed in the fourth part – 'General discussion and conclusions'.

The second part explores the state and influence of cultural policy principles at IOC level. It is composed of two chapters, each of them responding to one of the areas of analysis comprised in the first of the research objectives indicated above. *Chapter 3* identifies the key characteristics of an Olympic cultural programme. This comprises an analysis of the current notion of cultural programme and its evolution throughout different editions of the Games. *Chapter 4* studies the level of cultural provision within the IOC to establish whether the organisation has a defined cultural policy. This involves an analysis of the position of cultural endeavours with the IOC current structure and agenda.

The third part studies the role played by cultural policy to inform a particular case: the cultural programme of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. It is structured in six chapters that correspond to the six areas of analysis identified in the research objectives number 2, 3 and 4.

- *Chapter 5* describes the political and cultural context surrounding the Sydney Olympic Bid and the proposal for a cultural programme. This involves a revision of Australia's demographic situation and cultural traditions and an evaluation of the expectations and priorities of the bid organisers.

- *Chapter 6* reviews the process of planning and designing the Olympic cultural programme once the Games were won. Particular attention is given to contrasting the key cultural images utilised to promote Australia at the time of the bid with the material resources made available for the cultural programme to develop them.

- *Chapter 7* analyses the position of the cultural programme within the management structure of the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games. Key aspects to consider are the programme internal operations – planning, budgeting etc. – and the strategies set in place to attract and interact with Olympic stakeholders external to the organisation.

- *Chapter 8* studies the promotional strategy for the cultural programme and compares it with the Games promotional strategy. The focus of the chapter is to review the priorities of Olympic marketing and communications as they are established by the IOC, interpreted by an organising committee and finally applied to the promotion of the cultural programme.

- *Chapter 9* looks at the perspectives and contributions of the key stakeholders with which the cultural programme aims to interact. The identified stakeholders belong to four areas: the public sector, the arts community, the corporate sector – meaning Olympic sponsors – and the media.

- Finally, *chapter 10* presents the key findings of a four-year press content analysis of the programme coverage. These findings are analysed to determine whether the cultural programme succeeded in portraying the images it intended, and to measure the level of media attention it gathered prior to and during the Olympic Games.

The fourth part of this thesis is dedicated to expose a general discussion and principal conclusions.

# 2. Research methodologies

This chapter describes the main procedures utilised in the design and implementation of the thesis research methods. In order to respond to the defined aims and objectives, it has been necessary to use two methodological approaches. Section one outlines briefly the procedures involved in the first approach, a conceptual and historical review of the subject of study and the state of cultural policy provisions associated with it. Section two expands on the main methodological approach for this thesis, the study of a case. This section describes the stages that have been followed to define the case study and lists the range of data gathering techniques utilised for it.

## *2.1. Historical research: cultural provisions of the IOC*

As defined in the 'Research purposes' section, one of the objectives of this thesis is to explore the state of cultural provisions within the IOC to determine whether there is a defined cultural policy. However, it has been found that there is literally no written material on this topic beyond the publication of a few conference proceedings edited by the IOC and the Olympic Museum (see Commission for Culture and Olympic Education 2000). As a result, it has been necessary to undertake a historical review of archives and other internal documents at the IOC official archive and documentation services. The historical review has been undertaken during two months in the Olympic Studies Centre of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.

The first aim of the historical review was to study whether there is a defined cultural policy within the Olympic Movement and whether it is being applied. This has led to reviewing how cultural initiatives have stood along the years within the IOC and the IOC agenda.

The study of the IOC structure has involved an analysis of the composition, function and influence of key bodies such as the IOC executive commission, other Olympic commissions and executive departments at the IOC headquarters likely to manage cultural matters. Particular attention has been given to analysing the levels of interaction and support between these bodies and the group officially charged with cultural matters. The latter is the Cultural Commission which recently, has merged with the Education Commission to become the Commission for Culture and Olympic Education.

The analysis of the IOC agenda has involved a review of the proceedings of relevant meetings such as IOC Sessions and meetings of the Executive Commission. This has been compared with the proceedings of Cultural Commission meetings. The analysis paid particular attention at the procedures to supervise and undertake decisions about cultural matters and has evaluated the frequency and conditions in which these decisions take place.

A second aim of the historical review was to find a full definition of the notion of Olympic cultural programme and to gather information about ways in which it has been implemented over the years. The search for definitions has led to reviewing early documents about the philosophy of the Olympic Movement – for instance, notions of culture by the founder of the Movement, Pierre de Coubertin – and subsequent adaptations in policy documents such as the Olympic Charter. The search for information about the practical evolution of the concept has involved the analysis of official reports

about the design, management and promotion of cultural programmes on occasion of respective Olympic Games editions.

The research has required the consultation of a wide range of materials, most of them unpublished and some under embargo[1]. In order to confirm the validity of the data, the documentation and archival review has been complemented with a series of personal interviews with senior executives at the Olympic Museum and the IOC headquarters[2]. Further to assisting in the verification of findings, these interviews have provided a contemporary view of the areas researched and have suggested new paths for research.

The data gathering techniques utilised for the historical review have been similar to some of the techniques utilised for the case study. Point b. in the following section offers further detail about the procedures involved in each of them, in particular, the procedures followed for the interviewing process.

## *2.2. Case study: the Sydney 1997-2000 Olympic Arts Festivals*

The second and most ambitious objective of the thesis has been to collect and contrast as much information as possible about the elements implied in the design, management and promotion process of an Olympic cultural programme and to explore whether they are informed by any defined cultural policy. This choice has led to gathering data from very different sources on a wide range of topics including managerial structures, communication plans, devices for media coverage and definition of arts and cultural policies. As detailed below, the use of case study as main methodological approach has been of great assistance to frame such a vast compilation of information within a clearly structured and balanced research scheme. The data gathering for the case study has been conducted in Sydney, Australia in the period between March 1999 and October 2000.

### a) Defining a case study

According to Berg (1998) case study methods involve the systematic gathering of information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions (p. 22). Quoting Hamel, Dufour & Fortin, Berg adds that a case study "is not actually a data-gathering technique in itself, but a methodological approach that incorporates a number of data-gathering measures" (*ibid*). The data about the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals have been collected according to this approach.

In his 'Case Study Research Design and Methods', Yin (1994) analyses the various procedural options that are possible in the design of a case study. Yin starts by differentiating between multiple and single case studies. In the current research, a single case study has been considered the most appropriate choice. This has been so, fundamentally, due to the circumstance that the case – the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals – was the most contemporary example of the situation to be analysed

[1] It is important to note that an IOC embargo can only be lifted by the IOC President or the Secretary General. In this case, the embargo was lifted by the Secretary General, Françoise Zweiffel. Find a complete list of the archives and documents reviewed in appendix 1.

[2] See a list of interviewees in appendix 2.

– influence of cultural policy in the production of an Olympic cultural programme. Furthermore, the case was being planned and implemented at the time when the data collection for this thesis was going to take place (1999-2000). This provided an ideal opportunity to gather a wide range of field data at the time when they were being produced, interact with the main actors involved in the object of study and contrast literature references with direct observations.

Yin denominates this sort of case study a "revelatory" case because it involves the opportunity for an investigator to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible or unattended in terms of scientific investigation. This type of case study is therefore "worth conducting because the descriptive information alone will be revelatory" (*op. cit*: 41). The amount of primary data collected for this research has surpassed all expectations, which indeed provides ground for developing alternative approaches to the same case in the future. It is because of the quantity and quality of data collected that the third part of this thesis has been designed to offer a compilation of information as extensive as possible about the case of study.

After deciding on whether focusing on a single or multiple case study, Yin indicates that a major step in the design of the research method is the definition of the case "unit or units of analysis" (p. 44). In this thesis, the main units of analysis have been identified to respond to six of the main operational objectives defined in the 'Research Purposes'[3]. As such, the units and sub-units of analysis are:

- the socio-cultural context of the location where the cultural programme takes place: eg. demographic conditions, political conditions, cultural traditions
- the process to design the cultural programme: eg. identification of key concepts, mission statements, objectives and programme components
- the management characteristics of the cultural programme: eg. working structure, internal operations such as strategic planning and budgeting; strategies to approach external stakeholders
- the programme's promotional strategy: eg. concept, planning and implementation of marketing and communications
- the contribution to the programme of external stakeholders: ie. perspective and role of government bodies, the arts community, the corporate sector and the media
- the local interpretation and resonance of the programme: ie. media coverage

Yin defines this sort of research design as an "embedded single-case design" (p. 42). According to him, study units and sub-units can range from a whole organisation and its departments – eg. the team in charge of the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals and other departments of the Olympic organising committee – to individual members – Olympic managers and representatives from different stakeholders.

Due to the great diversity in the nature of different unit of analysis it has been necessary the use different frames of reference. The study of the socio-cultural context has been based on a historical and sociological approach. The study of the processes of design, management and promotions has relied on the literature and techniques of management and communication studies. The study of the contribution and perspectives of external stakeholders has used both a sociological and a communication studies approach. Finally, the study of the programme interpretation and resonance (media coverage) has been entirely based on the principles of communication studies.

[3] See chapter 1, section 2. The operational objectives that have not been used as a research unit of the 'case study' are part of the objectives of the 'Historical research' described in this chapter, section 1.

## b) Data-gathering procedures

Following indications by Yin (1994), Cassell & Symon (1994) and Berg (1998), data collection for case studies can rely on many sources of evidence. According to Ying, these are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts. All of these sources have been used at some point during the research, in particular, documentation, archival records and interviews.

A major concern in the methodological design of this case study has been to guarantee the reliability and validity of the information being presented and its analytical interpretation. In this sense, the use of different data sources has been paramount. This has been so because, as indicated by Yin, the use of multiple sources of evidence "allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioural issue" but, most importantly because they allow "the development of converging lines of enquiry" (p. 92). This is a process of triangulation that increases the accuracy and reliability of findings and conclusions due to its being based on several sources of information, following a corroboratory mode. As detailed below, during the development of the research, archival and documentation evidences have been regularly contrasted with the comments and arguments resulting from personal interviews with experts and field notes produced during direct observation exercises.

### *Documentation and archival review*

Initial resources to design the structure and scope of this project have been gathered through an extensive documentation and archival review at the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG), the Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, the Centre for Olympic Studies at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, the International Olympic Academy in Olympia, and the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Documents reviewed include internal correspondence and memoranda; agendas, announcements and minutes; administrative documents; formal studies and evaluations; reports about prior Olympic cultural programmes; notes about the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals; notes for the preparation of the Sydney 2000 Official Games Report; promotional materials, and performance recordings. Archival records reviewed include organisational records from SOCOG and the IOC; lists of names and relevant commodities associated with the Sydney festivals and the IOC cultural commission; festivals accounts, and personal records such as diaries, calendars and work function descriptions.

The review of documents and archival records has been extremely useful in providing a background for the case study. This material has not been taken as a literal recording of events because, as signalled by Yin (1994) they have been written for specific purposes and audiences other than the ones for this research and thus, are the reflection of "a communication among other parties attempting to achieve some other objectives" (p. 82). Their relevance has laid instead in the great contribution to corroborate the evidence provided by other sources and the assistance provided for the identification of interviewees and the preparation of questions for the personal interviews.

### *Content Analysis: 1997-2000 press clippings on the Olympic Arts Festivals*

Further to the consultation of documents and archives, a fundamental source of information has been the analysis of national press coverage from the first year the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals took place (1997) to their end at the time of the Olympic Games (2000). The evolution,

implementation and impacts of the festivals have been studied through the content analysis of Australian press articles published over the four years. The method has been of great assistance to learn about the perceived relevance of the festivals and their public interpretation. In particular, this analysis has been a good source to measure the success of the festivals to project the images and values it intended.

The research procedure has consisted of the compilation of all press articles published prior to, during and after the presentation of each Olympic festival programme in Australia. As explained in the chapter dedicated to present the results of this analysis, the totality of the articles analysed had been daily compiled and classed by Australia Media Monitors, a press clipping company contracted by SOCOG. The articles have been provided to the author by SOCOG Records Services and the OAF publicity department[4].

*Personal interviews with experts*

The main source of information about the case study has been an extensive programme of personal interviews. The interviewing process has been paramount to the project in order to appropriately interpret archival and documentary sources but also to learn about key facts, structures, strategies and policies about which there is not yet sufficient written material.

Initially, interviews were the key to obtain relevant information and guide further enquires rather than to verify pre-conceived hypothesis or already known features. Consequently, interviewees were at first considered 'informants'. According to Yin (1994) an informant is somebody that in addition to providing an insight into the researcher questions is able to suggest sources of corroboratory evidence and initiate the access to such sources (p. 84). In these cases, the interviews were 'open-ended' and assumed a conversational manner to allow the interviewee to expand on the areas that he/she considered more relevant and resulted of interest for the research. At a later stage, interviews were undertaken with the aim to corroborate facts and data provided by other sources. In these cases, interviews were 'semi-directed', that is, they were framed within a clearly established set of questions derived from the case study protocol. In any case, interviewees were welcome to expand on their responses. Both open-ended and semi-directed interviews were conducted in a one-to-one basis in a time frame that varied from one hour to two hours.

In total, eighty-nine people have been interviewed, some of them in two or three occasions[5]. The average lasting time of the interviews has been one and a half hours. The subjects interviewed were key spokespersons having a deep understanding of the festivals preparations – design, management and promotional issues – or their context of application – Sydney, Australia, socio-political issues. They ranged from university scholars studying the cultural aspect of the Games to managers and assistants directly involved in or affected by the OAF project including managers, producers, sponsors, media and artists working either at SOCOG or at stakeholder organisations[6]. The selection of subjects evolved progressively. Initial contacts were made at SOCOG thanks to the assistance of the Centre for Olympic Studies at *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona,* the Centre for

[4] Refer to chapter 10 and appendix 6, for further explanations on the procedures for the content analysis and the main findings.

[5] Refer to the 'References – Interviews' and appendix 4 for specific indications about interviewing dates and number of times that each interviewee has been met.

[6] Refer to appendix 4 for the complete list of names and professional affiliations

Olympic Studies at University of New South Wales, and thanks to the suggestions made by the Olympic Project coordinator of the University of Technology of Sydney. Subsequent contacts were done through recommendation by prior interviewees and by identifying relevant names in press articles and SOCOG festivals' documentation.

A significant issue in the process to undertake interviews was the use of tape recorders. While the use of tapes was seen as an ideal means to get the most accurate rendition of the interview, some interviewees refused permission or felt uncomfortable about it. Also, at the initial stages of the research, there were no plans for complete transcription of the interview so the recording was seen unnecessary. Consequently, out of the eighty-nine interviews, twenty were recorded on tape and have been literally transcribed and the rest have been either partial or totally transcribed from personal notes[7].

*Telephone interviews and questionnaires*

The personal interview process was complemented with an open-ended telephone questionnaire addressed to a sample of institutions directly or indirectly affected by the staging of the Olympic Arts Festivals. Two different questionnaires were used depending on whether these institutions had had a participant role or not in one or more of the festivals[8].

Telephone interviews were also conducted when managers or assistants initially contacted for a personal interview were not available for a face to face meeting. These interviews followed a structure similar to the rest of personal interviews.

*Direct observation*

Finally, eight months of internship at SOCOG has allowed a close follow-up of the day-to-day internal relationships of the organisation key divisions and programmes. It has been of special interest to observe the pattern of interactions between the Olympic Arts Festivals programme and other programmes supposedly associated with the Games cultural dimensions or the cultural programme in particular[9]. These programmes have been Special Events, the National Education Programme, the Multicultural Affairs Department, the Torch Relay programme and the Ceremonies programme.

The direct observation method has been remarkably useful to infer informal power relations and decision-making processes that were not expressed in SOCOG archives nor within the interviewees' discourse. However, the observational data collection process has been extremely casual and has not been taken as a definitive source of evidence. Instead, this data collection has been taken as a point of departure to identify the environmental conditions within which interviewees moved and the Olympic Arts Festivals' programme was designed, managed and promoted. This has been paramount to interpret and verify the reliability of the interviewee's discourse and to put in context the opportunities or constraints to implement the defined festivals' programme.

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[7] Find a transcription of notes and tape recordings of the most relevant interviews in the appendix.

[8] Find a copy of both questionnaires in appendix 5.

[9] Refer to chapter 1, section 1.d. for arguments about the different sources for cultural policy in the Olympic Games and chapter 3, section 1, for a description of similarities between the Olympic Arts Festivals programme and other Olympic programmes.

# PART TWO:

# Olympic cultural programme and cultural policy choices

# 3. Characteristics of the Olympic Games cultural programme

In the introductory chapter it has been explained that the scope and influence of the Olympic Games phenomena is a result of the interaction with the global media and multinational corporations at the same time as being the production of symbols and cultural values. This chapter provides a conceptual framework that helps to further understand the functions and position of the Olympic cultural programme specifically.

The chapter starts by reviewing the notion of Olympic cultural programme understood as a particular component of the Games celebration. It then describes the historical evolution of the programme since the original inception by Baron Pierre de Coubertin and its first implementation in 1906, up to the latest editions of the Olympic Summer Games in Barcelona 1992 and Atlanta 1996.

## *3.1. The notion of Olympic cultural programme*

An understanding of the current definition and practical applications of the Olympic cultural programme requires some initial distinctions and an agreement over the identification of the programme's key components. This exercise is not an obvious one as, to date, there is not an official detailed guideline about the cultural programme and its priority functions. Instead, we are left with a wide and frequently inconsistent range of references dedicated to underline the importance of 'culture' within the Olympic Movement. Some of these references are specific but extremely brief regulations indicating the compulsory presence of a cultural programme at the time of the Olympic Games and, indeed, the diverse practices of prior Olympic cities in the conceptualisation and implementation of respective cultural festivals and exhibitions. The paragraphs below describe the key criteria used in this thesis to identify its object of study.

*Cultural programme versus cultural event*

In the first place, it is crucial to separate the notion of Olympic cultural programme as it is suggested by the IOC in its Charter (rule 44, IOC 1999) from the wider notion of the Games as a cultural event per se, the way it has been articulated in section 1.4. (Moragas 1992a, 1992b). This thesis focuses on the description and analysis of the first option, that is, the Olympic cultural programme or Cultural Olympiad understood as a component that represents only a section of the overall Olympic activities taking place prior to and during the staging of the Olympic Games. The IOC official reference to the programme reads as follows,

*Box 3.i: Cultural Programme as presented in the Olympic Charter (1999)*

Rule 44: Cultural Programme

- The OCOG [Organising Committee for the Olympic Games] must organise a programme of cultural events which shall be submitted to the IOC Executive Board for its prior approval.
- This programme must serve to promote harmonious relations, mutual understanding and friendship among the participants and others attending the Olympic Games.

By-Law to Rule 44:

The Cultural Programme must include

- Cultural events organised in the Olympic Village and symbolising the universality and the diversity of human culture
- Other events with the same purpose held mainly in the host-city, with a certain number of seats being reserved free of charge for participants accredited by the IOC

The cultural programme must cover at least the entire period during which the Olympic Village is open.

*Source: Olympic Charter (1999) Chapter 5: The Olympic Games, rule 44 (p.68-69)*

This reference does not offer any clear definition about what the Olympic cultural programme is supposed to be composed. Instead, it can be interpreted as a brief guideline to the main principles that the programme of 'cultural events' is supposed to promote. These principles are identified as: 'harmonious relations', 'mutual understanding', 'friendship', 'universality' and 'diversity' but are not supported by any performance indicator. Consequently, throughout the years respective OCOGs have been completely free to propose an interpretation of the principles and to decide on the most appropriate way to implement them.

*Characteristics of the Olympic cultural programme*

Considering the brevity and ambiguity of the IOC official guideline, the identification of the programme main components must rely on the observation of prior Olympic editions – the agendas and actions of differing OCOGs – and the accounts of researchers presenting data on each Games' cultural activities. However, the lack of comprehensive research about Olympic cultural programming makes it impossible to establish a comprehensive list at this stage of the thesis. Therefore, in this chapter, the main components and characteristics of the cultural programme can only be inferred in a very general sense.

A fundamental characteristic that stands out in Olympic documents and related research is the identification of the Olympic cultural programme with an 'arts' programme rather than a cultural programme in a wider sense (for wider notions of culture look at UNESCO 1998a). In this line, the terms culture and arts, and occasionally, fine arts, have been used interchangeably in most of the reviewed literature (see Arguel 1994, COOB 1993, IOC 1995a, 1997, 1997b, 1999, 2000c, Messing 1997, Masterton 1973, Stanton 2000, Teicher 2000, Burnosky 1994, Casares Ferreiro 1989, Good 1998, Guevara 1992, Levitt 1990, Pfirschke 1998, Priebe 1990).

Keeping with this unofficial tradition, this thesis will start by understanding the concept of Olympic cultural programme as an arts programme or arts festival. This decision is justified, firstly, because it was the notion of a fine arts showcase that prompted the founder of the Modern Olympic Games, Baron de Coubertin, to advocate for the inclusion of a cultural programme to bring an "aesthetic setting" to the sporting competitions (IOC 1997a)[10]. Secondly, because the principle of artistic expression has inspired most cultural programmes since the first time they were implemented in 1906 (Stanton 2000).

[10] See more details in section 2.

The interpretation of Pierre de Coubertin's idea of Olympic cultural activity as a collection of fine arts expressions, and the review of the recent history of Olympic cultural/arts festivals suggests that, presently, the notion of Olympic cultural programme refers mainly to the organisation of an arts programme composed by expressions or events belonging to the following categories:

- literature (poetry, plays, novels, philosophical theses, historical reviews)
- music (orchestral music, operas, folklore, pop, rock or other sorts of traditional and contemporary musical expression)
- theatre (from classical theatre to contemporary physical theatre and a wide range of stage performances)
- dance (from classical ballet, to folkloric and contemporary dance)
- visual arts (painting, sculpture, decorative arts, photography and public art expressions)
- architecture and city decorations
- cinema and other range of contemporary audiovisual expressions.

*Other Olympic activities associated with the Olympic cultural programme*

Finally, it is important to identify the range of activities within the Olympic Games staging process that appear to be closer to the notion of Olympic cultural programme in terms of function, components and/or public perception. Therefore, these activities may be used as a point of reference to compare managerial and promotional difficulties, perceived relevance, public awareness and level of interaction between the cultural programme and the overall Olympic project.

Games activities that are closer to the notion of an Olympic cultural programme are the following: the opening and closing ceremonies, the torch relay, the education programme, the youth camp, the special events programme and the image and 'look of the Games' programme. Fundamental points in common between the notion behind each of the above programmes and the notion of a cultural programme have been identified as follows,

- none of these programmes and activities consists, in essence, of sporting activities
- these programmes are not dedicated to reflect or reinforce the notion of sport exclusively but rather to put sport into a wider context.
- all of these programmes offer similar chances to showcase the idiosyncrasy of the host-city and country

In contrast, beyond the sporting competitions, there is a series of Olympic programmes and activities that are dedicated to support the sports programme or other dimensions of the event without any obvious emphasis on cultural or artistic endeavours. Additionally, there is not a vocation to portray the values of the host-city in particular. They are programmes that tend to follow international patterns of management and rely on the support or direction of international organisations or staff with an experience in prior Games. Examples of these programmes have been taken from the structural composition of the Sydney Games Organising Committee (SOCOG 2000c). They are programmes such as all sporting related operations (programme schedules, security, transport, doping control, sporting venue and facilities management, accreditations) and programmes dedicated to areas such as finances, legal issues, sponsorship, consumer products, media relations, villages or accommodation, technology and broadcasting. Traditionally, none of these programmes has provided a direct support to the organisation of the Olympic cultural programme and, as such, they can rarely be used as a point of reference for comparisons.

* * *

In general, the notion of Olympic cultural programme remains open to the interpretation of Games host cities and Olympic Organising Committees for the Games (OCOGs). Representatives of the IOC Cultural Commission have argued that it is not convenient to offer too tight a framework for the implementation of cultural activities as it would constrain the richness and diversity of expressions that respective Olympic hosts can provide. Indeed, the lack of a concrete definition has allowed a great freedom of action and interpretation and has contributed to incite very ambitious cultural bid proposals. Nevertheless, this has also been the source of remarkable discontinuities in the OCOG's commitment to develop the programme, especially in regards to budgeting and resource allocation. The lack of guidelines and clear definitions of purpose has resulted in ever-changing levels of support for the programme, which has affected its consistency and ability to raise an international profile comparable to the sporting events. This is further discussed in the following section.

## *3.2. Historical review of the Olympic cultural programme*

The notion of Olympic cultural programme has changed over time. While there has been a continuous insistence on its being a fundamental component of the Olympic experience, its nature and functions have been questioned since the very beginnings of the Modern Olympic Games. Today, the programme keeps being one of the less defined dimensions of the Games celebration.

### a) Origins: The ideal role of cultural events in the Olympic Games

The principle of holding an art festival in parallel to the celebration of sporting competitions is embedded in the foundations of the Olympic Movement. This movement was founded in 1894 by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French pedagogue who sought to revive the ancient Greek tradition of quadrennial celebrations of athletics and the arts held in Olympia from 776 BC to 395 AC

Hanna (1999) describes that in the Ancient Games, "athletes, philosophers, scholars, poets, musicians, sculptors and high-profile leaders displayed their talents, in what de Coubertin called the spirit of Olympism" (p. 106). Good (1998) specifies that Olympism was often defined by de Coubertin as the simultaneous training of the human body and the cultivation of the intellect and spirit, together viewed as manifestations of the harmoniously educated man. Upon this basis, de Coubertin's dream was to create an environment in modern society where artists and athletes could, again, be mutually inspired. From this, it can be concluded that de Coubertin brought the Olympic Games back to life hoping to develop an internationally recognised marriage between art and sport. In support of this ambition, the Olympic Charter establishes that the three main strings of the modern Olympic Movement are "Sport, Culture and Education" (IOC 2001), also identified as "Sport, Culture and the Environment" (IOC 2002).

The ability of de Coubertin to coordinate and attract the attention of critical decision makers around the world led to the re-birth of the Games in 1896 – Athens – and to their continuation in 1900 – Paris – and 1904 – St Louis. Nevertheless, none of these Games incorporated arts activities alongside the sporting events. In order to encourage a reflection on this situation and change the pattern, the Baron convened a 'Consultative conference on Art, Letters and Sport' at the *Comedie*

*Française* in Paris, 1906. Coubertin invited artists, writers and sports experts to discuss how the arts could be integrated into the Modern Olympic Games. The invitation stated that the purpose of the meeting was to study "to what extent and in what form the arts and letters could take part in the celebration of modern Olympic Games and become associated, in general, with the practice of sports, in order to profit from them and ennoble them" (Carl Diem Institute 1966: 16). As a result of the conference and in order to ensure a clear association of the arts with sports, de Coubertin decided to establish an arts competition that was to be part of every Olympic Games celebration (Coubertin, cited in IOC 1997: 92). This competition was called the 'Pentathlon of Muses' and would award medals in the categories of sculpture, painting, music, literature and architecture.

The organisation of the first 'Pentathlon of Muses' was entitled to a special commission set up by the Olympic Organising Committee of the host-city staging the following Games, London 1908. Nevertheless, time constraints and disagreement over the programme contents provoked the cancellation of the 'Pentathlon' at a late stage (Burnosky 1994: 21-22, Petersen 1989). The idea of an Olympic arts competition was therefore not implemented until the Stockholm Games in 1912.

## b) Evolution: from competitions to exhibitions

### *Stockholm 1912 to London 1948: Olympic Arts Competitions*

From 1912 in Stockholm until 1948 in London, arts competitions were organised in parallel to the sporting competitions, and artists, like athletes, competed and won gold, silver and bronze medals (Good 1998, Stanton 2000). However, regulations and contest parameters changed considerably due to difficulties in defining the different competition sections and disagreement in defining the most appropriate subject for the works presented.

Over the years, the competition's sections changed from the five areas composing the 'Pentathlon of Muses' to a long list of sub-categories. Moreover, the appropriate theme for Olympic artworks was also a controversial area as it was discussed whether or not to restrict the entries to works inspired in or portraying sports activities. Initially it was compulsory to present a sporting theme, but this proved difficult and limiting in areas other than architecture or design for sports buildings (Burnosky 1994: 23). Also problematic was the non-universal or localised nature of the arts competitions, as most judges and competitors were European and it was very rare that non-western artists were awarded a medal (Burnosky 1994, Hanna 1999, Good 1998).

Other problems were related to transport difficulties, inconsistent support from respective OCOGs and many limitations resulting from the regulation of amateurism in the Olympic Movement. The latter implied that, as in the case of athletes at the time, the participation of professional artists could not be accepted. In an arts context this was particularly problematic because all artists were considered professional in their devotion to their vocation (Hanna 1999: 108, referring to an IOC document from the 44th IOC Session in Rome, 1949).

Hanna adds that perhaps most disappointing was the poor audience participation invoked by the arts competitions. In her words,

> "Cultural celebrations based on sport were increasingly irrelevant; people watch[ed] sport in real competitions, but their interest did not extend to sport in art." (*ibid:* 108).

This was a remarkable failure in the context of de Coubertin's ideals, as for the Baron, a major reason for holding cultural events alongside the sports competitions was the possibility to inspire discussion and the promotion of ideas among all Olympic participants and spectators.

In this context, it is interesting to see that, in contrast with other host cities where Olympic arts manifestations had played a minor role, the so-called "Nazi Games" of Berlin '36 staged a cultural festival of unprecedented size and nature for which, as indicated in the Berlin Games official report, an ambitious publicity campaign was created,

> "Because of the slight interest which the general public had hitherto evidenced in the Olympic Art Competition and Exhibition, it was necessary to emphasise their cultural significance to the Olympic Games through numerous articles in the professional and daily publications as well as radio lectures." (The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936, Official Report cited in Good 1998: 19)

In this case, the Olympic art programme, which was closely linked to the implementation of new and spectacular rituals such as the first modern Olympic torch relay, was used as a propaganda tool for the German National Socialists. Large sculptures, new musical compositions and the production of the epic film masterpiece 'Olympia' by Leni Riefenstahl, became all memorable outcomes of the 1936 Olympic arts programme.

As stated by Burnosky (1994), the 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games and related arts competitions were not held because of World War II. In any case, at the time when the Games were re-established in London 1948, the organising committee succeeded in paralleling the sports with arts competitions. Remarkably, after the cultural programme ended, the British Fine Arts Committee that had been set up on occasion of the Games compiled a "report of juror's suggestions for future arts contests" (p. 33). This was intended for use as a guide to organising future arts competitions (Good 1998: 20). Good explains that "the recommendations included reducing the number of arts categories" and concluded that the "interest in the exhibitions would be greater if they were more closely linked up with the Games themselves and if a more intensive press campaign had been organised" (*ibid*).

By 1950, the problems and difficulties noted above were perceived to be far greater than the benefits and achievements brought by the Olympic art competitions. To review the situation, a long discussion process took place within the IOC from 1949 in Rome to 1952 in Helsinki. As a result of this controversial process, it was decided that from 1952 on, the presence of the arts in the Olympics would take the form of cultural exhibitions and festivals instead of competitions.

### *Melbourne 1956 to Sydney 2000: Olympic Arts Festivals and Cultural Olympiads*

The first official non-competitive Olympic arts festival was held at the Melbourne 1956 Games. To survey the programme preparations, a Fine-Arts Subcommittee was elected in 1953 and a Festival Sub-Committee in 1955 (Hanna 1999). The festival had two major components: one of visual arts and literature, and another one of music and drama. As Hanna describes it, "exhibitions and festivals were staged simultaneously in the weeks leading up to and during the Games and featured local, national and international artists and performers" (*ibid:* 110). A special book on Australian arts was published after the Games, entitled 'The Arts Festival: a Guide to the Exhibition with Introductory Commentaries on the Arts in Australia'. The Official Report of the Melbourne Games

concluded that, "the change from a competition to a Festival was widely welcomed, since the Festival provided a significant commentary on Australia's contribution to the Arts" (Good 1998: 29).

However, after Melbourne, successive cities had very different approaches to the cultural component of the Games either in length, organisation, objectives or themes. Moreover, despite the changes, most Olympic arts committees had to face similar problems to those found by organisers from 1912 to 1948. Good (1998) argues that the shift from competitions to exhibitions did not increase awareness about the art festivals because it did not study or analyse the "management issues" that had been repeatedly raised in the official reports of prior Games (p. 31). These problems might have been accentuated by the absence of an international arts organisation comparable to the sports' international federations in its ability to coordinate and support initiatives (Masterton cited in Good 1998: 30). Arguably, this absence is a major reason why the evolution of the Games cultural programmes has been so variable and unstable since its origins.

A further development in the concept of Olympic cultural programming occurred at the time of the Barcelona'92 Games. The organisers of these Games set a new precedent and established the model of the Cultural Olympiad, a programme of cultural celebrations that lasted the four years separating the previous Olympic Summer Games in Seoul '88 from the Games to be hosted in the city in 1992. Guevara (1992) has explained this ambitious decision by referring to the organisers' strategic intention to use the Games to improve the city's urban landscape and assist in its international projection far beyond the Games staging period.

The four-year format or 'Cultural Olympiad' model has been sustained by following summer Olympic host cities, from Atlanta'96 up to Athens'2004. This format has provided greater opportunities for creating an impact but, notably, as referred in following sections, it has also brought further challenges to the organisers.

### c) Variations in the organisation of Olympic cultural programmes

The changeable nature of the Olympic cultural programme has been studied by Guevara (1992) through a comparative analysis of the cultural component of the Olympic Games from Mexico'68 to Barcelona '92. In her thesis, Guevara points out the radical differences shown by respective OCOGs in their commitment towards the arts. These differences are contrasted in terms of the duration of the festivals, their management structure, their objectives, and their themes and artistic programming. Find below a brief review of the information provided by Guevara.

In terms of duration, the length of the festivals has varied throughout the years from three weeks in Moscow '80 to four years in Barcelona '92, Atlanta '96, Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004. As a middle term, the Mexico '68 arts festival lasted one year, the Rome 1960 festival held exhibitions during six months and Los Angeles '84 lasted ten weeks.

The management of the cultural programmes has varied from central management to shared management, state management, private management and mixed management.

- Guevara considers that there has been "central management" when the cultural programme has been the responsibility of the OCOG. This has been the case in Mexico '68, Munich '72, Seoul '88 and Sydney 2000.

- "Decentralised management" or "shared management" has occurred when the Olympic cultural responsibilities have been the obligation of the OCOG in partnership with other organisations either private or public. A representative case was Montreal '76, where Canadian provinces were in charge of designing the arts programmes while the OCOG's cultural department was in charge of the logistics.

- "State management" has occurred when the control of the cultural programme has been in hands one or various public bodies. This was the model for the management, planning and production of the Moscow '80 Games arts component.

- In opposition, the clearest example of "private management" has been Los Angeles '84. On that occasion, the OCOG was established as a private company and its cultural department hired co-producer agencies to organise the arts events.

- Finally, there have been some cases of "mixed management" such as in Barcelona '92, where a special organisation for the cultural programme was created with name *Olimpiada Cultural SA* (OCSA). OCSA was at the same time separated and dependent upon the Olympic Organising Committee (COOB): on the one hand, it had an administrative committee composed of Public Administration representatives independent of the OCOG; on the other, OCSA's Board of Directors was presided by the Major of Barcelona, who was also president of COOB.

In terms of objectives, Guevara distinguishes five major and non-exclusive categories: 1) acknowledgement of the city artistic and cultural capacities, 2) improvement of the city cultural services, 3) showcase of the country cultural diversity, 4) international projection and 5) change of image.

- The first objective was paramount to Munich '72 and Los Angeles '84. Both cities were already linked to important cultural circuits and counted on the appropriate budget to present a great festival of international significance.

- The aim to use the Games as an opportunity to improve the city cultural services is said to have been the major drive of the Barcelona '92 Cultural Olympiad. The initiative to present a four year festival responded to this aim and intended the involvement of many relevant sponsors and public bodies to have a long lasting impact on both national and international audiences.

- The showcase of the country folklore and cultural diversity, was a fundamental factor in the design of the Mexico '68, Montreal '72 and Moscow '80 cultural programme. The three of them presented events with a high national and folkloric content.

- The aim to get an international projection was especially remarkable in Seoul '88 and Barcelona '92. According to Guevara, the Games brought both cities the opportunity to be known world-wide and so, they combined the local expression with marked international communication strategies.

- Finally, the objective to achieve a change of image is considered to have been key in the cultural agenda of cities such as Munich and Seoul, both of them capitals of countries with a marked military past needed to change international stereotypes (Guevara 1992, section III).

The themes and artistic programming of Olympic cultural programmes have traditionally responded to the defined objectives. As such, they have varied from strongly rooted national festivals to international festivals, and from a focus on popular events to a focus on elitist or high arts manifestations. As an example, Mexico '68 presented a year-long national and international festival while Montreal '72 presented a small scale but highly popular spontaneous festival with a marked national character (MacAloon cited in Guevara 1992, section V). On the contrary, Los Angeles '84 was a great scale, well promoted festival focused on elite national and international events with few open-air popular manifestations (*ibid*). Seoul '88 also presented some international elite artists but combined them with many other popular events. Remarkably, Munich '72 is said to have been paradigmatic in the configuration and production of the arts festivals because the festival was completely integrated within the Olympic sporting events. Munich understood the Games as a cultural event in itself and presented the arts manifestations in an open and spontaneous way. This was particularly evident in the so-called 'Avenue of Entertainment' which was composed of street theatre shows, mimes, clowns and acrobats (Burnosky 1994: 47) and incorporated performances focused on the interpretation of sports through art (Kidd 1999, pers. comm.)

Finally, since the creation of the Cultural Olympiad model, a common feature has been the design of thematic festivals, one for each year of the event. In Barcelona, the themes evolved from a 'Cultural gateway' in 1988, to the 'Year of Culture and Sport' in 1989, the 'Year of the Arts' in 1990, the 'Year of the Future' in 1991 and the 'Olympic Art Festival' in 1992. Atlanta also covered a wide range of subjects during the four years of festivals, arranged into two main themes: 'Southern Connections' at a national level, and 'International Connections'. Finally, Sydney offered a taste of the many and diverse Australian cultural communities through presenting an indigenous festival in 1997, a festival dedicated to multicultural groups and the waves of immigration in 1998, and international festivals in 1999 and year 2000.

## *3.3. Summary*

The notion of Olympic cultural programme has a long tradition within the Olympic Movement but it is not supported by a clear definition of the role it is supposed to accomplish. As such, respective Olympic Games organisers have had freedom to reinterpret this notion and implement it in the form most appropriate to their interests and the particularities of their countries. This has encouraged creativity but it has also led to inconsistencies and ever changing levels of commitment which have finally resulted in the low profile that the cultural programme suffers today.

The Olympic cultural programme has traditionally been understood as an artistic programme exclusively. This bias may be interpreted as one consequence of the lack of definition and careful consideration of the programme true potentials. As an arts event, it has frequently provided a platform for expressing the creative excellence of the host nation. However, its function has rarely interacted with other dimensions of the Games, such as the education programme, ceremonies, or the sports events. This has prevented the programme from playing a relevant role within the Olympic experience and has made marginal the role of culture at the Games.

Finally, the many variations in the format of this programme, from an arts competition to a four year cultural Olympiad, are another indication of the fragile position of this programme. Changes in the structure, length or theme of the programme have normally been made at a very superficial level. This has occurred without implying further considerations for the potential weaknesses of the

notion itself, or for questioning what role can culture play in the context of an event as great as the Olympics. After almost a century (since 1912), the cultural programme has been unable to overcome the problems that affected it from its inception.

# 4. Cultural policies of the International Olympic Committee

Presently, the IOC maintains its commitment to ensure the survival of the concept of Olympic cultural programme as an event additional and complementary to the sports competitions. Notably, the promotion of 'culture' as a critical component of the Games has been a constant in all discourses by former president Juan Antonio Samaranch. In 1994, this emphasis resulted in the opening of a renovated and very ambitious Olympic Museum, a venue that welcomes the display of all sort of arts and cultural elements related to sport and the Olympic Movement. Nevertheless, the radical transformations and variable nature of Olympic Arts Competitions, Olympic Arts Festivals and the recently established Cultural Olympiad initiative, seem to have limited the ability of Olympic organisers and audiences to understand the function and purpose of a cultural and arts programme integral to the Olympic celebration.

This chapter starts with a general review of the current regulations and official guidelines dedicated to define the role of an Olympic cultural programme. The second and third sections of the chapter provide some analysis of the position of cultural endeavours within the structure and agendas of the IOC, the cultural programme in particular. The main aim of the chapter is to offer some basis for discussing whether it can be claimed that there exists a defined cultural policy within the Olympic Movement or its umbrella organisation.

## *4.1. Official regulations for the Olympic cultural programme*

Existing IOC regulations and guidelines emphasise that, to become an Olympic host-city, it is compulsory to organise and promote a cultural programme acting in parallel to the sporting competitions. These regulations appear in the Olympic Charter -Rule 44: Cultural Programme (IOC 1999) – and in the official guidelines for the host-city candidature -Theme 11. Olympism and Culture (IOC 1995a).

However, none of these regulations, guidelines and recommendations seem to clarify the function and purpose of a cultural programme for the Games nor how its success or failure can be evaluated or studied by the IOC after its implementation. This has led to a series of problems, difficulties and dysfunctions that are affecting the preparations of current Cultural Olympiads as much as they affected prior Olympic cultural programmes taking place throughout the century.

These circumstances might be an indication of the ambiguity of the Olympic Movement cultural policy. A study of the Movement's provisions for sustaining and protecting cultural endeavours should assist identifying whether the Movement and, more specifically, IOC as its leading institution, has a defined cultural policy framework.

Two months of research at the Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne have allowed a wide compilation of data, fundamentally archival and documentation materials, that indicate the position and potential prospects of cultural endeavours within the Olympic Movement. It must be noted that, in this research, the concept of 'cultural endeavour' has been understood in the sense suggested by the Olympic Charter in its fundamental principles, article 2, 3 and 6, rule 31 and 32 and rule 44 (IOC 1999). That is, as all initiatives taken by Olympic related institutions or organisations which are aimed at least at one of the following purposes:

- emphasising the role that culture plays within the philosophy of Olympism and ensuring and association between culture and the Olympic Movement
- demonstrating existing parallelisms and synergies between culture and sport, culture and education or all three concepts together
- implementing cultural activities in the context of Olympic related events

Thus, the concept of 'cultural endeavour' is not identified with the implementation of sports events, but only applied in the case of activities or projects of other nature, notably, arts events, manifestations about the identities and values of specific communities and other creative endeavours complementary to sport.

The research in Lausanne was aimed at studying the current involvement of the IOC to manage and promote cultural initiatives. In order to gather a representative and consistent perspective about this involvement, the research at the OSC was focused on two key aspects:

- an analysis of the position of cultural endeavours within the current IOC structure
- an analysis of the cultural agenda of the IOC

## *4.2. Position of cultural endeavours within the IOC structure*

### a) Composition and main functions of the IOC commissions

In year 2000, the IOC was structured in an Executive Board, 18 commissions and five special groups among which the Women and Sport Working Group and the Council of the Olympic Order (IOC 2000a). The Executive Board (EB) is the body with an ability to take key decisions about the main actions, activities and programmes to be implemented. As such, the EB can be defined as the body that is most central to the operations of the IOC and, by comparison, the proximity of other commissions to the EB can also be taken as an indication of their respective centrality.

An analysis of the membership composition of each commission has helped determine their existing or potential links to the EB. Indications of these links have been found by comparing the number of EB members belonging to each commission. Indications of the centrality or the ability to influence IOC voting procedures have also been found by looking at the number of IOC members composing each commission by contrast to the totality of members.

Find below a tentative table summarising the above data.

*Table 4.i: Composition of IOC commissions*[11]

| *Commission name* | *Num. EB members vs total members* | *% EB members* | *Num. EB members and position in commission* | *Num. IOC members vs. total members* | *% IOC members* | *% EB & IOC members combined* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Juridical | 5/7 | *71,43* | 5: MBAYE, chairman ; BACH, member ; DEFRANZ, member ; HODLER, member; POUND, member | 6/7 | *85,71* | *78,57* |
| 2. Finance | 1/8 | *12,50* | 1: HODLER, chairman | 7/8 | *87,50* | *50,00* |
| 3. Olympic Solidarity | 3/27 | *11,11* | 1: SAMARANCH, chairman ; GOSPER & ROGGE, vice-chairmen of ANOC | 21/27 | *77,78* | *44,44* |
| 4. Marketing | 2/18 | *11,11* | 2: POUND, chairman ; BACH, member | 13/18 | *72,22* | *41,67* |
| 5. Medical Commission | 1/15 | *6,67* | 1: ROGGE, vice-Chairman | 11/15 | *73,33* | *40,00* |
| 6. Athletes | 1/17 | *5,88* | 1: BUBKA, member | 12/17 | *70,59* | *38,24* |
| 7. Ethics | 2/7 | *28,57* | 2: MBAYE, chairman; IGAYA, member | 3/7 | *42,86* | *35,71* |
| 8. Sport & Law | 5/15 | *33,33* | 5: MBAYE, chairman ; BACH, member ; DEFRANZ, member ; HODLER, member ; POUND, member | 5/15 | *33,33* | *33,33* |
| 9. IOC coordinat commission summer Games | 2/12 | *8,00* | 2: ROGGE, chairman ; DEFRANTZ, member | 7/12 | *58,33* | *33,17* |
| 10, IOC coordinat. Commission winter Games | 2/19 | *10,53* | 2: HODLER, chairman ; IGAYA, member | 9/19 | *47,37* | *28,95* |
| 11. Nominations | 1/7 | *14,29* | 1: MBAYE, chairman | 3/7 | *42,86* | *28,57* |
| 12. Oly programme | 1/11 | *9,09* | 1: ROGGE, member | 5/11 | *45,45* | *27,27* |
| 13Women & Sport working group | 1/20 | *5,00* | 1: DEFRANTZ, chairperson | 9/20 | *45,00* | *25,00* |
| 14. Culture & Education | 1/32 | *3,13* | 1: HE, chairman | 13/32 | *40,63* | *21,88* |
| 15. Sport for all | 0/21 | *0,00* | None | 9/21 | *42,86* | *21,43* |
| 16. Coubertin | 1/7 | *14,29* | 1: SAMARANCH, chairman | 2/7 | *28,57* | *21,43* |
| 17. Radio & TV | 1/24 | *4,17* | 1: KIM, chairman; | 6/24 | *25,00* | *14,58* |
| 18. Sport & environment | 0/24 | *0,00* | None | 6/24 | *25,00* | *12,50* |
| 19. Oly Collectors | 1/10 | *10,00* | 1: SAMARANCH, chairman | 1/10 | *10,00* | *10,00* |
| 20. Press | 1/28 | *3,57* | 1: GOSPER, chairman | 4/28 | *14,29* | *8,93* |
| 21. FIPO | 0/4 | *0,00* | None | 0/4 | *0,00* | *0,00* |
| 22. FINO | 0/3 | *0,00* | None | 0/3 | *0,00* | *0,00* |

*Source: Author elaboration.*
*Primary data obtained from Olympic Movement Directory (2000a)*

[11] This table compares the number of EB members and IOC members in each commission with total membership as at the beginning of 2000. The commissions have been ordered starting from the commission having a relatively higher percentage of EB and IOC members combined.

As noted above, accepting that EB members are central to the operational structure of the IOC, it can be argued that the commissions with a greater number of EB members will have an advantage over the others in operational terms. Also, it can be argued that commissions composed mainly by IOC members are in a better position to network within the Movement and protect their interests on occasion of the Session and other meetings. The correlation between the number of EB members and the number of IOC members by rapport to the total members of each commission could then be taken as an initial indication of their potential centrality and influence. On this basis, table 5.i. seems to suggest the following:

1. The commission with the most central position within the IOC structure is the Juridical Commission
2. This commission is followed by the Commissions of Finance, Olympic Solidarity, Marketing and the Medical Commission
3. Commissions placed in a relatively central position are the Athletes Commission, Ethics, Sports and Law and the IOC Coordination for the Summer Games
4. The above are closely followed in 'centrality' by the IOC Coordination Commission for the Winter Games, Nominations, Olympic Programme and the Woman & Sport working group
5. The following level of centrality is composed by the Culture and Education, Sports for All and Coubertin commissions
6. At a lower 'centrality' level appear to be the Commission of Radio & Television followed by Sports & Environment, Olympic Collectors and the Press Commission.

It must be noted that the apparent centrality of each commission in terms of membership composition does not necessarily offer a precise account of the centrality of the matters to which each commission is assigned. For instance, the Commission of Radio and Television counts with a very low percentage of EB and IOC members, which seems to indicate that television matters have a very low influence over the IOC structure. However, it is recognised that television revenue is central to the sustainability of the Olympic Movement. In this sense, it is important to consider a wider context and understand how television issues are managed within the IOC. Notably, the management of television matters involves extensive negotiations with the areas of marketing and sponsorship which, naturally, receive the support of the marketing and finance commissions.[12]

Beyond this, it is necessary to take into account the role of bodies other than the commissions, executive departments in particular, such as the IOC marketing department and also, increasingly, the departments in charge of media relations. This also applies to case of the Press Commission, that surprisingly shows the lowest rate of EB/IOC membership. Arguably, in these cases, the participation of professionals from the media world has been deemed far more important than a predominance of Olympic family members. The particular case of the Commission of Culture and Education is another key example that suggests the necessity to contrast the above tentative data with a broader context.

[12] For a more extensive description of the negotiations involved in the management of television and related issues, see chapter 8. Also see IOC 1995b, 1997c, 1998, 2000a, 2000c; Moragas, 1992b; Moragas, Rivenburgh & Larson 1995; Moragas, Rivenburgh & García 1995).

## b) Position of the Commission of Culture and Education

The Commission for Culture and Education was created in March 2000 as a result of merging the existing Culture Commission (founded in 1968) with the Commission of Education and the International Olympic Academy (founded in 1967). After this fusion, at the time of writing, the Commission is composed of thirty-two members. This makes it the largest commissions of the IOC.

The size of the commission has been considered by some as too large to be truly operational and effective. This may be accentuated by the fact that only thirteen out of the total members are members of the IOC. This figure puts the commission in the fourteenth position out of the 22 groups presented in table 5.i. Arguably, the abundance of members external or independent to the organisation can reduce the ability of the commission to network or influence other members on occasion of IOC Sessions or other meetings. However, it is advantageous that the variety of members and the influential positions they hold in their respective professional posts can better facilitate the development of programmes able to obtain wide support beyond the IOC. Nevertheless, this suggests strengths outside the Movement rather than inside, which keeps being problematic from an operational perspective. Perhaps the best asset of the Commission in terms of centrality within the IOC is the current Chairman of the Commission, Zheliang He, who is member of the Executive Board. Again, this must be contrasted with the context of the Movement and the Commission's agendas.

## c) IOC executive provisions to support cultural endeavours

Throughout his twenty -year mandate, President Samaranch emphasised his interest in supporting the concept of culture, arts in particular, within the Olympic Movement. Remarkably, in 1993, this support translated into the creation of the current Olympic Museum, an institution provided with high technological equipment to preserve and showcase the history and prospects of the Movement, which includes information about sporting and, cultural and educational achievements (Olympic Museum 2000).

Nevertheless, to date, the IOC headquarters do not hold an executive department dedicated to surveying, producing and/or assisting the implementation of Olympic cultural programmes. For this reason, and taking into account that average IOC commissions only meet once or twice a year and have an advisory role exclusively, the Cultural Commission has very limited powers to ensure that proposed cultural activities do take place.

A general review of the structure and functions of IOC executive departments and services reveals that there is no clear provision of material nor human resources dedicated to supporting or protecting cultural endeavours. As such, it is not possible to find one person in the IOC headquarters who is charged with specific cultural responsibilities. Instead, there is a reduced number of people who claim to be concerned with the matter and aware of the initiatives that are taking place, but who admit being extremely confined in their ability to contribute to their implementation and promotion. For instance, the team in charge of publishing 'Olympic Review', the main regular publication of the Movement, has ensured the continuous appearance of news and

background articles about cultural matters.[13] Moreover, occasionally, there have been issues fully dedicated to the subject such as 'Art and Sport' in April-May 2000 (Roukhadzé 2001, pers. comm., 24 Apr). The IOC Secretary General has also emphasised her concern about the factual position of cultural endeavours within the movement and her willingness to "contribute for the provision of greater support and resources in the near future" (Zweiffel 2001, pers. comm., 5 Apr). However, as suggested above, these expressions of interest are not framed in a structure that allows their effective integration within the day-to-day operations of the IOC. Consequently, cultural initiatives tend to keep a very low profile in the IOC headquarters.

In this research it has been of particular relevance to look at the implication of departments such as Marketing and Communications and New Media. Interestingly, no clauses have been found within the documents and publications of the Marketing department that indicate a concern for assisting in the financing and promotion of cultural programmes. This has reinforced the findings of previous research suggesting that the current world-wide sponsorship programmes do not consider the special needs of cultural activities but rather are exclusively focused in the support of Olympic sport. This situation has resulted in major structural limitations for the IOC in terms of support for the Culture Commission and, importantly, for the host-city OCOGs. This is because the production of the compulsory cultural programme for the Games has been traditionally overlooked by sponsors and marketing planners alike (García 2001).[14]

As in the case of Marketing, within the Communications and New Media department, no evidence has been found of concrete structural provisions that guarantee a noticeable presence of cultural references within current or upcoming advertising campaigns, press releases, press conferences, image programmes, and so on. For example, the IOC website (IOC 2002), which includes the website of the Olympic Museum, does not make any specific reference to the existence and history of Olympic cultural programmes[15]. Moreover, the new IOC advertising campaign 'Celebrate humanity' does not offer any image or reference to moments other than sporting ones. Indeed, within the world wide web, it is possible to do specific searches and find information about cultural programmes within past press releases and official reports. However, it seems clear that, to date, no special emphasis has been made to ensure that these references are systematically included in standard IOC communications and they have not been incorporated in any permanent IOC web-page. Consequently, it can be argued that, other than dedicated researchers, the general public is unaware of the existence of Olympic cultural programmes and do not associate them with the image of the Games.

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[13] In the period 1986-1994, an analysis of the key subjects treated by 'Olympic Review' has revealed that issues about art, culture and sport ranged up to a 4,3% of all issues. This number stands well in comparison to other key issues such as: general discourses and speeches (5,8%), international federations (5,8%), chronicles of meetings (5,1%), sports aids (5,1%), members and personalities (4,7%) and NOCs (4,5%). The only subject that stands far over the rest is the articles about Olympic Games (15% of all articles). The prior issues have been named after the categories of the Olympic Review Thesaurus (IOC 1994a); percentages have been calculated by the author out of the Summary of Olympic Review Articles, (IOC 1994b).

[14] See chapters 8 and 9 for more information on the involvement of Olympic sponsors to support the Olympic cultural programme in the case of Sydney 2000.

[15] The IOC website includes updated information about the Cultural Commission and, on occasion, has displayed information about specific activities such as the Art and Sport contest in 2000. However, this does not incorporate an explanation about the wider cultural aims of the movement, including the existence of Cultural Olympiads and Arts Festivals. In this sense, remarkably, within the historical archives section of the Museum website, there is not a single reference or image about past cultural programmes to accompany the extensive information about past Olympic Games, athletes and special events such as the ceremonies.

Beyond marketing and communications, it has been interesting to look at the current priorities of the department in charge of managing OCOG relations. At the time of writing this thesis, this department is particularly relevant because it is in charge of surveying the implementation of the first ever 'Transfer of Knowledge' (TOK) programme. This programme aims to ensure that the organisers of each Games collect as much information as possible about their experience and display it in detail in an official document that is to be available for the organisers of the following Games. The implementation of such a programme has required the development of very tight control mechanisms by the IOC. Thus, a further indication of the position that Olympic cultural endeavours held within the IOC structure can be found by looking at the dedication that the TOK programme is giving to surveying the implementation of the Games cultural programme.

Cristoff Duby, manager of OCOG relations and key responsible for the implementation of the TOK programme, has indicated that "the control of the cultural programme has never been one of the programme's top priorities" (Duby 2001, pers. comm., 20 Mar). Duby acknowledges that, traditionally, not much attention has been paid to study whether the cultural promises presented at the bid stage are put into place on occasion of the Games. In his words, this has been so because "they do not imply major risks for the success of the Games if they go wrong. They are only a nice surplus if all goes well. They are part of the Games 'success story'".

According to Duby, the TOK programme may help identifying the key problems that cultural managers face and may serve for future OCOGs to avoid making the same mistakes that have been usual in past Games. However, "issues like security, transport and, indeed, the management of the sports programme are the real weight of the Games" (*ibid*) and are, therefore, some of the key aspects on which Duby and his team are focusing. In Duby's opinion, it would be desirable that a position is created within the IOC to survey the specific needs of the cultural programme and ensure the existence of appropriate networking with the rest of existing departments. In his view, without somebody claiming for information and assistance to produce or promote cultural issues, departments such as his will always tend to focus on the issues that are most likely "to make a real impact on the public opinion" (*ibid*). Duby adds that "Olympic cultural endeavours other than sporting ones, have so far not proven to be a critical aspect for the general public".

## *4.3. Cultural agenda of the IOC*

### a) Cultural programmes supported by the Culture and Education Commission

A historical review of the composition and functions of the Cultural Commission reveals that its mission has been ambiguously defined over time, which has resulted in remarkable changes of approach depending on the preferences of the commission chairman. This has affected the coherence and sustainability of Olympic cultural programmes.[16]

[16] Prior to the existence of a Cultural Commission in 1968, the IOC had a Fine Arts Sub-committee which had initially been dedicated to supervise the arrangement of Olympic Arts Competitions. After its dissolution in 1952, it would continue counselling the IOC about the need for an interaction between arts and sport activities. Avery Brundage was a strong supporter of the activities of the sub-committee. (University of Illinois 1998).

Wlodzimierz Reczeck, the first chairman, was committed to establishing networks with other Olympic Family members, notably NOCs (Reczeck 1970). Reckzeck also intended to establish stronger ties with other commissions, for instance, through the creation of an Information and Culture Commission in 1973 that combined the promotion of cultural initiatives with the interaction with the media (IOC 1978). However, not many of these initiatives have been sustained. The Information and Culture Commission was disbanded some time after 1974 (*ibid*). Regarding the interaction with NOCs, the initiative to create Olympic cultural departments and cultural programmes around the world has been progressively abandoned[17]. National Olympic Academies have undertaken this function on some occasions but, most times, the notion of Olympic cultural programme has been blurred with the notion of Olympic education in ways that reveal poor structures and ambiguous definitions. These ambiguities have led to confusing strategies and inoperative implementations[18].

Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, chairman of the Culture Commission from 1982 up to 1994, focused much of his work on the construction and promotion of the new Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Ramírez Vázquez was also supporting the creation of Olympiart, an arts award dedicated to "an artist distinguished by the creation of works with remarkable aesthetic qualities [...] and his /her interest in youth, peace and sport" (IOC 1997c). The Olympiart prize was first awarded during the 1992 Games and has been kept as a quadrennial event, taking place on occasion of each Games edition up to date.

Beyond the Olympic Museum and Olympiart, it is difficult to identify other legacies of Ramírez Vázquez' mandate. Similarly to Reczeck, Ramírez Vázquez pursued the expansion of cultural activities within NOCs around the world, notably in the form of further Olympic Museums. But as in the case of the first, many of his pursuits on this field have been progressively abandoned and, by the look of the current agenda of the commission (Cultural Commission 1995-2000), they have no strong support today.

Since 1995, the Commission has been chaired by Zhenliang He. During this mandate, the Commission has put a special emphasis in the organisation of special events that take place in a two year rotation (Roukhadzé 2001, pers. comm., 24 Apr). Key events organised or planned to date are the following:

- Literature and Sport Contest (to take place in 2002).
- Art and Sport Contest (2000).
- Forum on the IOC and its Cultural Policy (2000).
- Forum on Sport and Culture (1997).

[17] Between 1983 and 1984 Ramírez Vázquez, Cultural Commission chairman at the time, encouraged NOCs around the world to create Olympic Museums. In some cases, he received positive responses (IOC 1983; 1984), though no evidence has been found about the status of cultural programmes within these museums and, arguably, there have been very poor provisions for them.

[18] The current state and functions of National Olympic Academies (NOAs) is difficult to discern. Nevertheless, it must be noted that, as suggested by Müller among others (2000, personal communication) the relationship of NOAs with NOCs and other Olympic Family members is not always an easy one. Arguably, this lack of interaction has affected the ability to establish cultural departments in either NOAs or NOCs and, ultimately, has diminished the existence of Olympic projects and networks with cultural interests other than sport.

All of these events have taken place on an infrequent basis without plans for continuity. Perhaps the only relevant event that takes place periodically with a continuity is a 'World Children Art Contest', from which selected works are exhibited regularly at the Olympic Museum.

Arguably, a major weakness of this approach is the non-existence of long-term expectations and the changeable nature of projects. This would seem to have prevented a general awareness and understanding of the commission role by average Olympic audiences. As well, taking into account the low budget with which cultural events are produced, it has prevented the generation of noticeable impacts in national and international media.

The establishment of a joint commission encompassing culture and education opens new possibilities for action, though also provokes new challenges. Structurally, the commission must face the difficulty of managing its extensive membership size. Furthermore, it is necessary that members find a common perspective for their agenda and define their role and objectives clearly. For instance, the priorities of an institution such as the International Olympic Academy, which is represented by former Education Commission members, are rather different from those of an Olympic Museum, a national Olympic body, an OCOG or, on a smaller scale, a school wishing to undertake Olympic education and cultural programmes. In this regard, more than ever, the creation of a solid Olympic cultural policy seems instrumental to the good function of the commission and a better use of its many potentials.

### b) Cultural Commission, other IOC bodies and respective OCOGs

The analysis of IOC archival material from 1968 to present day reveals that an important aspect that has never been dealt with is the role of a Culture or a Culture and Education Commission for advising and supporting the cultural planning of respective OCOGs.

It is traditional that respective teams in charge of designing Olympic Arts Festivals and, since 1992, summer Games Cultural Olympiads, present updates about their programme to the Cultural Commission. This happens in addition, or most times prior to, the presentation of abridged versions of these updates to the IOC Session. The review of verbal proceedings about the process shows that, generally, these updates are approved without major enquiries about the difficulties faced in the day to day production of the programme (IOC 1969-2000). Furthermore, no evidence has been found about contributions by the Cultural Commission to assist OCOG cultural organisers gather sponsorship funds or have a greater presence in the Games generic promotions. Indeed, as suggested by the documents included within the TOK programme (Duby 2001, personal communication), the organisation of cultural programmes for the Olympic Games has traditionally been a matter of improvisation. Almost no documentation exists that informs consistently about the difficulties faced by prior organisers. Additionally, the IOC does not incorporate bodies that are ready to undertake that role. Remarkably, the only existing body that would be appropriate for it, the Culture Commission, has so far not been charged with the responsibility to closely survey the cultural programming of OCOGs. One might speculate that this is due to structural limitations.

Beyond the work of the Culture and Education Commission[19], recent initiatives that could open new paths for cultural collaborations between the IOC and respective OCOGs are the presentations or exhibitions of cultural and arts materials from prospective Olympic host cities at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. This initiative was extremely successful in the case of Australia as, in the lead up to the Sydney Games in 2000, two major Aboriginal exhibitions were organised at the Museum gathering great interest and appreciation by the general public (Caloz 2001, personal communication). For the Winter Games of Salt Lake 2002, a step forward has been to organise the event in close collaboration with the official organisers of the Olympic cultural programme or Olympic Arts Festival (*ibid*). It is to be expected that this sort of initiatives and collaborations continue and, ideally, that a specific policy is established to guarantee their consistency and maximise their impact. The research undertaken has not found evidence of a direct involvement of the Culture and Education Commission in this, perhaps because of the recent structural changes. It would be desirable that, in case a policy of cultural collaborations IOC-OCOG is defined, the Commission will be the body in charge of surveying its appropriate application.

### c) Cultural programming requests within the agenda of IOC Sessions

IOC documents define the IOC Session as

> "the general assembly of IOC members. It is the supreme organ of the International Olympic Committee, and its decisions are final. [...] If the Executive Board can be considered to be the 'government' of the IOC, the Session would be the 'parliament'. The Session may delegate powers to the Executive Board. With few exceptions all important decisions are taken by the Session, voting on proposals put forward by the Executive Board" (IOC 2000d).

The Session is normally structured in a series of more or less fixed components, including an official welcome and introduction by the President, reports by representatives of OCOGs in the lead up to respective Games and reports by each of the Commissions and Working Groups. The time period for this research has not allowed a detailed revision of each Session so, in order to gather a general impression, the summaries realised by Lyberg (1989, 1994) have been a very useful resource.

Summaries and original verbal proceedings have been analysed to determine the opportunities offered to the Cultural Commission to present projects and influence on the actions by other commissions. An analysis of the Commissions interventions reveals that, frequently, presentations have been extremely brief, introducing vague notions or vague projects that, despite being approved by the Session have been difficult to contrast with the reality.[20] On other occasions, proposals have been directly rejected. Examples of this include the proposed return to 'Olympic art competitions' (Lyberg 1989: 161; 1994: 56 & 115) or the offering of 'art medals' for athletes with artistic aptitudes

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[19] The denomination 'Culture Commission' is used exclusively when referring to past activities by the commission (1968-1999). The denomination 'Culture and Education Commission' is only used when referring to present or future prospects (from 2000).

[20] The Commission chairmen have made many proposals but few have resulted in real implementations. For instance, during the 89th Session in Lausanne in 1986, the proposal by Ramirez Vázquez to create an Olympic gold medal in art (IOC 1986, annex 16) was gradually reduced to a special prize, arguably unknown by most Olympic fans, that is currently called 'Olympiart'. At another level, the applauded proposal by Ramírez Vázquez to invite Nobel Prize Winners to the Olympic Congress (IOC 1987, annex 10; 1989, annex 6) did not have any following in the records of subsequent sessions.

(Lyberg 1989: 178, 1994: 17). Interestingly, Lyberg does not always offer an account of the Commission presentations. When contrasting this fact with the original verbal proceedings, it has been found that either cultural presentations have not been recorded[21] or the transcription records have been limited to a few paragraphs without attached annexes.

In contrast, it has been remarkable to note that there are very few records of references to the cultural programme within the regular updates presented to the Session by respective OCOGs. This strengthens the claim that cultural matters are not seen as critical to the evolution of the Games preparations. Furthermore, the lack of requests for this information by IOC members, reinforces the impression that cultural matters are not placed in a priority position within the members agenda.

An important exception was the 100th IOC Session held in Lausanne in 1993, coinciding with the opening of the new Olympic Museum. The Session was entirely dedicated to discussing the links between culture, arts and Olympism. Important personalities from the world of culture and the arts were invited to speak to IOC members about three main themes: arts and Olympism, the cultural programmes of the Olympic Games and the reasons for an Olympic Museum (IOC 1993). The outcomes of this special Session do not seem to have had a direct following in recent years. However, the organisation of forums such as those in 1997 and 2000 by the Culture Commission may be an indication that there is an implicit interest among members or related personalities for increasing the presence of cultural discourses and events within the Movement agenda.

Alternatively, the analysis of references to cultural matters within EB meetings corroborates the impression that cultural endeavours are still not a key aspect of the IOC agenda. According to the summaries by Lyberg (2000), the presence of cultural matters within the EB discussions have been rather scarce and, similarly to the case of IOC Sessions, at times, proposals have been made without any apparent outcome.[22] Moreover, in 1999, a difficult year for the IOC due to the Salt Lake scandals unfolding at the end of 1998, most EB meetings obviated discussions about cultural matters.

## *4.4. Conclusions*

An initial conclusion of the research is that the Olympic Movement lacks a defined and consistent cultural policy. Although the Olympic Charter clearly states that Olympism is the result of combining sport with culture and education, this principle seems to be placed in a philosophical sphere without being supported by an objective policy that helps directing the day to day operations of the IOC.

Starting with the President, key members of the IOC have emphasised their commitment to the above principle but, arguably, the lack of specific policies has prevented their action from being as coherent and effective as they could have been. This is reflected in the poor structural position held

[21] This is the case of the 97th Session in Birmingham, 1991 and the 98th Session in Courchevel, 1992. The verbal proceedings of these Sessions do not include minutes nor annexes about the Culture Commission.

[22] This has been the case for a proposal made at the 226th EB meeting in Lausanne, 1999. On this occasion, the Culture Commission chairman proposed to combine the actions of the Commission with Sportel, the international television fair, in regards to "sports illustrations" (Lyberg 2000: 567). No information has been found about the implementation of this proposal.

by the Commission in charge of protecting cultural endeavours and, remarkably, by the non-existence of a dedicated executive body within the IOC headquarters.

The Olympic Museum is an institution with a lot of potential to assist producing and promoting Olympic cultural activities and programmes but its mission has so far not been sufficiently coordinated with the mission of bodies such as the Commission. Beyond its possibilities as an exhibition space and venue for special events, the existence of an Olympic Study Centre, safeguarding both historical and contemporary Olympic resources suggests that the Museum, could be a good context for an executive cultural and education department.

At IOC level, there are not specific provisions to support the work of the team in charge of designing, producing, managing and promoting the cultural programmes held on occasion of respective Olympic Games. The Cultural Commission has never been given the role of surveying the implementation of OCOG programmes beyond the regular approval of summaries presented at annual meetings. Arguably, the creation of an executive department or team within the IOC dedicated to control and support the production of these programmes would prevent the repetition of problems and weaknesses that has been traditional in prior Games arts and culture festivals. Importantly, this team could ensure that other key departments at the IOC, such as marketing and communications, are aware of the cultural programme and ready to contribute for attracting the attention of international Olympic sponsors and media.

Finally, at the level of the Cultural Commission, the emphasis upon the creation of one-off events over the design of consistent policies is preventing the long-term effect of activities and programmes. If events such as cultural forums had a greater continuity, an expectation could be developed among its many potential publics. Ultimately, this would assist in gathering greater attention by the media and the support of key actors in and out of the Olympic Movement.

In sum, this research suggests that working towards the definition of a clear cultural policy for the Movement would help to maximise existing resources and coordinating the efforts and initiatives of bodies and individuals willing to support the notion of culture and Olympism. The IOC is embedded in an extremely rich cultural mosaic with a powerful network of institutions and personalities that could make a much greater contribution to emphasise and further develop cultural initiatives. Without a coherent cultural policy, it is continually likely that the importance of culture will be relegated in place of other concerns, such as financial needs, drug issues, infrastructure problems and so on.

# PART THREE:

## The case of the Olympic cultural programme in Sydney 2000

# 5. Context: cultural, sporting and arts traditions in Australia

This chapter offers a perspective on the social, political and cultural context of Australia, host country of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. A review of this context will help to understand the requirements and consequent decisions leading to the design of the Games cultural programme and the role of cultural policy in this process. The first section presents an overview of Australia's demographic composition and geographical distribution in the 200 years since the first European settlement in 1788. This is deemed important to allow a clearer understanding of the country's cultural aspirations. Following sections present a generic revision of the Australian background in terms of sporting traditions and cultural policy development and introduce some insights into the notion of Australia's complex national identity. The last section debates the motivations to prepare the Sydney Olympic bid and discusses the position of arts and culture within this process.

## *5.1. A brief review of Australia's settlement history*

Australia is an island continent the size of the United States, excluding Alaska, with a population of some 19 million people, most of them living on the coast-line. Recent anthropological studies argue that habitation in the country began between 40,000 and 60,000 years ago, with the settlement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders groups. These cultures, comprising a range of 600 nations and 200 aboriginal groups, represent today approximately a 2% of the total Australian population (Australian Tourism Commission –ATC- 2000).

Australia has experienced three major migrant waves since first white settlement in 1788. The first wave, from the end of the 18th century up to the beginning of Second World War, was composed of English, Irish and Scottish settlers, with Irish being majority due to the colonising and settlement movements of England into Ireland at the time (Louw 2000, pers. comm., 16 Nov). The second wave began soon after Second World War, and lasted from the 1950s to the late 1960s approximately, mostly composed by peoples from Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Germany, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. The third wave of immigration has started in the 1980s and has brought into Australia, besides the ongoing flow of British migrants, peoples from countries such as New Zealand, South Africa, Lebanon, Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Hong Kong and China (ATC 2000: 20). In total, information delivered by the Australia Tourist Commission reveals that, since 1945, some 5.5 million people have come to Australia as new settlers (*ibid*).

In 1999, 23.4% of Australians were born overseas (*op. cit*: 19). By the same year, despite the predominance of Anglo settlers, the ever growing diversity of new immigration waves had transformed the profile of the Australian population to the extent that nearly 28% of the total population was from non-English speaking backgrounds (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1999). Within the non-English speaking group, 19% of the population was from South and West Europe and an increasing 4.5% from Asian countries (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2000). Presently, it is calculated that there is a range of over 200 different languages spoken in the country. This makes Australia, together with Canada, one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse nations in the world.

Politically, Australia is divided into six states and two territories, each of which has its own government. Canberra is the national capital and seat of the Federal government. The states are New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and Queensland. The territories are the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory (ATC 2000: 50). Remarkably, the distribution of cities and population is extremely uneven. Five capitals, Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide are clustered in the South East of the continent, arguably accumulating power of influence and gathering up to 85% of international visitors (Bureau of Tourist Research 2000). They are indeed at the forefront of business activity and the most visited cities in the country, only challenged by the tourism appeal of the coast in northern Queensland.

The size and location of cities and states in Australia have strongly influenced the way different segments of the population relate to each other. Arguably, this situation had a great effect on the feeling of ownership of the Olympic Games and the strive for having an active role in defining the images of the country that the Games were to portray. For their distant location and relatively low international profile the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Tasmania were the areas with a lesser chance to feel identified with the event. In this context, Cahill (1999) argues that symbolic activities such as the Torch Relay were to be an important catalyst to make every Australian feel part of the celebration (p. 79). The Olympic cultural programme had the potential to be another relevant catalyst to expand a feeling of ownership.

## *5.2. Sporting traditions: a classical definition of Australia's national identity*

Australia is said to have had a "long love affair with the Olympics" (Farrell 1999: 59) since it is one of the very few countries that, together with Greece, has attended every Olympic Games. The Australian reverence for the Games and sport in general is claimed to be one of the reasons why the country has hosted two Summer Olympic Games in the second half of the century. Prior to the Sydney 2000 Olympics, Australia staged the 1956 Games in the city of Melbourne, capital of the state of Victoria.

> "The passionate attachment to sport noticeable in many Australians is clearly an important aspect of their emerging national identity. [...] There may also be specific sporting reasons for Australia's love of the Olympics. For Australians to succeed at the Games they have had in the past to overcome a lot of obstacles: competing out of season and on the other side of the world; a lack of international competition and the heavy cost of international travel. Such obstacles have been less of a factor since the 1980s when the government has underwritten much elite training and specialist sport. Australians admire the achievements of athletes who succeed against the odds" (Farrell 1999: 61).

Farrell has analysed the reason why there is such a strong sports culture in Australia by looking at different theories explaining the construction of a national identity. Ingredients that Farrell considers to be constitutive of the Australian identity are the still recent colonial tie of Australia to the United Kingdom, the convict nature of most initial settlers and, in general, the migrant origin of all the population excluding Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (p. 53). The British link is associated with a remarkable sports heritage throughout the country. The convict origins, mostly composed of Irishmen who were soon to be transformed into a radical working class committed to the expansion of labour rights and unions, is associated with the high individualism of the Australian population. According to Farrell, the nation's individualism gave rise, through sports, to some inter-colonial rivalry and a sort of Australian nationalism (p. 55).

Farrell explains that other key factors in the composition of the Australian "sporting" identity should be related to the various gold rushes that characterised the second half of the 19th century in states such as Victoria. This led to the development of a passion for "trying one's luck" that accelerated an interest in gambling but also competing in the sporting arena (*ibid*). Further elements influencing the nature of Australian way of life are related to the country's geographical characteristics, such as the great open spaces in the landscape and the Mediterranean-like climate. Farrell argues that these features have largely encouraged the development of open air activities such as swimming and surfing, but also inherited sports such as cricket, which is at present in Australia much more popular than in England.

Farrell also refers to the theory of the "practical man" as a key factor in Australian sport and to the close interaction between the evolution of democratic ideals (including inter-classist associations, the participation of women in public life and so on) and the development of sports throughout the country. In Farrell's view, the passion for sport accelerated the Australian rejection of traditional European conceptions and colonial prejudices of respectability which constrained the practice of open air activities.

> "Like the modern Olympic Movement itself Australian identity is an evolving set of ideas. In each case, the great outdoors and a concentration on peaceful physical activity is central to the process of evolution. In each case the ideals being promoted are modern notions of a straightforward or practical kind, and largely pragmatic in application." (Farrell 1999: 60)

This conglomerate of influences has been remarkably transformed after World War Two, due to the massive arrival of South European migrants, particularly Italians and Greek, followed by the arrival of East Europe migrants from Poland and old Yugoslavia in the late fifties and sixties. Additionally, from the 1970s, migrant populations in Australia, although still dominated by Anglo speaking countries such as New Zealand, have increasingly come from Asian countries. These recent waves of differing nationalities have modified completely the initial conception of an "Australian" identity in the sense explained by Farrell.

As revealed in the statistics shown at the beginning of the chapter, the predominance of an Anglo-Saxon background is no longer so remarkable in Australia. This is particularly evident in capital cities such as Sydney and Melbourne, where new comers tend to concentrate. Sydney gathers migrants from some 215 different countries (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs 2000). In Melbourne, sixty different nationalities are said to coexist (ATC 2000: 20). In 1999, the Australian Bureau of Statistics has counted some 160 different first or second-generation nationalities within the country and 200 different languages, excluding the aboriginal languages[23]. Consequently, the reference to Australia's multicultural components has become central to most government discourses. However, according to Louw and Turner (2000, pers. comm., 25 Aug.), the country has still not reached any common agreement on how to respond to the challenges brought by the notion of multiculturalism in the definition of a national identity.

[23] According to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission, Aboriginal languages range up to 300

In their words,

> "[Turner] we are in a post-colonial country with a short history. Identity issues are not settled down
>
> [Louw] Australians are uncomfortable with themselves. It is all part of this British- Anglo heritage. Australia was looking at UK at the beginning of the century. The mother patria. But after World War II Britain left Australia alone. Now Australia is looking at the States.
>
> T: Australians are uncomfortable not about their identity but about the representation of this identity. It is not about not knowing who one is, but about how explaining it to others. It is difficult to find a consensual definition of identity. How do we represent Australia?
>
> …
>
> T: In the 80s and 90s it came the great shift to multiculturalism. And we thought that the problem of identity was solved. We said 'It is done. Now we know what we are. We are multicultural.' But is this an identity? Not, it is not. It is simply another form of Australian identity, a new one among the many others we rely to [when it is fashionable to do so].
>
> …
>
> T: [The multicultural discourse] progressed a lot in the 1980s. But in the 1990s the recession started.
>
> L: This sort of discourse, to have a true effect should be a co-optive process. But where is multiculturalism now? It is in the food you eat and little more. Somehow, the arguments about multiculturalism seem to be reduced to the colourful appendix of events or promos." (Louw & Turner 2000, pers. comm., 25 Aug)

An event such as the Olympic Games was indeed to act as a catalyst to reconsider notions of identity if only, as argued by Berkaak (1999), to present an image to foreign audiences or, as stated by Louw, to act as a 'colourful appendix' to its promotion. The role of sport in Australian traditions was certainly to be used as an ingredient of this image. However, the growing diversity of cultures and alternative traditions in the country can be interpreted as an indication that other sources were necessary to construct a credible image of contemporary Australia. A revision of the evolution and influence of arts and cultural policy in the country offers some clues about the ability of policy-makers to play a relevant role in the definition of Australia's image to the world and the importance of the Olympic cultural programme in this process.

## *5.3. Arts and cultural policies: conflicts in the definition of a national identity*

In 'Arts Management in Australia', Radbourne & Fraser (1996) present a brief history of arts policy in Australia. The authors refer to the reconstruction period after World War I as the first time an Australian arts policy came under official scrutiny. According to the authors,

> "public and political discussion about national identity was imperative in order to establish priorities in all facets of public life. The fact that Australians emerged from the war with a new confidence and sense of pride in their own rather than their mother country [Great Britain] had a bearing on arts policy and artistic endeavour" (p. 11).

The conscious break from a colonialist state of mind had great effects on the Australian artistic product. According to Radbourne & Fraser, early white settlers were self-conscious about the convict origin of Australia and the stigma deriving from it, at the same time as their dislocation from the intellectual and social culture of Europe. British expatriates felt ashamed at "living as second-rate

citizens in a country which was a poor masquerade of the mother country" (p. 12). This was the source of the much-discussed "Australian cultural cringe" syndrome.

Governor Macquaire – governor of New South Wales 1810-21 – redressed the perceived lack of culture in the colony and employed a number of artists, including convicts, to assist him in his mission. Among other projects, city plans for Sydney were developed with a unique architectural style "not slavish to English traditions" (p. 12). Commercial theatre and variety groups expanded during the already mentioned gold rushes. Soon after, the first state and national newspapers were founded. The latter would soon become known for their strongly nationalistic ideals.

Radbourne & Fraser argue that, despite these developments, being an agricultural community, Australians experienced the arts as a separate addition to life. Geographic isolation and the hard manual labour demanded by the harsh farming environment accelerated the process of separation of work and leisure that in other countries had only happened with the arrival of industrialisation. Consequently, participation in the arts was rare, as were the opportunities for it to take place at all. It was also "self-conscious" either because standards were perceived as inferior or because "it was unseemly to leave toil for such frivolity" (p. 14). As a result,

> "the life of high culture and participation in the arts was not part of what social critics and historians have named the Australianist legend or the democratic tradition. This male-oriented doctrine "worshipped the values of mateship between working men and virtues of life in the bush" (*ibid*).

Rather than traditional elitist arts, affordable leisure time was developed in association with a strong unionism and later with support of the Australian Labour Party by means of their 'Art and Working Life' programmes. European intellectuals have commented on this situation, most times recognising the equitable progress of the labour movement and the spread out of material prosperity but criticising the slow progress of intellectual and moral pursuits (*op cit*: 16). In this context, Australian academics such as Donald Horne have defined the term 'cultural cringe' as the "depredations of a self-denigratory provincialism in academic, intellectual and artistic life" (cited in Radbourne & Fraser 1996: 16).

As a remedy to this cultural cringe, the beginning of the 20th century saw a remarkable emphasis on spreading the English system within all universities, and training the speech and manners of all public personalities in England, from politicians to actors or media commentators. This resulted in what Radbourne & Fraser define as a movement towards "being more English than the English", and included, among other things, an "almost obsessional love for cricket which perplexed even their English rivals" (p. 17).

However, the influx of non Anglo-Saxon immigrants after World War II caused a new awareness of other cultures in the country and changed earlier perceptions of national identity. As Radbourne & Fraser put it,

> "this pluralism has made 'Australian' difficult to define as has the more recent official recognition of Aborigines as the first Australians. Besides the obvious artistic enrichment effected by a multicultural society, there remain large numbers of people adrift from their cultural heritage yet compelled to assimilate the dominant culture" (Radbourne & Fraser 1996: 17).

Post-war reconstruction took place under the strong leadership of economist H.C. 'Nugget' Coombs, who founded the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust in 1954. The Trust was paramount to Australian poorly structured cultural policies. This was so because the institution main objectives were to stop the belief that all cultural referents had to be brought from abroad and to promote the idea of theatre "of Australians by Australians for Australians" (Australia Council 1994). The initiative implied that government support would be available for the performing arts, something that had been non-existent to that date. Contrary to the visual and literary arts and the main broadcasting groups, which were supported and regulated through federal or Commonwealth institutions, theatre and variety spectacles had always been the responsibility of commercial promoters. Such organisers imported most shows and did not encourage the industry to grow from the also existing Australian grass roots and amateur organisations.

The Elizabethan Theatre Trust was organised as a highly centralised institution overlooking all states in the country "to help creating a truly Australian opera, drama and ballet" and get "a single national representative of each of the art forms" (p. 19). However, the Trust's centrality caused many funding debates and resentment. Also, the increasing trend towards partnerships with private groups and corporations caused some bias towards commercial shows. This led to discussions about creating a new organisation which would "make recommendations for the support of the performing arts and to administer funds from the government" (Coombs cited in Radbourne & Fraser 1996: 21). Following cultural policy models from Canada and the United States, Coombs saw advantages in supporting innovative theatre instead of subsiding commercial enterprise.

At this stage there was still the belief that if the "best" in the arts were to receive funding the effects would percolate down to society. However, new popular currents questioned this belief in the '60s and '70s who saw the idea as a "misconceived anathema caused by middle class idealism" (*ibid*). The increasing role of the mass media, including television and advertising culture, set up new criteria for evaluating the role of the arts and anti-reactionary movements sprang up, often from a university campus base. Radbourne & Fraser state that the great national monument of flagship companies lost popularity with this new protest group, who saw them as "a means of widening the chasm between affordable community art and elitist, expensive and outmoded forms" (p. 22).

The 60s and 70s were the time when civic and community festivals initiatives developed throughout Australia, with an emphasis, by the mid seventies, on multicultural or ethnic based events. In this context, the announcement of the creation of a new organisation for the arts, the Australian Council, had to consider not only the aim to show Australian arts to Australians, but actively encouraging participation from a broad base (Staiff 1999, pers. comm., 27 Sep).

The Australian Council was set up in 1975 to "promote excellence in the arts; to widen access; to help establish an Australian identity through the arts; and to help promote awareness of this identity abroad" (Radbourne & Fraser 1996: 23). The organisation was born within a highly supportive context for the arts, but changes in the Arts Ministry led to severe reductions in funding and the start of what has been called an era of "economic rationalism" in public administration (Burton 1999, pers. comm). Cultural matters had to face an economic analysis for the first time and many debates emerged. According to Radbourne & Fraser, the arts groups that most benefited from such a rational or "productivity" analysis were, once more, the main flagship companies. Nevertheless this generated controversies and some enquiry reports were prepared to justify the need for a wider support to cultural groups. As a result of some of these inquiries, the Australia Council returned to

the initial commitment to assist and promote "community arts" and secure community access to culture for the way it had been initially designed.

As in so many other countries, the question of whether arts could be really "democratised" by arts policy changes has never been fully solved in Australia. According to Radbourne & Fraser (1996), "it is clear that the very cultural diversity aimed at in access arguments can be lost if there is too much intervention in control of the arts" (p. 26). Consequently, the cultural and arts sector has been subject to constant modifications depending on the interests of the groups in power. As Radbourne & Fraser put it,

> "Government subvention has followed an interesting pattern in Australia. The inadequate private patronage of colonial times was replaced early this century by vibrant support from dedicated amateurs in community organisations and professional entrepreneurs who imported shows as well as providing work for locals. Both groups then became lobbyist for government support as the private economy could no longer support artistic growth, and as the general desire became apparent for showcase art indicative of the nation.
>
> Government support increased from the post-war years on, as did the policy control over it. Flagship funding and centralisation of institutions helped develop the showcase pieces desired, but soon a call for a more democratic and less centralised funding arose, reflecting a desire for democratic institutions from society in general. The main funding body responded by supporting diverse community arts at the grassroots level, as well as the major institutions, and by managing that support through the mechanisms of arm's-length funding and peer assessment. The resulting growth in myriad smaller arts organisations has now caused the Australian Council to encourage and support the industry and training of managers as well as providing grants for artists. State and local governments are increasingly taking up the call for this kind of individualistic funding. Separationist policy such as this will be important in creating the basis for self-funding independence" (p. 28).

At present, the rationalist approach to the arts is still dominating in Australia (Burton 1999, pers. comm.). As discussed in following chapters, this fact had some repercussion in the way the Sydney Olympic cultural programme was defined, structured and supported[24]. Some evidence of this is presented in the following section, which describes the process to prepare and gather support for the Sydney Olympic Bid and the poor role given to the arts in this process.

## *5.4. Sydney's motivations for the 2000 Olympic Bid*

Sydney was the third consecutive Australian city to present a candidature for hosting the Olympic Games between 1992 and 2000. Brisbane, capital of the state of Queensland and host-city of the 1988 World Expo, had bided for the 1992 Games; Melbourne, capital of the state of Victoria and host of the 1956 Olympic Games, bided for 1996. The failed but intense experiences of both Australian capitals are said to have been a critical point of reference for Sydney in its strategy to promote the candidature in 1992 (McGeoch & Korporaal 1994).

Independent from the these precedents, the interest of Sydney to host the Games had a long history. Rod McGeoch, Chief Executive Officer of the Sydney Bid, has referred to Sydney representatives' initial discussions in 1970 about attempting to host the 1988 Games, Australia's bi-centenary year since the discovery and settlement by the British (*op. cit.*). Concern about the suitability of existing Sydney sporting venues and other infrastructures led to abandoning the project by the end of the

[24] See chapter 9, section 1. 'Involvement of Stakeholders - Public Sector'.

1970s. However, according to McGeoch and Korporaal, the interest to present a Sydney bid was kept throughout the 1980s at the time of the trials by Brisbane and Melbourne.

Farrell (1999) has insistently stated that the remarkable interest of Australia to stage the Games cannot be explained only by referring to the potential economic benefits and international exposure the Games are said to bring to the host-city. Further to this reason, there is the strongly rooted passion for sports manifested by the day to day practices of most Australians. Additionally, there is a wide spread acceptance and interest in the Olympic Movement demonstrated by Australia's consistent participation in the Games, despite the geographical isolation of the country. Most Sydney Olympic promotional material stated that Australia, together with Greece, are the only two countries to have participated in every Olympic Games since their foundation in 1896 (see Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992b, 1992c, 1992d; SOCOG 1999g, 1999m, 2000a). This was a strategic selling point of the bid together with the argument that in Australia there was not any organised group or task-force opposed to the Games (McGeoch & Korporaal 1994). In regards to the latter, researchers and journalists have argued that, not even the Aboriginal communities, initially feared for potential boycotts, were strongly opposed to the Olympic Games as such (Thompson 2000). According to Veal (1999, pers. comm., 15 Apr) this was so because the opportunity to participate and win Olympic medals had converted some members of this traditionally neglected community into Australian icons.

According to Burroughs (1999) and McGeoch & Korporaal (1994), the promoted and perceived strengths of Sydney's candidature were the following:

- a compact Olympic plan guaranteeing minimal travel to the venues for athletes
- the good Australian climate
- the country's political stability and security
- the massive community and government support
- the fact that it was Australia's third consecutive bid
- and,

> "a government with a strong commitment to sport, as evidenced by the fact that around 70% of the required sports facilities would be available prior to the IOC vote in 1993, regardless of winning the Games" (McGeoch & Korporaal 1994: 38).

At this point, in order to link prior introductory sections with subsequent chapters about the organisation and promotion of the Sydney Olympic Arts Festivals (OAF), it is relevant to have a close look at the way the arts and culture fitted into the original bid discourse in Sydney and Australia. This exercise will inform the debate on whether the proposal for a Games' cultural programme responded to any clear notion of cultural policy in the host-city or the country at large.

In December 1992, the Sydney Olympic Bid Commission published a bulletin addressed to major Australian companies and governmental institutions in order to attract financial and political support. The Bulletin was called 'Fifteen good reasons to bring the Olympics to Sydney in 2000'. These reasons were listed as follows:

> "1. Sydney will stage the athletes games
> 2. Sydney has the best climate in which to hold an Olympics
> 3. Sydney is one of the most beautiful cities in the world
> 4. The Sydney Olympics will reintroduce the Games to a major growth region

5. Sydney will pay for athletes and officials to come to Australia
6. Sydney is the best city equipped to cope with international visitors
7. Sydney Olympics 2000 - prime time television
8. Australia has an outstanding Olympic tradition
9. Sydney is a safe city
10. Australia: stable and reliable
11. The people of Sydney want the Olympics
12. Sydney has plenty of accommodation for the 2000 Olympics
13. Sydney will be an environmental showpiece for the Olympics
14. Sydney's transport - up and running
15. Sydney will provide world class television coverage" (Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992c)

This list does not include any reference to the cultural life of the city as a reason to bring the Olympics to Sydney. Instead, the focus is the city's sporting traditions and its commitment to support Olympic sport (point 1, 5, 8, 11), Sydney's tourism and corporate appeal (4, 9, 10), the environment (2, 3, 13) and the existence of extensive and reliable infrastructures (point 6, 7, 12, 14, 15). This suggests that the bid organisers did not consider that an explicit mention to Sydney's cultural shape was either necessary or appropriate to gain the attention and support of local and national stakeholders.

In another document destined to Australian corporations, the reason why 'Sydney is the best choice for the 2000 Games' was defined in these terms:

> "Sydney will re-introduce the Games to a major growth region of the world. The Sydney Olympic Plan includes world standard facilities, convenient transport, sound security and ample accommodation. The Games will reflect Australia's multicultural society and will include a sophisticated cultural programme." (Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992d)

On this occasion, there is a clear reference to cultural matters, by means of emphasising the notion of multiculturalism as the most characteristic aspect of Australian society. However, in the same document, the summary of key points justifying the connections between Sydney and the Olympics are told to be "our love for sport and our tradition of a 'fair go for all' that reflect the Olympic ideas of goodwill and sportsmanship" (*ibid*). This time, there is no reference to the supposedly exemplary and unique diversity of Australian cultures. Again, the notion of Australia's cultural traditions and cultural potentials does not seem to have been seen as a hallmark relevant enough to be put at the core of the bid local promotions. This leads to argue that the notion of cultural endeavours and the arts did not play an important role in these first, short publications dedicated to promote the benefits of having the Olympics in Sydney among Australian audiences. This impression is accentuated when one looks at other widespread impact evaluation articles and reports published at the time.

In 1995, the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology published the results of an inquiry that analysed the opportunities for Australian industry arising from the staging of the Olympics; the impediments to the development of these opportunities and appropriate action which the Commonwealth might take to maximise benefits (1995: i). Key areas of development were found to be promoting tourism, forging closer links between business and sport in Australia and in the Asia/Pacific region, and demonstrating the economic and social benefits of environmentally sound planning and development (*ibid*: vii). In this context, the Olympic cultural

programme was to be seen as a junior partner, not necessarily critical to maximise trade, tourism, business and sport ventures.

Maggie White, Olympic Liaison from the Australian Tourism Commission, has supported this suggestion by stating that the arts are not yet a key selling point in the country. As such, they were left in a secondary position in the promotional material and strategic tourist planning for the Olympics (White 2000, pers. comm., 3 Mar). However, this perspective opposes the argument by Radbourne & Fraser that culture has become a commodity with important societal functions, including tourism attractions, in particular in countries with a growing international appeal such as Australia. In their words,

> "expressions of national identity in these countries will help reassert their differences to outsiders as well as to the people themselves. It is the responsibility of arts managers to keep informed about the dialogue of national identity and to prevent the distortion of images which can arise when market forces are unqualified by artistic integrity. With this safeguard, creators and consumers can benefit from discussions of national identity in arts policy and through art product" (Radbourne & Fraser 1996: 31).

The contradiction between the aspirations of cultural policy-makers and scholars such as Radbourne & Fraser and the strategic decisions of corporate planners and entrepreneurs such as White suggests a lack of confidence in the strength of Australian arts and culture. This was reflected at a later stage in the low levels of support provided by corporations and government to fund the Olympic cultural programme. Interestingly, the particularity and potential of Australia's culture was precisely one of the critical bid-selling point for international audiences. This is discussed in the next chapter.

## *5.5. Summary*

Australia is a country with a strong sporting tradition, a tradition that evolved rapidly but significantly throughout the 200 years since first white settlement. This tradition, very much linked to the British and Irish origins of most of the early settlers, has been for long considered an important component of the Australian sense of national identity.

However, this sense of identity has been increasingly challenged since World War Two, with the arrival of new waves of immigration that are originated in non-English speaking countries. The country's demographic composition is thus being radically transformed and Australia's cultural traditions are being linked, not only to other Anglo-Saxon countries, but increasingly to the South and East of Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

Louw and Turner (2000, pers. comm.) argue that the country has not come to terms with any clear definition of a national identity and that it is not realistic to foresee this happening in the near future. Nevertheless, in the context of the preparations for an Olympic Games, the urgency to re-think what a country is about and find a way of defining it to others seems particularly poignant.

Further to the sporting traditions, an area that could be a source for inspiration or guidance is the arts and cultural sector. Nevertheless, the sector has been traditionally treated in an elitist manner, blind to the changing realities of Australia and instead clearly influenced by the sense of taste an aesthetics of distant reference points in Europe and the US. Some radical changes have taken place since the 1960s, with the commitment towards supporting community endeavours and the creation

of institutions fully dedicated to it. However the apparition of a discourse that clearly embraces notions of multiculturalism and that offers genuine support to Aboriginal expressions has not taken place until the very end of the 20th century and its strength is still questionable. The latest trend in Australia, as in so many other countries, is a rationalist approach to the arts, which implies an encouragement towards working with the corporate sector and responding to the demands of the market. Arguably, this approach can delay even more the process towards strengthening the cultural sector and making it fully representative of the country's current situation, so that it can take the lead in presenting a consensual image of contemporary Australia.

In this convoluted context, it is easy to understand that at the time of the bid, the Sydney Olympic promoters chose to emphasise the corporate benefits of the Games among internal audiences rather than a cultural discourse. In this approach, the pride of sporting traditions is taken for granted, as it is clearly associated with the Olympic Games and the benefits that the event can bring. But the notion of cultural policy and cultural development is understated and is not given the chance to have an influence to attract Olympic supporters.

The review of key promotional documents by the Sydney Bid group and reports evaluating the potential impacts and benefits of the Games published at the time has confirmed this impression. For the local and national corporations, the main reasons why Sydney should host the Games were its natural environment, its potential for infrastructure development and its sporting traditions. Moreover, the main benefits the Games would bring to the city were said to be opportunities for developing tourism, media coverage and trade opportunities in general. Thus, the promotion of Australian arts and culture was not a bid selling point at a national level. This suggests a lack of confidence in the country's cultural endeavours and provides an initial indication of the many limitations that the planning and organisation of the Games cultural programme had to face after the Sydney 2000 bid was effectively won.

# 6. Design: projecting a new image of Sydney and Australia

This chapter studies the process that led to the ultimate design of the Sydney cultural programme and discusses the extent to which it was informed by coherent notions of cultural policy. The first section explores the discourse utilised by the Sydney bid promoters to attract international audiences and discusses how it guided the initial formulation of Sydney's Olympic cultural programme. The following section discusses the relationship between the promises made at the bid stage and the reality of planning for the programme once the Games had been awarded. Section three describes the mission statements and key deliverables of an Olympic cultural programme as defined by the IOC and interpreted by the Sydney Organising Committee for the Games. Finally, the last section offers a brief review of the final design for the programme – the OAF – looking at its main themes, key objectives and highlights.

## *6.1. Using a cultural discourse to sell Australia*

The previous chapter argues that Sydney's bid promoters emphasised the sporting, infrastructural and environmental strengths of Australia in order to gather the support of national stakeholders. Arguably, this overshadowed the arguments about the country's cultural and arts endeavours. In contrast, the international media and IOC members in particular were very attracted by a discourse where Australian cultural matters played a major role. Within the bid promotional literature, this gave rise to a remarkable emphasis on the concepts of multiculturalism and Aboriginal reconciliation as key components of the country's cultural shape. Thus, a cultural discourse – Australia's commitment to support their Aboriginal and multicultural populations – became a key international selling point for the Sydney bid.

At the bid stage, the use of this cultural discourse was frequently in hands of the public and community relations team. As such, it would take the form of music and dance displays during official visits to Australia by IOC members or accompanying Australian personalities in their promotional tours around the world. However, this discourse was also central to the shape of Sydney's proposed Olympic cultural programme and had a strong influence on its final design.

### a) From social entertainment to defining the Olympic cultural programme

The Australian bid organisers identified that the multicultural composition and, most importantly, the presence of Aboriginal cultures in the country, made Australia a unique place to explore exemplary ways in which the Olympic ideals of universal understanding could foster and promote the respect of human rights (Hanna 1999). Accordingly, the Sydney Bid group tended to incorporate references to Australia's indigenous cultures within their promotions, and to emphasise the advances made by the Australian government to support them.

An example of the protagonism given to Aboriginal cultures is found in the social component of the presentation of the bid during the final week preceding the IOC definitive vote for the city to host the 2000 Games. On the last night prior to the votes,

> "Indigenous musicians played outside the Hôtel de Paris with 'the haunting sounds attracting [IOC] members to [the Sydney 2000 Bid Committee's] hospitality suit'" (McGeoch cited in Hanna 1999: 28).

Hanna states that this cultural presentation was criticised by Australian authors such as Booth and Tatz who considered that Monaco might be "flooded [...] with black dancers and performers, but as Aboriginal Commissioner Sol Bellear reminded us, they were tourist curiosities like koalas and kangaroos"(Booth & Tatz cited in Hanna: 28). However, Hanna has challenged this argument by arguing that "although used in a token manner, the significant inclusion of Indigenous culture created the impression of a national culture that values the contributions of its minority groups" (*ibid*).

Further to the above, Hanna has praised the announcement of an "ambitious Cultural Programme over the four-year Olympiad" (*ibid*). Moreover, McGeoch notes that "the Cultural Programme was used as an important part of the bid strategy; it was promoted at the July 1993 opening of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne [while] other cities, by contrast, focused primarily on the sporting festival" (McGeoch cited in Hanna 1999: 29). Reinforcing the above argument, Donald McDonald, chairman of the Cultural Committee for the Bid and subsequent chairman of the Olympic Cultural Commission, emphasised the unique characteristics of the Sydney proposal. McDonald argued that "Sydney was the only city to have produced a special publication on the Cultural Olympiad and presented an extensive programme of activities to be held in the four years leading the Games" (1994, pers. comm.) In his words, the use of the Sydney Opera House as the main cultural venue and the emphasis given to Aboriginal reconciliation were considered "issues crucial" to the success of Sydney's bid (*ibid*).

### b) International expectations and brand images

The emphasis placed on references to Aboriginal issues and multiculturalism within the Olympic project must be understood within the particular climate of international expectations in which addressing human right issues was strongly valued. The Sydney bid was in close competition with the bid presented by Beijing, a bid that was considered by many as the real favourite (McGeoch & Korporaal 1994). The main limitation of the Beijing bid was China's dubious human rights record, a factor accentuated by the killings of pro-democracy demonstrators at Tiananmen Square in 1989 (Wilson 1993). In this context, Sydney and Australia needed to address areas likely to raise similar international concern, such as the existing government provision for Aboriginal communities. Accordingly, the promotion of a positive view on the Aboriginal and multicultural composition of the country became a priority for the presentation of Australian culture in the world stage and, as such, both themes were presented as central aspects of the country's cultural identity.

Another explanation for the clear emphasis put on Aboriginality and multiculturalism relates to the pressures that event bid promoters face in order to present an image of the host-city and country that is clear, distinctive and easy to understand. Sydney's choices can be compared with the decision in the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games to present an image of the city modelled on its Mediterranean and European character. The use of simplified and unidimensional cultural themes to define the idiosyncrasy of a particular place can be interpreted in the frame discussed by Berkaak (1999). The author argues that "an Olympic event is an opportunity to be focused on – with an assured benefit" (p. 68) and an opportunity for the host-city or nation to "choose which aspects [it wants to] showcase

to the world" (*ibid*). Furthermore, this selection responds to Moragas' (1992b) argument that, from a global media perspective, it is necessary that the Olympic city or nation "synthesize [its] complex reality in an image [or] brand image" (p. 32).

Following Hanna's discourse (1999), it can be argued that the use of Aboriginal reconciliation and multiculturalism as Australia's international 'brand images' was well adapted to the requirements of the mass media during the bid period. The presence of aboriginal troupes in Montecarlo during the bid-deliberations in September 1993, and the touring of Aboriginal art exhibits such as the one presented in the Olympic Museum in 1999 are two examples of cultural displays that were widely publicised and positively appraised by the international press.

Further to these, somehow, ephemeral successes, the promise of an Olympic cultural programme fully engaged with the very same themes was to offer the host organisers a chance to develop these brand images in more comprehensive and representative ways. For Australia, the decision to keep the four-year Olympiad tradition increased the opportunities for this opportunity to be taken. However, it must be noted that, within the social context of the country at the time when the bid was won, the 'images' of multiculturalism and Aboriginal reconciliation were not as widely shared and acknowledged as the image of a Mediterranean Barcelona had been in Spain during the 1992 Games. As argued in the following chapters, this would be a cause of conflict and disagreement over the management and implementation of the cultural programme and was, arguably, a reason for the inconsistent support that the programme received over the years[25].

### c) Reviewing Australia's chosen brand images: multiculturalism and reconciliation

The emphasis placed by the bid organisers on the concept of 'multiculturalism' or multicultural society was aimed at acknowledging the many different first or second generation migrant communities that compose the current Australian demographics. In this regard, scholars such as Jakubowicz (1981, 1994) and Cunningham (2000) have discussed the uses and abuses of the term multiculturalism within the Australian government rhetoric of present times, a term that has been promoted for years as an official state ideology (Jakubowicz 1981). Cunningham (2000, pers. comm., 25 Aug) argues that the multicultural discourse in Australia has never been taken from a cultural policy perspective but only from the perspective of social policy. Consequently, Cunningham argues that "this discourse is focused on solving the social problems of immigration in terms of language, education, jobs, health services etc. but not in consistently promoting a presence of ethnically and culturally diverse people in the media or the arts world" *(ibid*). Thus, Cunningham adds that "it is unlikely that relevant multicultural components are included within the Games cultural programme

[25] This thesis is not aimed at exploring the conflicts existing in the definition of Australia's cultural identity, an issue that has been long debated in the country and has come to be re-questioned on occasion of the Olympic Games (see for instance Gibson 2001, Farrell 1999, Leishman 1999, Multicultural Arts Alliance 1999, Munro 1999). Neither has this thesis an aim to debate the meaning and sense of the term cultural identity either understood as "national culture" or "imagined community" in the way argued by Hall (1992b: 274-323). The only reason to mention these issues here is to provide a background for the points made by Moragas and Berkaak in a way that is reflective of the reality of Australia and the process to decide on the country's promotional images and the design of the Sydney Olympic cultural programme. This said, it is relevant to comment on some key features of the 'images' or 'concepts' chosen as paramount in the overseas promotion of Australia's culture. This will help to better understand the opportunities and constraints that surrounded them at the time of their promotion and implementation within the country and will offer some basis for discussing the extent to which they responded to any defined local or national cultural policy.

beyond its average use in the event promotional or marketing discourse" (*ibid*). Accordingly, it can be claimed that, in Cunningham's view, the use of a multicultural discourse in Sydney's cultural programme was not an effect of the host-city or Australia's priorities in cultural policy but rather a strategic decision associated with the country's policies in communication and international relations.

The second and most clearly emphasised image of Australia in the Sydney bid was the presentation of the current state of Aboriginal cultures, which was promoted through the use of the term 'reconciliation'. Reconciliation was meant to signify the commitment of Australian society towards a full acceptance and acknowledgement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders cultures within its national discourse and sense of self. However, authors such as Tatz (1999) have rebated the use and meaning of the term reconciliation and have accused the Olympic organisations and those government bodies supporting them of masking an extremely delicate and largely unsolved issue behind a public relations game. According to Tatz, this game "has always been conceived from a white sense of aesthetics" (*op. cit.*) which prevents the public from getting a real understanding of the situation. In this line, Frankland (2000) states that the way Aboriginal questions were dealt with in Olympic discourses tended to be rather superficial and tokenistic. Frankland argues that they were aimed at exploiting their most appealing side for both governments and media to present a harmonic Australia to the world, but were not consistent in the process to create truly significant cultural projects and offer Aboriginal peoples a representative voice.

The internal debates and lack of agreement that the mentioned brand 'images' arose within Australian scholars and government agencies did not prevent Games promoters and organisers from using the terms as core elements of their Olympic discourse for the enjoyment of foreign audiences. Nevertheless, as described in the previous chapter, the key words that were to be utilised to attract the investment and support of national stakeholders and promote the key benefits of Olympic project were terms such as 'trade' and 'tourism', which had nothing to do with cultural identity pursuits.

The above may be indicative of a conflict between the image that was intended abroad and the beliefs or aspirations of the Australian population, in particular, the corporations and other stakeholders that were to fund the Olympic experience. Following sections argue that the contradiction between what was 'sold' or promised to international audiences and the interests of national audiences or stakeholders, resulted in the planning of a remarkably ambitious cultural programme which was to be produced almost without any formal support by Australian organisations.

## *6.2. From bid aspirations to programme design*

> "The Olympic Arts Festivals are integral to the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, showing Australians and the rest of the world the unique and varied qualities of our culture. [...] Sydney has chosen to present a series of four Olympic Arts Festivals over the four years of the Cultural Olympiad (1997-2000), each with a different theme and emphasis" (SOCOG 1997-2000).

According to Donald McDonald (1994) chairman of the Olympic bid cultural commission, one distinguishing feature of the Sydney Olympic bid in 1993 was the ambitious character of the proposed cultural programme (pers. comm., Dec). Following earlier initiatives by Barcelona and Atlanta, Sydney promised to cover the entire period of the Olympiad in the approach to the Games

(four years). The unprecedented decision to do so with different themes and emphasis to reflect Australia's diverse cultural character was repeatedly defined as a key factor in winning the right to host the Games (Hanna 1999; McDonald 1994, pers. com.; McGeoch & Korporaal 1994). As such, Sydney promised to present a cultural programme that would incorporate a celebration of indigenous people in year 1997; a year-long nation-wide celebration of Australia's multiculturalism in 1998; a world tour of Australia's artists in 1999, and a major arts festival that would bring celebrated artists and artwork from around the world to Australia in 2000. The proposed budget for this cultural programme was A$ 51 (Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992b).

Karilyn Brown, OAF programme manager, has argued that it is important to use the Olympics to project ambitious arts programmes despite the subsequent difficulties in implementing them. Thus, in her view, "in the context of the Games, a four-year period is better than just three weeks, and national and international presentations, exhibitions and collaborations are more challenging and stimulating for the arts in Australia than a short Sydney-based festival" (Brown 1999, pers. comm., 15 Sep).

On his part, the OAF general manager, Craig Hassall, has emphasised the relevance of the literature produced to explain and promote the festivals to justify his claim that "the Sydney Olympic cultural programme will leave a long-lasting legacy" (1999, pers. comm, 23 Aug). In his view, the expectation that the Olympic Museum in Lausanne will keep a complete record of official documentation about the 1997-2000 OAF "is a significant guarantee for the programme to reach international scholars and inspire future event organisers" (*ibid*).

Contrasting with these arguments, there is evidence that the Olympic cultural programme is not a primary concern for an OCOG. Likely reasons are the fact that the programme has traditionally maintained a low profile in terms of public recognition and thus, arguably, the media and average Games audiences have not developed an expectation of excellence in arts and culture during the Olympic period[26]. This is indicative of the suggestion that the Olympic cultural programme is not seen as a determining factor for the success or failure of an Olympic Games in the way that the provisions for the sporting competitions, media, transport and security are (Duby 2001, pers. comm., 20 March). Consequently, the arts festivals are one of the first areas to be affected by budget cuts and re-allocation of resources in times of financial cut-backs.

In the case of Sydney, a clear evidence of this is the radical budget cut suffered by the cultural programme soon after the Olympic candidature was won. According to Good (1999) the budget fell from A$51 million into A$20. This had a remarkable effect on the final design and production of the festivals. The team in charge of the cultural programme decided to keep the four-year format and to attempt portraying the wide range of themes and emphases that were promised at the bid stage. However, many of the early proposals for implementation had to be cancelled. Furthermore, the lack of resources led to reallocating the responsibility for some of the designed Olympic cultural activities to work departments other than the team in charge of the official cultural programme. The following paragraphs describe some examples.

[26] This argument is exemplified in the content analysis of the Sydney festivals press coverage from 1997 to 2000 (see chapter 10). The analysis the coverage reveals that, despite the festivals getting some negative criticism in early years (prior to August 1997), in 1998 and the end of 1999, this had not a major impact in Sydney other than the arts communities directly affected. In other words, the causes of such a criticism did not become a major controversial issue against the image of the Games and as such, remained unnoticed by the public.

Initially, the bid documents outlined the creation of an 'Olympic Village Cultural Programme' especially designed for the athletes but in coordination with the general Games cultural programme (Sydney Bid 1992a). However, this programme was produced finally under the responsibility of the Olympic Village management in consultation with the Olympic Entertainment Committee, instead of the OAF programme. This resulted in a programme of activities that, although entertaining for the athletes, missed the chance to promote the cultural particularities of the host-city and country. According to Olympic scholar Norbert Müller,

> "the cultural programme in the Olympic Village was very poor, without offering any intellectual challenge nor many chances to enhance the athletes' awareness and understanding of the host culture... As an example, a particularly popular feature, as in so many prior Olympic editions, was the provision of gambling machines in the Village social club... The film programme for the Village was appallingly unrepresentative of the host country, offering an average selection of popular Hollywood movies and little else, instead of exploring Australian cinema. The provision of music entertainment was also rather average, consisting of standard [discotheque] music without much emphasis on local musicians and bands... Olympic athletes have the wonderful chance to interact with an incredible variety of world cultures and can surely discover the particularities of the Games host-city in their own way. Unfortunately, the programme of activities in the Olympic Village will surely not be one of their most inspiring sources. In Sydney, it is a programme designed to relax and provide fun, not a vehicle to enhance cultural understanding" (Müller 2000, pers. comm., 9 Sep).

Also, there were plans for establishing a liaison between the OAF and the arts and cultural activities schedule of the Olympic Youth Camp programme[27] (Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992a). However the idea was also cancelled at an early stage of the festivals planning process. Subsequently, the cultural activities of the Youth Camp were organised in complete separation from the arts festivals and no association was made between the aspirations of the Olympic arts and youth programmes.

At another level, there was a plan for presenting symbolic cultural medals to acknowledge the most outstanding contributions of participant (*ibid*). Nevertheless, by decision of the Cultural Commission and the IOC Executive Board in April 1998, the initiative was replaced by the production of certificates commemorating participation. Arguably, this decision diminished the chances for the arts festival activities to attract press coverage and emphasise their association with the Games celebrations.

## *6.3. Final choices: mission statements and programme description*

According to Brown (2000) the planning stage for the Olympic cultural programme was surrounded by insecurity and permanent change in a context where SOCOG was just starting to take shape (pers. comm., 6 Oct). By the end of 1994, at a time when the provisions for critical components of the Games such as the sports competitions, marketing and sponsorship were at their infancy, the team in charge of the OAF was fully operational. They had to undertake crucial decisions about the mission and key components the cultural programme and present concrete proposals for events that were to take place three years prior to the Games, in 1997.

---

[27] The Youth Camp is an optional requirement described under Rule 58 of the Olympic Charter. It is aimed at bringing together young people in the host-city from each participating country. Two youths are normally chosen by every National Olympic Committee, aged between 18 to 22 years old. The Charter recommends them to be hosted together during the duration of the Games in order for them to learn about the Olympic movement and the host-city Culture. The Youth Camp must include an education programme and implement cultural and arts activities (IOC 2001).

Brown (2000) explains that the lack of clear guidelines on the part of the IOC was felt as an encouragement to creativity but also a difficult challenge. This was because the team could not find a reliable point of reference to guide their decisions and avoid the conceptual mistakes of prior Games editions. As such, the process to define the final profile of Sydney's cultural programme was based mostly on the proposals made by the locally designated Olympic Cultural Commission[28], a group of Australian influential personalities and experts in the cultural sector that had been assigned to advise on cultural matters since the bid stage. The executive team had the difficult task to balance the ambitious proposals made by the advisory Commission with the limited resources provided by SOCOG. Furthermore, they had to balance this situation with the growing suspicion that the OAF was not to receive the same financial and promotional support as other dimensions of the Games.

## a) Mission statements and key deliverables

Below is a summary the current requirements that the IOC establishes for the design and implementation of a cultural programme, and the way these requirements were interpreted and adapted to the reality of the Sydney OAF.

*Figure 6.i: Mission statements and key deliverables for the Olympic cultural programme*

Olympic cultural programme mission as defined by the IOC

- Promote harmonious relations, mutual understanding and friendship among the participants and others attending the Olympic Games

*(Adapted from IOC 1997: 56)*

Key deliverables as defined by the IOC

- Include cultural events organised in the Olympic Village and symbolising the universality and the diversity of human culture
- Include other events with the same purpose held mainly in the host-city
- Cover at least the entire period during which the Olympic Village is open

*(Adapted from IOC 1997: 57)*

OAF mission as defined by SOCOG

- Express to the world Australia's spirit of Olympic friendship and vitality (1998e)
- Demonstrate the unifying force of the Olympic Movement in blending sport and culture (1998e)
- Reflect Australia's diverse and dynamic artistic life and the powerful influences driving and shaping its cultural make-up, among them: indigenous cultures, geography and landscape, immigration and Australia's physical place in the world as a vast island continent of the Southern Hemisphere (1999h)
- Demonstrate the best of the arts in Australia and the Oceanic region to Australians and the rest of the world and leave a legacy of awareness of the wealth of talent Australia possess (1998e)

*(Adapted from diverse SOCOG fact sheets and press releases)*

[28] See chapter 7, section 2 for more details on the role and involvement of the 2000 Games Olympic Cultural Commission. Do not confuse with the IOC Cultural Commission.

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Key deliverables as defined by SOCOG

- Establish an effective staffing team, highly experienced in project management of arts events, including artistic programme development, contract negotiation, production, operations, marketing and publicity and promotion
- Establish strong and effective links with key SOCOG programmes to ensure an integrated approach to the delivery of the festivals and the Olympic Games
- Establish strong and effective links with major arts organisations, arts companies and cultural venues, forming a partnership in the presentation of festival programming
- Develop and implement each of the four festivals for the four year OAF

*(Adapted from notes in SOCOG 2000f-a: 6)*

*Source: Adaptation by the author of IOC 1997, SOCOG (1997-2000) and SOCOG 2000f-a*

## b) Programme description

> "The Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festivals aim is to demonstrate the best of the arts in Australia and the Oceanic region to ourselves and the rest of the world and to leave a legacy of awareness of the wealth of talent we possess." [...] "The festivals will reflect Australia's diverse cultural character and will look beyond Australia to involve many nations and peoples" (Mission Statement, OAF 1998)

The team in charge of the cultural programme decided to keep the original bid promise of a four-year celebration, with each year presenting a different festival. The first festival took place in 1997 and the final one in year 2000, alongside the Olympic Games sporting competitions. They were all gathered under the generic name of 'Olympic Arts Festivals', referred in this thesis as OAF.

The appendix incorporates a section providing a general description of each individual festival[29]. As a general reference, find bellow is a brief summary of each festival's characteristics by title, time period, location, main themes, mission statements, defined objectives and programme of events.

*Table 6.i: Festivals length, themes, objectives and main components*

| Year, name, length & location | Theme / mission | Objectives | Programme components |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1997<br><br>*The Festival of the Dreaming*,<br><br>September to October<br><br>(Sydney) | Celebration of the world's indigenous cultures, in particular those of Australian Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders | General: expand a greater awareness and appreciation of Australian indigenous heritage.<br><br>Specific: ensure indigenous authorship and control of the work presented | 30 exhibitions, 14 dance and theatre productions, eight performance troupes, 50 films, a literature programme, three concerts and special commissions involving overseas indigenous artists.<br><br>Every state and territory of Australia was represented. |

[29] See appendix 7.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1998<br><br>*A Sea Change*,<br><br>June to October<br><br>(national) | A 'snapshot' of Australia's diverse migrant cultures | - Help people across the nation learn more about the arts in their country and demonstrate the importance of its geographic and cultural diversity;<br>- Create a time-capsule of Australian culture in the end of the Millennium for generations to come | 92 presenting companies and 122 dance, theatre, visual arts, literary, music and education events.<br>Highlights: lighthouse and harbour concerts; touring exhibition *Sculpture by the Sea*.<br>Publications:1998 Anthology of Australian writing and photography |
| 1999<br><br>*Reaching the World*,<br><br>November 1998 to January 2000<br><br>(international) | Events by Australian companies and artists touring throughout the year to countries in each of the five regions represented by the Olympic symbol | General: bring Australian arts and culture to the international stages;<br><br>Specific: establish collaborations with foreign governments and arts organisations. | 70 events travelling to 50 countries and 150 cities or towns including dance, music, theatre, visual arts, literature, films, architecture and design.<br>Publication of *Australia on Show*, a guide to Australian Arts Broadcasting |
| 2000<br><br>*The Harbour of Life*,<br><br>August to October<br><br>(Sydney) | The culmination of the Olympiad, 'a festival on a scale to match the grandeur of the Olympic Games' | General: define the finest elements of Australian culture; present a number of works on grand scale, unlikely to be seen again in a lifetime; establish artistic legacies | 75 day-event focused in the harbour and Opera House - opera, theatre, dance and classical concerts; 30 visual arts exhibitions in key galleries and museums |

*Source: OAF web pages at SOCOG website and promotional literature (SOCOG)*

Collectively, the different festivals were created to respond to the aims of the mission statement. However, each festival was focused on a different theme and had a different emphasis. As such, each festival also had an emphasis on some objectives over others, as the following list describes.

- Genuine showcase of Aboriginal artworks (specific *The Festival of the Dreaming*; common goal)
- Manifestation of diversity to secure representation (specific *A Sea Change*; common goal)
- International scope and demonstration of excellence (specific *Reaching the World; The Harbour of Life*)
- National involvement, community participation (specific *A Sea Change*; common goal)
- People's awareness and understanding of the OAF concept and its mission (common goal)
- Development of new opportunities, support to new works and emerging artists (common goal)
- Establishment of legacies (common goal)

# 7. Management: collaboration between private and public sectors

In order to understand the ability of the Olympic cultural programme to play a distinctive role within the Olympic Games, it is important to get an overall view of how the management structure and strategies within which it is developed and implemented. This will help to evaluate the extent to which the day to day programme operations were informed by a coherent cultural policy.

This chapter is divided in two main sections. The first section describes SOCOG's internal management and operations and articulates their relationship with the OAF programme specifically. It starts with a brief revision of SOCOG internal structure and ends with a review of the festivals' strategic management in terms of planning, budgeting, marketing, promotions, and ticket sales. The second section summarises the external management strategies developed by the OAF team in order to approach existing or potential stakeholders.

## *7.1. Internal operations: organisation structure*

### a) Structural position of the Olympic Arts Festivals

*Management structure of the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games*

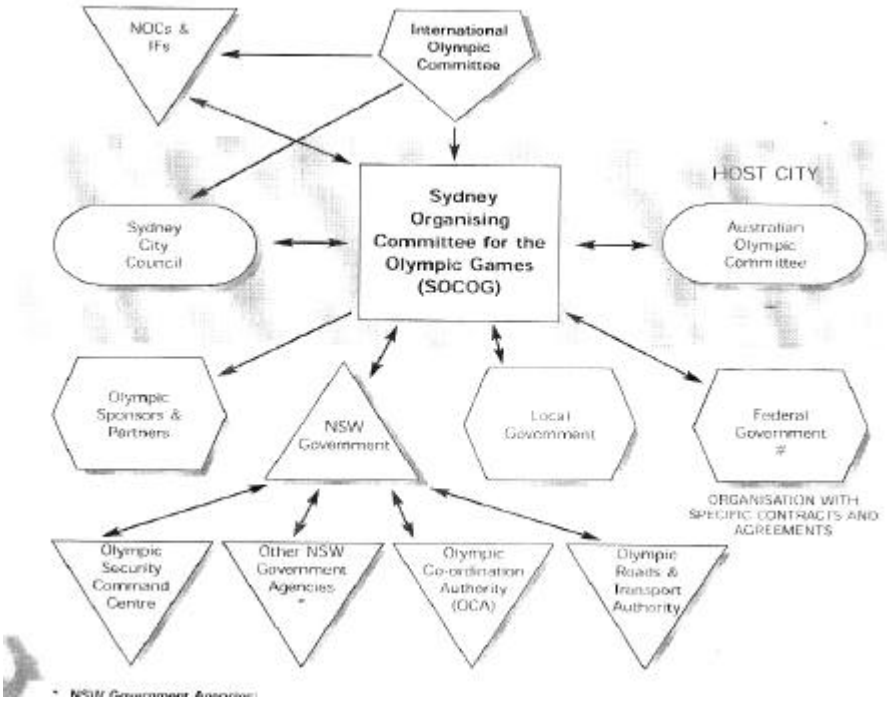
SOCOG was established on the 12th November 1993 as a statutory authority of the government, under an act of Parliament by the NSW State Government (Elphinston 1999). It comprised a board of fifteen directors representing the IOC, the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC), Federal, State and City governments and the business/sporting community of Australia. Under the terms of the 'Host City Contract', SOCOG was responsible for the organisation of the Sydney Olympic Games (*ibid*). The 'Host City Contract' had been signed initially between the IOC, the Council of the City of Sydney and the AOC. SOCOG became a party of it on 4 February 1994 (SOCOG 2000d).

SOCOG was responsible for planning, organising, managing and staging the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. It worked closely with the three special agencies that the NSW government had created. These agencies were charged with "the construction of new, permanent venues and facilities required for the Games and [the] provision of support services such as transport, security and health care" (SOCOG 2000e: 9). The three agencies were the Olympic Coordination Authority (OCA), responsible for the construction of venues and facilities; the Olympic Roads and Transport Authority (ORTA), in charge of the delivery of transport services; and the Olympic Security Command Centre (OSCC), responsible for all Games security matters.

According to Elphinston, OCA was the principal State organisation, acting within government and ensuring appropriate coordination of all other NSW Olympic agencies and services. Federal Government had also an involvement in the Games staging process through the Minister for the Olympics, Michael Knight. The involvement of other Federal Government agencies was coordinated by a Commonwealth-State Secretariat in the Department of Australia's Prime Minister and Cabinet (SOCOG 2000e: 9).

Figure 7.i. below shows SOCOG's corporate governance and interactions with its main external stakeholders as it stood in 1998 (SOCOG 1999l: 10)

*Figure 7.i.: SOCOG Corporate Governance in 1998*

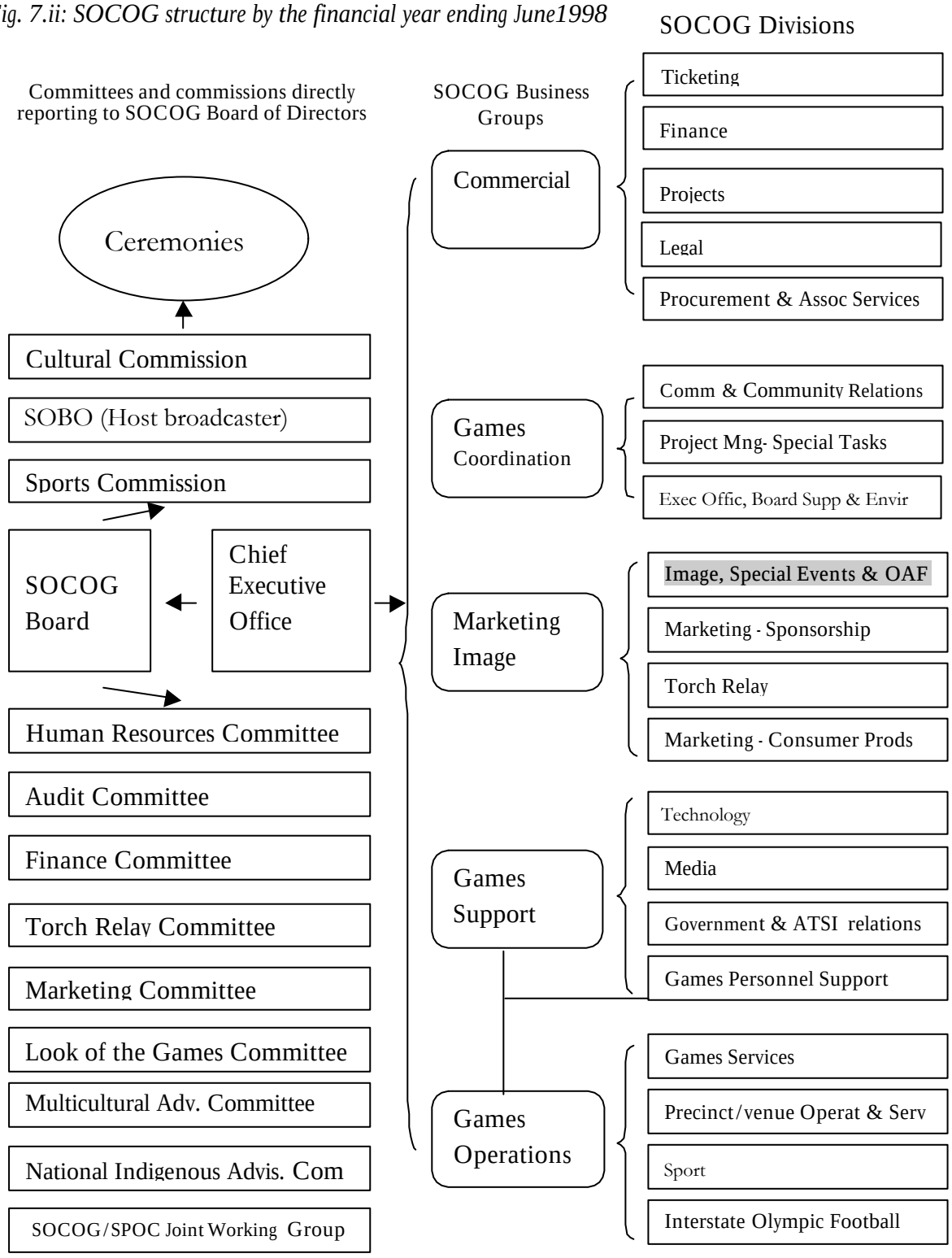



*Source: 1998 Annual Report, SOCOG (1999l)*

As reported in 'SOCOG 1998 Annual Report' (1999) the organisation structure undertook significant modifications over the 1997/1998 financial year as it moved from a functional to an operational-based structure. The changes were ongoing during 1999 and the beginning of year 2000. From August 1999, a full year prior to the commencement of the Games operations, SOCOG moved to the Games time structure, a structure that consisted of two sub-structures working in parallel: a functional structure and a venue-based structure (SOCOG 2000e: 27).

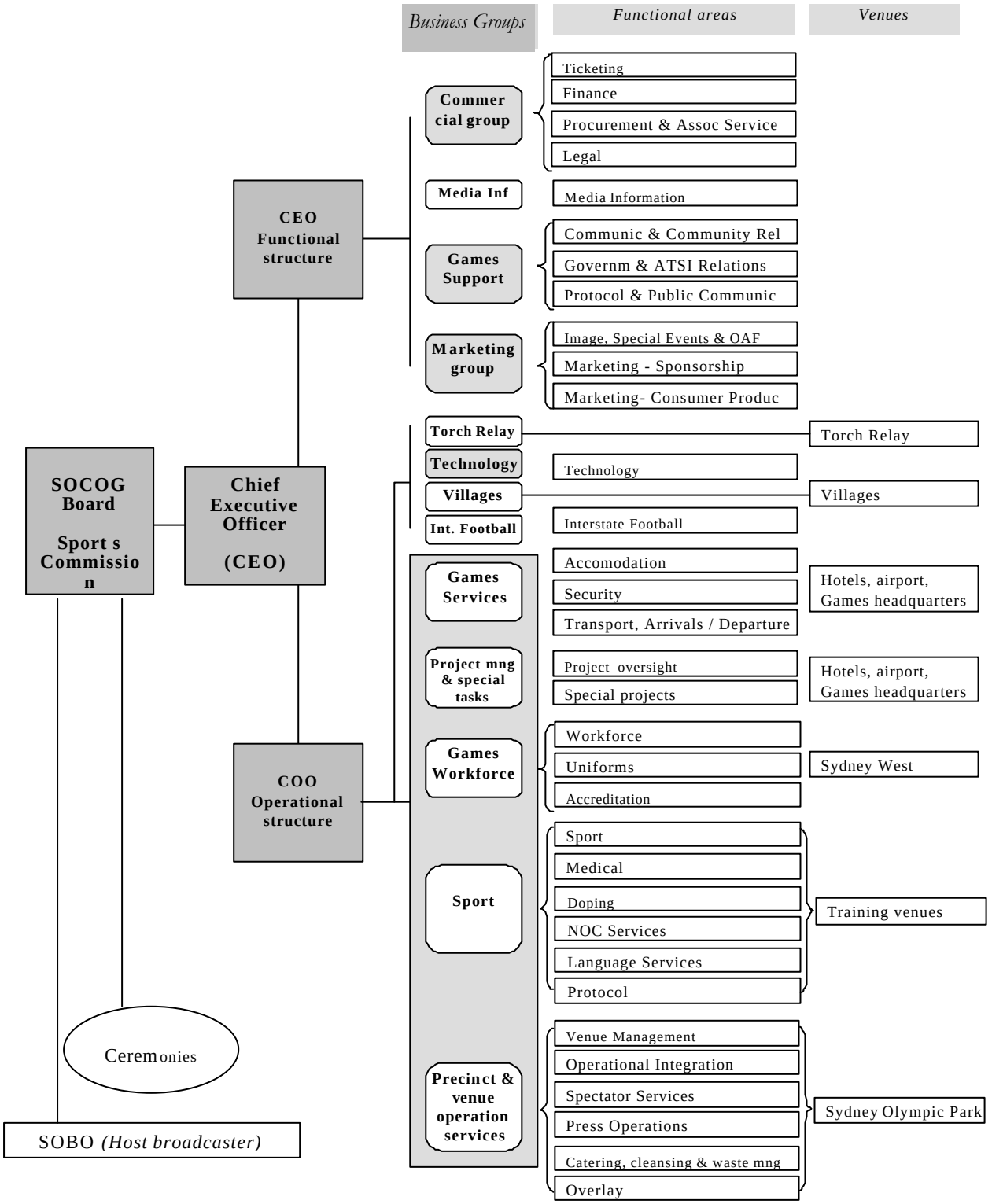
Figures 7.ii. and 7.iii. below show the differences between both types of structure.

*Fig. 7.ii: SOCOG structure by the financial year ending June1998*




*Source: Adapted from SOCOG (1999l)*

*Figure 7.iii: SOCOG structure during Games time*




*Source: SOCOG 1999o: 2*

Comparing both structures reveals a number of substantial alterations. Initially, there were major changes through the creation of a new operational structure, and the disappearance of committees and commissions advising to SOCOG board. However, during Games time, the functional areas

remained very similar to how they had been set up by the end of 1998. The OAF programme was kept in a similar position at all times, always being part of the 'Image, Special Events and Olympic Arts Festivals' division within the SOCOG Marketing group. Perhaps the greater structural change likely to affect the networking abilities of the OAF programme was the transfer of the programme and operations section of the Torch Relay division from the Marketing group within SOCOG's functional structure, to an independent division within the Games operational structure. This reveals a missed opportunity of potential collaborations between the OAF and the Torch Relay programme of festivities. However, within SOCOG's communications structure, a special Media Information division was created and separated from its initial placement at the Games Support group, and the Communications and Community Relations division was transferred from the Games Coordination group to the Games Support group. This allowed for greater interactions between the Communications division and the Protocol and Government Relations divisions at the time of the Games.

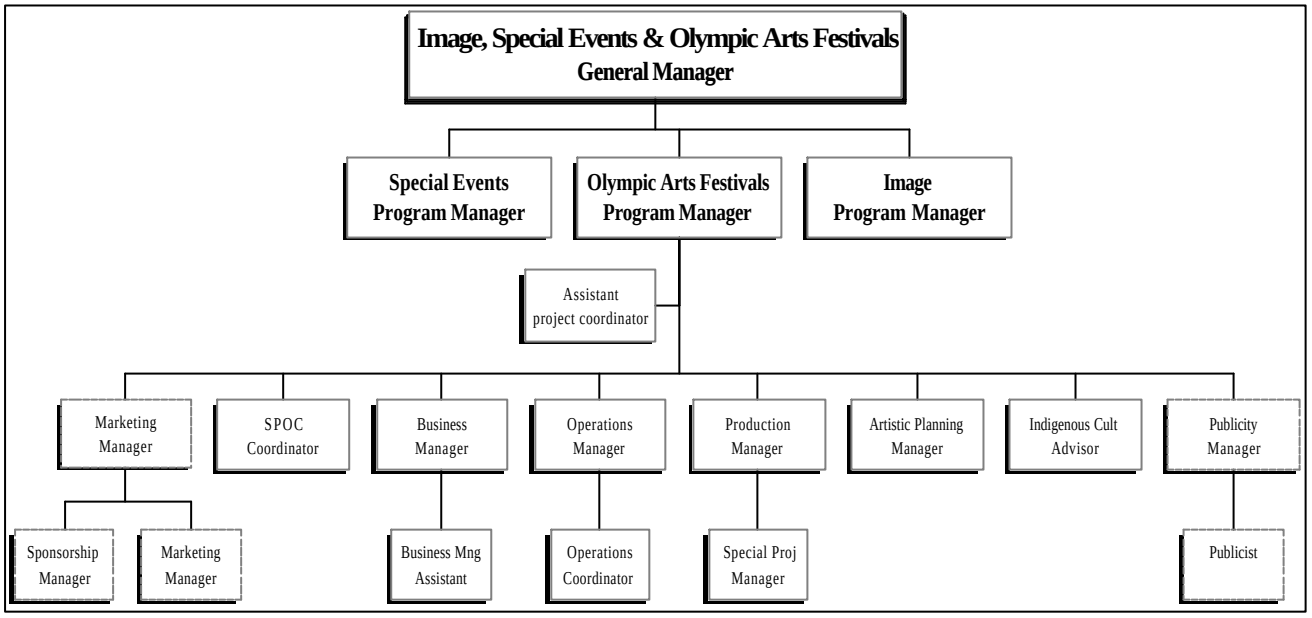
Final decision making was the responsibility of SOCOG Board of Directors, a senior group appointed by the Governor of NSW on the recommendation of the Minister for the Olympics and in consultation with the AOC (SOCOG 2000e: 11). 'SOCOG 1999 Annual Report' states that SOCOG Board was responsible for the corporate governance of the organisation and guided and monitored the business and affairs of SOCOG on behalf of its stakeholders (*ibid*). The Board held monthly meetings with each working committee for the Games and with the Sports and the Cultural Commission, which had an advisory role. The operation and administration of SOCOG was the responsibility of the Chief Executive Officer and the senior management team, each of whom were in charge of one business group. In year 2000, the Board was composed of 14 representatives from the three levels of Australian government (Federal, State and Local); the business community, and Australia's Olympic Commission (AOC) in coordination with the IOC (SOCOG 2000: 11). In most cases, the field of expertise of SOCOG Board of Directors was sports administration, the Olympic Movement, commerce and public life affairs (SOCOG 2000e: 11).

Beyond the separation of SOCOG basic structure into a functional and a venue-based sub-structure, a major change took place by mid year 2000 in terms of decision-making processes. After six years working as a separate and independent entity, SOCOG became part of a single team, the 'Sydney 2000' project. This reconfiguration integrated the Organising Committee with two of the NSW special agencies, OCA and ORTA. Confidential sources and personal observations at SOCOG have indicated that the integration of SOCOG within the more generic Sydney 2000 project affected strongly the management of some SOCOG areas such as the communications programme, the image programme and the publications programme among others. In the case of the OAF, such a change at the top level of the organisation did not have any major impact within the programme structure and management (Brown 2000, pers. comm., 6 Oct). The OAF marketing manager has explained the lack of repercussions of such changes on the festivals management by referring to the complete separation of OAF communications and marketing from the rest of SOCOG programmes (Sulway 2000, pers. comm., 22 Aug). The following point provides evidence of the 'separation' statement made by Sulway by describing the management structure of the OAF programme and the links established to other programmes and functional areas.

*Management structure of the Olympic Arts Festivals*

The department responsible for the OAF was integrated within SOCOG's structure and was dependent on the decisions taken by the General Board of Directors. The OAF was defined as a 'programme' within the area of Image, Special Events & Olympic Arts Festivals and belonged to the Games Marketing Division. Find a brief indication of the OAF staff structure in figure 9.iv. below.

*Figure 7. iv: OAF Staff structure:*




*Source: SOCOG 1999, Structure / Staff documents*[30]

The programme structure was designed in the years leading up to 1996 and was fully operational by mid 1996. It acted independently from other functional areas of SOCOG such as the Media programme or the 'Look of the Games' programme, which were still in the planning stages at this time (SOCOG 2000f-a). Sixteen members and several consultants were in charge of the OAF programme. Their most important role was the production and promotion of the four festivals from 1997 to year 2000. Most of the team was also to be involved in the delivery of the cultural programme for the Sydney 2000 Paralympic Games.

The production of *The Harbour of Life*, the final festival in year 2000, required the contract of four additional staff. This comprised a second production coordinator and one operations assistant in support of the existing operations coordinator, and two ticketing coordinators to liase with the main Olympic ticketing operations department.[31] Additionally, an artistic director was appointed for each festival on recommendation of SOCOG's Cultural Committee and Cultural Commission. Box 7.i. below describes each OAF job function and the way these functions were aimed at liasing with other SOCOG programmes and external groups.

[30] The discontinued lines mark the difference in nature of the marketing and publicity services within the OAF programme. Both services were contracted as 'consultancies', while other positions such as operations or production were contracted as 'managerial positions' (SOCOG 2000f, internal sources).

[31] See further information in point b. 'Internal Operations- Ticketing'.

*Box 7.i: OAF team job descriptions*

General manager: In charge of OAF, Image & Special Events- Responsible for source programming for the festivals; evaluation of prior OAF programmes – Atlanta

OAF programme manager: Appointed in 1996. In charge of the general coordination of all four festivals. Responsible for establishing the overall staffing and operational structure of the programme. Evaluation of prior Olympic Cultural Programmes (Atlanta). Oversaw all liaison and provision of information across SOCOG

Area managers: Business, Operations, Production, Artistic Planning

- Business: Primary purpose: managing overall financial, ticketing and contractual requirements of the OAF & specific financial requirements of the Image & Special Events programme
- Operations: Primary purpose: managing and implementing accommodation, travel, volunteers, security, catering, accreditation
- Production: Primary purpose: identifying, planning & implementing all production & technical requirements relating to the presentation of projects and events. Take care of budget updates, contacting artists & companies, communication strategy. Link to SOCOG communications

Artistic Planning: Primary purpose : ensuring overall programming across all art-forms for each festival. Link to festivals artistic director(s)

Programme Consultancies: Marketing, Publicity

- Marketing: Primary Purpose: managing overall marketing requirements including marketing strategies, marketing budget, marketing guidelines and kits. Managed branding and look approvals including design, production and distribution of all print materials, banners, videos and oversaw website content. Link to SOCOG sponsors and SOCOG Consumer Products and Licensing regarding cultural merchandise
- Publicity: Primary purpose: developing and managing all publicity requirements including publicity strategies, plans and campaigns, publicity budget and events, media launches, press releases, media calls. Oversaw implementation of Cultural Media Press Centre during Games time. Liaison with media managers of national agencies and arts companies, liaison with national and international journalists.

Sub-area managers: sponsorship & marketing, special projects

Assistants, advisors & coordinators:

- Project coordinator / programme manager: link to artistic director and arts companies to determine programming possibilities, develop and encourage projects
- Business management: link to project business manager and ticketing coordinator
- Operations coordinator: link to outside service providers, link to function command team at Olympic Headquarters during all stages of the festival
- Production coordinator: link to Assistant Business Management, link to all relevant programmes and functional areas of SOCOG
- SPOC coordinator : link to Sydney Paralympics Organisation Committee for planning Paralympic Arts
- Indigenous culture advisor : link to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Committee
- Ticketing coordinator : link to SOCOG ticketing services (came on board during Games time)

Specialists: publicist

Respective Festivals Artistic Director(s): somehow independent from SOCOG- responsible for developing the programme parameters, initiating projects and sourcing proposals, liasing with artists and arts companies and making the final selection of all programme content. Link to the OAF general manager

*Source: SOCOG (1999j) Job Description documents*

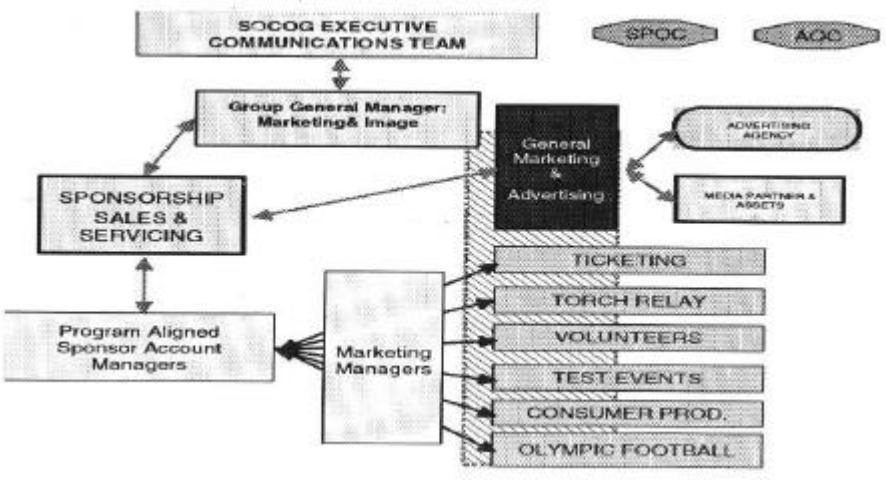
All members of the OAF team were located in the same work area, sharing offices with the staff working for the Image programme and the Special Events programme. The office of the area general

manager was also located in the same space. Arguably, this physical concentration eased the interaction between the three programmes.

Interestingly, no specific links, neither physical nor strategic, were established between the OAF and other programmes with a strong cultural focus such as the National Education programme, the Multicultural Affairs services, the Torch Relay programme and the Olympic Ceremonies. The National Education programme and Multicultural affairs services belonged to the Communications and Community Relations Division and did not create any specific initiative or activity in conjunction with the OAF[32]. The Torch Relay programme, initially part of the Marketing and Image division, to which the OAF belonged (see fig. 9.ii) was transferred to the Operations group at the time of its implementation in year 2000 (fig. 9.iii.). It did not develop any initiative in coordination with the OAF programme. In fact, the organisation of cultural celebrations to accompany the passage of the torch relay was entirely up to the authorities of respective cities and towns. This resulted in a very discontinuous programme of cultural activities, varying from spectacular cultural displays to a complete absence of special activities in small towns (Cahill 2000, pers. comm., 17 Sep; Purchase 2000). Finally, the Olympic Ceremonies were managed as a separate entity and reported directly to SOCOG Board without any interaction with other Games programmes. Arguably, this managerial isolation prevented potential linkages or continuities between the cultural section of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies and the arts festival happening in year 2000.

Beyond the lack of interaction with other cultural and non-sports focused programmes[33] the OAF was also affected by the minimal coordination taking place between SOCOG's diverse programmes for communication and promotions – within the divisions of Marketing, Consumer Products and Media – and the OAF marketing and publicity services. As an evidence of this statement, find below in figure 7.v., a summary of the marketing and advertising structure of the organising committee as defined in April 2000 in SOCOG internal documents.

*Figure 7.v: General marketing and advertising structure in SOCOG*




*Source: Internal Documents. Preparation of the Post- Games Report (SOCOG 2000f-n)*

[32] *A Sea Change* in 1998 incorporated some activities that were coordinated by the National Education Programme but this did not imply any managerial interaction between the education and arts teams. The collaboration was limited to some promotional support, that is, the incorporation of one reference to each other in some of the printed material.

[33] See a list of Olympic programmes and activities with a cultural character and not focused in sport in chapter 3. 'Characteristics of the Olympic cultural programme'

As shown in the above graph, specific programmes such as Ticketing, the Torch Relay, Volunteers, Test Events, Consumer Products and Olympic Football were considered individual marketing assets and managed by dedicated marketing managers in coordination with sponsors' account managers, and overseen by the Marketing & Image division general manager. In contrast, programmes such as the OAF were not directly related to other marketing activities.

SOCOG's Marketing and Advertising programme was responsible for developing the Sydney 2000 central brand campaign and for adapting the campaign main theme into the organisation multiple sub-programmes. Marketing and Advertising was also responsible for developing strategies for the official 'Sponsor Recognition' and 'Sponsor Presence' services[34]. Finally, this programme was in charge of developing marketing relationships and liaisons with national and international tourism boards, trade bodies, and other Olympic institutions such as the AOC and the Sydney Paralympic Organising Committee (SPOC). However, none of these functions had a direct effect on the OAF. This was so, partially, because the OAF had developed its own brand theme under the advise of the 'Look of the Games' committee, independent from SOCOG's Marketing programme.

Internal documents at SOCOG reveal that the only link between the OAF marketing services and SOCOG Marketing and Advertising programme was in terms of "internal consultation" (SOCOG 2000f-n). In the case of the OAF, the basic internal consultation provided by Marketing and Advertising were instructions for the design of guidelines to allow co-sponsorship of events within the festivals, "particularly where non-sponsors were involved" (*ibid*). This was a very significant issue for the festivals marketing manager (Sulway 1999, pers. comm., 14 Sep) but was not aimed at – and consequently did not assist to – integrate OAF promotional messages within SOCOG's general Games messages.

## b) Internal operations

It is difficult to make clear understandings about the OAF style of management due to the secrecy surrounding the design and implementation of SOCOG operations. Most of the following arguments are the result of direct observations within the organisation[35]; deductive analysis of personal interviews with managers and assistants; archival and documentary research, and content analysis of press clippings on the festivals[36]. These research findings have been contrasted with relevant literature in management theory.

### *Strategic and operational planning*

Internal documents at SOCOG indicate that the main strategic and operational planning roles within the OAF were of the responsibility of the general manager and programme manager. The OAF general manager, who also oversaw the programmes of Image and Special Events, was in charge

[34] See chapter 8, section 2.a 'Sponsorship Programmes'.

[35] Direct observation exercises were undertaken during my internship at SOCOG as a volunteer of the Public Relations programme and the Publications programme in the periods of March to September 1999 and August to September 2000.

[36] See chapter 10. 'Media coverage: content analysis'.

of supervising budgets, commercial opportunities and the programme's look or image strategies. He was also in charge of liasing with the SOCOG board, IOC members, sponsors, presenting partners and government agencies, as well as making presentations at public forums and negotiating with arts companies (SOCOG 2000f-a). The OAF programme manager was in charge of planning and monitoring the programme. This included strategic plan policies, operations plans, business plans, milestones and timelines. She also managed the planning, development and implementation of programme stems such as legal, finance, programming, production, operations, marketing and publicity (*ibid*). Finally, the programme manager oversaw the provision of information across SOCOG programmes, managed international liaisons and funding support with external agencies and oversaw the cultural media centre or 'Olympic Arts Festivals Media Office' during Games time.

Within this context, it is possible to identify some trends about the way the OAF programme was managed. McDonnell, Allen & Toole (1999) argue that an event management plan is usually broken down into two key processes: strategic and operational planning. In their words,

> "in essence, strategic plans focus on setting long-term objectives and deciding on the strategies –the means and schemes- which will achieve them. Operational plans describe the specific steps needed to implement these strategies and establish quantifiable revenue and expenditure budgets" (MacDonnell et al. 1999: 59).

A model for strategic planning involves the identification of current objectives and strategies. This results from analysing the opportunities and threats existing in the environment of a specific programme, and analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the resources available in the organisation. McDonnell et al. argue that these procedures lead to the reassessment of mission and objectives and the formulation of implementation strategies (1999: 60).

It has proven too difficult to collect consistent evidence about the exact process of development of the OAF strategic plan. However, the outcomes of this process are expressed in the mission statement and main 'deliverables' defined at the end of chapter 6. Using the technique proposed by McDonnell et al., it can be argued that the definition of the festivals' mission and subsequent objectives[37] was the result of balancing the cultural promises made at the bid stage – prior to 1993 - with the opportunities and constraints detected within the Australian environment in 1997 (potential to attract stakeholders support) and the strengths and weaknesses of SOCOG's corporate structure (potential to effectively implement the strategy).

After considering these decisions, it is possible to draw an overall summary of the festival implementation strategy or operational plan. McDonnell et al. (1999) indicate that an operational plan consists of single-use plans for non recurring activities, and standing plans for recurring activities. The first are designed to achieve particular objectives and comprise budget plans and project designs (p. 66-67). The latter are designed to outline long term or generic policies, standard procedures and rules (*ibid*). In the case of the OAF, although the programme consisted of four festivals, it cannot be said that the management team developed a fixed plan to be applied in all cases. Each festival had a very different focus and emphasis and, as argued in the sections below, each of them utilised completely different resources. Therefore, the OAF operational plan consisted of single-use plans, one for each year or festival. As well, instead of policies and standard procedures, the programme focus was on the formulation of specific actions.

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[37] See details in chapter 6, section 3. 'Final choices: mission statement and programme description'.

For the purpose of this thesis, the main components of the operational plan have been identified as the OAF programme budgeting strategy, the programme marketing and promotional strategy, and the programme sales or ticketing strategy. They are analysed below.

*Budgeting*

The OAF four-year programme was formulated at the Sydney bid stage at the cost of A$51 million(Sydney Bid Ltd. 1992b). However, this budget decreased remarkably once the plans for implementation began taking place. By 1995, the budget was cut to A$20 million (Good 1999). In subsequent years, the 'Olympic crisis' taking place from the end of 1998 to the beginning of 1999[38] and the resulting A$200 million sponsorship shortfall suffered by SOCOG, led to major reductions in the funding for promotional campaigns and community initiatives. This affected the OAF by a further cut of $2.3 million in 1999 (SOCOG 1999p).

The lack of official data on funding and budgeting has made it difficult to present a detailed description of the evolution of the festivals' budgeting strategy. Information on the strategy has been gathered through informal interviews with festival managers and the review of press publications. Table 7.i shows a comparative description of figures as published by the press and publicly stated by SOCOG before the launch of the final festival, from 1993 (bid stage) to the 13th October 1999 (launch of *The Harbour of Life*). Table 7.ii shows the revised figures presented as 'definitive' in OAF documents by the 23rd October 1999, after the launch of the final festival[39].

*Table 7.i: OAF budget estimates as published on the press from 1993 to 1999*

| Pub date | Total OAF Budget | Specific festivals' Budget | | Festival length |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▪ 1993: | (Bid docum) $51m | *The Harbour of Life* (first drafts) | $10 m | 4 months |
| ▪ 1995: | (press) $20 m | *The Festival of the Dreaming* | $8 m | 20 days |
| ▪ 1997: | | *A Sea Change* | $1 m | 8 months |
| ▪ 1998: | | *Reaching the World* | $1.5m | 13 months |
| ▪ 1999: | (press) $16.4 m | *The Harbour of Life* | $4 m | 2 months |
| | (SOCOG) $19 m | | | |

21 May 99: SOCOG board publishes expenditure savings: $2.7m cut out of OAF final budget
22 July 99: SOCOG publishes the new revised Games budget: $ 13.6m for the OAF

*Table 7.ii: Budget estimates as presented by Craig Hassall after the launch of the final festival*

| Doc date | Total OAF Budget | Specific festivals' | Gross Budget | Net Budget |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▪ 11/11/99 | (Brut costs) $ 38.95 m | | | |
| ▪ 11/11/99 | (Net costs) $ 10.9 m | | | |
| ▪ 23/09/99 | | *The Festival of the Dreaming* | $ 5.6 m | $ 4.75 m |
| ▪ 23/09/99 | (Actual fig. from JDE) | *A Sea Change* | $ 2.8 m | $ 2.6 m |
| ▪ 23/09/99 | | *Reaching the World* | $ 2.25m | $ 2.25 m |
| ▪ 11/11/99 | (estimates) | *The Harbour of Life* | $28.3 m | $ 1.3 m |

*Source for FD, A Sea Change, RW: SOCOG 1999f – revised figures*
*Source for HOL: SOCOG 1999f – estimates*

[38] By the end of 1998, suspicion of corruption and bribery within the bid for the Salt Lake 2002 Winter Games led to a major public scandal that put into question the IOC basic structure and working procedures. The scandal received expanded coverage throughout the beginning of year 1999 and had some repercussion on SOCOG image strategies.
[39] More details about these figures can be found in appendix 10.

In table 7.ii, the remarkable difference between gross and net costs for *The Harbour of Life* contrasts with the prior festivals. This was due to the expectation that the final festival would generate a high income. While a festival such as *Reaching the World* was not designed to provide any sales income, the final festival was supposed to pay off prior debts through box-office sales, grants and special hospitality agreements. *The Festival of the Dreaming* had some income through public sector grants ($ 421,183) and box-office sales ($ 430,083); *A Sea Change* had a $200,000 grant from the government agency Arts Queensland.

Interestingly, contrasting with the regular budget variations suffered by the OAF programme, the budget allocation for other Olympic events such as the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, remained intact from the bid stage (A$ 40m). Internal sources at SOCOG have argued that this was not the case for cultural and community related programmes such as the 'Torch Relay' and, more remarkably, the 'Olympic Education National Programme' which, as with the OAF, had its funding decrease considerably prior to their final implementation. As such, the case of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies might have been an exception because the division to which they belonged (Ceremonies Division) was directly accountable to the SOCOG Board and the IOC. As such, the structural position of each programme influenced their ability to keep their budget allocations unaltered[40].

From a wider perspective, while the total budget for hosting the Games grows exponentially from one city to the next, the budget for the Olympic cultural programme has been significantly reduced since the Barcelona Cultural Olympiad in 1992. This has been so despite the fact that the scope and length of the programme (four years of local and national celebrations) have remained basically the same. Again, this makes a case for studying the major limitations or challenges preventing the official Olympic cultural programme from evolving and growing in parallel to other components of the Olympic Games.

*Table 7.iii: Budget for 4 year festivals in Barcelona '92, Atlanta '96 and Sydney '2000*

| | |
|---|---|
| ▪ Barcelona '92 | $ 74m (COOB 1993) |
| ▪ Atlanta '96 | $ 30m (ACOG 1997) |
| ▪ Sydney 2000 | $ 16.4m (Australian press) |
| | $ 28.3 (SOCOG 1999e) |

*Marketing and Promotions*

As commented in point a) 'Structural Position of the Olympic Arts Festivals', the OAF marketing and advertising strategy was managed through a marketing consultancy team contracted to work within the Sydney Olympic headquarters. According to Stephanie Sulway, OAF marketing manager, the marketing management and strategy would consist of the following:

- development of marketing guidelines and marketing kits for each festival
- design, production and distribution of all print materials, banners and videos,

[40] . Refer to appendix 10, Budget.

- liaison with artists and arts companies regarding the issue of 'ambush marketing'[41]
- liaison with SOCOG sponsors and creation of opportunities for Team Millennium Partners[42]
- development of look (ie. visual design), venue and site signage including posters, banners and way-finding
- revision of the content of the OAF sections within SOCOG's webpage (Sulway 2000, pers. comm., 22 Aug)

The marketing manager would also be in charge of media promotions; preparing media schedules and advertising placement; assisting in the organisation of each festival launch for the media, VIPs and general public; preparing ticket pricing proposals; facilitating box-office reports, and finally liasing with SOCOG Consumer Products and Licensing regarding cultural merchandise such as pins, posters, caps and T-shirts. (*ibid*. and SOCOG internal documents 2000f-a).

The OAF marketing strategy became operational by the end of 1996 in order to support the first festival in 1997. The arts festival campaign was preceded by the so-called 'Olympic Journey', which was the first marketing exercise made by SOCOG. The 'Olympic Journey' was an ambitious nation-wide celebration of parades, exhibitions and public gatherings designed to "unite, inspire and embrace all Australians in the spirit of the Olympic ethos" (SOCOG 1999m: *npg*). The journey lasted six months starting June 1997 and brought Olympic memorabilia, interactive exhibits and athlete parades to diverse locations throughout the country. The event created a significant media opportunity to promote the Olympic ideals and provide information about the Sydney Games. However, it did not include any link or reference to *The Festival of the Dreaming*, which was to begin in September 1997.

Similarly, in following years, other Olympic activities highly marketed by SOCOG general communications programme did not offer any platform for the promotion of the arts festivals. This was the case for the 'Sydney Spirit Art Student Prize', which was part of the National Education Programme in 1997, 1998 and 1999. It was also the case for the 'Torch Relay' celebrations and the 'Community Hospitality Programme' in year 2000. In general, contrary to the expectations set up by the OAF programme manager, most marketing efforts to promote the OAF were designed, produced and implemented in isolation from the rest of SOCOG marketing and promotion activities. For example, the following paragraphs offer a brief description of the marketing efforts taking place to support each of the arts festivals.

In 1997, *The Festival of the Dreaming* utilised a broad range of communication channels in Sydney to promote the festival concept and branding identification. These included Sydney city decoration; transport advertising; TV and press advertising, and flags and posters in all participating venues, libraries, schools, cafes and shops. According to both the OAF marketing manager and the OAF programme manager, the campaign resulted in a very high level of public awareness and recognition of the logo – an eye looking from behind a piece of corrugated iron – and the slogan: 'Intimate. Contemporary. True'. According to the festival artistic director, the poster of the festival also played a relevant role in terms of public identification and was critical for the transmission of the programme character and fundamental aims,

> "This poster is about Aboriginal art today. It's not always predictable didjeridoos, boomerangs, or dot painting. This is the contemporary nature of what we are – vibrant, creative and richly talented across all the arts. [...]

[41] Ambush marketing is defined by the IOC as all intentional or unintentional attempts to create a false or unauthorised commercial association with the Olympic Movement or the Olympic Games (IOC 2000).
[42] See section 2, point c. 'Corporate sector: sponsorship'.

> This is a symbol of the future... (this says) 'we are looking at you, for the first time we're not being interpreted, we're telling you how it is." (Roberts cited in Hanna 1999: 66)

The poster of the festival had required prior approval by SOCOG Cultural Commission[43] because it juxtaposed images that made political references to Indigenous oppression (Hanna 1999: 67). According to the festival artistic director, the gaze of an eye at the centre of the poster encapsulated the key to the festival, as it blurred the notions of a critical, confronting, condoning and curious approach to the spectators. The challenging look of the eye was intended to encourage viewers to participate in the poster and be part of the communication process, which proved very successful throughout Sydney and the state of New South Wales (*ibid*).

*A Sea Change* was launched to the media in May 1998. In order to promote the festival, a national 48-page guide listing all events and venues was created in accordance with the strategic aim to "help people across the nation learn about the arts in their country" (SOCOG 1999a). One and a half million copies of the guide were distributed nationally, either through participating arts companies or through the press and newsagents[44]. Additionally, the OAF team designed a comprehensive series of web pages within SOCOG's site, listing all festival events and offering detailed information on all participating arts groups[45].

The 1998 festival did not have a budget to fund a nation-wide promotional campaign. To compensate for this and maximise the coherence of communications of all participating venues, the OAF marketing services created a marketing guide that was made available to each venue hosting a festival event (Sulway 1999, pers. comm., 14 Sep). The guide was a 22 pages document called 'The official Marketing Kit for *A Sea Change*' (SOCOG 1998e). It included brief information about the festival marketing objectives; communication channels to be used; the national advertising campaign, which was fundamentally placed in local newspapers and radio stations; the logo usage guidelines and applications, and a list of all available marketing materials. The latter included the official 48-page programme, the official souvenir poster and an over-print poster, radio tails and television tails where it was possible to add the name and details of specific projects and venues. Finally, the marketing strategy was accompanied by the circulation of a contemporary 'Anthology of Australian writing and photography', a book commissioned and published by the OAF, which was promoted as the fundamental bearer of the festival philosophy and principles. This book was distributed in most Australian schools and public libraries as part of the festival educational plan and was to remain the clearest legacy of the event.

The festival for 1999, *Reaching the World*, was promoted mainly through brochures adapted to the place where each event was taking place in different venues around the world. Australian Foreign Embassies and Consulates assisted in the festival promotion in coordination with the Australian

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[43] See section 2, point b. in this chapter for an explanation of the Commission role.

[44] The distribution channel of the festival 48-page guide varied depending on the state. Average newsagents were used to reach the population of the state of Queensland; Fairfax newspapers capitalised on the distribution for New South Wales and Victoria respectively; and *The West Australian*, Perth's metropolitan daily, was used to reach the state of West Australia.

[45] The website designed for *A Sea Change* in 1998 was, arguably, the most detailed and informative of all the OAF festivals' webs up to 1999. However, after the launch of a new SOCOG Olympic site in September 1999, all references to past festivals were transformed into a single page information without links to the prior interactive webs, where details on programmes and venues had been stored. The extensive information on the 1998 experience was, thus, inaccessible to the increasing number of visitors to SOCOG´s web in the final approach to the Games.

Tourism Commission in countries like the United States and United Kingdom. However, after the official media launch of the festival in November 98 and the distribution of the festival official poster, there was not a synchronised campaign taking place, neither through advertising nor public relations. Instead, two glossy documents were created and distributed to a selected range of audiences. The first document was the publication of a comprehensive guide to all the programmed events happening around the world with detailed information on the presenting companies and arts groups. The second document was a special commission titled 'Australia on Show', a publication documenting a wide range of Australian arts materials of interest to broadcasters that was promoted and distributed to broadcasting companies from Europe, America, Africa and Asia (SOCOG 1999d).

In contrast to prior years, *The Harbour of Life* in year 2000 was supported by a carefully planned and properly budgeted promotional campaign. The campaign started on the 17th October 1999, soon after the official launch of the festival that took place on the 13th October of the same year at Sydney Superdome in Olympic Park. An important marketing decision was to change the name of the festival, from *The Harbour of Life* (as it had bid referred to since the bid stage) into *Olympic Arts Festival*, thus appropriating the generic OAF term and reinforcing the Olympic association. A second marketing decision was not to make many references to previous festivals or the concept of a four-year Cultural Olympiad. The latter was justified as a "marketing priority" (Sulway 2000, pers. comm, 14 Aug) because, in order to maximise ticket sales, it was considered more relevant to ensure the identification of the 2000 festival and its association with the Olympic sporting competitions, than the promotion of a continuity with regards to the Cultural Olympiad concept. During the Olympic period, a key element assisting in the promotion of the festival and its association with the Games was the city-wide placement of signs linking the five Olympic rings with the word 'arts', a design that had not been used in any of the prior festival years[46].

In general, the promotional approach taken for the final festival revealed an emphasis on marketing objectives – understood as market targets such as ticket sales – over communication objectives – understood as an effort towards expanding awareness and understanding about what the festival stood for. This had not been the case for the prior festivals, as the expected lack of financial profits led to prioritising communication over marketing efforts. This resulted in campaigns that were fully committed to support the ambitious conceptual promises of the bid stage, but lacked a clear focus. The OAF budget limitations had also a remarkable effect on the 1997-1999 communication campaigns. These limitations obliged the festivals to depend on free publicity or press coverage to effectively reach the public. In contrast, *The Harbour of Life* or *Olympic Arts Festival* was the only festival to count on a comprehensive marketing strategy and promotional campaign.

### *Ticketing*

The OAF ticketing strategy varied from festival to festival. As already stated, while the three initial festivals were not expected to cover costs, the final one was designed to create some profit based on ticket sales as a main funding source. According to Sulway (1999, pers. comm. 14 Sep), the tickets for *The Festival of the Dreaming* were managed through the services 'First-Call' in Sydney and 'Ticketek' in New South Wales, the usual entertainment ticketing network. *A Sea Change* and *Reaching the World* relied on the ticketing strategies of each participating venue. As such, none of

[46] The communication and marketing strategy for the 2000 festival is analysed in detail in the chapter 8, section 3.