

An Olympic Mosaic

Multidisciplinary Research and Dissemination of Olympic Studies
CEO-UAB: 20 Years

Editors

Emilio Fernández Peña
Berta Cerezuela
Miquel Gómez Benosa
Chris Kennett
Miquel de Moragas Spà



Centre d'Estudis Olímpics
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona



Ajuntament de Barcelona

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Centre d'Estudis Olímpics (CEO-UAB)
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Campus UAB — Edifici N, planta 1
E-08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)
Barcelona, Catalunya — Spain
Tel. +34 93 581 19 92
Fax: +34 93 581 21 39
ceoie@uab.cat
<http://ceo.uab.cat>

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Foreword

Ana Ripoll Aracil

Rector of the Autonomous University of Barcelona

As Rector of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), it gives me great satisfaction to write the foreword of the book celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO), which was founded on 28 June 1989 with the approval of the Governing Council of the UAB.

Since then, CEO-UAB has grown, and its scientific know-how and direction have become consolidated, thus making it a point of reference in the international network of Olympic studies. This is due its proven ability to collaborate with the Olympic Movement and with various Catalan, Spanish and international sports bodies on the academic, scientific and cultural dissemination of Olympism.

For those unaware of its background, it is worth recalling that CEO-UAB is the result of a dream: a dream come true for Catalan society when Barcelona was chosen as the host city for the 1992 Olympic Summer Games. The enthusiasm aroused by the fact that Barcelona would be staging the 1992 Games also permeated through to the academic world. Thus, CEO-UAB emerged as a space for analysis and reflection on Olympism, a unique phenomenon in contemporary history that, besides its implications for sport, has a significant impact on areas as diverse as the economy, urban planning, culture, politics and society. It was a truly local initiative driven by Dr Miquel de Moragas Spà at the UAB and, right from the start, its character was marked by three defining traits: pluralism, an international vocation and the desire to carry out multidisciplinary research.

Over the years, CEO-UAB has been the spearhead of our university in its desire to contribute to and promote the values and ideals of peace that both Olympism and sport represent. However, as a higher education and research institution, the UAB decided to do this by studying Olympism primarily as a social and cultural phenomenon of 20th and 21st-century society. No other sporting event arouses so much passion, brings together so many viewers in front of their television sets or serves to globally exalt the new Olympic gods of sport. Like the celebration of an Olympic Games, there are few events that decisively contribute to the transformation of a city. It is thanks to the Olympic truce, which manages to enhance international relations between nations, that differences are played out on fields and tracks or in pools and boats.

These and many more topics are studied by CEO-UAB researchers and conserved at the Documentation Centre, which contains a remarkable collection of documents, in all sorts of formats, on Olympism and especially on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. Consequently it is providing an invaluable service of keeping the memory and legacy of those Games alive. This documentation can be accessed via the CEO-UAB website. Back in 1996, CEO-UAB pioneered the use of the Internet by creating a website designed to act as big reading room open to the world, making all kinds of documents on Barcelona'92 available to everyone.

For all these reasons, it is only logical that, from the very beginning, all the UAB's Rectors have placed their trust in it. These include Ramón Pascual, who was Rector when CEO-UAB was founded, Josep Maria Vallès, Carles Solà, Lluís Ferrer and,

most recently, myself. Consequently, we have renewed and maintained our support for this project, which allows our university to have a research centre of international renown in the field of Olympic studies.

CEO-UAB is not a closed research centre set in the UAB campus. Quite the opposite in fact; since 1989, the CEO-UAB Board has been formed by the university, Barcelona City Council, Barcelona Provincial Council and the Spanish Olympic Committee. In addition, the Government of Catalonia joined the Board in 2002, represented by the Secretariat General for Sport. This is demonstrative of the consensus that this project generates; it has managed to involve the main Olympism and sports-related institutions from Catalonia and Spain. Along the same lines, it is worth noting CEO-UAB's agreements and collaborations, for the promotion of education and research projects, with a variety of institutions, such as the Barcelona Olympic Foundation, the National Institute of Physical Education of Catalonia (INEFC) and the Spanish National Sports Council, among others.

The magnificent relationship that CEO-UAB has managed to build with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) based in Lausanne deserves a special mention. It is a clear example of necessary and positive cooperation that needs to be cultivated between the Olympic Movement and universities, particularly in the field of social sciences and humanities, to which CEO-UAB has dedicated the majority of its research efforts. As an example of such collaboration, we could highlight the joint organisation of international symposiums with the Olympic Museum Lausanne, the co-edition of specialist publications on Olympism and its impact on society, and the various commissions to undertake research of strategic interest to the IOC that CEO-UAB has received. Another relevant chapter of such cooperation was the creation of the International Chair in Olympism in 1995, which is managed by CEO-UAB through an agreement, signed by the then Rector Carles Solà and the former President of the IOC, the late Juan Antonio Samaranch.

For the UAB, CEO-UAB's existence has represented a link with the Olympic Movement and with its internationally recognised symbol: the Olympic rings. It also inspired the creation of the first academic version of an Olympic mascot. With the IOC's permission, the Academic Cobi, designed by Javier Mariscal, has become a symbol of CEO-UAB, an emblem disseminated across all five continents thanks to academic collaborations with universities worldwide.

Last but not least, I would like to personally thank Dr Miquel de Moragas Spà for his work as director of CEO-UAB, from the time it was founded to 2009. He was the inspirational force and the *alma mater* of the centre, as I have mentioned. He could be described as true visionary who decided that the staging of 1992 Olympic Games was an opportunity for the city of Barcelona that had to be embraced by the scientific community. Judging by the results, that was indeed what happened. Therefore, I would also like to thank and congratulate the documentalists for having achieved extraordinary documentary holdings, as well as the researchers of the UAB and of many other universities around the world who have collaborated on numerous academic and research projects promoted by CEO-UAB. Without their involvement, we would not have achieved the international visibility and respect that we have gained over these 20 years of existence.

I only hope that CEO-UAB continues to celebrate many more anniversaries with the same drive, determination and commitment to research and to the transfer of knowledge to society. And, of course, on behalf of the UAB, I would like to thank all the institutions and people mentioned in this foreword for their support and collaboration. This anniversary would not have been possible without them.

Congratulations to everyone!

Preface

Alejandro Blanco

President of the Spanish Olympic Committee

Time marches on inexorably, and five Olympiads have now passed since the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) began its operations.

Way back then, the project underpinning its foundation and operations was uniquely original because no other comparable institution existed. Its creation was, therefore, a very wise decision, as were its location and name. Indeed, the celebrated French humanist Pierre de Coubertin had historically used ‘Olympic Studies Centre’ and not ‘Olympic Academy’ as the name of the organisation that oversaw and defended Olympic principles.

Likewise, locating the Centre in a university was a fitting way of paying tribute to the cultural setting in which modern Olympism was born: the highly significant Session held on 30 June 1894 at the prestigious Sorbonne University.

Over all these years, the Barcelona-based Olympic Studies Centre, the first of 27 that can now be found in Spain, has undertaken intensive and extensive research work both nationally and internationally, effectively driven by the robust and varied institutional support that has endowed it with the necessary resources and operational strength.

The Barcelona-based Olympic Studies Centre is a paradigmatic point of reference for all other centres undertaking similar tasks, and it is a source of ongoing satisfaction for the Spanish Olympic Committee that it not only rightly and resolutely supported the Centre’s creation, but has, since then, cooperated in its operations and functioning.

Introduction

Emilio Fernández Peña

Director of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB); Tenured Lecturer, Department of Audiovisual Communications and Advertising I, Autonomous University of Barcelona

The tasks of researching, teaching, documenting and disseminating the Olympic phenomenon require a multi-faceted approach to its countless and complex cultural and social implications. *An Olympic Mosaic: Multidisciplinary Research and Dissemination of Olympic Studies. CEO-UAB: 20 Years* attempts to cover certain aspects of this complexity from a social sciences and humanities perspective. Indeed, in the years leading up to the celebration of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, it was this orientation that inspired CEO-UAB founder, Professor Miquel de Moragas, to create a world-pioneering university centre specialising in Olympic studies.

This book represents a nexus between CEO-UAB's past, present and future. It considers our centre's main academic contributions to the study and dissemination of Olympism thus far, and projects the centre into the future through new research interests, tools and methods of disseminating areas of knowledge already generated. Originally innovative, these areas of knowledge have stood the test of time and are subject to constant renewal.

An Olympic Mosaic is divided into three parts. The first is a historical overview of the centre's foundation and consolidation, and of the strategies implemented for its tasks of researching and disseminating Olympic studies. The major milestone shortly before and after its foundation was the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. Therefore, the second part of the book is given over to this topic. It does not consider the Barcelona Games as a past event, but rather as a phenomenon whose influence is still felt today in certain organisational, cultural and managerial areas. Picking up on their present-day importance and projecting them into the future is the job of CEO-UAB and the Barcelona Olympic Foundation, an organisation with which our centre has an excellent relationship of collaboration and synergy. The final part of the book is devoted to research undertaken by CEO-UAB in several key areas of Olympic studies. In a considerable number of cases, these works have been pioneering in their respective fields, and they represent a modern vision and perspective of what the academic world is able to contribute to the Olympic Movement in terms of constructive collaboration and independent criticism.

The book's opening article was written by CEO-UAB founder and director for 20 years, Miquel de Moragas. In it he explains the fundamental role that the academic world plays in the study of Olympism, focusing on the numerous cultural, economic and social impacts of the Games, their cross-disciplinary nature, their inherent multicultural orientation and the challenges faced by such mega-events to innovate. Miquel de Moragas highlights the role of these university-based Olympic studies centres, the boards of which are formed by academics. In his article, he also goes into some depth about the trans and multi-disciplinary nature of a phenomenon on which many consolidated research topics already exist. He concludes the article by underscoring the considerable value of academic research for the Olympic Movement, "as a valuable resource for innovation and adaptation of its identity in the modern world", and advocating a strengthening of relations between the academic world and the Olympic Movement.

After the article by CEO-UAB's founder, the first part of the book is a historical overview of the origins and evolution of the Barcelona-based Olympic Studies Centre over the last 20 years, with the participation of some of the people that played a key role in its foundation and consolidation. The first part also includes testimonies by many of the most prestigious international scholars on the role of CEO-UAB in the international context of Olympic studies. These testimonies, which are very diverse in terms of disciplinary approaches and geographical and cultural variety, are a display of recognition of CEO-UAB's research and dissemination work by the most prominent scholars in the field of Olympic studies. They are also indicators of the international projection of our centre, and of the appreciation and recognition of its founder and director for 20 years, Professor Miquel de Moragas, as well as the extraordinary team of professionals that worked with him over those years, by his most eminent counterparts.

Muriel Ladrón de Guevara, the first CEO-UAB coordinator, gives a historical overview of the first period of the centre, from its foundation in 1989 to the post-Barcelona'92 era. This is the period of gestation and foundation of a project that had no precedents in the international academic arena, and of its consolidation with the celebration of the Games. Thus was also the period when its basic structure as an Olympic research, teaching and documentation centre was established.

Information and documentation at CEO-UAB is a work of Berta Cerezuela and Pilar Cid, who explain how the first documentation centre on Olympic topics – and a cornerstone of CEO-UAB – was created. The authors give a detailed account of the evolution and holdings of our documentation centre, which numerous researchers and scholars from home and abroad visit each year. The article highlights the importance of the CEO-UAB website launched in 1996 in Catalan, Spanish and English. The website provides access to a wide range of online documents resulting from research work and dissemination tasks undertaken by researchers connected with the centre, and to external academic resources. It also has a database of international scholars in the field of Olympic studies, as well as research centres specialising in the subject.

In her article on “The Olympic Movement and the Academic World”, IOC head of university relations Núria Puig deals with the important role that the academic world has played since Ancient Greece and also in the modern Olympic Movement. She then goes on to focus on the role of Olympic studies centres at different universities worldwide, and of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre with its range of services. Of these services, worthy of special note are the dissemination of Olympic heritage in a broad sense by promoting research on Olympic topics, and encouraging collaboration with the Olympic Movement to preserve Olympic heritage. She gives a detailed account of initiatives of prime interest to the Olympic Studies Centre Lausanne: the postgraduate research grant programme and the new Olympic Studies Observatory.

The conversation between the late Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the IOC for 21 years, Josep Miquel Abad, chief executive officer of COOB'92, and Pasqual Maragall, mayor of Barcelona in the years before and after Barcelona'92, opens the section on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, the second part of this book. Previously published in Catalan in the book *L'herència dels Jocs* (2002), we feel that this document has become more current and relevant with the passage of time, since it was a relaxed meeting in which little-known aspects connected with the gestation, organisation and success of the Barcelona Games were discussed.

“The Shadow of Barcelona” is the article in which Isidre Rigau, the former sports logistics director of the Organising Committee for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, analyses the role that the Barcelona Games played in the creation of an organisational model that marked a before and after. Rigau, an advisor to the IOC and an expert on the organisational structure of subsequent Games, explains the virtues of the 1992 Games and how the Games of “Sydney, Athens, Beijing and London have followed in the same footprints and borrowed elements from the transformation of Barcelona, some partially and others more profoundly”. For Rigau, Barcelona created a sustainable, balanced Games, with infrastructures and facilities planned not just to optimally host a successful Games, but also to be reused subsequently by athletes and citizens as a well-administered legacy. The technological apparatus created for the very first time for the Barcelona Games, which efficiently helped to turn the local event into a global event, is another aspect dealt with in this article by Isidre Rigau, who goes on to give a detailed ac-

count of the role of design in the Games and the creation of a system of knowledge transfer to future Olympic host cities. The differential values of the Barcelona'92 Ceremonies, based on emotion and simplicity, are another aspect that Rigau covers.

Indeed, the Barcelona Olympic Ceremonies are the topic of an article by Núria García, a member of the team involved in the international research project that ultimately led to the publication of the book *Television in the Olympics*, the first major piece of international research that focused not only on analysing the technological, communications, economic and cultural apparatus of the television phenomenon, but also on decoding the interpretation of Olympic ceremonies by different countries worldwide, judging local aspects from the local perspective of the different reception countries, thus contributing to the creation of the global image of the Games. It is precisely the latter of these aspects, the interpretation of Olympic ceremonies, that is the topic of Núria García's article. The Barcelona'92 cultural Olympiad is the topic dealt with by Miquel de Moragas in the second part of *An Olympic Mosaic*. For CEO-UAB's founder, the cultural Olympiad had its strengths, centred on "multiple activities, some of which are of great quality", and weaknesses, such as "an uneasy grouping within the central organisation of the event" that was due to political issues, of organisational structure in relation to the Games. Despite that, the Barcelona'92 cultural Olympiad was an ambitious programme comprising autumn festivals and the Olympic Art Festival, with over 200 activities, all held in a true, unprecedented Olympiad model, that is to say, one that lasted for four years. In this research and assessment work of the cultural Olympiad, Moragas examines the unattained objectives and the reasons why that was the case, which may serve as prior learning for future candidatures and cultural proposals for a sporting mega-event like the Olympic Games.

In her article on the preservation of and access to the memory of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, Berta Cerezuela, an expert documentalist on Olympic topics, considers the complexity of documentation management for an event like the Olympic Games, which goes through a series of stages, from preparing and submitting the candidature to closing the project after the Games. Cerezuela examines the importance of managing the Olympic memory and of transferring knowledge to new Olympic candidatures. She also details the sources of knowledge on Barcelona'92. For Berta Cerezuela, the information and documentation generated for each edition of the Games should be considered as one of the main components of the Olympic legacy.

The legacy of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games was a CEO-UAB research topic in the post-Games period, but, through several projects connected with the conservation and online exploitation of the city's Olympic memory, it is now a very current and topical area for CEO-UAB. Chris Kennett covers the main contributions made by the books *The Keys to Success* (1995) and *L'herència dels Jocs* (2002). According to the author, the first is a multi-disciplinary, multi-dimensional approach to assessing the impact of the Barcelona Games on the economy, on political consensus among the various public authorities, on infrastructure improvements, on the human dimension and on citizen engagement in the Games. The second, published 10 years after the Games had been held, evaluates the role of the Barcelona'92 legacy. Some examples of the durable impact of the Games noted in the book were the transformation of Barcelona into a competitive service city and a leading European city in the field of sport. The management of a legacy, consisting of tangible and intangible assets, has become a key aspect in candidate cities' design strategies, and one that is highly valued by the IOC when it comes to choosing a city to host the Games.

As already mentioned, the final part of the book focuses on basic Olympism-related topics, whose presence in this book can be justified by the fact that they are CEO-UAB lines of research that are both current and constantly updated. Therefore, this section has been designed as an exercise that, on the basis of our past, takes a look into the future through academic research on social and cultural events of capital importance to the field of Olympic studies.

The media play a fundamental role in shaping the Olympic Games as a major, global and contemporary sporting event, and television is key for their dissemination. In this chapter on television and the Olympic Games, Ibone Lallana and I examine the role of television in the construction of the image of the Olympic Games for viewers across the globe, and their fundamental role in funding the Olympic Movement by selling Olympic broadcast rights. The article takes an in-depth look at new trends in funding, technologies for consuming television images and new technologies that, as a result of convergence, come

together with new media, for which the Internet Protocol is a fundamental technology. Indeed the, the second chapter of this, the third and final part of the book, is on new media. The author of the article theorises on the new ecology of new media and the Olympic Movement, with search engines and social networks as the basic actors. New media are, at one and the same time, a challenge and a great opportunity for spreading the culture and values of the Olympic Movement. The great challenge for the IOC will be to synergistically combine the traditional website and the opportunities offered by social networking sites and put them to work for the cause. In social networks, relationships between friends help to create a new, closer, more personal and more flexible type of communication, while safeguarding the enormous funding power of television on the one hand, and exploring alternative formulas on the other.

In “The Cultural Dimension of Olympic Games Ceremonies and Cultural Olympiads as Platforms for Sustainable Cultural Policy”, Beatriz García analyses and comments on various elements of this important aspect of the Games: the opening and closing ceremonies, which seek global projection, and the cultural Olympiad, which, as the author points out, is accessible to a local audience in the years leading up to the Games, and then to visitors during the celebration of the Games. “The real wealth of Olympic cultural value lies in the important opportunities for lived intercultural exchange across participants as well as spectators and residents and the global platform it provides for a particular city and nation to make a cultural statement that is meaningful as well as owned by its community”, says Beatriz García.

However, besides cultural events and the media broadcasting them, also of interest to our research are some of the direct actors on whom the media does not especially focus. The article by Ana Belén Moreno centres on Olympic volunteers. In 1999, volunteering was the topic of an international symposium organised jointly by CEO-UAB and the Olympic Museum Lausanne. Alongside a historical overview of the role of volunteers in the modern Olympic Games, Moreno explains the importance of volunteers in the economic structure of the Games, as well as their fundamental role in Olympic symbolism, and reflects on the relationship between volunteers and new technologies.

In recent decades, one of the IOC’s priority action areas has been to increase the number of women taking part, not only in the Games, but also in management bodies of the Olympic Movement. Natividad Ramajo and Ibone Lallana give an overview of sport, the Olympic phenomenon and gender studies, one of CEO-UAB’s most recent lines of research. This aspect is closely linked to the fundamental role of the media in transmitting roles and introducing social change for gender equality. After examining CEO-UAB’s main contributions on issues of gender, sport and the media, the authors conclude that “Despite the quotas set by international organisations and institutions, and the promotion of female sport, male-dominated sporting events continue to be the media’s bread and butter”, a situation that may be difficult to resolve, but which goes against today’s social dynamics.

Sport and multiculturalism in post-Olympic Barcelona is the topic of the article by Chris Kennett, a line of research opened in 2004, which began with CEO-UAB’s participation in the European Commission’s project *Sport and Multiculturalism*, and continued with a joint study by a team of CEO-UAB researchers and the photographer Kim Manresa that analysed the sport practices of different groups of immigrants in Barcelona and Catalonia. In this article, Kennett deals with the role of the Olympic Games, of globalising processes and of sport in intercultural dialogue, and then goes on to focus on aspects connected with the cultural reality of sport in post-Olympic Barcelona. “The development of an intercultural sports model to attain the objectives of preserving cultural diversity and of integration must be underpinned by a more basic concept relating to the essence of sport: values”, concludes the author.

Berta Cerezuela’s article is on the “Educational Dimension of the Olympic Games”, a line of research undertaken over a two-year period under commission by the IOC, and one that will remain open in the future in order to develop new tools and online materials to enable educators to incorporate Olympic values into the school curriculum. The work presented by Berta Cerezuela defines the phenomenon of Olympic education and takes an in-depth look at the actors promoting Olympic education initiatives. She also gives an overview of the education initiatives implemented by the IOC and Organising Committees for the Olympic Games. The author points out that these kinds of activity will become increasingly important to the IOC. The

article also emphasises the role of universities when it comes to undertaking research and creating materials and methodologies connected with Olympic education.

The study of Olympic urban planning presented by Francesc Muñoz is an urban studies and architecture approach that the author, a CEO-UAB research collaborator, has been developing over the last fifteen years. In the article, he deals with the impact that major events like the Olympic Games have had on the development of modern cities throughout the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century. He then examines the various Olympic Village models of the last 100 years, and considers their influence on the urban image, building typologies, formal languages and city models. In this section, he gives a historical overview of the aesthetic, formal and conceptual evolution of Olympic Villages throughout the 20th century, a model which, in the early years of the 21st century, is tending to place much more importance on the brand image of these types of building. The cross-disciplinary nature of studies on Olympic urban planning has enormous potential for future research, which the author enumerates in the article.

The book's closing article is by Ferran Brunet, a CEO-UAB research collaborator from very early on. Brunet analyses the economic impact of the Olympic Games on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of Barcelona'92, and then examines the economic management models of subsequent Games. In his article, the analysis of the impact of a Games on a city is highly significant. Barcelona demonstrated that it had an enormous capacity to make the most of the Olympic impetus and the impact of investments. According to Brunet, the Games generate economic activity that is not centred on the city itself, and asserts that "increased capital and economic activity has produced better levels of income, well-being and social cohesion, as well as a more attractive city". Ferran Brunet advocates that good management of the Olympic legacy after the Games, and ongoing investment and transformation of cities by private-sector initiatives are the keys to success for host cities, as they were for Barcelona.

Thus, *An Olympic Mosaic* is an account of what CEO-UAB is, of its trans and multidisciplinary vocation, and of its local and global scope of action at one and the same time, as mirrored by its research interests, its ways of disseminating information and knowledge via the website, social media, seminars and conferences, as well as via events organised by the International Chair in Olympism, in which many prestigious Olympic studies scholars from many different countries have participated. On a local level, the support given by Barcelona City Council, Barcelona Provincial Council, the Government of Catalonia and the Spanish Olympic Committee has been invaluable. However, in this major academic feat, the role of Professor Miquel de Moragas – the project's *alma mater* – has been outstanding for many reasons: his incredible entrepreneurial spirit in relation to academic issues, his qualities as an astute researcher, his contagious enthusiasm, his enormous capacity for work and, above all, his extraordinary humanity. For me, he is a brilliant example of someone from whom the rest of us can continue to learn. I would like to express my thanks to Professor De Moragas for offering me the opportunity to become professionally and personally involved in this exciting initiative, and to the Rector of the UAB, Anna Ripoll, for believing that I would be able to continue the work of the CEO-UAB founder, who also formed a valuable team of professionals with wide-ranging experience in Olympic studies, without whom our day-to-day work would be much more difficult. I would also like to express my gratitude to all the researchers that have taken part in authoring *An Olympic Mosaic*. To everyone, without exception, thank you!

The Academic Reasons for an Olympic Studies Centre at the University

Miquel de Moragas

Professor of Communication Theory; CEO-UAB Founder and Director, 1989-2009

The earliest influences. The first ideas

In 1983, I received a proposal from Professor Michael Real to participate in UNESCO research on issues related to international public opinion and the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic Games (Real 1985). In truth, I doubted very little the relevance of the object of study. The interest by the media made me understand that sport and the Olympics could be of great interest for studies of communication and semiotic analysis that, at that time, particularly interested me. On the horizon there was also the possibility that all this could one day happen in Barcelona. The candidature application also began in 1984 and culminated in October 1986 with the nomination of Barcelona as the host for the XXV Olympiad.

In February 1987, the University of Calgary (prior to their winter Games in 1988) organised the academic conference *The Olympic Movement and the Mass Media: Past, Present and Future Issues* (Jackson and McPhail 1989). I thought that this was a great opportunity for the transfer to our university of knowledge of great strategic importance for the process that had started with Barcelona's nomination. I could not attend the conference due to a lack of resources, but I still remember perfectly the faces of amazement, of incredulity, that I saw in academic and sporting institutions in response to my unusual request for help to attend an Olympic symposium.

A few months later, I received an invitation, surprising to me, from Korea to participate in the First International Conference on the Olympics and East / West and South / North Cultural Exchange in the World System, which was organised in August 1987 by Professor Kang Shin-Pyo and supported by John MacAloon and with the participation of important intellectuals concerning the social sciences such as Arjun Appadurai, Edith Turner, Alex Inkeles and Roberto da Mata, among others. In this symposium, I met James Larson and Nancy Rivenburgh, with whom I published some years later, in 1995, the book *Television in the Olympics* (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995).

The organisers, who were looking for a speaker from Barcelona, identified me through the aforementioned UNESCO publication on Los Angeles'84. Later my speech in Seoul was entitled *Local Culture. Worldwide Audience. Challenges of Barcelona '92*, a dilemma or a problem that marked my subsequent research on the Games and on communication.

I returned from Korea with a letter from the participants addressed to the then mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, because the city was receiving the torch of intellectual initiatives related to the study of the Olympics from the socio-cultural perspective.

With this momentum, and in the context of an Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) specially adapted to interdisciplinary studies, the idea was born of the Olympic Studies Centre, which was crystallised in 1989 as a consortium, in which different parts of Catalonia's public administration and the Spanish Olympic Committee were involved.

Later, in January 1995, the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) signed a specific agreement of collaboration to create the International Chair in Olympism. This agreement allowed for broad collaboration of our centre with the Olympic Museum in Lausanne and, consequently, leading international academic activity (see the chapter by Muriel Ladrón de Guevara in this book).

Modernising and widening the objectives of Olympic studies

The relationships between academia and universities on the one hand, and the Olympic Movement, on the other, have their remote origins in the celebration of the founding congress of the International Olympic Committee at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1894. I am not referring solely to the formal use of the university auditorium, but rather to Pierre de Coubertin's criterion that the Olympic Movement as a sporting and cultural phenomenon, had to find in university knowledge its identity and adapt itself to the contemporary world.

The concept of an Olympic Studies Centre was formulated by Pierre de Coubertin shortly before his death in 1937: "I think an Olympic Studies Centre [...] can help, more than any other initiative to preserve and advance my project, protecting it from deviations that could affect it" (Landry and Yerlès 1996, 318).¹

In that era, Olympism was concerned with the combination of three core values – the classical Greek (humanism), the practice of sport to form youth (education) and new international relations in an industrialising society (modernity) – and the early experiences of universal exhibitions were transferred to the Games.

This tradition inspired Carl Diem's creation in 1938 of the International Olympic Institute and somewhat later in 1961 to the foundation of the International Olympic Academy and the corresponding national Olympic academies, including the Spanish Olympic Academy founded in 1968, "with which Olympic principles are spread on a national scale" (Durántez 2003, 11).

In the 1960s, as succeeding Games took place, a major development to historical studies occurred, which highlighted the interest of researchers in international relations and political circumstances of the Olympic experience.² At that time, several university professors (Fernand Landry, Karl Lennarz, Norbert Müller, John MacAloon) developed significant research on Olympism and the philosophy of Pierre de Coubertin (Landry and Yerlès 1996, 330-338).

These scholarly contributions have not always been sufficiently recognised as crucial contributions regarding the configuration of the identity of the Olympics as a major global cultural phenomenon.

The new players in Olympic research

In the 1980s, with the growing importance of acquiring the Games (Moscow'80 Los Angeles'84, Seoul'88), and especially Barcelona'92, there was a large expansion and diversification of research on the phenomenon that began to be described as a *mega-event*: new players, new activities and new research topics, with a greater institutional involvement of universities.

The organisation of the Games started to demand a large applied research activity (in terms of R&D), both by the International Olympic Committee and the Organising Committee of Olympic Games (OCOG), and the institutions involved (media, sponsors, licensees and public organisations of organising countries). Part of this research relied on private con-

1. Letter written by Pierre de Coubertin.

2. This activity was crystallised in 1991 with the creation of the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) (<http://www.isoh.org/>).

sultants, but another part (not always acknowledged) was done by, or born of research conducted at universities.

It is not only issues related to the organisation that were the focus of Olympic research. New phenomena such as commercialisation, beyond the transition from amateurism to professionalism, the advent of sponsorship, the challenges posed by boycotts as a weapon of confrontation between political blocs, the political and cultural implications of the host city, the emergence of media and new technologies, and urban and environmental implications are all the subject of university research (Moragas and Botella 1995).

The creation of Olympic Studies Centres at universities

Universities have responded in different ways to these challenges and opportunities. In the majority of cases, research groups have been created or individual research devoted to different branches of social sciences (historians, sociologists, anthropologists, economists etc.). Many centres specialising in sports science have also contributed to research programmes specializing in studying the Games.

At the same time as the creation of CEO-UAB (the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona) in 1989, another Olympic Studies Centre came into being at the University of Western Ontario: the International Centre for Olympic Studies. Some years later, following the impetus of these two pioneering universities, other initiatives took place, especially in Olympic cities: the Australian Centre for Olympic Studies in Sydney, the Olympics and Mega Events Research Observatory in Turin, the Centre for Olympic Studies and the Humanistic Olympic Studies Centre in Beijing and the Centre for Olympic Studies & Research at the English University of Loughborough. CEO-UAB's *OlympicstudiesNet* collected a total of 28 experiences, mostly concentrated in Europe.³

The UAB model constitutes one of the most representative types of such centres, both in terms of the range of participation in its institutions by government agencies and of the number and type of activities undertaken or activity indicators.

The defining characteristic of these centres is, firstly, that they have a university character. This does not only mean they have their base in a college or university campus, but the academic status of their governance with a president coinciding with the rector and a director and a management team consisting of strictly academic personnel. This academic authorship is complemented by the collaboration and participation in the organisation of political and administrative institutions related to the Olympics and sport.

Thus, university activity related to Olympic studies implies a large number of actors, formal and informal, some with a clearly Olympic orientation and others with a more casual relationship with the Games, which results in a variety of initiatives, with varying degrees of institutionalisation.

Therefore, CEO-UAB can be considered as a centre of reference, because for 20 years it has undertaken a variety of activities (activity indicators) that can be carried out in these types of centres:

- Research (research projects, participation in international projects).
- Documentation Centre (availability of library services, video library, archive, documentary work).
- Education and training (training programmes at different levels: undergraduate, postgraduate and professional training).
- Dissemination (organising seminars and conferences, both nationally and internationally).

3. For more information about University Olympic Studies Centres, see OlympicstudiesNet at <http://ceo.uab.es/olympicstudiesnet/>.

- Publications (own publications, joint publications).
- Website (self-produced content, links, networks of cooperation).

The fulfilment of all these indicators means a high level of institutionalisation, impossible without the strong support of the university, Olympic institutions and public administration of each community. This explains why the further development of these initiatives occurs precisely in the Games' host cities or countries with a greater Olympic cultural tradition.

These centres are just huge icebergs in the critical mass of international university researchers dedicated to Olympic studies. Researchers, it is important to underscore, that find in these centres the necessary platforms from which to disseminate and above all produce their own research.

All these players, regardless of the platforms that the Olympic institutions can bring, have so far brought about rather spontaneous forms of organisation and exchange, by means of independent academic channels that are increasingly important thanks to the use of the Internet and their networks.

What explains the interest of universities in the Olympic Games?

The interest of universities in the Olympic Games can be explained by several factors, among which I propose to point out the following:

1. Multiple impacts on the host city (economic, political, cultural, urban etc.).
2. Transversal nature of the phenomenon and the need for an interdisciplinary approach.
3. Uniqueness of the Olympics as a case study to understand the processes of globalisation and localisation.
4. Multicultural character of the Olympic experience.
5. Challenges of innovation to organise these mega-events.
6. Ethical values and social commitment inherent in the object of study.

1. The impact of the Games on the host city

Olympic research, without losing interest in the historical dimension (ancient and modern), has expanded its reference as the Games have been transformed into mega-events and have been multiplying their impacts: social, cultural, economic, political, on communication, on urban development, environmental etc.

The Games currently represent the main mega-event of our time, with a large international participation and significant impacts on the host city and an unprecedented complexity each time. No other event, except, unfortunately, war, arouses a similar interest in the media world. Nobody can be surprised, therefore, that this event has attracted attention from various fields, especially in communication.

2. Transversal nature of the phenomenon and the need for an interdisciplinary approach

The modern Olympic Games involve a wide variety of sectors and a framework of activities, which makes them a privileged observatory for the study of modern society.

In the table below, I propose a classification of the variety of operational issues that Olympic studies have tackled and that show the relevance of this object of research for social sciences.

Olympic Studies. Research topics

Economics / Marketing Games management Planning and bid process	Politics and international relations History (ancient and modern) Legacy
Environment Urban planning and architecture Technology Transport and mobility Tourism Employment	Culture (identity, diversity, rituals etc.). Social aspects (participation, gender, exclusion etc.) Communication, media and the Internet Art and design
Sport and physical activity Health / Medicine (doping control) Legal and regulatory	Ethics and philosophy of Olympism Olympic education

3. Uniqueness of the Olympics in the globalised world

But it is not only the size and thematic wealth of the Games that arouses the interest of university researchers. This interest is heightened by the complexity of the logics that characterise the phenomenon and the possibility to analyse some key issues in the contemporary world.

The modern Games challenge some key values of our culture and our society. They are a privileged observatory for interpreting the opportunities and contradictions of what we call the ‘global world’, communication, culture, politics, economics, and they do it with the great incentive of permanently changing their host, from Seoul to Barcelona, Barcelona to Atlanta, Atlanta to Sydney, Sydney to Athens, Athens to Beijing, Beijing to London, and London to Rio de Janeiro, in a way that facilitates analysis of the local-global relationship characteristic of our times.

The Games challenge some key concepts of modern society: a culture of peace and Olympic truce, nations, nation states and international relations, sustainability and environment, diversity and cultural identity, inequality and solidarity, gender equality and social inclusion, tourism and sport, urban renewal and social exclusion etc.

The Games can be considered a paradigm of the knowledge society. Hardly do we find any such explicit example of ‘material’ transcendence of ‘immaterial’ elements. Although the framework is based ultimately on symbols and rituals associated with athletic defeat or victory.

4. Multicultural character of the Olympic experience

The conditions in which the Games are currently being developed, unprecedented international participation (204 national Olympic committees in Beijing in 2008) and the attention of international media constitute a major cultural challenge for the Olympic Movement.

Four examples:

- Coexistence phenomena in the Olympic village.
- Interpretation of the event by the media.
- Conceptualisation of the Cultural Olympiad and the ceremonies.
- Ongoing review of the Olympic philosophy from new concepts in current debate about cultural diversity.

In this regard, we highlight the opportunity to contribute positively to the objectives of UNESCO concerning the protection of cultural diversity, giving an example and leading the world of sport in this direction.

5. Challenges of innovation presented by the organisation of these mega-events

The Games are a great laboratory to investigate different areas of innovation, e.g. innovations in communications systems (Moragas 1992). In this sense, the paradigmatic process of implementing the Internet in the organisation and Olympic Games communication, emerging from the experience of Atlanta in 1996, to new platforms to be used for the London Games of 2012 (Moragas 1999).

6. The ethical value of the study

Finally, it must be noted that we have to add to these factors of attraction another which transcends the epistemological aspects and that corresponds to the ethical aspects of research: the identification of professors and researchers (hundreds) with Olympic ideals, in an altruistic way for a social imperative. Consequently, research is easily transformed into a task of disseminating values, also a critical task with the contradictions of the real Olympics. The line bordering Olympic research and Olympic education throws up many forms of exchange.

What good is academic research to the Olympic Movement?

So far we have reflected on the reasons for academic interest in Olympism and the actual Games. Now we complete the analysis with a second question: what is the use of all this (university) activity to the Olympic Movement?

Firstly, it must be noted that the main contribution of universities to the Olympic Movement, including to the host cities, should not be exclusively thought of in terms of immediate functional utility. This does not mean that universities should not also be committed to the production of functional skills and strategic interest. It is also true that Olympic organisers or their consultants, use the work of universities, which is mostly freely accessible to the public, as a basic source for their reports. In many cases, unfortunately, they do so without adequately recognising the source, and without recognising that the ideas applied often stem from basic and general ideas.

In the paper I presented at the Fifth World Forum on Sport, Education and Culture of the International Olympic Committee, held in Beijing in October 2006, I summarised these academic contributions to the Olympic Movement as the following new main features of research:

1. Interpretative function: to define and identify functions and values of the Olympic Movement in the modern era.
2. Prospective function: to analyse endogenous and exogenous trends that will affect sport and the Olympic Movement in the future.
3. Applied function: to advise Olympic institutions on their functional and organisational needs.

4. Historical Function: to research and document Olympic history as a fundamental resource to know the identity of the Games.
5. Critical function: to analyse the deviations, contradictions and dysfunctions of real Olympism.
6. Informative function: to provide knowledge for the different needs of disseminating the Olympic system (media, Organising Committee, Olympic museums, publications etc.).
7. Educational function: to apply knowledge about the Olympics and its impact on educational programmes, especially education programmes on values.
8. Cultural function: to reinterpret the Olympic Movement in a non-Eurocentric way, which is open to diversity and intercultural dialogue.
9. Role of legacy: to substantiate the memory of the Games as an intangible heritage of humanity, facilitating the exchange of experiences.

As an example of the application of these categories and functions, we can consider the many potential synergies between the host cities and their universities: from feasibility studies prior to considering the nomination to the final interpretation of the legacy, passing through volunteer training programmes, impact assessments (economic, social and labour) or cultural studies on which cultural programmes and rituals (ceremonies, torch relay, etc.) are based.

And vice versa: What is the purpose of university research on the Games?

The Olympic Movement is benefiting directly and indirectly from the existence of hundreds of researchers distributed in a variety of countries and continents. This academic contribution, which is largely a voluntary donation, among the most altruistic, should be considered an invaluable contribution in terms of innovation and adaptation of the Olympic Games to the modern world. This however is not always the case. The disregard towards university researchers by not inviting them, in part at least, as observers to the XIII Olympic Congress “The Olympic Movement in Society” (IOC 2008), which took place in Copenhagen in October 2009 was a significant example of the remaining gaps.

Olympic institutions should commit themselves to their own policy of research and development, respecting the autonomy of universities and research centres that know how to channel this valuable production of knowledge towards the goals. To do this, researchers should provide the necessary information for the study related both to archives (history) and events (accreditation of scientific observers of the Games).

The existing distribution and documentation platforms for the Olympic Movement (IOC Olympic Studies Centre, International Olympic Academy, Olympic Museum Lausanne, Olympic Congresses) should be strengthened, and the existing bridges with the independent academic university system be widened.

The host cities of the Games, in accordance with these platforms, should promote Olympic studies (research, documentation, publication, training, conferences) as basic activities of their educational and cultural programmes or ‘Cultural Olympiads’ without limiting their own applied research projects (like that of OGGI - Olympic Games Global Impact).

In turn, universities should incorporate into their research programmes subjects relating to sport and Olympism considering them as great cultural and social phenomena of our time, incorporating into their curricula, undergraduate and postgraduate courses related to sport and the Olympics; and consider as priorities research into the most urgent problems of modern sport, such as sustainability in sport management mega-events, cultural dimensions and in short, how they adapt to the new global and knowledge-based society.

University Olympic Studies Centres should ensure the continuity of Olympic research programmes by setting up inter-university collaboration programmes that would relay to the universities in each new location to ensure the transmission of the legacy of the Games. To do so, they have available autonomous forms of publication, conferences and lectures, now optimised with the use of information and communication technologies.

Because of their global dimension, the Olympic Games represent an invaluable opportunity for comparative studies. Our experience in the comparative study of the coverage of the Games of Barcelona'92 by 27 international broadcasters was an example, unlikely to be repeated, of such investigations, necessary however as a form of support for a new understanding of Olympism from the perspective of cultural diversity (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995).

The challenge will remain the same, namely to establish processes for collaboration and dialogue between Olympic institutions, agencies of the Games' host cities and universities. Valuing and respecting their autonomy, their critical independence, and also their demanding and rigorous research and training activities, because we share the same ethical commitment: to help ensure the continuous updating of the values of Olympism around the contemporary world.

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Origins and Evolution of an Olympic Studies Centre



The Origins of CEO-UAB, 1989-1994

Muriel Ladrón de Guevara

General Coordinator of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB), 1989-1994

1. CEO-UAB: An example of interaction between university and society

I had just finished my degree in Political Science with a focus on public management when in June of 1989 professors Miquel de Moragas and Gabriel Colomé offered me the fantastic chance to coordinate the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB). The creation of this new university research centre had been approved by the presidency of the UAB that same month, with these basic objectives: to work with COOB'92 and the different national and international bodies on academic and scientific factors and the cultural dissemination of the Olympic programme; to train experts in the Olympic Games and sports; and to create an Olympic and sports documentation centre to support research and promote the societal dissemination of the studies performed. The last objective was to ask the IOC, after the Barcelona Olympics, to confer on the centre the title of 'Barcelona'92 Olympic Documentation Centre'.

These objectives were fully part of the policy to stimulate research and interaction between the university and society, and I became keenly interested in the topic of the university's relations with society and enterprise during my bachelor's degree programme. Thus, I was immediately enthused with the project since it dealt with putting the vast potential of the university at the service of the needs of Barcelona'92.

University programmes do not (nor should they necessarily) fill certain specific demands by society, such as the ones that arise from organising and hosting the Olympics. Fulfilling this kind of demand is not the usual product of the university; rather it is a by-product that is complementary to its teaching and research activities. To generate this by-product, an intermediary is needed that is capable of both defining society's needs (anticipating possible demands) and explaining the university's offerings (university marketing). And this is the role that CEO-UAB aimed to play in the Barcelona'92 project: to serve as a bridge, a meeting point, a translator between the UAB's programmes and the needs of the actors in the Barcelona'92 project.

At the same time, the centre also wanted to take advantage of the impetus of the Olympics to promote university research on sports, especially from the viewpoint of social sciences. There was already a tradition of research at the UAB, especially in issues more closely related to health and training. However, sports viewed as a social and cultural phenomenon did not yet occupy a prominent place as a topic of analysis. The centre wanted to elevate research on sports and the Olympics to the university level.

During the years prior to Barcelona'92, the goal was also to make the most of the enormous synergy of interests and positive circumstances regarding the Olympics and sports to create a stable, economically sustainable infrastructure that could help to consolidate the future of the centre. Since it was founded, the centre aimed to not only survive past Barcelona'92, but also to become a benchmark in studies on the Olympics as a phenomenon and on sports.

2. The initial stage: June 1989-March 1991

The initial staff of CEO-UAB included a director (UAB professor), an academic secretary (UAB lecture), a manager or general coordinator, an administrative assistant (two starting in 1990) and an intern in documentation (plus a documentalist starting in 1990).

Our job during this first period consisted of constructing our identity as a university research centre:

- Spreading the word about the centre within UAB departments.
- Creating a board of directors to enlist the active support of all the decision-making authorities and institutions in the sports administration of the Government of Catalonia, the City Council and the Provincial Council of Barcelona.
- Creating a brand for the centre.
- Creating a documentation centre (this point is dealt with extensively in the chapter written by Berta Cerezuela and Pilar Cid).

2.1. Forging ties with the university

The centre was founded with the mission of promoting university interest in the Olympics and sports, especially from the viewpoint of social sciences. However, we wanted the centre to encompass the largest number of university disciplines possible, since knowledge does not need unnecessary divisions, but rather is enriched by an inter-disciplinary approach.

We consulted the UAB Research Report from 1989 and were pleased to note that the range of disciplines interested in sports and the Olympics at the UAB was extensive and diverse, and included modern history, classical history, political science, international relations, sociology, legal studies, business economics, classical philology, Spanish philology, translation and interpreting, journalism, audiovisual communication, educational psychology, social psychology, education and teaching, documentation, art, medicine, physiology, pharmacology and physical anthropology. We introduced ourselves to these departments and called a general meeting where we outlined our goals of promoting research and support for Barcelona'92 and made our scientific, technical and documentation services available to them. The response was extraordinarily positive, and 42 instructors joined the centre as research staff. Furthermore, an Academic Commission was put together with 20 UAB professors who were supervising studies on sports. We then set up the centre's avenues of research with the priority of assembling the critical mass needed to rise to the challenge of Barcelona'92.

CEO-UAB encouraged the submission of research projects to the Sports Programme that the National Research Plan opened on an exceptional basis during this period (exceptional because the programme was shuttered in 1992). These resources made it possible to perform quite a few studies and projects and were a major aid. For example, CEO-UAB launched its Documentation Centre on the Olympics and Sports thanks to an endowment from this fund.

CEO-UAB also stimulated research by seeking other sources of funding, such as the Spanish National Sports Council and other research programmes.

There was a great deal of enthusiasm and motivation. The Barcelona Olympics were the stimulus that detonated a desire to carry out research, which had already existed at the UAB for years. During that very same academic year, 1989-1990, 18 research projects were submitted to CEO-UAB.

During this initial stage, too, we sought, contacted and worked with experts from other Catalan universities and from the National Physical Education Institute of Catalonia. The international nature of the Olympics, and thus of studies on the Olympics, led us to create an International Advisory Committee made up of eight renowned experts in the field.

2.2. Forging ties with society: The CEOiE Consortium

In order to establish a stable framework of communication with the institutions participating in the Barcelona'92 Olympic Organising Committee (COOB'92), in the autumn of 1989 the Rector of the UAB, Dr Ramon Pascual, launched the proposal to set up a foundation made up of the institutions linked to the organisation of the Barcelona'92 Olympics. This institutional support would also ensure the consolidation and continuity of CEO-UAB. The initial proposal was to set up a private foundation called the "Lucius Natalius Olympic Study Centre Foundation" in memory of the man regarded as the first Barcelonan to win an Olympic medal in the ancient world. The Secretary General of Sports of the Government of Catalonia and the Departments of Sports of Barcelona City Council and Barcelona Provincial Council, in conjunction with the Spanish Olympic Committee and the Spanish National Sports Council, were early adherents to the project.

In May 1990, at the suggestion of the Legal Services of the Government of Catalonia, the administrative personality was amended, and it was proposed that a consortium be set up instead of a foundation. It was also decided to change the name (Centre of Olympic and Sports Studies) in order to clarify the fact that our scope of interest also included sports for everyone. Through the Secretary General of Sports, Josep Lluís Vilaseca, the Legal Services of the Government of Catalonia spearheaded the drafting of the consortium's bylaws, whose creation had to be approved by the Government of Catalonia through a decree. It first had to be formally ratified by each of the institutions that were members of the consortium. This delayed the paperwork until early 1991. When the decree creating the consortium was finally ready for approval by the Executive Council of the Government of Catalonia, it refused to ratify it. The UAB interpreted this decision as the temporary political juncture within the Government of Catalonia, which was unwilling to sign agreements with Barcelona Provincial Council as they were enmeshed in a political dispute over the Barcelona Metropolitan Area.

Finally, on 8 March 1991, the proceeding that set up the 'Sport and Olympic Studies Centre' was signed by the Rector of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Josep Maria Vallès i Casadevall; the President of the Spanish Olympic Committee, Carlos Ferrer i Salat; the Councillor of Sports of Barcelona City Council, Enric Truñó i Lagarés (on behalf of the Mayor, Pasqual Maragall i Mira); and the Deputy-President of the Department of Sports of Barcelona Provincial Council, Frederic Prieto i Caballé (on behalf of the President, Manuel Royes i Vila).

The Spanish government's initial support of CEO-UAB finally took shape, not in participation in the consortium project (the Legal Services of the State Administration determined that it could not take part in a consortium) but through the signing of a framework cooperation agreement in January 1991 with the Spanish National Sports Council, which was run by Javier Gómez Navarro at that time.

That same day, 8 March, two new offices were officially opened at an event that was attended by the then-president of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch. Many representatives of the institutions involved in the Barcelona'92 project and university researchers also attended the opening. Contact, knowledge transfer and experiences thus commenced.

After several invitations that the governing council of CEO-UAB sent to the Government of Catalonia to join the centre, it was not until 2002 that the then Secretary General of Sports of the Government of Catalonia, Joan Anton Camuñas, signed a first framework cooperation agreement with CEO-UAB. The Government of Catalonia's permanent membership in CEO-UAB on equal status with the other institutions was negotiated based on this agreement. The process was formalised with the new Secretary General of Sports, Josep Maldonado, through a multi-year agreement (for the period 2003-2007).

2.3. The academic Cobi: An original brand

In late 1989, we asked Xavier Mariscal (the designer of the Barcelona'92 mascot, nicknamed Cobi), whether he could design for us a version of this mascot that would represent all scholars and researchers of the Olympics. He responded promptly with a letter that included a sketch of what would be the first academic mascot, complete with a graduation cap and diploma, in the entire history of the Olympics: 'Academic Cobi'.

After preliminary talks, in November 1990, an agreement was formalised in which COOB'92 granted CEO-UAB free of charge the use of the mascot of the Barcelona'92 Olympics, Cobi, in its Academic Cobi version with an exclusively institutional nature and for non-commercial purposes.

This addition of the Barcelona'92 brand had extremely positive consequences for the visibility and recognition of the centre. Researchers, professors, documentalists, interns, students and technical staff later became the 'Cobi Troupe', as we were christened by Korean anthropologist Kang Shin-Pyo, the indirect inspiration behind CEO-UAB.

After the Olympics, in March 1996, CEO-UAB asked the IOC to formally authorise Academic Cobi to continue to be used to identify the centre. The Director of Legal Affairs of the IOC, Howard M. Stupp, and the Secretary General of the IOC, Françoise Zweifel, responded positively to the request, and the IOC expressly authorised CEO-UAB to continue using this mascot.

3. The pre-Olympic stage: March 1991-June 1992

This was a fruitful stage when the centre was bustling with projects and initiatives. After two years of work, CEO-UAB had an extraordinary human capital that came from both university and Olympic institutions. This capital enabled us to launch courses, symposia, projects and more.

Human capital is the main asset of universities, not only their professors (full professors, associate professors, PhD candidates, etc.) but also other technical staff (from the university press, IT experts, documentalists, etc.). The goal was to place this capital at the service of Barcelona'92 and for it to serve as a bridge between the university's potential and the needs of the society facing the challenge of Barcelona'92.

The first educational project we launched was the course on University in the Olympics (February 1991) targeted at people involved in organising and managing the Olympics, specialised journalists and scholars in the sciences applied to sports. The course provided specialised information on the Olympics in its diverse facets: history, politics, economics, culture and society, with special reference to the organisational needs of the Barcelona'92 Olympics. In addition to the scholars' analysis, several heads of division within COOB'92 shared their experiences with students on the course, which was held at the College of Journalists.

We organised the International University Course on Barcelona: The City and the Olympics in conjunction with the Department of Geography at the UAB and the Institute of Metropolitan Studies of Barcelona. The course analysed the urban planning and territorial implications of the Olympics and was particularly targeted at Erasmus students studying in Catalonia during academic year 1991-1992. We also organised tours and contacts at the headquarters and branches of the Olympics.

Another activity aimed at training experts in the Olympics was the Visit to Empúries. This was a guided tour of the ancient site in Empúries targeted at experts and professionals in fields related to sports and culture, the media and heads of regional and municipal governments through which the Olympic torch would pass. As many people recall, the Olympic torch reached Empúries by sea on 23 June 1992. From there it set out on a 5,000-kilometre tour through the 17 autonomous communities in Spain. The objective of the visit was to give informative, educational information on the ancient site in Empúries from both a historical and a cultural perspective, bearing in mind sports and the symbols and values of the classical Olympics. The visit turned into a forum of debate and communication on the Olympic event.

From 3 to 5 April 1991, CEO-UAB hosted the International Symposium on the Olympics, Communication and Cultural Exchanges. This symposium analysed the challenges inherent in organising the Olympic Games held in the previous 20 years (Montreal'76, Moscow'80, Los Angeles'84, Seoul'88 and Barcelona'92) and the role of the media in producing the symbolic values of the Olympics and in broadcasting each Olympic Games. Another of our goals with the symposium was to facilitate

contact and the exchange of knowledge among the heads and producers of the symbols of communication of Barcelona'92 and some of the most distinguished international scholars specialising in culture and the Olympics. In 1992, the proceedings of this symposium were published under the title of *Olympic Games, Communication and Cultural Exchanges: The Experience of the Past Four Summer Olympics* in Catalan, Spanish and English.

We also conducted actions aimed at a broader audience given the fact that the Barcelona'92 Olympics was seriously boosting interest in sports and the Olympics, as well as because of the cultural, social, political and urban planning scope of the Olympics. In order to respond to this demand for information, CEO-UAB, in conjunction with the Secretary General of Sports of the Government of Catalonia and the Sports and Culture Services of Barcelona Provincial Council, hosted the Olympic Library, which compiled a basic bibliography on these topics. The goal of this initiative was to spread a series of representative books and documents on the Olympic event for educational purposes. The "Olympic Library" was distributed to the 67 Teaching Resource Centres run by the Government of Catalonia and the 105 public libraries run by Barcelona Provincial Council.

Another of the most prominent projects in this period was the design and construction of a team of international researchers, which made it possible to perform a comparative analysis of the television coverage of Barcelona'92 in 28 different countries. More than 50 researchers participated in the 'Global Television and the Olympics Games. The experience of Barcelona'92' project.

In order to spread the result of the studies, we began a collection of working papers. By late 1992, the centre had published three books and 33 working papers on the Olympics and Barcelona'92.

4. The Olympic Games: July–September 1992

The Olympics came and CEO-UAB had become a benchmark research centre on Barcelona'92. International researchers from all over the globe and diverse disciplines came to the centre to engage in contact with other experts and use its documentation service. There was also a list of experts for occasional inquiries and journalistic interviews. CEO-UAB turned into a kind of hub of knowledge on Barcelona'92.

Another line of service and support for international researchers on Barcelona'92 was dealing with the IOC on the accreditation of nine international researchers as observers of the Barcelona'92 Olympics. These researchers were Miquel de Moragas, John Hargreaves, Muriel Ladrón de Guevara, James Larson, John MacAloon, Nancy Rivenburgh, Guadalupe Rodriguez, Kang Shin-Pyo and Magdeleine Yerlès. We once again made history with this event, just as we had with the academic mascot. It was the first time that the International Olympic Committee accredited researchers as a way of facilitating their research. Once again, the IOC gave us its support and trust. During their entire stay, CEO-UAB coordinated and facilitated the efforts of these researchers (providing documents, addresses, contacts, etc.) and managed to land them a personal welcome from the president of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, with whom they held a brief working meeting.

Just 15 days before the start of the Olympics, the centre's documentary collection and the technological equipment needed were moved to the Olympic headquarters. We actively participated in Operation Welcome, set up by Barcelona City Council in order to help promote Barcelona and Catalonia among the journalists and media who came to Barcelona for the Olympics.

As part of this operation, the Barcelona Press Service (BPS) was launched to tend to the needs of all the journalists lacking accreditation from COOB'92, as well as those who wanted to get complementary information to the news offered by COOB'92 press services. The participants included Barcelona City Council, the International Press Centre of Barcelona, Fira de Barcelona, the Olympic Holding, the Cultural Olympiad and CEO-UAB. The BPS was strategically located right next to the COOB'92 Olympic Accreditations Office in Barcelona's Plaça d'Espanya, and it was in operation from 6 July to 10 August, from 10 am to 10 pm, without interruptions.

The mission of CEO-UAB included managing the BPS' documentation and library service, facilitating contact between journalists and professors and researchers, and providing a quality service to national and international researchers specialising in the subject of the Olympics who were visiting Barcelona for the Olympics. A total of 2,300 inquiries were handled.

CEO-UAB also participated in the 1st Paralympic Congress Barcelona'92 as part of its Scientific Commission and Organising Committee, and by lending part of its staff to work at the event.

5. After the Olympics

5.1. Olympic projects

The Olympics were over and the CEO-UAB had worked hard to compile the experience of Barcelona'92 and gather documentation. Now it was time to analyse the information, finish up the studies underway and prepare for the Congress of the 1st Anniversary of the Barcelona'92 Olympics.

Thus, one year after the Olympics, as a way of commemorating the first anniversary of the event, take stock of the results and effects of the XXVth Olympiad and conduct a survey of the Olympics, we organised an international academic conference in which the heads of planning and managing Barcelona'92, and Olympic experts from both Spain and abroad could convey and share their experiences. The conference lasted three days and analysed the organisation of Barcelona'92 and its economic, political, cultural, sports and urban planning impacts. Later, in 1995, the results were published in Catalan, Spanish and English under the title of *The Keys to Success: Social, Sports, Economic and Communication Impacts of Barcelona'92*.

At the same time, CEO-UAB was working to strengthen its ties with the national and international Olympic institutions. In 1993, a cooperation agreement was signed with the International Olympic Academy, and in July we organised a Symposium on Television, the Olympics, Cultural Exchanges and Understanding of the Olympic Values at its headquarters in Olympia. At this symposium, different members of the Global Television and the Olympics Games international research team debated and reflected on the tentative results of the study with representatives from the Olympic Academy.

The number of cooperative actions with the IOC was on the rise. On 9 January 1995, a cooperation agreement between the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the International Olympic Committee was signed in Lausanne to create the International Chair in Olympism, to be managed by CEO-UAB, the first of its kind in the world. The signing was attended by both the President of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, and the Director of Sports, Pere Miró. The Rector of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Carles Solà, and the Director of CEO-UAB, Miquel de Moragas, attended on behalf of the UAB.

5.2. Other projects

In the post-Olympics period, we wanted to pour our efforts into preparing new projects and extending and strengthening the contacts and ties that had been forged during the Olympic period. The experience acquired over the years enabled us to organise and launch the first Master's in Communication and Sports in September 1993, which consisted of 300 classroom hours, a practicum and a research report guided by a counsellor, and the University Course in Sports Marketing and Sponsorship, which provided specialised training in commercialisation and securing economic resources for sports. The leading media and sports institutions in the country, along with several of the companies that had sponsored COOB'92, participated in the course. With the High Performance Centre and two departments from the Faculty of Economics at the UAB, we also prepared a continuing education course for athletes with the purpose of facilitating their professional integration.

CEO-UAB carried on; it had not come to an end with the Barcelona'92 Olympics. The Olympics had been the impetus for the creation of CEO-UAB and its driving force during the first years of its life. The support it provided for Barcelona'92 had served as a stimulus and pretext for the university to forge better ties with the leading players in the world of sports (sports institutions, the media, companies, associations), and new projects emerged from this mutual transfer of knowledge, experiences and concerns.

The Management of Information and Documentation at a Research Centre Service: The CEO-UAB Information and Documentation Service (IDS)

Berta Cerezuela

Head of Projects and the Documentation Service, CEO-UAB

Pilar Cid Leal

Tenured Lecturer, Faculty of Translation and Interpreting, Autonomous University of Barcelona

Given the challenge of the nomination of Barcelona as the venue for the XXVth Olympiad, the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) promoted the creation of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB), a centre set up in mid 1989 to foster training, research and promotion in relation with the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games.

1. Origins and evolution

One of the first projects undertaken by CEO-UAB was the creation of its Information and Documentation Service (IDS), the first in Spain to specialise in the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games. At first, this service basically supported the research activities of CEO-UAB and the university itself. But its repercussion soon extended further than that and, from 1990 to the celebration of the 1992 Games, there was a continuous increase in its use by the most diverse of users: researchers, professors and students from other universities and research centres, both from in and outside of Spain; journalists; sports-people; visitors from other sports information services; people that were involved in some way with the Barcelona Games or who were simply interested in the Olympic phenomenon.

But as well as being a research instrument, the IDS in its early stages also did its own research – “Creation and management of a documentation centre on the Olympic Movement” (reference DEP 89/0835) – promoted by CEO-UAB itself and the Area of Documentation of the Department of Catalan Philology at the UAB; this received the support of the Interministerial Commission of Science and Technology and was undertaken from November 1989 to November 1992. The idea was to design an IDS that was specialised in the Olympic Movement and Olympic Games: to constitute a collection, apply the most appropriate documentary techniques to a specialised archive and to create different promotional products and services, all in consideration of the information and communication technologies of the time. By the end of the 1989-1992 period, the IDS was fully consolidated.

At first, the IDS was fundamentally conceived as a reference service, which could resolve any of its users’ information needs and/or guide them towards the most appropriate sources and resources. But the demands of researchers and other users in this primary stage, added to the fact that the state of technology was far from being able to offer the kind of services that modern-day documentation centres are able to offer, led to the redefinition of its objectives and the decision to opt for a mixed model:

the IDS would be a reference service that could satisfy and guide its users, but at the same time would constitute a collection that may not have been particularly large in quantitative terms, but that was highly specialised.

This collection was constituted on the basis of two core areas: on the one hand, the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Game – with a small presence of sport in general, as a complement – and on the other, the Barcelona Olympiad and its Games.

The first section contained monographs, some periodical publications, abundant grey literature, reference works, posters, etc. Special importance was given to official reports of the Olympiads since Rome 1960, material that was particularly hard to find in other libraries and documentation centres. Moreover, this block was gradually filled with audiovisual material on the modern Olympic Games.

The section on Barcelona'92 quickly became the most original and most requested. Currently, researchers seeking information on the candidature, the Olympiad and the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games will find a hugely important set of archives in the Barcelona Administrative Municipal Archive, provided by the Barcelona Olympic Foundation, and which contains bibliographic and administrative documentation from COOB'92, and also the foundation itself. But at that time, and until months after the summer of 1992, if a researcher sought documents on the event taking place, he or she had little option other than the CEO-UAB IDS, which received high value unpublished materials originating from the Olympic Office or COOB'92, among others.

CEO-UAB also received two press dossiers on paper (which were later microfilmed). The first was sent by COOB'92 over the period of duration of the organization and the Games, and contained news stories from some thirty Spanish newspapers. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) provided the second (the same dossier circulated by the IOC itself), in which the international press was scanned. At present, anybody can access newspaper articles online in a variety of ways, and although the idea of a paper-format press dossier may seem somewhat archaic, at the time it was material of unquestionable value.

As a specialised reference service, the IDS obtained the tools required to respond to a wide range of information needs. For example, it possessed different sports databases, reference works, bulletins on the latest acquisitions of different specialised centres and libraries around the world, and was able to make retrospective bibliographic searches. Also, researchers that were members of CEO-UAB could also use a selective information dissemination service.

The only weak point in the early years was that, for different administrative reasons, the collection did not form part of the UAB catalogue, but this issue would later be resolved.

During the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, the IDS's activity was focused on offering a reference service to the Press Service for Unaccredited Media, a pioneer project in the history of the Olympic Games that involved the participation of CEO-UAB in collaboration with Barcelona City Council, the Barcelona International Press Centre, Fira de Barcelona and COOB'92. This service managed to cater for more than 2,300 consultations.

As we said earlier, at the end of the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games, the CEO-UAB IDS had become a unique service in Spain. Thanks to the opportunities offered by new technologies and the diversification of the services on offer, it has now become a reference point in the international field of Olympic studies and documentation.

2. Collection management

The development of the collection and services after the Games has been marked, on the one hand, by the existence of, accessibility to and cooperation with other documentary sources on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, the Olympic phenomenon and sport, both in the Catalan and international spheres; and, on the other, by the research centre's own needs.

The documentary collection managed today by the IDS maintains much of its initial structure, and forms a specialised collection on the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games and has a special collection on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. The sporting section has continued to increase in size and importance, in particular in the fields of social sciences and humanities.

The IDS currently has more than 5,000 monographs, 124 periodical titles, 725 audiovisual materials, press dossiers, posters and photographs. The collection of periodicals includes academic journals on the field of sport, general sports and Olympic magazines and magazines published by sporting bodies. The audiovisual collection is mainly made up of materials used in the research done by the centre, in particular the broadcasts of Olympic ceremonies on different international television channels, and materials on the Olympic phenomenon.

Of the whole collection, the collection on Barcelona'92 are made up of 1,322 documents, of which 1,052 correspond to monographic works, 13 are periodical publications and 257 are audiovisual. Most of the documents correspond to materials published by COOB'92 and other bodies that were directly or indirectly involved in the organization of the Games, impact studies or other aspects related with the Games that were published by commercial publishers, and research and studies resulting from institutional commissions or grants.

To manage the collection, in 1995 CEO-UAB received the support of the Barcelona Olympic Foundation, by means of its research grants programme, which consisted of the cataloguing, publication and Internet access to the documentary fonds on Barcelona'92 by CEO-UAB. These archives were included in the UAB catalogue, forming part of the Collective Catalogue of the Universities of Catalonia (CCUC). The cataloguing started in 1995 and has been periodically continued, through the incorporation into the catalogue of what are considered to be the most significant documents.

The IDS has promoted cooperation with other sports libraries in Catalonia, Spain and the rest of the world. CEO-UAB is a member of the International Association for Sports Information and was a member of its Executive Council from 2007-2009.

3. The IDS: providing external and internal services

As for functions and services, these have been adapted to the characteristics and requests of external users, as well as the research centre's own needs. In terms of external services, after the Games it has offered reference and lending services, research visits and knowledge transfer services regarding Barcelona'92.

3.1. External services

The reference service caters for requests coming mainly from the academic, Olympic and sports worlds by means of regular mail, fax, telephone and e-mail. A study of the consultations made since 1994 reveals variations in the audience that have conditioned development strategies. The audience has become more diverse and international. Of the consultations, 85% were national around the time of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games, but this figure had fallen to 19% in 2008, with an increase in international consultations, mainly from Europe. There has also been a logical decrease in the number of *in situ* consultations in the library and an increase in enquiries made via e-mail, which had reached 71% by 2008.

From a quantitative point of view, the number of consultations has been maintained, with a notable increase in enquiries in the years when editions of the Summer Games have been held. Thematically, enquiries about Barcelona'92 have lessened, while more general enquiries about the Olympic phenomenon have increased in number. There has been a certain equilibrium in the field of sport. Enquiries have been attended to in relation with PhD theses, articles in academic journals, consultancy reports, degree projects, as well as enquiries simply related to inquisitiveness, school lessons, commitments to the organisation of editions of the Olympic Games or for seeking out experts in the international field to help with specific issues.

As stated earlier, one of the main objectives of CEO-UAB since its creation has been the dissemination of the Olympic Movement and raising awareness of what the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games were and represented. Over the years, the IDS has also been consolidating a series of knowledge transfer services addressed both at the international university community and other agents involved in the organisation of sports events that seek knowledge on specific aspects of the organization of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games.

Such documents on the Olympic Games form one of the main components of the legacy that was left for the community that hosted them, and offers a reference service that facilitates access to sources on the Games, including the official archive, analysis and impact studies, and contact with members of the organising committee and experts. It also collaborates with the institutions that were associated to Barcelona'92 through the organization of seminars and visits from delegations from candidate cities or host cities of the Olympic Games. The activities are carried out on an on-demand basis, are adapted to the needs of each collective, and are organized in collaboration with other bodies and experts in different fields.

It also offers the possibility for researchers to make research visits to the UAB – through inter-university cooperation programmes or by their own initiatives – and to benefit from its documentary services. Visitors can use CEO-UAB's facilities, can access a special lending service and receive guidance about other information services and sources of information that could be of use to them while they are visiting.

It should finally be added that the IDS also maintains a special weekend lending service for students and staff of the UAB itself.

3.2. Internal services

As for functions and services of an internal nature, the IDS can be considered a transversal service that supports the three functions or areas of activity of CEO-UAB: training, research and dissemination, as well as the management of institutional information and communication.

As for information management services applied to training, a special reference service is offered to students doing the training activities promoted by CEO-UAB and for the management of products to support Internet-based training.

The management of digital content consists of creating, managing, publishing and disseminating contents on digital supports, mainly the Internet. CEO-UAB has developed different projects in this area to support teaching activities conducted from the centre itself, which are gradually being provided to other educators in the international arena. The participation of the IDS in these projects varies, but it tends to play the role of project management, working in conjunction with the academic management responsible for the quality and coherence of the published content, and with the technical management in charge of the adaptation and/or development of technological tools. The responsibilities assigned to the information professionals involved in these projects include: general coordination, overseeing the procurement of originals, text editing, publishing material and, finally, promoting content.

With respect to information management services applied to research, these depend on the type of research project and can imply three levels of participation: documentary support; data management and exploitation; and research into Olympic information and documentation.

The first case refers to research projects of a theoretical nature, where the participation of documentation personnel is limited to the search for documentary sources of interest to the principal researcher and/or team. The main sources of information that are used to provide a response to these consultations depend on the degree of specificity of the consultation. The most common procedure involves presenting the result of the documentary search to the researcher, in particular those materials that are considered most adequate for the project, and indicating the type of accessibility to the original. As for the format for presenting the results, this is adapted to the researcher's needs, both in terms of the format of the bibliographic citation and of the format of the document.

IDS staff play a more active role in research projects whose methodology includes the management and exploitation of data using a database. Surveys of institutions and analyses of sample websites are examples that have required a database to facilitate data collection and analysis. In these projects, IDS staff actively join the research team, even intervening in the design of the information gathering process (definition of indicators and variables, and design of forms) and coordinating the design of the database, the standardised entering of data and the exploitation of the system.

Finally, in the research field, actions must be carried out regarding the management of information and documentation on the Olympic Games. Olympic documentation is a specialised area in the field of sports documentation that includes sources of information on the Olympic phenomenon, the management of the information generated through the organization of the Olympic Games, especially the Barcelona'92 Games, and the sources on an edition of the Olympic Games as part of the intellectual capital of the Olympic Movement.

4. A pioneering website on Olympism

With respect to the management of information to facilitate the dissemination of knowledge about the Olympic and sporting phenomenon, the main activities involving the IDS are the coordination and management of the institutional website, the Olympic Studies Portal, and projects for creating Olympic content online.

Even though the Internet's potential was not clear cut in 1995, CEO-UAB and the International Chair in Olympism made a decisive move by launching its first website in 1996, the *Olympic Documentation Highway*. At the IOC's request, its name was changed a few months later to something more descriptive (Olympic Studies Centre), in a context where Internet domains and names were still in a process of construction and regulation. Since that first initiative, every Internet-related action promoted by CEO-UAB has responded not only to the need to have an institutional presence on the Web, but also to the objective of facilitating the international Olympic community's access to knowledge on the Olympic phenomenon.

To that end, the CEO-UAB website has always maintained a structural corpus that, besides offering institutional information, encompasses services and content adapted to the needs of its principal target audience: international Olympic researchers. These services and content include a repository of documentary resources published by either the centre itself or third parties, a directory of institutions and experts in the field of Olympic studies, news (such as an academic events calendar and new publications) and a specialist consultation service. Since the website's launch, these services and content have been available in three languages: English, Spanish and Catalan.

Thanks to the Internet and its dedicated website, CEO-UAB has managed to offer a continuous service to its users worldwide. Since the launch of the original *Olympic Documentation Highway*, the website has been accessed from very diverse geographical locations and the number of visits has been constant throughout the day and night. The Internet has allowed the IDS to expand the audience it is able to serve and to create new experiences for bringing users closer to information and academic knowledge, thus minimising the time/space barrier and the delays between information production and its availability for consultation. An example of this was the space created during the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, where several of the centre's researchers present at those Games were able to offer first-hand information about their activities and experiences.

Historically, academic results have been marked by delays between the production and dissemination of knowledge through articles in journals and books, or participation in academic conferences. People who do not specialise in the field have also found it hard to get access to such knowledge. By means of its website, CEO-UAB has implemented several initiatives aimed at minimising these barriers. An example of this was the International Chair in Olympism's first online symposium, held in 1999, on the topic of Olympic volunteering. By means of the web pages for the symposium, it was possible not only to access the texts of sessions held in Lausanne, but also to participate in debates via a discussion board. There has been continuity in

the experience every year since then, through webcasts of conferences and seminars given by guest professors of the International Chair in Olympism. Other examples include the creation of a digital deposit for research documents published by the CEO-UAB research team, and the e-publication of monographs.

The various initiatives promoted over the years were consolidated in 2010 with the launch of the CEO-UAB Olympic Studies Portal, published in English, Catalan and Spanish. The aim of the Portal is to gather and disseminate knowledge on the Olympic phenomenon produced by the academic community worldwide. In addition, the Portal aims to offer tools that facilitate knowledge sharing and the identification of expertise, while having a greater social and user-participation orientation. The Portal has a social media vocation, and can be found on the main social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube), where it not only offers users an information service, but also encourages them to get involved.

Through these initiatives, the IDS has broken down physical barriers and expanded its collection, creating a digital library that contains a set of resources providing documentary content and tools to provide support to the members of the international university community with a need for information on the Olympic phenomenon. Users can find various collections published by the centre, as well as a large number of previously selected and classified external resources.

This Portal also incorporates the section “Who’s who in Olympic studies”, an evolution of the International Directory of Olympic Studies, a joint project of CEO-UAB and the IOC Olympic Studies Centre since 1995, which offers information on professors and researchers associated to the academic world and research centres that specialise in Olympic studies. Finally, news services are offered, such as the academic agenda, which provides information on events of an academic nature that deal with Olympic issues and bibliographic news, featuring bibliographic information on recently published academic books around the world on the Olympic Movement.

The Olympic Studies Portal will be complemented by a new joint project with the Barcelona Olympic Foundation called ‘Barcelona Olympic Memory’, the aim of which is to coordinate and disseminate documentary sources on the Barcelona’92 Olympic Games and Olympism in Catalonia. As part of this project, the Barcelona Olympic window is due to be launched in 2011. It is an Internet space that will gather and offer access to documentary sources on the Barcelona Olympic Games and the Olympic phenomenon in Catalonia.

IDS staff have also adopted a key role in the management of institutional information and communication. On the one hand, they establish the criteria for archiving the documentation generated by CEO-UAB’s activity, systematically register and store the information in reference to this activity in order to facilitate its retrieval later, and organise the information in accordance with the specific criteria of the document in which it is to be included. They also contribute to the establishment of tools and products to facilitate the centre’s internal and external communication.

5. Conclusion

As for the future strategy for the next few years, it is the IDS’s desire to promote the consolidation of the lines of activity developed over the last 20 years, and in particular the offer of knowledge dissemination and transfer services regarding the significance of the organisation of Barcelona’92, and the management of the intellectual capital generated by CEO-UAB’s research, training and dissemination activities.

This analysis of the evolution of the IDS shows how its functions have adapted to the dynamics of its environment within the research centre itself, the UAB and the Catalan and international sporting and Olympic context.

And we could not end this analysis without dedicating a few lines to the role of information professionals. In such a changing and dynamic environment, these have been required to develop skills that go beyond those that are traditional in the

management of documentary sources, which also include, among others, information and communication management, the management of intellectual property and the management of information projects. In this regard, the staff of the IDS, as a university research centre, must be able, on the one hand, to obtain, evaluate and store information, and at the same time, to organise it and systemise it coherently in order for it to be communicated both internally and externally, and by means of the most appropriate media. Moreover, they must be able to conduct the internal and external exchange of information in order to support decision making and problem solving. They must also be familiar with the regulations of intellectual property in order to contribute to the proper management of the exploitation of the organisation's intellectual property. Finally, they must be able to lead local or international information projects, and scientifically consider their area of action: the management of information and knowledge in the field of sport and the Olympic phenomenon.

The Olympic Movement and the Academic World

Nuria Puig Brandes

Head of University Relations IOC

Preface

It is a great pleasure to write this paper on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB). I am also grateful because it gives me the opportunity to thank the UAB on behalf of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) for the excellent job it has done in the field of Olympic studies.

University-based OSCs play an important role in introducing Olympic-related matters to university students through courses, conferences and research projects. The centres provide a stable structure ensuring regular Olympic-related activity.

CEO-UAB has not only played this role within its university, but it has also been a centre of reference for the international academic community interested in Olympism. Its numerous collaborations with many other OSCs and scholars have largely contributed to promoting Olympic studies worldwide. On the other hand, its collaboration with the International Olympic Committee (IOC)⁴ in several research projects, symposia, publications, etc. is an excellent example of the IOC and academics working together.

Finally, CEO-UAB has greatly contributed to the Olympic Games legacy. Created on the occasion of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, the centre continues working 17 years after the Games and collaborates with the Barcelona Olympic Foundation and the Olympic Museum located in Barcelona in order to continue disseminating the once-in-a-lifetime experience of the 1992 Olympic Games.

With my colleagues of the IOC OSC - Information Management Department, we thank CEO-UAB for the ideas it has provided and the role model it has played. All of us who are passionate about Olympic studies, let's congratulate CEO-UAB team on these productive last 20 years and wish them at least another 20 years full of successful Olympic-related academic activities.

1. Brief background of University-Olympic Movement relations

The relationship between the Olympic Games and the academic world has existed since Ancient Greek civilisation. In Ancient Greece, palestrae and gymnasia were places for young people to be prepared physically, mentally and spiritually, enabling them to give the best of themselves during the celebration of the Olympic Games. Sport was part of man's overall education, which cultivated in a balanced and harmonious way his intellectual, mental and physical faculties.

4. In the framework of the International Chair in Olympism, set up in 1995 thanks to a collaboration agreement between the UAB and the IOC.

At that time, the Olympic Games brought together not only the best athletes, but also poets, philosophers and historians, whose recognition at the Games enabled them to spread their fame throughout the Greek empire.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the IOC, was deeply inspired by the Ancient Olympic Games, but also by the educational role of sport developed in English and Irish schools and universities during the final decades of the 19th century.

This influence led him to announce in 1892, on the occasion of a meeting at the Union of French Societies of Athletic Sports, that he wanted to revive the Games. This announcement was greeted with little enthusiasm. Coubertin, however, was not discouraged and, on 23 June 1894, he founded the IOC in a ceremony held at the Sorbonne in Paris. This university has symbolised since then the link between the Olympic Movement and the academic world.

Evolution since Athens 1986

Universities and the Olympic Movement have been interacting since the first edition of the modern Olympic Games in different ways.

Academic institutions and their representatives have participated actively in the organisation and success of the Games. According to the Official Reports of the first Olympic Games editions, students from colleges and universities were remarkable athletes. Further to this participation, which mainly consisted of athletes taking part in the sports competitions, London 1908 marked the starting point of a broader involvement. Since then, university facilities have been used as logistical or competition sites, staff and students have been taking part as volunteers in many areas and, in recent decades, academics have regularly contributed to Organising Committees for the Olympic Games projects (human resources training, Olympic education programmes, legacy, studies, much more recently on logging the video feed, etc.).

In addition to this active participation, Olympism, the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games have been integrated as a study subject into various university disciplines and programmes. This firstly consisted of the interest of a few scholars, mainly coming from the fields of sport history, art and culture, and education, who studied the Ancient Olympic Games, the history of the Games and the Olympic Movement, athletes' participation, and the educational values of sport promoted by the IOC. Today, the academic background of scholars focusing in the Olympics covers a large spectrum of disciplines.

Since its creation, the IOC itself has tried to promote the study of the Olympic Movement and its development. This was already shown by Pierre de Coubertin expressing his desire to create a *Centre d'Etudes Olympiques* in order to provide a repository for his educational efforts. In 1927, he agreed, with the head of the Department of Physical Education at Athens University, to set up a centre for Olympic studies. For several reasons, this project took 34 years to come to light. The International Olympic Academy (IOA) was finally created in 1961 thanks to the contribution of Jean Ketséas, the Secretary of the Hellenic Olympic Committee and Carl Diem. The activities of the IOA in Olympia have greatly evolved since then, and the Academy is nowadays an essential place for all those willing to understand the roots of the Olympic Movement. In the 1960s, the Carl und Liselott Diem Olympic Archives (originally Carl Diem Institute) was created at the German Sports Institute of Cologne, also becoming a centre of reference for all those interested in studying Olympism.

The former Pre-Olympic Congresses organised by the International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE), since 2008 entitled ICSEMIS⁵, have been a regular meeting point for those scholars interested in sport and Olympic issues.

All these initiatives have greatly contributed to developing the interest of the academic community in the Olympic Movement. However, this interest got broader from the 1980s, when sport and the Games turned into a phenomenon with historical, cultural, political and social impacts affecting society as a whole. In the late 1980s, the most universal sports event became a subject of study for scholars and students coming from a wide range of disciplines such as sociology, international relations,

5. The International Convention on Science, Education and Medicine in Sport (ICSEMIS) is the successor of the Pre-Olympic Congress and is organised thanks to the Cooperation of the ICSSPE, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and the International Federation of Sport Medicine (IFSM) with the support of the IOC.

anthropology, economics, law, urban planning, communications, sports management, etc.

The origins of most Olympic Studies Centres in universities also goes back to this period. OSCs or research groups, such as those from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain), the University of Western Ontario (Canada), Inje University (Korea), New South Wales (Australia), Johannes Gutenberg - Universität Mainz (Germany) or the Sports University of Beijing (China), played a key role in the development of Olympic studies, offering a stable structure within the academic world. Courses included in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, conferences, research, publications and the creation of documentary collections have been the main activities of these centres, thus representing a permanent link between the Olympic Movement, students and researchers. Today, the number of OSCs continues to grow, and is therefore enriching Olympic studies with wider disciplines and cultural contributions.

2. The IOC Olympic Studies Centre: from providing information to active collaboration with the academic community

2.1 Missions and activities of the IOC Olympic Studies Centre

The OSC has its *raison d'être* within the fundamental principles of Olympism and the IOC's roles stated in the Olympic Charter, in particular those highlighting the link between sport, culture and education.

The centre, structured in five complementary sections⁶, bases its activities around the following objectives:

- To ensure the ongoing acquisition, preservation, description and dissemination of Olympic patrimony.
- To promote and facilitate access to Olympic-related written and audiovisual collections.
- To provide research and analysis services and create content responding to the needs of the IOC administration.
- To encourage and promote academic activities on Olympism and stimulate synergies and collaboration among OSCs and scholars.
- To encourage and promote collaboration with the Olympic Movement to ensure that global Olympic patrimony is preserved and made available.

The centre's area of activities, under the responsibility of the Information Management Department, complements at IOC level the work done by other departments in the field of education and culture, such as the Commission for Culture and Olympic Education, the Department for International Cooperation and Development, and the Educational Service of the Olympic Museum.

2.2 The IOC OSC: building a bridge with academics

Since its origins in the 1980s, the IOC OSC has regularly worked with university researchers and students, providing them with access to the unique collections of the IOC.

A key milestone in the development of this collaboration was in 1994, when the OSC moved to the then recently created Olympic Museum in Lausanne. At that time, the Centre started to develop its organisation in different sections in order to better preserve and disseminate the written and audiovisual patrimony of the IOC (thanks notably to the "Rules of Access to the Historical Archives" and to the creation of a welcome structure for researchers).

Five years later, the OSC launched, with the support of a Research Council composed of academics, the first edition of the Postgraduate Research Grant Programme. Collaboration with the Research Council (today known as the Selection Committee) and the grant

6. The five sections of the OSC are the Historical Archives, the Library, the Research and Reference Service, the Images Section and the University Relations Section.

programme were the starting point of more proactive activity in order not only to preserve and disseminate its collections, but also to encourage and support, among the academic community, research, teaching and publications connected with Olympic matters.

In the last four years, the OSC, through its University Relations Section, has become the official interface between the academic community and the IOC in order to respond to requests from universities and to meet the needs of the IOC administration, which may be met by academics.

Every year, the OSC responds to more than 1,000 requests for in-depth research and around 8,000 requests concerning the loan of monographs or sending of articles. The distribution of the audiovisual collections (more than 27,000 photos and 450 hours of films annually) is also worth mentioning at this point. Furthermore, each year the centre welcomes over 300 researchers wanting to consult the IOC collections; receives more than 40 application files for the Postgraduate Research Grant programme; coordinates around 10 applied research projects; and regularly responds to academics submitting projects and requests⁷.

3. Olympic Studies: a new field becoming reality?

One of the main outcomes of the collaboration between the academic community, the IOC and the Olympic Movement is the development of what we call ‘Olympic Studies’, which includes any Olympic-related academic activity. The evolution of Olympic studies in the last decade can be illustrated by two projects created by the OSC and described below: the first one, the Postgraduate Research Grant programme, is already consolidated and illustrates profiles and disciplines involved in Olympic studies; the second one, the Olympic Studies Observatory, is in its infancy but we hope it will be much more developed in the future for the benefit of both the IOC and the academic community.

3.1 The Postgraduate Research Grant programme

One of the important contributions of the IOC OSC to the field of OS is the Postgraduate Research Grant programme⁸. Launched in 1998 (the first grant recipients visited the centre in 1999), the programme seeks to encourage young researchers to undertake high quality research related to Olympism, the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games from a human and social sciences angle.

As highlighted by Susan Brownell (University of Missouri), one of our former Selection Committee members, the grant programme serves as a link between the IOC and the universities of the world by reaching out to the next generation of top intellectuals, who are now graduate students or young professors in humanities and social sciences. We hope that, as teachers, these young scholars will be the future messengers of the Olympic ideals, and as researchers, they will be an important source of the future creativity and vitality of the Olympic Movement.

The application files submitted for the grant programme provide an interesting picture of the origin of the applicants and their Olympic-related research topics.

This picture might also be of interest in the analysis of the multicultural and multidisciplinary aspects of Olympic studies. In these first 10 editions, the application files of 337 candidates from 60 countries (29.2% of all the National Olympic Committees) have been received and analysed. An analysis by continent shows the following:

- Europe is the best represented continent, with 148 applicants (43.9% of the total) from 30 countries. The countries which feature the most often are France (31 files), Greece (18), Germany (13), Great Britain (14) and Romania (12).

7. Further information about the OSC's services and collections can be found on the OSC web site (<http://www.olympic.org/studies>).

8. A full description of the grant programme can be found on the OSC's web site (<http://www.olympic.org/studies>).

- America is represented by 89 candidates (26.4% of the total) from eight countries. The majority of these young researchers are from the USA (39), Canada (23) and Brazil (15). Asia follows with 63 candidates (18.7% of the total) from 11 countries. In that region of the world, China is the best represented, with 38 application files.
- Africa has had 22 candidates (6.5% of the total) from nine countries. Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Nigeria are the countries with the highest representation.
- Oceania is represented by 15 candidates (4.5% of the total) from Australia (12 files) and New Zealand (3 files).

An analysis of the grant holders' origins reveals similar figures. Since 1999, we have awarded grants to 49 candidates: 22 from Europe (44.9%), 12 from North America (24.5%), nine from Asia (18.4%), three from Oceania (6.1%), two from Central & South America (4%) and one from Africa (2%). Charts 1 and 2 illustrate the geographical distribution of applicants and grant holders.

Chart 1: Geographical Distribution of Candidates

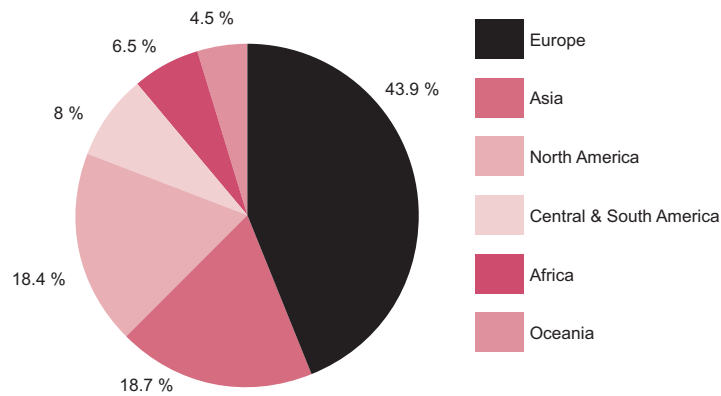
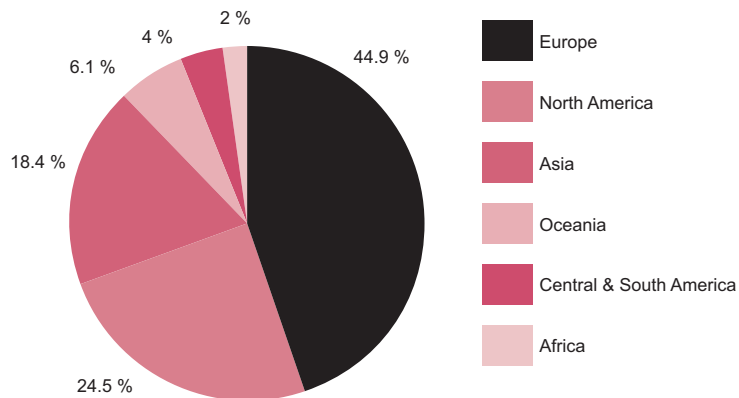


Chart 2: Geographical Distribution of Grant Holders



These data show that, despite the regular efforts made in the dissemination of the grant programme, we still have a long way to go for the programme to reach and encourage young researchers around the world to get involved in Olympic studies. The applications we have received from the academic community in Africa can be considered as anecdotal, and the situation is similar in the case of Central & South America, with the only exception being Brazil. We also have few candidates from regions of Asia other than the North East, which until now has been mainly represented by China thanks to the boost of the Games of the XXIXth Olympiad in Beijing.

Concerning the disciplines of the human and social sciences present in the application files, analysis of the grant holders' research topics shows us the following:

The sports sciences discipline is the main source of the programme (51.3% of candidates in 2008-2009 and 34% of grants awarded since the creation of the programme). However, it is important to highlight the diversity of research projects submitted by sports sciences candidates. For example, three out of the five 2008 grant holders follow sports studies, but their projects are related to history, sociology and management.

Students following a degree on history come second in the number of candidates and grant holders (18.3% of grants since 1999).

These are followed by candidates submitting research projects dealing with architecture and urban planning (9.2%) and then by researchers dealing with communications (7.8%).

Finally, we can highlight the increasing number of disciplines being represented in the applications (13 in total), which contributes to the enrichment of the programme (candidate profiles and subjects) and of Olympic studies in general.

3.2. Olympic Studies Observatory

The University Relations Section has regular contact with OSCs, university professors and researchers active in the area of Olympic studies and university students interested in Olympism. This network (made up of almost 1,000 contacts from five continents) allows not only for exchanges, but also for the setting up of working relations to carry out academic activities and develop an Olympic Studies Observatory. This Observatory, although still in its early stages, operates on three levels of information: contacts, activities, analyses/reports.

Below is a summary of the two first-level contents included in the Observatory in 2008.

Contacts

The OSC has contact with 33 OSCs or research groups, 115 academic experts and more than 750 professors and students interested in Olympism.

The OSCs are located in universities of Europe (58%), Asia (21%), America (12%) and Oceania (9%). Unfortunately, we have no knowledge of OSCs in Africa.

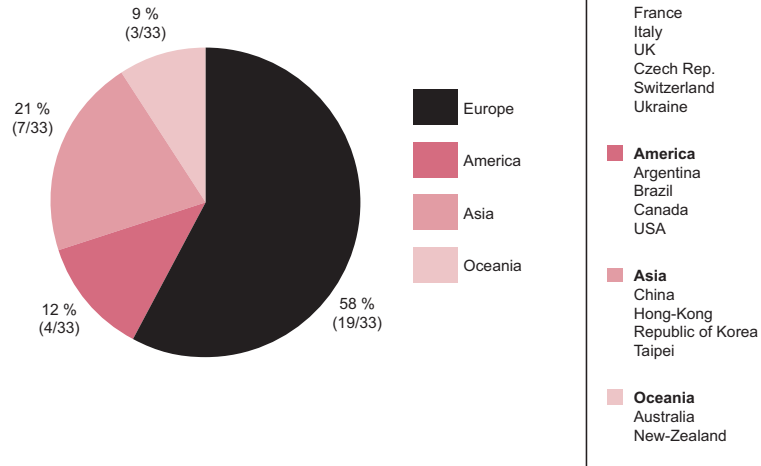
The most common areas of Olympic-related expertise within the various OSCs are: Olympic Values, Olympic Movement, History, Sociology and Arts & Culture.

Concerning academic experts, 51 come from Europe (45%) and 36 (31%) from North America. Central & South America, Asia and Oceania share the rest, while we can list only a few contacts in Africa.

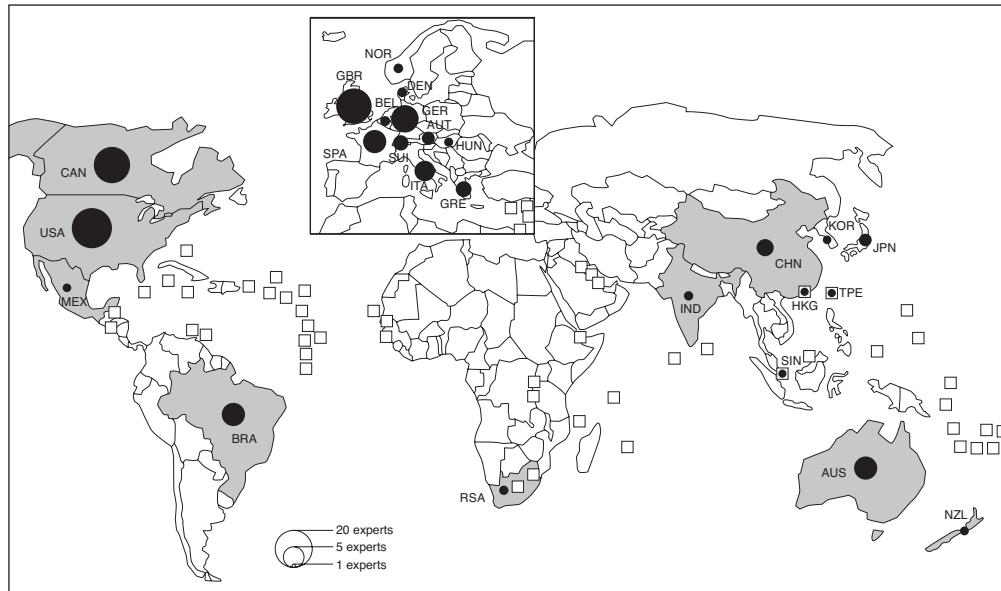
In parallel with the OSCs' areas of expertise, those most frequently studied by the experts are History and the Olympic Movement, followed by Olympic Values, Sociology, Gender, International Relations/Politics and Arts & Culture.

Finally, similar geographical distribution figures come from the analysis of the 754 academics interested in the Olympic phenomenon included in our database.

Olympic Studies Centres by continent



Academic experts by continent



Activities

In the activities chapter of the Observatory, the University Relations Section has listed and analysed research projects and articles, postgraduate courses including Olympic-related content and academic conferences dealing with Olympic aspects.

Research

In the framework of collaboration between the IOC and the academic world, 11 applied research projects were asked to be studied and five research projects were granted in 2008. In addition, the OSC received several research papers from scholars worldwide.

The above-mentioned research projects covered a wide range of subjects, but legacy and sustainable development were the two topics the most analysed. In addition to these topics, it is interesting to highlight new contributions concerning the Olympic Movement and its social responsibility.

Education

During the 2008/2009 academic year, nine courses have been listed. The main topic of the majority of these courses is sports management. This area is, however, complemented by a range of other areas such as Olympism, humanities of sport, law, medicine & health, sociology and technology.

In addition to the existing courses, it is important to highlight that new academic initiatives focusing entirely on Olympic studies are being developed and will hopefully become reality soon. One of them, the Postgraduate Specialisation Degree in Olympic Studies, Olympic Education, Organisation and Management of Olympic Events, coordinated by the Department of Sports Organisation and Management of the Faculty of Human Movement and Quality of Life Sciences of the University of Peloponnese in collaboration with the IOA, started in October 2009.

Dissemination

The OSC listed 44 Olympic related congresses and seminars in 2008. From a geographical point of view, 27 out of the 44 events were situated in Europe, 10 in Asia (mainly in China), three in North America, two in South America and two in Oceania. The Olympic studies topics presented the most in these events were legacy and sustainable development, international relations, marketing, arts & culture and Olympic Games bid processes.

The dissemination activity was also analysed through publications written by academics and acquired by our library (around 226 works in 2008).

Further information about the Olympic Studies Observatory contents can be found on the OSC's web site (<http://www.olympic.org/studies>).

4. Conclusion

Education and research are two important priorities in societies and organisations. Education is essential for facilitating the autonomy of individuals and ensuring their integration into society and the professional world. Research allows us to question the present and prepare for the future by bringing new knowledge.

The educational role of the IOC is clearly defined by the Olympic Charter in the chapter concerning the Mission and the Role of the IOC. The first role is: "to encourage and support the promotion of ethics in sport as well as education of youth through sport and to dedicate its efforts to ensuring that, in sport, the spirit of fair play prevails and violence is banned" (IOC 2010).

Support for research is also present at the IOC, mainly through the OSC activities described above. The centre seeks not only to promote interest in Olympism through universities, but also to obtain, from the academic community, high-level analyses on key topics related to the Olympic Movement and its evolution.

Collaboration, however, is not always easy to set up, as academics and practitioners do not always move forward together. According to TSE Consulting (Curchod and Troelsen 2007) there are three main reasons for this: the incompatibility of speed, the lack of mutual understanding, and the absence of platforms.

The IOC OSC team has faced these difficulties on some occasions, but has also found many opportunities to bridge the two worlds. We are convinced of the benefits of collaborating for both the Olympic Movement and the academic community, and will continue working in this direction with the help of all those scholars interested in the Olympic phenomenon and of the Olympic family. From these pages, we invite the academic community to be active in the field of Olympic studies and to continue providing the IOC with interesting and valuable analyses on Olympic-related matters aiming to place sport at the service of humankind and society.

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CEO-UAB as a Driving Force for Olympic Studies

Testimonies by international experts, valuing the legacy of CEO-UAB

The first part of this book, devoted to the origins and institutional evolution of CEO-UAB, concludes with a series of testimonies by various international scholars that have collaborated on a CEO-UAB project. These testimonies, which are very diverse in terms of disciplinary approaches and geographical and cultural variety, are a display of the international projection and recognition of CEO-UAB's research and dissemination work in the field of Olympic studies.

Deanna Binder

Institute for Olympic Education at the University of Alberta, Canada

When the Olympic flag is raised at the Olympic Games, the world celebrates the educational ideas of the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. For de Coubertin, the Olympic Games were a means to an educational end.

Concerned about the fitness of young men in his country and the rigidity of France's schools, de Coubertin launched a campaign to have the schools in his country add compulsory physical education and Games to their programs. He thought that his ideas would receive good publicity if he organized an international sporting event based on the heritage of the ancient Olympic Games of Greece. His promotional and organizational efforts led to the creation of the International Olympic Committee and the staging of the first Olympic Games, in Athens in 1896.

The Olympic Movement is now over a hundred years old. Its historical, political and sociological legacies are explored through the work of a global network of Olympic Studies Centres. Most of the Olympic Studies Centres are located within universities; therefore, their work focuses on academic research, publication and teaching at a post-secondary level. Together with the Olympic Museum in Lausanne and the International Olympic Academy in Ancient Olympia, they document, analyze and critique the theory and reality of the Olympic phenomenon.

Some of these Centres also take up the grassroots educational mission of Pierre de Coubertin. They have initiated programs that move beyond the confines of academic work, beyond an exploration of the technicalities and issues of elite sport competition, and mobilize support for quality physical education and sport programs in schools. This mission requires an outreach to community and a commitment to applied research, collaboration and communication. It is complex and frustrating work.

The Olympic Studies Centre of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) is participating in initiatives to create a grassroots Olympic education network. In 2006 it was my honour to accept an invitation from the Centre to be their Invited Professor in Olympism. I was delighted to introduce the Centre and its students to the new IOC *Olympic Values Education Program* (OVEP) toolkit, and to explore issues related to the teaching of the educational values of Olympism.

In 2006, the International Olympic Committee commissioned the CEO-UAB to undertake an international study on initiatives in Olympic education. This project is another pillar of the *Olympic Values Education Program*. The results of the study will establish and develop a system of information gathering experiences and documents promoted within the Olympic Movement by the National Olympic Committees, the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games and other organisations recognized by the IOC, offering those of us in the field of Olympic education, information and contacts to a global network. This network includes the inheritors of the de Coubertin legacy, people who are committed to furthering his original mission - to promote and encourage the development, expansion and improvement of quality physical education and sport programs in schools, youth organizations and sport clubs. Thank you for this work.

...and CONGRATULATIONS to the CEO-UAB on its 20th Birthday...

Susan Brownell

University of Missouri, St. Louis, USA

The founding members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), who articulated the idea that Olympism “blends sport with culture and education”, were prominent in the world of arts and letters at the turn of the 19th century. It was perhaps inevitable that the successful development of the Olympic Movement would produce increasing numbers of IOC members who were not generalists and thinkers, but specialists in sports administration, marketing, media, diplomacy and so on. Over time, the IOC increasingly lost its direct links to the academic world, and the educational aspects of the Olympic Movement were undertaken by schoolteachers, university professors, amateur historians, professional writers and others who were outside the IOC’s officially-designated ‘Olympic Family’.

The establishment of the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) in 1989 marked an important historical moment when the bifurcation between the officially-recognized Olympic Family and the unofficial educational movement was bridged. Through the visionary efforts of its founder, Miquel de Moragas, CEO-UAB built new links between the IOC and the academic world utilizing the tools of the late 20th century, including applied research, a focus on media and communications, use of the Internet and so on. Through its many activities, the centre established a global and multicultural network that has now moved into the 21st century. Many of the scholars specializing in Olympic studies today owe a debt to the centre, myself included. It was a special honor to be invited as the 2007 International Chair in Olympism, fourteen years after Moragas had first inspired me to delve deeper into Olympic studies. The depth and quality of research in Olympic studies today were built upon a foundation that was created in large part by CEO-UAB, and it is to be hoped that it will continue to contribute to the healthy development of the Olympic Movement in the future.

Richard Cashman
University of Technology, Sydney, Australia

The Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) has had an outstanding and sustained record of Olympic documentation, research and publication. It has also provided international leadership of Olympic studies during this time.

The Barcelona centre has provided a fine example of what an academic Olympic centre should be. It was an appropriate model that influenced the shape and the format of the Australian Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney.

The contributions of the Barcelona centre are many. It has been innovative in research. The publications of CEO-UAB on topics such as media, ceremonies, volunteers, education and legacy have set international Olympic research agendas. They have also contributed to Olympic policy development.

The approach of CEO-UAB is, secondly, a balanced one: working within Olympic circles yet at the same time adopting an independent and critical stance, conducting research as well as contributing to contemporary public debate.

CEO-UAB, thirdly, has operated in a collegial and collaborative fashion. With a concern to promote Olympic studies internationally, CEO-UAB has encouraged individual scholars and other Olympic centres, building up informal but effective international networks. It has achieved this through its publications and conferences in conjunction with the Olympic Museum at the IOC and with the International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB).

My appointment as visiting professor of the International Chair in Olympism for two months in 2002 proved a rich and valuable experience: there was an opportunity to make use of the excellent resources at CEO-UAB, to workshop my topic (legacy) with centre personnel and then to present findings at the legacy conference at the IOC, jointly sponsored by CEO-UAB and the Olympic Museum. This helped me realise the full potential of legacy research.

I would like to congratulate Professor Miquel de Moragas and his dedicated team for their continuing innovation and sustained excellence over two decades.

Laurence Chalip

University of Texas at Austin, USA

Coubertin was always clear that the Olympic Games are a means, not an end in themselves. They are intended as an example and an inspiration. They should promote the values of sport for salubrious personal and social development.

These values do not accrue simply because there is an Olympic Games. Indeed, the spectacle of the Games threatens to overwhelm their deeper purpose. That is why objective independent scholarship of the kind fostered by CEO-UAB is so vital. It is through such study that we can examine and, where appropriate, critique the Olympic Movement. In so doing, we can capture, communicate, and even help to create its example and its inspiration.

This is a considerable and multifaceted undertaking, one which requires Olympic study to take multiple forms. It may interpret Olympic history; it may examine contemporary practices and impacts. It draws its methods from an array (and, ideally, a combination) of academic disciplines. To be sure, much of what is learned will be valuable to the Olympic Movement. But if the Olympic Games are to serve as the example and inspiration that Olympism intends, then mere enhancement of the Olympic Games (or the Olympic Movement) can never be the ultimate objective of Olympic study. The objective must be to learn how to use (and how not to use) the many and varied forms of sport for the best development of ourselves, our institutions, and the communities in which we live.

Therefore, Olympic research should not be seduced into any paradigm that treats the Olympic Games or the Olympic Movement as unique manifestations or as ends in themselves. To do so would be to trivialize the Olympics by divesting them of their value as an example and an inspiration. The challenge for Olympic study is to find Olympic lessons for sport and for the salubrious utilization of sport.

Gabriel Colomé

Opinion Studies Centre, Government of Catalonia, Spain

John Ford used to say that when you have the choice between printing facts and printing the legend, print the legend! It is up to me to explain the facts, which, deep down, have a lot to do with the legend.

Let me take you back to 1988 and, to be more precise, to 16 March. On 17 October 1986, Barcelona had become the host city for the Games of the XXVth Olympiad. A city's Olympic dream had become a reality. It had only taken 70 years. But what happened on that day in March? Well, not very much. Only the UEFA Cup quarter-final return match between Barça and Bayer Leverkusen after the nil-nil draw in the away match.

On that day, instead of sitting in my usual seat, I arranged to meet up with my football buddy Miquel de Moragas to enjoy the match from the grandstand. At that time, Barça was at the end of a historic cycle, not as a team, but as a club. Johan Cruyff's silhouette could be made out on the horizon. But there was no way we could have known that, especially as Barça was incapable of putting away a goal to catch up on the first one scored by the Germans. The fatalist cycle of this club, something that had become fixed in the DNA of its identity since the Bern final, continued along its self-destructive path.

In the stadium's grandstand, watching an impossible game, conversation revolved around the future Olympic Games and the university's contribution to them. What about creating an interdisciplinary university space for the study of sport and the Games from a social rather than a medical perspective?

Game over. Yet another year with the reminder of Seville. Nobody could have ever imagined that fate, that evening, was going to be so cruel with the city's other team.⁹

In Miquel's 'pre-modern' car, on the way to my place, the idea was fleshed out even more. We stopped in front of the house. An hour later, we had a clear idea about the foundations for the creation of the Olympic Studies Centre. We needed an office, an administrator and two academics to begin with. The office ended up in the Politics Faculty through the Dean Josep M. Vallès's mediation. There is no need to remind anyone of the prior setbacks. Let's keep the legend alive!

The fun part was putting a subtitle to CEO-UAB; Lucius Minicius Natalis, Barcelona, the winner at some Ancient Games in his four-horse carriage (our Ben-Hur of *Barcino*).

This is the story of how CEO-UAB came to be, or of its legend. Twenty years on, I am still in CEO, but under different circumstances.¹⁰ Whatever the case, the legend continues to serve as a bond between Miquel and me.

9. Editors' note. The author is referring to the European Cup final between FC Barcelona and Steaua Bucharest, which was held in May 1986 in Seville, and the result of the return match of the UEFA Cup final between RCD Español and Bayer Leverkusen.

10. Editors' note. Gabriel Colomé is now Director of the Government of Catalonia's Opinion Studies Centre (CEO), the acronym for which is the same as the Olympic Studies Centre.

Lamartine P. DaCosta

Gama Filho University , Brazil

A long-standing theoretical approach from many sources links sport with culture. But the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) went beyond this assumption by actually putting it into practice. And behind this accomplishment is Miquel de Moragas, CEO-UAB's founder, who developed field research on the multicultural communication meaning of the Olympic Games at the beginning of the 1990s.

As a witness to that pioneering stage, I would like to summarise some interpretations from that time which focused mainly on the leverage effect of CEO-UAB over similar centres set up in other countries. In other words, CEO-UAB gave a practical example on how to deal with the multidisciplinary nature of Olympic studies in their boom phase prior to the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona.

Actually, Moragas produced a cultural platform for Olympic studies, with communication fact-finding as the basis. Moreover, this research rationale sought its external validity by means of collaborative work with other Olympic studies centres. In this respect, CEO-UAB in the mid 1990s started to disseminate information collected from scholars, universities and centres dedicated to Olympic studies. Therefore, a fundamental Olympic culture emerged from CEO-UAB, which was again put to the test in 2006 under my direct observation when the Gama Filho University-Rio de Janeiro (UGF) entered into an agreement with CEO-UAB.

For this new partnership, I participated as a counterpart in Moragas's team, working alongside Berta Cerezuela and Chris Kennett in particular, to produce a joint book on Olympic studies that brought together 103 Brazilian and Spanish authors from 18 universities. The work aimed at providing common areas of collaboration between researchers and students from both countries. And it is this collaborative work that should be seen as a synthesis of CEO-UAB's past and present culture, from which Olympic studies have drawn their fundamental meaning.

Conrado Durántez

Spanish Olympic Academy, Spain

Chronologically speaking, the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) spans five Olympiads and, with due satisfaction, it is now getting ready to celebrate its 20th anniversary.

Time passes so quickly that it seems like only yesterday when Miquel de Moragas told me about his decision and began working on the task of creating the Barcelona-based Olympic Studies Centre, the first of its kind in Spain. It came into existence at a time of historic prosperity during the pre-Olympic period of the Games of the XXVth Olympiad, which marked an indelible milestone in the history of Olympism.

The solid and varied institutional backing that this first Olympic Studies Centre had when it was created and has continued to have since then, together with the diligence and competence of a group of Rectors, has led to a highly positive outcome in terms of activities focusing on Olympic research and dissemination, both nationally and internationally. Especially memorable are those activities undertaken in their day under the auspices of and in collaboration with the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

The Olympic theme has a rich, broad historical and humanistic scope, and even though it should be socially disseminated at all levels, its particular field of study and research lies within a university setting. It should never be forgotten that the modern Olympic Movement, considered at the dawn of this new century to be the world's most powerful sociological force, did not come into existence on an athletics track, in a sports club or in any type of facility like that. Instead, it began under the shelter and protection of a prestigious university governing council of a prestigious university — the Sorbonne in Paris — on 30 June 1984.

In short, congratulations to Miquel de Moragas and his team.

Kang Shin-Pyo **Inje University, Korea**

The meeting of Eastern-Western and Northern-Southern cultures through Olympic communication is a key feature of this global age. Where else can we find such an epic occasion for multicultural encounter than a spectacle that takes place under the Five Rings of different colours? Everything has its own seed of origin, its idea of dream. I had such a dream when I was asked to draw up a master plan of cultural festivities for the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games by the Seoul Olympic Organising Committee. Up to then, Korea was internationally known as a rapidly developing country in the aftermath of the Korean War, military regime, student demonstrations and social unrest in the light of democratisation. It was the last stage of the Cold War period so there were still many anti-Seoul Olympic Movements, mainly in Communist countries.

Korea wanted to be an active member of the global community by hosting the Olympic Games. One of my dreams was to organise an academic conference for cultural exchanges. In collaboration with Professors John MacAloon, University of Chicago (United States) and Roberto DaMatta, University of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), I organised the first international conference on “The Olympics and Cultural Exchange in the World System” held in August 1987 in Seoul, Korea. Some fifty distinguished anthropologists, sociologists, communication specialists, philosophers and historians representing five continents met to discuss the prospects and limits of intercultural exchange within Olympic-style multinational performances and to participate in a field trip to search for the roots of traditional Korean culture.

After the 1988 Seoul Olympics, Barcelona was going to host the 1992 Olympics. I had the pleasure of inviting Professor Miquel de Moragas to the conference from Barcelona in order to organise the following conference on the same theme. Two years later, he created the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB) and organized the second international conference titled, “Olympic Games, Media and Cultural Exchange” in April 1991, one year before the Barcelona Olympic Games. I was extremely happy to know that my dream had been perpetuated by him. He and his ‘Cobi troupe’ have been so dedicated that 20 years on the centre is now one of the main hubs of the worldwide Olympic academic network on the Internet.

He invited me several times to Barcelona for various academic meetings and to become the visiting professor of the International Chair in Olympism in 1999. He also introduced me to Catalan cultural traditions, which I have fallen in love with. He also likes to experience Korean culture. The “Academic” Cobi is still on my desk. Cobi, the Barcelona’92 Olympic mascot, is guiding me towards the global Olympic academic community. Congratulation on your great achievements CEO-UAB!

Bruce Kidd

University of Toronto, Canada

The entire world owes you a debt of gratitude for the remarkable scholarship on the modern Olympic Movement you have conducted, stimulated, coordinated, collected and disseminated during the two decades of your existence. As a scholar with one foot deeply embedded in the activities of the Olympic project, I commend you in particular for the way in which you have made the aspirations, reach, and effectiveness of the Olympic Movement a focal point of your ongoing work. The international professorships on Olympism you have appointed, the many conferences you have held, and the invaluable website, e-lectures, and library and documentation centre you provide all help illuminate the complexities of the Olympic project, while giving students, Olympic participants and officials and other interested persons informed access to the issues and resources. As just one example, the proceedings of the five international conferences you organized in conjunction with the Olympic Museum, exploring legacy, media, ceremonies, Olympic villages, and volunteers, remain unmatched sources for an understanding of these phenomena and I continue to assign them as readings in my courses, and refer staff on bid and organizing committees to them. For those of us who believe in the overarching ambition of Olympism, and struggle to realize it, the informed, critical analysis you encourage and provide is an indispensable ally.

Outstanding scholarship does not happen by itself, but requires a material base in facilities and services, and the intelligence, determination, caring and energy of humans, sustained over many years. Such material and human resources have never been easy to find nor to sustain. So, most of all, I salute you for staying the course, long after the Games which occasioned your creation came to an end, and contributing more and more each year.

You should be very proud of what you have achieved.

John J. MacAloon **University of Chicago, USA**

The foundation of the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) changed the course of Olympic studies worldwide. This development could not have been imagined when, in 1987 in Seoul, an affable and unassuming Catalan communications professor joined our multinational group of Olympic researchers at the *First International Conference on the Olympics and East/West and South/North Cultural Exchange in the World System*. Miquel de Moragas Spa assured us that he would be taking up the torch, and that we could count on a center for our ongoing work in Barcelona.

We were all delighted with this promise, but we were also a bit skeptical of our new colleague. I remember looking over at Professor Kang Shin-pyo, then the leader of our group, and thinking of the struggles and sufferings he had gone through — in relations with the Seoul Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games, the government ministries, the Korean National Olympic Committee, and other Korean universities — in order to create supportive spaces for our international conferences, study tours, and research teams during the Seoul Olympic period. And my own struggles to organize and to win academic funding for an international research team in Los Angeles in 1984 were still fresh in my mind. Surely, the Spanish environment, with its multiple levels of government, was going to be a challenge for Professor Moragas.

It was, but he proved more than up to the task. In retrospect, we understand how the competing governmental authorities and the historical tensions between Catalonia and Spain actually contributed to the success of the Barcelona Olympic project. Professor Moragas was able to achieve a similar symbiosis in creating and maintaining CEO-UAB as a mechanism for bringing local publics and international experts into communication with one another during the Barcelona Olympiad.

But Professor Moragas and CEO-UAB went much further than this, indeed further than any other single initiative in the human and social sciences of Olympism before or since. Far from winding down after the Barcelona Olympic Games, CEO-UAB expanded its outreach and activities. Taking advantage of the special relationship with Juan Antonio Samaranch and of the foundation of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Moragas and his Barcelona colleagues brought our academic movement into sustained and institutionalized relationship with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). CEO-UAB was a direct inspiration and influence on the organization of the Olympic Museum's own Olympic Studies Centre. The original Research Council of the Olympic Museum was composed almost entirely of CEO-UAB collaborators. The International Chair in Olympism at the UAB (whose first occupant I was honored to be in 1995) and the series of IOC/CEO-UAB symposia organized in connection with it continue to be highly influential. The Olympic Studies International Directory and other CEO-UAB Internet projects have likewise been transformative.

Perhaps the highest compliment being paid to the twenty-year history and impact of CEO-UAB is the (unfortunate) effort today by official Olympic organizations like the IOC and certain National Olympic Committees to brand the phrase "Olympic Studies" and to claim it for themselves.

Andy Miah

University of the West of Scotland, United Kingdom

The Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) has played a critical role in establishing Olympic studies. My own work has been shaped by its interventions, particularly in the context of new media, and its work pervades my lectures and those of others I know. Its role has been essential as an informant for the International Olympic Committee (IOC), as it undertakes the complex challenge of policy and governance advice. It is essential that their scholarly approach to consultancy continues to reach the time-critical world of the Olympic organisation.

The enduring presence of the centre is a historic legacy of the Barcelona 1992 Games and an ambitious standard for subsequent host cities to reach. It is crucial that similar places exist around the world in order to facilitate collaborative research and to develop an informed context for investigations into the Olympic Movement.

Moreover, the Olympic Charter requires that such independent, critical voices are able to function alongside the Olympic Family, to ensure that the broad, educational, humanitarian and social goals of the Olympics are met. Such work requires protection and support from the Olympic Family, and there have been no more trustworthy hands than those of the Olympic Studies Centre in Barcelona (CEO-UAB).

As Olympic studies achieve maturation, their boundaries expand and the range of scholars writing about the Olympic Movement is enriched. This creates new challenges, but it is also an essential part of building credibility in a research area. The centre has functioned as a broker of such exchange and expansion, and the Olympic Movement is far richer for this.

Roy Panagiotopoulou

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Twenty years of continuous operation and service to the Olympic Movement is undoubtedly a great achievement for the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB). Congratulations!

The very successful Olympic Games of Barcelona 1992 left a remarkable legacy in terms of infrastructure and dedicated people. CEO-UAB has brought together a core team of academics and researchers who consistently study new trends in Olympism. A series of innovative conferences have led to the publication of a number of documents produced by the centre, all of which have become well known references for almost all subsequent academic publications. Furthermore, many scholars have had the opportunity to meet each other, exchange opinions and develop new networks of communication and research topics.

However, the belief in Olympic values characterises all colleagues working at the centre: enthusiasm for every new organisation of the Games, participation in all kinds of scientific activities, consistent documentation of every relevant event and, most of all, a passion for Olympism are the virtues not only of the founder and ‘soul’ of the centre, my good friend Professor Miquel de Moragas Spa, but his staff too. I discovered this when I was the visiting professor of the International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB) for 2005, through my cooperation with all colleagues there. I have learned a lot from them, but mainly I have gained good friends.

This was proved when, in the summer of 2007, devastating fires destroyed the greatest part of Ancient Olympia and the International Olympic Academy (IOA). Together with my friends from Barcelona we organised an international pilgrimage for the reforestation of the area. We all realised that Olympic values are not only theoretical but also practical. In my opinion, this is the meaning of the Olympic Movement and its ideals!

I would like to thank my friends from the Olympic Studies Centre in Barcelona for their collaboration. Their work and conduct have demonstrated that the Olympic Movement’s values are not old fashioned ideas, but rather ideas that serve as a guide for everyday life.

Hai Ren

Beijing University of Physical Education, China

With the rapid development of the Olympic Movement since the late 20th century, all kinds of issues relating to its future have arisen, which concern many people who care about the fundamental values that the Movement is trying to spread. Olympic education and research has thus emerged as a new academic field and has drawn the attention of scholars in various disciplines around the world.

To tackle Olympic-related problems and explore the insights of the Movement, it is necessary for Olympic research institutions and individual scholars to cooperate with each other from different cultural perspectives. The Centre for Olympic Studies at the Beijing Sport University has endeavoured to work with Olympic research centres and scholars across the globe over the last ten years with the purpose of integrating Olympic values into the Chinese tradition.

We have benefited a great deal from this international and cross-cultural cooperation, which has made it possible for the area of Olympic studies to become firmly rooted in China in a short space of time. I really appreciate the efforts made by the CEO-UAB over these years in facilitating international collaboration through various specific programmes, such as the International Chair in Olympism, Olympic education projects, seminars on diverse themes, a website with abundant resources and publications with enlightening ideas. It is actually a shared platform and communication channel with a global vision.

I have witnessed the growth of CEO-UAB since I met Professor Miquel de Moragas for the first time 14 years ago, and I have admired so many jobs his team has done since then. I was especially delighted by CEO-UAB's invitation for me to share my knowledge about the Olympic Movement in China widely with readers through its website. After the Beijing Olympic Games, Olympic studies in China have a new outlook, so we are looking forward to working with CEO-UAB more closely in the future.

Nancy K. Rivenburgh **University of Washington, USA**

Many people around the world collect Olympic pins and memorabilia. At any Olympic Games the most active collectors set up tables on the streets outside Olympic venues and barter, buy, and sell souvenir pins. I have a very special pin. It is from the 1992 Barcelona Games that, after 17 years, still means a great deal to me. More important, however, is that this particular pin symbolizes what the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) is all about.

My pin is of the Barcelona mascot Cobi (an adorable ‘designer’ dog). But I have a very rare Cobi pin. It is small, gold, and dressed in academic regalia: cap, gown, and holding a diploma. For the Barcelona Games, CEO-UAB founder, visionary, and director Miquel de Moragas i Spa designed and distributed this ‘academic’ Cobi to the handful of international scholars involved in investigating that amazing Olympic experience. For me, it was the start of a career studying global media events and later led to my having the honor of being a visiting professor of the International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB) for 1997-98.

The academic Cobi pin symbolizes all the positive characteristics of the Olympic Studies Centre. First, CEO-UAB has fostered a rich *community*. As a center for research, conferences, and a host of other programs, it offers a key hub for a diverse set of scholars from around the world. Second, CEO-UAB has been *active* in promoting a wide range of academic pursuits. It is much more than a repository of valuable resources. It is a vibrant place *characterized by people* doing things — whether at the Autonomous University of Barcelona or connected on-line. Third, the work of CEO-UAB has always been *creative and visionary* (who else would design an academic Cobi?). Finally, my Cobi pin is smiling. CEO-UAB has offered me not only *professional opportunities*, but *enduring friendships* I will treasure always.

Otto J. Schantz

University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany

There are many Olympic Studies Centres in the world; however, there is a particular and unique one: the one at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. This centre reflects the cultural diversity and dynamics of its home town, the industrious work ethic of Catalonia and the warm-hearted atmosphere of the Mediterranean coastline.

When I attended the Symposium on Olympic Ceremonies in 1995, I was impressed by the perfect organisation and high academic level of this meeting. During this symposium, I realized the potential and the dynamics of the centre's director, Miquel de Moragas, and his young and energetic team for the first time.

After this symposium, I had the opportunity to attend several conferences in Barcelona. There I discovered the rich culture of this exciting city thanks to Miquel and his assistants, the humorous and energetic Anna Belén Moreno, the thoughtful and welcoming Ian Serra, the competent and always helpful Berta Cerezuela, to name just a few. Beside the more formal discussions and exchanges, I will always remember our informal meetings, in general around a table with delicious food, in Barcelona, Lausanne or Olympia, when we reshaped the landscape of the Olympic Movement in our passionate and witty discussions.

Through its activities, the Olympic Studies Centre in Barcelona (CEO-UAB) plays a key role in the worldwide promotion of Olympic studies. Through the creation of the International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB), the centre tightens the relation between the Olympic Movement and academia. The numerous symposia it has organised were in general of outstanding academic quality. The same has to be said for its publications. Like the ground breaking study on *Global Television and the Olympic Games*, most of these publications have found a very positive echo in the academia.

For teachers and researchers, the website of the Olympic Studies Centre is an absolute must. It provides very useful and solid information on the Olympic Movement. With the *Olympic Studies International Directory* the centre has created a superb network tool for all researchers interested in Olympic studies.

Thanks to his intelligence and knowledge, his diplomatic dexterity, his communication skills and his devoted and competent team, Miquel has realised the almost impossible: he has combined an educational mission, support from the stakeholders of the IOC, and academic excellence.

On the occasion of its 20th anniversary, I would like to express my deep gratitude to the team of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB), gratitude for the enormous academic work they have achieved and gratitude for their hospitality, openness and warm-heartedness: *moltes gràcies*.

The 1992 Olympic Games



Juan Antonio Samaranch, Pasqual Maragall and Josep Miquel Abad Talk about the Legacy of the Barcelona'92 Olympics 10 Years after the Event¹¹

Miquel Botella

Economist; Deputy Director General Administration, COOB'92

Miquel de Moragas

Professor of Communication Theory; CEO-UAB Founder and Director, 1989-2009

Introduction

Ten years after the 1992 Games, on a June morning in 2002, Miquel de Moragas and Miquel Botella, editors of the book *Barcelona: l'herència dels Jocs (1992-2002)*, were able to bring together three of the outstanding protagonists of the Barcelona'92 Olympics to talk about the event: Juan Antonio Samaranch, Pasqual Maragall and Josep Miquel Abad.¹²

The meeting was convened to analyse the key aspects of the candidature, preparation, celebration and memory of the Games. Unhurriedly, with time to remember and clarify.

This summary is the result of the conversation, and the protagonists' reactions to issues that, as editors, we gradually put to them.

The remote origin of the idea

Juan Antonio Samaranch (J. A. S.): Actually, if the truth be told, we need to go right back to 1931 to find the real origin of the Barcelona'92 Olympics. The stadium, the swimming pool [...] everything for the Olympic Games: everything in Barcelona was ready. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) held a meeting in April 1931 in Barcelona to decide on the host city for 1936. And what happened was that the Second Spanish Republic came into being and the people who intended to come got scared: between 50 and 60 people were supposed to come but only 17 or 18 eventually did. The person who organised everything, Baron de Güell, the then President of the Spanish Olympic Committee (COE), also left and went to Paris. The

11. Editors' note: Text originally published in Catalan as part of the book *Barcelona: l'herència dels Jocs (1992-2002)*, edited by Miquel de Moragas and Miquel Botella, which CEO-UAB dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the 1992 Olympic Games. When selecting the texts for the book, the editors felt that it would be interesting to include the testimonies of three people that played lead roles in winning the bid for and organising the Barcelona

12. Juan Antonio Samaranch, former President of the International Olympic Committee; Pasqual Maragall, former President of COOB'92 (Barcelona Organising Committee for the 1992 Olympic Games) and former Mayor of Barcelona; Josep Miquel Abad, former Chief Executive Officer of COOB'92.

IOC members who attended the meeting decided to vote, but with a secret vote, to keep the votes, to take them to Lausanne, to hold a postal vote for the members who had not been to Barcelona and then open the envelopes to see who had won.

Pasqual Maragall (P. M.): So where did they open the envelopes?

J. A. S.: In Lausanne. Berlin won by a large majority. Of course, when Berlin won, Hitler hadn't risen to power. And when he did, he didn't want anything to do with the Games. Apparently, it was Goebbels who managed to convince him that it was the best form of propaganda for the regime. And then he began to take them seriously: to begin with, the Jews were respected, but as soon as the Games had ended, the repression started. All of that comes out in Charlie Chaplin's film *The Great Dictator*: there's a moment when the Jews have no idea what's going on because the police started smiling at them, bringing them flowers [...].

P. M.: But the People's Olympiad was held in Barcelona in 1936, whose Executive Board was chaired by Lluís Companys¹³.

J. A. S.: But it wasn't even opened.

P. M.: But you know why it wasn't opened, don't you?

J. A. S.: Because of the Spanish Civil War.

P. M.: It was that day, that very day, something that maybe hasn't been explained well enough: Franco's uprising was on the 18th and the People's Olympiad was due to start on the 19th. One of the things people say that he said was that some blokes dressed as international athletes had come here, but that they were really revolutionaries. It was one of the excuses that General Franco made for the uprising: saying that some foreigners had come here to Spain for goodness knows what weird purpose. That's actually been recorded.

J. A. S.: But the programme of the People's Olympiad was pretty poor.

P. M.: That's a different matter. What I'm saying is that it had a historic significance.

The immediate origin of the idea: Barcelona, an Olympic city?

Josep Miquel Abad (J. M. A.): Those meetings! What Pasqual and I can remember is a meeting of Barcelona City Council's governing team in 1980, when I assume that, after discreet conversations between Narcís Serra and Juan Antonio Samaranch, the Mayor then appeared and said: "What do you think about us organising an Olympic Games?" And we exclaimed: "About doing what?" From then on the idea began to take shape.

J. A. S.: At that time, I was sure I could become President of the IOC. The only doubt I had was that if Lord Killanin were to stand again, I wouldn't be able to. But then, when I realised for sure that he wasn't going to stand, I decided to go ahead. That was when I went to see Narcís Serra, the Mayor of Barcelona. That must have been 1979. I told him: "Listen, if I'm elected, we can pull out all the stops and ask for an Olympic Games to be held in Barcelona." The day I was elected President, on the 16th of July 1980, Serra sent me a telegram to congratulate me, to remind me of our conversations and to remind me that Barcelona [...]. And then I came to Barcelona and we began to talk. That's when you come in, isn't it? (Addressing Maragall).

J. M. A.: Not exactly. It was Narcís who sent me discreetly on condition that we talk to see if everything could be set up. He also said that you had to invite me to eat at the Girardet restaurant (that was part of the whole deal). And, on returning, the first study was commissioned, which was led by Romà Cuyàs.

13. Translator's note: The President of the Government of Catalonia from 1934, during the Spanish Civil War

P. M.: A significant day was the 1981 Armed Forces Day (I seem to recall that it was the 30th of April). And, just think for a moment, that, on the 23rd of February, there had been a coup d'état attempt. Things were so bad that, a month later, when the Banco Central was raided, a Civil Guard General came, and he thought that the same thing was happening again, that all of that was part of the Tejero coup d'état. A week later, the Armed Forces Day was celebrated and everyone felt as if they were experiencing an obsession of the past. And then the parade was prepared. Narcís took care of it, he saw the King, the parade took place in the morning (it was a beautifully sunny Sunday) and, in the Moll de la Fusta area, the first of a series of major building works was opened. In my opinion, that day changed people's mindsets, because they saw a young socialist Mayor and the King presiding over the parade in Catalonia, in Barcelona. And then, in the afternoon, in the Saló de Cent, Narcís publicly told him this: "Your Royal Highness, we want your support for the Olympic Games." Which effectively meant that the King already knew about it.

J. A. S.: The King's support was decisive, because, at that time, the Prime Minister was Calvo Sotelo. I coincided with him one day in Mexico, at a reception being offered by the President of that country in honour of his visit. I was there, in the first row. When he saw me, he came over and said: "Listen, call me when you get back to Spain, because I'm not at all convinced about the Olympic Games thing." I didn't call him because I had a lot of work on.

P. M.: He called you.

J. A. S.: No, he didn't call. But, at that time, he was completely against the idea. Then there was a change of government: having a socialist government with a socialist Mayor was a huge advantage. Though Felipe González wasn't that enthusiastic about the idea either, at least to begin with.

P. M.: I didn't ever hear him say anything, in Madrid at least.

J. A. S.: Whatever the case, he gave it the green light.

P. M.: Well, he didn't just give it the green light. Felipe González was then absolutely for it.

J. M. A.: No-one had any idea of the scale of what the Olympic Games meant. So, to Calvo Sotelo for some reasons and to Felipe González for others, the Games thing must have sounded half outlandish, half sporty, and so on. Everyone saw what the real transcendence of the Olympic Games was much later on.

P. M.: When Felipe González joined the government, Narcís Serra was by his side. At that time he knew what was going on. He never had the chance to be in any doubt about that.

Investments

J. A. S.: The government's contribution to the Olympic Games was actually quite discreet.

P. M.: Well, I think it was basic.

J. M. A.: In the Organising Committee's budget, it was discreet because it probably needed to be. However, central government's contribution to the essential infrastructure works for holding the Games was a determining factor.

J. A. S.: I always maintained that if the State only gave Barcelona a third of what it gave to the Seville Expo, we could be happy with that.

J. M. A.: I think, if we add everything together, it didn't reach a third.

J. A. S.: Not by a long shot.

J. M. A.: COOB'92's initial budget was 150 billion¹⁴ in 1987. It ended up being 190 billion, with a profit or surplus of 500 million. To that budget, the State made a contribution for the Stadium (COOB'92 and other entities also contributed to it), but afterwards, and in particular, it contributed through the Tax Benefit Law. In other words, it contributed well, though not so much by providing resources as by facilitating the fact that COOB'92 could do things for itself through the Tax Benefit Law. It also did lotteries, football pools, stamps and a whole series of things that obviously meant money for COOB'92. From that point of view it's obvious: the sum total of all of that meant a lot of money for COOB'92. Though it didn't come directly from the coffers of the State.

P. M.: The most important thing was the guarantee, because we were acting at all times with the safety net of knowing that Mr Solchaga, or whoever it might be (because you knew perfectly well that you could go to Madrid to see Mr Gómez Navarro and tell him: "we need this or that").

J. M. A.: We had Madrid's guarantee which, luckily, didn't need to be used.

P. M.: There are three different things. One is the budget for the Games, that 150-billion figure, which ended up being 190 billion, which the State guaranteed. And the Government of Catalonia made a partial contribution, though with a risk limit of 4 billion: "I'll put that in and that's it"). And that's understandable, because it used to have a lot fewer financial powers, fewer than now and fewer than the State, of course. Second: the building works. The largest part of the works accounted for 200-odd billion, corresponding to Holding Olímpic, which had to be done by thirds: State, Government of Catalonia and City Council. Finally, the Government of Catalonia said that it had put in what it was supposed to put in. These 200 billion were financed by Holding Olímpic, chaired by Santiago Roldán, with a 51%-49% share between the State and the City Council, because the Government of Catalonia said that it didn't dare spend any more money. Here we need to add the building works that were done, whether or not they were connected with the Games, which were not included in the Holding programme. For example, the bypasses, which cost 180 billion, or the airport, which cost 28 billion. So, if we add everything together (the Games, the building works, the bypasses, the airport, plus, in third place, the related outlays made by private companies, one of which was Telefónica, at that time in the process of privatisation, which cabled the city and the facilities), we're talking about a figure of 900 billion then, which would now be about 1,500 billion. And that's not just about the Games; those were the investments generated at that time, which I think were more than paid for by Barcelona. It was the best business venture in the life of the city of Barcelona, even though the City Council ended up with a debt of 280 billion with a budget of 250 billion. In other words, it ended up being indebted for a figure greater than had been budgeted for. But that was rectified, because Joan Clos, who at that time was Deputy Mayor for Public Finance, and others, began to get to work on sorting that out to get the city back on track again: what happened in Montreal did not happen here, neither was there any sign of the ghost of times past that basically meant that the Games would lead to ruin.

Candidature process

J. A. S.: The candidature was really important. Candidature meant getting votes, and you couldn't get votes here in Barcelona, you had to get them abroad. And then a very strong candidature appeared on the scene, which was Paris. The Mayor of Paris, Chirac, was also Prime Minister. Prime Minister and Mayor. That gave the candidature a great deal of force. And the candidature team in Barcelona was formed by Carlos Ferrer, Rodés, Abad, Mercè Varela and Ambassador Masferrer. And that was it. These were the five people who, every month or six weeks, had a meeting with me.

J. M. A.: We used to meet at your place. We didn't all arrive at the same time, so that we could go in discreetly.

14. Translator's note: Pesetas

J. A. S.: And they began to get to work. At that time, IOC members could travel to the candidate cities. When they came here, they were welcomed really well and, above all, they were taken around by helicopter so that they could see how close the sports facilities were. They were welcomed by the Mayor, by the President of the Government of Catalonia, Jordi Pujol, who, before welcoming each member, learnt a couple of things about sport in their countries of origin so that he could talk to them about it.

P. M.: And they ended up having dinner at Leopoldo and Isabel's place.

J. A. S.: Leopoldo Rodés opened the doors and they had dinner there, at his place, and the truth is that it all went swimmingly.

P. M.: Great!

J. A. S.: Yes, really well. The choice was very easy, even though in Lausanne, when the decision was made, President Chirac was present, who gave an amazing speech. I was afraid. Though not really. The truth is that, without false modesty, I must say that if Barcelona hadn't have won, I, as President of the IOC, would have considered it to be a vote of no confidence. And my position would have been very difficult, I would have had to give up. I wouldn't have been able to stand for re-election.

Relationships between the IOC and the Coordination Commissions

J. M. A.: It's obvious that Barcelona won for many reasons and that your role (addressing Samaranch), along with other factors, was a wholly determining one. For example, I remember some of the funny moments, like the candidature committee's power of persuasion, when the Evaluation Commission came here, which was chaired by Mr Ericson, who subsequently chaired the Coordination Commission: when we took him to the Olympic Village, the railway lines, the factories with chimneys billowing smoke, etc. were still there. "Here, Mr Chairman of the Commission, is where the Olympic Village will be." And he said: "Listen, are you saying that it will be here in five years' time?", because, of course, it seemed utterly implausible.

P. M.: And the journalists asked him what he thought and he answered by saying that he had "butterflies in his stomach".

J. A. S.: I remember a poster full of butterflies.

J. M. A.: Well it's true: we gave him a picture, a typical collector's one, of a fantastic collection of butterflies. We gave it to him, he was moved, he cried.

J. A. S.: That Coordination Commission was created for Barcelona. Now we wonder how it would have been possible to continue with a Games without that Commission. The Commission for Daily Monitoring while the Games were being held was something I created for the first Games held after I became President.

P. M.: President Samaranch was very neutral because, once, in San Juan de Puerto Rico, I had cramps in my stomach after the telling-off we had. Do you remember that? You said: "What about the bypasses?" No, that will go very well for us.

J. A. S.: I was very demanding. Maybe more so with Barcelona than with other candidates. Up to a certain time, up to a year and a half before the Games.

Conflict resolution

J. M. A.: The tough time was between 1987 and the end of 1989, when all we could do was show projects. And the few real things we could show, like the Stadium, didn't have a very brilliant opening. I remember, after the opening of the Athletics

Championships, that you (referring to Pasqual Maragall) and I were the only ones left in the tribune. You took me by the shoulder and said: "Well, lad, we made a real pig's ear of that!" The IOC's sports advisor, Artur Takaç, saw both of us alone, totally upset, and told us: "Don't worry, politically-speaking you'll have problems and you'll get a lot of criticism, but luckily for you, this has happened three years beforehand. You've got time to rectify it." That gave us a lot of encouragement at that time.

P. M.: It was a very good idea to do everything in advance, because it allowed us to make mistakes and react to them. Every organisation of an Olympic Games, as far as I know (and the President will correct me if I'm wrong), or of universal expos and everything that is set up for a particular date without a stable system, all of them go wrong at some stage. And here it was great to set it up with sufficient time. As a result, a year later, when the Palau Sant Jordi was opened, no-one remembered what had happened.

J. M. A.: As from an IOC Executive Board meeting at the end of 1989, where we gave a report, things began to change because real things could then be seen and credibility increased.

J. A. S.: In the same period, I said that everything was going very well, that we were all pulling together, and that things should keep moving ahead.

J. M. A.: At the City Hall, the official signature by the four members of the Organising Committee took place on the 12th of March 1987, and the assembly was formed on the 13th of March. Four or five months had gone by since the 16th of October.

P. M.: We managed to create a management body. But I remember that, at the constituent assembly of COOB'92 in the Saló de Cròniques, there were about 90 of us, and there were a couple of incidents owing to language. But, in the end, all the delicate issues were resolved very well, mainly because the father figure of the President of the IOC was there.

J. A. S.: But the Barcelona Games were the only ones in history to have four languages.

J. M. A.: In Helsinki too, which was our point of reference at the time of the candidature, when Catalan was already being revindicated. I've never understood why it was demanded with such acrimony, in the way it was demanded from the Organising Committee, when from the very start, beginning with the candidature drafts, all four languages were there and we used the four languages at Helsinki as the point of reference, which were English, French, Finnish and Swedish.

J. A. S.: The IOC had no problem at all with that. No-one ever said no to me about languages, flags, etc.

P. M.: No, no. The problems were here. But they were gradually sorted out very well. Except for the day the Stadium was opened.

J. M. A.: A number of factors and problems came together at the same time: protocol, delays, the state of the works, unusually heavy rain and organised disturbance.

P. M.: There were other highly tense moments. On the day of the opening, five minutes before starting, you (referring to Samaranch), the President of the Government of Spain, the President of the Government of Catalonia and I were there, when Josep Miquel came up to us and said: "There are a couple of blokes, some of the extras, who are going to streak across the stadium!"

J. M. A.: They were bearing an inscription (he points to his body).

P. M.: And he asked us: "Shall we strip them all naked?" No, don't do that. Finally, the group leader asked for decorum and everything was sorted out fine. So, in the end, there wasn't any streaking.

Assessment of success

J. A. S.: There is something I always say: the success of the Games, besides the organisation (which was excellent), was due to the participation of the Spanish team. Because, with an average or middling participation of the Spanish team, the Games wouldn't have been as successful as they were. Winning 13 gold medals, more than in Spain's whole Olympic history, was an extraordinary feat.

P. M.: The atmosphere, the public [...]. The climax was the 1,500 metres.

J. M. A.: In any event, the huge effort to organise the Games, which requires years and years of investment and thousands of committed people, has a bit of a mean streak thrown into the mix, because everything is at stake over the final 16 days. And, of these 16 days, almost everything is at stake in the first four hours: if the opening ceremony is seen to be a huge success across the globe, and Barcelona's certainly was, something really serious needs to go wrong to change that first impression. The legacy is something else, but the image [...]. It doesn't matter if the organisation is a bit shaky so long as everything turns out fine, because that's what remains; if the organisation is perfect but things don't turn out that well, that's the image that remains.

J. A. S.: Participation, winning medals, is really important for success. All you have to do is remember the 1982 World Cup. The organisation was very good, the stadium was great, but the team was a disaster, and that was the negative image that remained, no-one even noticed the organisation. But the success of a Games is due to organisation and participation together.

P. M.: There are two things I'd like to say. First about the opening; the team who designed it was important: in it there was Pepo Sol (Goodness! Quite a few of them are no longer with us, are they? It was a huge effort, and by that I don't mean that that's why a few of them are no longer with us, but [...]), Ovídeo, Bigas, Lluís Bassat, Manuel Huerga. We brought them together and they produced a splendid opening.

J. A. S.: And Casanovas, who has good ideas. I loved the giant flag above the athletes.

P. M.: Then there's something else I'd like to say. There's always a huge crisis in these kinds of project, but there wasn't in this one because we knew how to resist, because there was a time when we began to get a lot of pressure put on us to change direction. But here we dug our heels in. And that was the success. If we'd made the mistake of changing the scheme of things, we would've put everything at stake. They were very tough moments, with institutions having doubts about things from the sidelines. I think it was here where Josep Miquel played an absolutely decisive role. I trusted in him and got it absolutely right.

J. A. S.: Before the Barcelona Games, the IOC resolved the South African problem. Even though there wasn't any political solution, we sent a commission and sorted out the potential participation of South Africa. So the IOC was the first to ban South Africa because of the system of apartheid and the first to open the doors to it again. President Mandela, who at that time was not yet President of the country, came to see me in Lausanne, alone. And he said to me: "Listen, I'm very grateful for everything you've done, but we still need to take a step forward. All the athletes who can come to the Games are white." "How many athletes will you send?" "About 40", he said. I told him: "We can invite about 30 young black athletes to take part in the parade." And so, in the South African parade, there were white and black athletes. And they stayed at the Olympic Village.

J. M. A.: And they eventually took part. The President of the South African Olympic Committee didn't stop asking for accreditations for male and female athletes. Though yes, they eventually did take part in some sports, in a testimonial yet very active way.

Security

P. M.: Security issues were the ones of greatest concern at a particular time. In 1986, a police officer was killed in Plaça d'Espanya, when we were in Los Angeles, and we had to come back. That concern was a constant one. One of the monitoring visits by the IOC Security Commission was made on a Friday, and its members had to go to Paris the following day, on Sunday. We persuaded them to delay their arrival in Paris by two hours, and to go via Madrid first, to be greeted by President González. We hired a private plane and went to Madrid, to the Moncloa¹⁵. Felipe was very convincing, great, as he was on the Lausanne day. He told them that, as Prime Minister, he took responsibility, that they didn't have to be at all concerned, that he had the most trustworthy people (Rafael Vera and company, whose conduct was admirable). And they left completely convinced.

J. A. S.: It should be said that the security issue was perfect. Not only during the Barcelona Games, which lasted for less than a month. But also during the Seville Expo. For six months, there were no terrorist attacks in Spain. If during the Barcelona Games a bomb had been placed in Lleida, which had nothing to do with the Games, it would have seriously jeopardised them. But absolutely nothing happened. I was at the Security Centre led by Vera and it was one of the things that served as a point of reference for future Games. Security must be led by one person. The police, the army, all the security forces must be under the orders of just one person. Otherwise it's a mess.

J. M. A.: Here a commission was set up, which was chaired by Secretary of State Rafael Vera, with the Catalan Minister for Governance, who, at that time was Gomis, the Deputy Mayor of Barcelona, that was me, and every fortnight we held a meeting.

The urban model

J. M. A.: In my opinion, the best move of the Barcelona Games, and of all the cities that have since used this model in general, was that of using the huge force or tremendous leverage of the Games to stir up aspirations and generate resources that can be put to use for the city, and not the other way round. That was the great strategy. Because many cities who did the opposite, like Montreal or Mexico, had many problems because, among other reasons, a whole series of investments that did not respond to the logic of the city and of permanent use, but rather to a major yet one-off demand, obviously ended up not being used. The great strategic decision was that Games were for the city and, from there, a city model was outlined, which is what it is now.

J. A. S.: The most important thing for me is that the city managed to reclaim the sea, don't you think?

P. M.: Yes, it reclaimed the sea, reclaimed Poblenou, built the bypasses, which had been on the back burner since 1936.

J. M. A.: That's the physical legacy. But there's also the non-physical legacy, which is that Barcelona got its morale back. And that is possibly one of the most important legacies. And that's intangible yet priceless.

J. A. S.: That's what I always say. That people became much more positive, much more optimistic, much more enterprising.

P. M.: The success was so great that, since then, it's been very hard to make any comparisons. That's why it's so tough for the Fòrum¹⁶. I think it will be a success, but it's going to be tough, because it's not that well known. I'm telling you: the Games were much easier from a strictly organisational perspective, because we have the Olympic Charter, President Samaranch, the rules and regulations that need to be observed. The Fòrum needs to be invented, a Fòrum 'Olympic' Charter needs to be devised.

15. Translator's note: Official residence of the President of the Government of Spain.

16. Translator's note: Universal Forum of Cultures, held in Barcelona in 2004.

The Paralympics

J. A. S.: Barcelona was the beginning of a new era for the Paralympics. Until reaching a complete solution: today, the Paralympic Games officially form part of the Olympic Games. The host city of the Olympic Games, the organising committee itself, is bound to offer the Paralympic Games.

J. M. A.: The immediate point of reference for Barcelona was Seoul, which also offered the Paralympic Games.

J. A. S.: And they did it really well.

J. M. A.: They did do it well, though there wasn't that much publicity. The Paralympic athletes themselves were very dissatisfied because they got the feeling that they were being hidden from view.

J. A. S.: We granted them the use of the name 'Olympics' because it's a very deserving endeavour. But Barcelona was the major deployment of the Paralympics. And, to be fair, it should be said that ONCE¹⁷ was the driving force.

P. M.: Without ONCE, there would not have been a top-rate Paralympics.

J. M. A.: ONCE was a COOB'92 partner and contributed 2.5 billion Pesetas at the time.

P. M.: And the surprising thing was that they had so many spectators, the venues were full to the brim every day.

The volunteers

J. A. S.: Barcelona significantly raised the bar of the Games. In subsequent ceremonies, based on Barcelona's innovations, the influence can be clearly seen. But, before finishing, we ought to talk about the volunteers.

J. M. A.: We registered applications from 110,000 people who wanted to become volunteers in 1986. And we did an audit to check that it wasn't false, that it wasn't the phone directory. We submitted the audited list to Lausanne to show that it was true. Then 35,000 volunteers were selected and trained.

P. M.: Some of the people that we should not forget about are the Queen¹⁸ and Bibi Samaranch, who were the only two people smiling in the tribune. The others, if you watch the films, have a stressed look on their faces. We were hoping that nothing would go wrong. Until the arrow. Then we started to breathe again.

After the conversation, former President Samaranch invited the whole group to go upstairs to his office. The whole of Barcelona can be seen, the Palau Sant Jordi seems to mark a line of continuity with the Olympic Village. Further beyond, the Diagonal prolongation works and the Fòrum 2004. From this perspective, the legacy of the Games is even clearer.

17. Translator's note: National organisation of blind people in Spain, which raises funds for social work and projects.

18. Translator's note: Queen of Spain.

The Shadow of Barcelona

Isidre Rigau

Sports Logistics Director, COOB'92; Advisor to the IOC

With regard to the Olympics, saying that the shadow of Barcelona is long may seem overly pretentious, as may claiming that there is a before and an after the 1992 Olympics. Yet without stinting on the truth, we can say that much of the groundwork on which the Olympic Movement seeks to be built originated in what the referent of the city of Barcelona meant and still means.

Without considering myself an expert or scholar, more than 20 consecutive years of experience in studies related to the Olympics – either directly on the Organising Committees of Barcelona, Atlanta and Athens, or indirectly as a consultant for the IOC in the efforts of the Monitoring Commissions of the Organising Committees of Sydney, Salt Lake City, Athens, Turin and Beijing, and as a consultant for different committees for Spanish candidatures (Seville 2008, Madrid 2012 and 2016, Jaca 2014 and Barcelona Pyrenees 2022) – should be enough to reveal that I have a certain perspective on and knowledge of the field.

In this text, I have attempted to reflect on the key points that in my opinion both the Barcelona Olympics and the people who worked on them accomplished, which became benchmarks, and in some cases are still benchmarks, despite the fact that some people would like to hide it, an express reference to the post-Samaranch administration.

1. Reinventing the city

The Olympics were an excuse to reinvent the city and take a qualitative leap of more than 25 years in just six. They entailed a radical transformation that consolidated the ring roads, the airport, hotel capacities, the city's recovery of the beach and many more urban planning and architectural projects aimed at regaining the city's balance, improving its environmental quality and, in short, improving citizens' quality of life.

The projects in Sydney, Athens, Beijing and London have followed in the same footprints and borrowed elements from the transformation of Barcelona, some partially and others more profoundly.

The Olympics are the perfect excuse to revive projects that have been lying dormant for years in the cabinets of the different administrations.

2. The day after

On a clearly urban planning-based concept, the Olympics became an excuse to make investments and redress the city's lack of sports facilities.

We are proud that we can claim that Barcelona's Olympic facilities were the smallest in terms of capacity in the recent history of the Olympics, without losing sight of the requirements for the competitions and the demands of the international federations. Although put in this way it might seem easy, this was actually an arduous battle with the different international federations — the top authority in the organisation of sports competitions in the Olympics — which were used to asking for the moon.

For many years, the IOC had had an internal contradiction which, even though it likes to present it as resolved, is actually not. In order to organise Olympic Games – and in its zeal to stanch the gigantism of the Olympics – the IOC set minimum requirements (in terms of the capacity for spectators) which are contradicted by the ones demanded *sotto voce* by the international federations, the organisations that during the candidature phase ultimately approve the sports facilities proposed by the candidate cities. This contradiction is considerable, since in some cases it can exceed 50% of the capacity for spectators at the facilities.

Good proof of this is the 'bulges' that the recent Olympics have left in the guise of macro-facilities that are difficult to reuse, manage or make profitable in the future, especially when one of the factors most highly valued by the IOC itself is the concentration and proximity of the facilities (defended with many logistical factors that conceal the fact that the true motive is the ease of mobility of the members of the committee themselves).

I would mention familiar examples. I imagine it is still too early to issue a judgement on Beijing, but Athens is a flagrant example of what should not be done: they borrowed the Sydney model without taking into account the Barcelona model because of its proximity and culture. They built veritable monuments to the whims of the international federations, and one year after the Olympics, all the facilities were closed and the Greeks were debating what to do with them and how to manage them.

Barcelona, in contrast, clearly chose to prioritise the city's needs while making them compatible with the requirements of the international federations, which cost us a few mishaps. However, no one disputes the fact that Barcelona presented a model of sustainability that has been proven through the intensive use of the facilities by more than 250,000 members that practice sports today.

It is curious that thanks to the London 2012 candidature, now the English are the ones who see in Olympism the concept of legacy and sustainability, which they most likely learnt from Barcelona 20 years ago. Marketing stuff.

3. Barcelona, responsible for the technological failure of Atlanta

I imagine that the title of this section is controversial, but I will try to explain it so as to leave no-one confused.

Barcelona made a huge push for technology. In fact, until Seoul 1988, the Olympics technologically represented the same thing as the sum of 28 world championships of 28 sports that were held simultaneously in the same city. I do not know whether everyone is held responsible for the important restrictions on the different media during the Olympics, but the IOC, aware of the increasing magnitude of the Olympics, began to restrict the number of media representatives during the Olympics. Thus, one national media operator (such as *La Vanguardia* or *El País*) could send two or three writers to the Olympics to report on the 28 sports represented, which meant that one journalist would be in one facility watching a competition, and in addition to writing about this sport, also had to keep abreast of what was happening in the other events, on which he also had to report.

Barcelona 1992, the first Olympics, technologically speaking

In view of this ineluctable demand, Barcelona chose a kind of IT systems architecture that could offer customers, that is, the media, a sound service so that at any competition information could be obtained for any competition site in real time. Thus, what might actually seem simple entailed a high-risk venture back in 1988 – the year the decision was taken – since software had to be developed that could supply this service in a centralised fashion. EDS was commissioned with the project, and there is no need to outline the herculean effort entailed in developing this software or the number of hours and tests that were needed to reach the Olympics with the system ready to go.

The Barcelona Olympics were a success technologically speaking as well, and the challenge was then shifted to the forthcoming Olympics. Atlanta's main partner for both hardware and software was IBM, and despite the fact that the clearest choice would have been to start with the developments by EDS in Barcelona and improve on the software, they chose to base their IT on the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer. Why? The explanation is simple. EDS was IBM's main competitor in the American software market. The result is now famous: they did not finish either the development or the testing of the system on time.

As proof of the technological level and legacy that Barcelona brought to the Olympic Movement, we can mention the contribution of a company which, though its owners are neither Spanish nor Catalan, has Barcelona DNA: Atos Origin, formerly Sema-Schlumberger. Through its large events division, which is headquartered in Barcelona, it is the world sponsor of the IOC and is responsible for supplying the software and the integration of all the IT systems and databases for the Olympics. This division has a staff of 300 people, and right now it has major teams stationed in Singapore to support the first edition of the Youth Olympics, and in London, where it has sent more than 80 people two years before the Olympics begin. So it should come as no surprise that Catalan is spoken at the decision-making centres.

4. The important thing is to make the rankings

Everyone knows the pronouncement by Baron de Coubertin, “The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part”. This is surely one of the most widespread values in the Olympic Movement, referring to the effort of doing one's best, camaraderie and friendship above the competition itself.

The evolution of the Olympics towards a global product in which the desire to ensure the participation of the top athletes prevails contrasts with the gigantism that the event has attained.

In 1988, we revised the participation system that the IOC and the different international federations had used until then. The result was that we had a possible scenario of 22,000 athletes signed up, without counting the coaches and officials from the different delegations, and that this numerical information on participation by the different National Olympic Committees arrived only three months before the Olympics began, when the Olympic Village was already built and, in our case, was capable of holding 16,500 athletes and officials, without the possibility of improvising more housing and the corresponding services.

Therefore, we seriously suggested to the IOC a system that would limit the number of athletes and their delegations through each of the 28 sports; one would create a model of rankings that would ensure representation of all the teams in very popular sports like swimming and track and field, while in others, in a more detailed fashion, participation would be based on quotas by continents and rankings through world and continental championships.

Ultimately, the IOC clearly understood that the restrictions of the Olympic Village were real and difficult to solve, but it decided to pursue a different pathway, limiting national teams based on criteria of participation in previous Olympics, which would ensure minimal participation by each country. There is no need to cite the difficulty entailed in managing these quotas with the 172 participating countries in Barcelona.

In view of the experience of the 1992 Olympics, in Atlanta, the Barcelona proposal was fully implemented, since obviously it was much easier to manage 28 international federations than the 172 National Olympic Committees, in addition to providing added value to the competitions run by the international federations themselves, and the continental competitions organised by the IOC. This formula complemented the sports system and relied on the products of the IOC.

5. Image

The Olympics in Munich are very unlikely to figure in the collective imagination as exceptional ones because of the tragic episode that stained Olympism like never before. However, in terms of organisation, image and design, they were indeed a referent like no other edition had been before them: in terms of the design of the logo and the entire range of applications of the different pictograms of the sports, in terms of the signage and corporate image, and for the first time in terms of the use of a mascot as an element of identity and its different applications in merchandising.

Barcelona clearly adopted the reference of Munich¹⁹ – most likely through cultural affinity, as Catalan design has always been closer to German or Swiss design than to any other referent or formal current – and proposed a logo based on the icon of the athlete and the primary colours of the Mediterranean expressed in an Oriental-style graphic that ended up constructing a language that extended to all the pictograms, sports and modalities, as well as all the services related to the programme of the sites.

This code and aesthetic were clearly incorporated into the corporate image of the Sydney and Beijing Olympics, translated into the local codes yet drawing from the same underpinnings.

Cobi, the mascot of the Barcelona Olympics, was created with the desire to make a break with the Disney tradition, even though it was hard to make it escape its universe of applications since the wide number of licenses and merchandising developed around the Olympics prevented it from being a real, surrealist alternative to the world of Disney.

6. Barcelona, design capital

“For the first time ever in the history of the Olympics...”. This is a recurring phrase among all the heads of communication of the different Organising Committees for the Olympic Games to stress the uniqueness of their Olympics. This phrase is rarely proven and aims to showcase their desire, interest and differentiation compared to preceding models.

I wanted to highlight a programme that did not continue on subsequent Organising Committees, perhaps because our Finestreta programme was not properly disseminated internationally, or simply because not all cities have the sensibility and cultural baggage (tradition) that Barcelona has in terms of design.

When we have the chance to participate in the Olympics, all of us who work and live in sports have the yearning to leave our mark, to bring the best of ourselves, sometimes through technological advances and other times through smaller contributions. The Olympics provide extraordinary resources that are rarely available to other sports organisations. The reality is that despite having these extraordinary resources at our disposal, time and energy are not as abundant when the challenge takes on the dimensions of the Olympics.

In Barcelona, we sports folks (the Directorate General of Sports of COOB '92) were right to launch a programme called Finestreta,

19. The designer Oti Aicher was in charge of the image programme for Munich 1972 and worked as part of its Organising Committee. Barcelona 1992 chose an external team that centralised the bulk of the image programme (symbols, pictograms, signage, look, etc.) led by designer Josep Maria Trias. This team was also in charge of developing the graphic and volumetric applications of the mascot, designed by Xavier Mariscal.

whose goal was to make a detailed survey of all the sports equipment and facilities that affected the televised production, such as equestrianism obstacles; the judges' chairs in sports like tennis, badminton, synchronised swimming and table tennis; chalk holders for gymnastics, track and field and weightlifting; and supports for the official balls in water polo, handball and volleyball.

This programme was conducted for all 28 sports in the sports programme, working with the different heads of the sports organisations, making an in-depth inventory of each of their sports and noting their effects on the televised production. Thus, an extensive list was drawn up of the sports equipment, furniture and facilities that needed to be redesigned. To do this, we first enlisted the aid of professionals for the more complex design and production processes, such as chairs or obstacles in the different competitions, and catamarans for judges and television production crews in rowing and canoeing. Four design schools in the city also took part in this project, and their training programmes implemented exercises supervised by selected professors and students who joined the end of the production process along with the suppliers chosen to manufacture them.

The result was a set of more than 50 items designed just for the Olympics, some of which still appear in the catalogues of sports equipment suppliers. Thus, we can categorically claim that the expression "For the first time ever in the history of the Olympics..." is still valid.

7. The ceremonies, a made-for-TV spectacle

Seoul was an impressive mass spectacle: thousands of performers scattered around the stadium with rehearsals down to the millimetre and repetitions *ad infinitum*; a spectacle of Oriental culture yet quite distant from our own sensibilities. I think that all of us who had the chance to attend this performance live were rendered speechless, wondering how we could outdo such a huge deployment of resources.

Barcelona clearly strove for a spectacle planned and designed for television, with a great deal of control over the gestures and efforts; it focused on thrill over sheer quantity. Our Mediterranean version astounded the world and had a major impact on subsequent ceremonies: Atlanta, Sydney and Athens all followed in the footsteps of Barcelona.

The simplicity was incredible, particularly with the crucial movement of lighting the cauldron, a spectacle that had never before been envisioned with such tension and risk. Proof of the impact of this sequence is that the subsequent Olympic Games tried to outdo it, with more means and a higher budget, yet with iffy results:

- Atlanta: The thrill of giving Muhammad Ali, who was suffering from Parkinson's disease, the honour of lighting the flame meant a wobbly lighting and rise of the 'ball' that transferred the flame to the cauldron.
- Sydney: More than 40 million dollars were spent in an effort to go beyond the gesture of an arrow. A cascade of water covered the stairs on which the cauldron was mounted, and the flame and the cauldron emerged from the water and travelled awkwardly up to the final position.
- Athens: The cauldron lowered to the flame carrier, with no further ado.
- Beijing: The ante was upped. A huge technological deployment was personalised in the guise of an athlete who travelled around the entire upper reaches of the entire stadium until reaching the cauldron. It was exhausting for the spectators.

No one has achieved the simplicity and thrill of Barcelona, which to date has only been outdone in economic respects, but never in the end result.

Since Barcelona 1992, there have been recurring themes in the ceremonies, such as the change in the colour of the ground of the stadium from the sea blue to the red of the land that represents the desert in Australia, finally turning the entire stadium

into a vast sea that evokes the Aegean. It is also common to display a huge Olympic flag with the five rings representing the Olympic Movement emerging, unfolding, being raised or moved to cover the athletes.

Even though it was only hinted at in Barcelona – recall the movements of the figures suspended from balloons used by Els Comediants in the Closing Ceremony – the third dimension, that is, vertical movement, became the preamble to the three-dimensional stage in the Sydney Ceremonies and found its utmost expression in the Beijing Ceremonies.

All that remains is to explain our attempt to hold the Opening Ceremony of the Barcelona Olympics on a Friday for a variety of reasons. First, it meant that many athletes could attend it; secondly, one more day was allowed for the competitions, which meant that the calendar could be distributed in a less crowded fashion; and finally, a night-time or evening ceremony offered many more possibilities from the performance perspective than daylight did. Our proposal did not come to fruition simply because things have always been done this way. It was inevitable that what Barcelona had proposed was accepted in the Atlanta Olympics, since the number of female basketball and volleyball teams rose from eight to 12, which required 16 days of competition, that is, one more than the 15 in Barcelona.

Towards the concept of franchise

Until the Barcelona Olympics, the franchisee (Organising Committee) was the lord and master of the product, while the IOC acted as the franchiser and was limited to the role of simple spectator of the product, even though it was its owner. Except for the aspects of protocol and rituals of the ceremonies, which are clearly contained in the Olympic Charter, the IOC had no authority to control the product and was left awaiting its return by the franchisee, while the latter was the one to bring all the added value, creativity and the organisational model.

After the organisational failure of the Atlanta Olympics, the pathway towards the culture of the franchise was inevitable. The franchiser (the IOC) had increasing control over the product, image, communication and services, and this was achieved by directly managing a series of key elements in the organisation – interaction of the software, rights and television production, international sponsorship, etc. – leaving ever smaller leeway for the Organising Committee or franchisee. Below we shall see how this concept attained crucial importance in today's culture of organising the Olympics.

8. Television rights

Negotiating television rights for the Olympics was part of the IOC's process of evolution towards a franchise. In this growth of the product on a global scale, we should bear in mind that after two editions marred by a mutual boycott of the Western and Eastern blocs (Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984), the commercial value of television rights was uncertain. Starting in the Seoul Olympics, their value as a global product was confirmed.

Television rights represent the crux for the Organising Committee to achieve a balanced budget. Almost 40% of the revenues come from these rights, and of course each Organising Committee's interest is to match or exceed the agreement reached in the preceding games. The titanic effort made by the Barcelona 1992 Organising Committee was interpreted by the IOC as a threat to the interest of the Olympic Games.

After Barcelona 1992, the IOC negotiated broadcast rights directly with the television stations in the medium and long term for both the Summer and Winter Games, with a scenario of continuity and without the risk of breaking the market.

9. With hands in pockets

We were visited by the IOC's Coordination Commission in charge of keeping track of the efforts of the Barcelona 1992 Organising Committee. Their monitoring was based on personal experiences and lacked any semblance of a method. They would come for three or four days and listen to the explanations of COOB'92, and at most visit the construction sites of the most emblematic facilities.

The change of the Winter Games to alternate with the Summer Games took place in 1992. The Albertville Olympics were the last Winter Games that fell in the same year as the Summer Games. Therefore, Barcelona had a unique opportunity to learn from and observe the Seoul Games, since the proximity of the Albertville Olympics vastly curtailed the possibility of modifying or comparing the organisational hypotheses. An ambitious observation plan was concocted for Seoul using the technology available back then: cameras and video cameras, recorders, binoculars, numerous forms and an exhaustive observation and learning methodology were all placed at the disposal of the observers.

10. Reinventing the wheel

When the Seoul 1988 Olympics ended, we received nothing, or next to nothing, from its Organising Committee. Only the results from our observations, in addition to their manuals, written in Korean – a top priority target of our desire to learn – were left after a month working with the sports directors. That and little more, such as a handful of meetings with the Director of Sports in Seoul.

I recall that at most we were advised by a sports expert, the Yugoslav Artur Takac, who had been in charge of organising the Mediterranean Games in Split in 1979, an expert in athletics and a trusted colleague of Samaranch. The Director of Sports of the IOC at that time, Walter Troëger, also helped us by visiting us a couple of times and trying to explain to us his experience with other Organising Committees, a totally enthusiastic and honest effort.

In 1990, Gilbert Felli was appointed Sports Director of the IOC, endowing this post with a professional dimension for the first time. Therefore, we in the Sports Department of COOB'92 were the first ones who somehow taught the work that had to be done, among other reasons because Felli's experience had revolved around winter sports as the Councillor of Sports in Lausanne City Council.

We learned that, bearing in mind that the Olympic Games are the most comprehensive event that exists in terms of their organisation, it makes no sense for there to be no transfer of knowledge, for example regarding the size, procedures, conclusions, good things and things that should not be repeated, among others. Some of us wanted to transfer this knowledge, and after grabbing the papers, files and diskettes, we travelled to Atlanta to help them plan the sports division. Obviously this should not be a voluntary mechanism.

In 1995, along with Jordi López Benasat, Director of Technology of Barcelona'92, we delivered to the IOC a document that expressed this concern, that is, how we could guarantee the transfer of the knowledge generated by one Organising Committee to the following in order to help it grasp the complexity of the organisation by supplying magnitudes and information, as well as guidelines on good practices.

The document suggested creating an organisation independent of the IOC which would guarantee the transmission of knowledge from one Olympics to the next by including the people who had made the organisation of the previous Olympics possible as external consultants. The goal was to develop standards of reference and adapt them continuously to the evolution in the needs and the development of technologies related to the Olympic organisations. It included a feasibility plan with the structural costs and ways of generating revenues through potential clients such as aspiring cities and candidates, the Organising Committees for the Summer and Winter Games, and other organisers of multi-sports and multi-site events. We got no

formal response, but we assume that our proposal did not drop into a bottomless pit since a similar programme was put into practice at the Sydney Olympics in conjunction with Monash University, which included a business plan quite similar to the one we proposed six years earlier.²⁰ Very mysterious. We still hope for at least an honorific mention of our proposal. It is clear that the Saxons know how to sell better, or that it dovetailed with Samaranch's absence from the IOC's ranks.

11. Observation plan

The organisational problems that became evident during the Atlanta Olympics made the IOC realise the complexity of organising the Olympics, unquestionably the most complex logistical operation on Earth: a single productive cycle almost eight years long (six years in the days of Barcelona'92) between the formation of the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games and its liquidation, which evolves from 0 to 150,000 people working or assisting in different functions and then disappears. All of this happens in only seven years and with goals that are published and known by everyone in the literal sense of the word, and with 17,000 journalists representing all the media in the world within the organisation.

The IOC was aware of the risk entailed in organising the Olympic Games and that the result of seven years of work could only be seen in the 16 days that the operation lasted. Atlanta placed serious questions on the table: Who runs the Olympics? Who owns them? Things started to come into focus for the IOC as it noted how easy it was for the entire organisational effort to go to the wind.

For this reason, for the Sydney Olympics, we designed an ambitious observation plan for the IOC in which 60 people participated, and we had the honour of developing the concept and working plan and coordinating the observation team. For the first time in the history of the Olympics, part of the work and the methodology was the same as the ones used in the COOB's observation of the Seoul Olympics.

Starting in 1997, a methodology was launched to support the Coordination Commission of the efforts of the Organising Committee, which consisted of six-monthly reports, monitoring the local press, total and utter sifting and revision of the steering plan – from the period before and after the Olympics – organised by topics, and sending this study to the different members of the Commission before beginning the journey of clarifying the questions that were asked during the visit and at the different presentations by the Organising Committee.

This study was developed under the supervision of Pere Miró by staff in Barcelona who had worked on organising the 1992 Olympics, and it culminated in the development of an Olympics operations manual for the IOC, which set forth a working method for the main centre of IOC operations and defined the procedures and system of monitoring, communication and reports from the IOC and the Organising Committee during the operation of the Sydney Olympics.

After the Sydney Olympics, the IOC adopted an observation programme that includes the different Organising Committees for the Summer and Winter Games, the candidate cities for future Olympic Games and other continental organising committees so that the observation efforts are compatible in time with the operational efforts of the Organising Committee. The first IOC observation programmes for Sydney 2000 and Salt Lake City 2002 were designed by the author of this article based on the experiences yielded from the observation plan that COOB'92 performed in Seoul in 1988.

20. In 1998, the IOC and the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG) agreed to create a knowledge transfer programme known as Transfer of Knowledge (TOK). Later on, in February 2002, the IOC and Monash Ed (owned by Monash University, Cambridge Consulting Services and Equiset) created the company Olympic Games Knowledge Services (OGKS) to manage the TOK and offer customised services to the organising committees of other kinds of events.

12. With local folk

The Barcelona Olympics were the challenge of a city, a region and a country that viewed the event as the opportunity to set aside the 'mañana' so deeply rooted in the Spanish culture of the day. It was an update in modernity, effective management and teamwork. There is no element that distorts the quality of the management of the Olympics, and there is no note of negative issues related to the management, economic results or other aspects of the way the Barcelona Olympics were organised.

The Olympics were massively organised and conducted by local folk, professionals from the country's companies and public administration, along with the inestimable contributions from fantastic professionals and important suppliers. This is, of course, a far cry from the 'circus' of experts that accompanies the organisation of the Olympic Games today, many of them the offspring of Barcelona'92, such as television production (Manuel Romero directs the Olympic Broadcasting Services) and the development of the software that supports the management of the Olympics (the aforementioned Atos Origin).

Conclusion

As the franchiser of the Olympics, the IOC has stretched further than desirable. As it becomes more than a simple consultancy and grants executive functions, the excess zealousness to control the Olympics for reasons of security, risk control, standardisation and homogenisation can actually limit the creative capacity of the cities, countries and Organising Committees. We hope that the Olympics never stop being a challenge for these cities, countries and Organising Committees, one that requires them to give the best of themselves to the benefit of all of us who enjoy the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Ceremonies at Barcelona'92: The vast smorgasbord of media images

Núria Garcia

**Tenured Lecturer, Department of Audiovisual Communications and Advertising I,
Autonomous University of Barcelona**

Introduction

The Olympic ceremonies are one of the prime stages for the communicative reality which help us to grasp how one's own and others' cultures are represented. The sociological circumstance is a place, and a unique one, where the diversity of cultures and identities is present at all times. The media cover numerous important international events, from a summit in Europe, Central America, Latin America or Africa, to a war – local or not, which ends up being global or vice-versa – a culture-themed forum, a UN meeting with representatives from its member states, or an international music festival. However, sports have probably been the realm that has best managed to bring together people from diverse communities. We are used to consuming broadcasts of sporting events featuring athletes that represent two lands, such as the last match of the 2009 Champions League in Rome, as well as citizens of several countries, such as the motor racing Grand Prix and the European Athletics Championships.

The Olympics have no doubt become the sports competition that brings together the largest number of men and women, especially men (Hogan 2003), from diverse socio-cultural contexts. In the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, 140 delegations paraded around the track; at the 1996 Games in Atlanta, 197 did; at the 2004 Games in Athens, 202 countries participated; and 203 countries took part in the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. This plural participation is precisely what makes the Olympics not only one of the most important elite sports competitions, but also an extraordinary and often unrepeatable showcase of representations of identities and cultures before the local audience from the land that organises the Olympics, and before another international audience.

In this context, the opening and closing ceremonies are showcases where stereotypes, symbols, discourses, strategies and media cultural elements and underpinnings are paraded in a twofold dimension. The first is concocted, articulated and performed by the organising country in its ceremonies and broadcast over an international signal shown on television, while the second is the meaning that this holds for other cultures, which try to explain to their community what is happening and sometimes why it is happening.

The Olympics are a televised spectacle, a necessary object of study for grasping the communication processes defined as global because of both the protagonists of the Olympics and the role of television.

This phenomenon is the backbone of the study entitled “Global Television and the Olympics Games. The experience of Bar-

celona'92"²¹, directed at the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB) by its director, Professor Miquel de Moragas; by Dr Nancy K. Rivenburgh from the University of Washington in Seattle; and by Dr James F. Larson from the University of Singapore. The main goal of the study was to analyse the role of the planning, production, contents and reception of the Olympics. The most important topics in this study were: the role of television in the evolution of the modern Olympic movement itself; how the nations are represented in the televised spectacle; the implications of television and sponsor rights on the organisation and contents of the television discourse; the international and local reception of the event; the transformations triggered by the innovations in the information and communication technologies; and relations between television, sports and culture prompted by the experience of the Barcelona Olympics. The complexity and scope of this ambitious project became manageable thanks to the extraordinary and pleasant international collaboration of numerous researchers from 26 countries (see Table 1).

Table 1

Main research team

- **From CEO-UAB:** Núria Garcia, Marc Carroggio, Maria Gutiérrez, Muriel Ladrón de Guevara, Gemma Larregola, Nicolás Lorite, Montserrat Llinés, Susanna Ribas, Dolors Aparicio, Carmen Gómez Mont (*Ibero-American University-Mexico*) and Sonia Muñoz (*University of Valle - Colombia*).
- **From the University of Washington:** Kerry Carnahan.

International research correspondents

- **Japan:** Nobuko Kosaka, Hiroshi Matsuyama (*Yomiuri Telecasting Corp*), Andrew Painter.
- **People's Republic of China:** Li Liangrong (*Fudan University*), Kong Xiang-an (*Tianjin Institute of Physical Education*).
- **South Korea:** Park Heung Soo (*Yonsei University*), Kang tae-Young (*KBS broadcast Research Institute*).
- **Republic of Singapore:** Duncan Holaday, Eugenia Peck (*National University of Singapore*).
- **Malaysia:** Ramli Mohamed (*Science University of Malaysia*).
- **Indonesia:** Naswill Idris (*The Indonesian Open Learning University*).
- **France:** Françoise Papa (*Stendhal University*).
- **Germany:** Claus Dieter Rath.
- **United Kingdom:** John Izod, Peter Meech, Tim Thornicroft and Richard Kilborn (*University of Stirling*).
- **Greece:** Panayote E. Dimitras (*Communication and Political Research Society*).
- **Slovenia:** Slavko Splichal and Sandra Basic y Breda Luthar (*University of Ljubljana*).
- **United States:** Eric Rothen Buhler (*University of Iowa*).
- **Canada:** Gaëtan Tremblay with M. St-Laurent (*Université du Québec à Montreal*).

21. This project was the author of this text's motivation for working on communication from the realm of research and teaching.

- **Colombia:** Ramiro Arbeláez Ramos (*University of Valle*).
- **Mexico:** Carmen Gómez Mont with Lorena Martín del Campo, Vicente Arancon, Francisco Briseño and Pablo Herranz (*Ibero-American University*)
- **Brazil:** José Marques de Melo with Nanci Laura Loturco Pittelkow (*University of São Paulo*).
- **Cuba:** Enrique González Manet (*Cuban Institute of Radio and Television*).
- **Romania:** Peter Gross with Radu Cosarca and Cristian David (*California State University, Chico*).
- **Russia:** Yassen N. Zassoursky with Svetana Kolesnik and Andrei G. Ritcher (*Moscow University*).
- **Egypt:** Awatef Abd El-Rahman with Ashraf Abd El Mogeith, Fahima Ahmed Gouda, Hani Mohamed, Khalid Salah El Din and Mohamed Houssam El Din (*Cairo University*).
- **Cameroon:** Francis Nguepmenye Wete (*University of Yaounde*)
- **Ghana:** Kwame Karikari (*University of Ghana*).
- **South Africa:** Arnold S. de Beer, Elanie Steyn (*University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom*), Daan P. van Vuuren (*SABC*), Eric Louw with Nhalanhla Nkosi (*University of Natal*).
- **Australia:** John Langer (*Victoria University of Technology*)

Source: Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, V-VIII.

The study had the support of numerous institutions, including the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the European Commission, The Olympics Museum (Lausanne), the Commission of the European Communities, the Inter-Ministerial Commission on Science and Technology of Spain (CICYT), the Inter-Departmental Commission on Research and Technological Innovation (CIRIT), the Commission for External Affairs of the Government of Catalonia and the University of Washington Graduate School Foundation.

One of the core themes in the research entailed studying the images shown on the television during the broadcast of the opening and closing ceremonies, a phenomenon which is the topic of this chapter. The opening ceremony of any Olympics is transcendently important not only because the audience exceeds that of other sporting events, despite the time zones, but also because the presence of the participating athletes and nations make this event exceptional. The ceremonies are the chance for the host city and nation to present their identity to the world, as expressed by Tomlinson (1996, 583): “The modern Olympic Games, as both a product and promoter of economic, cultural, and political globalization, exemplify tensions between globalism and localism and provide fertile ground for articulations of national identity”.

The communication strategy of the Olympic ceremonies is articulated after outlining the elements that identify the culture of the community hosting the games, based on political and social referents, and also based on other referents that can come from broader cultural settings, such as Mediterranean culture (Moragas 1993). The Olympic Games are officially launched at the opening ceremony, which is planned as a televised spectacle, and this is where the audiovisual discourses of television become an extremely valuable factor.

Knowledge of how stereotypes and other representations generated by the cultural industries are constructed is the core of

a substantial line of research in communication studies. Because of the significance of these elements, the “Global Television and the Olympic Games” project designed its methodological strategy based on two key resources:²² contextual information on the structure of the television system in the sample and on the news generated about the Barcelona'92 Olympics in the different countries, and the different broadcasts of the ceremonies, both opening and closing, in 26 countries, as shown in Table 2.

All the television stations listed above were analysed bearing in mind the following factors: Olympic symbols and values; information on Barcelona and its culture in the broader context; discourses on Catalonia, Spain and Europe; and news on the participating nations, their athletes and the cultural referents of their countries. This analysis entailed a prior exploration that yielded an X-ray of the verbal and visual discourses offered by each of the stations in the sample, as well as a comparative snapshot of the contents broadcasted by Olympic Radio & Television (ORT) and those broadcasted by the television station in the country analysed.

Table 2: List of Olympic ceremonies analysed

Germany: ARD	France: TF1
Australia: Channel 7	Ghana: GBC-TV
Brazil: TV Globo and TV Bandeirantes	Greece: ET1
Cameroon: CRTV	Indonesia: TVRI
Canada: TVA and CTV	Italy: Rai1 and Rai3
China: CCTV	Japan: NHK
Colombia: Cadena A	Malaysia: TV3
South Korea: MBC	Mexico: Canal 13
Cuba: Tele-Rebelde	United Kingdom: BBC
USA: NBC	Romania: RTV
Egypt: ERTU2	Russia: Ostankino 1
Slovenia: 2nd Channel	Singapore: SBC 12
Spain: TVE2 and Canal Olímpic (Catalonia)	South Africa: SABC

Source: Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995

Obviously, this study meant sifting through the images from the Olympic ceremonies with a detailed description of the performance or theatrical script, an outline of the plans of the broadcaster analysed (including the kind of plan, overprintings and other news elements) and the transcription and translation of the speeches by the hosts and commentators from the stations in the sample. Advertising in the broadcast of the ceremonies shown in the different countries was also an important element

22. The methodological strategy was presented by the author of this chapter in the talk “Analysis methodology of the content and visual transcription of the Olympic ceremonies” at the conference entitled “The Image of Barcelona'92 in World Television” at the College of Journalists of Catalonia on the 28 June 1993.

in the analysis, since it enabled us to detect the presence of the advertising discourse and the different forms and formats in which commercials were inserted into the ceremonies. With this material, an analysis was conducted of the content to detect the following thematic categories: images generated about Catalonia, Spain and Europe; the personalities in the social, political, cultural – or other – life presented in the visual and/or audio discourses of the television stations; an assessment of the television stations in the specific episodes of the theatrical script, such as regarding the *castellers* (human pyramids characteristic of Catalonia), the Mediterranean, the IOC, Olympic values or Europe; and the audiovisual treatment of all the Olympic delegations in the stadium during the opening parade (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995). This part of the script of the Olympic ceremonies, the parade of delegations, is precisely a vast smorgasbord of stereotypes of the cultures of the world represented on television.

The methodology attempted to be coherent with the goal of the study and enabled us to obtain complementary quantitative and qualitative results on the construction of identities in relation to culture, television and sports. More specifically, and regarding the preliminary results of the project, we should highlight a variety of publications issued by CEO-UAB on images of Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain and Europe in the Barcelona'92 Olympic Ceremonies and Mediterranean culture in the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. The contributions on the image of all three areas, Barcelona, Catalonia and Spain, were examined through the prism of four factors, including the international interpretation of the identities and their relations with other cultures, the position regarding Catalonia's uniqueness, the specific image of the city of Barcelona, and international interest in the culture of the host. The results on the image of Europe are articulated based on the idea of Europe in the official scripts of both ceremonies, the audiovisual discourses of two segments of the ceremonies ("Ode to Joy" and "The *Castellers*") and other references to 'Europe' in the audiovisual contents of the Olympics. Finally, the relationship between the Barcelona'92 Olympics and Mediterranean culture was examined based on the theatrical performances during the opening and closing ceremonies.

Attention to the televised contents during numerous segments, such as the entry of the flags into the stadium and the Catalan and Spanish anthems, the ballad of the *sardana* dances and the performance of the *castellers*, were the subjects of three reports on the meanings that the television commentators assigned to the performance. The construction of Catalan identity through this event was a clear point of research, as very clearly revealed in the article published in the magazine *El temps* entitled "In Catalonia, of course". Also worth noting is the transfer of knowledge through this project in the field of education, since some of the conclusions from the study served as the groundwork for a range of university teaching materials. One example was the production of a university educational television programme on the Olympics broadcast via satellite to all the universities in the state of Georgia. The titles from the audiovisual production include: "Olympic Television Production for Barcelona'92", "Olympic Advertising at the Barcelona '92 Ceremonies", "Symbols of Peace in Olympic Ceremonies" and "Impact of the 1992 Olympic Games on the City of Barcelona".

The main goal of the study discussed in this text was to gain further knowledge of the construction of Catalan identity based on a televised spectacle, namely the Olympic ceremonies. Furthermore, as mentioned at the start of this text, the narrative discourses of the journalists from television stations around the world assigned meaning to the identity of the other through their own culture.

Conclusions of the study²³

In the comparative analysis of the 28 opening and closing ceremonies of the Barcelona Olympic Games, two issues stand out. The first is the prominent role played by the Organising Committee for the Barcelona Olympic Games, COOB'92, in creating the representations of the concept of the Olympics, Barcelona, Catalonia and Spain. The second is the fact that the different cultures and referential frameworks largely determined the interpretation that the television stations analysed in the

23. The next section contains some of the conclusions mentioned in the book *Television in the Olympics* (1995: 244-249).

study conveyed to their audiences. The television stations that broadcast the institutional signal of the Olympics somehow reinterpreted what they saw for their audiences, becoming the constructors of a new meaning. This is true of the fireworks display in the Olympic opening ceremony, in which the German television station ZDF found similarities with the bombs falling over the city of Sarajevo, while the Singapore-based television station SBC 12 interpreted the pyrotechnics display as a questionable extravagance. In Cameroon, in turn, the fireworks were interpreted as a symbol of the wealth of the city of Barcelona (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 244-245).

However, what is striking is the fact that the Olympic values and symbols were barely mentioned in many broadcasts, and they were in fact nonexistent in a small number of them. However, 'participation' and 'peace' stood out, along with 'friendship', as the most prevalent values portrayed. In the negotiations with the television stations after these Olympic Games, the stations' commitment to these values was included as an important qualitative value when granting a given operator television rights for the Olympics.

All of these issues only serve to highlight the fact that certain discourses are beyond the control of the Olympic organisers. This phenomenon reveals the need to keep showing how the different television stations adapt their institutional signal and their role as intermediators between the Olympic Games and the audiences. In the study, we noted how the Olympic commentators often served as interpreters, observers and even referees of this mega-event (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 245-247). Another prominent factor in relation to the audiences is how the different television stations secured large, sustained audiences for the Olympics using live broadcasts and the excitement they transmitted, as well as the interest in a handful of universal sports stars coupled with the audiences' attraction to the local stars from each country.

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The Cultural Olympiad of Barcelona'92. Lights and Shadows. Lessons for the Future

Miquel de Moragas

Professor of Communication Theory; CEO-UAB Founder and Director, 1989-2009

A brief historical introduction. What cultural programme do you propose?

The idea of organising the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona has its origins in 1979 with the first talks between Narcis Serra, then Mayor of Barcelona and Juan Antonio Samaranch, then Spanish Ambassador to Moscow. These talks were formalised in 1982 after Samaranch had become President of the International Olympic Committee (July 1980) and Narcis Serra was appointed Spanish Minister of Defence by the Socialist government of Felipe González. Pasqual Maragall (also a Socialist), elected Mayor of Barcelona in 1983, enthusiastically took the lead of the project. Work began immediately after application in 1984 and culminated in October 1986 in Lausanne with Samaranch's phrase: "*À la ville de... Barcelone*" (Moragas and Botella 2002).

The candidature dossier included a bold answer to question 13 of the International Olympic Committee's questionnaire: *What cultural programme do you propose?* The response of Barcelona's candidature to that question was basically one main point: to do more and do it better than anyone, and to achieve it we shall organise a true Olympiad lasting four years.

Later, not all the promises were kept, which revealed that the cultural programme, like cultural policy programmes in general, does not allow for improvisations, but requires a highly complex solution, impossible to meet without the required theoretical reflection and planning, and without the commitment of multiple stakeholders.

Why talk in 2010, so many years later, about the Cultural Olympiad of Barcelona? We suggest talking about this for two reasons. Firstly, for the benefit of the Olympic Movement, to discover, in that past experience, some lessons for the future of the Cultural Olympiad and Olympic cultural policy in general. Secondly, in the interest of Barcelona and Catalonia, to rethink, critically, their own cultural policies using the unique experience of having hosted one of the main world events of our time.

Barcelona'92: a global success. Lights and shadows of the Cultural Olympiad

The Barcelona Games merited a very positive assessment of the various diverse stakeholders, not only by President Samaranch when he closed the Games with the famous phrase "The best games in history", or by the representatives of international sports federations and National Olympic Committees but, more generally, by many independent actors, among whom were the international press and broadcasters, as shown in several academic studies (Moragas and Botella 1995; Kennett and Moragas 2006, 177-195; Moragas 2004, 225-234).

The keys to the success of Barcelona'92 must be sought in the multiple effects of the Games: the urban renewal of the city, economy, social involvement of citizens, facilities and sporting results, communication impact on the international media and effects in the medium term resulting in the consolidation of the tourism industry, etc.

In the context of this global success, the Cultural Olympiad is observed as a set of lights (multiple activities, some of which are of great quality) and shadows (an uneasy grouping within the central organisation of the event), and an important contribution to the project: the added value that the candidature dossier meant to bring about. Later, as we shall see, the real Olympic cultural programme of Barcelona'92 was developed outside the strict framework of the Cultural Olympiad in the organisation of the main festivals and rituals of Olympism.

The Cultural Olympiad in the context of the city's cultural policy

To interpret the Cultural Olympiad in Barcelona, we need to refer to the importance that the public administration had on the Olympic organisational model of Barcelona'92 (Botella 2006, 139-148). Moreover, one should keep in mind that in Europe, especially in Catalonia, the public administration plays a key role in the cultural sphere, both in terms of infrastructure (theatres, concert halls, museums) and of the management of cultural events (consortia, festivals, etc.), with private initiatives being very dependent on subsidies. Private foundations, especially the cultural foundations of banking institutions, had a leading and visible role at the end of the Cultural Olympiad, coinciding with the Olympic Arts Festival.

The period of preparation and celebration of the Games coincided with numerous election campaigns,²⁴ and with a period of great political confrontation, particularly evident in the field of culture, between the City Council (Socialists) and the Government of Catalonia (Catalan Nationalists), a confrontation that was expressed ideologically as 'nationalism / cosmopolitan municipalism'.

In 1985, some attempts at 'cultural consensus'²⁵ failed to agree on the cultural policies of Barcelona and Catalonia regarding museum infrastructures, theatre and music facilities, libraries, the language normalisation programme, etc. In 1986, the then Catalan Minister of Culture, the Catalan Nationalist Max Cahner, wrote to the newspaper *Avui* (Cahner 1986) about his anxiety about the draft project of the Cultural Olympiad's that had been submitted for the bid and that had been entrusted exclusively to Socialist people connected with Pasqual Maragall.

Unlike what happened in other aspects of the organisation of the Games, the Government of Spain had a rather small role in the Cultural Olympiad. In 1992 the Spanish state had other important platforms for cultural projection: the celebration of the 5th centenary of the discovery of America and the Universal Expo in Seville. As for the Barcelona Games, the symbolic representation of the state focused on the presence and representation of King Juan Carlos and of the royal family in general, both in competition and at the ceremonies.

All this affected the Cultural Olympiad, which, in the major pacts and the general consensus between the different levels of government and social institutions organising the Games, was ultimately considered as a relatively minor activity in the context of the great event being prepared.

24. Since the nomination of Barcelona as the host city of the XXVth Olympiad (18 October 1986) until 1992, the year of the Games, there was only one year (1990) without elections. However, this period coincided with great rivalry between the President of the Government of Catalonia Jordi Pujol (Catalan Nationalist) (1980-2003) and the Mayor of Barcelona Pasqual Maragall (Socialist) (1982-1997).

25. In 1985, the Catalan Minister of Culture (Joan Rigol) had proposed a 'cultural pact' between the various authorities with responsibilities in the cultural field. But this process ended that year with the resignation of the Minister mentioned. The newspaper *El País* attributed this resignation to the impossibility of advancing the pact: "One of the fundamental reasons for the resignation of Rigol has been featured since the attack led by *Convergència* (Nationalist Party) against his political stance of openness to the opposition, qualified as pro-Socialist and against the cultural pact that he has negotiated." (*El País*, 12 December 1985).

The organisational model: the Cultural Olympiad separated from the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games

The first organization chart of the Organising Committee for the 1992 Olympic Games (COOB'92) gave the structure of the Division of Culture, a responsibility for managing the cultural project, with an initial budget of 3.5 billion Pesetas. The Olympic gateway acts (receiving the Olympic flag, opening of the Barcelona'92 Exhibition in autumn 1988) although organised by the Division of Culture, according to the press, had little success with the public and artistic participation.

After a few days, the segregation of the Cultural Olympiad from the organisation of COOB'92 was approved, and the Cultural Olympiad Company Limited (OCSA) was founded, with capital provided by the Organising Committee, but with a separate local organising administration (COOB'92 1993, vol. 2, 78).

Thus, the COOB'92 Division of Culture had a very short life. Not like the Division of Communication, which, from that moment, assumed the highest cultural responsibilities within the Olympic organisation, as it was responsible for all processes involving symbolic production: the design and image of the Games, the torch relay and opening and closing ceremonies.

The history of OCSA, unlike COOB'92, was affected by several changes of direction, with a background of three main problems:

- The funding and sponsorship programme of OCSA, separate from the funding of the Games.
- The difficulty of inserting the cultural programme into the organisation of the Games (both by cultural players and by the Olympic organisers).
- The difficulty of achieving consensus among the political actors involved in the cultural sector.

The proposed model: the four-year Olympiad

The cultural programme proposed in the Barcelona candidature offered “more than any other” and adopted a four-year duration of the Olympiad, thus differentiating the organisers from previous organisers and from other candidates that had focused the cultural offering on activities concentrated mostly in the same year as the celebration of the Games.

This plan involved an annual theme; 1988 - the inclusion of a cultural gateway, 1989 - year of sport, 1990 - year of the arts, 1991 - year of the future and, in 1992, the proposal of a more intense period of activities in the final months leading up to the Games called the Olympic Arts Festival.

This time-theme criterion was completed with the proposal of organising autumn festivals each year, with an extensive programme of cultural activities of the highest level, following the model of cultural policies of some major European capitals such as Berlin and Paris, which concentrate the offering of cultural excellence in this season of the year.

The entire programme was inspired by the principles of a new ideology of the cultural programme, which was proposed as a hallmark of Barcelona: creative, innovative, with few concessions to the commercialisation of art, truly cosmopolitan, etc.

To all this, we should add some far reaching cultural policy objectives that turned out to be unattainable during the short time from the start of the Olympics to the closing of the Games. The Olympics proved to be too short to achieve these goals. There are some that came about some years later, but others still remain to be accomplished in the Catalan cultural agenda of 2010.

The autumn festivals

One of the main pledges of the Cultural Olympiad was organising a series of artistic, musical and theatrical activities concentrated in a single season (autumn). The Olympic Arts Festival, since 1992, was the culmination of these programmes on the dates closest to the Games.

According to the internal documents of the Cultural Olympiad (Olimpiada Cultural 1988b), the autumn festivals were intended as a framework to develop proposals for programmes in the areas of music and the performing arts in collaboration with public authorities and existing theatre and music festivals [...] in order to offer the Catalan capital a bright and coherent start to the season with national and international reach, in the fields of theatre, dance, music, opera, etc. This proposed the active involvement of all stakeholders of the local art scene and the realisation of truly international and powerful projects, with the most significant artists of the moment.

In 1990, for example, the autumn festival had five sub-programmes:

1. Theatre (36 shows).
2. Dance (eight performances).
3. Music (20 shows).
4. Outdoor shows (16 shows).
5. Exhibitions (four photographic exhibitions).

According to information published in the Official Report of Barcelona'92, it was not until July 1991 that the City Council, the Catalan Ministry of Culture and the Cultural Olympiad (OCSA) reached an agreement to organise the autumn festivals, after the first two had already been held in 1989 and 1990 (COOB'92 1993, vol. 2, 364).

The Olympic Arts Festival (Summer 1992)

The Cultural Olympiad ended with the organisation of the Olympic Arts Festival, with over 200 activities, from April to August 1992 (COOB'92 1993, vol. 4, 323), which followed, more or less, the same format as the autumn festivals, although with a greater involvement of several private entities (banking foundations). The structure of this event is shown in Table 1.

Economy and finance

The initial budget planned by the Organising Committee for the Cultural Olympiad was 3.5 billion Pesetas. To complete this budget, the Cultural Olympiad had other sources of supplementary financing: revenue from ticket sales, for television rights and sponsorship. Finally, the contribution from sponsors was limited (1.63 billion Pesetas), and funding from television rights was almost nonexistent.

The final budget, considered insufficient by the organisers, was 6.61 billion Pesetas, 59.3% provided by COOB'92, 24.6% by sponsors and 15.9% by its own resources (mainly entrance fees), see Table 2.

Table 1: Olympic Arts Festival. June to August 1992. Types of activities

AREAS	APPLICATIONS
Music	Music (classical and popular) Opera
Dance	Numerous performances with participation of major local groups
Theatre	Local and international groups
Exhibitions	Olympics (not held)* Technology, life, design, etc. Art: mediaeval and contemporary
Folk demonstrations	<i>Sardanas</i> (traditional Catalan dancing) <i>Castells</i> (Catalan human pyramids)
Popular festivals	<i>Revetlla de Sant Joan</i>
Cultural activities at the Olympic Village	Not met
Miscellaneous	Philatelic (postage stamps) Barcelona Awards
VENUES	ACTORS OF REFERENCE
Major renovated cultural infrastructures (not complete) Emblematic open spaces of the city Areas of international recognition (tourism related) Olympic venues (exclusive to the OC)	<i>Universal Catalans</i> : musicians, painters, architects, sculptors (Gaudí, Miró, etc.). World famous international artists
PRIVILEGED THEMES	ABSENT THEMES
Arts and sport Environment Avant-garde art Design	Olympics Politics Science

Source: COOB'92 1993.

(*) The commemorative exhibition of the XXVth Olympiad of the modern era entitled "History of the Olympic Movement from its origins to today".

Table 2: Budget for the Cultural Olympiad (in millions of Pesetas)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	Total
Revenue					
Contributions of COOB'92 SA	910	850	1,240	925	3,925
Contributions from sponsors	54	172	191	1,216	1,633
Other	196	227	321	313	1,057
Total revenue	1,160	1,249	1,752	2,454	6,615
Expenses					
Overheads	310	277	285	356	1,228
Programmes	1,307	1,048	954	2,078	5,387
Total expenses	1,617	1,325	1,239	2,434	6,615

Source: COOB'92 1993, vol. 2, 78-79.

Those responsible for the Cultural Olympiad (Guevara 1992) attributed disputes between OCSA and COOB'92 as a major cause of its economic difficulties, particularly the marginalisation of the Olympic sponsorship programme, but also increased costs derived from the need to duplicate administrative services (premises, staff, etc.). However, the Cultural Olympiad was able to benefit from tax privileges that were agreed upon by the organisers of the Olympic Games and the Seville Expo, also being held the in same year (Royal Decree Law 7/1989).

The Olympic Partners expressed no interest in sponsoring cultural activities and, moreover, imposed their own rules of incompatibility to prevent other companies from funding the Cultural Olympiad using the argument of having previously paid for exclusive rights for their respective major product lines. Thus, the Cultural Olympiad could not benefit from large revenues that, in the early 1990s, were generated by television rights and the implementation of the TOP sponsorship programme (TOP - The Olympic Partners), launched in Seoul in 1988.

Pep Subirós, CEO of Olimpíada Cultural SA declared that he was naïve to think they could obtain financial means by themselves, but they were blocked by a series of conditions in the Olympic project [...] They had the disadvantage of being closely tied to COOB, in the sense that when COOB signed an agreement of exclusivity, that also affected the Cultural Olympiad because, ultimately, the money stayed with COOB (Guevara 1992).

For example, Olympic Arts Festival publications only listed as sponsors Barcelona City Council, the Government of Catalonia, the airline Iberia and a few local media.

The remaining targets

The ambitious proposal for a four-year Cultural Olympiad, offering such a big programme with so many cultural funding commitments for the city, ended up with several gaps.

These gaps, in my opinion, have their origin in a poor forecasting of achievable goals and badly calculated claims, as if cultural planning were based on intuition rather than a proper prospective analysis. This serious problem of political culture in Barcelona was revealed again a few years later with the development of another major cultural project in the city, the Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004, with initial promises that were neither satisfied nor recognised. In Barcelona we know full well the hard and often repeated question: What is the Cultural Olympiad? And some years later: What is this Universal Forum of Cultures?

Among the objectives not achieved, we can identify the following:

- To reduce the historical deficit of the cultural infrastructure that was inherited from Francoism.
- To revitalise cultural patronage.
- To form a new critical mass of actors and artists.
- To encourage creativity and cultural innovation.
- To promoting local groups internationally.
- To coordinate the cultural activities of the different public administrations.

These objectives and intentions were difficult to bring about. As an example of exaggerated claims we can mention the case of the Barcelona Cultural Olympiad Awards, intended to cover matters that are not included by the Nobel prizes [...] and that [...] have the screening and support of communication networks in both hemispheres to ensure a more complete coverage (COOB'92 1986, 49). The truth is that Barcelona awards had little impact internationally, except in the media closest to those who won.

Most significant was the lack of foresight regarding the impacts of the Cultural Olympiad on Barcelona's cultural infrastructure (then clearly lacking). Initially, it was thought that culture would do something similar to what happened in the case of urban planning: that the Games would help to recover the deficit inherited from the Francoist regime in Barcelona by promoting the construction of facilities.

It was believed that the Games would constitute an opportunity to accelerate the construction of the cultural infrastructure needed, such as the Auditorium of Music, the Museum of Contemporary Art and the renovation of the Art Museum of Catalonia on Montjuïc (Guevara 1992).

However, the reality was very different: all these infrastructures were inaugurated a few years after the Games. The Auditorium opened in 1999, and the Museum of Contemporary Art (MACBA) in 1995; for its part, the Art Museum of Catalonia on Montjuïc was remodelled in 1990, and its large oval room was used for different Olympic protocols in 1992. However, its large collection of Romanesque art was not opened until 1995.

Another major objective of the Cultural Olympiad was the continuation of autumn festivals after the Olympics, while maintaining broad institutional cooperation (referring to public authorities) in this field.

The autumn festivals had no such continuity. The time spent planning and managing cultural policy was to prove even slower than the time needed to build urban infrastructure, telecommunications and roads.

Cultural interpretation of the separation of COOB'92 and OCSA

The separation of OCSA and COOB'92 was not only to have important economic and administrative consequences, but also important cultural consequences. The first, in my opinion, was the gradual distancing of the Cultural Olympiad from the symbolic references and rituals of the Olympic Movement. It is true that the Cultural Olympiad had begun to organise an exhibition on sport, but it is equally true that, in the end, one of the main activities planned for the Olympic Arts Festival in 1992 eventually disappeared from the schedule: a major exhibition about the Olympic Movement and its hundred year history.

This does not mean that the Barcelona Games had no Olympic cultural programme, but the Olympic cultural programme was developed out of the Cultural Olympiad. The Olympic cultural programme is in the ceremonies, rituals, communication design and the image of the Games. But the Cultural Olympiad was specifically left out on the edge of these great cultural activities and of communication.

Cultural causes of the separation? With the passage of time, and after removing personal and circumstantial aspects, it could be argued that the cause of the separation had its origin in the differences in the judgments of the planning, production and scheduling of activities between the cultural organisers and Olympic organisers.

The Olympic organisers wanting to free themselves from the complexity and improvisation that went with the cultural debate, in the context of the political rivalries touched upon above. The precision required by the Olympic organisation, which worked with a deadline, was considered incompatible with the cultural organisers' way of working. In turn, cultural organisers, somewhat indifferent to the Olympic or sporting organisers, preferred to keep their distance.

These differences were also influenced by the perception held by COOB'92 that the Cultural Olympiad was nothing more than a complementary activity, dispensable in order to obtain a successful Games. Worse luck was to come it should be recalled; the Olympic education programme, perhaps the main gap in the memory and legacy of Barcelona'92.

The corporate image of the Cultural Olympiad

Another problem of the Cultural Olympiad of Barcelona'92 consisted precisely in an erratic communication and image policy. This would ultimately lead to an unfairly negative judgement on the set of activities undertaken by the Cultural Olympiad.

The increase in activity to four years and the variety of formats presented an excessively fragmented corporate image, starting when the heterogeneity of names: Cultural Olympiad, autumn festivals and Olympic Arts Festival. Other activities organised by OCSA were not adequately identified.

But it was not only nomenclature (important to communication as this is) that could dilute the image of OCSA, but also the inadequacy of its iconic identifiers. OCSA was given two different logos during its development period. At first it used a logo inspired by the general institutional image of the Olympiad in a similar way to that used by the sponsors. But this logo was replaced in February 1992 by a new image with a less institutional symbolism. This coincided with the presentation of the Olympic Arts Festival. The new design was the main reason for a festival advertising campaign that linked the new image, a bouquet of flowers, with the spirit of cultural diversity, dialogue and fraternity of the Olympiad itself.

OCSA also gave itself a mascot (Nosi) who had to live alongside Cobi. This mascot (also designed by Mariscal), with a meaning difficult to relate to the cultural programme, was barely used in the corporate image of the Cultural Olympiad and its activities.

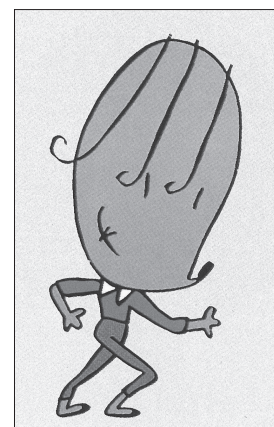
Corporate image of the Cultural Olympiad, Barcelona'92



1989-1992
Design: J. M. Trias



1992
Design: Leopoldo Pomés



Mascot (*Nosi*)
Design: Mariscal

Conclusions. Some lessons for the future

As a first conclusion of these reflections, I would like to highlight that the programming of cultural activities should be considered a task as complex as the programming of logistics, economics, technology and urban planning. The poor results of the Cultural Olympiad of Barcelona'92, in contrast to the success of other aspects of organisation, are due in part to minimal preparatory discussion on the content and specificity of the Cultural Olympiad as part of the Games and the cultural policy of the city.

The Olympic city's cultural leaders should not ignore the 'cultural' importance of the Olympic phenomenon itself. The idea must be overcome that the only point of contact, or the main one, between Olympism and culture are arts applied to sport. Olympism and the Games are cultural phenomena. Culture is not an added value to the Games; it is the basic value.

One of the main problems of planning the Games' cultural programmes, like major events in general, is to correctly identify the clearly differentiated target populations: the local population, visitors (tourists) and members of the organisation itself (the Olympic Family). Experience has shown that the main target audience of the cultural programme is citizens of the host city, while keeping in mind that the event takes place in the international arena.

Cultural Olympiads should know how to combine two seemingly opposite approaches: the need to integrate their programme in the annual calendar of cultural policy of the city (autumn festivals, summer festivals, etc.) and the exceptional nature of an event that it is international. The Cultural Olympiad should be integrated into the annual programme of the host city, but must also overcome this scope so as to incorporate the global dimension and the sporting dimension of the event.

Cultural Olympiads must be committed to the cultural challenges of our time, such as diversity, sustainable development and cooperation, and not only to excellence as the primary value associated with Olympism.

Cultural Olympiads should be designed considering the overall legacy of the Games. It is legitimate, for example, to think about using them as a pretext to correct the shortcomings of the cultural infrastructure of the Olympic city. But the legacy has also to be raised in terms of intangible assets: not only as an opportunity to promote a city's own image in the world, but also as an opportunity to promote local community participation in the international debate on culture.

The Barcelona Games have left an important cultural legacy, but this legacy originated mainly in the areas most directly related to the Games, particularly the ceremonies, the Olympic torch relay, the celebration in the streets, coexistence and the festival stadium, where Olympism is truly a great cultural phenomenon.

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Knowledge and the Barcelona Olympics: Preservation of and access to the memory of the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games through documentary sources

Berta Cerezuela

Head of Projects and the Documentation Service, CEO-UAB

1. Introduction

Sports events in general, and the Olympic Games in particular, are typified, among other aspects, for lasting a short time (Shone and Parry 2001), but they have an impact that can last for decades and be of vital importance for the organisers and host community. The organization of the Olympic Games can leave a community with new sports facilities and communication infrastructures, economic benefits and an increase in sporting activity, but it can also generate know-how among all those people and entities that have actively participated. Other event organisers can learn good practices from the organisation of the Games, and particularly future editions of the Olympic Games, and last but not least, the Games form a part of history and the subject of academic research.

The Organising Committees, the set of actors that take part in the organisation and running of the Games, are the main producers of Olympic documentation due to the prolific amount of information that is generated during the different phases of the event. Moreover, through becoming the object of university research, the Games generate a wide variety of academic documents. As a result of all this, there is a large amount of documentation of the typologies, formats and themes involved in any edition of the Olympic Games.

Throughout Olympic history there have been few examples of good practices in terms of the management and preservation of the aforementioned documents, and even fewer initiatives for global and coordinated access to the documentation generated on the Olympics. There are archives to be found in university libraries, research centres, national and municipal archives and museums and foundations that tend to work in isolation in relation to Olympic collections. Since the Sydney Olympics in 2000, and to coincide with the establishment of the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) knowledge management programme, improvements have been observed in the management of information, mainly in terms of the organization and monitoring of the Games.

In this chapter, we aim to contribute to considerations of the importance of the strategic management of information and knowledge about the Olympic Games as a sports event that is held in one city, but on a global and multidimensional scale, focusing particularly on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. We first analyse the Olympic Games from a documentary perspective and describe the typology of documents generated by the event. Then we contextualise the event in the framework of initiatives for knowledge management and the preservation of the Olympic memory promoted by the IOC. Finally, we describe the documentary collections generated on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games and how these have been managed over the last 18 years.

2. Management of information at the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games are considered the major sports event par excellence, and as such, when it comes to planning their information and documentation strategy, there is a need to carefully consider temporality, organisational complexity and the need to attend to the general public. This information strategy is conditioned by the characteristics of the main actor in the organization of the Games, the Organising Committee: this is a temporary entity created with the single objective of organising the event and whose organisational complexity is in constant evolution (Cerezuela 2003).

Likewise, the organization of the Games goes through different phases (candidature, planning and organisation, execution and closure) and the strategy defined for the event has to foresee the information needs of the organisers and the agents external to the event (sponsors, media, general public), and design information systems in consideration of the specific needs for each phase. For an event that lasts 15 days, the process begins approximately 11 years before it is held, through the preparation and presentation of the candidature to the IOC. In the six years prior to the Games, from the moment the Games are awarded until the day of the opening ceremony, the planning and organisation phases take place. The 15 days when the event is held correspond to the implementation of the event, and after that comes the Games' closure, liquidation and impact analysis phase.

During the different phases of the event, the number of workers varies and there is an exponential increase in the phase immediately prior to the Games and during the celebration itself. In a similar fashion, the amount of information generated can reach very high levels over a very brief period of time. For example, in June 1999, a year before the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000, approximately 2,000 documents were put into the information system, while in June 2000 the number rose to around 5,000 (Rizakos 2001; Halbwirth 2001).

The Olympic Games generate a huge volume of information and documentation that can be classified into two main categories: information and documentation derived from the prolific amount of production by the Organising Committee and other institutions implied in the organization of the event, and the literature generated by independent research that is mainly undertaken for comparative purposes.

This information and documentation consists of archive material such as administrative documentation, technical and impact reports, journals, audiovisual material, photographs, maps, and electronic materials such as copies of the event's website, Intranet systems, result generation systems, public information systems, media information systems, etc.

In terms of the end-users and restrictions on the use of the information and documentation, we find information addressed exclusively at the organising body's staff, information addressed at collaborators or institutions involved in the organization of the event and information addressed at the general public.

Thematically, the information can include the following aspects: the candidature, the organization or management model, the economic impact and funding, changes to urban structures, infrastructures and installations required to host the event, the political framework associated with the organisation, the participation of the media, the technology used, the symbolism and the cultural events and aspects, the image and design, athletes, sports results, public participation, etc.

3. Olympic memory and knowledge transfer

The importance of the information and documentation generated by the Olympic Games can be analysed from two different perspectives: that used in the corporate management of the event and for creating systems for informing and attending to the general public, and that produced for use after the event has concluded. This text will be focusing on the latter of these perspectives.

The aforementioned information and documentation constitutes the main intellectual component of the legacy of the sports event for the community in general on the basis of three arguments. First, it capitalises on the knowledge that already exists in organisations, i.e. the know-how of the people involved in the organisation of the event. This know-how can be found in the event's archives and in other instruments related to the management of knowledge. Secondly, the Olympic Games are historic events that go down in the annals of the host city. The information and documentation generated by the event are highly valuable material to researchers. And thirdly, this information and documentation is of major value to the organisers of future editions of the Olympic Games and other similar sports events, as it means that the organising committees of future events do not have to start from scratch.

Despite the relevance of the proper management of this information and documentation during the different phases of the event and its conservation once it is over, Organising Committees have traditionally shown scant regard for the importance of managing information and archives. For example, a few years prior to the celebration of the Atlanta'96 Olympic Games, there was only one archivist working for the Organising Committee, and using limited resources (Cid 1995). Another example is the fact that we do not know what happened to the documentation generated by 22 editions of the Olympic Games.

In the last decade, the IOC has promoted two types of action whose objective is to guarantee the proper management of information and knowledge by Organising Committees. The first set of actions includes initiatives to ensure the proper management of the information and documentation generated during the different phases of the event, and the second type of programme is focused on the capture and transfer of knowledge about the organisation of the Games. The first group includes a series of guidelines and tools for document management that Organising Committees can apply, and provides for the obligation to maintain a documentary archive once the Games are over.

As Bianchi (2003) describes, Organising Committees receive guidelines for documentation management. As well as these measures aimed at management during the preparation and celebration phases of the event, since the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008 the host city's contract includes clause 25, which establishes that "the OGOC must guarantee that, both in the period prior to and the period after the Games, archives related with the Games must be securely managed and maintained, and the IOC must have free access to these archives".

In addition to this clause, appendix L of the contract establishes that Organising Committees must provide the IOC with a minimum of documents for inclusion in its documentary archive at the Olympic Museum Lausanne and its Olympic Studies Centre, the "indisputable centres of Olympic knowledge" (Bianchi 2003, 357), whose mission is to preserve the memory of the Olympic movement. This collection must include three copies of all the objects related with the Games, six copies of all publications and one electronic format copy, one official film and photographs of all the competitions, which must be registered in the IOC's name.

As for the management of knowledge regarding the organization of the Olympic Games, at the Sydney Games in 2000 the IOC initiated the Transfer of Olympic Knowledge (TOK) programme. This programme came about as a result of Recommendation 16 of the 2000 Commission after identifying limitations on access to information and resources for monitoring and controlling preparations for the Games. The aim of this programme is to "provide assistance to future Organising Committees and offer them general information and examples of the practices required to be able to develop and implement the best solution for its environment" (Felli 2003, 125).

The TOK programme does not only refer to information and documentation, and therefore the archive resulting from the event. It also deals with the knowledge generated during the organization and celebration of the event, and how this knowledge should be organized and managed using computer instruments in order for them to be used thereafter for the organization of other events or by other Organising Committees. The TOK programme includes different sources for obtaining this knowledge: documentation, personal experiences and the offer of services.

TOK documentation mainly consists of guides and manuals that are periodically revised and explain the ways in which different Organising Committees have applied the requirements established by the IOC to different functional areas. These guides are complemented with more detailed information and documentation on some of the areas, such as an image database on Visual TOK operations. Once the Games are over, the Organising Committee is obliged to present the IOC with an official report that, in the most recent editions of the Games, follows a pre-established structure based on four key areas related with the candidature, organization, celebration and impact of the event. These guidelines respond to the demand from academics for sufficient information to be able to make comparative studies (Felli 2003). The information that is collected and produced by the programme is managed by the IOC via an extranet that is accessible by candidate cities and Organising Committees.

Organising Committees are provided with an international network of experts on the different functional areas of the organization of the Games to which they may refer should they need to, as well as a series of seminars and workshops. Likewise, they also participate in the Observer Programme that is organised during the Games, which enables them to obtain first hand information about the preparations and operations during the celebration of the event. Members of National Olympic Committees, international federations and experts that revise TOK guides also participate in this programme. Finally, one of the key items of the programme is the Games debriefing, a three or four day session that is organised during the months after the event has ended and at which the Organising Committee makes its evaluation and establishes recommendations for the Organising Committees of subsequent Games.

To support the management of the programme, in February 2002 the Olympic Games Knowledge Services (OGKS) company was founded, which, on the basis of the information obtained from the TOK programme, offers customised services to the Organising Committees and other event organisers.

These measures and programmes have been applied since the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Consequently, the management of and access to sources regarding previous editions of the Olympic Games are still areas that require analysis and reflection, as are documentary initiatives to promote their dissemination.

4. Sources of knowledge on Barcelona'92

The Barcelona'92 Olympic Games set new standards for highlighting the importance of managing the documentation generated during the period when the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, COOB'92, was active, and for conserving this information once the event was over and the committee was dissolved, and also identifying and publishing sources for research into the event.

4.1. The documentation generated by COOB'92

As Cid (1995) describes, the Documentation Department was created in 1988 as part of the committee's structure. The unit was allocated a dual objective: providing documentary support to the committee's activities and collecting, organising and maintaining custody over the archives in order to facilitate the production of the official report and for it to be used later on by researchers, other host cities, etc.

Prior to the celebration of the Games, the COOB'92 and Barcelona Holding Olímpic, SA (HOLSA), the holding of companies responsible for urban planning and Games infrastructures, negotiated with Barcelona City Council on the management and conservation of the textual, graphic and photographic documentation that was generated directly by the committee's activity, and it was established that these would be deposited in the Barcelona Municipal Archive once the Games were over. The Barcelona Municipal Archive is a public entity that conserves, apart from documentation generated by the City Council, institutional archives resulting from the hosting of major events in the city, such as the Universal Exposition of 1888 and the International Exposition of 1929.

Another of the actions that was carried out by COOB'92 was the creation of an institution associated with the legacy of the Games. So, in February 1993, the Barcelona Olympic Foundation (FBO) was founded, an institution whose aims included the dissemination of the reality of the Barcelona Olympic Games and the custody and management of the documentation generated by COOB'92. It should be noted that, since 2007, the FBO has managed the Barcelona Olympic and Sports museum, a cultural institution dedicated to the promotion of the Olympic and sporting movement that offers the ideal framework for the development and promotion of activities associated with the Olympic memory.

As for the archive generated by COOB'92 and HOLSA, back in 1993 the first documentation was transferred to the Municipal Archive to be processed and conserved, and the FBO maintained an audiovisual archive and some of the textual documentation that was considered to be that which would be consulted most often. Finally, in March 2007, the definitive process of transfer of the documentary archives was completed.

The archives consist of more than 7,100 box-dossiers of documentation. They include administrative documentation and maps from COOB'92 and HOLSA, and more than 200,000 photographs that cover everything from the candidature process to the dissolution of the committee. The textual documentation was deposited in the administrative Municipal Archive, and the photographic archives in the Photographic Archive of the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona.²⁶ All of the archives are freely accessible. Anybody may view them, in accordance with current legislation and municipal regulations, as long as they present a request beforehand in writing.

The FBO continues to be the deposit for a bibliographic archive of approximately 1,000 documents that were published by the Organising Committee and other institutions related with the Barcelona'92 Games. The archives are indexed and can be accessed by making a request beforehand.

The Autonomous University of Barcelona, through the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB), also has a documentary archive of approximately 1,500 works published by the Organising Committee, including technical reports, brochures and magazines, and also administrative documentation. These archives were catalogued as part of the Collective Catalogue of Catalan Universities and can be accessed freely (<http://ccuc.cbuc.cat/>).

As for the audiovisual documentation arising from the organization and celebration of the Games, this includes material on the organization and broadcast of the sports events held over the Olympic fortnight. These archives are mainly deposited in two institutions: the FBO and the Catalan Broadcasting Corporation (CCRTV).

The body in charge of the production of the international signal for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games was RTO'92 (Olympic Radio & Television), an autonomous body forming part of COOB'92. In the case of the Paralympic Games, this was the first edition of said Games to have its own signal, different to that of the Olympic Games proper, and produced by CCRTV.

These audiovisual archives include original materials produced by RTO'92, CCRTV and other broadcasters, as well as tapes produced by third parties about the Games. The collection on the organization of the Games includes more than 1,500 hours of institutional videos, promotional videos and documentaries (for example, the transformation of the city's urban infrastructure), television programmes and news bulletins, and the sponsors' advertisements, among others. The collection on sports events is made up of some 5,000 hours of Olympic Games events and 97 hours of Paralympic Games events. This content includes the opening and closing ceremonies, sports events, news and highlights (18 hours).

The Olympic Games audiovisual archives were deposited in the FBO, while the archives on the Paralympic Games form part of the video library conserved by TV3.

26. At the moment of writing, the photographic archive had not been transferred from the Barcelona Olympic Foundation to the Archive, as it first had to go through a digitalisation and indexing process.

4.2. Studies on Barcelona'92 produced by the academic world

It comes as no surprise that the Olympic Games, being a global sporting phenomenon that has a multidimensional impact on the host cities, should arouse the increasing interest of academic institutions, and there are more and more centres dedicated to the research of the phenomenon, and more university researchers and scholars that have focused their work on the study of the Olympic Games, which forms part of the field of international Olympic studies.

The development of these studies has evolved in recent editions of the Games. According to Moragas et al. (2005), the Seoul'88 Olympic Games set a new standard for the participation of universities, especially in the field of cultural and communication studies, and at Barcelona'92 this process was consolidated through the establishment of new research objectives, in particular in the field of the urban impact of the Games and the creation of a university study centre dedicated to the research and publication of this work, an experience that has been repeated at later editions of the Games.

The last two Olympic Games – Beijing 2008 and Vancouver 2010 – have signified a new development for the model for involving the academic world in the generation of knowledge about the event. Since 2003, the IOC has carried out, through the Organising Committees, studies of the global impact of the Olympic Games. In the case of Beijing 2008, this study was coordinated by the Humanistic Olympics Studies Center at Renmin University in China, and in the case of Vancouver 2010, by the University of British Columbia.

According to Moragas et al. (2005), the research done on any given edition of the Olympic Games is financed by RD&I calls and by commission of the Organising Committee itself, the IOC and research agencies in the host country. We should also mention the role played by researchers with a consolidated line of research into the edition of the Games, who are renowned for their contributions to later comparative studies.

As for the issues dealt with, in recent editions of the Games a tendency has been noted towards research related with sports management and, in particular, with the management and impact of the Games on a local, national and global scale from a multidisciplinary perspective. The main issues included in these studies are: the candidature process, environmental management and impact, economic management and impact, marketing and sponsorship strategies, legal issues, media planning and coverage, medical issues, the cultural and educational programme, sports results, security, technology, urban planning and impact, and sports facilities.

The results of these studies are published through the presentation of lectures and communications at congresses, specific monographs, and contributions to collective works in the form of chapters and articles in academic journals and magazines. Considering the limitations in terms of accessibility to scientific communication circuits, we should highlight the role played by libraries and specialised documentary centres in the systemization and dissemination of these works, which constitute high value knowledge capital about the event.

In the case of Barcelona'92, the documentation generated by the academic world on the Games includes everything from PhD theses to interviews with experts in the media, including impact analysis studies, study reports, book chapters, lectures at international congresses, and training sessions. This documentation has been compiled, ever since its creation, by the Information and Documentation Service at CEO-UAB, which offers a reference service and a research visit programme for international academics wishing to learn more about the Games. Since its creation, CEO-UAB has played a key role in the promotion and dissemination of studies on Barcelona'92, and has acted as an umbrella for researchers with an interest in producing studies of the Games.

4.3. The media coverage of the Games

Finally, a mention must be given to the documentation generated by the media on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games. This documentation includes thousands of newspaper articles, news bulletins, special programmes, magazine articles and monographs published by the media around the world.

Although there are cycles with different amounts of media attention given to the Games, the archive covers the time from the moment that the city announced its intention to present itself as a candidate to host the Games until the present, because the different editions of the Games continue to be the focus of media attention, especially in order to offer comparative data.

This documentation, which in the phases prior to the organization and during the celebration of the event is of major interest to the Organising Committee, has later constituted a highly valuable documentary source for academics of the Olympic Games.

In the case of Barcelona'92, the FBO and CEO-UAB possess an archive of more than 50 linear metres of press dossiers that cover everything from the candidature phase through to the dissolution of the Organising Committee.

5. Conclusions

As commented by Moragas, Moreno and Kennett (2003), these events require tangible and intangible elements that help to create a memory. The information and documentation generated on each edition of the Olympic Games, and which form what we call 'the sources of knowledge on the Games', constitute one of these elements. These archives – understood to be the set of documentation resulting from the organization of the event and that was generated by research and analysis processes – have to be considered one of the main components of the legacy of the Games for the community that hosts them, one of the intangible elements of the legacy that act as a driving force for the development of a long-term legacy of the Olympic Games (Moragas, Kennett and Puig 2003, 492). In short, foreseeing and planning the legacy of the Games maximises the benefits obtained by future host cities, the IOC and the history of the Olympic Movement itself.

As for the measures adopted by the IOC in relation to the management of documentation during the organization of the event, and its subsequent conservation, these were considered by Bianchi to be "a first step towards raising awareness of the importance of implementing a professional system for the management of documents and their transfer to an institution that will take care of them and facilitate long-term access to them" (Bianchi 2003, 357), and the same author states that the strategic management of information and knowledge plays a key role in the preservation of and access to the Olympic memory, and its historical legacy.

Despite the importance of these measures as a first step, they still have a limited impact, as they only mention the need to preserve and guarantee access by the committee itself, without including guaranteed access by other collectives such as historians or other managers that are external to the Olympic Movement, other than the access that they get through libraries and museums, and neither is there any reference to the documentation generated for the edition of the Olympic Games in question outside of the area of the Organising Committee.

The cities chosen by the Olympic Movement as Olympic cities must be made aware of the role they have when it comes to preserving and publishing a part of the heritage of Olympic knowledge, of which the documentary legacy is testimony. In my opinion, it constitutes a living part of the memory of the Olympic Games and an element of the heritage of the Olympic Movement and the city itself. It is therefore necessary to guarantee its preservation and for society to be able to access it.

Therefore, in 2010 the FBO and CEO-UAB have set up a collaboration programme to improve coordinated management and access to the archives on Barcelona as an Olympic city, and on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games in particular.

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Barcelona'92 and the Study of the Olympic Legacy

Chris Kennett

Lecturer, Business Engineering School, LaSalle-URL; CEO-UAB Research Collaborator

Introduction

Measuring the impacts of an Olympic Games is a notoriously difficult research undertaking. A preoccupation with economic impact studies is understandable due to the considerable sums invested directly and indirectly in the organisation of the Games in the modern era. Putting a number on the costs and revenues generated by staging the Games is important, but it only tells us part of the story. In order to gain a fuller understanding of what it means for a city to host the biggest event in our global society, we need to undertake an in-depth, multidisciplinary analysis of the interrelated processes behind the organisation of the Games before, during and after they have been staged. Some of the impacts are tangible facts, but many are intangible and changing phenomena.

As discussed in our chapter that evaluates the legacies of the Barcelona'92 Games (Kennett and Moragas 2006), the Olympic Games provide us with an almost unique window through which it is possible to observe and reflect upon globalising processes in our high speed societies. The world comes together and looks towards one city for a two week period of sporting and cultural celebration. The global flow of capital is evident as international professional athletes compete for glory and riches in multimillion dollar wonder arenas, while multinational sponsors and advertisers struggle for the attention of audiences. Global media processes are in full motion, as television broadcasters convert the arenas into enormous television studios, covering all possible angles and capturing every moment, which are digitally broadcast to millions of viewers around the globe. Nation states take to the Olympic stage as flags are flown and anthems sung, whilst universal values are promoted of friendship, solidarity and fair play under the symbols of the Olympic Movement.

This global moment happens in a local context. An elected city is responsible for creating this context, for enabling this global moment to happen, and is held up to international scrutiny as a result. Since 1984, when the Los Angeles Games demonstrated the economic potential of the Olympics, hosting the Olympic Games has become an increasingly competitive sport in itself. Bid cities now have to pass through pre-selection phases, rigorous evaluations by the IOC and two rounds of voting before laying their hands on what is often perceived as the goose that lays the golden egg. As many cities have discovered to their cost, there is no such golden goose, rather an opportunity to achieve economic, political, social and cultural goals that requires highly complex strategic and operational management of myriad actors and with no guarantees of success.

The host has the opportunity to use the Olympic Games as a catalyst for change, to move large scale urban projects in a relatively short period of time, to attract investment, to bring about social change and to communicate messages to an attentive international audience. How and why the actors involved in staging an Olympic Games establish their goals, the extent to which these are achieved, and the long term impacts that the Games leave in their wake are of interest to researchers of the Olympic Games. This chapter will discuss the research undertaken through the Olympic Studies Centre at the Autonomous

University of Barcelona (CEO-UAB) in relation to the organisation, impacts and long-term legacies, with a focus on the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games (Moragas and Botella 1995 and 2002; Moragas, Kennett and Puig 2003; Kennett and Moragas 2006).

Before beginning with the impact and legacy analysis, some limited background is needed. At the beginning of the 1980s, Barcelona was an underdeveloped city struggling to overcome de-industrialising processes and the transition towards democracy after the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1975. As the capital city of the Regional Autonomous Community of Catalonia, it was at the heart of a revival of Catalan national identity and rising claims for independence from the Spanish nation state. Above all it was a city that needed to make up for lost time and underinvestment: "What mattered..was to determine the dominating idea that would allow us to do in five or six years what had not been done in fifty, with the risk of taking another fifty if the opportunity was not taken." (Abad 1995, 12).

It was during this period that Juan Antonio Samaranch became elected to the IOC presidency, and he recommended that the Mayor of Barcelona prepare a bid. Barcelona was elected as host city in 1986 and began the process of preparing the 1992 Olympic Summer Games. The ambitious bid and associated development projects were aimed at bringing about major urban transformations in the city, whilst simultaneously promoting it to an international audience. What would now be identified as city marketing processes were set in motion.

The Keys to Success

The publication, *The Keys to Success*, brought together local and international researchers and experts involved in the organization of the Games themselves to take an in-depth look at what made the Barcelona'92 a success story (Moragas and Botella 1995). These multidimensional and multidisciplinary perspectives on the Games involved consideration of the impacts that the event had at the local and international levels. Some of the key findings from this research are summarised below.

The Games were a political opportunity for several actors to achieve certain aims, including Barcelona City Council and Barcelona Provincial Council (urban transformation and economic investment), the Government of Catalonia (promotion of Catalan national identity), the Government of Spain (promotion of a changed Spanish national identity that broke with tourist-based stereotypes), and the European Community (promotion of European identity and unity) (Botella 1995). These different aims resulted in struggle and conflict between certain actors, particularly in the representation of national identities. As the then CEO of COOB'92 (the Organising Committee for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games), Josep Miquel Abad, stated, while the Olympics were clearly a sporting event, more importantly they were a pretext, a tool for achieving wider political, economic, social and cultural aims.

The political key to success was the negotiation and establishment of pacts between political actors that ensured the Games' financial backing as well as a balance between competing aims that was acceptable among the diverse actors. For example, the representation of Catalan national identity was hotly contested among actors from across the political spectrum, but was successfully negotiated, avoiding a potential boycott by Catalan nationalist parties. This involved the inclusion of Catalan as an official language of the Games and extensive representation of Catalan cultural identity, particularly in the opening ceremony.

Economically, the key to success of the Games was the establishment and management of a mixed economy model to finance the direct and indirect organisational and infrastructural dimensions of the Games. While the Government of Catalonia (13%) and the Government of Spain (10%) were the main sources of public funds, the involvement of private sector funding was crucial from the very beginning of the bid process. The resulting economic impacts of the Games were determinant in producing the shift to the 'post-1992' era in the city of Barcelona, involving investment of \$9.4 billion (Brunet 1995, 227). The securing of this massive economic injection into the city over a six-year period enabled the city to start a rapid recovery from

what was perceived by certain public and private sector actors as 50 years of underdevelopment under the Franco regime. To highlight the extent to which the Games were a pretext to achieve wider changes, of the total budget, only 16% was spent directly on Olympic projects (sporting infrastructure and the organisation of the sports events), while 84% was spent on indirect, associated developments, much of which was urban infrastructure.

Indeed, the urban infrastructural changes that occurred in and around the city of Barcelona between 1986 and 1992 can be regarded as one of the most ambitious urban transformations of a city in the post-war period. These included the construction of extensive new communication infrastructures (road systems, metro, rail, extension of airport), redevelopment of the waterfront area that opened the city to the Mediterranean Sea, the regeneration of part of the Poble Nou district and construction of new residential accommodation through the Olympic Village, the new world class sporting facilities built in four clusters around the city connected by a new 100km ring road, and the numerous ‘beautification’ projects around the city that capitalised on its rich architectural and artistic heritage. The dramatically transformed urban context in which the Games were held became the real success story of the Games both locally and internationally, perhaps most eloquently captured in a quote from the New York Times on the day after the closing ceremony: “The athletes never had a chance. No matter how well they jumped and ran and rowed, they could never dominate these Summer Games. The city won the Games. The people of Catalonia won the Games.” (Vecsey 1992).

The quote highlights the importance of the human dimension of the Games, which can also be identified as central to their success. The festival atmosphere in the city for the 16 days of sporting competition, fuelled by the success of the Spanish Olympic team, left a lasting impact on visitors and viewers around the world. Local ‘ownership’ of the Games was achieved and the people welcomed the world with open arms and pride. Indeed, the generation of civic pride around the Games was identified as an important social impact for the city. Having organised what were widely heralded as the most successful Olympic Games at that point in history enabled Barcelona, and Catalonia in particular, to step up to the international stage once again.

Generating local support for the Games in combination with maximising international exposure through media coverage the event was to receive were the keys to the successful communication of the Barcelona’92 project. Convincing the local population that the upheaval of living through urban transformation and the risk of failure on an unprecedented scales for the actors involved was going to be worth it was essential. This was combined with an external communication strategy that involved maximising the cultural significance of the Games’ ceremonies, using the cityscape as a backdrop for the sporting events, locating ‘beauty’ cameras at iconic locations in the city (e.g. at the Sagrada Familia church) to capture the atmosphere and physical beauty of the city, and working closely with the media in general to ensure the communication of the desired image. The findings of the “Television in the Olympics” research project highlighted the general success in communicating messages about Catalan cultural identity among international television broadcasts of the opening and closing ceremonies (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995). As previously mentioned, the positive coverage of the world’s media was central in the recognition of the Games’ success.

The final success factor that must be identified is logical but should not be understated: the success of the Games in organisational terms. The organisation of the Games went without any major technical hitch, or political or security incident that had cast shadows over previous Olympic Games. Technically, the Games were meticulously planned and efficiently and effectively executed by a highly professional team of experts and the efforts of 35,000 volunteers without whom the Games could not have been organised. As the previous paragraphs explain, these Games were high risk in political and economic terms; more risk existed perhaps than for any other Games in Olympic history to that point. The organisation of a successful 16 days of Olympic competition was essential to generate public support and civic pride and to ensure positive coverage by the international media, something Atlanta’96 would discover to its cost four years later. The Organising Committee delivered on time and on budget, with no major problems worth reporting.

The multidisciplinary studies undertaken on the Barcelona’92 Games revealed the interconnected, multidimensional nature

of the impacts. An in-depth understanding of the meaning of these impacts, locally and globally, required an integrated approach and a macro-level vision. The impacts of mega-events must be understood in their specific context, but not in a static or isolated way, rather as part of the complex fabric of societies.

Of particular interest in the Barcelona'92 case was the establishment of what has come to be known as the 'Barcelona model'. The transformations that the city underwent in preparation for the Games were central to the construction of this model, or the strategic approach to managing large-scale change in cities. The use of major events as a catalyst, or vehicle for change, has been replicated in cities such as Sydney, Athens, Torino and London.

Evaluating the legacies

As part of Barcelona's 10th anniversary celebrations, CEO-UAB published the book *L'herència dels Jocs* with the aim of returning to the research undertaken in *The Keys to Success* but with a longer term vision of the Games' impacts. This book revealed several important long-term shifts in the city and its surrounding areas that had occurred as a result of the Games and that these constituted transformations or legacies.

Political tensions and struggle between political parties and the different levels of public administration continued to characterise Catalan and Spanish politics in general. These relations were tested to the limits as the Partido Popular PP (centre-right, Spanish 'centrist' party) took power in the central government in 1996, while moderate Catalan Nationalist party (CiU) remained in power in Catalonia and the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC) in the city and province of Barcelona. Despite clear ideological divisions, the parties reached consensus on the organisation of another major event in Barcelona: the Universal Forum of Cultures (2004).

This event, which was invented by political actors in the city of Barcelona, was very similar in concept to the Expo. The organisation of the Forum emulated the model used for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games in using an international event as a catalyst for urban, social and economic change based on public-private partnership. This time the urban regeneration focused on the northern part of the waterfront, extending the transformations undertaken in the Old Port, the Olympic Village and Olympic Port.

Research by Carbonell (2002), revealed that 10 years after the Games, the sale of Olympic Village properties as high quality real estate had created an upper-middle class neighbourhood. The same was to happen as part of the Forum developments, with the creation of the Diagonal Mar neighbourhood, with its top-end high-rise apartment blocks overlooking the Mediterranean, surrounded by new hotel, conference and retail developments. The adjacent Forum area included striking post-modern architecture, sprawling concrete plazas and marina developments that were used to host the three-month-long event.

While the urban development involved the regeneration of de-industrialised land and the cleaning up the Besòs river and the coastal area that it ran into, the Forum was heavily criticised by local community groups for speculative practices, gentrification and the lack of investment in the surrounding neighbourhoods, which were among the most impoverished in the city.

In terms of urban infrastructure investment in the period between 1992 and the celebration of the Forum in 2004, a total of €11.8 billion had been pumped into the city, €2 billion more than the six years before the Olympic Games (Brunet 2002). The commitment to the continued development of the city was clear and the Games had just been the start of major transformations that would include the extension of Avinguda Diagonal to the sea, the continued expansion of the airport, a new tram system, the construction of high-speed rail link with Madrid. A new district called 22@ had also been developed behind the Olympic Village, which has successfully attracted high-tech companies to a former industrial wasteland. Barcelona as a city was on the rise and had been put back on the international map.

In the mid to late 1990s, tourism began to boom in the city. The number of tourists increased from 1.7 million in 1990 to over 6.7 million in 2008, consolidating Barcelona as a European short break destination and a key port of call for major cruise liners (Turisme de Barcelona 2009). Supply responded to increased demand, with the number of hotels increasing from 118 in 1990 to 310 in 2002, many of which were four or five star properties, along with new and improved conference and trade fair facilities, restaurants and other tourist-oriented services. Duran (2002) estimated that tourism directly contributed over € 1 billion annually to city revenues (14% of GDP) in 2001, and that it had doubled in economic significance since 1995.

Perhaps the key economic legacy of the post-Barcelona'92 period was the consolidated shift to a service-based economy. However, the dependence on the tourism industry and construction, which had driven economic and social development in the city was criticised. The positive economic benefits in revenue terms of tourism were weighed against accusations of Barcelona catering more for tourists than its citizens, of the negative impacts of rowdy tourists on low-cost weekend breaks, of insecurity and environmental degradation, of the low-quality, insecure jobs created in many sectors of the service industries. The economic crisis that began in 2008 exposed the city's dependence on both the tourism and construction industries and the need for diversification through initiatives such as the 22@ project.

The city has also capitalised on its sports management know-how and the post-Olympic use of its facilities. Barcelona has become established as one of Europe's sporting capitals and boasts facilities capable of hosting international competitions in multiple sports. Apart from being home to the legendary FC Barcelona and the largest football stadium in Europe, as well as RCD Espanyol and its new 40,000 all-seater stadium, the Olympic Stadium is set to host the 2010 European Athletics Championships and regularly hosts major concerts, the Palau St Jordi indoor arena has hosted the World Swimming Championships, Davis Cup finals, the Final Four Euroleague finals and numerous concerts and cultural events, the Olympic swimming pools and associated facilities (including two Olympic-size pools indoor and outdoor) have been opened as public sports facilities, as have several other of the former Olympic venues. The city has therefore benefited from a rich sporting legacy, inspiring and facilitating sport participation in combination with a boom in the private sector gym industry. Sport facility membership grew from 20,000 in the early 1990s to 149,000 in 2001 (Segura, Serra and Pallejà 2002).

Although difficult to measure, one of the main legacies of the Games has been socio-cultural. Apart from the successful communication of changing national identities in Catalonia in particular, but also in the Spanish context, the city of Barcelona and the people of Catalonia benefited from a collective sense of recognition from the international community after having organised what were regarded at the time as the 'best Games ever'. The renewed self-confidence in the city played a key role in its development.

Olympic legacy in international sports discourse

The *Keys to Success* and the continued research in *L'herència dels Jocs* provided the opportunity for local and international reflection on why exactly the Barcelona'92 Games had been such a success, but it took more time and the bringing together of researchers from around the world to understand that what were first identified as impacts had become legacies (Moragas and Botella 2002). The opportunity to develop the idea that modern Olympic Games had reached a scale that could bring about tangible and intangible transformations in society was provided through the organisation and celebration of the Legacy Symposium with the International Olympic Committee. The theme of the Symposium was inspired by the research and vision of Professor Richard Cashman as the holder of the International Chair in Olympism at CEO-UAB for 2002.

The Symposium brought together academics, IOC representatives and members of Organising Committees for the Olympic Games to discuss the concept of Olympic legacy and its significance in the organisation of the Olympic Games. Research studies related to different themes connected to legacy (politics, economics, cultural, social, urban, sporting, communication, and environment) combined with within-case and cross-case analyses of Olympic Games from 1984 onwards. The main

conclusions of the Symposium were:

- The Olympic legacy was multidisciplinary and dynamic and was affected by a combination of local and global factors.
- Olympic legacy depended on the expertise and visionary capacity of Organising Committees and host cities, regions and countries.
- The concept of legacy begins with the design of the bid and stretches, seemingly without clear limits, into the post-event period.
- Olympic legacies contributed to the continuity of the Olympic Movement, and recommendations were made that planning for legacy creation through the hosting of an Olympic Games should be considered as a key aspect of bid evaluation processes.
- Long-term legacy planning was identified as central to the sustainable development of the Games and host cities (Moragas, Kennett and Puig 2003).

Intangible legacies, such as the production of ideas and cultural values, intercultural and non-exclusionary experiences, popular memory, education, and so on, acted as driving forces for the creation of tangible legacies (infrastructure, economic). Culture, according to the Symposium's conclusions, could be considered as the ultimate source of all other legacies.

The Symposium also raised some important issues related to researching legacies. For example, the measurement of economic impacts was identified as a highly complex undertaking involving multiple variables that changed over time, thus making comparisons between Games difficult. In terms of social impacts, the need to analyse Olympic legacies in the context of globalising and governance building processes was emphasized. Politically, the international role of the Games in the promotion of peace and educational values was highlighted as a key challenge for the new realities of the 21st century.

Perhaps most importantly, the Symposium identified a key role of the IOC in the establishment of legacy planning, implementation and evaluation as fundamental parts of the Olympic bidding and Games management processes. The concept of sustainable development was central to this proposal, identifying the need to invest for the long-term benefit of citizens of the host community, rather than focusing on the short-term implications of hosting a successful sports event. A recommendation requiring bid cities to include legacy in their planning has subsequently been adopted, and support for Organising Committees in legacy issues is provided by the IOC. The concept of Olympic legacy has become part of IOC policy and planning, and is now a required part of the candidature process.

Concluding remarks

Research into the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games and its impacts transcended the local dimension and contributed directly to the construction of an international discourse on the role of mega-events in globalising processes and their potential to leave lasting legacies in host cities and beyond. The multidimensional nature of legacy analysis reveals the need for collaborative, multidisciplinary research teams and longitudinal studies than enable a full understanding of the interdependent nature of long-term impacts. The existence of specialised research centres such as CEO-UAB is fundamental to the organisation, coordination and promotion of these kinds of research initiatives. Without them, we would know significantly less about the far-reaching impacts of the Olympic Games.

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Key Topics of Olympism



Television and the Olympic Games: Symbiosis, globality and the construction of meaning

Emilio Fernández Peña

Director of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB); Tenured Lecturer, Department of Audiovisual Communications and Advertising I, Autonomous University of Barcelona

Ibone Lallana del Rio

Communications and Marketing Manager, Barcelona Olympic Foundation; CEO-UAB Research Collaborator

Introduction

The advent of modern Olympism as a concept and the Olympic Games as an event was supported by the emerging mass press in late-19th-century Europe; they grew under the auspices of the press and incipient radio in the early 20th century; and they developed as a global event thanks to television. Since the early 20th century, no other event in the modern world has had as much power to draw the public's attention and generate an effective communication system as the one found by international media on arrival in an Olympic host city (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 38). Television turns local events into global events; in this medium, the Olympic Games have found their main ally for disseminating positive values about sport and its imaginary.

There is, however, an element of symbiosis about this alliance between the Olympic Games and television. For the Olympic Games, television has been a dissemination tool, a medium for broadcasting moving images and sound and bringing athletes' successes and failures into people's homes, turning the Olympic stadium into a geostrategic stage where absence is as important as presence. For television (in every form of broadcasting, be it free-to-air or pay-TV), sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular have been a successful audience formula, ensuring that private broadcasters get revenue from advertising, subscriptions to premium channels and pay-per-view purchases, and that public operators get justification for their public service duty.

No medium has been as important to the worldwide broadcasting of the Olympic Games as television. For conveying emotions, audiovisual media do the job better and quicker than any others; they are better suited because sports images are capable of having a greater impact on feelings.

Television constructs the reality of the Olympic Games for viewers, and it makes that reality a global one. Cameras located both inside and outside the stadium and at various Olympic sports facilities create a reality that is limited to the choice that producers make, from the sound and image sources available to them, at any particular moment in time (images from up to 40 cameras on occasions). By splicing various live or edited shots, the diversity of frames, camera movements and close-ups construct meaning, but, like all choices, other potential sources of attention get left out in the process. For television, each frame and each shot is a choice defined by what appears in the frame and what does not. At the same time, splicing certain

shots with others through live or post-production editing of the images bestows continuity on an audiovisual narrative that seems to be natural and flowing, thus creating the audiovisual language of sport, of images of effort, of records and of competitiveness among athletes. The fact is that television is an artificial and mediated production of images in movement that usually conceals its production means (cameras, cranes, cables, monitors, etc.) in order to offer, in the most natural and plausible way, what a viewer is watching at any moment in time. Thus, as pointed out by the authors of *Television in the Olympics* (1995) “The Olympic Games is very much a media-constructed reality. There may not be another world event so planned, controlled, produced, yet presented ‘live’. Surrounding the spontaneous and very real activities of athletes is a very thick layer of broadcast production, personnel and technology swaddling each athletic feat or ceremonial ritual (like a new-born) and presenting it, flawlessly, to world viewers. Much goes on, however, in that layer that relates to our understanding of the reality that just occurred” (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 4).

At the Olympic Games however, television is not only the agent that constructs such a reality; alongside the athletes, it is the principal actor of that reality too. Besides television’s nature to conceal things in sports broadcasts is its nature to reveal things that stadium spectators cannot see. Contributing to this are close-ups and detailed shots, repeats from several angles and perspectives, slow-motion playbacks and on-screen computer graphics, which often serve as an educational component for sports that are not very popular like, for example, the various sailing events.

Every aspect mentioned refers to a complex phenomenon that is open to many views and approaches: from purely functionalist ones to the most openly analytical and critical ones. CEO-UAB has taken the following approach to communication phenomena, which clearly indicates the path to be followed in the future: to analyse communication events as cultural factors of capital importance in today’s societies by unravelling their structures and explaining their internal mechanisms as and when they occur, sometimes taking the institutional version of an event as the starting point, in order to then apply the academic filter to it and try to go beyond appearances.

In this article, we shall analyse CEO-UAB’s main contributions over the last 20 years. We shall comment on the main works and try to bring a perspective on the future of television. We shall refer explicitly to the three main works on this subject: *Los Juegos de la comunicación* (*The Communication Games*, 1992), *Television in the Olympics* (1995) and *Television in the Olympic Games: the New Era* (1999), the latter being the outcome of a symposium held at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. In addition, we shall transversely refer to other contributions on television issues made after these three milestone works of CEO-UAB.

Television in the Olympics and Los Juegos de la comunicación

Early academic approaches to the phenomenon of television and the Olympic Games began to emerge as from the first symposium on television organised by the IOC in 1984, followed by a conference promoted by the University of Calgary before the 1988 Olympic Winter Games. In 1992, just before the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games, Miquel de Moragas published *Los Juegos de la comunicación*, in which the founder and former director of CEO-UAB offered an insight into the Olympic phenomenon from a cultural perspective: its symbols, rituals and economy, as well as the role of the media in it, were the key topics of this, the first monograph. Television has a prominent presence in this publication. In addition, the book deals with the new challenges that pay-TV represents for Olympism, details aspects of Games’ signal production (focusing mainly on the cases of Los Angeles 1984 and Seoul 1988), and analyses the background to and future prospects for Games’ audiences. In *Los Juegos de la Comunicación*, worthy of note is the analysis of the management and evolution of television broadcast rights, in which it highlights the determining power of the U.S. television network NBC on the IOC’s total revenue from television, together with the new and important role of sponsorship and licensing revenues at the Barcelona Games, introduced by a process in which television operators had to win tenders to broadcast images of the Games worldwide.

However, *Television in the Olympics* deserves a detailed and exhaustive mention. This book aims to provide a holistic understanding of the phenomenon. It deals with economic, organisational and technological infrastructure aspects of the phenomenon in order to investigate the role that communication phenomena play in the structure and organisation of the Games. Part I seeks to offer a context so that readers can understand the production processes of international television broadcasters (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 9). It is a detailed analysis of the economic aspects and infrastructures that make the worldwide broadcasting of television signals possible, and of the management of Games' broadcast rights and sponsorship. Part II of the book provides a comparative analysis of the opening and closing ceremonies of 28 broadcasters from across the globe, dealt with in Núria García's chapter on ceremonies. Part III focuses on international audiences for the Olympic Games.

No other research on this topic published thus far has had so many collaborators. The sample for the analysis of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games included 25 countries – Japan, China, Korea, Cameroon, Indonesia, Canada, Singapore, Spain (including Catalonia), France, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Greece, Slovenia, the United States, Australia, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, Romania, Russia, Ghana, Egypt, Malaysia and Germany – with 130 researchers working on the project. Opening and closing ceremonies were analysed using a qualitative methodology for each of the 25 television broadcasters. These were then compared to the institutional signal of the Games' operator RTO'92, a neutral broadcast that, depending on the human and material resources allocated by each of the television networks, was customised to a lesser or greater extent – in keeping with broadcasters' interests and needs – to adapt it to their viewers. The researchers divided programmes into 245 segments or units of meaning, and a quantitative analysis of television programmes was performed using a list of 450 different categories, with special emphasis on the representation of the 'Olympic Games' concept, the different nations and the host city (Barcelona).

In the analysis offered by *Television in the Olympics*, an aspect worthy of note is the comparative methodology because, among many other things, the research is about different ways of 'seeing'; it elucidates the keys as to how different economic, political and cultural contexts affect television products in an environment of international and intercultural relations like that of the Games.

On the other hand, this work constructs a narrative of the complexities of the Games' production process by observing the process, by holding in-depth interviews with those in charge of RTO'92 and the broadcasters allocated to it, and by looking into aspects that were purely technical. The research also examines the ins and outs of the television production of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games, as well as the telecommunications infrastructures that established communications between the Games' 41 sporting venues and 15 sub-host cities. It also explores the material and technical resources made available to the thousands of journalists, camera crews and technical staff using the 45 mobile production units from many different countries that had been shipped to Barcelona to broadcast images of what was happening there to the world. It should be noted that this figure does not include the numerous resources that television broadcast rights holders for the Games allocated to that task. This section, based on observation, imbues the research with an interesting 'fly-on-the-wall' aspect of what was happening at that time.

Television in the Olympics concludes that Olympism as a philosophy expresses itself as a mega-event (the Olympic Games), an experience that transforms a city into a technological laboratory and a showcase for the principal actors of the communication industry. It constitutes an extraordinary encounter for intercultural cooperation and exchange, and in many cases Olympic television scheduling is capable of changing people's daily routines. While Olympic symbols are the most recognised on Earth, the Games themselves mean different things to actors and to spectators (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 241).

This international research was also capable of zooming in on several phenomena external to the Games, all of which can be extrapolated to other events and social situations, and it consequently elucidated issues connected with the media industry as a whole and, of course, with the Olympic Movement too.

Communication-related revenue – television broadcast rights, advertising, sponsorship and sales of Olympic symbols – “constitutes the fundamental capital for the modern Games and, as such, greatly influences its global presentation” (Moragas,

Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 241). Observations about production methods at the Main Press Centre and the International Broadcast Centre revealed the existence of a community with shared languages and knowledge, in many cases open to cooperation. In this section, for example, there is an account of spontaneous collaboration between British, Canadian and New Zealand journalists and their South African colleagues, whose team had made a reappearance at the Games after an absence of 32 years; or that of Scandinavian broadcasters with the small Icelandic broadcaster, to which it also ceded interviews; or the hubbub in the International Broadcast Centre where 8,000 people came together and worked 24 hours a days in multiple languages.

For Barcelona'92, and even more so now for candidate cities, demands were placed on the host country to have a high profile in terms of information technologies; this was one of non-negotiable conditions for the organisation of the Games. "In fact, organising the Games puts the entire technological capacity of a host country to the test" (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 46).

With respect to Games' broadcasting, there is also a divide between rich and poor countries. The amount of material, technical and human resources allocated to the Games has a considerable influence on the version of the Games that viewers in one country or another receive. As mentioned earlier, even though there was an international signal offered by RTO'92, and from then on by the television division of the IOC's Olympic Broadcasting Services, the differences between the degrees of image customisation are related to the amount of technical and human resources allocated to the Games. The most customised version is always the NBC's. This U.S. network shipped 77 cameras, 286 video recorders, 957 monitors and two satellites to Barcelona, and deployed 1,300 professionals, which enabled the production of a unique, differentiated version of the Barcelona Games (and subsequent Games). The second was the host country's network's, in this case TVE's (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 40-43). At the other extreme were the African countries' channels' versions. These channels only had enough resources to send personnel to Barcelona and receive the international signal without any kind of customisation through the African Broadcast Union. Elsewhere, customisation was limited to comments on the opening ceremony made by journalists from different countries. These differences have an influence on the presentation of the Games, but not so much on how the public interprets them. The preparation of customised comments and of cameras that follow national athletes significantly alters the Games' experience for viewers, thus allowing them to make a greater emotional connection with this sporting event and to become more aware of its cultural keys and symbols, which, in the case of very different cultures, are more easily grasped by having one's own culture as the initial point of reference.

The Games are an event for promoting and implementing already tested new technologies. In the case analysed, the digitalisation of the television signal, the old version of high-definition television, and fibre-optic cables for sending telecommunications signals, together with new models of mobile and underwater cameras, were the very latest technological advances at that time. The Games are, therefore, a showcase for technologies for subsequent general use at other major events. In the case of Barcelona, the importance of mobile telephony and wireless cameras was very clear; they allowed new visual perspectives and frames to be had of a Games' reality in which audiovisual construction plays a lead role. In the 1990s, the Barcelona Games were the first example of how the technologies of computers, audiovisual equipment and telecommunications networks converged with the aim of controlling, producing and disseminating news and the entertainment schedule. Account should be taken of the fact that, in 1992, the use of the Internet was not at all widespread. Indeed, how the Internet is and will be used to disseminate images of the Games has yet to be defined.

On the other hand, the Barcelona Olympic Games showed how international television broadcasters were beginning to adapt to a trend that is now a consolidated aspect of televised broadcasts of the Olympic phenomenon; that of commercial formats. Indeed, two thirds of all the broadcasters at Barcelona'92 used commercial messages. The resale of rights, which could already be found at Barcelona'92, was consolidated as a model for acquiring future Games' rights. This was the case for the media agency Sportfive, owned by Lagardère, which acquired rights for the 2014 and 2016 Games for European countries with smaller populations. Combined with these sales to media agencies are the IOC's negotiations with and direct sales to television operators through broadcasters in France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Spain, the United States and Turkey, among others. The new agreements, with both Sportfive and the national broadcasters of large countries, contemplated the

purchase of free-to-air and pay-TV broadcast rights, as well as those for mobile phones and other new media. Just after the Barcelona Games, the IOC reached agreements with television broadcasters for more than one Games, particularly with the U.S. network NBC for the Sydney 2000 and Salt Lake City 2002 Olympic Games, a model still in force today.

Sport in general has adopted some of the Games' most noteworthy symbols and rituals: opening ceremonies, torch relays and medal award ceremonies. All of them have given televised sport considerable artistic splendour. The role of different television broadcasters' commentators is also dealt with in this book. Their role plays an important part in the process of creating meaning for televised Games. Commentators act as "interpreters, observers, participants, experts, obstructions, patriots, self-promoters" (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 247) and form an important part of the Games' communication process. Alongside a network's images, customised to a lesser or greater extent, commentators are intermediaries between the Olympic Games, the city, the state where they are being held and the public. At the Barcelona Olympic Games, and still today, television commentators see themselves as arbiters of the event being broadcast, at times with absolutely no knowledge of the event being narrated. For the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games, the IOC publishes a press pack in which many of the key cultural aspects of the Games are explained. Today, these clarify numerous cultural gaps, though they occasionally set an overly strict narrative itinerary for the commentators, thus creating a uniform vision of the event.

Despite being a global event in terms of participation and television coverage, the Olympic Games are strongly linked to their televised representation on a local scale. The local dimension of the Games is what keeps each television network and the viewers interested. Live broadcasts of sporting events and the emotion that they convey are particularly based on paying attention to viewers' home countries' athletes and national teams. In the case of countries that do not have the resources to follow their athletes, viewer interest in the Games drops off after the opening ceremony (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995, 248).

Television in the Olympic Games: the New Era

Another CEO-UAB contribution to the study of and research into television was *Television in the Olympic Games: the New Era* (1999), which compiles the ideas put forward and papers given at the international symposium held at the Olympic Museum Lausanne in 1998, organised by CEO-UAB in collaboration with the IOC Radio and Television Commission.

The first major section of the publication takes a look at the first 50 years of the history of Olympic television. Montserrat Llinés and Ana Belén Moreno, both CEO-UAB researchers, outline the history of audiovisual media in "The History of Radio and Television Coverage of the Olympic Games", starting with the historic, highly important and virtually contemporaneous birth of modern Olympism and the Lumière brothers' cinematograph. It would be very hard to understand modern Olympism and its development without the symbiosis between the Olympic Movement and audiovisual media, as mentioned at the beginning of this article. This section is rounded off with the experience of four witnesses – directors and collaborators of international networks – of the early days of television in the Olympic Games: Bill Ward, ITV director of sports (United Kingdom); Horst Seifart, ARD director of sports programmes (Germany); Aldo Riccomi, RAI director of engineering and technical operations (Italy); and Dick Ebersol, chairman of NBC sports (United States).

Various international authors such as Nicholas P. Schiavone, NBC senior vice president for research, and Peter Diamond, NBC senior vice president for Olympic sports, intervene in the second part of the publication. Schiavone explains what the features of a good Games' broadcast should be: it should be a story about the Games, and only the Games and the sporting and symbolic issues surrounding them. According to this author, the Games are a live, unscripted reality, which should be credible. The Games are a metaphor of life and, therefore, television broadcasters should ensure that viewers feel identified with this great sporting event. Television broadcasters should be respectful of Olympic ideals as an important part of the culture that they broadcast. And finally, Schiavone points out that the Games express patriotism in an atmosphere of celebration (Schiavone 1999, 82-83). For his part, the NBC senior vice president for Olympic sports underscores, among other issues,

the rule changes in various sports to make them easier for the general public to understand, while stressing the importance of other changes, such as the look of athletics event areas to make them better suited to television and more attractive to viewers (Diamond 1999, 86).

Representatives of various television networks – including the Brazilian O Globo TV, the Australian Seven Network and the Japanese NHK – also analysed the end-of-century situation of Games-related television, attempting to look ahead to the future. Finally, IOC marketing director Michael Payne intervened in this section, and suggested that, since the revenue stream from television and other sources was stable at that time, attention could be turned to exploring new ways to make the Olympic Games even more special, improving their image and, by extension, that of their partners, while protecting the Olympic Movement at all times; according to Payne, “the challenge of generating revenue [...], while protecting the integrity of the brand equity and image, is immense.” In this chapter, we have not mentioned any Internet-related contributions as these will be covered in the section devoted to new media.

Professors Pardo and Richeri theorise about new and future digital forms of television, multichannel programming and the audiovisual industry’s specialisation. Professor Prado anticipated that signal digitalisation, together with new 16:9 television formats and high definition would add spectacularity to sport. He foresaw that production companies would specialise in sport, with niche channels for different sports; today, these predictions have been borne out. In short, Emili Prado predicted that the sports production sector would become, as indeed it has, an important audiovisual sector.

The last of the works produced by CEO-UAB, *Beijing 2008 Olympic Games: Spanish Media Construction* (2008), is the result of international collaboration with the Communication University of China. It analyses, in the press and on television, the media’s treatment and coverage of the opening and closing ceremonies at the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, as well as certain events – particularly Olympic finals – and the participation of Chinese, Spanish and American representatives. Other elements analysed in this work are the slots devoted to sport in Spanish television’s news programmes.

Olympic Games broadcast rights

Olympic Games broadcast rights are a significant part of a system in which the various actors feed back on each other. The commercialisation of broadcast rights has played a major role in the construction of the modern Olympic phenomenon, such as we know it today. Broadcast rights are the main source of funding for the Olympic Movement. They are also an element that fosters revenue generation for commercial television broadcasters and sports sponsors in general, and for the Olympic Games in particular.

Games broadcast rights have traditionally been based on two variables: sales territory and exclusivity. This was also the case in the early stages of commercialising the first new media broadcast rights.

Television operators, the IOC, host cities and commercial brands on the one hand, and spectators, viewers and athletes on the other, all together form the vast mosaic of the following and importance of the Olympic Games as a major cultural, social and media phenomenon. The Olympic Games would not be the global phenomenon they are today without the complex web of relationships woven between television broadcasters (buyers of very expensive broadcast rights defrayed via advertising revenue or pay-TV subscriptions), the IOC (the owner of the Olympic Games), host cities (chosen by the IOC) and TOP sponsors (commercial brands that make a profit from their sponsorship through Olympic Games’ broadcasts). Television broadcast rights and sponsorship revenue in the last decade accounted for more than 85% of the IOC’s total revenue, and this demonstrates that there is a close relationship of dependence between the Olympic Movement and communication-related revenue. This revenue is distributed among the members of the Olympic Movement: International Olympic Federations, National Olympic Committees and Olympic Solidarity.

Despite the criticism levelled at the commercialisation of Olympic sport, the formula has shown itself to be the only one possible when it comes to pursuing the dissemination of the educational values of Olympism and sport. Any potential limitations of the formula should be sorted out on the basis of this model, a model that has turned the Olympic Games into the most important sporting event ever, and its symbols and values into elements of this vast ecosystem.

Juan Antonio Samaranch, who met with a bankrupt IOC and a divided Olympic Movement following the Moscow 1980 Olympic Games, introduced commercial exploitation into the Olympic Movement by combining the commercial potential of American television and the public service nature of the European broadcasting model. During his mandate (1980-2001), the Olympic Games became the most important sporting event in the world and a global phenomenon thanks to television broadcasters who, in turn, have become the mainstay of the Olympic Movement (Preuss 2000 and Payne 2006). The value of sports broadcast rights was enhanced when the potential to grow revenue from generalist American television broadcasters began to be exploited. From that moment on, television broadcasters entered into competition with each other to buy content to secure large viewing audiences in a multi-channel television environment like the American one, where increasing fragmentation was the order of the day. At the same time, fee-charging agents and consultants were removed from negotiations, which the IOC started to carry out directly and exclusively. In contrast to this positive view of the issue, there is much criticism of the process of the Olympic phenomenon's commercialisation (television and sponsorship), and a well-documented and exhaustive historical overview of it (Barney, Wenn and Martyn 2002).

In Europe, even after competition was introduced into the television market in the mid 1980s, and despite the fact that financial bids by private television broadcasters were much higher, joint sales to the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) were favoured. The EBU bid included public television operators that ensured free-to-air broadcasting of the Olympic Games to everyone, mainly young people, to convey the positive values intrinsic to sport. Samaranch established the dynamics of entering into long-term contracts with television operators in advance of the host city being known, thus ensuring the stability of the ever increasing revenue for the Olympic Movement.

Since the start of Jacques Rogge's mandate in 2001, the model for commercially exploiting broadcast rights introduced by Samaranch has continued to be used. Rogge sought true competition in broadcast rights auctions. He managed to create significant revenue growth through the use of this system, and established new formulas for distributing revenue that reduced payments to host cities and increased contributions to foster sport through International Federations and National Olympic Committees (Payne 2006).

The introduction of true competition has helped to reduce excessive dependence on revenue from American television operators and increase revenue from Europe. This has been made possible by negotiating broadcast rights directly and individually in big European countries, as well as sales of broadcast rights to the EuroFive agency for another 40 European countries (Fernández Peña 2009b). In this process, contracts with private television operators stipulate a series of commitments that they (or public television operators) must make, such as broadcasting a minimum of 200 free-to-air hours for the Olympic Summer Games, available to all, and establishing optimum quality standards, as guaranteed by the Olympic Radio and Television Organisation.

Among works that investigate the relationships between sport and politics on the one hand, and the study of television not only as a tool that constructs the Games' imaginary, but also as a modulator and a mirror of international relationships between countries on the other, worthy of note is *Global Television and the Politics of the Seoul Olympics* by Larson and Park (1993). According to the authors, there are three cardinal aspects of the analysis: the communication of events and processes, the communication of events guided by television and the political control that politics intends to exercise over those events and processes (Larson and Park 1993, 47). This work is based on the academic tradition of the construction of social reality by the media, television in this instance. According to the authors, communication is a fundamental social process, and it gains in importance through biological, social and technological evolution; the modern world is characterised by an environment that is increasingly saturated with television images (Larson and Park 1993, 46-47).

Towards a review of television as a concept: the future of the Olympic Movement's televised reality

The Olympic Games are a territory for experimenting with television production technology and the construction of new audiovisual languages, but not only that. They are also a dynamic cultural event in which technological changes play a predominant role, and the need to foresee and adapt to these changes will have an impact on the future of the Olympic Movement. In the future, television will continue to be a key component for the dissemination of the Games and the Olympic Movement's values and imaginaries. Oddly, however, the future will be influenced by the etymological meaning of the phrase 'seeing from afar', definitively breaking away (which it has in fact been doing for some time now) from the device on which images have appeared in homes across the globe since the mid-20th century: the television set that people watch alone or with others. The digital future will have a fundamental impact on the increasingly important role of broadcasting in general for the Olympic Movement; by digitally processing information (images, audio and data), broadcasting will become the cornerstone of new digital services. From the perspective of its etymological meaning, it will be a customised television, adapted to the individual interests of viewers; a 'self media' to use the term applied to it in the 1980s, which gained considerable acceptance in some theoretical debates. And that will only be possible by using the technological foundations of the Internet, which allow for a kind of communication that is developed by anyone to be shared with everyone, thus breaking the mould of traditional mass media. This aspect will be covered in greater detail in the chapter devoted to the Olympic Games and new media (the Internet).

Television as a cultural industry (to take the French approach) or as a creative industry (the new British term) – without, of course, losing sight of the purely commercial view of it (into which scholars have undertaken research on the basis of functionalist currents) as a digital broadcasting medium using various operational means (digital terrestrial airwaves, satellite, cable, IPTV and the multi-channel version of it that the digital future will bring) – will have to face up to new challenges. This debate will also include the not insignificant future of public television broadcasters, which, mainly in the context of Old Europe, have played decisive role in providing equal access to images of the Games. However, since the late 1980s, Europe has had private television operators, a model that will apparently predominate in a future in the midst of an economic recession and a social legitimacy crisis of old television services. In recent years, a new broadcast rights' commercialisation and purchase scheme has been consolidated. It combines individual agreements with television broadcasters (public and private) in big countries (Italy, Spain, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Turkey, among others) with direct institutional sales to media centres or regional broadcasting organisations. In the case of broadcast rights' sales to private media centres or broadcasters, the IOC stipulates a minimum number of free-to-air broadcast hours for the Summer Games (200) and the Winter Games (100), thus attempting to ensure universal access to Olympic images for all citizens.

The means of dissemination are becoming complicated. The digital environment has given rise to specialist free-to-air and pay-TV multi-channel access, on a pay-per-programme or a specialist channel subscription basis. This is the new territory for innovation in marketing and the broadcasting of Games' images. Given the thousands of hours of television produced, the old scheme in which public or private television broadcasters devoted one or two channels to the Games has collapsed. Major European public service television broadcasters already use, and will continue to use, their new digital channels specialising in sport for free-to-air broadcasts of certain sports that, while considered minority sports, do involve athletes from every state. In this respect, the BBC set a trend at the Beijing Games that might have an impact in the future. While the BBC broadcast events in which British athletes were taking part on BBC1, it provided access to other broadcasts on the Internet, either live or using the Internet as a library for on-demand access to images of past sporting events. This is an example of synergies between 'old' and new media in a public service broadcaster. Private television broadcasters offered a different scheme. At Beijing 2008, the American network NBC played with the complementary nature of, and the synergies created between, a number of generalist channels and specialist pay-TV channels, and set aside the Internet for repeats hours after they had been broadcast on one or other of the NBC communication group's channels. To be more precise, the American network used nine different television channels to broadcast the ceremonies and the various sporting events: NBC, CNBC, MSNBC, USA, Telemundo (a Spanish-language channel), Universal HD and Oxygen, plus the NBC's two new multiplex digital channels

which, on occasions, offered the same programming at different times throughout the day. NBC broadcast 225 hours of Olympic Games' coverage in the afternoon, in the prime-time slot and until the early hours of the morning, focusing mainly on gymnastics, volleyball, swimming and diving.

On average, the IOC sells broadcast rights some six or seven years in advance. This formula, which ensures that the IOC's revenue is stable, poses the problem of not being able to adapt such rights' sales to quickfire technological changes, new dissemination means, new platforms and new services. As mentioned in the chapter on new media, in the future there will be a tendency to sell traditional television broadcast rights (free-to-air, specialist pay-TV sports channels and on-demand video of a specific sporting event) separately from new media rights (Internet broadcasts using various kinds of software and applications on the Web, and accessible via portable, mobile devices such as laptops, tablets, mobile phones, etc.). That will allow new actors to compete for rights, mainly Internet-native companies or, in other words, those that have been created as a consequence of the Web's development. While the changes in the offing will lead to the consolidation of new broadcast rights models, free universal access to high quality images of the Games should be guaranteed for all citizens around the world.

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New Media and the Olympic Games: The Olympic Movement and the Social Web in the dissemination of messages

Emilio Fernández Peña

Director of the Olympic Studies Centre (CEO-UAB); Tenured Lecturer, Department of Audiovisual Communications and Advertising I, Autonomous University of Barcelona

Definition of new media

All means of communication transmission based on the Internet Protocol are referred to as new media, irrespective of the device used to access content and services: PCs, smartphones or Internet-enabled television sets. These new media allow users to choose specific live or recorded on-demand content, and they also give viewers the chance to share information, to give their opinions and to receive additional information that traditional media cannot provide (such as data about an event and competition results). New media are social in nature; they allow users to share information, to give their opinions, to make recommendations, to submit reviews, to change messages and to create new messages. Furthermore, communication can often be customised to suit each user's tastes and preferences. In this new, more social environment, recommendations made by friends also acquire considerable importance. This potential for sharing among users can make communication more personal: it is usually someone close to other users who acts as the bridge for showing and disseminating content. This is where the social networking concept comes into play. While it is a reality as old as humankind itself, the Internet has been responsible for taking it to a whole new level through phenomena like Facebook and Twitter.

In this chapter, we shall give a historical overview of the relationship between the Internet and the Olympic Movement since the advent of the Web, analysing the role of various actors connected with the Olympic Movement, such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Olympic sponsors and television broadcasters, while examining the role of Internet natives — those born into the Internet era in the mid-1990s.

We understand the Internet as a medium and as an environment consisting of various actors who play a lead role in sorting, managing and administering multimedia content available on the Web. Therefore, in addition to the Olympic Movement and its stakeholders, television broadcasters and TOP sponsors, we shall focus on search engines (taking Google as the main example in this instance, together with some of the group's companies, such as YouTube) and social networking sites (particularly Facebook and Twitter, since they have achieved outstanding success on this new Social Web).

In this article, we shall also give an overview of the main contributions made by CEO-UAB researchers to the field of the Internet and new media, endeavouring to define some concepts and specific trends in relation to the ways in which the Olympic Movement and its stakeholders communicate through these new media.

The origins of the Internet and the Olympic Movement

The greatest milestone for the popularisation of the Internet and the incorporation of it into the range of media at the Olympic Movement's disposal was the creation of the World Wide Web in 1993. The implementation of this easy-to-use, browser-based Internet access system that links content via hyperlinks, together with its appealing design and multimedia capabilities, represented a very significant change for the Olympic Movement. The second major change, which has enormous potential thanks to the first, was that of connecting users via social networks and their capacity to disseminate content. However, before analysing these new possibilities, we shall first give a brief historical overview of the Internet's integration into the Olympic Movement.

The Olympic Games are a prime event for putting communication technologies into practice, as we recalled in the chapter on television. At the Squaw Valley Games in 1960 and the Tokyo Games in 1964, IBM computers were used for the first time to manage results. In the latter of these two Games, communication satellites were also used for the first time (Moragas 1992).

Although videotext technology was used at Barcelona'92, the first Games of the World Wide Web era were the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. In December of that year, internauts were very few and far between (only 36 million, just 0.9% of the world's population, according to *Internet World Stats*), meaning that it was very much a minority medium. At that time, the Internet was a medium for accessing data in a ubiquitous way (from anywhere with a connection) and for viewing photos, but it was not a medium for broadcasting moving images. The Web developed very quickly but, in 1995, just one year before the Atlanta Games, there were only 16 million Internet users worldwide. It was precisely at that moment when the IOC created its first website.

According to IBM data, the official website of the Atlanta Games (<http://www.atlanta.olympic.org>) had 11 million visits a day and a total of 185 million visits over the 16 days of the Games (Moragas 1999), meaning that these very first internauts, these early adopters, were really keen to take full advantage of the new communication technology. At the 1998 Nagano Olympic Winter Games, the website management problems experienced at Atlanta had been solved and, alongside IBM, Lotus was the company in charge of managing a website that received 634 million visits. In 1998, while every International Federation had a website, only 70% of National Olympic Committees had a Web presence (Moragas 1999).

Moragas (1999) reminded us that software such as RealPlayer – enabling video to be played on the Internet – did not exist before 1997, and it was not possible to speak of the Web as an audiovisual communication medium until late 1998. At that time, however, slow connections (DSL was not widespread) did not allow video over the Internet to become consolidated; in 1998 it was experimental and image quality was poor for the large majority of the viewing public. However, the website of the Nagano Games held in February 1998, which was created by IBM, already offered a few videos, as did the website created by the NBC television network for those Games. Despite these early audiovisual broadcasting experiments, the 'world memory' concept, described by Moragas (1999) as a place where every item of documentation generated could be accessed from anywhere, was the most common one at that time.

Even though video broadcasting over the Internet was possible at the following Olympic Games, Sydney 2000, the critical mass of viewers with broadband connections was still low. Consequently, it was not until Athens 2004 that the first six hours of television were broadcast over the Internet. However, the first major continuous audiovisual broadcast of a Games over the Internet took place at the 2006 Torino Paralympic Games through the creation of paralymphicsport.tv. The channel broadcast over 100 hours of live coverage of the four Paralympic winter sports (Alpine skiing, ice sledge hockey, cross-country skiing and wheelchair curling). There was free access to these images, as well as the chance to see historical footage of the Paralympic Winter Games, from Örnköldsvik 1976 (Sweden) to Salt Lake City 2002, held just before Torino (Puig 2008, 274-5).

Beijing 2008 were the first Games at which the Internet as a broadcasting medium and as a video library was consolidated by television broadcasters holding Internet broadcast rights. The NBC, for example, offered 2,200 hours of video over the Internet during the 2008 Games (Sandomir 2008). From that moment onwards, the Internet, or rather the Internet Protocol

(IP), which can be used on a variety of devices such as smartphones, notebooks, tablets and television sets, not only became an alternative means of accessing moving images of Olympic endeavours, but also a media library.

The IOC has had a website since late 1995 (CEO-UAB launched its website several months before that). The Atlanta Olympic Games occasioned the first major revamp of the IOC website in “a style that was more documentary than visual, though the contents were interesting from the point of view of information about the institution and the Olympic Movement” (Moragas 1999, 24).

In the early years, the hypertext design prevailed but, very gradually, still images and then audiovisuals were incorporated. Just before the Olympic Congress held in Copenhagen in October 2009, the IOC revamped its website once again; the new version was the complete opposite of the old one. While the version of the website introduced before the Beijing Games predominantly contained bright colours and, of course, provided access to audiovisual content, the new version of the website launched a few days before the Olympic Congress in October 2009 had a much more visual approach to its design. Its presentation is totally audiovisual, with a predominance of video and images, while a search tool leads to the many thousands of text documents hosted on the website. The 2010 website is much more socially oriented, allowing content to be shared via social media.

The Web and Olympic sponsors

In his doctoral thesis *Internet i els patrocinadors olímpics (The Internet and Olympic Sponsors)*, José Maria Puig Lobato (2008) focuses on companies that form part of The Olympic Partner (TOP) programme (four-yearly) that the IOC introduced in 1985 in order to centralise and rationalise sponsorship of every Olympic Games. In his thesis, he performed a comparative analysis of the websites of the 14 Olympic sponsors for the Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004 Olympic Summer Games, and the Salt Lake City 2002 and Torino 2006 Olympic Winter Games.

Over the period analysed, Olympic sponsors used the Internet in the Games period to differing degrees. According to Puig, Coca-Cola, Kodak, McDonalds and VISA took full advantage of their sponsorship contracts on their websites and added value to their brands through the multimedia and interactive communication potential that the Internet offers. However, other sponsors such as Manulife, US Postal and Xerox only added their logos to the websites of the various Olympic Games as a way of linking to their own websites, without exploring that potential (Puig 2008, 271).

Also worthy of mention are the so-called ‘in-kind services’ that TOP sponsors offer the IOC; these services are usual when sponsors are technology companies. Out of the four Games analysed, this kind of synergy was only identified in the case of Salt Lake City. According to Puig, this was done by fusing together the websites of NBC (the holder of television broadcast rights for the U.S.), MSN (part of Microsoft) and the IOC. In the rest of the Olympic Games, in-kind services were not shown on the official page of the event (Puig 2008, 272).

Puig concludes that Olympic sponsors did not take full advantage of the potential of the Internet for promoting their brands while the Games under analysis were being held. Instead, they continued to place a great deal of importance on traditional media in their dissemination strategies. And they did so despite the fact that the global communication capabilities of the Internet make it an ideal medium for major brands such as these, all of which have aspirations of reaching out to global markets. According to Puig, the reason for this is that the Internet was not a mature medium at the time of the study.

Towards an Internet ecology: the actors

The Internet is now a mass medium thanks to the advent of the Web, which facilitates access in a simpler, more user-friendly environment, and it could be described as an ecosystem in which various principal actors relate to each other. Multimedia

content (text, photos and moving images) is sorted and hierarchically structured via search engines that partially construct the Net for the user. In an ecosystem like the Internet, with a vast amount of content just a click away (even though users may know little about its existence), search engines like Google, the world's number one provider of this type of service, take on a fundamental role. Google also leads the way in what we would call 'social audiovisual content', represented by its company YouTube, which also plays a lead role in this collaborative multimedia environment.

The other major component of this ecosystem is the social aspect, with social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter, and other sites pre-dating them such as Flickr (for photos) and the already mentioned YouTube (for videos). Social networking sites shift the age-old need for humans to relate to each other for manifold purposes – one of which is the survival of the species – to the realm of the Internet. Social networks were incorporated as one of many other components into the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games. Unlike before, the Social Web concept means that users are now the lead players: they are the ones who, by sharing and modifying content, leaving comments and uploading photos and videos (Jenkins 2006, Jenkins et al. 2009) breathe life into this new social networking environment.

Google, Olympic too!

For the Beijing 2008 and the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, Google and other services belonging to the company, like YouTube for example, were very significant actors because of their ability both to create imaginaries and to become a portal to the content of this huge sporting event. Google and other search tools, like YouTube for audiovisuals, guide the user through this maze of content and services which would otherwise be inaccessible. The results that Google and other search engines provide always appear in order of relevance from among the hundreds of thousands of content items. Since users usually only follow the links to the first few results, generally the first five, the universe of information as prioritised by the search engines consequently constructs the Internet for users.

Google, as the market's number one search engine, is perfectly assimilated into our culture today (Battelle 2005). Google 'knows' everything our civilisation is thinking about. It also gathers and processes the results of the thousands of millions of searches that transit through its servers each and every day, thus allowing it to know exactly what the Internet public is interested in. While the Olympic Games were being held, every day it offered a new collection of thematic logos (Google Doodles) focusing on the most representative sport in the Games' calendar. Google therefore 'positions' us in a virtual context when we access its search tools, thereby connecting its corporate image and popular culture through a sort of new 'Pop Art'.

Google is able to offer a full range of services from its various divisions: information about the Olympic Games on Google News, videos on YouTube, spatial position and location on Google Maps and so on, yet it is neither a news nor an audiovisual content producer. Google and its sister companies help us find and access information, in the widest of senses, that others produce (news, websites, wikis, blogs, comments, videos, photos, etc.).

For its part, Google Inc.'s audiovisual service YouTube is a web application fed by videos that users create, record from the television or capture from the Internet. It is a collaborative communication tool that came about with the advent of 'Web 2.0', and is capable of offering Olympic Games' content that users record from their local television channels. Given the value of this content for television broadcasters and in an attempt to protect their main source of revenue, the IOC acted diligently: several weeks before the Beijing Olympic Games, it created a television channel with YouTube for 77 countries in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, where the Olympic Games' Internet rights had not been sold. The Google service was only accessible from those regions of the world and, consequently, only YouTube users in those geographical areas could access images of the Olympics Games. YouTube's Olympic channel was fed by content from the Olympic Games' institutional signal, because neither YouTube nor Google are content producers, but rather portals to it or, in this instance, simply disseminators of it.

This strategy of collaborating with Google turned out to be a suitable way of protecting television broadcast rights holders, as journalist Brian Stelter from *The New York Times* pointed out, “As dancers and acrobats whisked across the National Stadium in Beijing, anonymous users uploaded more than 100 video clips of the ceremony to YouTube, but the site, owned by Google, swiftly removed as many as it could. Similarly, some live video streams on Justin.tv, a popular source for international video, were also removed. According to International Olympic Committee guidelines, the television networks with the local rights to the Games are the only legal sources of video in each country” (Stelter 2008).

Audiovisual consumption of the Olympic Games on the Internet

As mentioned in the introduction, the Sydney Olympic Games were the first to take advantage of synergies between television and the Internet. At those Games, American network NBC used the Internet as a tool to complement its audiovisual services, offering results or photos, but still not moving images (Moragas 2003, 11). For their part, the Athens Olympic Games offered the first Internet video experience while the Beijing Olympic Games allowed the Internet’s potential as a medium for broadcasting television images to be unleashed.

Citizens in the United States use the Internet more and more often to watch television. In the last two years, the number of people watching television on the Internet has doubled. According to Michael Saxon, vice-president of TNS, “Fundamentally, consumers expect content to be available when they want it, and on the screen of their choice – TV, PC, or mobile.” The top two destinations for online broadcasts were the TV channels’ home pages, accessed by 65% of viewers, and Google Inc.’s (GOOG) YouTube, accessed by 41% of viewers. Other sites used for TV and video viewing included Apple Inc.’s (AAPL) iTunes, NBC Universal and News Corp.’s (NWS) Hulu, file sharing sites, social networking sites, and Limewire (CNN Money 2008).

The Beijing Olympics were the first Games for which TVE broadcast audiovisual content over the Internet in a generalised manner. The TVE website received more than 10 million visits and users viewed more than 50 million pages and 11 million videos. Besides viewing images and finding information, the potential to interact with athletes via online interviews added new value to the Spanish public television broadcaster’s website.

Furthermore, as alluded to earlier, NBC clearly followed the ‘logic’ of exploiting audiovisual windows. The NBC network itself offered images in the first window and then, twelve hours later, these images were made available to users on its website. The aim of this strategy of putting the Internet in second place was both very clear and, in the light of the revenue results, a very good choice: its total revenue from advertising was over \$1 billion, of which only \$5.75 million came from Internet advertising (Stelter 2008).

The Internet has made the way the Olympic Games are consumed more flexible. Traffic on the NBCOlympics.com website peaked at midday, coinciding with lunchtime in the United States, and on Monday mornings when workers went back to work after the weekend (Stelter 2008). Yahoo! — another of the Internet’s native companies — did not spend anything on buying Olympic Games’ broadcast rights, yet it clearly benefitted from the capacities of the link, taking advantage of the traffic its services are capable of generating. As a result, from its blog on the Olympic Games, Yahoo! offered links to two websites where videos of Usain Bolt winning the 200-metre sprint just a few hours after it had been broadcast by NBC were available. This fact highlights two issues that need to be taken into account. First, an event with such power to attract an audience as the Olympic Games is, in itself, able to make the consumption of all types of media soar. Second, despite the IOC’s and right-holding networks’ efforts to prevent other non-right-holding media from broadcasting images of the Olympic Games, one thing is very clear: the Internet is an open network that is hard to control.

Authors like Sheila Seles (2010) identified new traits among users that view audiovisual content over the Internet. The author speaks of ‘social viewing’. In this instance, users value the existence of supplementary online content that is different from

content broadcast on television for the purposes of sharing it with their friends on social networks; this allows new users to be attracted to online audiovisual broadcasts. Seles (2010) points out that a specific online audience is gaining ground, and that if this audience does not find any content available on the official website, it will search for it on other websites that are not controlled by the main broadcaster. In the case of Olympic Games' broadcasts, here we come up against a dilemma: to what extent are commercial television broadcasters prepared to offer the same content on the Internet and on television at the same time, for fear that if they did, television (a proven source of advertising revenue) might be eaten up by their own Internet services (a marginal source of revenue for broadcasters)?

Television, Internet and data broadcast rights

Internet broadcast rights are the little brother of television broadcast rights. According to Payne (2006), in 2000, a decision was taken not to sell Internet broadcast rights separately because the Internet did not have the capacity to generate enough income to become an alternative source of revenue. Nor is it seen in the short term as a source of revenue separate from television for the IOC. Unlike what people might have thought in the early years of the Web in the mid-1990s, the time when the Internet was seen as a globalising medium, audiovisual broadcasts over the Internet are also guided by two fundamental premises: exclusivity and territorial limits (IOC 2009) of their transmission, controlled by a geolocation system, meaning that users can only access official content for the Games via the Internet from the country of broadcast.

The agreement between Google Inc. (YouTube), the Spanish company Telefónica Terra and the IOC to broadcast images of the 2008 Olympic Summer Games over the Internet created a new public service model led by the private sector, which allowed some users in developing countries to access images of the Olympic Games. For the IOC, this agreement had the advantage of ensuring that YouTube would do more to prevent television images recorded by users from being broadcast. However, controlling YouTube, the Internet's largest audiovisual content website, is not the way to control the unauthorised broadcasting of videos on an open network like the Internet. To do that, other formulas will need to be found so as not to jeopardise the business of broadcasters who pay huge sums of money to acquire images while, at the same time, specifically creating free – and worthwhile – content for dissemination via social networking sites (Fernández Peña et al. 2010).

In addition to their highlighted potential, new media offer a new opportunity for certain Olympic sports: a combination of audiovisual images and data, received on portable devices such as smartphones, tablets, iPods or games consoles. The combination of graphics, audiovisual images and data about matters connected with the event (times, records, speeds) will undoubtedly enhance the television viewers' or stadium spectators' experience and open up new business channels for broadcasters.

Social networking and the Olympic Games: The public's involvement

The Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games inaugurated the use of social networking sites by various actors of the Olympic Family: the IOC, the Vancouver Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, athletes, television broadcasters and sponsors. There were two main social networking sites used by these actors: Facebook and Twitter.

Created in January 2010, the IOC's Facebook page managed to get 1.5 million fans and generated 200 million participatory events from its public in the form of comments, photo sharing and likes (referring to a particular item of content). Of its fans, around 60% were under 24 years old, which demonstrates the potential of social networking sites to reach young people, though the fact that nearly half of them were in very mixed aged ranges should not be overlooked. More modest figures were reached on Twitter, where the IOC had around 12,000 followers.

In the case of Facebook, the IOC's official page, which was launched several weeks before the Games, saw fan numbers soar to the mentioned 1.5 million by the end of the Vancouver Games. The IOC's presence on Facebook through a page called 'The Olympic Games' was fairly active, with an average of four posts a day over the duration of the Winter Games. The degree of public participation in each IOC post to its The Olympic Games page varied depending on the topic and the time a comment was published. In any event, the rates of participation were low, less than 1% among those expressing a like for a comment or an opinion, and less than 0.05% of all registered fans.

Facebook and Twitter were used by the Vancouver Organising Committee for the Olympic Games as two of many other components of its information supply ship, which was none other than its website. The Vancouver Organising Committee used the two social networking sites as tools for forwarding information disseminated on its website (Silverman 2010, 3).

Graeme Menzies, director of online communications, publications and editorial services of the Vancouver Organising Committee for the Olympic Games explained that the Organising Committee's @2010tweets service on Twitter was used like a telegram service to provide information about ticket sales, sporting event schedules and means of transport rather than engaging users in discussions (Silverman 2010, 2).

Despite rapid growth, a social networking strategy is built day by day; there are many unknowns about how to manage tools on social networking sites such as these, which have an enormous capacity to disseminate information. Quantitatively speaking, the number of messages on Twitter was high on the days in the middle of the Games. In the Organising Committee's case, they exceeded 50 a day and most of them were one-way messages; in other words, there was hardly any interaction with the public or conversations with fans according to CEO-UAB's own monitoring of the situation. However, worthy of note is the fact that Twitter is also able to generate conversations, and many aspects still need to be explored in this respect. In addition, for athletes followed live, Twitter has enormous potential to be used as a contextualising tool, adding contextual information on what is happening at an event. An example of this is Formula 1's @Formula1 (<http://twitter.com/Formula1TV>).

Over the Games, the Facebook participation record was 21,000 replies to a question posed by the Organising Committee about who would win the ice hockey final, which demonstrates the potential of these social media to generate significant levels of engagement.

According to CEO-UAB's monitoring of social networking in the Vancouver Olympic Games period, sponsors made a hesitant use of social networking sites. For example, they used Facebook for self-promotion and published very few posts. Of these, however, Omega stood out for its use of Facebook because it published an average of 1.6 posts referring to the Games while they were on. In its posts, besides comments encouraging the public to get involved, Omega also included exclusive videos of some Olympic events for its social network.

Regarding Twitter, Olympic sponsors showed themselves to be much more active, putting out calls to get involved by – among many other participation ploys – asking users to predict results. Even so, these Games, in which social networking sites were used for the very first time, only provided a hint at the possibilities that virtual social networks might offer in the future. For upcoming events, these will need to be improved and enhanced with new applications and new ways of bringing communication closer to users.

New, more socially-oriented media

New media form part of a mediatic continuum consisting of traditional media and these more participatory social media. Because, as an open network, the Internet constructs this convergence between old and new media. The success of social networks depends on their ability to create discussions and conversations, and to encourage the sharing of multimedia content.

Users are more open to messages that they receive from their peers and their friends, in which they intervene and of which they consider themselves to be an active part. That is one of the advantages of social networks. Besides sport in general and the Olympic Games in particular, they are an element that favours participation, driven by the enthusiasm inherent to the Olympic event. When users get involved through social media, every user becomes an advocate for the Olympic Family and someone who spreads certain values and ideals to other members of his or her social network.

However, this new participation model requires a change of mindset: users can contribute things to such organisations, but those organisations need to become more transparent to ensure that internauts feel that they are part of a creative process, a process in which they are one of the links in the chain. The Olympic Movement will need to leave certain valuable items of content open, albeit without jeopardising relationships with broadcast rights holders.

Faced with the diverse nature of social networking initiatives implemented by many different actors (IOC, National Olympic Committees, sponsors and television broadcasters), greater coordination leading to the centralisation of these initiatives on a single platform might make social networking activities more powerful for the common good of the Olympic Family as a whole.

Social networks are integral elements of an online strategy, in which a website is the vital component. Using them merely as elements for retransmitting items that have already been published on an official website is tantamount to squandering their potential to mobilise the public and to disseminate the Olympic Family's values, ideals and content. The big advantage of social networks lies in their capacity to generate conversations between users and to encourage participation, as mentioned earlier. Twitter has huge potential, not only to generate conversations, but also to provide live contextual information about sporting events for spectators physically present at them, or for viewers watching them via electronic media. For its part, Facebook allows users to have fuller, richer conversations and to share all kinds of content, graphics and audiovisuals that have either been created or modified by those users. Therefore, they should not merely become elements for retransmitting what websites and traditional media such as television already offer. Rather, they should become independent channels with exclusive content, such as those mentioned earlier. Both Twitter and Facebook are communication tools that fall outside the strict control of page owners, and page owners must use them in a way that places trust in their followers and fans by adopting a closer, more sincere attitude. This will allow page owners to use any criticism, which may potentially be levelled against them in these means of free expression, to the benefit of the Olympic Family. By doing so, their fans will become more loyal and get more involved in the cause.

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The Cultural Dimension of Olympic Games: Ceremonies and Cultural Olympiads as Platforms for Sustainable Cultural Policy²⁷

Beatriz Garcia

School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool; Director, Impacts 08 — European Capital of Culture Research Programme

The Olympic Games are recognized worldwide as the largest sports mega-event certainly the event attracting the largest amount of media coverage globally. However, beyond a sports event, the Olympics is also a cultural phenomenon that can have considerable influence over local, national and international cultural policy. This cultural dimension tends to be represented by the media via popular ceremonial events, such as the Olympic torch relay that precedes the start of the Games, and the opening and closing ceremonies. Beyond these highly recognized aspects, the Games also incorporate a cultural and arts programme that is playing a growing role in defining or contributing to respective Olympic host cities' cultural policies, the production of local symbols and the reinforcement of cultural values. Since Barcelona 1992, this programme has become officially characterized as a four-year Cultural Olympiad. However, the Cultural Olympiad has failed to attract significant media attention to date and has remained one of the least visible and most misunderstood aspects of the Olympic experience.

This chapter reviews the functions and position of two opposite sides of the spectrum of Olympic cultural value production: a) opening and closing ceremonies and b) the Cultural Olympiad. The ceremonies are clearly the most globally symbolic moment for Olympic cultural representation, though they are produced and consumed mainly as a broadcast phenomenon. In contrast, the Cultural Olympiad caters almost exclusively to the local population (before the Games) and the live Olympic audience (during the Games), while remaining practically invisible to the global media and its remote audience. As I will describe, these circumstances are not inherent to the types of activities that they entail, but there are organizational limitations that restrict the presence of the Cultural Olympiad from an Olympic branding and media point of view. To this extent, a fundamental challenge for the diverse cultural dimensions of the Games to become more visible and central to the 'Olympic experience' involves coming to terms with the complex organizational structure of the Olympic programme at large and how that interfaces with the media agenda that exists around the 16 days of elite sports competition.

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Cultural values at the Olympic Games

Since their first edition in 1896, the modern Olympic Games have evolved as an international phenomenon that reflects the evolving cultural values of international society over time. Originally conceived as a platform to inspire youth through the pedagogic potential of sport and as a platform for peaceful international exchange in the wake of two world wars, they have also become a mechanism to profile national pride and, with the advent of television and live worldwide media coverage, as a catalyst for global branding. In this sense, the cultural dimension of the Olympic Games emerge at the interface between the collective memory of over 100 years of symbolic historical moments; the lived and localised experience of Games participants, spectators and host residents; and the global mediated experience of Games audiences worldwide. Olympic cultural values can thus be seen to emerge out of three interconnected dimensions of the Games: the Olympics as a constructed symbolic ritual, a lived festival and a global brand (Garcia 2011, in press).

- The symbolic or constructed ritual dimension of the Games relates to the historical value of a centenary ‘Movement’, as defined by its founder, Pierre de Coubertin, and embodied in concepts such as Olympism. The notion of a Movement and Olympism as a ‘philosophy of life’ (IOC 1997) that frame and give meaning to the four-yearly celebration of the Games are presented in documents such as the Olympic Charter, which claim that the purpose of the Games is to advance a series of ‘Olympic values’, such as fair play, and that this is to be done by following strict rules for ‘Olympic protocol’ and protecting as well as promoting a series of ‘Olympic symbols’.
- The lived festival dimension of the Games refers to its location within a specific place and time: an Olympic host city, 16 days of competition, and over seven years of preparations that must be managed by a locally appointed Organising Committee and require considerable investment not only in terms of finances, but also public support. This means that the Games, beyond their historical international roots, must achieve a high degree of local ownership and engagement to ensure a successful hosting process as well as result in sustainable and tangible local legacies. The latter are crucial in ensuring that the Games remain attractive to future hosts.
- Finally, the global brand dimension of the Games refers to its embodiment as a media event. The Olympics as a ‘brand’ is owned by a global network, the Olympic Family, led by the IOC, in over 205 nation states, and its commercial value is achieved via the sale of sponsorship as well as media rights worldwide. The strength of the brand is directly proportional to the strength of its symbolic and lived festival dimension, but it is mainly experienced through the media.

At present, the Olympic Games are understood first and foremost as a global media event, and it is through the sale of media rights (particularly, broadcasting rights) and worldwide sponsorship deals that it has become financially viable. This close relationship and dependence on media stakeholders has had important effects on the way the cultural dimension of the Games is managed and represented. Back in 1992, Moragas already argued that the promotion and selection of values developed through a complex communication production process – signs, rituals, images, *mise en scène*, advertising, information – were the principal cultural (and political) responsibility of the Olympic Games staging process (1992, 17). In a media-led cultural value production era, we can identify the following areas as the main sources of Olympic cultural production:

- The symbols of the Games and the Olympic Movement: These include the logo and emblem of each Games, the mascots, all merchandising materials and commercial applications of those symbols (eg. accessories, clothing, decoration...), Olympic posters, the corporate design or ‘look of the Games’ (including pictograms, Olympic buildings design, staff uniforms, stationery design, publications design and so on) and other symbols such as the traditional Olympic stamps and coins, Olympic slogans and Olympic songs.
- Olympic ceremonies and rituals: These include both the opening and closing ceremonies, which are considered the peak event of the Games in terms of public awareness and interest, and have become the most viewed events in the world due to global television coverage; the torch relay, which is one of the greatest Olympic experiences in terms of public

participation and community interest; and the medal ceremonies, which involve the podium, raising of winners national flags, and national hymns.

- The promotional strategy for the Games and ‘brand image’ of the host-city: These include the construction of city marketing strategies, as well as international Olympic marketing as exemplified by the ‘Celebrate Humanity’ IOC led advertising campaigns that tend to be highlighted in the context of each edition of the Games.
- The cultural activities programme: This refers to the organisation of special cultural and arts events prior to and during the Olympic period. This is the least regulated of all the areas listed here and, as discussed below, it is becoming an area of opportunity for the implementation of distinct cultural policies as well as facing major media challenges.

All the elements listed above can contribute to the creation of a particular image of the Games and the host-city culture. Furthermore, they are a powerful source for the transmission of values and identity signs that can assist in promoting the host city’s cultural policy choices among the international media. For example, the choice of mascot design, Olympic emblem and the look of the Games in Barcelona 1992 was aimed at reflecting the contemporary, stylised and design-loving character of the city. However, it could be argued that many of these elements can also flatten the host’s values and images. This is the case for logos, slogans and merchandising materials that are designed as marketing and advertising tools with a strong commercial focus but without a clear cultural and symbolic dimension. As noted by Garcia (2007), a common limitation in recent look-of-the-Games strategies has been the establishment of standardized design styles for flags and building wraps, leading to the paradoxical circumstance where cities as different as Sydney, Athens and Beijing have been dressed following almost identical formats, with only slight (often quite tokenistic) design variations.

Overall, as it has been noted from the start of this chapter, the cultural dimension and impact of the Games goes far beyond the realm of sport. However, Olympic structures have been slow in devising appropriate cultural policy mechanisms to acknowledge this situation, particularly in commercial and operational terms. This has traditionally led local host authorities to take the lead and develop Olympic cultural programmes that, while significant within their local context, have often failed to gain visibility within international Olympic circles or have failed to be perceived as a central dimension of the Olympic experience.

An additional challenge in the representation of cultural values in the context of the Olympics is the need to overcome the potential divide between meaningful local and national representation, and their translation into a global mediated arena (see Berkaak 1999; Garcia 2001 and 2011, in press; MacAloon 1996; Moragas 1988 and 1992; Puijk 1999). This dilemma has been at the heart of the production of the most visible and highly mediated cultural component of the Games hosting process: the opening and closing ceremonies. Interestingly, this dialectic has also had an impact on the visibility and appreciation of the other key component of the Games’ cultural dimension: its official cultural programme or Cultural Olympiad, which, in contrast with the ceremonies, has remained practically invisible from a global media point of view. The rest of this chapter explores the different role that each of these components has played to shape the cultural policy of the Games and their potential as well as limitations to bring long-lasting legacies for respective host cities as well as the Movement at large.

Opening and closing ceremonies

Opening and closing ceremonies are the the most visible aspect of the Olympic Games and the most widely recognised representation of its cultural dimension. They have become the key exemplar of the Games global outreach, attracting estimated simultaneous television audiences of two to three billion people in the two hundred plus nations that compete at the Games. Much has been written about their role offering a platform for symbolic re-enactments of national identity as well as a platform to showcase Olympic values (see MacAloon 1984; Moragas et al. 1996; Tomlinson 1996). The IOC is aware of the symbolic and cultural significance of the ceremonies, the opening event in particular, and has developed detailed guidelines to

ensure a continuum in the underlying Olympic narrative as well as provide space to showcase local and national discourses.

The narrative of the Games as an expression of a long-standing Movement (what I term the ‘constructed ritual’ dimension) is brought to the fore in the sections prescribed by the IOC as part of the Olympic protocol, and includes the parade of participants, speeches by Olympic authorities, the playing of the Olympic anthem, the entry and raising of the Olympic flag, the last stage of the Olympic torch relay and lighting of the Olympic cauldron, the symbolic release of pigeons, the taking of the Olympic oath by an athlete and an official, and playing the national anthem of the host country (IOC 2008a). All of these elements are strictly regulated by the IOC and documented in detailed manuals. In contrast, the artistic programme or cultural showcase section of an opening ceremony is open to interpretation and has led to a variation of formats over the years. MacAloon identifies three main presentation models. These range from the most spectacular show-oriented model – the 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 and 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 always know or think they know, in advance” (MacAloon 1996, 31). When the impresario model prevails, the focus is on spectacle and the ‘unexpected’.

While there is no doubt that such moments can have a dramatic impact in terms of viewing figures, and are an opportunity to present a strong message about the host city and nation, the cultural policy significance of such segments has been contested (Garcia and Miah 2000; Garcia 2011, in press). The main limitation is the result of the framework that makes such events so globally significant in the first place: their complete dependence on global broadcasting imperatives.

“Olympic opening and closing ceremonies, while offering great opportunities for the showcasing and representation of a host-city’s culture, have become such a restricted media-bound exercise that it often fails to achieve so. Their large scale, strict time concentration, and ever growing dependence on television demands tends to transform such ceremonies 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 being presented.” (Garcia 2011, in press)

As noted by MacAloon, what is presented in an Olympic ceremony needs to reach a universal audience in a simultaneous framework and needs to be easily transmitted and interpreted through the media. As such, the event must be committed “to be internationally sensitive to very different cultures and to avoid offending highly diverse and highly politicised social and cultural groups” (MacAloon 1996, 39-40). Moreover, this tends to result in the “regular production of historically deracinated, abstract and culturally neutered representations [...] of Olympic rituals” which may lead to simplistic interpretations by the public.

The significance of the Olympic ritual sections as opposed to the host cultural representation sections is an interesting subject of discussion. For while the cultural section is one of the most zealously guarded aspects of the Olympic hosting process, and the one dimension where local hosts invest most heavily, the established protocol sections are the one chance for the Movement aspect of the Olympics to gain visibility and manifest its underlying historical and universal aspirations. In 2000, in the wake of a period of intense criticism against Olympic structures and accusations of corruption within the Olympic Family, particularly in terms of the Games’ host selection process, the IOC funded research to assess the international broadcast narrative of the Sydney Opening and Closing Ceremonies (CEO-UAB 2001). The core interest was to investigate how journalists portrayed the Movement and the IOC as an organisation. In line with the findings that had been published five years earlier on the experience of Barcelona 1992 (Moragas, Rivenburgh and Larson 1995), this research showed how, despite the ceremonies providing a single and simultaneous official discourse, interpretation varied widely across countries. Some of the most widely diverse interpretations concerned coverage of the parade of participants, which varied according to the level of closeness or ignorance of respective broadcasters in relation to participants’ nationalities, as well as interpretation of the artistic or cultural showcase segment.

The ultimate paradox is that, while opening ceremonies play a unique role in establishing a collective memory for whole nations and gathering the attention of the world on a single cultural discourse, they may fail both to be internationally inter-

preted and understood in the way the local hosts intend, and may fail to reflect the complexity of local culture. In contrast, among the ensemble of cultural value production sources, there is a component that could be 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, which, from Barcelona 1992 onwards, has been implemented as a four-year event or Cultural Olympiad. The latter has offered host cities greater chances to develop consistent cultural policy initiatives and build up longer term strategies to promote and expand awareness of the host-city and nation idiosyncrasies. However, they have failed to attract global attention and secure direct association with other Olympic messages. The following section provides and overview of its progression, challenges and potential over time.

Cultural Olympiads

The notion of a specific programme of cultural and artistic events taking place in parallel to the sporting competitions was part of the original vision for the Games as a blend of sport, culture and education. Baron Pierre de Coubertin established the principle of 'Olympic Art Competitions' at a special congress in Paris in 1906, and the first official programme was presented for the 1912 Games in Stockholm. These competitions were also named the 'Pentathlon of the Muses', as their purpose was to bring artists to present their work and compete for 'art' medals across five categories: architecture, music, literature, sculpture and painting (Stanton 2000). The main vision behind such a concept was to ensure that the Games acted as a platform to bring together the different dimensions of human excellence, and ensure that athletes and intellectuals could be mutually inspired, as was reported to be the case during the Ancient Games in Greece.

The Pentathlon of the Muses or Art Competitions developed in parallel to other dimensions of the Olympic pangeant and provided an avenue for artists to make a direct contribution to the Games. However, the decision to present the work in a competitive fashion was difficult to implement, particularly as there was growing disagreement about how to define categories and how to determine the purpose of eligible Olympic art. Ongoing discussions concerned the need or not to favour explicit or figurative representations of sport as opposed to allowing more abstract manifestations in tune with international arts trends. A parallel discussion was the adequacy of retaining the established five categories to account for the wealth and diversity of artistic expression, particularly given the growing international outreach of the Games and the subsequent challenge to Western artistic canons as the only possible point of reference. For instance, within the literature section, how to judge and compare a British theatre play with a Japanese piece of poetry?

The Berlin Games in 1936 offer one of the most ambitious examples of an Olympic art programme in this first period. The Games had been clearly identified by the local host as an opportunity to promote the ideals of Nazi Germany and cultural activity was also seen as a good vehicle to represent the supremacy of the Aryan race and Western civilisation. Cultural innovations brought in at the Berlin Games included the first Olympic torch relay, travelling from Olympia to the Berlin stadium, and the first artist-led Olympic film, Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*. These cultural manifestations became as central to the Olympic experience as the sport competitions, both during the Games and in their symbolic reconstruction for decades to come. From a cultural programming point of view, the most interesting aspect of this particular experience is the evidence that the Games were used as a mechanism to make Germany's national cultural policy discourse more visible internationally, and the use of artistic expression as a platform to contextualise the Games and use them for propaganda purposes, far beyond simple sports representation.

By the early 1950s, however, the IOC was strongly divided on the value and purpose of art competitions and, in 1952, it was finally decided to replace the notion of competitions by exhibitions and festivals. Beyond the ongoing discussion about actual content, the ultimate reason for the demise of arts competitions was the concern of the then IOC President, Avery Brundage, that artists were considered professionals in their undertaking, while the Games at the time were strictly for amateurs only, and refused entry to any competitor that sought commercial gain.

This new stage in the Olympic cultural programme tradition brought opportunities as well as challenges for the development of local, national and international cultural policy. On the one hand, Games organisers had greater freedoms to define the purpose of such programmes and determine who should be presenting what type of work. On the other, eliminating its competitive nature led to divorcing the programme from a strong national delegation following (and related patriotic sentiments), and this situation often led to fewer Olympic participants and less audience engagement and international focus. The programme was now mainly a platform for local cultural representation directed according to the specific interests of the host authorities, with much less of a direct involvement and fewer regulations from the top Olympic structures (Garcia 2008).

Some Olympic host countries saw the programme as an important opportunity to make a statement about a point in their history, and as an opportunity to profile the host nation, far and beyond what was possible within the sporting arenas and the highly regulated Olympic ceremonies and protocol. Mexico in 1968 provided one of the most ambitious festivals, spanning one year and acting as a showcase, not only of the best international art at the time, but also the best of Mexican contemporary art as well as folklore and heritage. For many, the ambition and quality of the programme served to prove Mexico as a country that may have been considered as part of the developing world from an economic point of view, but was certainly at the avantgarde of the first world in terms of art and culture. Interestingly, Mexico viewed the cultural programme in a more holistic fashion than other Games hosts and, beyond the arts, included in it discussions on education and science as well as advertising, design and communications. Montreal in 1976 also presented an innovative cultural programme, placing a clear emphasis on the connections between art and sport and exploring the presentation of arts activity within sporting venues, in particular the main Olympic Park avenue and the areas surrounding the stadium.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, other areas where artists and related creative practitioners made major contributions were the design of banners and logos, what is now termed ‘the look of the Games’. The imagery for Mexico 1968, Tokyo 1964 and Munich 1972 are all exemplars of avantgarde visual design rather than simple marketing and branding exercises, which can be viewed as a foremost example of powerful cultural policy innovation emerging out of the Games. These elements of the Games were however, often not treated as part of the official cultural programme (Mexico 1968 was a notable exception), and subsequent editions of the Games (except Barcelona 1992 and Torino 2006) have failed to use these environments as an expression of advanced place-sensitive creative practice, as noted in previous pages.

Another stage in Olympic cultural programming was initiated with the Barcelona 1992 Olympic bid, which proposed that the implementation of a Cultural Olympiad (a term already used in Mexico 1968 amongst others) should in fact take place during the four years of the Olympiad, from the end of one Games edition to the start of the next. Barcelona’s Cultural Olympiad thus started in 1988, at the end of the Seoul Games, and evolved up to 1992 with a different thematic emphasis for each year. The four-year format, although it is not an IOC requirement, has been maintained in subsequent Summer Games editions, while the Winter Games have also grown their ambitions for the Cultural Olympiad and have presented the first full four-year Olympiad programme in the lead-up to Vancouver 2010.

This last stage in Olympic cultural programme development has been characterised by two main phenomena. On the one hand, there has been a clearer alignment of the programme with local and national cultural policy ambitions than ever before, and set objectives have been in line with standard cultural event objectives (such as using the Games period not only to expand sport audiences but also cultural and arts audiences, and using the event to advance local creative development aspirations); social agendas (using the event to improve community inclusion, expand access to marginal or deprived communities and strengthen local or national identity); and economic agendas (repositioning cities, growing cultural tourism) (Garcia 2004). The kinds of political agendas that were common in previous periods have also been maintained, particularly for countries aspiring to overcome negative stereotypes related to their military past or human right issues, or for countries aspiring to present a more complex picture of their local identity, beyond fixed monocultural nation-state perceptions. On the other hand, the branding tension in relation to the main Olympic programme of sporting activity has become increasingly apparent, and there have been varied attempts at establishing separate ‘Cultural Olympiad’ or ‘Olympic Arts Festival’ brands, with various degrees of success (Garcia 2001).

Overall, though, a constant in the staging of Cultural Olympiads has been the lack of media attention and the extremely limited public recognition that such programmes generate (Garcia 2001, 2007 and 2008). While local authorities tend to see great value in highlighting the potential of a distinct cultural programme in their bid documents given that the cultural chapter within candidature questionnaires has traditionally been the area where applicants are allowed greater freedoms and thus greater opportunities to distinguish themselves from others, this is soon placed at a secondary level once the Games are awarded and the demands surrounding the staging of the main sports programme become apparent. Protecting the cultural programme becomes a lower priority for Organising Committees given the lack of clearly defined guidelines by the IOC (including few demands for accountability compared to other programmes), the lack of protected sources of funding (including apparent clashes with Olympic sponsor priorities and media rights agreements) and the lack of regulation to ensure minimum levels of media coverage in the context of other Olympic activity.

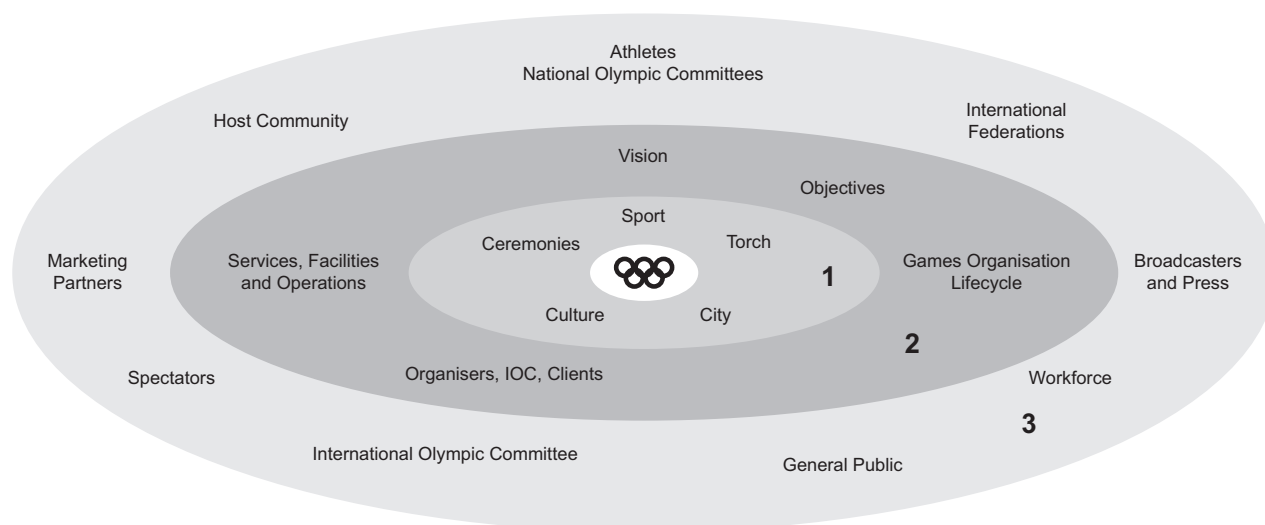
Some Olympic hosts, such as Barcelona 1992 and Athens 2004, viewed the Cultural Olympiad as a priority area as the Games were expected to help achieve a much wider cultural identity agenda for the city and/or nation. In such cases, the temptation has been to establish the Cultural Olympiad as a separate company, with links to the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games but not fully integrated within it. Such an approach has allowed some independence in decision making, but has also resulted in a marked disconnection between the core Olympic programme and the cultural activity programme, which often has been perceived as completely separate from the Games. Further, such an organisational division has not helped overcome the ongoing funding, branding and media attention tensions.

Sydney 2000 experimented with the notion of a distinct ‘Olympic arts’ brand by making the most of the established structure for delivery within the Organising Committee. The Olympic Arts Festival team (term used instead of Cultural Olympiad) was located within the marketing and special events division of the Organising Committee, and the general manager for the cultural programme was also general manager for the look-of-the-Games programme. This meant that certain synergies were found in the approach to city dressing, and banners were displayed to showcase Olympic arts activity as well as Olympic sports activity. However, during the 16 days of competition, the Olympic arts banners had to be removed, so the notion of an ‘Olympic arts’ brand was virtually nonexistent at the time of greatest media attention on the city. The Winter Games in Torino 2006 also tried to establish a visible identity for their cultural offering by establishing a look-of-the-city programme in parallel to their look-of-the-Games programme. This meant that, while in the areas surrounding the sport venues, generic look-of-the-Games banners prevailed (with strong diverse colouring and an emphasis on sports activity), in the city centre, particularly the grand ‘piazzas’, banners were all red (representing the notion of passion), and pictorial representations were all about iconic cultural attractions in the city (Garcia and Miah 2006). In the lead-up to London 2012, further branding discussions have emerged, this time trying to establish a ‘Cultural Olympiad’ brand that does not conflict with Olympic sponsor interests (such as protecting their exclusive access to the use of the rings), but allows cultural contributors to seek alternative sources of funding or acknowledge their own long-term sponsors. This has involved the establishment of an ‘Inspired by 2012’ mark, which is clearly associated with London 2012, but does not include the rings. Such a distinction offers a clear example of the different dimensions of cultural value associated with the Games: on the one hand, the local or national festival dimension (Inspire mark), mainly oriented towards those who will experience activities as live spectators in the lead-up to the Games; on the other, the global media event dimension (Olympic rings), which is mainly oriented towards broadcast audiences worldwide. In such a division, it becomes apparent that the Cultural Olympiad is clearly rooted within the local and national festival sphere, while only the ceremonies and 16 days of sports programme are central to the Games as a global media spectacle.

Ways forward : culture at the core of the Olympic experience

Almost a decade into the new millennium, the global media-event landscape has changed considerably and the Olympic Games can no longer claim to be completely ahead of any other form of large-scale event. The World Cup has grown into

another example of a sophisticated global festival, with important urban cultural policy dimensions, as demonstrated by the successful staging in Germany in 2006, where the excitement of competitions in the field were complemented by equally exciting celebrations outside the stadiums and throughout urban public spaces. In order to retain its point of distinction, the Olympic Movement must take on the challenge to expand opportunities for people to have a more holistic and live Olympic experience. This is currently being advocated by the executive Games production teams within the IOC in what is now termed the ‘360 Games Management Philosophy’ (IOC 2009). In the first instance, this largely relies on revisiting and expanding the interpretation and implementation of the Games’ cultural dimension. Such an ambition started becoming manifest in the guidelines for the 2016 Olympic Games candidate cities, and is even more clearly outlined for the 2018 candidate cities. In the lead-up to 2016, for the first time in a candidature questionnaire, references to the Games’ cultural component are not relegated to a minor chapter with little relation to other bid sections, but placed at the heart of what is defined as the ‘Olympic Experience’, in parallel to sport, torch, ceremony and other city activities.



Source: IOC 2008b – Author’s emphasis

This could mean that, after over a century, operating at the margins of Games’ delivery and media representation, the official Olympic cultural programme could become more integrated into other aspects of the Games and, as in the case of opening and closing ceremonies, have the opportunity to become a core source of symbolic and cultural value.

As noted within the first Olympic conference to be fully dedicated to the notion of legacy, “culture is not only one aspect of Olympic legacy, but the source of all others” (Moragas, Kennett and Puig 2003). The fact that cultural programming has traditionally played such a minor part in the symbolic media construction of the Games could in fact be seen as detrimental to the achievement of sustainable legacies. This ranges from the difficulty integrating new Olympic infrastructures into the post-Games host city (as has often been the case for Olympic Villages and Olympic Parks), to the difficulty ensuring that all sections of society perceive the value of the Games as more than a 16-day media spectacle, but rather an opportunity to be

directly involved and represented in ways that can lead to long-term change in life habits: from greater multicultural understanding to greater visibility for cultural minorities. In Sydney 2000, the achievements of Cathy Freeman as a gold medalist did much to improve the visibility and recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the national and international media. But parallel cultural programming was equally important to provide chances for direct participation through a wealth of community arts activity and new links between diverse neighborhood associations (Garcia 2007 and 2011, in press). The official Olympic Arts Festival played a critical role bringing contemporary Aboriginal artists to mainstream venues such as the Sydney Opera House and demonstrating that Aboriginal culture was more than tokenistic representations of didgeridoo playing and dot painting. Indeed, it is as vibrant as any other aspect of Australian culture, with young and old artists experimenting with new forms and providing a fresh insight into ever changing local and national identity as well as international projections.

In an extremely competitive commercial branding environment, the Olympic Games cannot afford to limit their cultural dimension to a narrowly defined media asset within opening and closing ceremonies or advertising campaigns. The real wealth of Olympic cultural value lies in the important opportunities for lived intercultural exchange among participants, spectators and residents, and the global platform it provides for a particular city and nation to make a cultural statement that is meaningful and owned by its community. Protecting and maximizing the visibility of Olympic cultural programming as integral to the implementation of the 16 days of sports competition can ensure that the richness and complexity of host cultures comes to the fore and provide a distinct identity to each edition of the Games, beyond the limitations of standard global branding techniques. Further, by making the most of local cultural production in the context of such an international mega-event, the Games can shape and change local cultural policy and help in the process towards greater intercultural understanding and exchange. With the new emphasis on a '360 Olympic experience', this is an interesting time to observe new developments in Olympic cultural programming and symbolic production processes. The challenge and the opportunity for organizers and policy-makers is to ensure that the pressure to respond to global media needs does not flatten the complexity of localized and diverse cultural narratives.

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Volunteers as a Variable in the Success of the Olympic Games in the 21st Century

Anna Belén Moreno Vílchez

Communications Manager, Economic Development, Barcelona City Council

The modern Olympic Games are an event that has often been disregarded by the academic world as an object of study, but the Games have become a unique setting for observing modern society from a wide variety of perspectives. An analysis of how the political, economic, social and cultural dynamics are reflected in each edition of the Olympic Games, and of the evolution of the Olympic Movement, provide a unique opportunity to understand the complexity of the 20th and 21st centuries. Furthermore, on many occasions, the Olympic Games have become a test bed for new technologies, new models for training, education and social connectivity, among others. For this reason, since its foundation 20 years ago, CEO-UAB has been characterised by cross and multi-disciplinary approaches to the subject, as reflected in its vast range of research, reports, conferences, symposiums and courses.

In 1999, CEO-UAB, in collaboration with the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, organised the International Symposium on Volunteers, Global Society and the Olympic Movement, as part of the activities of the International Chair in Olympism (IOC-UAB). The event was attended by over 100 experts in various academic disciplines, who debated the phenomenon of sports volunteering, and more specifically volunteering in the Olympics. Although the figure of the volunteer has been observed since the first modern Olympic Games in Athens (1896), it had never been an object of analysis for researchers in the Olympic Movement, who tend to focus more on sporting feats and achievements, Olympic symbolism or the relationship between politics and sport.

The aim of this article is to consider some of the conclusions from that symposium. The presentation (Moragas, Moreno and Paniagua 1999) provided a historical overview²⁸ of the concept of volunteering, giving the example of the potential of the Olympic Movement to bring together the hopes of individuals and groups in a world where solidarity, equality and taking part are key.

Volunteers as a variable in the success of the Olympic Games

Historically, the Los Angeles 1984 Olympic Games have been considered the start of the Olympic volunteering phenomenon as we know it today. Almost 30,000 people helped in a wide variety of ways: assisting with events, medical services, press, accompanying delegations and individuals, public relations, accreditation, technological and telecommunication services,

28. In 1999, a systematic analysis was performed on the official reports of each Olympic Games, both Summer and Winter, up to Atlanta 1996, and on a wide variety of literature on Olympism. An effort was also made to interview Olympic volunteers, but this was only possible for Games after Berlin 1936. For this review, the official reports of the Games from 1996 onwards were consulted, as were the websites of the future Games in 2010, 2012 and 2014, and of the candidate cities for the 2016 Olympic Games. The main research for the paper presented at the Symposium was carried out with support from the Spanish Directorate General for Scientific and Technical Research and the Spanish National Sports Council of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

transport, controlling access, food, finance, administration, etc. Furthermore, a specific department was set up to manage the volunteers, which played a significant role on the 25 subcommittees of the Organising Committee. This was a reflection of the increasingly fundamental role of volunteers.

However, four years earlier, at the Olympic Winter Games in Lake Placid (1980), the phenomenon of Olympic volunteering had already reached a key point in its development. The Organising Committee involved ‘civilian’ and individual volunteers in the programme and planning of the Games, in addition to the sports associations, national and international federations and social organisations, such as the Boy Scouts, (Moragas, Moreno and Paniagua 1999) that had traditionally been represented in this kind of event.

The indisputable importance of the work done by volunteers in Lake Placid can be summed up in one sentence of the official report: “Without this army of volunteers, 6,700 strong, the XIII Olympic Winter Games could not have become reality” (Organizing Committee of the XIII Olympic Winter Games Lake Placid 1980 1981, 164). The body of volunteers was made up of people from all walks of life: “An army of people was in Lake Placid during the XIII Olympic Winter Games about whom little was known. It was comprised of businessmen, students, teachers, homemakers, doctors, lawyers, professors, senior citizens and teenagers, skiers, hockey enthusiasts, bobsled fans, and skating lovers, in short, men, women and young people from all walks of life, and from all over the United States and the world” (Organizing Committee of the XIII Olympic Winter Games Lake Placid 1980 1981, 164). They all received specific training in each of the sports in the Olympic programme and worked in different areas: “The volunteers served as sport officials and organizers, as messengers and marshalls and mailers, as clerks, collators and crowd-controllers, as typists and timing officials, as judges and juries. They were unknown to the world because they worked behind the scenes, helping to ensure that the dozen days of skiing, skating, shooting, and sledding went smoothly” (Organizing Committee of the XIII Olympic Winter Games Lake Placid 1980 1981).

The advent of ‘civilian’ volunteering, which is understood to mean the individual engagement of citizens, was consolidated definitively at the Barcelona Olympic Games (1992). Even before Barcelona was named host Olympic city, as many as 102,000 volunteers had already signed up.

At Barcelona’92, there is no doubt that volunteers were visible in the media – for the first time ever – as a variable in the success of the Olympic Games. The growing importance of volunteers should be attributed to how the Olympic Games themselves have evolved throughout history, in a social, political and economic context that has witnessed significant periods of change such as the two World Wars, the Cold War, the 1970s oil crisis, the conflict in the Middle East, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Communist Bloc, the emergence of new countries, social protest movements, mass media (especially television), etc. According to Nigel Gann, voluntary organisations adapt to the circumstances of the times and reflect the structures and concerns of the times (Gann 1996).

The Games had expanded into a ‘mega-event’, especially from the 1980s; there was no doubt that they had become the most important event in the sporting calendar. The number of participants, both athletes and media, had escalated and, in this new phase, the role of the volunteer had grown; volunteers were incorporated into the structure and general planning of the Games. A volunteer participates personally, without being paid, in a group project and becomes a symbol of engagement of the society organising the Games in the values of the Olympic Movement.

Within this framework, the figure of the volunteer is made visible and takes its place in Olympic rhetoric and symbolism. For this reason, in the International Symposium on Volunteers, Global Society and the Olympic Movement, it was claimed that volunteers were seen as major stakeholders in the Games and as a group that represented the host community.

There are notable examples of such public tributes. In the Plaça dels Voluntaris, Barcelona, the sculpture, *David and Goliath*, by Antoni Llena, was erected in recognition of the volunteers’ work at the Barcelona Games.

Sydney went one step further in their tribute to the volunteers, by recognising their individual efforts. On 5 October 2000, the volunteers that had taken part in the Olympic Games congregated in Sydney's main streets. This was how, for the first time in the history of the modern Olympics, the host city and country paid tribute to its volunteers. They became known as the 'silent heroes' of a great Games, as described by some broadcasters at the time. According to the official report, the volunteers were the image of the Sydney Olympics, (SOCOG 2001, 169). In addition to the volunteers' 'lap of honour' around the streets of the city, the day after the Australian Olympic athletes had done the same, the national press published the names of all the volunteers,²⁹ which also appear on a monument that can be visited today in the Olympic Park.³⁰

As was reported in the conclusions of the symposium, without the contribution of volunteers it is not possible to account for the day-to-day operation, the success or the vastness of modern Olympic Games. This contribution, which has existed since the early years, has now become a more central issue, as the Olympic Games have become more complex and have grown in size.

Table 1. Evolution of volunteer participation in Olympic Games

Olympic Summer Games	
Seoul 1988	27,221
Barcelona 1992	34,548
Atlanta 1996	60,422
Sydney 2000	46,967
Athens 2004	39,494
Beijing 2008	70,000*
Olympic Winter Games	
Lake Placid 1980	6,703
Sarajevo 1984	10,450
Calgary 1988	9,498
Albertville 1992	8,647
Lillehammer 1994	9,054
Nagano 1998	32,579
Salt Lake City 2002	20,000
Torino 2006	18,000

(*) The Beijing 2008 official report has yet to be published, therefore the figure has been taken from news reports during the Games.

29. Under the headline "Our 2000 Olympics volunteers" or "Roll of honour for the 2000 Olympics volunteers".

30. "A forest of 400 poles in front of the Olympic Stadium, entitled *Games Memories*, was unveiled in 2002, to honour the Games' volunteers". www.metropolis-server.com/metropolis/sites/default/files/reuniones/sydney_2008/publicaciones/MEGAEVENT_1.pdf

Volunteers within the economic structure of the Olympic Games

As well as volunteers being included as a variable in the success of an Olympic Games, allowing the media and public opinion to judge and appreciate the organisation of the Games, volunteers have become a determining factor in the economic sustainability of the event.

In recent years, there has been an increase in the amount of research (Baum and Lockstone 2007, 29) on the impact of volunteers in the organisation of large sporting events, especially with regard to the large savings that can be made by accessing the huge potential of unpaid staff carrying out basic tasks that enable complex and large organisations to run smoothly.

However, the economic impact of sports volunteers is equally as crucial in sport in general. In 1999, Laurence Chalip (Chalip 2000) explained how a study on the economic impact in Australia, in 1998, demonstrated that the sports system all over the country would not function without the contribution of volunteers. According to his study, sport was one of the 25 largest industries in the country, since it accounted for 1% of the Australian Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Of this figure, 20%, some AUS\$1.6 billion, was accounted for by the volunteers' economic contribution.

At the beginning of the modern Olympic Movement, volunteers also carried out professional roles. In a large number of national federations, especially those with few members, volunteers habitually carry out professional roles, and many sports clubs were set up as a result of the efforts of volunteers that were amateur athletes.³¹ In fact, without the unpaid, efficient acts of solidarity that are contributed by sports volunteers, modern sport would not be what it is today.

Therefore, sports volunteers, and more particularly Olympic volunteers, carry out functions that would be difficult for the Organising Committee to cover financially if they were carried out by paid staff, which constitutes a saving in salaries.

Table 2: Some of the tasks performed by volunteers

- Services for spectators, the media and sponsors
 - Services for athletes and technical teams
 - Preparation and maintenance of sports facilities
 - Assisting the accreditation service
 - Assisting with transport
 - Tourist information centres
 - Welcome desks
 - Assisting in medical and anti-doping services
 - Assisting in media centres
 - Assisting with security
 - Translators and interpreters
 - Guides for the Olympic Family
 - Medal ceremonies
 - Olympic torch relay
 - Opening and closing ceremonies
-

31. Pierre de Coubertin, himself, with the support of friends and directors of sports associations of the time, worked on a voluntary basis to found the International Olympic Committee, creating the modern Olympic Games.

However, the cost of organising and training the volunteers should not be overlooked, nor should their potential for adversely affecting the image and operations of the Games, in the case of bad management of volunteers. For this reason, it is necessary to allocate a large proportion of the budget to the effective training and management of volunteers to ensure that the Games run smoothly and are successful.

In the Torino 2006 Games, the cost of training and managing the volunteers was higher than for the rest of human resources. In total, between 2000 and 2006, the Organising Committee allocated €20.9m to human resources, of which €11.2 million was allocated to volunteers (TOROC 2007, 21). In Athens 2004, the cost of the volunteer programme was €33.8 million (ATHOC 2005, 131).

A further third economic effect is closely related to the legacy of holding the Olympic Games. The fact that thousands of people in a city or around the country receive training means that the population becomes more highly qualified in a very short period of time. In recent years, there has been a trend for grant holders and students to join volunteer programmes as an opportunity to receive training. The complex organisation of the Olympic Games means that volunteers are required to carry out a wide variety of functions and become specialised in certain areas, thus providing training opportunities that would be difficult to find in the normal job market.

In this respect, sociologists have speculated that, in the future, volunteering will be seen as a training option for the unemployed, offering work experience for young people and a new career direction for retired people. Undoubtedly, these employment opportunities are now also a motivating factor and constitute a non-remunerated compensation³² for the volunteers. Participating in the organisation of the Olympic Games offers an opportunity to gain work experience, which could be useful when looking for a job later on, and could also provide a useful source of professional contacts.

However, despite all this, volunteer work should never be considered as a substitute for paid work. Part of the success of the organisation of the Olympic Games consists in achieving the right balance between paid and voluntary staff. Baum and Lockstone specifically refer to the volunteers' code of practice, developed by Volunteering Australia, which sets out some principles such as the following: "Volunteering is not a substitute for paid work and volunteers do not replace paid workers and do not constitute a threat to the job security of paid workers" (Baum and Lockstone 2007, 32).

Volunteers as part of 'official' Olympic symbolism

Another noteworthy aspect of this 'new' phase in Olympic volunteering is how it has unquestionably been incorporated into Olympic symbolism. In the media, volunteers now symbolise the spirit of the Games: participation, sacrifice, overcoming personal challenges, solidarity, etc. The relationship between the Olympic Games and its volunteers has become an essential factor in terms of its added value for a sporting event that is considered to be 'unique' for its 'moral' and 'global' contribution to society.

The conclusions of the symposium in 1999 called for a strengthening of the institutional recognition of Olympic volunteers, given their incorporation into the 'official' symbolism of the Olympic Movement. It was proposed that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) create a specific programme or commission for Olympic volunteers, and also consider the technical and human aspects for volunteers in the application process and in the legacy of the Games.

In 2001, the IOC joined in the activities for the International Year of Volunteers, as declared by the General Assembly of the

32. In the first Olympic Games, as is the case today, personal satisfaction is the main reward for volunteers; to achieve personal goals by carrying out the work and functions allocated in the context of a large organisation. In addition to these 'moral' rewards, there are other more material ones, such as the right to attend certain events or other advantages for being a member of an organisation, or a commemorative distinction or certificate.

United Nations. In recent years, the IOC has also paid special attention to volunteers at the Games by means of tributes and by featuring them in promotional material for the institution. However, the relationship with volunteers is still considered to be the responsibility of the Organising Committee, as a temporary relationship, and limited to the duration of each edition of the Games. Consequently, neither a commission nor a specific programme for a global and coordinated Olympic volunteers' movement has been created³³.

In the organisation of the current Games, it has been impossible for the IOC to overlook the importance of volunteers. While the candidature questionnaire (IOC 2008) that cities are required complete as part of the procedure to become an Olympic host city does not include a specific section about the planning and management of volunteers, it does indeed include specific questions about human resource costs for paid staff and volunteers alike. There are also questions about planning and the role of volunteers in medical and anti-doping services and in transport and security, and about the training that will be provided to volunteers in Olympic sports that are lesser known in the host country, or for the Paralympics.

However, the inclusion of these questions in the candidature process does not accurately reflect the extent of the contribution that volunteers make to the organisation and beyond, whether it be as transmitters and representatives of global or local values, as a link between the Games host community and the Olympic Family or as promoters of an education based on solidarity, participation and altruism.

Organising Committees, for the time being, have sole responsibility for carving out the future of Olympic volunteering, and they have the possibility of structuring future relationships between citizens and the Olympic Games. For the post-Games period, London 2012 has, for example, set an objective of creating a 'family' of volunteers (LOCOG 2009) who wish to stay in touch, in order to boost volunteering in the United Kingdom and to create a new volunteering spirit, an improved network to exchange information and better preparation.³⁴

In the recent candidature procedure for the 2016 Olympic Games, the four candidate cities (Chicago, Madrid, Rio de Janeiro and Tokyo) set up a programme for signing up as an Olympic volunteer, in parallel to the candidature procedure. Furthermore, the four cities included references to the volunteers in their candidature report and referred to their legacy for the city.

Thus, the Chicago candidature referred to a corps of volunteers who would be redeployed after the Games to support causes and programmes related to the Olympic Movement (USOC 2009, 15). Tokyo also made reference to a legacy,³⁵ but stressed the tradition of volunteer work that exists in Japanese society and outlined the training and organisation for the 50,000 volunteers that they claimed would be recruited. According to the Japanese Olympic Committee, with an anticipated 50,000 volunteers, Tokyo 2016 would also be able to disseminate volunteering culture in Japan. For an event of the magnitude of Tokyo 2016, the involvement of a large number of volunteers would be required (JOC 2009, 29).

In the case of Madrid and Rio de Janeiro, the two cities that reached the final round, mention was also made of volunteers in their reports and, in the presentation of their candidatures before the IOC on 2 October 2009 in particular, they became symbolic and emotional components, as examples of public support. According to the survey carried out by the IOC, 84.9% of Madrid citizens supported holding the Games, while in Rio de Janeiro, 84.5% of the citizens supported the bid (IOC 2009, 89).

The phenomenon of citizen volunteers has been definitively consolidated. Whereas in the past volunteers' motives were religious or humanitarian, or driven by a desire to bridge the gap between different classes, the Olympic Games have helped to create a new kind of volunteering that is also global, based on values of solidarity, peace, tolerance and participation, and

33. The United Nations has an international network of volunteers with its own specific programme: <http://www.unv.org/>

34. "Voluntarios 2000" is a volunteers association that was set up following the Barcelona'92 Games and is still running.

35. The Tokyo candidature presented some innovative ideas for organising volunteers before, during, and after the Games, such as, for example, the Tokyo Volunteer Bank, a volunteer database created with the aim of sharing information on availability of volunteers and voluntary positions.

independent from the specific characteristics of the host society.

Volunteers in the Games in the 21st century: new technologies

By 1999, the Internet had already made its presence known in various aspects of life and society, and the number of users and the development of applications had soared. The Internet was also incorporated into the Olympic Games, although, according to Moragas (2001, 5), in the early stages (1995-2000), the institutional use of the Internet was limited to promotional information, without causing any changes to its communication strategies, let alone to the way they were organised. In fact, it is considered that the Internet era did not start until Atlanta'96, with the launch of the first official website for an Organising Committee (ACOG) (<http://www.atlanta.olympic.org>), which received a total of 185 million visits in the first 16 days of the Games (Moragas 2001, 9).

However, the IOC was quick to integrate new technologies and new virtual media into its traditional structures, with significant economic and media repercussions, such as the negotiation of television broadcast rights and the management of accreditations for digital media in the Olympic Games.

The main challenge for the Olympic Games on the Internet is, without doubt, “webcasting: live sports broadcasts or recordings on the Internet. If this technology enables sports broadcasting on a computer or on a mobile phone, the convergence of digital television and the Internet also means that events can be broadcast directly via television sets. If exclusivity cannot be guaranteed, as is the case with television broadcast rights today, broadcasting the Olympic Games on the Internet, aside from losing any kind of exclusivity, will mean that the media will not be able to delay broadcasts until prime time. This could have serious consequences on attracting high-paying advertisers and, as a result, this would affect the capacity of the media to recoup the millions spent on purchasing television broadcast rights” (Moragas and Kennett 2005, 15).

In the case of Olympic volunteering, the question is whether, as well as providing information in a new format, new technologies can bring changes in terms of the management, planning and the concept of volunteering, given the creative applications of Web 2.0 for setting up social networks. For example, during Barack Obama's presidential campaign in 2008, new technologies and the capacity to manage a network of virtual volunteers were the most crucial factors in the Democrat candidate's success at mobilising supporters.

The Olympic Games have yet to face up to the challenge of embracing new technologies as an alternative communication channel, offering an unlimited range of possibilities, reduced costs and a significant legacy in terms of training and associative action. Likewise, an intensive use of the Internet should improve the integration of people with disabilities and make the best use of available knowledge and training in the Olympics and Paralympics.

Vancouver 2010, for example, was quick to set up a volunteer group on Facebook.³⁶ The Organising Committee for Rio de Janeiro 2016 seems to have seen these opportunities and has already set up a Twitter account and an online support campaign, originally for the candidature, and now for the Games. Brazil is one of the countries with the most dramatic rise in Internet use over the last 10 years (Barbosa 2009). Perhaps it is the advent of virtual Olympic volunteering, where essential tasks concerning communication and volunteer management will be carried out online rather than in person.

Without doubt, the world will eagerly attend future events in the Olympic calendar and also see the evolution of volunteering. However, we can be certain that, regardless of the inevitable changes ahead in the mechanisms for participation and social cohesion resulting from virtual communication, volunteers will maintain the characteristics that clearly identify them with the Olympic Movement: personal engagement, contribution to society and altruism.

36. <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=40138368009>

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Olympism and Gender Studies

Natividad Ramajo

Tenured Lecturer, Department of Audiovisual Communications and Advertising I,
Autonomous University of Barcelona; CEO-UAB Research Collaborator

Ibone Lallana del Rio

Communications and Marketing Manager, Barcelona Olympic Foundation; CEO-UAB Research Collaborator

Media-related gender studies are traditional areas of research for the main universities and centres in the Western world. While the influential power of the media at every level of society makes them the perfect vehicle for perpetuating gender stereotypes, the media are also an excellent way of bringing about social change. In today's context of globalisation, there is an even greater need to understand the dynamics of the various cultural industries connected with gender studies and women's studies.

Research of this kind began to gain momentum from the 1970s onwards, encompassing several disciplines: anthropology, sociology, psychology and also the field of communications. Gender, as an object of analysis, refers to an idea of relationships: of women in relation to their surroundings, and also in comparison to men. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the role of women from a position of union, rather than of isolation in the world, disconnected from the outside. It is impossible to understand the role that women now have in the new social setting if they are disassociated from the world of men. Men and women are integral parts of the same system, of the same reality. It is a reality in which the media have become transmitters of the values and thinking that are present in society, but they also generate new kinds of relationships. For this reason, studies linking the gender perspective with the media have grown in importance.

In the particular case of CEO-UAB, the tendency towards studies that combine aspects of gender and the media has been consolidated in the last decade. Thus, CEO-UAB has embarked on a new area of study based on the subject of gender and the media in the sports sector, and specifically in the Olympic Games. In this respect, it is only reasonable to think that, in a society where the term 'equality' has become a regulatory tool for minimising the differences (in our case with specific regard to the treatment and presence of female athletes in the media), institutions such as CEO-UAB should embrace this concern at the beginning of this decade and find ways to respond to it through various studies.

In a cross-national context, at the end of the 1980s, the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG) began work to identify the main needs arising in female sports. The work carried out by this working group gathered pace following the Brighton Declaration³⁷ in 1994, when the IWG set the foundations for future actions with the ultimate goal of eradicating any existing inequality between male and female sports events.

37. The first International Conference on Women and Sport was held from 5-8 May 1994 in Brighton, United Kingdom. It was organised by the British Sports Council and was supported by the IOC. The Declaration was endorsed by 280 delegates from 82 countries, made up of representatives from governmental and non-governmental organisations, Olympic Committees, national and international sports federations, and also education and research institutes. The Brighton Declaration set out measures designed to increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles.

Today, the IWG continues its work of promoting female sport and of achieving gender equality in sport. In this respect, it is worthy of note that five international conferences have been held since 1994 (the fifth was held in May 2010 in Sydney, Australia). A particular example of its work is that of Anita Defrantz from the United States, who was vice president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from 1997 to 2001, and is one of the founders of the International Working Group on Women and Sport. This athlete is currently the chairperson of the IOC's Women and Sport Commission, where she has established guidelines for the different National Olympic Committees to follow, setting the minimum level of representation by women in all the structures at 25%.

In recent decades, moreover, a surge in the number of media-related gender studies has coincided with the highest coverage of sport in the media ecosystem. It could be said that sport has undergone a change of venue, from the sports field to the media, and has become a major media spectacle. Over that same period, the media have undergone a deep-rooted transformation, with the advent of private television broadcasters, the emergence of new channels and an increase in broadcast rights. Following this, technological, economic and cultural globalisation has directly resulted in the emergence of a major audiovisual sports industry. International studies along these lines of research have been carried out by Real 1985, Kang, MacAloon and DaMata 1988, Whannel 1992 and, more recently, Wenner 2000, Boyle and Haynes 2004 and Rowe 2004. On a national level, noteworthy contributions have been made by Moragas 1992, 1994 and 2001 and Moragas et al. 1996, who is one of the pioneers in research on the relationship between the Olympic Games and sport in general with culture and the media.

With regard to the specific imbrications between gender and sport, at the end of the 1970s, feminist theories began to severely criticise the fact that, in sport, the biological and physical differences between the genders mirrored the social and cultural interpretations of the male and female roles (Bernstein 2002). Sport is viewed as a sexist institution with a clear masculine orientation which gives men priority over women (Sabo and Jansen 1992). A duality exists, which at the same time sets up a comparison between 'male sport' and 'female sport' (Kane 1995). From this perspective, 'female sports' take place within a male-dominated sports world, in which they only play a part (Theberge 1997). This means that sport, on a global scale, in terms of a social institution, can be considered to be the greatest perpetrator of male superiority over women (Duncan and Hasbrooh 1988).

From a realistic point of view, it is true that women develop the same interest in doing sport as men. The difference lies in the fact that female athletes tend to seek to gain mastery of the sport and personal improvement, whereas men need to compete and their personal goal is to do well against an opponent (Antúnez 2001). Historically, it is also true to say that sport has been less important in women's lives than in men's, but it is also the case that the growth of women's involvement in sport in recent years has brought about the most significant and notable change of the 20th century in the sports structure (Coakley 2003). When modern sport began, women only played a few sports that were widely considered to be gender appropriate, such as swimming or tennis. With the passage of time and as incipient feminism began to effect changes, particularly after World War II, women were inspired to take part in other sports that were not considered to be female sports.

This widespread involvement of women in sporting life has yet to be reflected in the world of media. The media display a tendency to minimise the participation of women in sport. Some data reveal extremely surprising facts. For example, 1992 was the first year when television sports broadcasts involving women outnumbered those of sports involving animals (Lopiano 2002). There are many studies that quantify the participation of women compared with men in sport, but the resulting data coincide in that it barely reaches 5% (Lumpkin and Williams 1991; Tuggle 1997 and 2004; Bernstein 2002; Duncan et al. 2000 and 2005; Billings, Angelini and Eastman 2005; Markula 2009).

The Olympic Games, however, is a world apart, where in recent times, the presence of female athletes has been normalised at an equal level to that of male athletes. However, in the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens in 1896, the participation of women was completely vetoed. Three decades later, at the Amsterdam 1928 Games, the female contingent reached 10% of the total and, finally, in the latest Olympic Games of the modern era, Beijing 2008, this figure reached 42% (IOC 2008).

In this respect, Billings (2008) carried out a study on the coverage of female presence in six different editions of the Olympic Games and found that 48.1% of all broadcasts were of women participating in them, and the percentage was even higher in the Atlanta 1996 Games (promoted by the American NBC television network as the 'Women's Games'). However, this author goes on to clarify certain aspects, such as the fact that coverage during the Olympic Games is always influenced by a number of issues, which go beyond strict matters of sport, whether it be following national athletes, the athletes' media profile, or the popularity of each sporting event. This could go a long way to explaining why there is such a difference between the coverage of female sports in the Olympic Games and in sports events outside the Games. In addition to Billings' results, Markula (2009) also indicates the effectiveness that the gender equality policies introduced by the IOC seem to have had, since not only has the number of female athletes participating in the Games increased, but so has the number of sports in which they participate, giving the female athlete greater visibility.

Another approach to studies on gender, sport and the media is a qualitative analysis of broadcasts, to verify the patterns used in images and texts by narrators and commentators. Thus, voluntarily or involuntarily, certain stereotypes can be reinforced, such as men's physical and emotional dominance over women (Kinnick 1998). Another example of this is presented in the work by Eastman and Billings (1999), in which, after analysing three editions of the Olympic Games (the Winter Games of Lillehammer 1994 and Nagano 1998 and the Summer Games of Atlanta 1996), they reached the conclusion that commentators were more likely discuss the physical attractiveness of female athletes on the one hand, and the strength and stamina of male athletes on the other. It was also reported that women could receive more media attention if they participated in sports that put their charm, charisma or beauty on show (Banet-Weiser 2002; Koivula 2001; Parsons and Betz 2001). This is a clear reference to the fact that female beauty, as an attribute, receives a lot of attention in sport, since it is perceived as a value by the public through the media's influence over the public (Bisell 2010). Continuing along these lines, another study by Billings (2003) on the 1999 U.S. Tennis Open showed that although women received 59% of total television coverage, the amount of praise and criticism directed at them was lower than that for men. Furthermore, female tennis players received three times as many comments related to their physical attractiveness as men.

As already mentioned, common patterns can be observed in the coverage of female sports in the media. One example of this is gender marking. In these cases, a female sports event becomes a kind of version of the male event, where women are subject to accepting the rules created for the 'official' version, that is to say the men's (Theberge 1997). Another of the most common patterns is the infantilization of female athletes, when they are repeatedly referred to as 'girls' or variants of the same (Messner et al. 1993). The last of the patterns referred to is sexualisation. In the media, when female athletes are referred to as sexual objects or are attributed roles that have no bearing on the sport (mother or wife); this contributes to sexism in society. An example of this last pattern is demonstrated in two studies carried out in the United States (Daddario 1992; Fink and Kensicki 2002), where the magazines *Sports Illustrated* and *Sports Illustrated for Kids* were analysed. In both cases, it was shown that most of the photographs of female athletes looked like models posing and, paradoxically, they were not shown playing any sport.

Studies on gender and the media instigated by CEO-UAB

At the beginning of this chapter, we indicated that a noteworthy aspect of the line of research described in this article is that it combines three aspects, each of which has generated, and no doubt will continue to generate, a large amount of scientific investigation: namely, studies on sport, media and gender. CEO-UAB has instigated a series of research projects as a result of merging these three subject areas, which are co-funded by various Catalan public organisations.

In this respect, we would like to highlight two studies. The first of these is *Identificación de las deportistas de élite con los estereotipos sociales que transmiten los medios de comunicación (Elite female athletes' identification with the social stereotypes portrayed in the media)* (Lallana and Kennett 2007). The Sant Cugat High Performance Centre collaborated in the re-

search and acted as a test laboratory, as the majority of the subjects in the survey attended the facility. This project was carried out using the research by Antúnez (2001) as a point of reference. According to Antúnez, women's relationship with female body image and with sport is determined by pre-established stereotypes. Despite the advancement of women in society, these stereotypes are still prevalent in the 21st century. This means that female identity and women's roles are dependent on how they 'see themselves' as women. According to this author, women develop the same interest in sport as men. The difference lies in the fact that female athletes tend to seek mastery of the sport and personal improvement, whereas men need to compete and their personal goal is to do well against an opponent. It is, however, a mistake to make broad generalisations about men and women. Every individual should be considered unique, with their own ambitions and particular values.

This research was divided into two phases, the first of which was a quantitative analysis, consisting of a survey of 150 elite athletes at the Sant Cugat High Performance Centre (CAR Sant Cugat), which was designed to establish some basic profiles. The second part of the project was based on the results obtained from the surveys and, together with in-depth personal interviews conducted with male and female athletes from different sports, the results obtained were compared with each individual's perception of themselves. The most noteworthy result was regarding the general idea of how athletes, both men and women, saw themselves reflected in society. In this respect, athletes, regardless of their gender and their sport, considered that being labelled as an elite athlete was a kind of differentiating status that set them apart from the rest of society.

The second of the studies instigated by CEO-UAB that we would like to highlight is *La presencia del deporte femenino en la televisión pública catalana: TV3 y C33 como caso de estudio en el año 2008 (The presence of female sport on Catalan public television: TV3 and C33 as a case study in 2008)* (Ramajo et al. 2009). This study seeks to answer a series of questions about how female sport is treated (quantitative and qualitative aspects) by the Catalan public television stations. To this end, a comparative analysis of television coverage of female and male sport on TV3 and C33 was carried out. The results were very disheartening: female sport accounted for only 2.6% of sports coverage on Catalan public television. A total of 2.3 hours of female sport were broadcast out of a total of 672 hours analysed. A further corroborating factor in the invisibility of female sport is the time of the broadcasts. In the case of TV3, female sport barely received any coverage at prime time, accounting for only 0.4%. The majority of female sports was broadcast very late at night (19.8%), and then in the morning and at midday. Finally, news programmes devoted hardly any coverage to female sports (0.5% of the total analysed). It is, therefore, necessary not only to quantify the presence of sports on television, but also to evaluate their presence, such as the time of day of the broadcasts and how they are dealt with in the news.

It is certainly true that, in light of these results, there could be a link between a greater presence of male sports on Catalan public television (and, by extrapolation, in the media as a whole) and the fact that those sports are of greater interest to the public and receive greater media coverage. Our aim is not to start a debate about the greater or lesser presence of minority sports in the media. The issue is to find out how these two visions of sport on television can coexist: on the one hand, major sports with high audience figures (male participation), and on the other hand, the space that female sports in the media should occupy. An example of this is provided by TV3 where, in the three sports receiving most coverage (football, motor racing and basketball), which accounted for 85% of all sports coverage, the presence of women is as low as 0.11%. This fact corroborates the dynamic that female sports face an uphill battle to gain pre-eminence, both in quantity and quality, in the television channel's programming.

Throughout this chapter, we have introduced the value of qualitative analysis in order to understand the relationship between female sport and television. Along these lines, in the study on the presence of female sport on Catalan public television, it can be observed that those female athletes featured on the news represent minority sports. This implies that a female athlete is placed at a lower level than a male athlete. It gives the impression that in the world of sport, men participate in the 'top league' whereas women belong in a 'lower league'. Reality demonstrates that men's and women's roles are still very different.

Conclusions

The difficult relationship that exists between gender, sport and the media is a situation that, as researchers, we cannot ignore. In spite of advances in the search for equality, and the efforts of academic establishments to highlight these inequalities, with the exception of a few particular occasions (the Olympic Games has already been named as an atypical event), the media continue to fail in treating male and female athletes equally. These differences, which are both quantitative and qualitative, perpetuate the invisibility of female athletes in the public eye, when in reality, at grassroots level, women are as involved in sport as men.

The aim of this chapter is not to provide any hard and fast rules for minimising these differences, but rather to reflect on their significance. For this purpose, the tradition of gender, sports and media studies has become a useful tool. Through observation, it has been found that the situation of female athletes in the media has been overlooked in recent years. Everything would suggest that, in the short term, this situation will not change.

Despite the quotas set by international organisations and institutions, and the promotion of female sport, male-dominated sporting events continue to be the media's bread and butter.

History has shown that this is a difficult barrier to break through. However, perpetuating this situation would go against the dynamics of today's society. The issue rests on deciding what limits can be set. In other words, in relation to the media's treatment of female sport in terms of both quality and quantity of coverage, we need to decide at what point it is considered satisfactory and at what point it is not.

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Post-Olympic Barcelona: Sport and multiculturalism³⁸

Chris Kennett

Lecturer, Business Engineering School, LaSalle-URL; CEO-UAB Research Collaborator

1. Introduction

The increased rate of migratory movements between countries and also within national borders is changing the face of communities across the world, resulting in greater cultural diversity and multicultural exchange.

More and more people from different cultures are taking to the streets, squares, parks and beaches of Spanish cities, where they bring their own sports and sport practices that are part of different cultural systems with particular beliefs, rules, values and customs.

Observing these changes prompted an interest in carrying out research in greater depth into the subject, and CEO-UAB's participation in the European Commission's project *Sport and Multiculturalism* (PMP & Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy 2004) initiated a new line of research for CEO-UAB. The main aim of this line of research was to provide a new cultural perspective on, and an understanding and analysis of sport practices, which are often different and little known to us, in the immigrant groups that now form part of Catalan society. This research has focused on the people that do sport, the sports played, the reasons for playing those sports and where these sports are played.

Over a period of two years (2005-2007), a team of researchers from CEO-UAB, together with Kim Manresa, an internationally renowned photojournalist, documented and analysed sport – through photographs and multiple interviews – in a series of groups in Catalonia, mainly in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The sports included Gaelic sports, cricket in the Pakistani community, football and basketball in the Latin-American community, multicultural sports events, indigenous Catalan sports, baseball, *kabaddi* in the Indian community, and public races, among others.

The main results of the research were displayed in a touring photographic exhibition and published in the book *Deporte multicultural* (Manresa and Kennett 2008), as well as in academic publications and communications promoted by Barcelona City Council, Barcelona Provincial Council and the Government of Catalonia. A series of research projects were also initiated by different entities with the aim of analysing sport and multiculturalism³⁹ policy development.

38. This text is based on content previously published in the book by Kim Manresa and Chris Kennett (2008) *Esport multicultural / Deporte multicultural / Multicultural Sport*. Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis Olímpics; Ajuntament de Barcelona. ISBN: 978-84-9850-085-1

39. *Deporte e inmigración en España: el papel del deporte en la integración de los ciudadanos* (Consejo Superior de Deportes 2006); *Indicadores de integración de la población inmigrante a través del deporte* (Consejo Superior de Deportes 2006); *El paper de l'esport en la integració de la població adulta estrangera immigrada a Catalunya* (Secretaria per a la Immigració y Direcció General de Recerca de la Generalitat de Catalunya, AMIC-2005); *El multiculturalisme en les polítiques esportives: anàlisi de l'adequació de les polítiques locals a Catalunya a les actuacions promogudes per la Unió Europea* (Patronat Català Pro-Europa, con el patrocinio de la Diputació de Girona 2007); *Estudi sobre la pràctica esportiva de la dona immigrant a Catalunya* (Secretaria per a la Immigració y Direcció General de Recerca de la Generalitat de Catalunya ARAI-2006).

The photographs and text included in the book *Deporte multicultural* highlighted the social and human dimension of sport. Our research found that, for many people, sport is central to their identity and provides them with an opportunity to interact with others and develop social networks inside and outside their own communities.

For many immigrants, playing sports from their countries of origin is a way of preserving their identity and, at the same time, enriching the variety of sports on offer in the host community.

Observing different communities practising sport highlighted the participants' physical effort, competitiveness and passion for the sport they play. Sport was also seen as a time for fun, happiness, freedom, camaraderie and friendship.

Gradually, some of these new ethnic sports have opened up to other cultural groups. There are also a number of immigrants becoming involved in local sports and are beginning to become integrated into the Catalan sports system.

The aim of this chapter is to explain the context of the social changes that have taken place and make connections with the impacts of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games, a decisive moment in the history of the city. Barcelona's new multicultural reality needs to be analysed within the context of globalising processes, notably the migration of people and their impact on the social fabric and sport.

2. Olympic Games and globalising processes

The Olympic Games, an example of a modern-day mega-event, reflect the acceleration of globalising processes that characterised the end of the 20th century. Funded by multinational sponsors and the media, hundreds of millions of viewers across the globe follow Olympic competitions over a 16-day period. Technological advances have made it possible for the eyes of the world to focus on the host city and the thousands of athletes from different cultures and ethnic origins that congregate, not only to compete, but also to foster understanding and peace.

In fact, the Olympic Games are an example of the phenomenon that Giddens (1998) refers to as time-space compression, which results in an experience that is simultaneously local and global for participants, spectators and viewers.

The significance of the Olympic Games as part of globalising processes has been well documented by various academics (Bale and Maguire 1994; Maguire 1999; Roche 2000). However, little attention has been paid to the long-term impact of the Games on host cities in an increasingly global era. The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games are an exception to the rule because they have been the subject of more research than any other Games in the post-war period (Kennett and Moragas 2006; Moragas and Botella 1995; Moragas and Botella 2002).

This longitudinal analysis identified multidimensional, tangible and intangible long-term legacies of Barcelona's experience as an Olympic host city. The city's infrastructure was brought up to date as part of a large-scale urban regeneration project. Thousands of millions of Euros were invested, contributing to the transformation of the local service-based economy. As Olympic hosts, Barcelona and its residents achieved international visibility.

The impact was such that the organisers described the experience by saying that it felt as though 50 years worth of development had been condensed into the six years of preparation for the Olympics. It defined a turning point in the history of Barcelona: with Barcelona'92, there was a before and an after. The importance of the event and its long-term effects indicate that the Olympic Games were a catalyst for sociocultural change in the city.

The reality of post-Olympic Barcelona is one of continued investment in a mixed-economy model, as employed in the Games. Barcelona, metaphorically and literally, has been built on the catalytic effect of the Olympics, which established a

process of ongoing improvement of infrastructures together with a robust promotion of Barcelona as a destination for tourism and business.

In terms of tourism, the figures speak for themselves. Tourists arriving in Barcelona have increased from 1.7 million in 1990, to 5 million in 2005, and tourism-related activity accounted for 15% of the city's GDP in 2002 (Turisme de Barcelona 2005).

The combination of better job prospects in the service, agriculture and construction sectors; the perception of a better quality of life, family regrouping and changes in legislation have contributed to a drastic increase in the number of immigrants coming to Barcelona.

3. Migration, sport and intercultural dialogue

Migration constitutes the human element of globalisation. According to the United Nations (2006), in 2005, the number of people living outside their country of birth was 191 million, that is, 3% of the world population. In recent years, Spain has seen an increase in immigration and now has the 10th highest migration rate in the world but, in terms of the European Union, it is still behind Germany, France and the United Kingdom. In 1998, foreigners accounted for less than 2% of the population in Spain, whereas by 2007, one out of every ten residents in Spain was a foreigner. The increase in the number of immigrants has not been uniform across Spain: of the 4.5 million foreigners living in Spain, almost one million of them live in Catalonia, which amounts to 13% of the population. Therefore, of all the autonomous communities in Spain, Catalonia has the highest number of immigrants.

Catalonia's new multicultural reality is characterised by its cultural diversity. In 2008, according to the National Statistics Institute (INE) the largest immigrant community was from Morocco (20%), followed by Ecuador (8%), Romania (7%), Bolivia (5%) and Colombia (4%). These groups are not evenly spread across Catalonia, as the majority live in the province of Barcelona. In the city of Barcelona, Ecuadorians are the largest group, followed by Italians (some of Argentinean origin), Bolivians, Pakistanis and the Chinese. These last two communities are growing rapidly. The dynamic nature of immigration in Barcelona is worthy of note. Between 2005 and 2007, the Ecuadorian population fell by 20%, whereas the Bolivian population rose by 97% (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2008).

While the main priority for these immigrant groups is economic integration, there is also a clear need for their sociocultural integration, since immigrant groups change quickly and constantly (Kennett et al. 2006).

Many countries across the globe have set up integration programmes for immigrants and, rather than any potential threat, the economic, social and cultural benefits associated with immigration are increasingly taken into account (United Nations 2006).

Migration is subject to the policies and legislation of each state, but the international nature of the phenomenon has led to intervention by governmental organisations and international NGOs.

The *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* was adopted on 2 November 2001 and later ratified by the European Community on 18 December 2006. Given that societies all over the world are becoming more and more multicultural, the Declaration aims to preserve cultural diversity through adaptive processes that offer creative and innovative solutions. According to UNESCO Director-General Koichiro Matsuura, every individual should recognise not only alterity in all its forms, but also the plural nature of his/her own identity within plural societies (UNESCO 2001).

According to Article 6 of the Declaration, maintaining cultural diversity requires access to means of expression and of cultural dissemination. Sport is a primordial cultural activity in many societies and constitutes an important means of expression that can contribute to adaptive processes and cultural exchange.

The European Commission's *White Paper on Sport* (Commission of the European Communities 2007) outlines the fundamental role of sport in society and its importance for forming active citizens through values such as team spirit, solidarity, tolerance and fair play. It also highlights the potential of sport as a vehicle to include and integrate immigrants by providing a shared sense of belonging. The Commission promotes the creation of spaces and activities to facilitate interaction between host societies and immigrant groups through sport, as a means of reinforcing intercultural dialogue.

Spain is one of many countries that have policies in place for integrating immigrant communities, and the Government of Catalonia has recognised the importance of sport as part of this process. Key institutions such as Barcelona Provincial Council have taken their first steps towards formulating policies in this area, and in municipal areas such as Barcelona, various initiatives to foster social cohesion and inclusion have been organised and supported (Kennett et al. 2008).

4. Sport in post-1992 Barcelona

According to Batlle and Niubó, who analysed the impact of the 1992 Olympic Games on sport in the city, the increase in sport and physical activity has been, without doubt, one of the most significant changes for the people of Barcelona over the last decade (Batlle and Niubó 2002, 197).

In 2002, approximately 300,000 people belonged to a public or private sports facility, which represented almost 20% of the population. According to the five-yearly surveys on sport, in 1989, 47.1% of the population regularly did sport, which increased to 51% in 1994, and 58% in 1999. The Olympic Games can be considered as the catalyst for this change, as the number of sports facilities available grew and sports activities were promoted, which coincided with a fitness boom in Catalonia and across Spain.

The number of public sports facilities increased from 1,422 in 1994 to 3,400 in 2001, but according to Batlle and Niubó (2002), it is possibly more important to highlight the urban redevelopment that Barcelona underwent, which created or regenerated public spaces that have become key places for taking part in sport. In fact, 41% of Barcelona's residents that do sport or some kind of physical activity are not regular users of sports facilities, preferring instead to make use of these 'new' urban spaces, such as the artificial beaches and the seafront.

Although levels of participation have generally increased, certain groups, particularly the elderly, young people, women and the disabled, continued to be under represented proportionally and became the focus of sports policies in the city.

Even though greater cultural diversity has transformed the structure of the population, surveys on participation in sport, have not distinguished between groups of immigrants, thus making it impossible to monitor the participation of the aforementioned groups in the city. Our project, based on a qualitative approach, investigated sports habits within the context of the new reality of a society that is becoming culturally more diverse.

5. Sport in post-1992 Barcelona: a new cultural reality

Although sport has always been affected by migratory flows, the sporting experiences of immigrants at the beginning of the 21st century, as included in this study, provide us with a new cultural insight into sport in Catalonia. The wave of international immigration which started at the end of the 1990s has resulted in the emergence of new sport practices in Catalonia.

When interviewed, those who practised sport all mentioned how important sport was in their lives. Sport was a fundamental part of their identities, of who they were, and how they defined themselves in relation to others. The opportunity to play sport

gave their lives meaning and provided an escape from their day-to-day existence, which was characterised by long working days, job insecurity, low pay and, overall, poor living conditions. The fact that they were far away, not only from their country, but also from their families, friends and homes, meant that being able to spend time with others in a similar situation engendered a sense of belonging.

By reproducing and adapting sport practices from ‘home’, individuals and communities can reinforce their cultural identities and, in many cases, their national identities too. Sports events organised to encourage cultural exchange between groups, such as the Mini World Cup (a football tournament organised by an NGO in the Latin-American community) or *Tot Colors* (an indoor 5-a-side football tournament organised by FC Barcelona) are usually matches between immigrant communities playing on national teams, following the same format as world championships. Although these competitions bring a lot of people together from different nationalities, the usual format is for one nation to compete against another, rather than teams of mixed nationalities.

The aim of the *Tot Colors* tournament was to avoid having separate nations in the final stage of the championship and to organise teams of the best players in the tournament to represent their city. The result was a competition with multicultural teams that generated feelings of pride and identification with their cities.

In the Gaelic sports club (Barcelona Gaels), the situation is similar, since taking part in Spanish and European competitions has instilled pride in representing the city of Barcelona and wearing the red and yellow shirt inspired by the *Senyera* (the Catalan flag).

Sport is also an opening for developing social networks. The physical and mental benefits of sport are evident, but the social benefits are certainly of equal importance. Sport offers an opportunity to meet people on a regular basis and spend time with friends and family. These social networks also have a more practical application, such as for the players of *kabaddi* in the Indian community, who use these social networks to socialise, find work and a place to live. Sport is a mechanism for gaining respect and reinforcing pride and self esteem, which provides some people with a sense of empowerment and autonomy that may be missing from other aspects of their lives.

The process for creating social networks varies from one culture to another. For Latin-Americans, for example, football is a community activity in which the whole family is involved, and it becomes a social event where people eat, drink, chat, play and enjoy themselves. In the Barcelona International Football League, social networks are formed in a different way, as relationships are built between players rather than between families. These relationships are formed between players on a team, but also between players from different teams, since the players tend to socialise before and after the matches.

Consequently, doing sport increases social capital and allows for groups to be included in collective cultural practices. However, even though cultural diversity in principle exists in the context of sport because sport is played ‘within’ the immigrant communities, there are actually very few signs of any intercultural integration and exchange ‘between’ the communities.

The tendency for immigrant communities to organise themselves in group sports has a practical explanation. For new immigrants, their main points of reference for playing sport, meeting people and building social networks are usually their compatriots. They normally function outside the structure of the national sports federations because of the need to present legal documents, the expense and time required, and also the added difficulty of joining a local team as opposed to the ease of joining a team organised by compatriots. The Mini World Cup, organised by the Fundación Juan Pablo II is linked to a league tournament that has more than 1,000 players, mainly from Latin America. The Latin-American women’s league, with almost 300 players, was also included in this study. The Barcelona International Football League consists of 24 teams and almost 300 players, most of whom are foreign. Approximately ten teams participate every year in a cricket tournament organised by the Pakistani community, which involves more than 100 players. These are just a few examples to demonstrate the extent of well-organised non-federated sport that is taking place in the immigrant communities.

Given that the majority of sport played by immigrants takes place outside the official circles of the sports federations, it can be said that immigrant communities are involved in a separate, parallel and informal sports system. In this respect, action has been taken to create opportunities for sport and to encourage intercultural exchange so that people from different cultures play sport together rather than compete against each other or in parallel, one culture against another. Some ethnic sports are now open to other communities, as is the case in the cricket schools that are organised in the Raval neighbourhood in Barcelona. The Barcelona Gaels have also organised workshops for physical education teachers and students in order to promote the introduction of Gaelic football into schools in Catalonia.

There is a general consensus for integration, and this implies a two-way process of change through cultural exchange in the context of sport.

In order for the integration process to move forward, barriers existed that needed to be overcome. Some of these barriers are institutional and require collaboration with the federations, clubs and associations to include more people from different cultures. Facilities and activities should also be adapted to satisfy the increasingly diverse requirements of certain communities. This process is already underway thanks to the fact that representatives from public authorities have started to respond to changes in social and cultural structures; however, the challenge of encouraging dialogue with immigrant minorities so that their voices are heard remains.

6. Conclusions

While this research was being carried out, we realised that the arrival of people from different cultures was a great opportunity for Catalan sport. New sports are being introduced into Catalonia, resulting in a greater diversity of sport on offer and enabling us to better understand our neighbours. Existing sports are also undergoing change as people from different cultures became involved in them. Several of the interviewees who played sport had been professional sportspeople in their countries of origin, but emigrating had meant abandoning their sporting careers in search of a new life. The fact that we have former professional sportspeople working in bars, restaurants and in domestic service, rather than competing in sports, represents a great loss in social capital for Catalonia.

In reality, the process of enriching Catalonia's sport capital has already begun, but it should be developed further in order to capitalise on its full potential. The challenge for policymakers consists in finding a balance between the following three factors: the necessary support for ethnic sports in order to preserve cultural diversity; the need to integrate people into existing sports; and the promotion of opportunities for intercultural exchanges and social integration (PMP & Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy 2004).

There is a risk that sport could be used to reinforce ethnic differences, which could result in cultures developing separately within society and creating a 'ghetto effect', a situation when there is hardly any interaction and communities become isolated. Sport could also be a vehicle for assimilating people of different ethnic origin into the local society. In this way, immigrants would get involved in local sports and would begin to form part of the local culture.

Neither of these two positions leads to intercultural exchange and, adversely, could provoke resentment, resistance and conflict in sport and in society in general. It would seem that many of the interviewees who played sport were in the process of redefining their identities. Although they expressed the need to reinforce and transmit their cultural identity, they also wanted to be a part of their new communities.

The development of an intercultural sports model to attain the objectives of preserving cultural diversity and of integration must be underpinned by a more basic concept relating to the essence of sport: values. Sport provides an opportunity for cultures to interact, but if the values of team spirit, solidarity, tolerance and fair play are not in place, there is no guarantee that

the results of such encounters will be positive. The key to avoiding conflicts, violence, racism and xenophobia in sport lies in an education based on values.

After the Olympic Games, Barcelona changed physically, its economy was restructured and it was redefined on the world stage, but it also underwent and continues to undergo social and cultural changes that have created a new set of opportunities and challenges for coexistence in a multicultural context. Sport is part of the essence of the social and cultural fabric of Barcelona, and it plays a key role in constructing an intercultural dialogue between and among its citizens.

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Educational Dimension of the Olympic Games

Berta Cerezuela

Head of Projects and the Documentation Service, CEO-UAB

Education, along with history, is possibly one of the most prevalent subject areas in Olympic literature. Over the 20-year period since it was set up, CEO-UAB has carried out several research projects, both theoretical and applied, on education. These studies have ranged from preparing teaching materials for use in schools and universities to international research.

Two of the main contributions in the research field have been those commissioned by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The first of these, *Networking in Olympic Studies*, was applied research into the possibility of setting up a collaborative network in the field of Olympic studies, and was carried out between May 2004 and February 2005 (Moragas et al. 2005). The second study which was part of the IOC's *Olympic Values Education Programme*, consisted of a study of the various Olympic values education initiatives promoted by institutions that belong to the Olympic Movement, and was carried out between April 2006 and May 2008 (Moragas et al. 2008).

This article aims to offer an overview of the phenomenon of Olympic education. An in-depth analysis will be made of the education programmes promoted as part of an edition of the Olympic Games as a consequence of a CEO-UAB contribution in the field of education and Olympism. First, we shall consider the concept of 'Olympic education', its limitations, and the kind of activities that it includes. Second, we shall go on to identify the main actors that promote education initiatives within the Olympic Movement. Third, we shall provide a historical overview and an analysis of the initiatives promoted as part of the Olympic Games⁴⁰. Finally, we shall consider the contribution made by universities to Olympic education.

1. Olympic education

As pointed out by the IOC, the relationship between education and Olympism includes two main categories. The first is academic research into Olympism and the second is teaching through Olympism (children, adolescents and athletes) (IOC 2009). This distinction, based mainly on the scope of application and the carrying out of activities, can also be identified by the terms 'Olympic studies' and 'Olympic education', which are widely used in Olympic literature.

The term 'Olympic studies' refers to activities carried out in universities in the academic world, which consist of research into, training in and the dissemination of the Olympic phenomenon, whereas 'Olympic education' is one of the most commonly used terms when talking of Olympic philosophy, of Olympism, and is part of a long tradition in the Olympic Movement. It refers to activities aimed at actively promoting Olympic values.

There is no widely accepted definition of 'Olympic education', a concept which includes a wide range of activities. According to the directives set out by the Foundation of Olympic and Sport Education (FOSE), the aims of Olympic education are:

40. This section was based on the text published in Cerezuela and Correa (2007).

- To enrich the human spirit through Olympic education and sport, combined with culture, which is understood to be a lifelong experience.
- To develop a sense of human solidarity, tolerance and mutual respect associated with fair play.
- To promote peace, mutual understanding, respect between cultures, protection of the environment, which are basic human values and concerns, in their regional and national context.
- To promote excellence and achievements according to the fundamental principles of the Olympic Movement.
- To develop a sense of continuity of civilization as in the history of the ancient and modern Olympic Games.

According to Binder (2004), in practice, the reality of Olympic education is about ‘how’ educators can help young people develop Olympic values.

Our studies in this field have enabled us to establish a classification of the activities that can be grouped under the heading of ‘Olympic education’ and are directed at children and young people of school age, and at the educators in charge of carrying them out. The classification includes:

- Artistic and cultural activities: competitions (art, literature, etc.), exhibitions or other programmes for young people.
- Sports activities: festivals, competitions and sports events for young people.
- Academic activities: activities of an academic nature (talks, workshops, seminars, courses, etc.) to raise awareness and knowledge of Olympic topics among teachers, students and athletes.
- Educational content: content with defined and explicit teaching aims, in various formats (books, audiovisual materials, posters, exhibition boards, websites, etc.) directed at teachers, students and athletes.
- Multi-activity programmes: programmes that include a variety of activities (art competitions, educational materials, sports competitions, etc.) designed as a single unit.

2. Education initiatives in the Olympic Movement

As declared by Jacques Rogge, President of the IOC, at the opening ceremony of the 5th World Forum on Sport, Education and Culture held in Beijing in October 2006, “the Olympic Movement is above all an educational Movement”. The Olympic Movement, established by the pedagogue Pierre de Coubertin at the beginning of the 20th century, has defined its policies on education and culture, based on the fundamental principles set out in the Olympic Charter, which regulates its activities.

These principles define Olympism as “a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles” (IOC 2007, 11). These principles also define the Olympic Movement’s goal of “contributing to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised in accordance with Olympism and its values” (IOC 2007, 11).

The IOC based its educational and cultural policies on these principles and includes, as one of its objectives, the promotion of Olympic education and support for institutions promoting Olympic values (IOC 2009).

Today, the following institutions in the Olympic Movement can be highlighted for their connection with activities in the field of Olympic education: the IOC; National Olympic Committees (NOCs), mainly through their National Olympic Academies

(NOAs), and Organising Committees (OCOGs). It is also worth noting the increasing role played by Olympic sponsors in Olympic education programmes or in their own programmes, as well as the role of organisations recognised by the IOC for their activities in the field of education and dissemination of Olympic values and fair play, particularly the International Olympic Academy (IOA) and the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee (CIPC).

The IOC itself has promoted programmes and activities that contribute to raising awareness of the role of Olympic education, such as international forums on sport, education and culture, as well as educational activities such as art and literature competitions or Youth Camps associated with an Olympic Games. These activities are carried out in association with entities such as the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, the IOA and UNESCO.

The IOC is currently working on a new initiative in Olympic education; the *Olympic Values Education Programme* (OVEP). It is an IOC global strategy for teaching Olympic values to young people and which aims to “maintain young people’s interest in sport, encouraging them to practise sport and promoting the Olympic values” (IOC 2008). The programme includes three elements: the manual *Teaching values*, “a reference document for all teachers and educators looking to promote the values of Olympism” (IOC 2008); an interactive database with detailed information on Olympic education programmes and tools, and a label which “should encourage teachers and educators around the world to move into teaching the Olympic values” (IOC 2008).

As described by Landry and Yerlès (1996), the institutionalisation of Olympic education began with the creation of the International Olympic Institute in Berlin in 1938, a forerunner of the International Olympic Academy created in Athens in 1961, which played an important role in promoting Olympic education during the 1960s and particularly in the creation of National Olympic Academies, which acted as the education arm of National Olympic Committees.

According to the Olympic Charter, the role of National Olympic Committees is “to promote the fundamental principles and values of Olympism in their countries, in particular, in the fields of sport and education, by promoting Olympic education programmes in all levels of schools, sports and physical education institutions and universities, as well as by encouraging the creation of institutions dedicated to Olympic education, such as National Olympic Academies, Olympic Museums [...]” (IOC 2007, 61).

The main activities promoted by National Olympic Committees in the field of Olympic education aimed at schools include educational content, artistic and cultural activities, sports competitions and academic activities.

In the field of education, the main activities consist in developing educational materials and promoting the inclusion of Olympic teaching materials in the school curriculum. The format of the teaching materials is very varied and ranges from materials adapted to the curriculum and educational books, mainly aimed at teachers, to information posters or educational games. Most of these materials are distributed to schools all over the country.

Artistic and cultural activities, which include a range of competitions including art, sculpture, photography and literature, are a way for students to express their experiences of sport or the Olympic Games through art.

The aims of the sports competitions are to raise awareness about fair play and the values of competition, to improve health through sport and to promote sport and Olympic sports for school-age children.

Many of these initiatives in schools are multi-activity programmes, sometimes organised as an Olympic Day, that include art competitions, educational materials and sports competitions, among others.

Academic activities are also organised to increase students’ knowledge about Olympic topics. These include talks, conferences, classes, seminars, films and the setting up of Olympic clubs in schools. Some of these activities are aimed at teachers as an introduction to Olympic topics and the teaching methodology for this curricular content.

Sponsors of the Olympic Games, even though they are the main partners in the Olympic Movement in terms of funding and disseminating the ‘Olympic Games’ brand, have very little involvement in promoting Olympic values through education initiatives (Rezende 2008).

Their involvement is mainly by way of collaborations, either as co-organisers or funders, with OCOGs, NOCs, government bodies and other local partners. Although limited in number, there are examples of education programmes initiated by a company sponsoring the Olympics, such as the *McDonald’s Champion Kids* programme that was organised for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. These initiatives consist of arts and cultural activities and educational content.

As stated earlier, the IOC supports other institutions in promoting the dissemination of Olympic values. One notable institution is the International Olympic Academy, an entity that has played a key role in promoting Olympic education. Landry and Yerlès (1996) describe it as the guardian of the Olympic conscience by means of its largely academic activities aimed at educators. According to Moragas et al. (2005, 153), it has become the spiritual home of Olympism in modern times, which “provides a unique opportunity for students, academics, athletes, artists and officials from all over the world to exchange ideas and share this ‘state of mind’ in Ancient Olympia” (IOA 2009).

Another noteworthy example of an institution recognised by the IOC for its work in the field of Olympic education is the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee (CIPC) created in 1975 and comprising more than 30 National Committees. The CIPC, through its activities, promotes the study and teaching of Olympic philosophy. Among the educational activities that it promotes, the international network of Pierre de Coubertin schools is worth highlighting, which involves schools in 58 countries that offer an education for young people based on the philosophy of the Olympic spirit.

3. Olympic Games Organising Committees

In the declaration made at the 5th World Forum on Sport, Education and Culture, the efforts made by the OCOGs to set up educational and cultural programmes was recognised. In the opening ceremony of this forum, the IOC President highlighted that “sports events such as the Olympic Games are ideal platforms to inform and educate”, and that their educational impact could have an effect on the world’s population, particularly on young people, who are the future of the Olympic Movement.

In spite of the potential impact, the Olympic Charter does not assign any educational responsibilities to Organising Committees beyond the option to organise Youth Camps. According to regulation 48 of the Olympic Charter, “With the authorisation of the IOC Executive Board, the OCOG may, under its own responsibility, organise an international Youth Camp on the occasion of the Olympic Games” (IOC 2007, 96). However, the recent questionnaires for the candidate cities for the Olympic Summer Games in 2016 included a question about education initiatives that would be put in place.

But, what exactly is an education programme in an Olympic Games? Various attempts have been made to define such initiatives. Our research has contributed a possible definition of education programmes in an Olympic Games. According to Cerezuela and Correa (2007, 7), an education programme in an Olympic Games comprises a structured set of actions, activities and/or cultural, sports and educational publications, led by an Organising Committee, which can involve collaboration with other partners and which is strictly connected with an edition of the Olympic Games. The programme should have clearly defined objectives, be aimed at a particular audience and in a particular geographical area, and be implemented over a defined period. This definition also complements other existing, more content-based definitions.

3.1. Historical overview

The development and implementation of education programmes in connection with an edition of the Olympic Games have neither been consistent nor continuous.

As already mentioned, Youth Camps are the only educational activities explicitly mentioned in the Olympic Charter. Since the first Youth Camp was held as part of the Stockholm Olympic Games in 1918, they have not been a regular event. However, according to Eleftheriou, they have now become a firm tradition within the Olympic Games' programme of activities. The aim of the Youth Camps is "for young people, representing almost every nation in the world, to come together every four years in conjunction with the Olympic Games to develop skills and knowledge that relate to the Olympic Movement" (2003, 387). Youth Camps, therefore, provide an opportunity for young people from participating countries to enjoy the Games firsthand, and at the same time, take part in sports, cultural and recreational activities, discover the host city and experience the local culture.

In addition to Youth Camps, various education initiatives have been incorporated into the Olympic Games activities programme. As described by Binder (2003), the inclusion of a formal education programme as part of the activities carried out by OCOGs dates back to the Olympic Summer Games of Montreal'76 with the programme: *Promotion of Olympism in the School System*.

Initiatives prior to the Montreal'76 Games were ad hoc isolated events that lacked any continuity in subsequent editions of the Games. They were included in the cultural programme and did not receive direct support from the Organising Committees. Examples of this are provided by the official educational activities that were part of the Tokyo'64 and Sapporo'72 Games, which were promoted by actors outside the Organising Committee. According to Masumoto (2006), the education initiatives for Tokyo'64 were promoted nationally by the Ministry for Education in collaboration with the NOC and other private organisations. As a result of this initiative, four manuals were published for primary and secondary school children in Japan about Olympic-related topics, which were distributed over the four years leading up to the Games (1961-1964). Another education initiative included as part of an Olympic Games' cultural programme was the International Art Competition for children and young people that was held during the Munich'72 Olympic Games and which Landry and Yerlès (1996) identified as the first structured Olympic education initiative.

Therefore, the education programme for the Montreal'76 Olympic Games marked a turning point in the development of education programmes in the Olympic Games and established a framework for the future. The programme was the initiative of an association of physical education teachers which was supported by the Quebec Ministry for Education and by the Organising Committee, and implemented over the four years leading up to the Olympics (1972-1976), reaching more than 1.2 million students in the province of Quebec (Landry and Desjardins 1977). The programme included a series of educational materials aimed at schools based on Olympic values, sport and socioeducational and cultural activities, such as art competitions, sports festivals and educational guides.

According to Perelman (1985), the Los Angeles'84 Games marked a radical change in relation to previous Games by not organising a Youth Camp and by focusing efforts on a programme that would leave a legacy. The four-year programme (1981-1984), was aimed at all schoolchildren of all levels in the southern California area and it was funded by means of sponsorship. The programme included three kinds of activities: cultural, educational and sports.

Another Olympic Games' education programme that should be considered as a point of reference was that of the Calgary'88 Winter Games. The Education and Youth Department of the Organising Committee set out three large focus areas: education, culture and information, and their activities reached 1,700 schools in the province of Calgary and 13,500 across Canada. One noteworthy activity that this department organised was a series of three educational kits, developed by a team of more than 200 voluntary teachers, aimed at all levels of education. The materials included various approaches to learning (comprehension, analysis, evaluation, etc.) and used Olympic-related content to develop concepts that were part of the school curriculum (Binder 2003).

Whereas the Calgary'88 education programme can be considered as a point of reference, Seoul'88 and Barcelona'92 are two examples of Organising Committees that chose not to assign importance to the inclusion of educational activities in their

programmes, either in the run up, or during the Olympic Games. However, the post-Games' education programme promoted by the Barcelona Olympic Foundation is worthy of mention.

The Albertville'92 Olympic Winter Games provide another example of an education programme that aimed to leave a legacy. The *Ecolympique* programme promoted by the Organising Committee, the Ministry for Education, Youth and Sport and the company Candia was aimed at schoolchildren aged 8 to 12 all over France. The programme developed curricular materials about historical aspects of the Olympic Games and about socioeconomic and geographical aspects of the Savoie region of France.

The following Lillehammer'94 Games offered another example of an education programme on a national scale with a clear environmental education component. The programme, promoted by the Organising Committee, the national television broadcaster (NRK), the NOC and regional education authorities, consisted in developing educational materials.

The education programme developed for the Atlanta'96 Olympic Games comprised four major programmes that were implemented through the state of Georgia education system and was aimed at all levels of schoolchildren. Of the activities organised, particularly worthy of mention is the programme of Olympic Days in schools that was implemented over the seven years leading up to the Games (1989-1996), which included a wide range of activities: curricular guides, seminars for teachers, poster competitions, welcome programmes, etc. Atlanta'96 was also the first example of an Organising Committee that made educational material available on the Internet, even though they were for information only.

At the Nagano'98 Winter Games, of the educational activities promoted, the partnering programme *One School, One Country* based on the Hiroshima Asian Games initiative can be highlighted. The programme was so successful that it was implemented at the subsequent Games of Sydney 2000, Salt Lake City 2002 and Torino 2006.

The Sydney 2000 National Education Programme stands out for how it managed to reach more than 3 million students aged 3 to 18 across Australia. The programme consisted of three main initiatives: *O-news*, an education and information initiative; *Aspire*, an educational kit for primary and secondary schoolchildren; and *Kids*, the education section on the Sydney 2000 official website, which offered educational and recreational activities, as well as information about the programme.

At the Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Games, the education programme consisted of a series of very diverse activities which included educational materials, reward programmes, art and music programmes, sports activities, a twinning programme, community services and participation programmes. Even though the activities were aimed at schools in the Utah region, the website set up for the programme (<http://2002.uen.org>) made it available to an international audience and continued after the Games had ended, thereby constituting an information legacy of the Games.

The Athens 2004 Organising Committee paid particular attention to developing an education programme that would set the benchmark for future editions of the Olympic Games. The programme consisted of various activities that included, among others, educational activities in various languages, classes in schools, art and drama competitions, and an interactive website, *Youth 2004*. The programme developed for the Athens 2004 Games was recommended by the European Commission (in the Athens Declaration) for implementation in schools in other member countries.

The Torino 2006 Olympic Winter Games provided an example of an Olympic Games' education programme that had the potential to become a point of reference for the development of future programmes. The contents of the programme, which were arranged in five broad subject areas (sport and health; sport and sports culture; sport, science, technology and communication; sport and the environment; and sport, intercultural interaction, law and human rights), were delivered using school education packs, the interactive website, *Kids Village*, and activity programmes such as School in Movement and Mathematics Winter Olympiads.

In the recent Beijing 2008 Summer Games, the corresponding education programme set a milestone in the history of Olympic education. The programme was implemented in more than 400,000 schools across China, reaching more than 400 million schoolchildren. The programme, which integrated Olympic education into the school curriculum, was promoted by the Bei-

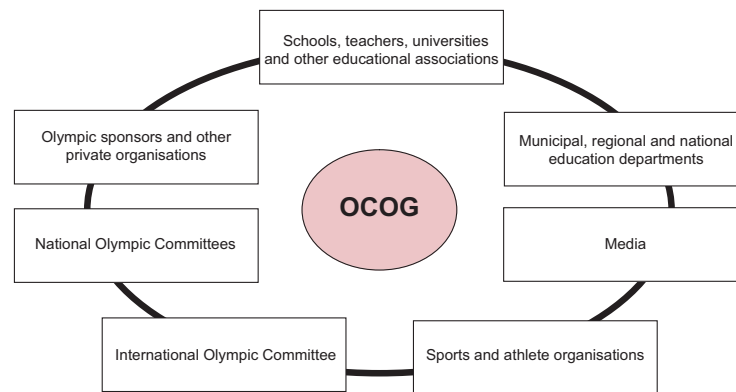
ing Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG), the Chinese Ministry for Education and the Chinese Olympic Committee. The activities included a twinning programme with schools in other countries, which was expected to continue after the Games ended, and the creation of model schools in Olympic education (Ren 2009).

3.2. Main features

From an organisational viewpoint, one of the key factors for Organising Committees when developing Olympic education programmes is to have a dedicated unit within the organisational structure for educational activities, which takes on a cross-disciplinary role within the organisational framework of the Games. Education was not fully incorporated into the Organising Committees until the Los Angeles'84 Olympic Games.

With regard to collaboration between institutions, the type of partners involved in the development of education programmes throughout history has varied greatly, as shown in Chart 1, but the Organising Committee has always played a central role.

Chart 1: Actor typologies



Source: Cerezuela and Correa 2007, 7

Torino 2006 was the first example of an Olympic Games where the IOC was directly involved in education programmes, with activities including school visits to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. NOCs have always been involved at a national level, in some cases significantly, such as at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, whose programme was based on an earlier initiative of the Australian Olympic Committee.

Other main partners in programmes are the education authorities and the teaching staff who see hosting the Olympic Games as an opportunity to integrate the event into the curriculum. The role of Ministries of Education should be highlighted, as they ensure the national implementation of programmes and their continuity beyond the Games themselves. The Albertville'92 education programme provides an example of this.

Other partners involved in these activities are sports organisations that identify an opportunity to promote sport in their region, the media and sponsors. Results show that sponsors in The Olympic Partner (TOP) programme are less involved in these activities than local sponsors, who seem to have a greater interest in education programmes.

In terms of their format and aims, education programmes have three main aims: to inform, to promote participation and to educate. Through various actions, information is provided about the event and young people are encouraged to get involved by making it easier for them to attend events or to become volunteers. These aims, focused more on the Olympic Games themselves, are complemented by the overall aim of educating young people in Olympic and sporting values. Over the years, the aim of educating has taken over from the aim of merely informing. One of the factors that has spurred this change has been the development of educational materials adapted to the school curriculum that allow Olympic and sports-related topics to be introduced into various subjects and new skills development.

In order to achieve these aims, programmes are structured into an articulated collection of cultural, sports and educational activities, including curriculum guides, complementary educational materials, art and cultural competitions, sports activities, school twinning programmes, festivals, Olympic Days and Olympic Youth Camps.

Programmes are aimed mainly at primary and secondary schoolchildren, although the age group varies according to the activities and each edition of the Olympic Games. In addition, programmes are aimed mainly at local level, though some are rolled out at regional or national level depending on the partners involved, particularly in the case of national education authorities or the respective NOC. This is also reflected in the language of the materials produced which, in general, are published only in the official language of the Olympic host country. This local approach to educational activities clashes with an increasing globalisation and internationalisation of the Olympic Movement.

The Internet became a communication channel at the Olympic Games in Atlanta'96, and it has also had an impact on educational activities. Use of the Internet has evolved from being purely informative at Atlanta'96 to being interactive at London 2012. Internet use has improved, but it has yet to reach its full potential in terms of extending programmes to an international audience.

Finally, we would like to refer to legacy. One of the main aims of Olympic education is to create a legacy for the community hosting the Olympic Games and for the Olympic Movement. Although the majority of programmes made reference to a legacy in their aims, only a small number of programmes planned for their continuity and an even smaller number continued once the Games had ended. Furthermore, there are very few examples of activities that have bridged more than one Olympic Games.

The Busan Action Plan, which resulted from the 6th World Forum on Sport, Education and Culture, identified the main opportunities for improvement in combining sport, culture and Olympic education. One of the opportunities is the need for education programmes to reach a wider international audience, in particular countries that are less able to develop their own programmes, and also for activities to be ongoing and not limited to the duration of an Olympic Games. The plan also mentions the need to include these activities in the IOC's Transfer of Knowledge Programme.

5. Conclusions

The importance of Olympic education, at the heart of the Olympic Movement, has grown in recent years, as evidenced by the IOC's policies on culture and education for young people, by the greater importance given to educational activities when evaluating the success of an Olympic Games, and by the number and quality of national initiatives promoted by NOCs and other institutions recognised by the Olympic Movement.

The contributions made to this field by universities can be very enriching for those universities and for the Olympic Movement alike. First, universities should be considered as an excellent platform for carrying out theoretical and applied research on Olympic education and, in particular, their pedagogical implementation in schools. Second, universities can contribute to educational content and to innovation in teaching methodologies. Finally, universities in the Olympic host countries can play a key role in developing and implementing education programmes for the Olympic Games and in promoting Olympic values.

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Study of Olympic Urban Planning: Research assessment and future outlook

Francesc Muñoz

**Urban Development Observatory, Department of Geography, Autonomous University of Barcelona;
CEO-UAB Research Collaborator**

Olympic urban planning: innovative, cross-disciplinary research

Within the wide variety of Olympic studies topics, one of the most significant research topics that scientific contributions have gradually consolidated is, undoubtedly, the relationship between the Olympic Games and urban planning or, to be more precise, the emergence and evolution of a specific type of urban planning connected with the celebration of the Games in a host city. In the 20th century, and particularly since the 1930s, this model of constructing the spaces required to hold the Games has gradually changed and become more complex, so much so that it now characterises a whole aspect of city construction that I call ‘Olympic urban planning’ (Muñoz 1997, 2006, 2007 and 2008).

It is a pioneering research topic that CEO-UAB has decidedly fostered, and one that we at the Urban Development Observatory in the Department of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona have been enthusiastically and constantly collaborating on for the last 15 years.

Describing and explaining the different urban models that have provided the inspiration for the many and varied Olympic urban planning experiences, as well as stressing the impact of the Games on a city’s urban planning once the event is over, are very important and profound issues, not only from the viewpoint of debate on the history and evolution of the modern Olympic Games, but also in relation to periods of change and urban transformation that the process of urban development has experienced for over one hundred years.

It is, therefore, a very interesting line of work from the viewpoint of urban studies and architecture, which has clearly demonstrated the enormous cross-disciplinary potential that Olympic studies now have; a line of research that we have been able to develop extensively thanks to CEO-UAB’s support and initiatives, which began at a very specific time: the celebration of the 1st Symposium on Olympic Villages held in Lausanne in 1995.

The Lausanne symposium allowed the first piece of research to be undertaken on the evolution of Olympic urban planning. Three main conclusions were drawn from that research:

- The process of urban construction connected with the celebration of the Olympic Games in a city has become more complex throughout the 20th century. Initially, it was about a series of well-defined elements that were strictly related to various sporting events, such as those held at the Olympic stadium and at specialist facilities, depending on the Olympic discipline. However, the role of the Olympic Village and of the whole urban organisation connected with the celebration

of the Games led to the emergence of urban strategies and protocols that allowed reference to be made to the consolidation of a specific type of urban planning related to the Games: ‘Olympic urban planning’.

- The various Olympic experiences of urban planning and architecture allow us to plot the evolution of ideas about how to plan a city better, and they clearly show the main concerns that have defined planning at each particular moment in time. Thus, the analysis of Olympic urban planning allows us to study – in a defined and delimited territory – how the principles inspiring architecture and planning in the contemporary city have changed and developed.
- An in-depth study of Olympic Villages and urban strategies defining the organisation of the Games in each city also poses some very important research questions like, for example, the gradual emergence of new topics and concerns – mobility and security – and the relationship between Olympic actions and the general process of city development. On this particular point, studying each city’s strategies – locating Olympic Villages outside built-up areas to promote future urban enlargement, or locating them inside the city to foster internal regeneration dynamics – and the analysis of the evolution of Olympic Villages after the Games, especially with regard to their social, economic and functional integration into the urban fabric, were some of the vital issues that came out of that symposium. These have provided the inspiration for research undertaken thus far.

The research originally presented at the Lausanne symposium has given rise to subsequent updates and publications incorporating an analysis of different Olympic urban planning experiences throughout the 1990s and the 2000s.

A concise assessment of the main conclusions drawn from those works is given below.

Cities and urban mega-events: the relationship between Olympism and the city

The urban transformation of cities around the Western world throughout the 20th century cannot be dissociated from the organisation of mega-events. Universal expositions and the Olympic Games are two paradigmatic examples of this type of urban growth. Within Olympic urban planning, what stands out above all is the construction of Olympic Villages as urban artefacts that allow the relationships between architecture on the one hand, and the communication of a specific urban image on the other, to be perfectly explored. It is in an Olympic Village where architecture is most clearly placed at the service of the image that the city organising the event wants to project internationally. In this respect, building typologies, formal languages and the very design of spaces all form part of an urban landscape specially conceived to highlight not only the values of contemporary modernity, but also the specific values of the place. In addition, the architecture of Olympic Villages expresses the ambition to reproduce – in a controlled way and in a small, delimited space – certain urban models and architectural proposals that, in the real space of the city, generally come up against obstacles and difficulties in the way of their implementation.

Little by little, as architecture began to play an important part in the design of urban planning programmes and plans throughout the 20th century, Olympic Villages went from being ephemeral constructions – such as military barracks or camps supplemented with accommodation in a city’s hotels – to new constructions conceived first as part of a process of enlarging a city in the territory, and second as experiments for transforming elements that had already been built.

Defining the Olympic Village model: a history of the 20th century

A characteristic feature of the Olympic Games held before and after World War I – London 1908, Stockholm 1912, Antwerp 1920, Paris 1924 and Amsterdam 1928 – was that they responded to accommodation problems by offering what we could describe as an ‘emergency residential menu’, which incorporated all kinds of temporary residences – including the boats used to transport athletes – to meet the accommodation needs of the Games.

Despite the fact that the first cautious attempt at an Olympic Village was made in Paris – a set of wooden huts near the Colombes stadium with a few additions such as post and telegraph services – the first Olympic Village proper was built in Los Angeles for the Games in 1932. Together with the Olympic Village of the Berlin Games in 1936, these constitute what I call the ‘inaugural Olympic Villages’, since they established a basic Olympic Village model that would later be reproduced: a multifunctional structure that, besides offering the athletes accommodation and board, includes amenities such as training, rest and fitness areas, as well as recreational areas.

In the years after World War II, it was not until the 1960s that the Olympic Villages of Rome 1960 and Mexico 1968 introduced new elements of any complexity into the morphology and functions of the basic Olympic Village model first used at the Los Angeles and Berlin Games.⁴¹ Indeed, the Rome Olympiad represented a clear break with all earlier Games from the viewpoint of Olympic urban planning. For first time ever, there was a regional conception of the urban mass and, behind the location of facilities and constructions, there was a project for the territorial enlargement of the city. The Olympic Village was therefore included in a residential zoning programme that went far beyond the immediate solution for the temporary accommodation of athletes, a characteristic that became a point of reference common to all subsequent Olympic Villages.

With Rome 1960, the architectural form of the Olympic Village played a key part in projecting the image of the city. In fact, the Olympic Games themselves changed considerably from the mid-20th century, since they experienced the internationalisation and commercialisation of their content. Thus, the globalisation of sports consumption went hand in hand with greater planning of veritable sporting districts as yet another way to enlarge and transform a city. Olympic urban planning would be integrated into very ambitious urban development programmes, and architecture would guarantee not only the project’s functionality, but also the added value of spectacle. Good examples of that evolution are the 1970s’ Olympic Villages: Munich 1972 and, in particular, Montreal 1976. Unlike the urban growth approach taken for Olympic Villages in the previous decade, those of Munich and Montreal were about land use reclassification and redevelopment of the existing city.

The Olympic Villages of the last two decades of the 20th century incorporated a fairly uniform set of actions: the experience of planned programming of Moscow 1980 and the urban redevelopment plans of Seoul 1988 and Barcelona 1992 contrasted sharply with approaches bordering on ephemerality that were taken to the ‘university’ Olympic Villages of Los Angeles 1984 and Atlanta 1996. Thus, in Moscow’s case, the Olympic Village was contemplated in the capital city’s 1971-1990 Development Plan, in the context of the 10th five-year Social and Economic Development Plan; these plans divided the city into eight planning zones, which saw activity speed up after the Games were awarded to the city. Although very different in many respects, the Seoul and Barcelona operations shared the fact that Olympic urban planning was integrated into redevelopment programmes to recover major urban sites like Chansil – an area prone to flooding on the banks of Han River – and Poblenou, the 19th-century industrial heart of Barcelona. For its part, the Los Angeles 1984 model was diametrically opposed; it had minimal urban impact because only four of the 21 Olympic facilities were new-builds. Thus, an Olympic Village was not built and athletes were accommodated on three university campuses. This minimalist format was once again followed for Atlanta 1996, where facilities belonging to the Georgia Institute of Technology were used as an Olympic Village. These were supplemented with the construction of the Village Festival Center, a large shopping mall, and the Olympic towers, two apartment blocks providing additional accommodation.

The Olympic Villages of the 21st century – Sydney 2000, Athens 2004, Beijing 2008 and the project currently under construction for London 2012 – clearly evidence the main urban planning trends of recent times: the impact of globalisation on architecture with an obvious predominance of internationally renowned architecture firms and the capacity to create a recognised brand; the tendency towards spectacle in the shape of the architectural design and form; and the presence of three major concerns for today’s planning. These concerns relate to the need to provide new urban security conditions, to make projects

41. Thus, the characteristic feature of the Olympic Villages of London 1948, Helsinki 1952 and Melbourne 1956 was a return to ephemeral constructions like military camps and the use of social housing contained in city urban plans.

environmentally sustainable (not just the architecture, but also the urban model defining residential settlements), and the opportunity to suggest new urban forms by integrating the built city into the landscape through innovative landscaping interventions.

Olympic Village architecture: Olympic urban planning and urban image

The way architecture has made itself present in Olympic Villages is clear to see in elements such as building typologies, formal languages and the city model that characterises urban proposals.⁴²

In his book *Olympic Buildings* (1976), Martin Wimmer puts forward a classification of 20th-century Olympic Villages based on their building typologies. The first phase begins with the bungalows and houses of the first Olympic Villages, which are reminiscent of early 20th-century suburban housing, from the German *Siedlungen* (housing estates) to the variety of working-class housing typologies in garden city developments or industrial colonies. The second phase heralds the incorporation of apartment blocks, which could already be found at the Käpylä Olympic Village in Helsinki 1952, a model repeated in Rome 1960 and Tokyo 1964. The third phase corresponds to the construction of large housing developments in which tall apartment blocks – in a variety of designs in some instances – are repeated, as was the case for the Olympic Villages of Mexico 1968, Munich 1972, Montreal 1976 and Moscow 1980. To these, we could add the Olympic Villages of the last two decades of the 20th century, characterised on the one hand by the variety of building typologies – different height apartment blocks and houses – as was the case for Seoul 1988 and Barcelona 1992; and on the other by the ephemeral nature of operations for Los Angeles 1984 and Atlanta 1996, which introduced the multi-purpose container instead of apartment blocks. Finally, the Olympic Villages of the first decade of the 21st century are characterised by the incorporation of constructions – both blocks and low-density typologies – into the landscape in keeping with environmental sustainability criteria that are very prominent in the definition of the urban configuration of the Olympic Village.

A very complete analysis can be performed by comparing formal languages, taking note of how they condense elements of modernity encapsulated in other elements of habitat and local culture.⁴³ In this respect, it is easy to see how the architecture of Olympic Villages is essentially a communication vehicle for an urban image.

Inaugural Olympic Villages: Taylorization, rationalism and localism

The Olympic Villages of Los Angeles 1932 and Berlin 1936 perfectly demonstrate this link between modernity and vernacularity. In the first of these two cases, the Olympic Village incorporated many elements of Taylorized life that already characterised many North-American cities, such as the mass production and use of cars. Thus, Ford Model Ts – produced on assembly lines – were the vehicles that transported roofs, doors and walls – also mass produced – to the Olympic Village for speedy assembly before the Games, and speedy disassembly after the Games. At the same time, the architectural style of the Olympic Village was U.S. west-coast ‘Spanish’, with a significant presence of local stereotypes, from the entrance to the Olympic Village to the floral decoration of the gardens that were part of each housing module.

In the case of the Döberitz Olympic Village in Berlin, ideas stemming from thought on rational, ‘efficient’ housing, which were introduced into Germany’s social housing policy in the early 20th century, are clearly present: from the very typology

42. For reasons of space, only built Olympic Villages will be considered here.

43. A blend already suggested by Baron de Coubertin, acknowledged as the father of the modern Olympic Games, when he spoke of the requirements that an Olympic Village should meet. According to Coubertin, it was time for architects to make their dreams come true, to envision a dazzling Olympia, original in its modernity and respectful of tradition (Pierre de Coubertin 1910. “Une Olympie moderne”, a tract published in *Revue Olympique* addressing participants in the Concours International d’Architecture, Paris 1910).

of the housing units – like those of any other *Siedlungen* (housing estate) – to furniture that placed emphasis on comfort, simplicity and cleanliness (Richter 1937, 175).⁴⁴ Rationalism was even introduced into landscape management in order to achieve an integral whole: shaping the undulations of the land, designing an internal forest, introducing animal species suited to the environment, and, above all, taking advantage of the scenic potential of the landscape by designing views and vistas from the accommodation. In addition, local stereotypes were incorporated to such an extent that each house bore the name of a German town or city, with bedrooms decorated with elements alluding to the ‘cultural and economic life’ of that town or city.

From functionalism to radicalisms: ‘modern’ Olympic Villages

The three Olympic Villages of the 1960s represent more or less mimetic readings of the modern movement’s proposals, a trait that was, by the way, common to residential urban planning throughout the golden years of Fordism, characterised by the colonisation of new territories for the city. In the case of Rome 1960, the Olympic Village reproduced specific ingredients of the functionalist recipe, from pylons on which apartment blocks rested to inter-block spaces that articulated building-free zones. The two Olympic Villages of Mexico 1968 – Miguel Hidalgo and Villa Coapa – represented a more radical version of the modern proposal. Heavily influenced by European experiences of large 1960s’ housing estates, they reflected an aspiration to create new city neighbourhoods, understood as self-sufficient units, with zoning on a greater scale and a much more standardised reading of heights and inter-block spaces.

Finally, even though it was built over a decade later, the Olympic Village of Moscow 1980 still corresponded to the introduction, on a massive and superficial scale, of the principles of the country’s modern residential architecture movement; a national-scope policy launched at the time of post-war urban reconstruction. Thus, both the formal approach and the tendency towards projects on a massive scale put the Moscow Olympic Village very much on a par with the Mexican experience.

In contrast, the approaches to the Olympic Villages of the 1970s were very different and can be associated with other traditions within contemporary architecture; on the one hand, with reflection on the cultural condition of Western urban societies and on mass culture linked to Fordism, consumption and leisure, and on the other, with radicalised visions of urban design and of the very organisation of a city and its functions. From the expansive organicism of the Japanese Metabolists to the techno-pop of Archigram, 1970s’ radicalisms proposed the creation of ‘megastructures’ – integrating services and amenities by swallowing up the functions of urban space – as a new basis not only for the creation of residential units, but also for the organisation of urban life (Solà-Morales 1994).

Both orientations are clearly present in the Olympic Villages of Munich 1972 and Montreal 1976. The first of these was integrated into an Olympic park that was, in fact, oriented towards urban leisure: the buildings were constructed with shopping and leisure in mind, and even the green spaces were designed for leisure and free time. Regarding the Montreal Olympic Village, the project created four pyramidal structures – megastructures with a micro-city vocation – that brought together all necessary functions, from housing and restaurants to leisure: the basements and first floors were given over to services, while the sixth and higher floors were devoted to athletes’ accommodation.

Postmodern readings: late 20th-century Olympic Villages

The role of architecture as a device for image communication, which began with the Rome Olympic Village, reached a structural nuance in the conception of urban operations in Olympic Villages that came after the Moscow 1980 experience. Thus, the Olympic Villages of Seoul 1988 and Barcelona 1992 had numerous elements in common; this was a *leitmotiv* of

44. Three attributes that had been perfectly encapsulated in the 1926 Frankfurt Kitchen, possibly the best example of rationalist ideas applied to housing.

urban redevelopment experiences in the latter years of the 20th century, Battery Park in New York, Docklands in London, La Défense in Paris and the never-ending array of waterfront sites transformed into leisure and entertainment areas: the use of architecture as a symbolic and mediatic support for the urban planning programme (Crilley 1993). An architecture that sways between territorial indifferentism and, paradoxically, the manipulation of local stereotypes.

In the Olympic Villages that I have called ‘modern’, those built in the 1960s and 1970s, localism had become limited to the realm of what we might call ‘an Olympic *attrezzo*’ in the light of the overwhelming physical presence of some architectural proposals inspired by functionalist narrative lines. It is in this sense that the initiatives to recover some historic buildings for Rome 1960 and the cultural programmes that were heavily influenced by local traditions for Mexico 1968 and Munich 1972 should be understood.

In contrast, the Olympic Villages that I call ‘postmodern’ clearly demonstrate how local elements were reintroduced, even massively, into the image that architecture shapes in the process of Olympic Village planning, as had already been the case for the first Olympic Villages of the 1930s. A good example of that is the ‘Koreanness’ of the architecture of the Seoul Olympic Village, inspired by values of tranquillity and unassuming elegance, expressing a spirituality that is so deep rooted in the country’s culture, perceptible in the shapes of the spaces created, in the sculptures and in the colours (Brandizzi 1988, 173). These are formal premises that, for example, led the tallest buildings of the Olympic Village to be located on the outside to ‘protect’ or hide lower buildings on the inside.

The ‘Koreanness’ of the Seoul architecture became the ‘Mediterraneanness’ of the Barcelona architecture, where references to the historic city are a constant in the urban planning of the Olympic Village. In fact, the architectural project proposed an *in vitro* architecture, clearly alluding to the fact that, on the one hand, the intention was to create a new neighbourhood organically linked to the existing city, while, on the other, there was a problem of generating the perception of the passage of time and the superimposition of various architectural forms that history ends up producing in a space created *ex novo*. An architecture that should simulate history or, in other words, the passage of time, and where the *in vitro* diversity should be provided by the variation of formal elements like, for example, façades, porches, arcades and balconies, as well as colours and textures.

Finally, the U.S. Olympic Villages of Los Angeles 1984 and Atlanta 1996 show, besides ephemerality as the essence of operations, several simulation attempts that try to recreate the urban landscape by using decorative elements that, in the case of Los Angeles, went from the use of a Mediterranean palette of colours to the use of signposting elements conceived not only to be seen by visitors, but also – and in particular – by television viewers. Thus, attempts were made to create identification with all the Olympic sports facilities through the iconography and the chromatic attributes of the décor, capable of giving that impression via television screens (Los Angeles Olympic Games Organising Committee 1985, 161).

21st-century Olympic Villages: between revival and branding

Olympic Villages built in the 2000s and the Olympic Villages proposed by candidate cities for both the 2012 and the 2016 Games show how the role that architecture plays in urban image communication has expanded beyond specific projects and even characterises territorial planning proposals associated with Olympic urban planning.

Thus, 21st-century Olympic Villages fall into the 20th-century tradition of creating urban sites inspired by notions of what an ideal urban city and region should be like. Thus, a series of key words characterises the discourse, not only on architecture, but also on Games-related urban planning.

In this respect, the Olympic Villages discussed below only reflect what is happening now in the field of urban planning, which sways between brand images such as ‘sustainability’, ‘security’, ‘compactness’ and ‘landscape’, suggesting the ambition to

create urban areas that are environmentally sustainable and socially safe, inspired by the compact city ideal and integrated into areas for people's enjoyment of the landscape, understood merely in terms of visual consumption.

In other words, the images that shape today's Olympic Villages are, in reality, those of the most successful urban branding in financial terms, in a context defined by a global market for land and urban images. In this respect, the Olympic Village is, now more than ever, a place where architecture and communication go hand in hand.

The idealised image of what constitutes a compact city model, materialised in terms of revival, thus exists alongside the new labels attached to today's urban planning: technology and sustainability. In the same way as images, labels, logos and brands have become substantial elements in urban transformation, today's Olympic Villages replicate this model of compact urban planning in physical terms, operational technology terms and landscape sustainability terms.

Indeed, the Olympic Village that launched this new model was Sydney 2000, which is located in the heart of a wetland near the harbour, in Homebush Bay. For the Olympic event, the area underwent a process of redevelopment and was transformed into a metropolitan natural park. The landscaping actions, the introduction of animal species and the generally low density of building typologies were, to a large extent, reminiscent of the advertising for many tourist resorts subject to specialist urban planning. This sustainable urban planning, which contemplated meticulous management of the landscape, clearly drew much of its inspiration from the Acharnai Olympic Village built for the Athens 2004 Games and the one built for the Beijing 2008 Games.

In the case of Athens, the idea of an 'ecological park' (into which the Olympic Village was incorporated) and the presence of 'eco-trails' and other soft elements, which are characteristic of the simplest sustainable city readings, shared protagonism with the revival of the modern movement, as proposed by the architecture. In fact, as the project announced, the Olympic Village had been designed in accordance with the principles of the modern movement, which places emphasis on factors such as proper orientation, natural and appropriate ventilation or the good circulation of air. It is, without doubt, a highly interesting example of a postmodern interpretation of modernity that even replicated the image of Le Corbusier's proposals on the plans. The result was in some ways reminiscent of the initiatives that had led to the construction of the peripheral areas of European cities in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the case of Beijing 2008, the Olympic Village resumed the sustainability and ecology discourse and, thus, it was considered a 'green district' that added, as a differentiating factor, the intensive presence of communication technologies. Indeed, the proposal for the entire Olympic Village was that of a digital community, with the presence of an online square devoted to all kinds of activities connected with digital interaction. A telematic urban world designed on a scale that would also ensure the security of the environment through sophisticated video-surveillance systems.

These two images, the sustainable city and the technological city, the green city of landscape and the transparent city of technology, actually had a significant presence in the Olympic Village projects proposed in the candidatures of London, Madrid, Moscow, New York and Paris for the 2012 Olympic Games, and in those of Chicago, Tokyo, Rio de Janeiro and Madrid – again – for the 2016 Games. Albeit with a number of nuances and differentiating elements, all of them swayed between these two scenarios.

Regarding the 2012 Games, London's proposal is particularly interesting because the Olympic Village is presented as a model for the development of future urban regeneration operations inspired by sufficiently superficial images of the compact city model – such as the much idealised mixed-use scheme – and on criteria of sustainability, going from the materials employed to the use of renewable energies. These are some of the guidelines that should be followed by future 'sustainable communities', always to the east of the city.

In the case of Paris, the proposal was for an Olympic Village in the 17th district, based on four key principles: clarity, serenity, security and mobility. These four priorities were intended to shape both landscape management – including the development of parks and canals – and the space, with physical barriers that isolated the Olympic Village from the outside.

In contrast, the approaches taken by New York and Moscow were mainly from the perspective of redeveloping areas that were more central. In the first case, it was about a future residential intervention in an industrial sector of Queens, near the United Nations neighbourhood on East River. In the case of Moscow, the Olympic Village shaped a new residential area on the waterfront of Moskva River, a 'picturesque green space' framed by the rest of the Olympic facilities spread out along the axis of the river as it flows through the city.

Regarding the 2016 Games, the candidatures of Chicago, Tokyo, Rio de Janeiro and Madrid continued to draw on very similar ideas and concepts for their architectural projects.

The Olympic Villages proposed by Chicago, Tokyo and the winner Rio de Janeiro once again placed emphasis on the urban recovery of an urban area with great potential for redevelopment and centrality, always with the common denominator of a natural element, such as the presence of water, as the backdrop of the urban planning operation.

In the case of Chicago, Lake Michigan itself was the scenario of an urban redevelopment process, which was not exempt from debate between resolute preservationists – who, in the land of the old site of Michael Reese Hospital, saw an opportunity for the conservation of the modern legacy of Walter Gropius – and those who favoured a new-build waterfront development on the lake. A new waterfront thus became the main reason for the urban approach to a Games that, in the arguments put forward for it, combined issues such as environmental sustainability and urban diversity in terms of the design of the settings.

In the case of Tokyo, the city's bay was the landscape framing an urban operation based on icons of ecological architecture and inclusive urban planning. Thus, the emphasis was placed on the sustainability of solar panels, green roofs and vegetation, all of which were present in every Olympic facility, as well as the universality of an urban design inspired by accessibility and the removal of architectural barriers. The Olympic Village, clearly inspired by the harbour redevelopments of cities in the Western world, proposed an urban landscape of modules that protruded over the bay among parks and water features between apartment blocks.

For its part, the Barra da Tijuca Olympic Village of the winning candidature, Rio de Janeiro, also incorporated projects of environmental sustainability and of decontamination of the highly run-down Guanabara Bay and the recovery of the harbour. The elements that anchor the Olympic Village in the vernacular culture of the place – such as an 'Olympic beach' or a 'Carioca street' – were incorporated into a discourse common to all the Olympic Village proposals mentioned earlier, which summarised similar values relating to technology and sustainability, with the added aspect of placing emphasis on the implementation of specific security protocols. Despite the recurrent references to the Barcelona'92 experience, the project now presents not inconsiderable doubts about the outcome of the urban planning operation, especially in terms of centrality distribution and returns on the urban image of the Games beyond the specific areas in which action will be taken.

Finally, in the case of the Madrid candidature, the area defining the Olympic Village formed part of an ambitious project to enlarge the city towards the east, where images relating to the urban development's coexistence with nature were accompanied by constant references to the Mediterranean city model as a guarantee of community life. In the way it had been put together and in its detail, this objective presented similar content to the proposals mentioned earlier; initiatives, concepts and ideas that contemplated criteria like the sustainability, ecological architecture, inclusiveness and diversity of urban planning operations, not to mention the presence of urban morphologies associated with the global forms that architectural production now takes on the territory.

In short, as can be deduced from the analysis of the projects of the candidatures and winners of the last two calls to organise the 2012 and 2016 Olympics, the variety of current proposals for Olympic urban planning is immense: the regeneration of non-central areas with a continuity vocation; the redevelopment of central areas with urban landscape characteristics on which a value can easily be placed, such as the presence of a river, a lake or a bay; and the enlargement and continuation of a city's growth.

However, despite the variety of situations, it is equally clear that the current Olympic Village model is evolving towards the consolidation of fairly common programmes that, as mentioned earlier, situate the Olympic Village space between an urban planning revival and images of logo architecture characteristic of the global urban form.

From army barracks to the ‘eco-neighbourhood’ model

Despite the existence of obvious discontinuities, this analysis of 20th and 21st-century Olympic Villages evidences the clear evolution of the meaning of urban planning in relation to them. Thus, the ‘barracks village’, which characterised the first attempt at an Olympic Village for the Paris Games in 1924, subsequently became a ‘resort village’, which was understood as a place not only for accommodation and board, but also for rest and fitness. Thus, new amenities and services were offered, such as saunas and gyms at the Döberitz Olympic Village for the Berlin Games in 1936. The third phase corresponds to the ‘hotel village’, characterised by offering not only board, accommodation and amenity services, but also free-time programmes and facilities that would gradually gain in protagonism. The definitive model is the ‘neighbourhood village’: an Olympic Village therefore offers all of the above-mentioned functions, while also forming – materially and symbolically – a neighbourhood of the city. In consequence, a whole series of urban functions have emerged, such as the prioritised circulation of different types of traffic flow, the location of diverse services and amenities in containers, and the specialisation of each area. Likewise, there are also new requirements, such as those for new information and communication technologies, and the need for landscape integration, environmental sustainability and urban security conditions, none of which make the planning of an Olympic Village very different from the planning of any new city neighbourhood.

Research and future outlook

As mentioned earlier, Olympic urban planning clearly demonstrates the enormous cross-disciplinary potential that Olympic studies research has. A series of results obtained after 15 years of joint research with CEO-UAB is indicative of continuity in a line of work that has offered a new outlook on the city and Olympism, yet it is one that can carry on growing and contributing innovative readings of the future of the Games and the city.

Thus, the research undertaken has consolidated a field of new, specific work that can evolve by dealing with five major topics that, over the coming years, will provide critical assessments and evidence of the evolution of Olympic urban planning in the 21st century.

- Conceptualisation of the sporting mega-event, which has become more complex as it has evolved, with the addition of elements of a cultural nature, the power and presence of which were initially residual. Thus, the urban cultural dimension will be one of the most interesting elements for the definition of mega-events like the Olympic Games in the future.
- Evolution of the concerns and major topics in the definition of urban planning. The new issues that 21st-century Olympic urban planning has already incorporated, such as security, sustainability and landscape, are certainly giving rise to new ways of thinking and planning the Olympic event from the perspective of transforming an existing city.
- Importance of image in a global world characterised by the success of a digital visual culture. The incorporation of this type of issues into urban planning is unquestionably very novel and may foster future research focusing clearly on the links between the Olympic Games, urban image and global communication.
- Innovation in proposing new ways of integrating Olympic urban planning actions into the urban fabric. In this respect, the approaches taken to Olympic Villages in the future will certainly go much further and will re-elaborate traditional

formulas, characterised by opting for the enlargement of a city or the transformation and regeneration of an internal and occasionally run-down area of the existing fabric.

- The way in which new and highly important urban topics can be incorporated into the design and configuration of Olympic urban planning. This is the case for issues such as urban creativity, knowledge technologies, the culture economy and the essential role that existing processes are playing in current urban evolution, yet which are acquiring a new and radically different dimension nowadays, such as global tourism and cross-border migration.

These five lines of research may be productive paths to follow in terms of consolidating the current relationship of knowledge exchange and joint research, and may also reveal not only the permeability and cross-disciplinarity of the work already carried out, but also the potential impact on future societies, for which the study of relationships between the Olympic Games, urban planning and city transformation will continue to be relevant.

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Analysis of the Economic Impact of the Olympic Games

Ferran Brunet

**Tenured Lecturer, Department of Applied Economics, Autonomous University of Barcelona; CEO-UAB
Research Collaborator**

Introduction

The benefits of ‘mega-events’ are twofold: their organisation increases economic activity, particularly investment in infrastructure, and their celebration gives greater international visibility to the place hosting the event.

Major events mobilise a great number of people, managers and workers, attract participants and visitors, and generate major media (particularly from television) and public interest. Sports events are the biggest of all mega-events: an Olympic Summer Games attracts the largest television audience over a two-week period, with the opening and closing ceremonies drawing the largest share.

Therefore, mega-events are a source of business and have become an industry in their own right. The resources required for holding a mega-event can be self-funded with the income received from the sale of broadcast rights, advertising, sponsorship and merchandising, and they can attract numerous other sources of investment. Consequently, mega-events can produce significant tangible and intangible assets that, with better management, are greater and more durable.

In today’s world of free movement of capital, goods and people, which is driven by technological developments and where services are essential, particularly those related to a knowledge-based economy, the ability to organise and stage a global mega-event increases the productivity, competitiveness and standard of living of the local population in the host city.

From Barcelona to Beijing, from the World Cup in South Africa to the European Capital of Culture, from Expo 2010 Shanghai to the Rio 2016 Olympic Games, mega-events have the ability to attract, to make an impact and to promote cities, regions and countries, in some cases for decades after the event.

The analysis of mega-events developed considerably after the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games (Brunet 1994, Moragas and Botella 1995 and 2002) and subsequent Games (Preuss 2004, Brunet and Xinwen 2009, IOC 2010). We shall examine the resources and legacy of the Barcelona Olympic Games, focusing particularly on their economic impact.

1. Preparing for the Games: Resources for Barcelona (1986-1992)

In pursuit of Barcelona’s dream of hosting an Olympic Games that would be a celebration of excellence in terms of both the human spirit and sporting achievements, the city underwent an impressive urban transformation. Three aspects of

this process can be highlighted:

1. The Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games were excellent in terms of their organisation and sporting achievements.
2. The urban transformation that resulted from investment in the Games had a major economic and social impact.
3. The ability of Barcelona's economy to capitalise on the impetus provided by the Games and their capital legacy has resulted in Barcelona being ranked in fourth place as the most attractive European city in 2010, compared to eleventh and sixth in 1990 and 2000, respectively.

As a result, the organisation and impact of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games have become a model, from a sports, organisational, economic, social and urban perspective. The following aspects will be analysed:

- The organisation of the Barcelona 1992 Olympic Games from the viewpoint of its model and resources for the period 1986-1992.
- The impact of Olympic investments on economic activity, employment, income, construction, tourism and transport, with a focus on the period 1992-2004.
- Barcelona's ability to capitalise on the impetus provided by the Olympic Games in order to improve its ranking over the period 2004-2020.

1.1. The Barcelona model of organising the Olympic Games

Barcelona's desire to host the Olympic Games was based on offering excellent sports competitions, in keeping with the Olympic spirit, and to carry out a large-scale urban transformation project that would improve the quality of life and attractiveness of the city. Without doubt, the key to the success (Samaranch 1992) of the 1992 Olympic Games lay in the strength of its objectives (organisational excellence and urban impact), inter-institutional consensus, the use of special management bodies, mixed funding, and also the ability of the city's economy to respond to the impetus of the Olympics and to attract investment.

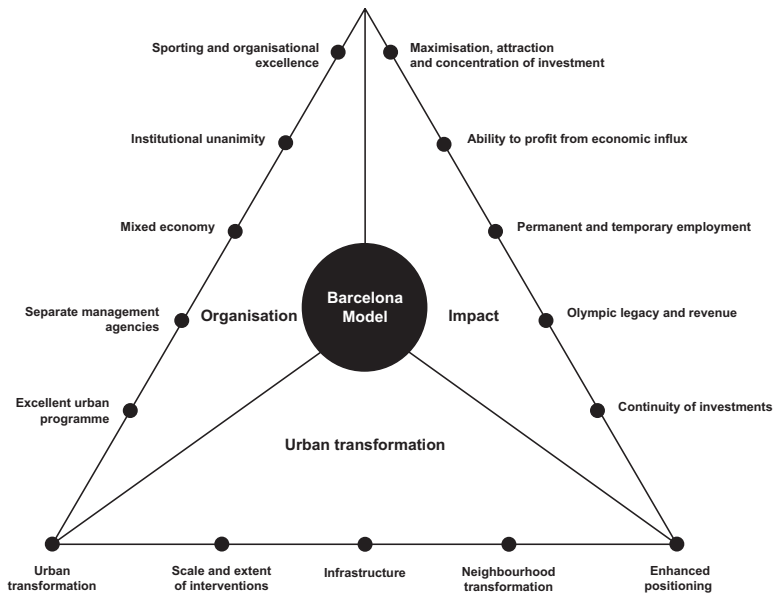
This approach and the excellent results obtained (Ajuntament de Barcelona, several years) comprise the Barcelona model for urban transformation and the organisation of major events. Figure 1 shows the various elements of the Barcelona model of organisation and urban redevelopment.

1.2. Cost of the Olympic Games and funding of investments

With regard to the economic resources for the Olympics, a distinction should be made between organisational costs (not usable after the Games) and investment in building works (usable). The organisational costs are the real 'costs', since they disappear as soon as the event has finished. For this reason, it is considered advantageous to keep them to a minimum. However, investment is the legacy, the benefits of which will remain. It is therefore, advantageous to maximise the level of investment.

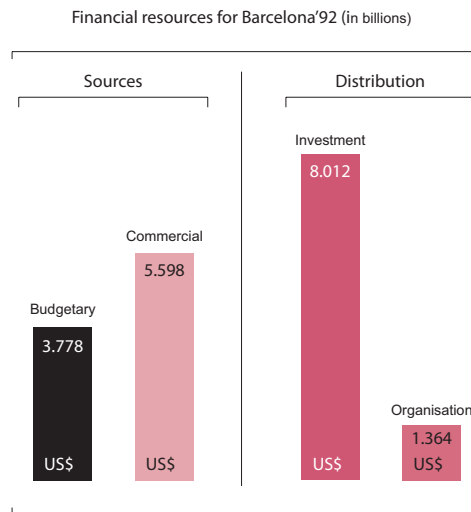
The resources allocated to organisational costs and investment, and also their impact, are set out in Figure 2. There is a considerable difference between organisational costs (US\$1.36 billion, largely self-funded by the Organising Committee) and investment in building work (US\$8.01 billion). As a result, investment represented 85.5% of total spending on the Olympics (see Table 1).

Figure 1. The Barcelona model: organisation, impact and urban transformation



Source: Brunet 1994 and 2009.

Figure 2. Financial resources for Barcelona'92: budgetary and commercial sources, distribution in investment and organisation



Source: Brunet 1994.

Table 1a. Financial resources for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games: source, allocation and impact

Accumulated value over the period 1986-1993 (in millions)	Pesetas (current)	US\$ (current)	US\$ constant at 2000 rates	Euros constant at 2000 rates	Distribution (%)	
A. SOURCE OR FINANCING OF RESOURCES (= B)	1,119,510	9,376	11,532	12,474	100.0	
1. Resources from commercial sources (commercial income)	668,387	5,598	6,886	7,448	59.7	100.0
Investment from domestic private companies	204,697	1,714	2,108	2,280	18.3	30.6
Investment from foreign private companies	108,320	907	1,116	1,207	9.7	16.2
Investment from Spanish state companies	130,416	1,092	1,343	1,453	11.6	19.5
HOLSA: income from its companies	42,306	354	435	471	3.8	6.3
COOB'92	182,648	1,530	1,882	2,036	16.3	27.3
• Television rights	54,164	454	558	604	4.8	8.1
• Sponsors: monetary contributions	58,152	487	599	648	5.2	8.7
• Sponsors: payments in kind	42,448	356	438	474	3.8	6.4
• Lotteries	20,143	169	208	225	1.8	3.0
• Others	7,741	65	80	87	0.7	1.2
2. Budgetary resources (fiscal income)	451,123	3,778	4,647	5,026	40.3	100.0
Transfers from state to COOB'92	12,947	108	133	144	1.2	2.9
HOLSA: loan to be repaid by MEH and AB	112,590	943	1,160	1,255	10.1	25.0
Investment from public budget	325,586	2,727	3,354	3,628	29.1	72.2
• Barcelona City Council (municipality)	22,789	191	235	254	2.0	5.1
• Government of Catalonia (regional government)	142,726	1,195	1,470	1,590	12.7	25.7
• Government of Spain (central government)	116,124	973	1,197	1,295	10.4	31.6
• European Union	8,100	68	84	91	0.7	1.8
• Other public administrations	35,848	300	369	399	3.2	7.9

Table 1b. Financial resources for the Barcelona'92 Olympic Games: source, allocation and impact

Accumulated value over the period 1986-1993 (in millions)	Pesetas (current)	US\$ (current)	US\$ constant at 2000 rates	Euros constant at 2000 rates	Distribution (%)	
B. ALLOCATION OR USE OF THE RESOURCES (= A)	1,119,510	9,376	11,532	12,474	100.0	
1. Resources allocated to organisation (Organisational costs of COOB'92 programme)	162,880	1,364	1,678	1,815	14.5	100.0
Competitions	14,045	118	145	157	1.3	8.6
Ceremonies & cultural activities	9,053	76	93	101	0.8	5.6
Press, radio & television	18,254	153	188	203	1.6	11.2
Preparation of facilities (not including investment in building work)	13,510	113	139	150	1.2	8.3
Technology	24,791	208	256	277	2.2	15.2
Services for the Olympic Family	37,023	310	381	412	3.3	22.7
Security	4,671	39	48	52	0.4	2.9
Management & corporate image	18,618	155	191	207	1.7	11.5
Support structures	22,915	192	236	255	2.0	14.1
2. Resources allocated to building work (Public & private investment related to Olympic Games = Olympic legacy)	956,630	8,012	9,855	10,660	85.5	100.0
Roads & transport	404,514	3,388	4,167	4,507	36.1	42.3
Telecommunications & services	123,313	1,033	1,271	1,375	11.1	2.9
Coasts, recovery & parks	60,438	506	622	673	5.4	6.3
Housing, offices and business premises	139,741	1,170	1,439	1,556	12.5	14.6
Hotels	119,884	1,004	1,235	1,336	10.7	12.5
Sports facilities	87,511	733	902	976	7.8	9.1
Cultural and health facilities, and others	21,229	178	219	237	1.9	2.2
C. TOTAL ECONOMIC IMPACT	3,107,788	26,028	32,014	34,628	100.0	
1. Direct impact	1,165,600	9,762	12,007	12,987	37.5	
Resources allocated to organisation and building works (A = B)	1,119,510	9,376	11,532	12,474	36.0	
Spending by non-resident visitors	46,090	386	475	514	1.5	
2. Indirect impact	1,942,188	16,266	20,007	21,641	62.5	

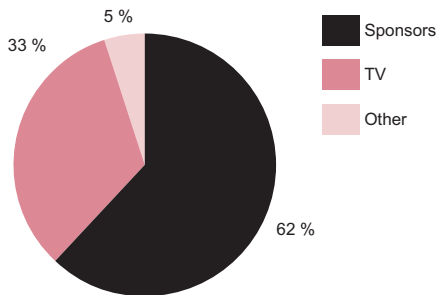
Source: Brunet 1994.

With regard to the organisation, the Organising Committee (COOB'92) closed its accounts in July 1993: spending had totalled 195.59 billion Pesetas⁴⁵, that is to say, US\$1.63 billion (equivalent to US\$1.67 billion constant at 2000 rates), with a surplus of US\$3 million. As the Olympic project advanced, the investment made by the different public and private entities far exceeded expectations: US\$1.98 billion in April 1985, US\$6.43 billion in March 1991 and US\$9.37 billion in July 1993. The real costs, the organisational costs, were maintained in constant Pesetas, whereas the investment stimulated by the Games expanded extraordinarily.

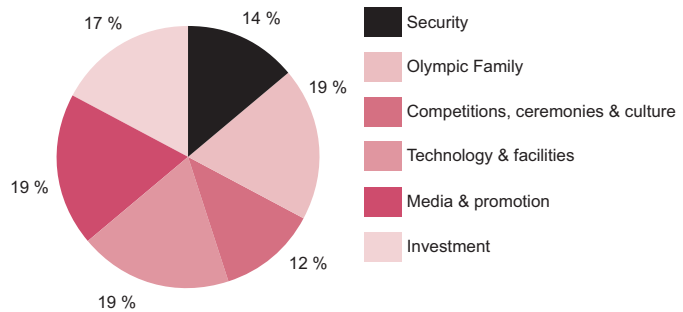
Figure 3. Income and cost structure for the organisation and building work for Barcelona'92

Organisation

COOB'92 Income

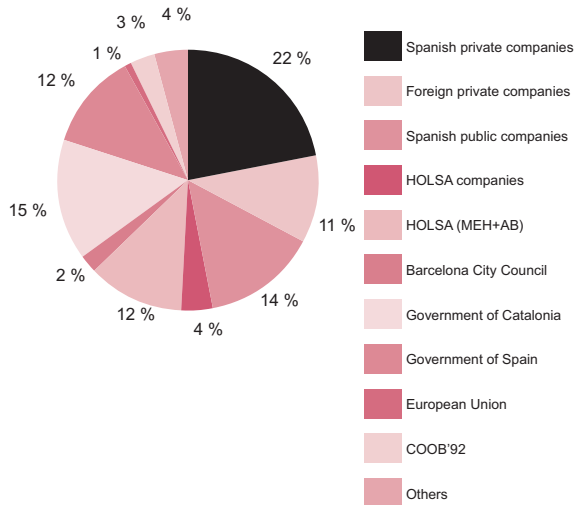


COOB'92 Expenditure

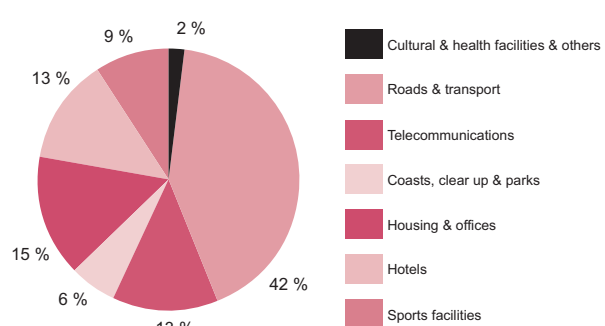


Investment

Financing Olympic investments



Allocation of Olympic investments



Source: Brunet 1994 and Table 1.

45. When Spain joined the European Monetary Union on 1 January 1999, the Peseta was replaced by the Euro at an exchange rate of 166.386 Pesetas to one Euro. This is the rate applied when expressing figures in Euros. Over the period 1986-1993, the average exchange rate was 119.4 pesetas to one US Dollar. This is the rate applied when expressing figures in US Dollars (FedStats 2007).

Of all COOB'92 revenue streams, the growth in self-funded revenue was remarkable, accounting for 75.2% of total revenue. Therefore, sponsorship and television broadcast rights were the main sources of income for the Organising Committee. With regard to organisational costs, the main outgoings were for television and press facilities (an international centre and technology), and the competitions and services for the Olympic Family (see distribution in Table 1 and Figure 3). The main costs for COOB'92 were service acquisition (49.9% of the total), and second, investments (33.8%) (Barcelona Holding Olímpico 1990; COOB'92 1993).

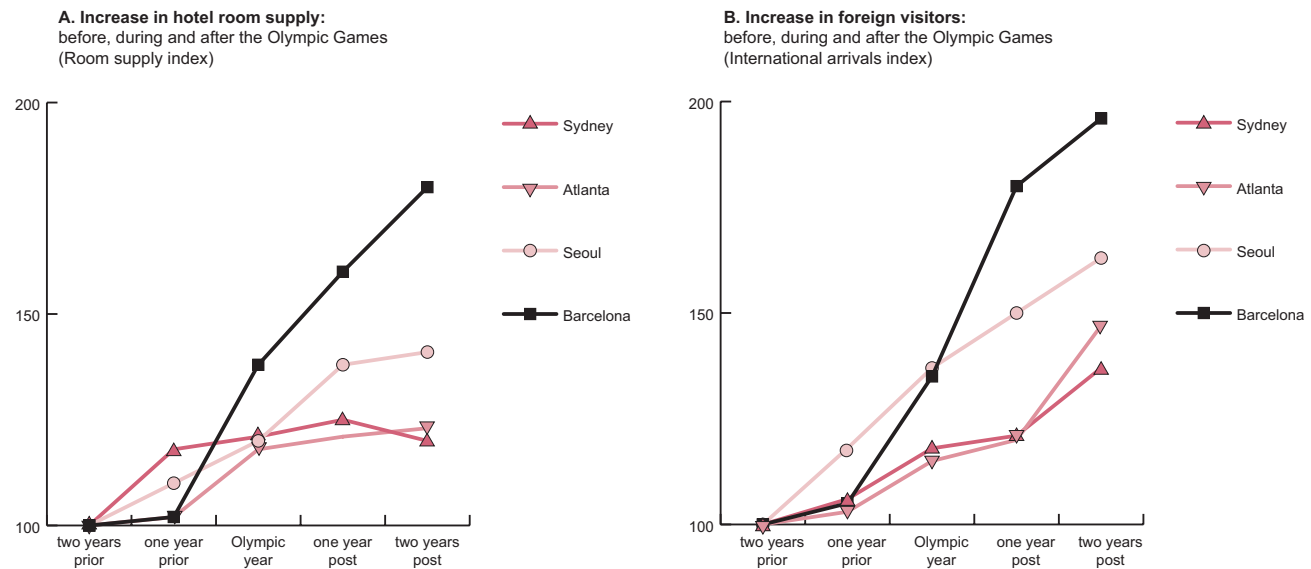
1.3. Revenue of Organising Committees for the Olympic Games

In comparison to other Olympic Games, the Barcelona Games were remarkable for the high level of revenue for Olympic organisation and investment, and for their impact (Figures 4, 5 and 6) (IOC 2002 and 2010). In fact, the Barcelona Olympic Games are notable for the following reasons:

- On a global level, as an organisational model – the memory of the excellence of the organisation and of sporting results lives on (Marshall 2004; Blake 2005) – and as a model for urban transformation.
- On a local level, for the ongoing effects of the high levels of investment, for the scale of the Olympic legacy and the far-reaching impact on improving the world ranking of Barcelona.

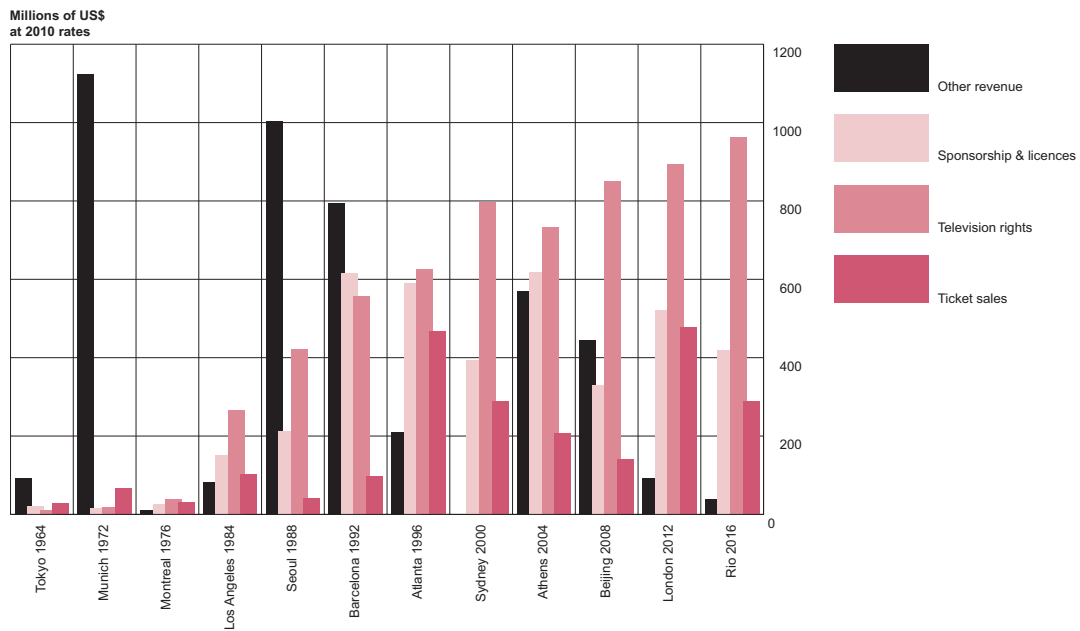
For these reasons, an analysis of the investment generated by Barcelona'92, the capitalisation of the Olympic legacy and the ongoing (or lack of) investment and urban transformation is of interest (Brunet 1996 and 2009).

Figure 4. Response of Olympic cities: capitalisation on new capacity



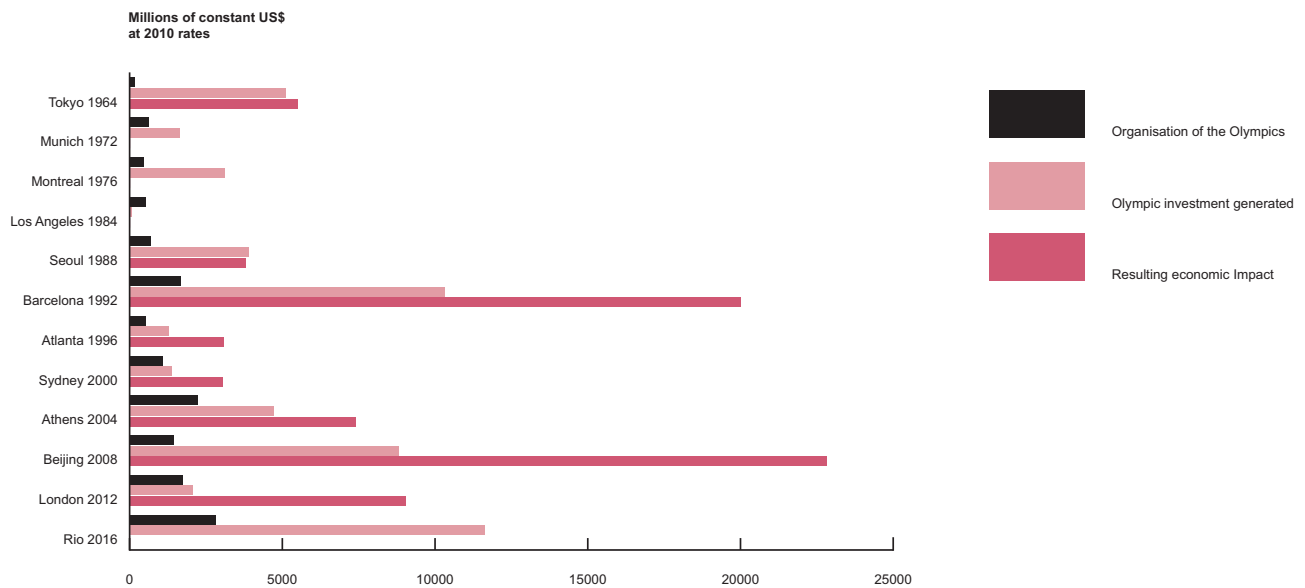
Source: Jones Lang LaSalle IP 2002.

Figure 5: Revenue of Organising Committees for the Olympic Games: structure and dynamics 1964-2016



Source: Brunet 1994 and 2009 and IOC 2010.

Figure 6: Financial resources generated for the Olympic Games: organisation, investments and impact 1964-2016



Source: Brunet 1994 and 2002 and IOC 2002 and 2010.

1.4. Building work for the Olympic Games

In order to facilitate the investment process, the Government of Spain and Barcelona City Council combined their assets and Olympic building projects in a joint venture company, Barcelona Holding Olímpico, S.A. (HOLSA). Providing the perfect example of mixed funding, HOLSA built the main Olympic facilities, the majority of the network of 78km of new roads and the Olympic Village.

To fulfil the aims of Barcelona'92, a vast amount of construction work was required, and much more than was strictly necessary for the Olympic Games was generated. This is precisely one of the aims of candidate host Olympic cities: to obtain as much investment as possible for projects that are usable after the Games have ended. Investment related to the Barcelona Games over the period 1986-1993 totalled US\$8.01 billion (see Table 1 for details).

The main Olympic building works were:

1. Road and transport infrastructure
2. Housing, offices and business premises
3. Telecommunications and services
4. Hotels
5. Sports facilities
6. Environmental infrastructure

A total of 61.5% of the Olympic investment was allocated to infrastructure projects, which indicates a key aspect of Barcelona'92: their ability to restructure the city.⁴⁶ For this reason, the greatest and most far-reaching impact of investment in infrastructure is long term.

The construction of various ring roads or bypasses, the re-opening of the seafront with the building of the Olympic Village, the creation of various new areas and Olympic venues in Montjuïc, Diagonal and Vall d'Hebron were the main actions taken in Barcelona (Barcelona Holding Olímpico 1990).

The scale of the urban transformation that took place in Barcelona as a result of the Olympic Games is demonstrated by the following facts: in comparison to 1986, the road system was increased by 15%, the sewerage system by 17%, and parks and beaches by 78%. However, an added feature of Barcelona'92 was the decentralisation of some competitions to several other sub-host cities. As a result, only 38.5% of total investment was allocated to the city of Barcelona, meaning that the immediate impact was felt all over the region.

Another aspect of Barcelona'92 investments will clearly illustrate the economics of these Olympic Games. The construction of sports facilities only accounted for 9.1% of total investment in the Olympic Games. This low percentage reflected the huge volume of additional indirect investment that was attracted as a consequence of the Olympic Games.

A total of 36.8% of construction work for the Olympics was carried out by the private sector, a third of which was foreign capital. Private investment was directed towards housing, hotels and business centres. Large investments by the private sector in building work for Barcelona'92 were the result of the high expectations created by improvements in the city's attractiveness (Roldán 1992).

46. On the subject of urban planning, see Bohigas 1986, Busquets 1992, Esteban 1999, Ajuntament de Barcelona 1999, Marshall 2004 and Pareja et al. 2007.

1.5. Olympic Games fiscal balance

The Olympic Games require public resources which, in turn, generate other public revenue. Thus, the Olympic Games are promoted by the public sector, but the returns will match or possibly exceed the original expenditure. The aim is, therefore, to keep public funding of organisational costs to a minimum, and allocate funds largely to investment in infrastructure and facilities.

Public funding may increase and exceed original budget limits set by politicians. However, the higher the level of public funding, the higher the level of private funding that will be drawn in. Similarly, the capital legacy, such as new business and employment created, will also increase proportionately. As a result, the return on public funding of investments and activities for the Olympic Games will also be greater.

The fiscal balance analyses total public sector expenditure for the Olympic Games and total public sector revenue obtained directly from the Olympic Games and indirectly from activities generated by the Olympic Games.

In the Barcelona'92 fiscal balance, two periods are under consideration: the preparatory period (1986-1992), and the post-Games period. Up to 1992, expenditure on public infrastructure was high, but so was public sector revenue from Olympic activities that did not qualify for tax benefits. From 1992 onwards Games-related public sector expenditure was limited to the maintenance of the public capital legacy. Additionally, revenue derived from greater private capital, additional economic activity resulting from the Games and Olympic investment was high. As a result, both periods show a positive fiscal balance.

By 2004, the public sector was receiving good returns on its investment in the Olympic Games as shown in Figure 7. The fiscal balance shown in this research has a margin of error of more or less 15% (Brunet 2002). These figures do not include revenue derived from social security payments. When included, the fiscal balance surpluses are US\$6.83 billion current for the period 1986-1992, US\$2.60 billion for the period 1993-2001 and US\$3.87 billion for the period 2002-2010.

2. After the Olympic Games: impact on Barcelona (1992-2004)

2.1. Ability to capitalise on the impetus of the Olympic Games and generate investment and economic activity

The impact of the city's nomination as an Olympic host city was immediate: unemployment fell dramatically and there was a boom in the housing market and, of course, in the construction industry (Brunet 1995; see Figure 7).

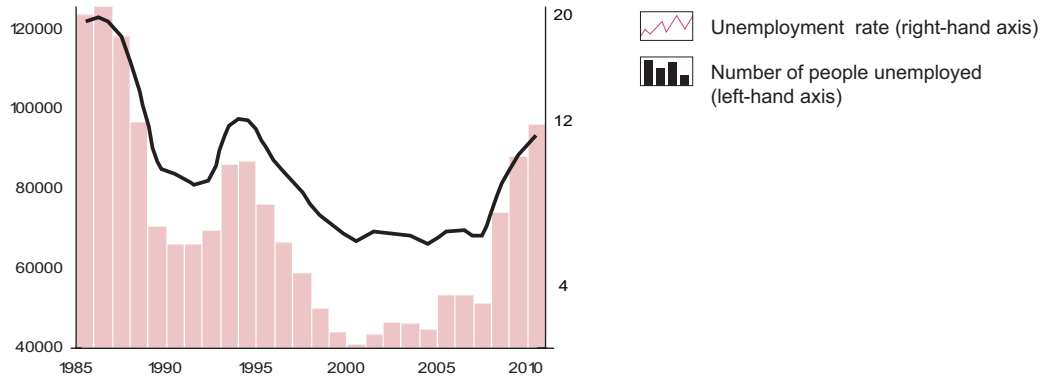
However, what is surprising is the continuity of such an expansive trend. Even though 1993 was not as good as 1992 (as was the case all over the region, Spain, and across Europe), every year since then Barcelona has beaten previous records for economic growth according to all the indicators: employment, investment, income, attractiveness, etc. Not only did Barcelona react particularly well to the Olympic Games, but it has also managed to maintain the growth on an unprecedented scale.

2.2. Economic dynamics and the impact of the Olympic Games

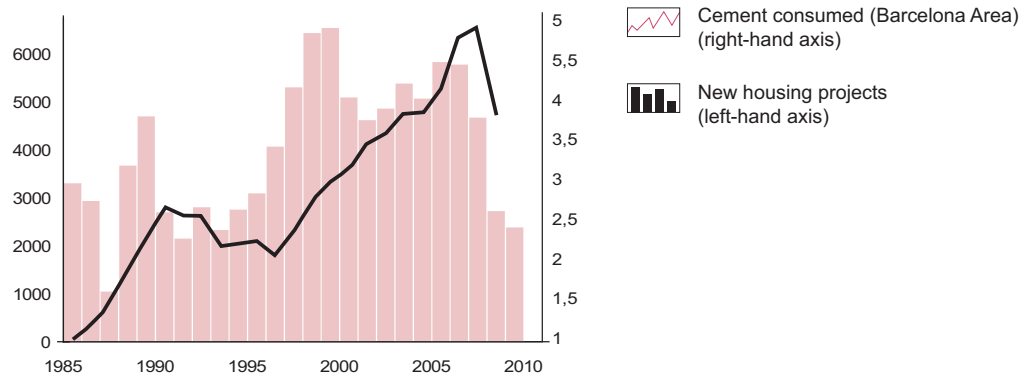
The labour market in Barcelona and the surrounding area improved substantially in the preparatory period. The number of unemployed fell from an all-time high of 127,774 in November 1986, to an all-time low of 60,885 in July 1992 during the Games (see Figure 7). The unemployment rate in Barcelona fell from 18.4% in October 1986 to 9.6% in August 1992, when the unemployment rate in Spain was 20.9% and 15.5%, respectively. In the preparatory period, the Olympic Games generated employment for an average of 35,309 people per year.

Figure 7: Impact of preparation for, and legacy of Barcelona'92

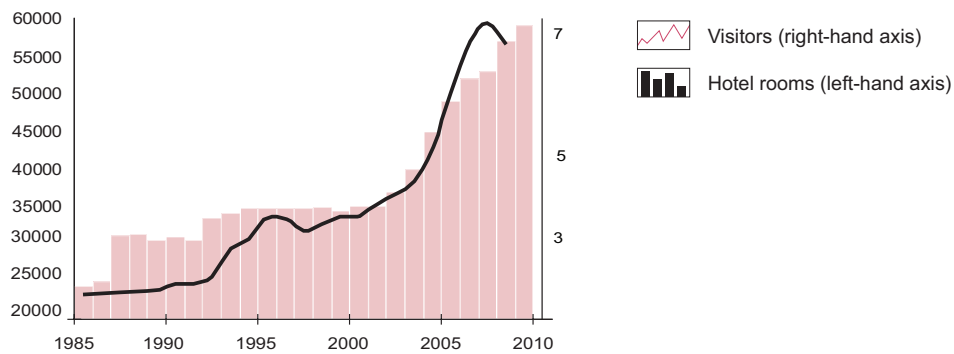
A. Employment in Barcelona



B. Cement sales & houses built in Barcelona



C. Hotel rooms supply and foreign visitors to Barcelona



Source: Brunet 1994 and 2006 and Ajuntament de Barcelona (several years).

Furthermore, permanent employment for an estimated 20,019 people was provided by activities related to the Olympic Games. In short, Barcelona'92 was providing an average of 59,328 people with jobs over the period 1987-1993. Therefore, the 66,889 fall in registered unemployed in Barcelona between November 1986 and July 1992 is largely accounted for (88.7%), by the celebration of the Olympic Games in 1992.

Once the Olympic Games had ended, unemployment in Barcelona increased by 21,000, a figure similar to the annual employment provided by COOB'92. Over the following years, unemployment fell significantly (see Figure 7). The investment generated by the Olympic Games acted as a cushion against a widespread economic depression. Barcelona's economy proved to be more resilient against the economic crisis, and from 1994 onwards, new jobs were being created. By 1993, 41,450 new jobs had been created, which halved the unemployment rate. In 1993 and 1994, the number of unemployed increased by 18,000, but from 1995 onwards, this proceeded to fall, partly thanks to the 20,230 permanent jobs created as a result of investment in the Olympics (a legacy of 956 billion Pesetas in equity; see Figure 8).

The rest of the economic indicators demonstrate the progress made by Barcelona in the years following the Olympic Games. This is particularly so in the case of the construction industry. Sales of cement soared (see panel B of Figure 7), increasing by two and a half times between 1986 and 1992, and continued to grow, increasing by three and a half times in 2001. There was also an increase in the construction of housing, even in a city such as Barcelona where potential sites for building had already been extensively exploited.

Barcelona's hotel capacity escalated and the number of visitors grew accordingly (see panel C of Figure 7). When we compare four Olympic cities, Barcelona's results are consistently the best, and often far ahead of the others, especially in the case of hotel capacity and number of visitors from abroad (see Figure 4).

Barcelona's response to the impetus of the Olympic Games has been far more intense and sustained than that of other host cities. For this reason, Barcelona has become a model for the impact of an Olympic Games. Barcelona is an exception because of its extraordinary and sustained ability to capitalise on the impulse provided by the Olympic Games.

2.3. The Barcelona model of economic impact of the Olympic Games

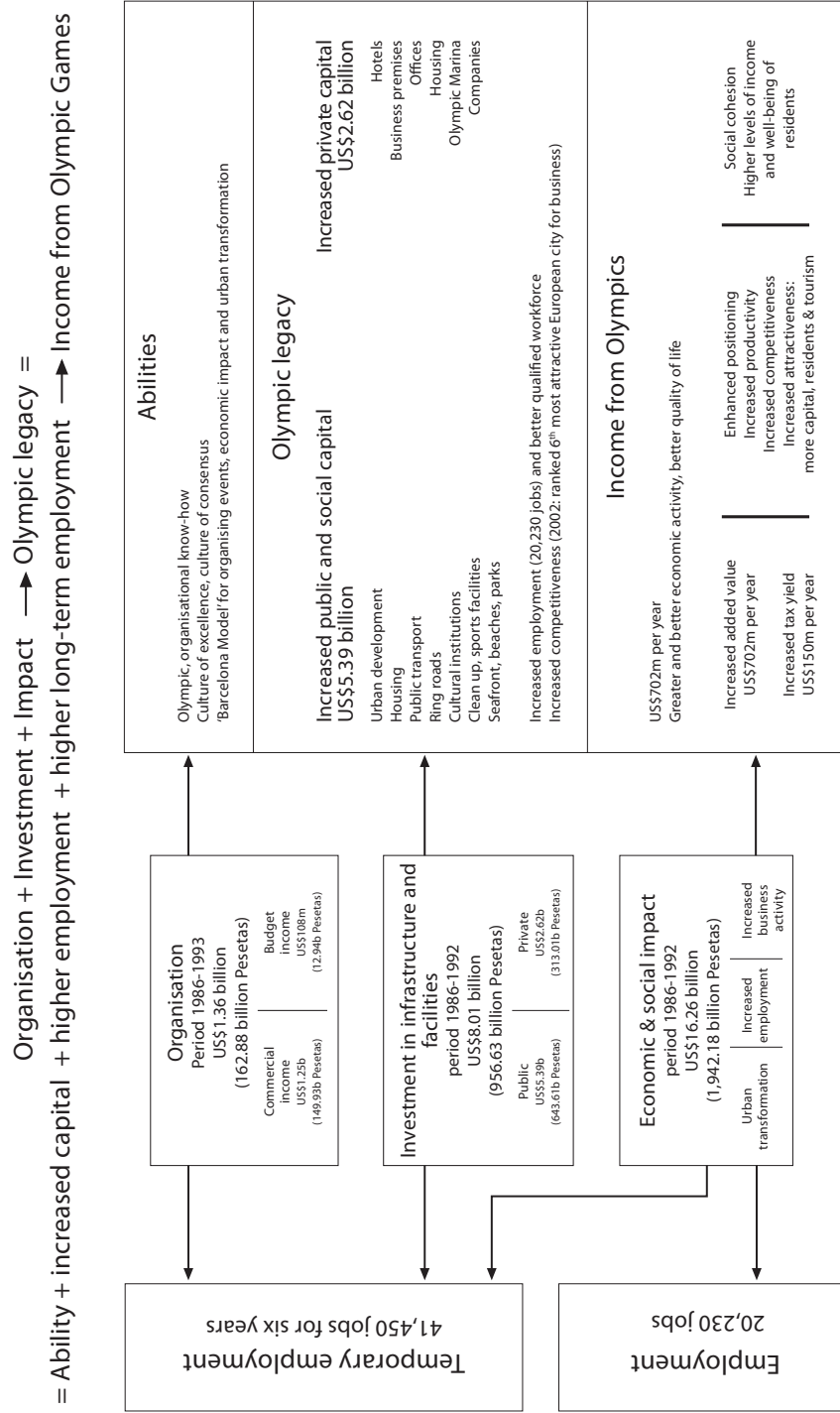
Organising the Olympic Games and the related investment had an immediate and considerable impact on Barcelona. However, more surprising than that was the scale of continued impact of the Olympic legacy and the continued impetus of Barcelona'92 in the post-Olympic period 1992-2004. The Barcelona model of the impact of the Olympic Games and the main results are shown in Figure 9 and Table 2.

The key factor of the Barcelona model of economic impact of the Olympic Games has been the quantity and quality of investments. However, the impact model presupposes a model of organisation which implies a model of urban transformation.

The model of economic impact is based on attracting and maximising investments, over a specific period of time. Given the extent of the urban transformation programme, continued investment is essential, as has been the case in Barcelona.

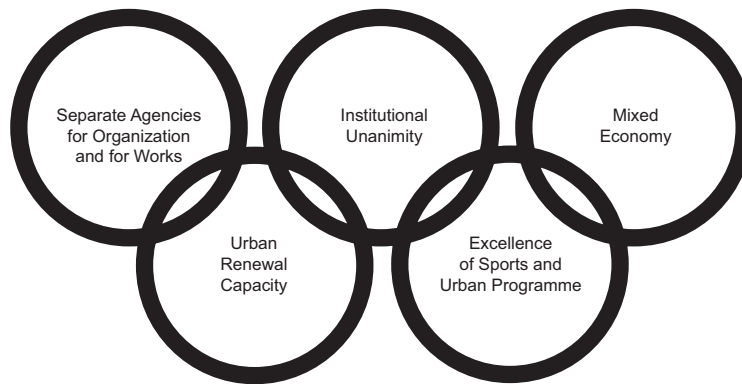
Barcelona has demonstrated great success in capitalising on the impetus provided by the Olympic Games and the impact of investment; these are ideal circumstances for implementing change. The resources allocated to infrastructure and facilities provided temporary employment in construction works and later, permanent employment in the operation of this infrastructure. Both cases resulted in increased economic activity, which, by the way, was not restricted to the city. Increased capital and economic activity has produced better levels of income, well-being and social cohesion, as well as a more attractive city.

Figure 8. Impact, legacy and revenue for the city from staging Barcelona'92



Source: Brunet 2002.

Figure 9: Keys to the success of Barcelona'92



Source: Brunet 2002.

Table 2: Olympic Decalogue. A strategy for success in the organisation of mega-events

1. Institutional agreement
2. Mixed economy: public direction and private management
3. Separate bodies: one to organise the Games (sports) and one to manage the construction work and investments (stone)
4. The Concentric Circles Principle: Olympic resources are not costs but investments
5. Maximise investments and minimise costs
6. The Excellence Principle: over two weeks of excellence, you must match all previous organisational efforts and anticipate all future ones
7. The first beneficiary of the Games is the state: in the medium term, there is always a fiscal surplus
8. From a strategic perspective, the most important period begins after the Games!
9. Olympic investments are the legacy
10. Continued investment is needed to maintain and to benefit from the new strategic position of the city and the country

Source: Brunet 2006.

2.4. Comparison of the impact of the Olympic Games

A database has been set up to compare the impact of various Olympic Games in terms of organisation, investment in infrastructure and facilities and the resulting economic impact (see Table 2 and Figure 6).⁴⁷

47. On the subject of the impact of the Olympic Games, in addition to IOC 2002 and 2010, see Jong-Gie et al. 1989 and Pyun 1999 for Seoul; Humphreys and Plummer 2002 for Atlanta; Centre for Regional Economic Analysis - Arthur Andersen 1999 and Preuss 2004 for Sydney; ATHOC 2002 for Athens; BOCOG 2007 and Brunet and Xinwen 2009 for Beijing; Thornton et al. 2006 for London; and Rio 2016 Bid 2009 for Rio de Janeiro.

Clearly, the case of Barcelona is exceptional. The level of investment in the Olympic Games and their economic impact are unparalleled by any other Olympic host city. Tokyo was only able to reach half the level of investment made in Barcelona. In Seoul, the level of investment was considerable, but in Atlanta and Sydney it was very limited. Athens made an attempt, and Beijing did indeed follow the Barcelona model of major urban and economic impact (Brunet and Xinwen 2009), as will Rio. London 2012 is making strides to improve its strategic positioning among the creative regions of Europe (Poynter and Macrury 2009).

3. Evaluating the Olympic legacy

3.1. Continued investment: a driving force in Barcelona's new strategic positioning

In the case of Barcelona'92, investment in infrastructure and facilities was the key factor in the financial resources, economic impact, urban transformation and subsequent rise in economic activity, incomes and well-being.

The quality of the infrastructures in which investment was made, and the level of investment made (€10.66 billion), goes a long way to explaining the enormous success of Barcelona'92. Investment was important for providing the Olympic impetus, and has since been important for further developing not only the impact, but also urban transformation and Barcelona's positioning. Investment in urban transformation in the post-Olympic period has centred on two areas: projects related to the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures and the Poblenou 22@BCN plan.

The first of these was concerned with transforming the Barcelona coastline, thereby completing the Olympic Village seafront (Brunet 2009). Like the Olympic Games, the Forum was a catalyst for carrying out ambitious urban projects, some of which would be difficult to carry out under normal circumstances. This project was primarily funded by the public sector. The second project is concerned with the transformation of the Poblenou neighbourhood (Brunet 1995) next to the Forum. This project was primarily funded by the private sector. Other noteworthy urban transformation projects carried out up until 2004 are the inland districts of Barcelona: Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Gràcia and Nou Barris. These investments constitute, therefore, the Olympic legacy, and go a long way to explaining Barcelona's economic and social prosperity since the Olympic Games were held.

3.2. Olympic legacy and strategic perspectives

New public and private capital and new permanent employment as a consequence of investments in the Olympic Games constitute the city's Olympic legacy. Evidence of this legacy can be seen in Barcelona's urban transformation, its new economic structure and its increased capitalisation, services sector, international role, attractiveness, centrality, productivity and competitiveness. Barcelona's exceptional ability to capitalise on and maintain the impetus provided by the Olympic Games and to improve economic activity, incomes, quality of life, social cohesion and strategic positioning is well documented.

Confidence in Barcelona as a business centre, as expressed by international companies willing to set up in the city, increased considerably following the Games, clearly indicating its new-found attractiveness, availability of services, workforce, market and competitiveness (Healey and Baker 2010) (see Table 4).

Barcelona's ability to capitalise on the impetus of the Olympic Games has acted to counteract limitations, such as disputes between government bodies, and to limit the negative impact of delays in the construction of certain infrastructure projects, such as the high-speed train (AVE), and to overcome the uncertainty surrounding the programmes for urban transformation and the seafront. Despite a number of significant factors that do not favour Barcelona (it is not the capital of Spain, many multinational companies do not have their headquarters in Barcelona, gaps in the public transport system, limited language training, workforce mobility and building ground available etc.), the city still manages to attract investment and business.

3.3. Barcelona, the model and the reality

When referring to the Barcelona model, we are referring to three particular aspects:

- Model of organisation of the Olympic Games (Figure 1).
- Model of economic impact of the organisation and hosting the Olympic Games, in particular investment in infrastructure that was not directly related to the Olympics (Figure 2 and Table 1).
- Model of urban transformation and the city's increased attractiveness and strategic positioning (Figures 8 and 10).

In Barcelona'92, the aims were very clear (sporting and organisational excellence and urban transformation of Barcelona), as were the procedures (unanimity between the institutions, mixed funding, etc.). As the results from the Barcelona model proved to be so positive, it has now been adopted as a model for other cities organising major events. Barcelona, therefore, has become a model for other mega-events and for other cities.

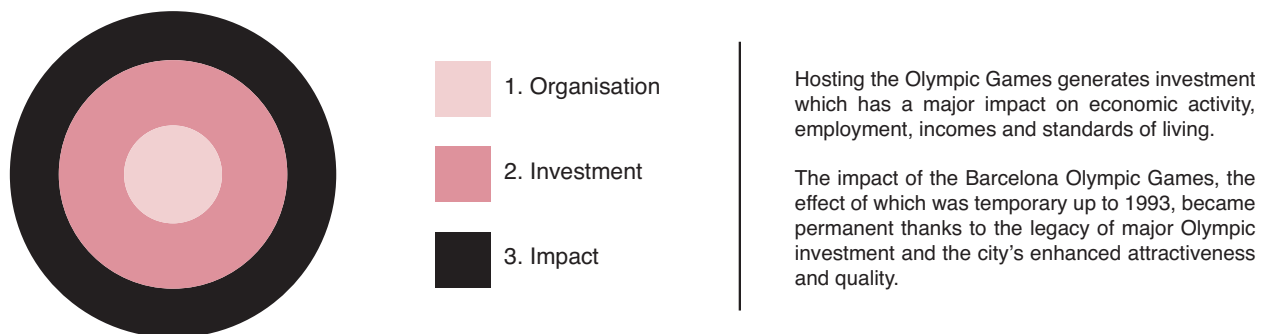
Barcelona has been transformed thanks to the Olympic Games. The organisation was exemplary, massive investment was generated and, thanks to careful management of the Olympic legacy, to increased capital and to the city's enhanced attractiveness, the process of urban transformation has continued beyond 1992.

The objectives were based on quality and their execution was excellent, both in the preparatory phase and afterwards. When compared with other host Olympic cities (1964-2008), we can see that Barcelona has responded better to the impetus provided by the Olympic Games and the deep-rooted scale of their impact (see Figures 4 and 7, and Tables 3 and 4).

Continued investment generated by projects such as Forum 2004 and the transformation of the Poblenou area into a cutting edge business and technology district has been key in improving Barcelona's positioning among European cities.

The city's achievements from 1986 to 1992 and beyond have been enormous. And, to live up to its past successes, the current challenges faced by Barcelona are high and demanding. Investment in urban transformation must continue. European integration and globalisation are factors that favour Barcelona's new position, so long as it maintains the Olympic spirit of the Barcelona model.

Figure 10: Concentric circles of Olympic Games' resources



Source: Brunet 2002.

Table 3: Olympic Games economy: organisation, investment and impact 1964-2016

Figures expressed in millions of US\$ constant at 2010 rate	Direct organisation of the Games	Investments allocated to the Games and attracted by them	Economic impact of organisation and 'Olympic' investments
Tokyo 1964	169	5,106	5,550
Munich 1972	617	1,652	..
Montreal 1976	451	3,123	..
Los Angeles 1984	528	88	..
Seoul 1988	698	3,908	3,796
Barcelona 1992	1,678	10,330	20,007
Atlanta 1996	543	1,301	3,082
Sydney 2000	1,099	1,387	3,050
Athens 2004	2,230	4,736	7,420
Beijing 2008	1,435	8,817	22,816
London 2012	1,742	2,078	9,035
Rio de Janeiro 2016	2,815	11,617	..

Source: Brunet 1994 and 2009 and IOC 2002 and 2010.

4. Conclusion: from Games to mega-events, from sport to competitiveness, from investment to quality of life

The Olympic Games are the ultimate mega-event; they are the focus of the eyes of the world over a two-week period and they generate investment, raise the profile of cities, regions and countries, sometimes relatively unknown, and make them more attractive.

An analysis of mega-events highlights their most relevant features, which are then often referred to collectively as a model. It has been established that the paradigm known as the 'Barcelona model' refers to the following aspects:

- Model of organisation: inter-institutional consensus, excellence of events, separate bodies for organisation and investment, self-funding.
- Model of economics: mixed economy, minimum organisational costs, maximum investment, continuity of investment after the event.
- Model of urban transformation: extent of the transformation, multipolarity, decentralisation and sustainability of actions.

The impact of mega-events such as the Olympic Games can be viewed as three concentric circles: the inner one, like a stone thrown into a pond is the organisation. The second circle, the immediate impact, represents investment, a major component of the funding generated for a major event. The third, outer circle is the economic impact, all the economic activity generated by the Olympic Games.

Table 4: Competitiveness and ranking of European cities as attractive business locations

City	2010	2005	2000	1990
London	1	1	1	1
Paris	2	2	2	2
Frankfurt	3	3	3	3
Barcelona	4	4	6	11
Brussels	5	5	4	4
Madrid	6	7	8	17
Munich	7	9	10	12
Amsterdam	8	6	5	5
Berlin	9	8	9	15
Milan	10	12	11	9
Geneva	11	20	12	8
Hamburg	12	16	18	14
Zurich	13	10	7	7
Birmingham	14	19	-	-
Düsseldorf	15	14	17	6
Manchester	16	21	14	13
Lisbon	17	15	16	16
Dublin	18	11	13	-
Lyon	19	24	20	18
Stockholm	20	17	15	19
Prague	21	13	21	23
Rome	22	26	25	-
Warsaw	23	18	27	25
Leeds	24	28	-	-
Copenhague	25	27	24	-
Budapest	26	22	22	21
Istanbul	27	29	-	-
Vienna	28	23	23	20
Glasgow	29	25	19	10
Bucharest	30	29	-	-
Helsinki	31	30	26	-
Moscow	32	31	30	24
Oslo	33	33	28	-
Athens	34	32	29	22

Source: Brunet 1997 and Healey and Baker 2010.

As can be seen in Figures 6 and 10, which show a breakdown of funding for the Olympic Games, the first concentric circle relating to organisational costs is the most stable between successive events. Organisational costs have been kept to a minimum, which is an important factor in the management of an event.

The second circle relating to investment varies greatly between editions of the Olympic Games. In fact, the aim should be to maximise levels of investment, since most of it is made up of self-funding private investment, much of which comes from abroad; it is attracted by the investment and business opportunities generated by a mega-event.

The third circle relating to the economic impact comprises all the past, current and future tangible and intangible costs and investments. Maximising the impact depends upon the ability of the host city to make the most of all available business opportunities provided by the Olympic Games and on excellent management of the event.

The second and third circles, relating to investment and impact, are central to a mega-event's legacy. In today's global economy where innovation and knowledge are key factors to productivity, hosting such a complex event in the media spotlight brings greater competitiveness. For these reasons, organising and staging a mega-event is hugely beneficial to a creative economy and society.

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