Problems, Possibilities, Promising Practices: Critical Dialogues on the Olympic and Paralympic Games

Eleventh International Symposium for Olympic Research

Editors
Janice Forsyth
Michael K. Heine

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Foreword

With Problems, Possibilities, Promising Practices: Critical Dialogues on the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the International Symposium for Olympic Research and these accompanying Proceedings reach their eleventh iteration. The International Centre for Olympic Studies at Western University, Canada, has hosted the Olympic Symposia biennially since 1992. This 11th Symposium was held at Western University’s Ivey Spencer Centre in London, Ontario, just a short time subsequent to the closing of the 2012 Summer Olympic Games in London, England.

The editors present these Proceedings to the reader in a somewhat altered format. In keeping with current development in the book publishing sector, the Proceedings are now distributed in electronic format only. For now, ICOS uses the Adobe Acrobat pdf format; the epub e-Book format will be added in the future. As a consequence of a second change, not all of the presentations given at the Symposium, are included in written form, in the Proceedings—presenters were free to submit a paper version of their presentation for inclusion in the Proceedings, or to contribute a presentation only; twenty-three papers are thus contained in this publication. They provide a good representation of the range of subjects addressed; to give the reader an understanding of the full gamut of topics, all of the presentation abstracts are reproduced in the second segment of these Proceedings. In all, over 60 presentations were given in the course of the weekend.

The ability to attract contributions from Olympic scholars and researchers from across the globe, has always been one of the Symposium’s sustaining strengths. In addition to the large number of attendees from North America, Australia, and Europe, ICOS was particularly delighted to welcome colleagues representing institutions in Brazil, Egypt, Iran, Japan, Nigeria, and the People’s Republic of China. ICOS particularly welcomes all first-time attendees, and especially all graduate students. We sincerely hope to see you again at future Symposia!

The broad spectrum of Olympics-related research in evidence during the weekend, is also reflected in the widening of the Symposium’s thematic scope: ICOS in particular seeks to attract contributions examining the ‘problems and possibilities’ of the Paralympic Games. In all, the Olympic issues raised at the Symposium, were examined from the perspectives of classical studies, education, political science, gender studies, economics, sociology, history, philosophy, management and organizational studies, and law.

The editors and ICOS would be remiss not to acknowledge the extensive volunteer contributions by the members of the submissions review board (Fred Mason, Amanda Schweinbenz, Sarah Teetzel, and Charlene Weaving), and the Symposium organizing committee (Laura Misener, Robert Lake, and Kevin Wamsley)—a sincere ‘Thank you!’ to all of you.

JF, MKH
London, Ontario, October 2012
“Organically Sound” Olympians: Gender and Women’s Distance Running

Pam R. Sailors
Missouri State University, U.S.A.

The long and difficult process of women’s inclusion in the Olympic Games has been well-documented, but room for discussion remains regarding women’s distance running in at least two areas beyond the fact of mere inclusion. First, as recently as the early 1960s, the authors of a book on coaching track and field found it necessary to reassure their readers that girls and women could exert themselves physically without danger, so long as they were properly conditioned and “organically sound.” Even so, women were not allowed to run events of the same distances as men, since the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was not persuaded to include events for women at any distance over 1,500 metres until the 1980 Games in Moscow. Second, even when women are allowed to engage in exactly the same contests as men, they may bear the burden of additional expectations, negative stereotypes, and inequity as a consequence of their gender. Most prominently, the appearance and personal lives of women distance runners are subject to far more scrutiny than is the case for their male counterparts. I begin this examination by providing a brief history of the effort to include women’s distance running events, with a particular focus on the marathon, which was contested for the first time in the 1984 Games held in Los Angeles. I then examine issues of gender in women’s Olympic distance running events.

Many accounts of the history of women’s participation in Olympics running events begin with the story of the infamous 800 metre foot race at the 1928 Games in Amsterdam. It was the first time women had been allowed to run 800 metres and it ended with the collapse of several participants at the finish line. As John Tunis described it for the New York Evening Post, “Below us on the cinder path were 11 wretched women, 5 of whom dropped out before the finish, while 5 collapsed after reaching the tape.” Alarmed by this display of the physical distress of the women, the event was eliminated from the Games. It is a good story, but it is almost entirely false. The number of women in the race was nine, not eleven. The number of them who dropped out was zero, not five. The number of women collapsing at the finish was one, not five, and she seems only to have lost her balance lunging for the line. And yet, the event, which really did not even happen, is said to constitute the reason for the exclusion of women from “distance” events for the next thirty-two years, with the 800 metre race not reappearing until 1960.

Oddly, the concern for the health of men was not so intense, as their 800 metre race at the 1904 Olympic Games ended with the collapse of two competitors, one of whom had to have “stimulants” administered on the track, while the other had to be carried off the track and into the locker room. This event, however, which seems actually to have occurred, did not lead to the suggestion that the men’s 800 metre race be eliminated from the Olympic program. As Kathrine Switzer, one of the
early pioneers of the women’s marathon put it, “A male runner in distress is a heroic figure; a woman runner in distress is further proof that we are fragile creatures who are physiologically unsuited to marathon running.” Switzer is most remembered for entering the Boston Marathon in 1967 under the name “K.V. Switzer” and being physically assaulted by the race director, Jock Semple, on the course as he attempted to move her from the race when he realized K.V. was a woman. Thanks to the intervention of Switzer’s boyfriend, Semple was unsuccessful, but we should not judge him too harshly as he was merely exhibiting the prevailing view of his time.

A manual for track and field coaches was only beginning to correct the common view in the early 1960s:

*The reason for women’s late entry into the area of distance running has stemmed from erroneous beliefs concerning the effects of strenuous activity on the health of women. It has been thought that a woman would suffer physical harm from running the longer distances in which endurance is a major factor. Medical evidence and experience do not bear out this fear. Our best information today indicates that if a woman is organically sound, she may engage in extreme physical exertion without danger to herself provided proper training and conditioning have preceded the effort. The physical activity is not in and of itself detrimental to the present or future welfare of the woman. Girls and women are endowed with considerable physiological capacity for strength and endurance.*

The dissemination and acceptance of the correction took many years. Lorraine Moller, winner of three bronze medals and multiple major marathons, including Boston in 1984, recalled that, “Our headmistress told us not to run cross-country or we’d end up looking like Russian shot putters. I started measuring my legs everyday to see if they were getting too muscular. I decided when they increased above a certain size I’d stop running.” Fortunately, Moller’s legs must never have reached that size, as she followed up a successful career on the track with running marathons from 1979 until 1996, beginning with a brilliant stretch in which she won eight of the first nine she ran. Moller might have made the transition from track to roads earlier, but the first International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) sanctioned women’s marathon did not take place until 1979 in Tokyo. The following year, the IAAF ruled that all sanctioned international events with a men’s marathon must include a women’s race. Also in 1980, a proposal for inclusion of the women’s marathon in the Olympic Games went to the IOC. The IOC approved that marathon proposal in 1981, but rejected in 1982 a further proposal to add the women’s 5K and 10K distances. The women’s marathon was first contested at the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984; the 10K was added at the 1988 Games in Seoul; and the 5K finally made the 1996 program in Atlanta, replacing the 3K that had been run at the previous three Olympic Games.

Why did it take so long for the women’s marathon to make it into the Olympic Games? Former Olympic gold medalist swimmer, Donna de Varona attributes the delay to the difficulty of debunking three myths about women and running. The first myth, that not enough women cared to run the marathon, was shown to be false as the numbers of women participating in marathons across the world swelled. The second myth, that women were not physically able to run 26.32 miles without endangering themselves, was soundly refuted, according to de Varona, by the appearance of studies that demonstrated that women were actually better suited for endurance activity than men. The final myth, that marathon running “was unfeminine and made women more masculine,” was disproved by the sight of increasing numbers of women of all ages and occupations running in road races, including marathons, throughout the world. From the moment Kathrine Switzer drew attention for com-
pleting the Boston Marathon, despite the efforts of Jock Semple to remove her from the race, it was only a matter of time—and pressure that grew with the dissolution of existing myths—before the IOC had to accede to the call to include the women’s marathon in the Olympic Games.

Twenty-eight years after the women’s marathon first entered the Games, the 2012 London Olympics is the first to feature both sexes competing in every sport, although not every event, on the Olympic program. This is a fine achievement, but it also provides an example of the exclusion of women from many of the events available to men. In track and field, for example, men run the 110 metre hurdles, while women hurdlers run only 100 metres. Men do the decathlon, while women can only manage the seven events of the heptathlon. And men have the opportunity to participate in the race walk events of two distances, 20 kilometres and 50 kilometres, while women only have the 20 kilometres. These decisions were made by the male-dominated IOC, which highlights the inequity of the situation. Angela Schneider makes this point as follows:

The primary question behind the role for women in sport is inextricably linked to the question of power and autonomy. At the institutional level, if it is the case that men decide, for example, the sports that women are permitted to attempt; the standards of physical perfection that are to be met in adjudicated sports; or the levels of funding accorded to women’s as opposed to men’s sport, then women have a legitimate grievance that they are not being treated with respect.

In events that are contested by men and women, the focus of coverage often denigrates the abilities of women. A recent issue of Runner’s World magazine recounts nine stories from the Olympic marathon, but of the nine, only two are about the women’s race and both emphasize failure. Instead of the story of Joan Benoit winning the first Women’s Olympic marathon in 1984, the article tells the story of Gabrielle Andersen Schiess, the Swiss athlete who, suffering from over-heating and dehydration, took more than five minutes to lurch through the final 400 metres of the race. Instead of the story of gold medal winner Mizuki Noguchi extending Japan’s dominance in the women’s race with their fourth medal in seven Olympics (a record still unequaled by any other country), the article relates Paula Radcliffe’s infamous DNF in the same race, complete with photograph of Radcliffe sitting on the side of the road sobbing.

Radcliffe also figures prominently in another trend in sports coverage, the “mommification” of women marathoners. For example, a New York Times story in November 2007, “Training Through Pregnancy to Be Marathon’s Fastest Mom,” is all about how Radcliffe trained while pregnant with her first child. An article in May 2010, “A Friendship Built for Long Distance,” begins with the story of another marathon runner, Kara Goucher, contacting Radcliffe for advice when she learned she was pregnant with her first child and goes on to marvel that it turned out that Radcliffe’s second child was due the same date as Goucher’s, thus leading to the two runners becoming good friends through the shared experience of pregnancy. A later article about Goucher in March 2011, “For Runner, Motherhood Humbles and Inspires,” quotes her saying about motherhood “It’s been good for me; it’s relaxed me. I am still as passionate about running. I am crazy about running—that hasn’t wavered. But I found I could care about something else so much more, something so much more important.” In September of the same year, “Two Steps Back, 26.2 Miles Forward,” began with the story of Goucher and Radcliffe encouraging one another when they struggled with resuming training soon after the births of their children. Finally, Deena Kastor, bronze medal winner in the marathon at the Athens Games in 2004, also got “mommified” in January 2012. The article, “Kastor, After Pregnancy, Sees Trials as New Start” focused on her return to the Olympic Trials for the marathon after the birth of her first child.
Alongside all the stories about motherhood, there is a parallel trend in stories emphasizing sexuality and femininity. New York Times columnist Jeré Longman notes that “all sorts of mixed messages are being sent about women, some by women themselves, having more to do with what they will wear and how they will behave and how they should be controlled than about how they will perform in competition.” An article about athlete Alysia Montano, headlined “Alysia Montano runs like a girl, and proud of it,” begins with several paragraphs focusing on the 800 metre runner’s emphasis on not allowing femininity to be lost in athleticism. Montano is quoted as saying “I like to say I was first draft in the football games and on the basketball team...and I’d do it with a flower in my hair to be like—and I’m a girl.” She continues to wear a flower in her hair on the track, and says:

_The flower represents strength to me... I think when people look at women in sport, there’s always this sort of “You run like a girl,” and it’s almost like a negative thing. I think what the heck is that supposed to mean? Why not run like a girl? We have grit and I can wear a flower in my hair. I can represent femininity and I can represent strength at the same time._

Montano’s insistence on emphasizing femininity may be explained by a perception noted by Angela Schneider, who points out that “if we examine the underlying characteristics of the traditional ideal athlete, we can plainly see that the ideal man and the ideal athlete are very similar, particularly in the role of warrior. Conversely...the ideal woman and the traditional athlete are almost opposites.” Even in cases where the athletes do not feel the need to reassure spectators that they are not masculine warrior-types, the media continue to seem so compelled, sometimes to the dismay of the athletes themselves. Francie Larrieu qualified for five Olympic teams, at distances from 1500 metres to the marathon, and yet struggled to be taken seriously as an athlete arguing, “You know, I’m no women’s libber, but the media can really irritate me. I sure get tired of being ‘pert’ Francie Larrieu. That kind of stuff has to stop. All those ridiculous adjectives they use with women.”

This point also may apply to my final example, from 100 metre hurdles runner, Lolo Jones, who got heavy media coverage after an interview in which she talked about being a virgin at 29 years of age, “There are virgins out there and I’m going to let them know, it’s the hardest thing I’ve ever done in my life. Harder than training for the Olympics, harder than graduating from college has been staying a virgin before marriage.” To further complicate the message, Jones posed semi-nude for ESPN Magazine’s Body Issue in 2009. Apparently the message is that is easier to take your clothes off for a photo that will be seen by people all over the world than it is to remain a virgin. And how either of those things is connected to being an Olympic athlete is a mystery.

To conclude, the history of women’s Olympic running events shows that women have been allowed to compete in distance events only after great efforts and that even then they have often only be awarded an opportunity to compete in a diminutive form. Further, when women are allowed to engage in exactly the same contests as men, they bear the burden of additional expectations, negative stereotypes and inequity as a consequence of their gender.

**Endnotes**


2. While this story is probably the most cited, women’s participation goes all the way back to the first Olympic Games of the modern era in Athens in 1896 when a woman named Melpomene ran the marathon after being officially denied entry into the race. The full history should also include Alice Milliat, who created the Fédération Feminine Sportive de

3 Roger Robinson, “‘Eleven Wretched Women:’ what really happened in the first Olympic women’s 800m,” Running-Times, May 2012, 68.

4 Ibid., 68.

5 DeFrantz, “The Olympic Games,” 188.


7 Scott and Crafts, Track and Field, 43.

8 Katovsky, 1,001 Pearls of Runners’ Wisdom, 64.


11 Amby Burfoot, “Strange But True!” Runner’s World, August 2012, 81-86.


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.


20 Katovsky, 1,001 Pearls of Runners’ Wisdom, 73.

21 After the interview aired on HBO, stories appeared, for example, in the Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, USA Today, and People Magazine.

22 Chuck Schilken, “Lolo Jones: Staying a virgin is harder than training for the Olympics,” Los Angeles Times, 23 May 2012.
As the 2010 Vancouver Games wound down, the Canadian host broadcaster, Canadian Television Network (CTV), began to advertise heavily its commemorative video box set of the Games. CTV also produced a hockey specific box set in 2010, celebrating the double gold in men’s and women’s hockey. Similarly, the 2006 host broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), produced a commemorative box set for the Torino Olympic Games. These collections represent attempts to generate money from an event for which the broadcasters already paid millions in television rights. But these collections become an important “text” from the games, since they serve as the official memory after the fact, operating as a form of “memory institution.” Given the sports media’s capacity for acting as a site of cultural politics, where meaning is produced, where subject positions, identities, and desires are created and opened up, analyzing the content of texts such as Olympic commemorative videos taps into powerful constructions of the nation and who matters.

This paper analyzes three commemorative videos from the Canadian broadcasters of recent Winter Olympic Games—CBC’s Torino 2006 - Canada’s Quest for Success, and CTV’s XXI Olympic Winter Games and Hockey Gold 2010. Primarily, this paper is a quantitative analysis of the three box sets, of which the guiding research questions are: How much time is devoted to different sports? And, what is the overall and sport-specific gender breakdown of the video collections? Such considerations speak to a concentration on certain sports and those who play them—what and who gets to “stand in” for the nation. The total time devoted to each sport was recorded, and in most cases, almost equal amounts of time were devoted to men’s and women’s sports. I am also interested in the structure of the text—a more literary form of analysis. With this, the ways that certain sports and moments are set off from the rest of the material are also given consideration.

2006 CBC Torino

The CBC 2006 box set is arranged on six discs. Discs 1-3 offer highlights on a day-to-day basis, with fifteen days of competition over those discs. The focus is solely on events in which Canadians medalled, or were in strong medal contention. Each selection is an edited arrangement of moments drawn from CBC’s coverage, with the at-the-time commentary, introduced by voice-over, typically by Brian Williams. Each day also includes the “Canadian Trail” for that day, a one to two minute segment aired during the Games that recapped how all Canadian athletes fared on that particular day, with a voice layered over headshots of the athletes. Some sports, such as luge, only appear within Canadian Trail segments, since no Canadian medalled in them.
Discs 1 and 2 have a small assortment of special features, all of which presumably aired during the actual coverage of the Games in 2006. This includes music videos, a 30 second spot on “Sounds of the Game,” and four “All Access” features with reporters following medal winners on the day after their success. Highlights of the opening and closing ceremonies appear on disc 3, accounting for an hour and a half of content, as well as more than 14 minutes of an Italian travel feature aired during the Games. Disc 4 is devoted to men’s and women’s curling, disc 5 to women’s hockey, and disc 6 to men’s hockey. In total, the collection contains just short of 20.5 hours of material, with 18 hours, 46 minutes and 45 seconds of video highlights of competition, or material on specific sports. Please refer to Table 1 for the breakdown by sport and gender.

What immediately stands out from the table is that women received more total time across the collection than men. This is certainly far from the norm—it is possibly the only time in the academic literature on media coverage of men’s and women’s sports where the amount devoted to women is more than men. In everyday coverage of sport, women typically receive a fraction of that on men; even with major international competitions where the gap in coverage narrows, there is typically still a difference in favor of men’s sports. In this collection, however, women’s sports receive nearly 1 ½ hours more content.

The Canadian medal count from 2006 may explain why women received more attention. In the 2006 Games, Canada won 24 medals. Eight (34%) were won by men, 16 (66%) by women. Given the collection’s focus on medals, it would be difficult for the gender breakdown to be much different. Canadian women won medals in the two sports where only women athletes are given airtime, cross-country skiing and snowboarding. Similarly, the larger amounts of airtime given to women’s speed skating are accounted for by the seven medals won in the sport by women, 1/4 of the overall medal count.

Men received slightly more coverage in most other sports, narrowing the gap. Even with women’s sports receiving more coverage, one might even contend that women did not receive airtime that matched with their success. If we were to split the 8.8% of gender neutral coverage evenly and add it to the men’s and women’s totals, we would get 46% men and 54% women of content, vs. 34% and 66% in the medal count, a 12% deficit in coverage versus medals won by women.

Then there are the discs devoted to curling and hockey, with all coverage of these sports on them. Disc 4 contains over 4 hours of curling, including round robin and highlights for both the men’s and women’s tournaments, and segments of the final games. Curling is a popular sport in Canada, from the local to highly mediated national tournaments, with a legacy of international success. As researcher Heather Mair argues, “curling has an undeniable, if muted, role in the construction of Canada’s image, both of itself, and in terms of how others see it.” The gold medal in the men’s tournament was a first, and the women played strongly, ending in the bronze medal position. Curling became a significant story at the 2006 Games, one apparently worth commemorating with its own disc.
The presence of the hockey discs is easy to understand coming from a major Canadian media source. There remains a widely held notion that “hockey is Canada,” one put forth near-constantly by the media and popular writers.\textsuperscript{11} The National Hockey League (NHL) receives saturation-level coverage during the winter months, with CBC, a major carrier through the iconic \textit{Hockey Night in Canada}. When international men’s tournaments occur, especially those involving NHL players, media attention is prolific. The interesting thing here is that there is a disc devoted to women’s hockey, as well as men’s, with times quite comparable. As critics have noted, the women’s team receives very little coverage, especially compared to the men, despite their constant success.\textsuperscript{14} With this collection, CBC gives nearly equal time to the women’s game as the men’s.

At the same time, it must be noted that the Canadian men’s hockey team performed quite poorly in 2006, placing sixth overall. Yet, there is a disc devoted to men’s hockey, in a collection that otherwise privileges, and only shows highlights of, sports where medals were won by Canadian athletes. The men’s final, shown in entirety on disc 6, between Sweden and Finland, further departed from the narrow focus on Canadian medal winners.

\textbf{2010 CTV Vancouver}

The 2010 CTV commemorative boxset, 5 discs on Blu-Ray, is arranged more thematically. Disc 1, “Ceremonies and Celebrations,” includes 1:14:08 of the opening ceremonies and 29:56 of the closing ceremonies. Along with a section on Nordic sports (cross-country skiing, biathlon, and ski jumping), it includes a feature presentation called “Canada’s Triumph.” This is a retrospective of the whole Games, narrated by Brian Williams, that spends over 50 minutes recapping “great Canadian performances.” Disc 2 is devoted to men’s and women’s hockey, while Disc 3, “Olympians on Ice,” covers figure skating and curling. Disc 4, “On the Edge,” shows skeleton, bobsleigh, luge, and alpine skiing, while Disc 5, “Faster, Higher, Stronger” encompasses short and long track speed skating, freestyle skiing, and snowboarding. Table 2 shows the breakdown by sport and gender for the 2010 collection.

The entire collection contains more than 20 hours of content, with 17 hours, 39 minutes, and 30 seconds on specific sports. CTV’s boxset covers more sports than the 2006 CBC collection, giving some time to every sport at the Games.\textsuperscript{15} The coverage is focused on Canadian athletes and their performances, but for sports like ski jumping, where no Canadians really contended, the performances of the winners are also presented. All sections (other than hockey) show highly edited sets of highlights, introduced by Brian Williams or Ron MacLean.

The sports receiving the most time are hockey (over 4 hours), alpine skiing (close to 3 hours), figure skating and curling (just over 2 hours each). The gender breakdown for airtime is more in line

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{2010 CTV Box Set Time by Sport And Gender}
\begin{tabular}{|l|lll|}
\hline
\textbf{sport} & \textbf{male} & \textbf{female} & \textbf{both/neutral} \\
\hline
Alpine Skiing & 1:22:07 & 1:19:32 & 0:14:24 \\
Biathlon & & & \\
Bobsleigh & 0:17:52 & 0:16:53 & \\
Cross-country skiing & 0:17:13 & 0:15:51 & \\
Curling & 0:55:38 & 1:03:02 & \\
Figure Skating & 0:21:21 & 0:30:31 & 1:13:24 \\
Freestyle Skiing & 0:35:04 & 0:36:34 & \\
Ice Hockey & 2:40:51 & 1:28:09 & \\
Luge & & 0:16:24 & \\
Skeleton & 0:20:21 & 0:09:03 & \\
Snowboarding & 0:37:21 & 0:35:46 & \\
Speed Skating (Short Track) & 0:14:47 & 0:09:40 & 0:38:29 \\
Speed Skating (Long Track) & 0:11:40 & 0:29:52 & 0:12:1 \\
Totals & 8:09:41 & 6:54:53 & 2:34:56 \\

\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{15} The coverage is focused on Canadian athletes and their performances, but for sports like ski jumping, where no Canadians really contended, the performances of the winners are also presented. All sections (other than hockey) show highly edited sets of highlights, introduced by Brian Williams or Ron MacLean.
with what is typically seen in media coverage of a sports mega-event, with slightly more time being given to male athletes (46.2% men versus 39.2% women), despite Canadian women winning more medals than men. Of the 26 medals in total, men won 11 (42.3%) and women 14 (53.8%), with one in pairs ice dance (3.9%). Like in 2006, women received more airtime in speed skating, but again, Canadian women speed skaters won more medals (four as compared to one for the men). In this collection, the time given to men is slightly more than women in just about every sport.

The hockey disc is where the largest differences lie. The men’s hockey tournament receives 2:40:51 to 1:28:09 for women, despite identical gold medal finishes. Arguments could be made that the men played more games than women (7 versus 5), and that there was overtime play twice for the men (round robin versus Switzerland, and the gold medal game), so there was more to cover. One could also contend that the women’s round robin was much less competitive, with the women winning their three games by a combined score of 44-2. The gold medal games are given similar coverage on this disc, with each having about 9 minutes edited out. Meanwhile, the “Tournament Introduction” section for the men’s tournament is 25 minutes and 22 seconds, while the women’s is 4 minutes and 17 seconds. Each comparable section of the disc is longer for the men, subtly stressing the men’s tournament as more noteworthy.

Less than subtle would be an apt description of the hockey-specific boxset. The front cover of Hockey Gold 2010 describes the collection as “The official commemorative set of the Men’s and Women’s Hockey Tournament from the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games,” suggesting a focus on both, which is accurate to an extent. However, in a five disc set, women’s hockey does not even get its own disc.

Discs 1 and 2 offer a comparison. Disk 1 has a “Tournament Introduction” for the men (9:27), and a highly edited “Preliminary Round & Playoff Highlights” section of over an hour (1:00:50). Then, the gold medal game and victory ceremony are shown, adding another 1:43:41. Disc 2 has the same sections for women, but with time differences. The “Tournament Introduction” for the women runs 4:17 (the same as in the other boxset), the “Preliminary Round and Playoff Highlights” 17:21, and the final game and victory ceremony, 1:41:32. That is the total of women’s hockey shown in the collection - 2:03:10. Making up some of the hour of less content on the “women’s hockey” disc, Disc 2 then includes the pre-game commentaries from all seven games of the men’s tournament.

The collection then goes on to devote three more discs to men’s hockey. All of the men’s games are shown in entirety, with six games spread over discs 3 to 5. In the end, there is almost 14 hours of content (13:58:10) related to men’s hockey in the Hockey Gold 2010 boxset, as opposed to just over 2 hours of content on women’s hockey. As Mary-Louise Adams noted about differences in media coverage of hockey golds in 2002, “it certainly doesn’t take any special training in gender analysis to make sense of this pattern.”

With the CTV collections, another aspect needs discussion, one that reinforces the idea of the centrality of men’s hockey. Here, I am drawing on the idea of the “paratextual” developed by literary theorist Gerard Ginette. Referring to books, Ginette described the paratextual as the associated elements, such as title, dedication, illustrations, book cover, and design, which constitute a frame for the text. As George Stanitzek argues, “paratexts are hermeneutically privileged and powerful elements. They guide the reader’s attention, influence how a text is read, and communicate such information as to give a text its first contours.” Considering the packaging as a paratext captures something I found striking upon opening the 2010 boxsets. When one slides the foldouts out of their sleeves, men’s hockey, specifically the “Golden Goal” is foregrounded. The foldout from the main set has images of the cauldron and athletes from eight sports, including women’s hockey, on the back. When opened,
the image of the moment right after the men’s gold medal-winning goal is there, with a long-angle shot of Scott Niedermayer charging down the ice to celebrate with Sidney Crosby. The *Hockey Gold 2010* package has a non-gender descript image of a Canadian player's chest, with the flag and medal, as the central image. On back is an overhead shot of, again, the moment of the Golden Goal, with the Canadian bench emptying as the American team slumps in their seats. Thus, one cannot even open the CTV boxsets without men’s hockey being foregrounded as the image of the Games.

**Conclusions**

Comparing CBC’s 2006 collection to CTV’s 2010 boxsets, some differences are notable. CBC’s collection focuses on medals, with coverage of women’s sports receiving more airtime than men’s, presumably due to greater success. Nationalism trumps gender, to an extent. CTV’s main 2010 collection shows more sports, falling into the more usual coverage of major multi-sports events where men’s sports receive slightly more coverage. This was the case, despite women still winning more medals in 2010.

The Canadian media’s emphasis on hockey, particularly men’s hockey, comes through in all the collections. CBC included a whole disc on men’s hockey for 2006, notwithstanding the team’s poor performance. CTV gave more time and prominence to men’s hockey in the 2010 collections, and astronomically so in the hockey-specific boxset. Going by the organization and content of the three sets, other medal-winning performances are celebrated and commemorated, but what is constructed as really important is men’s hockey.

This could be taken as the natural state of affairs in Canada, and as giving the audience what it wants in terms of sports entertainment. However, collections such as these are highly selected and edited works, with more production decisions going into them than even live coverage of sport. The sports media is about creating tastes and preferences, not just reflecting them. What is being commemorated is chosen; chosen not only to encourage the consumption of the boxsets, but also to encourage ongoing interest in, and consumption of, commercialized men’s hockey. The “memory” of the Games then, is not “as it was,” but as it needs for the sports-media complex.

**Endnotes**

1 The term “memory institutions” usually refers to institutions such as museums, libraries and archives. However, in our mediatized and networked societies, memory institutions also include media products, digital archives, and even online music stores, because intentionally or not, they are “meta-archives of cultural representations and cultural and collective memories.” Guy Pessach, “[Networked] Memory Institutions: Social Remembering, Privatization and its Discontents,” *Cardozo Arts & Entertainment Law Journal*, 26, no.7 (2008), 89. Pessach discusses all sorts of memory institutions in this article, which totals 78 pages (p. 71-149). The notion that these video collections will serve as some sort of official memory is indicated by their being archived in the Olympics Studies Centre in Lausanne. See Library, Olympic Studies Centre “DVD List.” Accessed July 27, 2012. http://www.olympic.org/Assets/OSC%20Section/pdf/LRes_5E.pdf.


3 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Torino 2006 - Canada’s Quest for Success* (2006); Canada’s Olympic Broadcast Media Consortium, *XXI Olympic Winter Games* (Toronto: 2010) and *Hockey Gold 2010* (Toronto, 2010). It is expected that since the videos are produced by Canadian broadcasters for Canadian audiences, the content will focus primarily on Canadian athletes. Canada’s Olympic Broadcast Media Consortium was a partnership between Bell Media and Rogers, two major companies in the Canadian media, which partnered to cover the 2010 and 2012 Games on CTV, The Sports
Network (TSN), Rogers Sportsnet, Rezeau de Sport (RDS) and a number of other smaller networks. Since CTV was the lead network and highlighted on the boxes, I will refer to these as CTV’s collections.

4 A “Both/Neutral” category was used when a segment combined men’s and women’s events in the same sport, or when it was pairs or ice dance in figure skating.

5 This is a media analysis that considers only the text, which does not necessarily tell us anything about either its production or reception. Recognizing these weaknesses, textual analyses can still be valuable. As Russell Field argued in analyzing stadium commemoration ceremonies, cultural texts are not just there to be consumed. They also produce meaning, and a critical reading of them can shine light on the way they construct meaning and represent the wider society around them. See Russell Field, “Manufacturing Memories and Dissecting Dreams: Commemoration, Community and the Closing of Maple Leaf Gardens,” International Journal of Canadian Studies, 35(2007), 55-59.

6 By his own telling, Williams has been part of the broadcast of 14 Olympic Games as of 2012. He worked for CBC until the 2010 games, when he was hired by CTV for 2010 and 2012. Many Canadians would likely consider him the recognizable “voice of the Olympics.”

7 When a feature or an interview was focused on a particular sport, I included the amounts for that under the sport’s totals.

8 Gender and sports media is one of the most studied topics in the socio-cultural study of sport. For examples of studies on Olympic media that also summarize the literature quite well, see chapter 5 on gender in Andrew C. Billings, Olympic Media: Inside the Biggest Show on Television (New York: Routledge, 2008), and two books coming from an international, comparative study—Toni Bruce, Jorid Hovden and Piranko Markula, Eds., Sportswomen at the Olympics: A Global Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2010); Piranko Markula, Eds. Olympic Women and the Media: International Perspectives London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

9 Explanations for the amount of coverage from within the media often argue for “chasing the medals” - showing events with important results or particular significance. See George Spears & Kasia Seydegart, Gender Portrayal in English Television Coverage of the 1994 Olympic Games (Ottawa: Sport Canada, 1994), 9-10. Also Billings, Olympic Media, 47-50. For this collection, this argument seems valid in that it focuses on medal-winning and medal-contending performances.


11 All time for curling listed in Table 1 was from Disc 4, with the same for women’s hockey on disc 5 and men’s hockey on disc 6.


13 For two recent examples of popular works in this vein, see Bruce Dowbriggin, The Meaning of Puck: How Hockey Explains Modern Canada (Toronto: Key Porter, 2008); Paul Henderson, with Jim Prime, How Hockey Explains Canada (Chicago, IL: Triumph, 2011). A number of academic works have problematized and questioned the “hockey is Canada” equation. The classic is Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics (Toronto: Garamond, 1993). One that collectively takes a cultural and literary studies perspective is Jamie Dopp and Richard Harrison, Eds. Now is the Winter: Thinking about Hockey (Hamilton: Wolsak and Wynn, 2009). A more historical perspective is offered in Andrew C. Holman, Ed. Canada’s Game: Hockey and Identity (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s, 2009).


15 One could speculate this as a result of greater resources by the Broadcast Consortium with its many networks.


18 Gerard Ginnette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-3. In reference to film and video, the paratextual component has been expanded to include trailers, promotions, posters, etc. See Jonathan Gray, Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers and Other Media Paratexts (New York: New York University Press, 2010).


It Is Not a Simple Matter to Keep Aloof:
Avery Brundage and the U.S. Government in the Early Cold War Years

Toby Rider
Pennsylvania State University Berks, U.S.A.

Much has been written about Avery Brundage’s lifelong dedication to the Olympic Movement, and a considerable amount of this work has examined his years as president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Some historians have documented how Brundage tackled the rise of Cold War politics during his time at the helm of the IOC; a challenge that Brundage faced by repeatedly demanding that the Olympics be kept free from the interference of governments and the machinations of foreign policy. Brundage directed his brusque, obstinate, and pedantic personality to defending his beloved festival. He bemoaned that the Games were being turned into an ideological battleground and denied that the internal dynamics of the IOC were rift by the presence of political “blocs.” Yet, even he could not pretend that the Movement could operate in splendid isolation. In 1955, Brundage admitted, “In a world engaged in a titanic struggle between different political systems, it is not a simple matter to keep aloof.”

The Cold War merely confirmed that the Olympics could not function in an apolitical vacuum, nor indeed could the IOC members. As an American citizen, Brundage was obviously open to accusations of impartiality in his role as IOC president. But did the IOC leader follow the tune played in Washington? There is a relative paucity of scholarly inquiry directed at Brundage’s dealings with the government of his homeland, yet his personal papers and state documents reveal a less than harmonious relationship between the two parties. This paper argues that Brundage was, for the most part, careful to keep “aloof” from the advances of American officials who wished to gain influence within the Olympic Movement. Brundage was courted most frequently for a period in the early Cold War years (1950-60), though he rarely toed the line. Indeed, he became somewhat of a frustrating figure to the U.S. government, often refusing to accept that the Olympics could be used for political purposes, and berating state efforts to use sport as an ideological weapon.

If the first half of the twentieth century is anything to judge by, the entrance of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement in 1951 should have been of little or no interest to the US government. Prior to the Cold War, international sport, and cultural diplomacy in general, was paid short shrift by the White House, which left such activities to private American groups and citizens. The capitulation of relations between the United States and the USSR, especially after 1947, caused a complete reversal of this policy, as Washington aimed to use American culture, and American cultural representatives, as a means to win over the “hearts and minds” of foreign audiences, and especially the peoples of non-communist countries.
The implications of an apparent Soviet “sports offensive” also had ramifications in Washington. By the end of the 1940s, the State Department started to receive a regular stream of intelligence from its foreign embassies that the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries were utilizing sport for Cold War objectives. In order to counter the perceived threat of communist sporting diplomacy, the United States began to utilize the propaganda potential of international sport, albeit on a far smaller scale than Moscow. The Olympic Games were targeted as a highly important venue for attacking communist propaganda in a range of overt and covert operations. Many of these government initiatives involved a close working relationship with American sports officials and sporting organizations, such as the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU). In most cases, members from both organizations were willing to cooperate with Washington, thus casting aside a tradition of political independence in favor of supporting the national cause.8

Brundage had a longstanding connection with the AAU and the USOC, having presided over each group at one time or another before assuming the presidency of the International Olympic Committee in 1952. In fact, the U.S. government could have been rightly satisfied that an American was elected to lead the IOC at a time when influence was required in Lausanne. There were additional reasons for optimism on this front. Deciphering Brundage’s personal politics is not particularly difficult. As a conservative Republican and self-made millionaire, it is evident that the merits of capitalism were far more likely to suit him than Marxist doctrine. He did not find the prospect of inviting the Soviet Union to join the Olympic Movement after the Second World War overly appealing, and he made this clear to colleagues. Brundage frequently complained in private correspondence about efforts from the Soviet bloc to manipulate the Games for communist propaganda, and worried about reports on the professionalism of Soviet athletes, which, he acknowledged, compromised his beloved concept of amateurism.9

Archival repositories reveal a steady, though not voluminous, exchange of letters between Brundage and government officials in the early Cold War years. Some of this material is merely ceremonial and traditional but there is no doubt that Brundage cooperated with the government on a number of occasions and, at times, contradicted his outspoken philosophy on the separation of politics from sport.10 Most of these more dubious moments occurred before he became IOC president. For example, when requested by the State Department to write an article on the positive aspects of American participation in the Olympics he gladly accepted, although the propagandistic nature of this commitment must have been evident. After all, a State Department letter informed Brundage that the article was distributed in more than “150 U.S. information centers in all parts of the world for use by foreign newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations.”11 There is evidence that Brundage asked the government for information about communist IOC members, while, on the other hand, the State Department sent confidential intelligence reports in the other direction.12 Quite how such intelligence swayed Brundage’s opinion is hard to say. The most likely outcome is that it merely confirmed what he already knew about sport behind the Iron Curtain. In 1950, Brundage also reassured the Allied occupying forces in Germany that the German National Olympic Committee would be welcomed back into the Movement, although American officials were less impressed with Brundage’s “highly controversial” assertion that certain members of the German committee had been incorrectly labeled as Nazis.13 It would not be the first time that Brundage left the State Department somewhat bemused. If anything, however, once Brundage became president of the IOC his levels of cooperation seemed to dwindle.

A year after Brundage took his position at the summit of the IOC, Dwight D. Eisenhower started his first term as the president of the United States. Throughout the Eisenhower years there was a gen-
eral misunderstanding in Washington about Brundage’s attitude to Soviet professionalism. Reports in the media suggested that Brundage believed amateur rules were being carefully adhered to in Moscow. Inside information provided to the government by the USOC counselor, John T. McGovern, fueled these sentiments, and some propaganda experts were left wondering what side Brundage was on. Their conclusions were not unfounded, but they were still incorrect. In an attempt to endear himself to Soviet Olympic officials, Brundage journeyed through the Soviet Union in 1954. He was, consequently, left with a most favorable impression of the Soviet endeavor to raise the fitness of its people. It is not true, as McGovern claimed, that Brundage was deluded in his view on the Soviet Union. At the IOC General Session in Athens (1954), it was decided that National Olympic Committees must be responsible for policing their own athletes on amateurism. Each time Brundage asked Soviet officials for an explanation on state funding, he was given one. The great problem he faced was that for every press clipping he received exposing professionalism in the Soviet Union, he received many on the subject of U.S. college athletes and military personnel on the American Olympic team getting privileged treatment. Rather than focusing the spotlight on the Soviet Union, he turned it instead on the United States. “The fact that the complaints [against Russia] have come from a country that has been notorious internationally for gross irregularities in sport at educational institutions, of all places, has not added to their acceptance,” he observed.

The organizational arm of the Eisenhower administration’s psychological warfare apparatus, the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), recommended that someone speak with Brundage and point out to him the “error of his ways.” In the lead up to the 1956 Melbourne Games, policy experts in Washington were trying to find ways of offsetting communist propaganda in the event of Soviet athletic dominance in Australia. One of the main plans of the OCB was to fill overseas media outlets with positive stories about American amateur athletes and negative stories about Soviet state professionals. Needless to say, public statements by Brundage praising the Soviet sports system were not conducive to this sort of propaganda campaign. The United States Information Agency’s Frank Dennis met with Brundage at the New York Athletic Club in order to communicate the “propaganda problems” of the Olympic Games, and asked what the IOC president thought of them. Brundage felt that there was “less commotion” about Soviet sporting success in other countries although the “Communists may...seek to utilize these victories in their propaganda.” Dennis sent Brundage a newspaper clipping from the New York Times a few weeks after their meeting. The Times article considered the merits of altering the parameters of what counted as an amateur, something Dennis and other government experts believed might inject some parity in the competition between American and Soviet competitors. If America’s best athletes were in Melbourne then perhaps the chances of the Soviet Union “winning” the Olympics could be vastly decreased. After reading the article, Brundage retorted that it must have been written by someone “who is not familiar with the Olympic Movement.” Rather than pushing to amend Olympic rules, Brundage suggested that the government should try to educate people in other countries about correct amateur standards. Dennis was, at least, prepared for the worse. An OCB strategy report had acknowledged the “anticipated difficulties of dealing with Mr. Brundage.” It was claimed in later planning documents that Brundage acquiesced to government requests to denounce excessive nationalism at the Games. The fact is, however, that Brundage would have done this whether he was asked to or not.

Such was the complicated relationship between Brundage and the government, that sometimes the roles seemed to reverse, and Brundage was often the one asking Washington to change its ways for the sake of the Olympic Movement. For example, Brundage became fixated with the ceremonial parade performed to open each Olympic Games. As national teams enter the Olympic stadium dur-
ing the opening ceremony, it is considered respectful to dip the flag of each team’s country as it passes the seating position of the President, or King, of the country where the Games are being staged. “That is,” wrote Brundage in a letter to the State Department, “all except the United States flag.”

Brundage thought the slight reflected poorly on the United States and simply asked for the policy to be amended. Though Brundage may have had good manners on his side, the law of the land was not. When the U.S. Olympic team reached the Tribune of Honour at the Olympic Stadium in Melbourne, their flag remained vertical.

Brundage, no doubt, would have noticed this. He certainly noticed the fervor around communist sport in America’s media, and the call from some quarters for the U.S. government to intervene. This involved the possibility of ratifying Federal funding for the 1956 Olympic team in order to strengthen America’s participation and, theoretically, level the competition between the two superpowers. A few Bills were placed before Congress prior to the Melbourne Games for government funding of U.S. athletes, but each aroused a limited response, and all were rejected.

Representative Karsten of Missouri told Brundage that he was “considering the introduction of legislation…which might provide some assistance to [American] Olympic teams.” He politely asked the IOC president if such a Federal program was “feasible.”

Brundage thought not. “[F]or the last fifty years,” he told Representative Karsten, “it has been the policy of the [U.S.] Olympic Committee not to seek Government financial support.”

Here was an area with no shades of grey. A state funded Olympic team was too much for Brundage to take and, in all fairness, it appears that Congress and the American public were of the same opinion.

Although the U.S. government was able to covertly influence and twist a number of international organizations, the IOC was not one of them. One example illustrates this impotency. In 1954, the IOC recognized two Chinas in the Olympic Movement, one on the mainland, the other on Taiwan (Formosa). Mainland China (The People’s Republic), however, never accepted the situation, and lobbied Brundage to drop the committee in Taiwan. Brundage refused, and in 1958, The People’s Republic of China cut ties with the Olympic Movement. After some contemplation, the IOC then ruled that because Taiwan did not govern Olympic matters on mainland China, it should not be known as the Chinese Nationalist Olympic Committee. The IOC asked the Taiwanese Olympic authorities to reapply for recognition under a name that made no reference to China. When this news broke in the world’s media, it was interpreted that the IOC had jettisoned Taiwan from the Movement.

The State Department exploded with criticism, calling the name alteration “an attempt by Communists in the IOC to deny the existence of the Republic of China and thereby pave the way for the re-admission of the Chinese Communists.” The IOC and Brundage were incorrectly blamed for submitting to communist demands. The U.S. government wanted a complete reversal of the ruling, but could not get it. It says much that the main attempts to change the IOC’s position were directed through the USOC member, Douglas Roby, as opposed to Brundage. Based upon “past experience” with Brundage, the State Department concluded that “such efforts would probably have a negative effect.”

Not without good reason, some scholars have been inclined to look upon the IOC’s relationship with communism and see only the workings of an organization that put up impenetrable walls to Marxism. It is true that Brundage’s sporting ideals were derived from the Western tradition of amateurism; and that his political feelings toward communism were apparent. But Brundage forged a path that took him somewhat more to the middle ground between east and west. As one Olympic historian has asserted, Brundage became a far more astute diplomat upon assuming the IOC presidency.

He was mostly cooperative with the United States government on numerous occasions; the spirit of détente was only broken when Brundage was asked to perform tasks which flagrantly compromised IOC rules. For its part, Washington only sought Brundage’s assistance when American for-
eign policy and global prestige was at stake. At any rate, government officials never quite understood Brundage’s sporting philosophy, and failed to grasp the extent to which he was willing to defend it. Pandering to high ranking government officials was not his style; nor was compromising the Olympic Movement if he had no need to.

Endnotes


4 The US government was particularly interested in Olympic matters from 1950-60, a period which marked the entry of the Soviet Union into the IOC and also the rise of Soviet athletic dominance at the Games. It appears that Washington was less concerned with the propaganda problems associated with the Olympic Games in the second half of Brundage’s presidency, and government forays into sporting diplomacy dipped in the 1960s. See for instance Thomas M. Hunt, “American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years,” Journal of Sport History 33, no. 3 (Fall, 2006), 273-297.

5 I shall only refer to the occasions in which Brundage was cognizant of the U.S. government’s involvement. Brundage received several missives from CIA sponsored front groups, and helped some of these groups when he chose to. This may have indulged his personal anti-communism but it would be unfair to say that he knowingly assisted in covert operations. For more on this matter see Toby C. Rider, “The Olympic Games and the Secret Cold War: The U.S. Government and the Propaganda Campaign Against Communist Sport, 1950-1960” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Western Ontario, 2011).


7 These actions, coming first under the presidency of Harry S. Truman (1945-52), and then under the subsequent administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-61), were a response to a Soviet “cultural offensive” launched by Stalin and expanded by his successors in the Kremlin. See for instance Frances Stoner Saunders, Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War (Great Britain: Granta Books, 1999); Kenneth Osgood, Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997).


10 Examples include Brundage requesting an official letter from the President to help encourage fundraising for the American Olympic team, and the appropriate response from Truman or Eisenhower.
11 Thomas Nickels to Brundage, 21 August 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA; Brundage to Nickels, 28 August 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA; Nickels to Brundage, 21 November 1951, ABC, Box 332, Reel 145, ICOSA.

12 See for instance Brundage to Kolarek, 14 December 1951, Record Group 59 (hereafter referred to as RG), Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5116, 857.4531/12-1451, National Archives (hereafter referred to as NA), College Park, Maryland.

13 Heather L. Dichter, “Sporting Democracy: The Western Allies’ Reconstruction of Germany Through Sport, 1944-1952” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Toronto, 2008), 236-309; Brundage to John J. McCloy, 14 October 1950, ABC, Box 127, Reel 70, ICOSA; George A. Selke to Department of State, 3 July 1951, RG59, Central Decimal File, 1950-54, Box 5252, 862A.453/7-351, NA.


16 Andrianov to Brundage, 22 October 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA.

17 Brundage to Wilson, 23 February 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to Wilson, 28 March 1955, ABC, Box 41, Reel 24, ICOSA; Brundage to McGovern, 3 September 1955, ABC, Box 50, Reel 30, ICOSA.

18 “Brundage Blasts U.S. Hysteria,” Chicago Daily Tribune, 8 April 1956. On a separate occasion, Brundage complained about the “efforts of our Armed forces to assemble athletes for training events such as the Pan-American Games…and the Olympic Games is also endangering the amateur status of the athletes involved.” See “Athletes’ Tours Hit By Brundage,” New York Times, 16 March 1955.


21 Dennis to Brundage, 27 February 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.

22 Brundage to Dennis, 28 February 1956, ABC, Box 114, Reel 62, ICOSA.

23 Dennis to Brundage, 15 March 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. It is likely that the article Dennis referred to was written by C. L. Sulzberger. See “State and Sport – What Makes Sandor Run?” New York Times, 14 March 1956.

24 Brundage to Dennis, 23 April 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.

25 “Committee on the 1956 Olympic Games,” 14 February 1956, WHO NSC Papers, OCB, Box 112, (2) “OCB 353.8,” DDEL.

26 The excessive nationalism associated with the Games often spiked Brundage’s blood pressure, especially regarding the unofficial medal table. When the Soviet Union participated in the Helsinki Games, the world’s press looked for a way to judge who had won, the U.S. or the Soviet Union. Brundage wrote to a colleague at the USOC: “The Olympic Games are a contest between individuals, there is no point scoring and no nation ‘wins’ them.” See Brundage to Roby, 15 November 1952, ABC, Box 62, Reel 37, ICOSA.

27 Brundage to Department of State, 28 February 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA. Brundage added: “At the recent Olympic Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo, where teams from more than thirty different countries participated, every flag including those of the communist countries was dipped before the Tribune of Honor except the Stars and Stripes.” In a later letter to Howland of the State Department, Brundage claimed that he’d “heard the boo’s” from spectators as a result of the U.S. non-dipping policy. See Brundage to Howland, 23 July 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.

28 Howland to Brundage, 30 July 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.

29 Mark Dyreson, Crafting Patriotism for Global Dominance: America at the Olympics (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 33. Dyreson adds that the Czechoslovakian and Soviet teams also failed to dip their flags. For the origins of the American flag dipping myth see also Bob Wilcock, “This Flag Dips to No Earthly King… The 1908 Olympic Ceremony: Fresh Evidence,” Journal of Olympic History 19, no. 1 (March, 2011) 39-45.


31 Hon. Frank M. Karsten to Brundage, 12 December 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.

32 Brundage to Hon. Frank M. Karsten, 27 December 1956, ABC, Box 333, Reel 145, ICOSA.


36 He told a colleague: “I found that we were being charged with having ‘kicked out’ the Formosa Chinese (which we did not do) in order to take in the Communist Chinese (which we did not do), as a result of Communist pressure (there was none).” See Brundage to Albert Mayer, 15 August 1959, Correspondence of Avery Brundage, 1956-60, Box 5, International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland.


39 Guttmann, The Games Must Go On, 97.
Growing Pains: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement in South America

M.S. Doiara S. dos Santos
Western University Canada

Introduction

Making the Olympic Movement truly global was Pierre de Coubertin’s original vision. However, it proved to be a difficult challenge for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) during its early years of history. The formation of amateur sport organizations, especially National Olympic Committees in Asian, African, and South American countries was especially slow to occur; with respect to South America it was not until the 1920s and beyond that stimulation to organize such Committees took place. Although some South American countries could rightfully point at “earlier touches” with matters Olympic, it was not until a 1922 tour throughout South America by Henri Baillet-Latour, Coubertin’s successor as IOC President, that so-called Olympism rose in the hearts and minds of sport leaders.

Baillet-Latour’s tenure occurred commensurately with one of the first instances of regional games celebrated in South America, those organized in Rio de Janeiro in 1922. Though Baillet-Latour was critical of Rio’s organization effort, he also realized that South America might provide a fertile field for new adherents to the global Olympic cause. He pointed out that Latin America, in general, could be effectively incorporated into the Olympic Movement if regional sport bureaucracies were formed and properly assisted. However, empirical research that traces the developments that followed Baillet-Latour’s visit and the commensurate rise of the Olympic Movement in Latin America is drastically limited.

There is little doubt that Avery Brundage, from his position as an IOC Executive Committee member and IOC Vice-President during Sigfrid Edström’s presidency (1942-1952), played a major role in simulating Olympic affairs in South America during the 1940s and up to the celebration of the first-ever Pan-American Games in 1951. While my major project is aimed to examine the role played by Avery Brundage in the expansion and strengthening of the Olympic Movement in South America, particularly through his wide travels in South America and his energetic correspondence with amateur sport officials there, this paper is focused on the surrounding contexts in regards to Avery Brundage as prominent figure as a sport leader and Latin American sport context.

It is important to highlight some questions that will guide further analysis which, somehow, will direct this first look at the topic: How did Avery Brundage’s initiatives impact the way the Olympic Movement was introduced and/or expanded in Latin America? Did Brundage’s objectives match with the interests of sports authorities in South America at that time? The study’s research material will be
underscored by primary sources located in the Avery Brundage Collection, housed in the Interna-
tional Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario.

**Avery Brundage: Conquering All Americas**

Avery Brundage was born in Detroit, Michigan on September 28th, 1887. When he was five, his fam-
ily split apart and he moved to Chicago with his mother and one brother. Guttmann’s work on Avery
Brundage biography describes the pursuing of a rigorous course of studies in civil engineering starting
in 1905 at the University of Illinois; and how Brundage excelled in his athletic skills in several sports
(track and field, high jumping and discus throw, for instance) and his approach to a successful career
in the construction industry.¹

Brundage began to assume administrative responsibilities within the Athletic Amateur Union
(AAU) in 1919, when the institution had already gained control of amateur Athletics in the United
States of America. His role in averting the proposed American boycott of the 1936 Nazi Olympics, as
a member of the American Olympic Association, was very important to his ascendance as a sport
leader. Brundage visited Germany and having been assured that the German Government accepted
the Olympic rules, his report was strongly in favor of sending an American team to the 1936 Olym-
pics. Thus, the 1936 Games became unquestionably an important step on Avery Brundage’s path to
Olympic leadership as after this he was elected unanimously to represent the IOC in the United
States.

The newly elected Brundage participated in the election that awarded the 1940 Olympics to
Japan. But, with the outbreak of the World War II the Games were not held. Brundage’s instinctive
reaction to any threat to the Games, however, was to seek alternatives. For example, when it became
apparent that the Games scheduled to Tokyo 1940 could not be held anymore, Brundage discussed
the possibilities to have Pan-American Games similar to the Olympics but, restricted to nations from
the Western hemisphere. His idea was to keep the Olympic spirit alive. Brundage’s efforts in globaliz-
ing the Olympic Movement can be mainly perceived throughout the 1960s with his attempts as an
IOC president to patronize regional games in East countries and the so-called third-world.

Brundage first heard from Alexander J. Hogarty, a fellow US citizen employed during the 1920s
and 1930s by different South and Central American governments and National Olympic Committees
to advise in sport matters. Although the idea of hosting Pan-American Games first emerged as a sub-
stitute in case the war prevented the normal schedule of the Olympic Games, it promptly became an
independent project, valued for its own sake. The Pan-American Games were to be held under the
sanction of the IOC, and the rules and regulations of the IOC were to be observed. Brundage further
explained in the following report

There was no intention of implying that the IOC was to have any direct authority over the newly
created Pan-American Games. The new organization is completely autonomous and has no official
connection with any other international body, although it expects to maintain friendly relations with
all of the other recognized amateur sport groups.² Brundage—the only one there who was not Latin
American—was chosen president of the powerful Permanent Commission. The Permanent Commis-
sion would serve as the authority of a Congress during the four years between its meetings and would
be comprised of five members. The members of the IOC in the nations of the Western Hemisphere
were elected honorary members.

This lead to the inauguration of a movement called by Torres, when analyzing the failed 1942
Games, as Pan-Americanism:
Pan-Americanism represents the idea that the countries of the Western Hemisphere have a special relation to each other and share a common set of interests. This means that cooperation is, therefore, useful to advance these parallel interests and that the countries of the hemisphere do not need to go outside their borders for assistance. Brundage made a tour to South American countries. During his journey of approximately 20,000 miles, he was cordially received by local politicians, diplomats, business leaders, and sports officials. He was delighted in the energetic development of amateur sport in South America and confident with the future of the Pan American Sport Organization (PASO), which he thought would surely make immense contributions to – the development of friendship, good will, and mutual understanding between the countries of the Western Hemisphere. This is an idea that would only be achieved in 1951, an achievement that Brundage was proud of, but that by no means did the Pan American Games rival his Olympic passion.

Brundage had done his best to preserve the Olympics through the ravages of war and political turmoil. Throughout the Second World War Brundage kept the lines of communication open between both the IOC and the Pan-American Commission. Brundage and Sigfrid Edström, a Swedish engineer and sport administrator who later became the president of the I.O.C, perceived themselves as keepers of the sacred flame and guardians of an ideal in whose name they were ready once again to act as soon as the madness ended.

**Brundage's Influence: Unmistakable**

Brundage arrived in Buenos Aires on 26 August 1940 after a brief stop in Rio de Janeiro. Palacios greeted him at the airport. In Argentina, he offered a press conference and gave a clue to the public about what could be expected during the congress.

Brundage announced that he would recommend that the proposed Pan-American Games commence in 1942 and be held every four years. He declared that no country in the Americas would be able to arrange games on a suitable scale before that date.

In regards to the location of the first games, Brundage declared that it would depend upon a country’s ability to finance the event and provide the appropriate facilities, but he suggested that the first Pan-American Games be held in a Latin American country. In his opinion, only Argentina, Brazil and, possibly, Colombia had the resources to stage the games.

At the first postwar IOC. session in 1946, Sigfrid Edström was elected president and Brundage became, with no opposition, the IOC vice president. Right after the election Brundage had to deal with difficult matters such as the issue of wartime affiliations and the relation between winter sports and professionalism.

According to Torres, everything went as planned in Buenos Aires, at least for Brundage. The Pan-American Sport Committee became a bureaucracy giving expression to the notion that international sport competition was a vehicle for internationalism that could promote closer and friendlier ties among the American countries.

**Latin American Context: Sport as a Means to Promote Development**

Related to the achievement of national independence and a degree of national identity in the international community has been the pursuit of development as measured generally set by Western countries. To the extent that sports also conveyed values and models, they likewise offered a potential means to modify the traditional Latin American society.⁴
The structure and practice of sport in the twentieth-century Latin America are fundamentally an expression of international forces, tempered by national and local environments.

Parallel to and often in support of programmes of anticolonialism/nationalism and of domestic development has been the use of sports as a part of the foreign policy of different Latin American countries. This has taken various forms, such as the hosting of international playing field, or the sending of athletic advisors to other countries, the preparation of athletes capable of winning on international playing field. According to Arbena, the objectives of these efforts have been to raise a country's international prestige, to legitimate a regime and to attract such beneficial rewards as a foreign aid, investment and tourism.

**Conclusion**

Within these contexts, it is necessary to search for further clarifications on which kind of conflicts were generated by Avery Brundage's interests in contrast with Latin American sport authorities' as well as different governing bodies' interests. As pointed by Arbena: “...given the infinite variety of creative outlets in the sporting experience as well as the diversity of historical and cultural mixes in the Latin American realm, sport also vividly expresses the unique ways in which different peoples have reacted to the penetration of so-called modern models.”

**Endnotes**

2 Supplementary Report of Avery Brundage on the First Pan American Sport Congress, November 18, 1940, ABC, Box 244, Reel 141, ICOSA.
5 Ibid., 89.
The inter-war years marked a period of profound change in the international, political and social order. In the aftermath of the Great War, one of the darkest and most violent epochs in modern history, western civilization reemerged from the shadows radically transformed. Amidst the smoldering of ash, dilapidation, and lost lives, Socialist and Communist movements, fueled by the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, swept across the European continent. Ideological upheavals also gripped the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent as large-scale, newly-organized nationalist movements emerged following the disintegration of the Turkish-Ottoman Empire. Debilitated post-war economies, high rates of national debt, and swelling ranks of unemployment ensured that mass trade unionism and political and social unrest simmered dangerously on both sides of the Atlantic. Europe's old aristocracy, left ravaged and reeling from the destructive capabilities of modern technology and weaponry, faced a more devastating threat as the currents of liberalism and capitalism threatened to topple the propertied order, the traditional political hierarchy, and the entrenched economic system.

In this era of widespread social and political upheaval, the dominant traditions of bourgeois amateurism came under serious assault. As democratic impulses swept throughout Europe and North America, the aristocratic, patriarchal, and conservative power structure that sustained and legitimized the amateur ethos was rocked to its core. Progressively-minded European and Latin American nations, in concert with a small band of international governing bodies of sport, pushed for a gradual loosening of amateur restraints during the inter-war years. In 1926 the International Lawn Tennis Federation sparked uproar when it vigorously lobbied, albeit unsuccessfully, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to grant reinstated (contaminated) amateurs permission to compete in Olympic competition after knowingly becoming professionals. The Union Cycliste Internationale caused an even greater stir a year later when it voted to open its World Road Championship to both amateurs and professionals.

The preservation of the IOC's vaunted amateur ethos faced its greatest threat in the build-up to the 1928 Olympic Games. During a meeting of the IOC's Executive Committee in Paris on August 8, 1927, members voted 4-2 to award broken-time payments—monetary compensation to help defray the cost of travel—to amateur football players during the 1928 Amsterdam Games. The Executive Committee's ruling signalled a blatant departure from the rules of amateurism laid down at the 1925...
IOC Congress in Prague, where members granted permission to international federations to enforce their own amateur definitions on the condition that all athletes “must not be a professional in any branch of sport; must not have been reinstated as an amateur after knowingly becoming a professional; and must not have received compensation for lost salaries.” Such a dramatic breach in the IOC’s amateur code was the result of a threat made by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) on June 5, 1927, during its annual Congress in Helsinki, to boycott the Olympic football tournament unless the IOC recognized a FIFA ruling that granted all affiliated national association’s permission to award compensation for lost earnings.

The football tournament, which served as the de-facto World Amateur Championship, had long established itself as the “greatest source of revenue” at the Olympic Games. At the 1924 Paris Olympics, the football tournament yielded more gate money than the entire track and field program, and even exceeded the aggregate receipts of swimming, rugby union, tennis, cycling, wrestling, gymnastics, and fencing. The prospect of the reigning Olympic gold-medal team, Uruguay, and South American power, Argentina, pitting themselves against some of Europe’s strongest football nations at the 1928 Amsterdam Games heightened the IOC’s expectations that profits would reach unprecedented levels. Forced into a seemingly untenable position, the Executive Committee conceded to FIFA’s demands on the condition that monetary payments “will be placed in the hands of the employers, the athletes having no direct contact with any compensation for lost salary.” Trapped between the lure of increased spectatorship and windfall profits on the one hand, and appeasing its most vocal amateur allies on the other, the IOC faced the harsh realities of maintaining an increasingly outmoded amateur ideal in an era of broader democratic reform.

**Democratizing Sport**

The years leading up the 1928 Amsterdam Games represented a period of remarkable change in the Olympic movement. After twenty-nine years at the helm, Pierre de Coubertin fulfilled his promise to resign from the position as IOC President. Under Coubertin’s tenure (1896-1925) the Olympic Games had grown exponentially, from a grandiose vision to a global mega-event, attracting athletes from all of the continents. Through Coubertin’s ingenuity and the enduring goal of Olympic universality, the IOC attempted to expand the Olympic brand by adding a separate Winter Games, first held in 1924 in the glamorous French resort town of Chamonix Mont Blanc. Coubertin’s plans to establish both a Pan-American Games and African Games for non-Europeans were well developed at the time of his retirement. With rising media attention, high financial stakes, and strong nationalistic involvement, the Olympic Games had fast become a sporting colossus.

The rapid development and consolidation of competitive sport overseas dramatically altered the Olympic landscape. The aristocratic, chivalric, and gentlemanly amateur contest that Coubertin originally conceived had radically transformed into a highly commercialized, increasingly politicized, global sporting spectacle. The Oxbridge, Ivy League, and hereditary European elites that comprised the original Olympic contestants in Athens in 1896, had been gradually replaced by a more socially, racially, ethnically, and geographically diverse body of participants—an impressive 2,883 athletes from 46 IOC members nations competed at the Amsterdam Games. At the bureaucratic level too, the world’s leading governing bodies for amateur sport boasted increased heterogeneity: by 1928 the IOC comprised 67 members from 47 different nations, while the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) recently awarded membership to representatives from Argentina, Chili, Egypt, India and Romania.
The democratic shift in global sporting culture inevitably brought the battle over Olympic amateurism to the surface. The extraordinary post-war globalization of modern sport slowly eroded the Eurocentric orientation of the Olympic movement. The emergence of Latin American countries Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico and Uruguay, the new European states of Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia, as well as African and Asian newcomers Egypt, India, and Turkey posed a direct threat to the Olympic movement’s amateur rules and regulations. For these new Olympic entities, the cultural nuances and ideological beliefs and practices of amateurism were alien. Lacking an established professional sporting structure (and thus a clear distinction between amateurism and professionalism), and bred in a different school of sportsmanship, far removed from the chivalric, muscular Christian virtues of Anglo-Saxon moral superiority, these new IOC member states considered existing Olympic prohibitions against broken-time payments as jejune and outdated. Unlike their wealthy Anglo-American rivals, athletes from less affluent sporting nations struggled to bear the financial burden of lengthy transcontinental journeys to compete in Olympic competition without monetary compensation.

Realizing a chance to become more inclusive, the IOC Executive Committee’s ruling attempted to remove this apparent inequity. Under existing guidelines, a football player whose employer generously agreed to pay him his full salary while he competed was considered a legitimate “amateur.” If on the other hand, his employer ceased to pay him his salary, and he received it from the national football association he represented instead, that player was considered a “professional.” In effect, the broken-time ruling abolished this distinction by granting national football associations permission to reimburse employers for the money they paid out in salaries. The authorization of broken-time payments not only contravened the IOC’s existing rules on amateurism, it also officially sanctioned a practice long considered anathema in many leading western sporting nations.

The Rise of the ‘Shamateur’

Writing on the eve of his resignation in 1925, IOC president Pierre de Coubertin foreshadowed the impending debate over Olympic amateurism and broken-time payments. Coubertin, whose own attitude towards amateurism long oscillated between ambivalence and apathy, acknowledged that the burgeoning of international sport placed the traditional “British concept” of amateurism on an inevitable collision course with a more progressive and democratic “Latin concept.” Coubertin envisioned a titanic clash of sporting cultures, a “struggle between the have and the have-nots.” The British, aided by “strength of tradition…and long-standing routine,” would face a leadership challenge from continental European, Scandinavian, and Latin American nations, who were not raised in an Arnoldian public school amateur ethos and who displayed “zealous national passions.” Coubertin, a passionate Anglophile and a vigorous supporter of les sport anglais, admonished that an ideological battle could only be averted if the British ceased priding “itself on dogmatic superiority in…the practice of fair play” and embraced the increasingly egalitarian tone of modern sport.14

As Coubertin presaged, news of the IOC ruling triggered an avalanche of criticism within British sporting circles. In a private correspondence to newly appointed IOC president Comte Henri de Baillet Latour, British Olympic Association (BOA) chairman Lord Rochdale demanded to know “what powers the Executive Committee have” to overturn a ruling passed by an IOC Congress? Rochdale, a former amateur county cricketer, fumed: “By all our English ideas such men are just professionals.”15 Britain’s dominion sporting officials also coalesced against the Executive Committee’s ruling. James “Pa” Taylor, the president of the Australian Olympic Federation, warned that unless the Executive
Committee’s ruling is immediately overturned, Australia “will decline to send competitors to Amsterdam.” Across the Atlantic, the other leading bastion of amateurism, the United States, also expressed its disdain at the IOC ruling. American Olympic Committee (AOC) President, General Charles Sherrill, stridently condemned the provision of sinecures as “dangerous and contrary to all concepts of American sportsmanship and amateurism.”

The most vocal opposition emanated from the globe’s traditional sporting powers, Britain and its white Dominions, and the United States. After enjoying decades of invincibility on the playing field, thanks largely to advantages in tradition, experience, wealth, resources, and living standards, Britain and the United States watched as smaller, less experienced nations began to catch-up. The emergence of Algerian-born marathoners, Argentinean boxers, Finnish long-distance runners, Japanese swimmers and triple jumpers, Indian field hockey players, and Uruguayan football sides proved that Olympic glory was no longer the exclusive preserve of Anglo-Saxon athletes. The IOC Executive Committee’s passage of broken-time payments effectively promised to level the playing field, in association football at least, by offering less affluent nations the opportunity to subsidize its best athletes for time away from the workplace.

The rising competitiveness and democratization of international sport directly threatened British and American leadership claims both on and off the field. The popularization of the Olympic Games was paralleled by the internationalization of the IOC. As an increasingly multinational body, the IOC needed to be more astute politically and more sensitive to a diverse range of cultural attitudes and sporting practices. Although the IOC continued to be governed autocratically, with self-appointed members serving unlimited terms, closed voting procedures, and wealthy Western powers dictating Olympic policy, the Executive Committee’s broken-time ruling illuminated the philosophical and ideological gulf that emerged between the traditional hegemonic powers and the new batch of Olympic nations. Entrenched, old world Olympic amateur ideals, policies, and practices were under attack.

British and American officials remained steadfast. Recoiling towards ultra-conservatism, they dismissed the IOC Executive’s Committee ruling as the first step of the nefarious path towards full-blown professionalism. The British country-gentlemen’s newspaper, The Field, presaged: “If payment for part time is recognised in Association Football…similar payments will inevitably be made in connection with other games and sports.” In another heated missive to IOC president Comte Baillet-Latour, BOA chairman Lord Rochdale confirmed that his country was seriously considering its Olympic future. “As Chairman of the BOA I cannot ask for support for the Olympic Games on the ground that they are amateur,” he spluttered. Telegrams from the United States, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, expressing support for the British position inundated the IOC.

Fearful that Britain, its white Dominions, and the United States would be missing from the roster of participating nations in Amsterdam, Comte Baillet Latour adopted a conciliatory position. He reassured British and American officials that the “decision of the Executive Committee of the IOC is not final” and that an IOC Congress would be called to deal with the broken-time issue definitively following the 1928 Amsterdam Games. Baillet Latour further noted that “if the ideas of the FIFA do not meet with the approval” of a future Congress, then “football will have to go out of the programme of the Games.” The British were appeased. On November 12, 1927, the British Olympic Association pledged their renewed support for the nation’s Olympic participation, resolving that “each individual sport in this country is justified...in supporting its own section of the Olympic Games so long as the International Federation controlling that section is emphatically opposed to all payments for ‘broken-time.’” Although the British home-nations abstained from the football tournament in continued pro-
test against the IOC Executive Committee’s ruling, the 1928 Amsterdam Games proved a globally heralded success.

**Preserving the Amateur Ideal**

As Comte Baillet Latour promised, the issue of amateurism and broken-time payments dominated the agenda at the 1930 Berlin Congress. Central to the debate were two opposing propositions: Belgian sporting authorities called for international federations of sport to be empowered with crafting their own amateur standards, while the British revived the resolution passed at the Prague Congress five years earlier, insisting that Olympic athletes should only be considered “amateur” if they are “not or knowingly have become, a professional in the sport for which he is entered or in any other sport” and have “never received re-imbursement or compensation for loss of salary.” By a vote of 90 to 20, IOC delegates approved the British amendment, dealing a crushing blow to advocates of broken-time payments and a more democratic interpretation of the amateur ideal. Incensed by the decision, FIFA withdrew the football tournament at the forthcoming 1932 Los Angeles Games.

In the backdrop of widespread social and political upheaval, as well as the rapid post-war development and democratization of competitive sport overseas, the Berlin Congress’s ruling marked a pivotal moment in the preservation of Olympic amateurism. IOC patriarchs disproved Alex de Tocqueville’s earlier observation that once the process of democratic reform had gained momentum it was impossible to halt. The Congress’ ruling is even more surprising, especially when you consider that the IOC sacrificed the most profitable feature of the Olympic Games in order to preserve its amateur ethos. Evidently, the IOC was not driven by purely pecuniary motives: the football tournament at the 1928 Amsterdam Games yielded more than double the revenue than any other Olympic sport, and even exceeded the aggregate receipts of equestrianism, swimming, cycling, hockey, boxing, gymnastics, rowing, fencing, wrestling, yachting, and weight lifting combined. As western civilization took gradual steps towards the cataclysm of another world war, the IOC’s amateur ideal would undergo a renaissance of sorts during the 1930s, as powerful right-wing regimes joined in the battle against professionalism. The IOC’s initial hope soon turned to despair as its totalitarian “allies” transformed the Olympics into a ruthless game of *realpolitik*.

**Endnotes**

4 *Meeting of the IOC Executive Committee, Paris, August 8, 1927*, International Olympic Committee, Olympic Studies Centre, Quai d’Ouchy, 11001 Lausanne, Switzerland (hereafter cited as IOC Archives).
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Olympic Support Personnel and Entourages: Coherence with the Philosophy of Olympism

Sarah Teetzel
University of Manitoba, Canada

Introduction

Increases in the size of delegations traveling to compete at the Olympic Games leads to the need for more support personnel to organize, care for, and assist the competing athletes. A nation that brings a large team of athletes to compete at the Olympic Games, such as the United States or China, thus requires a large number of support personnel to assist its athletes. However, a consequence of including a large number of support personnel is that some countries end up including a higher number of support personnel on their Olympic rosters than the number of athletes included on other nations’ teams. This paper begins to address the impact of large discrepancies in team sizes and compositions. In doing so, this paper focuses on the historical involvement of athletes’ support personnel on Olympic rosters, and suggests a framework for future analysis of potential advantages stemming from the inclusion of a large number of support personnel on teams.

Support personnel are one component of the athletes’ entourage recognized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). According to the IOC Entourage Commission, sports entourages consist of “all the people associated with the athletes, including, without limitation, managers, agents, coaches, physical trainers, medical staff, scientists, sports organisations, sponsors, lawyers and any person promoting the athlete’s sporting career, including family members.”1 This paper focuses exclusively on the members of the athlete’s entourage present at the Olympic Games that function as part of a National Olympic Committee (NOC)’s accredited roster. Other categories of people, including media personnel, schools/universities, government, family/friends, healthcare providers not present during the Olympic Games, and so on are thus excluded from this analysis. Support personnel active at the Olympic Games include, but are not limited to, medical personnel, trainers, coaches, masseuses, chiropractors, managers, sport psychologists, nutritionists, scientists, and so on. These professionally-trained members of teams contribute to what the Canadian Olympic Committee describes as providing “services beyond the core responsibilities of care, comfort, safety and security.”2 Accordingly, professionals of this nature are present not to meet the athletes’ basic needs, but to help elicit maximum performances from the athletes at the Olympic Games.

In previous editions of the Olympic Charter, rules and bye-laws stipulated and limited the exact number of people, in addition to the competing athletes, a country could include on its roster and house inside the Olympic Village as accredited team members. On the surface, it seems reasonable to assume that these strict quotas were enforced for logistical reasons to ensure the number of people
participating in various capacities at the Games did not grow exponentially and that Olympic Villages could remain a reasonable size for host city organizers to manage. These rules also functioned to help level the playing field and to ensure athletes from countries bringing large support staff were less likely to gain competitive advantages over athletes from smaller contingents that travelled with few or no support personnel. Considerable discrepancies now exist in the size of the support personnel participating in Olympic delegations.

London press reported that, at the 2012 Olympics, the host nation’s delegation was thought to have included 542 athletes and 812 support staff. In contrast, the Cook Islands brought eight athletes and ten officials to the 2012 Olympic Games. Athletes who competed in the Olympic Games in the first half of the twentieth century would likely have been astonished to contemplate both the number of the athletes participating as members of Team GB, but also the number of support personnel attached to teams. In the past, National Olympic Committees (NOCs) would include team managers, coaches, and, if possible, a doctor willing to volunteer his/her vacation time to care for the needs of the athletes on the Olympic roster. The number of non-competing members of the team acting in supporting roles was considerably smaller than what is found on rosters today. The historical records housed in the Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) in Lausanne demonstrate some key periods of growth in the number of support personnel participating on Olympic teams.

**Support Personnel Quotas**

A historical analysis of the support personnel quotas included on Olympic rosters begins with an examination of the rules contained in previous *Olympic Charters*. By chronicling the years in which rule changes occurred, information regarding the number of support personnel that delegations were permitted to accredit can be traced. From reviewing these sources, one can see that prior to the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki (Summer) and Oslo (Winter), rules addressing support personnel, specifically, did not exist. However, with the introduction of support personnel rules in the 1955 edition of the *Olympic Charter*, limits were in force for the 1956 Winter Games in Cortina d’Ampezzo and the Summer Olympics in Melbourne. At this time, the statement, “Officials are defined as all non-competitors attached to an Olympic team” was added as Rule 45 and preceded the note, “the Organizing Committee for the Games is not required to recognize more than the following number of officials, as certified by National Olympic Committees.” These numbers included:

- **Teams of 15 or less competitors are allowed one official for each three competitors but not more than the number of competitors.**
- **For the next 55 competitors (from 15 to 70), one additional official is allowed for each 5 competitors.**
- **For the next 98 competitors from (70 to 168) [sic], one additional official for each 7 competitors.**
- **For the next 135 competitors (from 168 to 303), one additional official for each 9 competitors.**
- **For teams of more than 300 competitors the officials must not exceed 15% of the number of competitors.**

Applying these quotas, a team consisting of 15 athletes, for example, could bring 5 officials, and a team bringing 400 athletes could include 60 officials.

Beginning in 1962, a change was introduced that stipulated the roles and capacities in which the approved team officials had to function. Introduced as Rule 36, the requirement that “non-competitors” must be representatives of a NOC or National Federations, technical staff (managers and
coaches), medical staff (doctors, nurses, veterinary surgeons, masseurs), or auxiliary staff (boatmen, grooms, farriers, cycling technicians) was added. Additional small changes occurred in the updated editions published in 1962, 1967, 1976, and 1978, but these changes amounted to only slight variations and further specifications of the previous version of the rules. For example, the 1967 edition of the Olympic Charter included a more precise breakdown of the roles that the team officials were permitted to serve, and specified the exact number of doctors, veterinarians, grooms, managers, and so on that could be included as each nation’s accredited “non-competitors.” Other clarifications were added in the 1976, 1978, and 1983 editions of the Olympic Charter, but these changes largely involved phrasing, word choice, the clarification of administrative staff duties, and small increases in the mandated quotas. Substantial changes in the rules outlining the number of support people NOCs could bring to the Games occurred in 1991 and 1995.

In 1991, the IOC eliminated the breakdown of team officials that had appeared in a relatively standard format between 1955 and 1990 under the rule entitled “Team Officials.” Information previously contained within that rule was then incorporated into Rule 42, “Olympic Village,” and a new system for determining team personnel quotas was introduced. Under the new protocol, “the quotas for team officials and other team personnel accommodated in the Olympic Village are fixed by the IOC Executive Board; they may not exceed 50% of the number of entered competitors.” With this modification, the IOC not only abandoned the precise system of allotting x number of officials per y number of athletes, and replaced it with the overall limit of 50% of the athletes comprising the team, but provided more flexibility to the NOCs to determine the team officials each one wanted to include. The modification also added that the IOC Executive Board could change that percentage if it saw fit, which suggests that IOC members were not yet certain an optimal quota system had been identified and implemented.

The final substantial change to the team official quotas mandated by the IOC appears in the 1995 edition of the Olympic Charter. In this document, all mention of percentages and numbers have been removed. On first glance one might think that the removal of the 50% of athlete entries stipulation opened the doors for teams to bring as many support personnel as they wished. However, this was not the case. Buried within point two of Rule 42 is the statement, “The quotas for team officials and other team personnel accommodated in the Olympic Village are contained in the ‘Entries for Sports Competitions and Accreditation Guide’ adopted by the IOC Executive Board.” This guide, published by the IOC, contains all the information NOCs need to know to enter athletes and officials and is thus provided to each NOC; however, it is restricted and inaccessible to the public. Fans and scholars without access to an NOC’s copy of the accreditation code are unable to access the guidelines and criteria for including team personnel on Olympic teams.

**Current Quotas and Philosophical Rationale**

The strict, constantly changing, and very specific quotas in effect in the past indicate that the number of support personnel accredited to work at the Olympic Games and live in the Olympic Village was a persistent topic of discussion among IOC members. Unlike the quotas set out in the past, the method of determining team personnel size is so detailed and specific that it requires many more pages than the average rule outlined in the Olympic Charter. Support personnel are accredited in the categories of chef de mission, deputy chef de mission, Olympic attaché, administrative personnel, technical and coaching personnel, medical personnel, and additional officials. Despite the removal of the quotas from the Olympic Charter, limits are still set for team officials proportionate to the num-
ber of athletes included on each team. For comparative purposes, the current regulations limit a team of 15 athletes to 9 support personnel and team of 400 athletes to 95 officials. For a delegation of 400 athletes, these limits amount to an additional 35 support personnel compared to the quotas in place over 50 years ago, and an additional 4 support personnel for teams including 15 athletes. However, these regulations are treated as guiding principles rather than concrete rules, and teams seeking to bring additional unaccredited support personnel are not prohibited from doing so if the unaccredited officials are housed outside the Olympic Village.

NOCs are now permitted to bring more support personnel than ever before, but with the expansion of support personnel included on teams, questions of fairness, equity, and competitive advantage can arise. To analyze the present quotas and determine if the rules stand up to moral scrutiny, the rationales motivating the past decisions, the current context, and the foreseeable impact of any alternatives need to be evaluated. Basic options include restricting the number of officials teams can accredit, expanding the number of personnel attached to teams, and maintaining the status quo. One way to evaluate the moral acceptability of each option is to take a consequentialist approach and analyze how recommended alterations cohere with the philosophy of Olympism. To do so, an understanding of the term ‘Olympism’ is required.

The Olympic Charter lists six fundamental principles of Olympism based on Pierre de Coubertin’s eclectic mix of ideas contained in his writings on sport and Olympism. Yet these six statements contain nebulous phrases such as “universal fundamental ethical principle,” “preservation of dignity,” “values of Olympism,” and the idea of sport as a “human right,” facilitating the criticism that the fundamental principles are “vague, ambiguous and open for interpretation.” There is an absence of explanatory dialogue indicating how readers are intended to interpret these phrases particularly, and the concept of Olympism generally. One can attempt to understand what Olympism has come to represent today by examining the many conceptions of Olympism found in the literature and advocated by members of the Olympic movement. Among the multitude of definitions and conceptions, several overlapping ideas emerge, which comprise: 1) fairness, including fair play, justice, and respect for the rules, traditions, opponents, and one’s self; 2) equality, including non-discrimination and respect for human rights, athletes’ rights, and autonomy; and, 3) ethical behaviour, including the embodiment of virtues such as honesty, courage, excellence, and honour.

How do support personnel help contribute to a festival promoting fairness, equality, and ethical behaviour? The answer to this question requires a thorough analysis of each alternative, which would benefit from input provided by key stakeholders impacted by potential changes. These stakeholders include a sample of NOCs, team officials, and Olympic athletes from delegations that bring a large number of support personnel and delegations that bring only a few officials. The experiences of the athletes who do not have access to the whole range of possible support services that are offered to other athletes would provide great insight into the question of how access to support personnel impacts their participation at the Olympics.

Conclusion

Throughout the history of the modern Olympic Games, rules and regulations pertaining to the number of “non-athletes” attached to delegations have changed frequently. Research on the support personnel who actively care for, support, and maximize the performances of the athletes at the Olympic Games is sparse. Much more analysis exists related to the roles and experiences of the athletes competing in the Games, the technical officials, and judges affiliated with the participating International
Federations, and the host city organizers that administer the Games. The people filling supporting roles have been, and continue to be, active participants in the Olympic Games and a part of each NOC’s official roster, but because these people do not compete in any events they are often overlooked.

Examining Olympic support personnel from a historical perspective can shed light on how to evaluate the roles of these individuals within the Olympic movement from a framework based on fairness, justice, and coherence with the philosophy of Olympism. Future research applying moral philosophy to this issue could contribute to knowledge on appropriate delegation compositions. In addition, studies involving the size and composition of Paralympic delegations are also lacking and could be undertaken to ensure team composition produces as little competitive advantage or disadvantage as possible.

Endnotes
3 It is unlikely that all 812 reported support staff members were accredited member of Team GB. Official numbers have not yet been released. For unofficial numbers, see Sportsbeat, “Half of Team GB to miss opening ceremony.” Accessed July 21, 2012. http://uk.eurosport.yahoo.com/news/half-team-gb-miss-opening-ceremony-121821725.html.
4 The article reports that as a result of the extremely large number of support personnel participating at the Olympic Games and concerns that the length of the Opening Ceremonies will disrupt the athletes’ sleep and training schedules, only one support staff member of each nation’s delegation will be permitted to march in the parade.
8 Ibid., 24.
9 Ibid.
12 For example, the bye-law to Rule 37 in the 1983 edition of the Olympic Charter specified: “The quotas shall be: a) Administrative staff: i) chef de mission; ii) one assistant chef de mission for a delegation comprising over 50 competitors; iii) for 30 or less competitors: one for every three competitors; iv) for the next 70 competitors (31 to 100): one for every five competitors; v) for every six competitors over 100: one extra. b) Medical personnel (doctors, nurses, masseuses) 5 for 25 competitors; 1 additional for every other 25 competitors to a maximum of 24.
13 Veterinary surgeons: not more than one per delegation, plus one extra if the venue of one equestrian event is more than 50 km away from the venue of another equestrian event. c) Technical personnel (coaches, boatmen, armourers, cooks, etc.) i) one team official for each sport in which competitors are duly entered; ii) one additional team official for each sport in which female competitors are duly entered; iii) one groom for each competitor duly entered in an equestrian sport. Referees, judges, timekeepers, inspectors, etc., appointed by the IFs shall not live in the Olympic villages and are not included in the number of team officials mentioned above. Their numbers shall not exceed that agreed upon between the IOC and the IFs.” IOC, Olympic Charter (Lausanne: IOC, 1983), 44-45.
Current rules in effect limiting the number of team officials participating in the 2012 London Games are outlined in the IOC’s *Accreditation and Entries at the Olympic Games* document, which was last updated in April 2011.


Personal communication with Toshio Tsurunaga, manager of IOC Services for NOCs. July 8, 2012.


To speculate on what the results of this type of analysis might yield is beyond the scope of this paper.
Youth Olympic Games:  
A New Paradigm in the Quest for Transnationalism

Nao Masumoto  
Tokyo, Japan

The Youth Olympic Games (YOG) is a movement back to the original concept of the Olympic Games. The vision of the YOG is to inspire the young generation to participate in sport and to learn about Olympism and the Olympic values, not only through athletics but also by participating in a Culture and Education Program (CEP). The Singapore YOG took place from 14 to 26 August 2010 bringing together 3,524 athletes between the ages of 14 to 18 years. In this YOG, the CEP was implemented. The 2012 Winter YOG was held in Innsbruck from 13 to 22 January with 1,059 athletes representing 70 National Olympic Committees (NOCs). They experienced the CEP and also competed in new competition formats. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the significance of the transnational directions of the new YOG format, with a special focus on the CEP and the new competition styles. Alongside new competition formats, the objectives of the CEP were to share Olympic values with young athletes from around the world and to learn about various foreign cultures, environmental problems, anti-doping issues, and so on. Thus, through actual experience, young athletes learned about Olympic values and Olympism. As the main theme of the 2010 YOG was “Blazing the Trail,” it displayed innovative trials for the sport and educational programs in seeking for a new paradigm of the Olympic Games. Moreover, in both YOG, new sport formats were introduced, including 3-on-3 competitions, mixed gender teams, mixed NOCs, and a five continents team competition, among other innovative ways to organize sport. This new paradigm of the Games showed the transnational spirit symbolized by Olympism.

Background

The Youth Olympic Games (YOG) is a new Olympic movement that aims to go back to the original concept of the modern Olympic Games. The vision of the YOG is to inspire the young generation to participate in sport, and to learn about Olympism and Olympic values through athletic competitions as well as by participating in the Culture and Education Program (CEP). The concept of the YOG was already established with the creation of the European Olympic Festival by IOC President Jacques Rogge when he was the President of the European Olympic Committee. The Festival started as the European Olympic Days in 1990 and was held every two years. The Winter Games began in 1993.

The concept of the YOG was approved by the IOC General Assembly in Guatemala City in July 2007, with the first Games scheduled to take place in Singapore two and half year later. The Singapore Youth Olympic Games (SYOG) took place from 14 to 26 August 2010, and brought together all 205 NOCs and 3,524 athletes between the ages of 14 to 18 years. The 2012 Innsbruck Winter YOG
(IWYOG) were held from January 13 to 22, with 1,028 athletes from 70 NOCs participating. In each YOG, young athletes experienced the CEP and competed in new competition formats. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the significance and future tasks of the transnational directions of the 2010 SYOG and the 2012 IWYOG, with a special focus on the CEP and the new competition styles. The methods of data collection included an on-site survey in the host cities, interviews with Japanese athletes, and a review of the official report from the Japanese Olympic Committee.

**Culture and Education Program (CEP)**

The main theme of the 2010 SYOG was ‘Blazing the Trail,’ which had as its primary goal the creation of a new paradigm for the Olympic Games by using innovative plans to do so, such as implementing the CEP alongside new competition formats. The objectives of the CEP were to share Olympic values between young athletes from around the world and to give them the chance to learn about various cultures, environmental problems, anti-doping issues, and so on, during their stay in the Olympic Village. The entire cost of their stay was paid by the IOC. Thus, through actual experience, the athletes learned about Olympic values and Olympism.

**CEP for the SYOG**

The CEP of the 2012 SYOG included five themes, seven formats, and over fifty different activities. The five themes were Olympism, skills development, well-being and healthy lifestyles, social responsibility, and expression. The seven formats of the CEP were as follows: chat with champions, discovery activity, world culture village, community project, art and culture, island adventure, and exploration journey. The CEP also included more than fifty interactive activities that were voluntary. A commemorative watch was given to all the participants who participated in all program categories.

According to the Questionnaire Survey given by the JOC to the Japanese participants in the CEP, 40 of the 71 Japanese YOG athletes participated in all of the CEP and obtained the gift watch. This percentage of 56.3% indicates that the Japanese delegation was willing to participate in the CEP. The satisfaction level of all Japanese YOG athletes was also very high with an average 4.8 of 5.0 full marks. These high evaluations were given mainly because of the effect of the communication and exchanges with foreign athletes including those who are great rivals. Therefore, the CEP in the 2010 SYOG achieved some significant educational effects for the Japanese YOG participants.

**CEP for the IWYOG**

The CEP for the 2012 IWYOG had the same five themes as the SYOG, and six formats with twenty-three programs. The six formats were as follows: media lab, world mile, sustainable project, art project, competence project, and the Youth Olympic Festival. The athletes could acquire prizes according to the amount of participation points they accumulated in the CEP. For example, sunglasses were provided for participation in 5 programs, a water bottle for 9 programs, and headphones for 14 programs. According to a JOC official report about the IWYOG, among the Japanese delegation, 32 Japanese athletes joined the IWYOG, of whom 30 athletes received sunglasses, 19 athletes received water bottles, and 10 accumulated enough points for the headphones. The Innsbruck Organizing Committee admired the Japanese delegation for their eagerness to join the CEP for the Winter YOG.

**The innovative direction of the CEP**

Almost all of the athletes learned about Olympic values, specifically, Excellence, Friendship, and Respect, and the three pillars of Olympism, which are Sport, Culture, and Environment. Upon
The completion of the CEP, participants were given the title ‘Young Olympian.’ It can be said that the main objective of the CEP is to foster a transnational status of human existence, which can be expressed through the experience of being a Young Olympian. In other words, participating on the CEP enables athletes to experience the oneness of coexisting in the Youth Olympic Village, which can be likened to the ‘global village’ of life. Living closely in the global village provides athletes with an opportunity to better understand the diversity of the multicultural bases of participating countries. Thus, the new direction of the CEP is striving for a transnationalism that transcends national and ethnic identities.

New Competition Formats in YOG

2010 SYOG

In the 2010 SYOG, the NOCs were limited to a maximum of 70 athletes to avoid the problem of gigantism at the Games. Moreover, at the SYOGOC, new sport formats were introduced in order to attract youth participants and to instill the concept of transnationalism in their sporting practices. To achieve this goal, the competition program included several innovative formats, including 3-on-3 events, mixed gender teams for archery and table tennis, mixed NOCs, and a five continental teams competition in triathlon and judo. The new paradigm showed the transnational spirit of Olympism. In other words, the initiatives were designed to transcend national and ethnic rivalries that might exist between athletes and, instead, compete as athletes of the world. In fact, the SYOGOC and the IOC did not list a final medal count by country or show rankings by nation.

2012 IWYOG

In the IWYOG, though seven winter sports and fifteen events were implemented, the same as the ordinary Winter Olympic Games, twelve events will be adopted for the first time at the 2014 Sochi Winter Games, and some new events specific to the IWYOG were included:

- The disciplines and events that will be included in the 2014 Sochi Games include: an individual competition for women’s ski jumping; a half pipe competition for men and women in freestyle skiing; snowboard slope style for men and women; a luge mixed-gender team relay; a biathlon mixed-gender relay; and in figure skating, an NOCs mixed-team event.
- The discipline and events specific to IWYOG include: in alpine skiing, a mixed-gender and mixed-parallel team events; a cross country skiing and biathlon mixed-team relay, a ski jumping team competition (1 woman, 1 man, 1 Nordic combined); a short track mixed NOC relay; a curling mixed team competition; and an NOC doubles competition.
- Individual skill challenges in the ice hockey were for the first time included for women and men.

In preparation for the Sochi Games, test events have been held in order to check spectator response, and to determine how the events should be broadcast on television and Internet. For instance, some consideration has been given to how spectator-friendly the events are for the live audience, as well as where TV cameras should be located in order to provide the best viewing experience for the televised audience. Other considerations include how the events should be arranged so as to foster genderless competition, thereby lending to a broader understanding of diversity.

Moreover, the new competition formats should render the medal count by countries meaningless and are designed to promote international exchanges between NOCs, and lead to greater under-
standing of diversity among participants. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to monitor the Games to determine whether the new directions and objectives of are being achieved.

**Concluding Remarks**

There was a problem in that there were no initiatives for the Young Olympians to share their experiences from the YOG with colleagues in their own countries. If the NOCs take the responsibility to provide opportunities for the Young Olympians to share their experiences with others, only the competitive aspects will be emphasized and the real significance of the YOG, as a venue to promote and encourage transnationalism, may very well vanish. Also, if national sports federations do not take the responsibility to share what the athletes learn at the Games, the Young Olympians, who want to share their experiences with their colleagues, might be treated as attention seekers and their experiences ignored. It is important, therefore, that the IOC develop and implement systematized initiatives to transform the educational effect of the CEP at the YOG.

The new format of the disciplines and events introduced in the IWYOG will be implemented at the 2014 Sochi Winter Games. These initiatives might be attractive mainly to younger generations and to media. It is necessary to investigate whether and how these directions will contribute to the commercialization of the Olympic movement, and whether the YOG will be turned into a media spectacle similar the Olympic Games.

As for the peace movement, the resolution of the Olympic Truce of the SYOG was recognized fully because it was linked to the 2010 Winter Olympic Games in Vancouver, British Columbia. Moreover, the Youth Olympic Flame of SYOG journeyed through the five continents as a peace movement, but there were unclear messages about the flame after the IOC Executive Board recommended that the Olympic Torch Relay be restricted to the host country because of political strife. Although the Olympic Truce Video was screened by the International Olympic Academy in the Singapore Youth Olympic Village, the education programs for international understanding might be insufficient in the case of the Twinning Program, which was implemented as the international school exchange programs. As one presupposition, it was doubtful that enough understanding of the peace and educational movements of YOG were recognized by young athletes before the YOG, as they had not sufficient opportunities for learning about the peace movements of the YOG. As to the pre-Games education, there was no information about what kind of preparation was implemented by NOCs and national federations. After the YOG, there will be problems about how to treat the YOG and the Young Olympians in the school education systems as a part of the new Olympic education programs.

The lack of the peace movement connection to the YOG was more prominent in the IWYOG. For example, there was no symbolic release of doves to appeal for international peace, and no special booth for the peace movement in the CEP in Innsbruck. However, there was a peace movement brochure in the International Olympic Academy booth, as well as a coordinated appeal for the Olympic Truce Resolution at the 2012 London Games. Thus, though the YOG has put into practice some of the original values promoted by the Olympic Games, and has an explicit transnational direction, the peace movement in the YOG may disappear. Therefore, further observation of the YOG movement will be needed to determine whether it truly pursues Olympism as an educational movement and peace philosophy including transnationalism.
Youth Olympic Games: A New Paradigm in the Quest for Transnationalism

Endnotes


3 IOC, Factsheet: Youth Olympic Games, 1.


5 International Olympic Committee, ed, Youth & Olympism: Olympic Studies Centre Content Package. (Lausanne: IOC, 2010), 11-12.


7 Innsbruck 2012 IYOGOC. Culture and Education Program – CEP – Explanatory Brochure (IYOGOC: 2012)


9 Ibid., 41.

10 International Olympic Committee, ed, Youth & Olympism, 8-9.

11 Ibid., 13.


13 Masumoto, “Educational Significance of the CEP.”

14 Although Parry pointed out many ethical risks of YOG and proposed the careful monitoring of YOG, regrettably he did not argue the issues related to the peace movement. Jim Parry, “The Youth Olympic Games – Some ethical issues,” Sport, Ethics and Philosophy 6 no. 2(2012), 138-154. Gudrun Doll-Tepper interestingly discussed the learning types in YOG as educational movement. However, she did not seem interested in the education for the peace movement, too. Gudrun Doll-Tepper, “Different Perspectives on the Culture and Education Programme of the Youth Olympic Games: Nonformal and Informal Learning,” (IOC, OSC: 2011). http://www.olympic.org/olympic_studies_centre
The Youth Olympic Games from the Athlete´s Perspective

Jörg Krieger
German Sports University Cologne, Germany

The Youth Olympic Games

The founder of the Modern Olympic Games, Pierre De Coubertin, viewed the student youth of the world as his main target group of his sporting efforts, and certainly envisaged an educationally orientated sport festival.1 However, the needs of young people have been largely neglected by the Olympic Movement until IOC President Jacques Rogge addressed the issue in his opening speech at the Olympic Congress in 2009. He not only argued that Coubertin´s concept, developed in the late 19th century, had to be transformed to address the needs of today´s society, but also that educating young people about the very essentials of Olympism such as the Olympic values and internationalism is one of the main tasks of the Olympic family.2 Thus, Rogge had earlier argued for the implementation of Youth Olympic Games (YOG), which were officially brought under way during the 119th IOC Session in Guatemala City in July 2007. In accordance with Rogge’s suggestions, they were created to inspire young people around the world to participate in sport and to transmit the Olympic values to the young generation.3 The YOG should endorse the importance of combining education and sport, and therefore not only encompass sporting competitions, but also a Culture and Education Programme (CEP) through which the young athletes should learn about Olympic values and discuss important themes linked to the practice of sport as well as to global and societal challenges.

The first YOG took place in Singapore from 14 to 26 August 2010 and 3,522 athletes from 204 National Olympic Committees (NOCs) took part in a total of 201 events within the 26 official Olympic sports.4 In some cases, the events differed from the Olympic Games. Basketball, for example, was played according to the 3 on 3 formula, and in other events, the equipment was adjusted to the young athletes’ developmental abilities. However, the most significant characteristic in terms of sporting events of the YOG were the numerous mixed-gender and mixed-NOC team events, in which girls and boys competed together in relays and athletes of different nations were put into teams. As already mentioned, the YOG also encompassed a CEP, which was held during the Games. As well, the athletes were given the opportunity to take part in workshops, forums, and other activities. Most visibly displayed in Singapore was the World Cultural Village, in which Singaporean youth, informed about all countries of the world, or athletes could take part in “Chat with Champions” sessions, in which current and former athletes talked with the young participants. All participating athletes had to stay in the Youth Olympic Village for the duration of the Games.

Deconstructing Political Claims

Despite the well-intentioned claims and Games-time initiatives by the IOC, it is vital to take the experiences of participating athletes into consideration in order to evaluate the event. In the past, the
voices of young athletes have been largely ignored within youth research and policy development related to sporting activities. However, recently a shift in research occurred, “viewing young people as competent and skilled social agents who are capable of reflecting upon, understanding and articulating their experiences”. Certainly, the IOC, the Singapore Youth Olympic Games’ Organizing Committee (SYOGOC), and NOC documents are important because these global agents take part in all discourses on sport and deliver information to the media, sponsors, athletes, coaches, and officials. However, policy analysis as such is unable to shed light on how athletes actually interpret these ideas. Therefore, perceptions of the athletes have to be taken into consideration when analyzing the YOG in order to determine how they took part at the YOG.

Despite a significant lack of research on the YOG (mainly because the event has been added only recently), the broad environment of the Olympic Movement in which the YOG take place, allows researchers to take into consideration three theoretical perspectives and link them to the YOG. Critical sociological perspectives suggest that there is an inherent tension between the Olympic Movement and its historical roots, based on Olympic values, education, and amateur sport, and the IOC’s tendency to adjust the Olympic Games to the global consumer market and capitalist values. Secondly, Olympic historians/researchers argue that the Olympic Games are still primarily based on educational values despite its struggle against doping and growing commercialization, but that there have been major failures within the Olympic Movement in its quest to promote these values amongst athletes due to the limited time available “to improve an in-depth understanding of Olympic education amongst athletes”. Finally, in recent years, more research has concentrated on the importance of education within an athlete’s career. As athletes have to compromise their educational attainments for the sake of a successful sporting career, researchers are concerned that they “may suffer for the rest of their lives from their lack of education”. It is argued that by entering a sporting career, athletes risk educational deficits, whereas otherwise their education would promote their personal and social development. Despite being separate fields of research, the three different areas outlined have to be seen in connection when discussed regarding the YOG. There are general tensions between the historical educational Olympic values and the modern capitalist marketing system to which the Olympic system has been adjusted. However, whereas those adopting a critical perspective voice concern about the future of the Olympics and see a fundamental problem surrounding the Olympic Games, others see possibilities for change from within.

The Perceptions of the Athletes

In light of the theoretical perspectives related to staging the YOG, it is important to contrast the claims of the IOC with the experiences of the athletes. These were conducted in the aftermath of the YOG and have been outlined elsewhere in more detail. They can be organized around three main themes: YOG as a high-performance event, the educational aspects of the YOOG, and unintentional outcomes.

It is clear from the wording in IOC policy documents that the YOG’s is not intended to be a high-performance event. Rather, the “vision of the YOG is to inspire young people around the world to participate in sport and adopt and live by the Olympic values.” Furthermore, as IOC President Jacques Rogge stated, nor should the YOG be seen as a “mini-Olympics”. However, the interviews with the athletes clearly displayed a discrepancy with this vision and the implementation of the Games, as the preparations and expectations of the athletes were orientated towards the sports competition only. The YOG were experienced “like the real Olympic Games.” For instance, the tense
and competitive atmosphere at the swimming events were described by one interviewee as follows: “We were there to give everything and if it didn’t work out, we were certainly very disappointed.” Therefore, the reality of the event as experienced by the athletes challenges the claims made by the IOC for staging the YOG. Rather, it confirms Tomlinson’s (2002) argument that there is a discrepancy between “what might go on ‘before our very eyes’ at the spectacle, but what may well be going on behind the gloss of a spectacular event”. This means, for the specific case of the YOG being presented as an event held to activate young people around the world, that these claims have to be questioned. Furthermore, the documents reveal that if the IOC, SYOGOC, and NOCs talked about the YOG being a high-performance event, it was always presented as the best global competition for young people and, consequently, an addition to the performance-orientated structures of the Olympic Movement. However, the athletes did not perceive the YOG as their main sporting event of the year. For example, the swimmers and track and field athletes argued that other competitions were more important and, thus, a medal at the YOG was only a secondary goal. The quality deficit of the sporting competition can also be deduced from the fact that in some team sports only one nation per continent was allowed to take part and only a restricted age group competed in the different sports. Consequently, some athletes will never get the chance to participate in YOG as they are only held every four years, thus making it very hard to compare results. Therefore, there is a discrepancy between the IOC’s fundamental vision of inspiring young people around the world to take part in sport and the fact that the YOG are staged only for a few privileged athletes, and whilst the IOC staged a high-performance event and claimed that sporting excellence was displayed, the athletes did not perceive the YOG the pinnacle of their sporting calendar.

Similar to the IOC’s claims about high-performance at the YOG, the perceptions of the athletes are crucial to deconstructing the educational aspects of the event as intended by the IOC and communicated through the different stakeholders. Although the previous part of this discussion has shown that the YOG were staged as a high performance event, the vision to increase global participation has to be carefully considered. Through the CEP, there was certainly an educational aspect at the YOG. Thus, the IOC has reacted to recommendations by Olympic researchers, arguing that there should be an enhanced focus on athlete education at events. However, the IOC claims that the CEP was very successful and the “activities were extremely popular with the athletes,” while the athletes claimed that they perceived the activities as unsuitable for their particular age group. For example, in contrast to the SYOGOC’s claim that the World Cultural Village gave the participants the “chance to explore different cultures,” the athletes found the booths in which the different countries were represented as rather uninformative: “I did not really learn a lot there and I was personally not very interested in these because it was not a profound encounter with other cultures but rather superficial.” Furthermore, some of the athletes still did not get sufficient opportunities to take part in the activities because of their time consuming competition schedule and other responsibilities, such as television interviews. Therefore, in summary, while the educational intentions were put into practice in Singapore, the athletes revealed that they did not learn a lot through the CEP. Rather, they perceived the activities as childish, as being held for entertainment reasons, and that they had learned “nothing new”. In contrast, the IOC summary states that the CEP was very successful and the athletes enjoyed taking part in the activities. Nevertheless, the ‘Chat with Champions’ sessions with the ‘Athlete Role Models’ (ARM) were received favourably by the athletes. This was largely due to the fact that the ARMs talked about more relevant topics for the athletes such as attending a university course whilst also pursuing a professional sporting career. In this respect the YOG have to be seen in a posi-
tive light as Olympic researchers as well as academics concerned with athlete’s education increasingly highlighted this matter within the last decade.

Finally, it is important to discuss those experiences of participating athletes which are not related to the CEP and the YOG as a high-performance event. This is important in order to understand the staging of the YOG and the IOC’s justification for the introduction of the event. Despite the negativity with which the athletes commented on the CEP, they enjoyed their stay in Singapore. However, despite the efforts of the CEP to educate the athletes about other cultures, it was the unplanned activities and the unguided meetings between the athletes that shaped their international experience at the Games. The athletes reported that they enjoyed numerous billiard matches within international groups that emerged organically from their living arrangements and structured encounters. The IOC’s and in particular Jacques Rogge’s aim that the young athletes would “learn about the Olympic values and importantly [make] friendship with people from different cultures from around the world” through the CEP was thus fulfilled by the athletes. However, the cultural exchange took part outside of the CEP. Consequently, the IOC’s decision to make the stay at the Olympic Village compulsory proved to be one of the main educational advantages of the YOG in comparison to the real Olympic Games, as it triggered unplanned encounters among athletes from different countries and continents.

Consequences for Future Youth Olympics and the Olympic Movement

This discussion demonstrates the importance of qualitative research with a focus on the participating athletes when it comes to the analysis of mega-events. Only through centering the athletes within the research process could their experiences be understood alongside the claims and rhetoric of policy documents. In contrast to other studies on sporting events in which “human agency is robbed of the range of its potential expression”, their experiences are given priority within this research. Thus, their perceptions help to deconstruct the political claims in a valuable way and provide an exploratory basis to consider the YOG from a subject-centered perspective.

In the specific case of the YOG, the discussion also shows the discrepancy between the claims made by the IOC and the perceptions of the athletes. The IOC’s efforts to implement educational aspects into the YOG have to be emphasized as this sends a signal to its stakeholders that education plays an important role within the Olympic Movement. However, despite the IOC’s aim to increase sporting participation by inspiring the youth of the world to take part in sport, it seems to have staged a high-performance event for a few privileged athletes. Furthermore, the IOC’s claim that the YOG are a platform for “sporting excellence” must be questioned in light of athletes saying that the competitions in Singapore were not a major sporting event of the year. This discrepancy between the IOC and the athletes becomes even more obvious when discussing the educational aspects of the YOG. Whereas the IOC praised the CEP and its effects on the athletes, the findings from the interviews suggest otherwise. Rather, the cultural exchange and the resulting transnational understanding as envisaged by Pierre de Coubertin took place outside the CEP, with the athletes enjoying their unplanned encounters with other athletes the most. It is thus true that for today’s youth, the implementation of the YOG offers an initial, more modern and contemporary interpretation of Coubertin’s understanding of the Olympic values. However, the actual implementation of such commendable introductions as the CEP has to be questioned and amended if one takes the experiences of the athletes into account. It may well be that the creation of a transnational understanding is more likely to be effected through the introduction of a compulsory stay at the Olympic Village rather than through educational programmes which fail to address the various needs of the young athletes.
Endnotes


2 Ibid.


4 Athletes from Kuwait took part as independent participants because their NOC had been suspended by the IOC on 1st August 2009 in order to protect the Olympic Movement in Kuwait from interference by the Kuwait public authorities.


6 A few studies on the event have been published, either focusing on the chances and challenges of the event. See for example: Donna Wong, “Youth Olympics: Past Present Future?,” *International Journal for the History of Sport* 28, no. 13 (2011), 1831-1851.

7 John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, “Theory and Method for a Critical Sociology of Sport,” in *Power Games. A Critical Sociology of Sport*, ed. John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (London: Routledge, 2002), 18. Critical Sociological Perspectives are derived from the premise that societies are characterized by conflict relations, so that any society must be identified, analysed and understood in terms of the particular forms of power which dominate that society.


10 See Jim Parry, “Olympic Education in Practice,” Centre d’Estudis Olimpics (2003), http://www.cob.org.br/movimento_olimpico/docs/academiaolimpica/Olympic_educations_in_practice.pdf (accessed July 16, 2012). The centrality of the athlete and a thorough education of “body and mind” as envisaged by Pierre de Coubertin play a major role within this change and research concerned with the education of elite athletes also emphasizes the importance of such an educational approach.


12 *Newsletter*, 1.


15 Ibid.


18 Wassong, “Olympic Education”.

19 *Newsletter*, 1.


22 Rogge, “Raising”, 34.

Among the reasons Pierre de Coubertin founded the modern Olympics was the hope that international competition in sport would promote understanding, respect, indeed friendship, among athletes and thus nations. In reality, few acquaintances made during the Games will last. The best-known example of an Olympic friendship is that of African-American Jesse Owens and German Carl “Luz” Long. It began in the jump pit of the 1936 Berlin Olympics and ended in 1943 with Long’s death on a World War II battlefield. Virtually unknown is the story of one of the most interesting and enduring Olympic friendships, established a quarter-century earlier, during the 1912 Stockholm Games.

It is the story of US athlete Alma Richards and Hans Liesche of Germany, who established a bond of mutual respect during the high jump competition. The prohibitive gold medal favorite in the event was Stanford University’s George Horine, the world record holder, who had recently shattered the old mark by six inches. The eleven-man American contingent, which included Jim Thorpe, eventual Pentathlon and Decathlon winner, was heavily favored to win all three medals. Nothing was expected of Alma Richards, from the tiny farming town of Parowan, Utah. He left school after the 8th grade, but returned to high school in 1909 at age 19. He took up track in 1910 and two years later he won the high jump at the Central Olympic trials in Evanston, Illinois, the first time he had been out of the state. A month later, having survived a formidable challenge from track coaches to his being on the squad, the unknown rustic faced the finest high jumpers in the world. Among them was Hans Liesche, an apprentice ship builder from Hamburg. An all-around track and field athlete, he had competed in swimming, soccer, and cycling for ETV Hamburg before focusing on high jumping. The 1911 German national champion was a long shot to win a medal.

During the preliminary rounds on July 7, Liesche easily cleared each height on the first attempt; Richards faltered frequently, but also advanced to the finals the next day. In the medal round, Thorpe, then Horine, dropped out, and Liesche and Richards unexpectedly found themselves vying for the gold medal. They were of similar age (Liesche twenty-one, Richards twenty-two) and height, each six feet two inches tall. But the physical contrast was stark: the slender German weighed 148 pounds, the “Mormon giant,” 210 pounds. Their jumping styles were markedly different. Liesche used the traditional scissors technique, while Richards’ unorthodox form created “absolutely no layout, his knees being drawn up almost to his chin as he [went] over the bar.”

Richards, his heavy physique ill suited for high jumping, continued to struggle, needing all three attempts to clear each successive height, but Liesche sailed over the bar “with the greatest confidence” and “wonderful litheness.” Then, with the bar raised to the Olympic record height of 1.93 meters (six feet, four inches), Richards soared over with several inches to spare on his first attempt.
Larry R. Gerlach

Liesche, his confidence visibly shaken by Alma’s astounding leap, then had each of his three approaches to the bar interrupted -- by a starter’s gun, an adjacent band playing, and, finally, an official’s command to “hurry up.” His concentration gone, he failed badly on all three attempts.  

It was a storybook finish—equal parts Rocky, The Natural and Chariots of Fire. Alma Richards, the unknown and untested jumper from rural Utah had won the gold medal, the only Utahn in the twentieth century to win the highest Olympic honour. Hans Liesche, also a surprise medalist, was the first athlete from Hamburg to win an Olympic medal and the first German to win an Olympic silver medal. While surely frustrated by the course of events, Hans extended “hearty congratulations” to Richards and kissed him on the cheek. Alma later wondered “if I could have taken the defeat so graciously.”

The two men went their separate ways after the Games. Liesche reigned as the German high jump champion through 1915, served in the army from 1912 through World War I, and then moved to Berlin in 1937 where he remained involved in track and field circles as a member of several sports clubs. During World War II, he joined the army at age fifty-two to avoid becoming a member of the Nazi Party and was “slightly wounded” in combat. After the War, he worked as an interpreter for American and British forces before retirement. Richards also saw military service in the Great War and earned a law degree in 1924, but instead of practicing law chose to teach science in Los Angeles high schools for thirty-two years. Alma, known to friends as “Dick,” was the most accomplished track and field athlete of his generation. Retiring from competition in 1932 at age forty-two, he had won 250 awards, including sixty-four championships in multiple events with national titles in the decathlon, high jump (indoor and outdoor), and broad jump.

Their friendship, which dimmed but withstood the passage of time, distance, and two World Wars, revived by remarkable happenstance forty-two years later. In the fall of 1953, Alma happened to meet Edith Mendyka at the Los Angeles Athletic Club, a Berlin native and member of the 1936 German team handball squad. She had moved to Los Angeles in 1940 and began coaching track, especially the javelin, to high school and junior college women. Richards visited her to inquire whether she knew anything about his “old rival and friend, Hans Liesche,” wondering whether “he was still alive and, if so, how he could get in touch with him.” Mendyka had met Liesche before coming to America; she probably had reason to believe that he was still alive because she received news bulletins from a sport club to which they both had joined and, better yet, she knew Berlin sportswriter Arthur Ernst Grix, who was a member of Liesche’s club and could surely arrange for an exchange of addresses.

The circumstances of his victory had a profound impact on Richards. After returning from Stockholm he frequently said that Liesche’s “fine spirit of sportsmanship and friendship will always stand out in my mind as the outstanding thing of our part of the games” and that he was “fortunate to win,” noting Hans, whom he considered “the best jumper in the world,” had “had many distractions.” In writing to Grix, Mendyka conveyed Richards’ comments about the competition and his eagerness to get in touch with Liesche. Grix subsequently contacted Liesche, who “got the surprise of his life” upon hearing of Richards’ desire to correspond and, especially, his views about 1912. In early February, Grix sent Richards his translation of Liesche’s letter of January 31, 1954, wherein Hans told “Dear Sportsfriend Richards” he was “very much delighted to hear after so many years of my victorious opponent at Stockholm 1912 [as] I have thought often of A. Richards and wondered whether he is still alive.” To Mendyka’s report that Richards remained deeply touched by his sportsmanship and believed he should have won the gold medal, Hans responded:
Having heard what you said about me, I was very deeply touched. I will not deny that I always tried to be a pretty good sport, for ‘Fair play’ and the spirit of good comraderie was always a high ideal for me, but the best high jumper on that particular day in Stockholm was not Hans Liesche or Horine but certainly Alma Richards, USA, who mastered the winning height of 1.93 meters as nobody else did. Even if I took all the heights up to 1.91 at the first try and apparently effortlessly, I could not master 1.93.

Delighted at the prospect of reestablishing contact with his fellow Olympian, he closed: “Hoping to hear from you I am greeting you in old comradeship.”

On February 20, his birthday, Richards, “profoundly thankful” to receive Hans’ letter, penned a heartfelt response. Liesche had always been on his mind: “After your fine spirit of sportsmanship in this championship, I have always had a sincere feeling of friendship for you and the German people. When I went to Europe as lieutenant in the United States Army in 1918, I prayed that I wouldn’t meet you on the field of battle.” With a clarity that underscored the depth of his feelings about the gold medal contest, he reiterated: “I have always felt that you should have won the 1912 high jump. I made the best jump of my life up to that time. As I remember, you were interrupted a great deal. First, the gun sounded for the start of a race; second, the band started playing; third, the officials hurried you somewhat. At that moment and as time has passed, I have respected you as a great jumper and most of all, as a fine representative of your country.”

Grix, ever the sports writer, recognized a good story: Olympic medalists reaching out across time, space, and language to reestablish friendship after four decades. He knew Liesche, but not Richards, so he sent Alma a series of questions about the 1912 high jump competition and his post-Olympic career. Richards responded by sending along newspaper clippings, biographical information, and candid comments about the Stockholm Games. Alma said he was “never afraid” of George Horine, the world record holder, because of his style, the innovative “Western roll,” but had felt “plenty of anxiety and worry” about Liesche, “a fine jumper who cleared the bar with apparent ease.” Declaring he was “fortunate to win,” Alma reiterated the specific distractions that marred Hans’s last three attempts.

News of the Richards-Liesche renewed friendship received attention in German sports circles even before the story appeared in the German track magazine Leichtathletik [Track and Field] in June 1954. In May, at the monthly meeting of “seniors” at the Sport Club Charlottenburg, where Liesche was a member, Grix told the story of how the two men “found” each other; “everybody was quite stirred” when he read out the letter in which Richards gave “all the credit to Liesche.”

Grix subsequently told Richards that Liesche had suffered greatly during World War II, and that he had “not got much left and he does not live in very well-to-do circumstances.” When incendiary bombs destroyed his house, among the possessions lost were the athletic prizes, including the Olympic silver medal. Grix, aware that the Helms Athletic Foundation in Los Angeles annually “rewards worthy athletes,” wondered if Richards would ask the Board of Governors to offer “some kind of substitute … it could be a scroll or anything materially worthless” —in place of the destroyed silver medal. Admitting that his suggestion might “sound foolish” or even be against the organization’s rules, he wondered whether Richards might “have a better idea” for a symbolic replacement.

The letter arrived when Alma was on vacation, so Mendyka showed it to William [Willrich] R. “Bill” Schroeder, managing director and co-founder of the Helms Foundation. Touched by Liesche’s loss, Schroeder authorized making a duplicate of the 1912 silver medal. He sent the medal to Grix, asking him to present it to Liesche, expressing the hope “that the presentation of it [would] thrill him very much.” At the 1954 annual dinner of German track and field veterans, held at Hamburg on 8
August, the eve of the German Track and Field Championships, and following a stirring speech by the organization’s president on American generosity and the sportsmanship displayed by Helms, Grix gave the medal to an utterly surprised Hans Liesche, who “received with tear-dimmed eyes, his second Olympic medal for the performance of 42 years ago.”

Richards did not speak German and Liesche had no English, so Grix, and occasionally Mendyka, translated their letters. Through these intermediaries, the two Olympians, now in their sixth decade, carried on a regular correspondence. They exchanged pictures and filled letters mostly with personal anecdotes and family news. Richards said his athletic prowess came from chasing jackrabbits. Liesche, married since 1928, kept his “slim figure,” remaining active by bowling, playing volleyball, and running, even at age sixty, in the annual Potsdam to Berlin race. He sent a photograph of himself practicing the high jump even after his fiftieth year, commenting: “Much as I recognize you after 42 years, so will you probably still recognize tall and lanky Hans.” They were silent about political affairs, but the horrors of the Second World War prompted Alma to confess: “It is my hope that the Olympic games can and will have a great influence in stopping wars forever.” And Hans commented briefly on the Berlin Wall: “Many of our German athletics areas separated from us through the erection of the wall Aug. 13, 1961. With great pleasure can I say that the American, English, French troops stationed in West Berlin are very friendly minded towards us.”

What compelled Richards to seek contact with Liesche after forty-two years, prompted Hans to respond enthusiastically, and motivated them to forge a deep and abiding friendship via correspondence for the rest of their lives despite language barriers and the lack of common cultural experiences? Perhaps it was their memories of the emotional and competitive circumstances of the 1912 gold medal duel between two unheralded high jumpers. Perhaps it was Liesche’s singular gesture of sportsmanship that established a bond of mutual respect. “It was a heart-warming contact after so many years” for Alma, who, “deeply touched” by the letters, kept them in a special portfolio labeled “Hans Liesche.” For Hans, too, the friendship went beyond the occasional receipt of letters: “We also speak a lot of you,” he frequently wrote.

Upon learning in December 1962 that Alma was “not so well,” Hans optimistically hoped that “everything should pass soon.” It didn’t. Alma Richards died four months later, on 3 April, 1963. Hearing the news from Alma’s wife, Lenore, Hans responded: “I knew that your Dick was a very good & loveable man. I too shall never forget him.” Alma’s passing did not terminate the singular relationship. Lenore continued exchanging letters and Christmas cards with Liesche and his wife, Hedel, until Hans’ death on 30 March, 1979.

The correspondence of Alma Richards and Hans Liesche does not add to our understanding of the fundamental political, economic, or social issues confronting the Modern Olympics. It does, however, illuminate what Pierre de Coubertin intended to be the primary focus of the Games—a mutual understanding, respect, and, ultimately, friendship among international athletes. Their personification of Olympism would have made the good Baron proud. A 1971 Berlin newspaper story about Liesche on the eve of the eightieth birthday of still the only German ever to win a silver Olympic medal in the high jump, noted: “Olympic friendship! Is not that at least as valuable for an eighty year old man as the medals themselves? We think so to be sure, but the World sees it differently.” As Alma noted in his first letter to Hans: “Much has happened in the World and to us since we competed together in the Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden in 1912.” True. But something remained constant through those tumultuous times: respect and friendship based on an Olympiad of memories.
Endnotes


2 The story of the Richards-Liesche friendship is contained in two boxes of correspondence located in the Alma Richards Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections Department, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Hereafter cited as Richards Collection.


4 Biographical and athletic information about Richards is drawn from Larry R. Gerlach, “Alma Richards: Olympian,” unpublished manuscript.

5 “Eimsbütteler Turnerschaft” (Eimsbütteler Gymnastics Federation) began as a gymnastics club in the 1890s, but soon became a general sports club sponsoring a variety of athletic endeavors; see http://www.etv-hamburg.de.


11 He won the national AAU decathlon title (1915), national intercollegiate championships in both the indoor and outdoor high jumps as well as the broad jump, and regional AAU victories in the high jump, broad jump, shot put and 56-pound weight.

12 Edith Frieda Reichardt was born in Berlin, Germany in 1910. A star member of the German national women’s team handball squad that competed in the 1936 Berlin Olympics; she failed to qualify for the javelin, finishing fourth in the trials. In 1939 she married John Mendyka, former member of the German national rugby team who also participated in the 100-meter hurdles and hammer throw, also failed to qualify for the 1936 Games after finishing fourth in the hammer throw trials. Edith competed in track and field until 82 years of age. At age 70 she set Senior Olympic Records for Women in seven events—the 100 and 200 meter dashes, discus, shot put, javelin and long jump. In 1999 she was enshrined in the USTAF Masters Hall of Fame. Stan Cohen, *The Games of ’36: A Pictorial History of the 1936 Olympics in Germany* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1996), 146; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USTAF_Masters_Hall_of_Fame


15 Grix to Alva (sic) Richards, February 3, 1954, Richards Collection, Box 1, Folder 2.

16 ibid.

17 Richards to Liesche, February 20, 1954, ibid.


21 Ibid., The Foundation, which operated Helms Hall, the finest sports museum and library in the world, annually awarded an “Athlete of the Year” trophy to selected representatives of six continents and issued medallions to distinguished athletes in all branches of sports.
Schroeder performed many acts of kindness for athletes including personally purchasing Jim Thorpe's coffin.

23 W.R. “Bill” Schroeder to Grix, May 25, 1954, Richards Collection, Box 1, Folder 2.


26 Richards to Liesche, February 20, 1954, ibid, Box 1, Folder 2; Liesche to Richards, Christmas 1962, ibid, Box 2, Folder 5.

27 Alma to Dr. George Feledi, August 28, 1962, ibid., Box 1, Folder 11.

28 Liesche to Richards, Christmas 1962, ibid., Box 2, Folder 5.

29 Liesche to Lenore Richards, December 22, 1963, ibid., Box 2, Folder 5.

30 Hans Senttleben, “The First Silver Medal Winner of German Athletics Turns 80,” September 1971, ibid., Box 1, Folder 16. Alma’s widow contributed a picture of Hans jumping in 1912 for the article. In the 1972 Munich Games, Sephan June, German Democratic Republic, won silver in the high jump. In the next two Olympics Germans won the gold medal, Gerd Wessig in 1980 and Dietmar Mogenburg in 1984. These are the only Germans other than Liesche to win an Olympic medal in the high jump.
Olympic Education: Gold Medal for Propaganda?

Mark Devitt
University of Toronto, Canada

Commercialism in Canadian schools is a growing concern as fiscal and budgetary restraints make providing resources increasingly difficult. School boards, parents, and academics work hard to protect classrooms from corporate funding, sponsorship, and advertising. Despite this, Olympic Education in the classroom has provided an opportunity for corporate interests to become a part of the curriculum. While corporations enact marketing campaigns, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has penetrated the school system and actively promotes Olympic Education in schools bringing with it its own public pedagogy and a corporate agenda. What is the goal of Olympic Education? What motivates Organizing Committees to create educational materials? How have the Olympics become a part of the Canadian classroom, and what is its educational value? I will examine the origins of Olympic Education and explore how the Olympics have entered the classroom. Throughout this work, I will examine the public pedagogy of the Olympics and critique the cultural lessons of the IOC. It is essential to explore the specific pedagogy of the Olympics in the classroom and I will critique these programs to examine what students actually learn about values, culture, nationalism, and the IOC. In doing so, I will show that the IOC teaches students a value system that is created and defined by corporate interests and dominant Western ideology.

If you had walked into most Canadian schools a few weeks before the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games, you would have seen hallways coloured with posters, drawings, and projects displaying work on the Olympics. While corporate sponsors enact Olympic marketing campaigns, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has penetrated the school system and actively promotes Olympic Education in schools. What is the goal of Olympic Education? What motivates the IOC to create educational materials? How have the Olympics become a part of education, and what is its educational value? I will examine the origins of Olympic Education, and explore how the Vancouver Olympics has entered the classroom. It is essential to explore the pedagogy of the Olympics in the classroom since its lessons are so explicit. I will critique these programs to show that the IOC teaches students a value system that is created and defined by corporate interests and dominant Western ideology. This has the effect of creating a monoculture and shows that the IOC's goal of uniting across diversity is ineffective.

Olympic Education

Olympic Education is a relatively new concept, first appearing in the 1970s. Norbert Müller, sport historian and president of the International Pierre de Coubertin Committee, states that Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin “wanted mankind in the 20th century to experience sport in the harmonious interplay of physical
and intellectual skills, so that—in an artistic, aesthetic frame—it would make an important contribution to human happiness.” Reestablishing the Olympic Games in 1894 “to ennoble and strengthen sports, to ensure their independence and duration, and thus enable them to fulfill the educational role incumbent upon them in the modern world,” Coubertin believed that sport was a path to personal growth. He believed that the development of the athlete built “mind and body, emotion and conscience.” While Coubertin emphasized sport for physical growth, sport also provided for the development of values. The IOC’s Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Charter states, “Olympism is 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 found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect to universal fundamental ethical principles.” “This is a values education mandate” according to the University of Alberta’s Institute for Olympic Education director, Deanna Binder, who acknowledged that it is difficult to create a philosophy that is respectful of “all people” without assuming “universal fundamental ethical principles.” Still, the attempt to create universal values is problematic.

Coubertin hoped that the Olympics would be a means of teaching values through sport. He believed that athletics was the ideal means to develop morals: “[athletics] provides the teacher with an extremely powerful yet very delicate instrument for moral education.” Olympic Education intends to be much the same today. Olympic Education in schools, according to the Canadian Olympic Committee’s Education Program,

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\text{is designed to promote Olympic values and the importance of pursuing personal excellence in all facets of life. The three core values of the Canadian Olympic Committee are Passion, Integrity and Excellence. These are explored in the Canadian Olympic School Program through fair play, leadership, excellence, respect and perseverance.}
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Whereas Coubertin hoped that students would get onto the playing fields and engage in physical competition, thereby learning values through sport, today’s Olympic Education is education about the Olympics and Olympism. Using athletes and moments during the Olympic Games, the Olympic Education Program is designed “to inspire students to achieve their personal best.” It is important to examine why this change has occurred and what it implies about the IOC and Olympic Education.

**Dominance Concealed Through Olympic Education Programs**

In her article, “Olympic Education Inc.: Colonizing Children’s Minds?,” Olympic critic and activist Helen Jefferson Lenskyj questions Olympic Education “in order to expose hidden or not-so-hidden messages from the Olympic industry and its corporate sponsors.” Olympic Education, for Lenskyj, is a misnomer that can take many forms including “idealistic rhetoric about Olympic values” and can be “unabashedly commercialized in the service of Olympic sponsors.” The key problem for Lenskyj is that educational programs are more about “transmission of Olympic knowledge—facts and figures—rather than the development of children’s intellectual ability, critical thought, and moral reasoning.” Olympic Education, therefore, is propaganda rather than education.

Lenskyj is critical of the penetration of Olympic Education into schools. She believes that Olympic Education is, more problematically, about the “corporate targeting of children and adolescents and establishing brand loyalty by imprinting a concrete idea of a brand in children.” Corporate partners take full advantage of Olympic ideals rhetoric to penetrate into school education programs, spaces that they might not otherwise be able to enter. Lenskyj outlines numerous dubious educational programs and corporate educational materials, but I will examine the materials provided by the 2010 Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC).
Formal Olympic Education became the official responsibility of the host-city's organizing committee in 1976 at the Montreal Olympic Games. Scholar Christina Ting Kwauk suggests that “Olympic Education Programs took on greater importance for OCOG’s [Organizational Committees of Olympic Games] as they became a major component of Olympic legacy creation.” “Legacy creation,” she states is about creating a “long-lasting educational and cultural impact that could sustain interest and involvement beyond the Games.” Kwauk believes, as does Lenskyj, that educational programs are used to bolster enthusiasm for the Olympics and to neo-colonize students “through the normalization of the 'symbolic codes' of Western capitalist culture.” VANOC’s Olympic Education program, as will be shown, is no different and is consistent with neo-colonization and Western corporate normalization.

A close examination of teaching materials that were used for the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics reveals some glaring problems can be identified. As Lenskyj has shown, the transmission of facts remains more valued than critical and reflective thinking within Olympic educational materials. Though there is an opportunity to develop critical thinking skills, Olympic Education programs choose to promote one-sided rhetoric that favourably reflects the Torch Relay, the Olympic Games, and their corporate sponsors.

A Close Reading of VANOC Educational Material

The Canadian Olympic School Program (COSP) is an educational program that “provides teachers and students across Canada with Olympic-themed classroom and school resources.” One of these resources is a “Project Pack” entitled, “Money Management.” This program, like all materials in the Canadian Olympic School Program, is sponsored by the Royal Bank of Canada (RBC). The package includes stories from three Olympians each focusing on a different theme: saving, sharing, and spending. Lesson One is from Olympic snowboarder, Alexa Loo, who advises to “save until you have the money to buy what you want.” The resource also states that “Alexa also says she never uses her credit card unless she can pay it off at the end of the month.” Despite the worth of Loo's advice, the message to students—who are too young to have credit cards—is that they need credit cards and that credit cards are an important part of adult life. This is a clear example of what Christine Kwauk calls “the normalization of the 'symbolic codes' of Western capitalist culture.” The lesson on saving continues with activity questions that teach students about compound interest. By examining the three activity questions, it is evident that RBC is using Olympic athletes to teach students about banking and Western capitalist culture.

Example one encourages students to save the same amount of money each month. Students are asked how much money they will have at the end of ten years if they save $10 per month. Example two, encourages students to invest a $100 gift into a bank account that earns compound annual interest. Students are told “If you keep $100 in a piggy bank, your $100 doesn’t grow. If you invest this $100, your money would earn interest.” Though the lesson does acknowledge that “The amount of interest you earn depends on the interest rate,” in the example provided, students are given a sample interest rate of 10%. According to the RBC website, the current interest rate for the RBC Leo's Young Savers Account is 0.01%. Students learn in the classroom example that at the end of 10 years, their $100 will grow to $259.37, but outside of the classroom-world, the reality is that their money would have grown to $100.10 in ten years. Example three encourages students to save the same amount each month into an account that earns compound interest. In much the same way as example two, students are given a sample interest rate of 10% and they watch their money grow.
When students are instructed, “Use your calculator to help [do the calculations],” the lesson, which could have been used as a math lesson, is now an exercise in banking and becomes advertising for RBC. There is no mention in the lesson about the ways in which banks use deposited funds, RBC's annual profits, nor is there any mention of banking fees, or that other banks exist and may offer better products and services than RBC.

The second lesson, “Sharing,” provides a lesson on fundraising. Here, Olympic speed-skater Clara Hughes' work with Right to Play, a sport development charity, is highlighted. It begins by suggesting that students raise money for the Canadian Olympic Foundation: “Every Olympic athlete dreams of winning a medal. But earning a medal can be expensive. The Canadian Olympic Foundation supports our athletes by providing the money needed for coaching, travel, and equipment. It helps our athletes be at their best in time for the Olympic Games.” Not only does this sentiment build nationalism by appealing to the student's patriotic emotions by using the phrase “our athletes” and encourage students to support high-performance athletics, the lesson strengthens a capitalist agenda. Students learn that they can raise funds by buying pizzas and selling them to their schoolmates. There is no mention in the lesson about other, perhaps healthier, products that could be sold, or the socio-economic issues that might exist within their school that might prevent a student from purchasing pizza (or eating lunch at all). Furthermore, the lesson contradicts the advice given earlier in Alexa Loo's lesson. Loo suggests that in order to save money for something special, it is important to forego certain luxuries: “If you want something, then you learn to prioritize. Sure, you can always go and buy a bag of chips or you can eat a packed snack, get exactly what you want to eat, and save the money for something you want more.” In the fundraising lesson, students are being encouraged to contradict Loo's recommendation and to buy pizza at the school fundraiser. While the lesson shows students how to organize and plan, it more distinctly shows students how to make and spend money, thereby strengthening capitalist culture.

The final lesson, “Spending,” features figure skater, Jeff Buttle. The lesson involves creating a spending budget. Students are asked to create a plan for a vacation with Buttle's words in mind: “‘Spending money can be scary,’ Jeff says, ‘it's something you have to do for something you love’.” It is not overtly clear what this lesson intends to teach. The example situates students at Whistler ski resort where they must spend $600 on food, entertainment, leisure, and souvenirs for themselves and a guardian. Students must prioritize their spending based on whether they determine it to be a need or a want. Students are asked to make a budget based on prices provided for various meal options and activities. The lesson does not offer critical reflection into their own spending habits, or issues of poverty. Jeff Buttle's words, “a life without some risk would be pretty boring wouldn't it?” encourages students to spend and contradicts any saving lesson that they might have learned in earlier lessons. While Buttle's example involves decisions to hire coaches and fly them to his competitions, students are asked to imagine themselves as tourists at a ski resort. There is no mention of alternatives to spending, but the lesson teaches students that consumption is exciting, thrilling, and fun. Not only are students encouraged to consume, RBC hopes they are also building brand loyalty. The singular vision of consumption put forth by RBC and perpetuated by the Canadian Olympic Schools Program is uncritical and does not acknowledge the very real problem of social inequality or other options for using their purchasing power. Students are indoctrinated into a dominant view of finance and consumption while ignoring issues of financial literacy.

Conclusion

By remaining uncritical and unreflective, Olympic Educational Programs become superficial propaganda. Lenskyj quotes Olympic scholars Tara Magdalinski and John Nauright who have written about
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educational materials for previous Olympic Games and argue that they are insufficient as educational materials because they present “a history that is virtually free of politics and social inequity and one that provides isolated examples to illustrate broad assertions about Olympic ideologies or Olympologies... decontextualised and dehistoricised sport disguised as a virtual religion of Olympism.”

The shortcomings of the materials provided by VANOC is not unusual in the history of Olympic educational programs. Though some of the VANOC educational programs do provide some reflective material, most is superficial and propagates Western ethical and capitalist dogma with little acknowledgement that alternative perspectives exist.

Clearly, Olympic education has infiltrated the schools. Unlike other international corporations, the Olympics, as part of education, is rarely discussed by school boards. These programs may be sponsored by and encourage brand exposure to develop brand loyalty. It is essential, therefore, for teachers to critically examine these materials and to use them carefully. Teachers must also encourage students to think critically about Olympic educational materials, as well as about the Olympics itself. How might these educational materials build loyalty to the Olympic brand? What messages does the Olympics send about nationalism? How equitable is the portrayal of developing countries? How are women portrayed? How much do kids learn about the Olympics through its public pedagogy? These are all questions that teachers should consider when preparing Olympic lessons, and are all questions that are painfully absent from most, if not all, of the VANOC educational programs.

One-sided, biased, educational materials allows the IOC to teach students a value system that is created and defined by corporate interests and dominant Western ideology. This has has the effect of creating a monoculture that denies dissent.

Endnotes

6 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid, 152.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid, 8.

Ibid, 2.

Ibid, 11.

Ibid.

The Model for US Paralympic Training Sites:
A Case Study of the Lakeshore Foundation

Joshua R. Pate & Robin Hardin
James Madison University & University of Tennessee, U.S.A

US Paralympic hopefuls have limited choices in regard to training at accessible facilities. As of 2012, the United States had three designated Paralympic Training Sites. However, the Lakeshore Foundation in Birmingham, Alabama, became the first US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site in 2003, and has since transformed into a destination of choice for elite athletes with disabilities and national teams to train. Athletes and teams travel from across the United States to train at the Lakeshore Foundation’s smaller yet accessible facilities. The purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) to explore how the Lakeshore Foundation became a model US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site; and (2) to explore why elite athletes and coaches are attracted to the Lakeshore Foundation’s Paralympic training facility. A case study methodology was used with semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis as methods for data collection. Results showed that the Lakeshore Foundation’s accessible training facilities and the personal attention shown by staff members to US national teams in training were among the primary factors that have made it a model training site and a destination of choice for the most successful US national teams. This study suggests that the experiences of a national team at its training facility may impact its success on an international stage of competition. The Lakeshore Foundation has positioned itself as a model training facility for people with disabilities. Practical recommendations are offered for the USOC regarding how to improve existing training sites for serving athletes with disabilities and for training facility operators with regard to serving patrons with disabilities.

The Lakeshore Foundation
The Lakeshore Foundation in Birmingham, Alabama, hosts training camps for US national teams in the sports of archery, power soccer, sailing, tennis, track and field, wheelchair basketball, and wheelchair rugby. In February 2003, the United States Olympic Committee (hereafter referred to as USOC) designated the Lakeshore Foundation as the first US training site for both Olympic and Paralympic sports, which made it the first location to receive Paralympic recognition for training. The designation solidified Lakeshore’s reputation as the premier destination for elite athletic training for people with disabilities, and the organization’s success rate among athletes validated its stature. Thirty-six athletes and coaches who trained at Lakeshore went to the Paralympic Games between 1988 and 2008, the largest number to have come from any single US training location.
Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) to explore how the Lakeshore Foundation became a model US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site; and (2) to explore why elite athletes and coaches are attracted to the Lakeshore Foundation's Paralympic training facility. Service quality's functional dimension (e.g., how a service is delivered) and environmental dimension (e.g., perceptions of facilities and surroundings) were explored during the study of the Lakeshore Foundation. Environmental, functional, and technical are the three dimensions that comprise service quality. This study focused on two of those dimensions: environmental and functional. Systems theory and stakeholder theory were used to examine the Lakeshore Foundation's role as a designated training site, and social construction theory was used in the examination of elite athletes training at the Lakeshore Foundation.

Methodology

Case study methodology was used to examine the Lakeshore Foundation because the organization's unique status as the first of three designated US Olympic and Paralympic Training Sites in the United States. This study relied on interviews with 15 participants, seven observation periods, and analysis of three documents for means of data collection.

Findings

The aim of this study was to examine how the Lakeshore Foundation became a model US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site and to explore why Paralympic athletes and teams choose to train there. The reason for such a study was because Lakeshore was the first USOC-designated training site with an emphasis on Paralympic sport. While two other training sites also received the designation due to serving Paralympic athletes, Lakeshore was the first and remained the only training site at the time of this study to offer a full-service facility for Paralympic hopefuls that included athletic training, sports science, and residential services such as a dining hall and dormitory. The findings of this study revealed that the Lakeshore Foundation is a model training site because accessible facilities are important to attracting new athletes with disabilities, while the functional dimension of service quality improves athlete and team retention.

From an organizational perspective, the environmental dimension (e.g., facilities) may influence consumer participation such as national teams training at a location, but the functional dimension (e.g., interaction) of service quality is essential to retention of national teams returning regularly. Teams initially chose to train at Lakeshore due to the accessible facilities it offered, and the organization is internationally known for its accessible training facilities for athletes with disabilities. The athletes and coaches, however, said they believe the personal attention and focus on Paralympic sport are why they continue to train at Lakeshore. In other words, how they are treated at Lakeshore brings them back. Therefore, the functional dimension of service quality becomes important to an organization's long-term retention of consumers, particularly in the physical fitness category and for organizations that serve underrepresented populations due to the scope of this study.

Implications and Recommendations

The primary management implications of this study are that greater focus on service quality dimensions may affect athlete success. The athletes and coaches in this study praised the Lakeshore Foundation's environmental and functional dimensions of service quality for impacting their success. The
three Paralympic teams that claimed Lakeshore as their training home in 2008 were the only three US teams to win gold medals in the 2008 Paralympic Games. That is not to say there was a direct correlation between Lakeshore’s service quality and Paralympic Games success as that is a relationship that must be measured in a longitudinal study. Still, the service quality offered by Lakeshore provided a comfortable and consistent environment for the teams as they trained, removing the typical daily barriers of access and social acceptance that may have in fact been present at other training sites and centers.

Additionally, this study sheds light on issues of inclusion and integration with regard to people with disabilities. The Lakeshore Foundation offered an environment in which people with disabilities participating in sport was the norm, corroborating the core value of raising expectations that was identified by employees. The environment was not exclusive to people with disabilities as able-bodied participants were involved in the recreational programming and Olympic athletes were welcome to train at the facility although the Lakeshore staff said very few actually did train there. While the reciprocal was true at Olympic training sites and centers, the Paralympic athletes who participated in this study implied they did not feel equally treated or welcome in some instances where Olympians were given favorable treatment with regard to gym space or attention from athletic trainers. It should be noted that the tone of this study may have shifted if able-bodied athletes who trained at Lakeshore were included; however, that was beyond the scope of this study. The implications of this study with regard to inclusion and integration shed light on how people with disabilities may feel in environments that were designed specifically for an able-bodied population, and gives voice to athletes with disabilities when they are in an inclusive and integrated environment. — This study revealed practical recommendations for the USOC, which are described hereafter:

1. Be knowledgeable of minority voices. Participants in this study voiced that other training locations met training needs but failed to fully serve the needs of the Paralympic hopefuls. For example, athletes had to explain their disability and training needs to each athletic trainer at larger sites, and some athletes and coaches noted that their training schedules were disrupted for preferential treatment toward Olympic teams. It is natural that locations may display preferential treatment to athletes and teams in residence. However, it is recommended that other training locations maintain a greater pulse on the minority voices using the facilities, such as Paralympic hopefuls or athletes using the facilities but not residing on site. This recommendation is made because the participants in this study voiced concerns about other training locations as if those locations were unaware of such discrepancy in the services offered.

2. Enhance environmental and functional dimensions of service quality. The environmental and functional dimensions of service quality were essential in attracting and retaining consumers in this study. Athletes and coaches noted that Lakeshore’s environmental dimension contributed to teams’ initial decision to train at Lakeshore but functional dimension contributed to their decision to continue training at Lakeshore. Recommendations for the USOC include an enhancement of the environmental dimension to provide more accessible facilities at training centers and training sites with consultation from athletes with physical disabilities. Participants noted there is a difference between Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) compliant and accessible. Compliance meets legal requirements whereas accessible is what is practically usable. The USOC can enhance the environmental dimension at training centers and training sites through consultation with athletes with disabilities by holding a focus group to gain knowledge of needs or concerns. The consultation would allow the USOC-designated facilities to structurally display the organiza-
tion's dedication to inclusion and integration. The functional dimension of service quality can be enhanced through customer service education of facility staff, particularly with regard to addressing the needs of athletes with disabilities. It should be noted that many members of Lakeshore’s staff have backgrounds in therapeutic recreation and working with people with disabilities, which predisposes them to addressing the needs of that population. While other training centers and training sites need not seek staff with such backgrounds, it may be beneficial for locations to provide professional development options to enhance the functional dimension of the staff’s service quality.

3 Determine where Paralympic sport fits into the USOC’s mission. Leadership turnover at the USOC delayed Lakeshore’s site designation application process. Lakeshore employees noted that during that time, USOC administration addressed the organization’s dedication toward Paralympic sport. A recommendation for the USOC moving forward is to further evaluate where Paralympic sport fits within its mission. Participants in this study suggested that the USOC acknowledged Paralympic sport, but that full support for those teams could be improved. Therefore, it is recommended that the USOC evaluate whether it should continue to administer US Paralympics or allow it to operate separately as most other countries do. A separate governing body may present resource challenges, but continuing to operate US Paralympics within the USOC’s governance structure may maintain existing challenges of equality.

This study also revealed practical recommendations for training facility managers. Recommendations for managers are as follows:

1 Use the environmental dimension to attract consumers. Participants from this study acknowledged that the environmental dimension (e.g., accessible facilities) initially attracted them to select Lakeshore as a training location. Training facility administration may be able to use the environmental dimension for marketing purposes to attract first-time consumers. The environmental dimension such as equipment and facilities are important because consumers can quickly confirm accessibility on the first visit, whereas confirmation of the functional dimension may take longer. A recommendation for training facility managers is to use the environmental dimension of service quality to market to potential first-time consumers.

2 Use the functional dimension to retain consumers. Participants from this study said that the functional dimension such as personal attention and focus on consumers’ individual needs are what brought them back as repeat consumers. Training facility administration may use the functional dimension as a public relations arm for proper treatment of consumers, which may in turn serve as word-of-mouth advertising. Therefore, the functional dimension of service quality may work two-fold for the organization by retaining consumers and spreading a positive reputation to potential new consumers. A recommendation for training facility managers is to train staff on the functional dimension of service quality and use personal attention to increase consumer loyalty.

3 Maintain a pulse on minority voices. This study gave voice to a minority population in that the athletes with disabilities expressed they were not treated equally at training locations that primarily served able-bodied athletes. Not all training facilities may have consumers with disabilities, but managers must be prepared and open for such a possibility. In fact, targeting minority populations, such as people with disabilities, as potential consumers may increase revenue. In turn, the facility staff must be prepared to serve such a population that has unique physical needs and requests. It is recommended that training facility managers maintain a pulse on minority voices both with external stakeholders (e.g., non-consumers) to know how they are or are not serving
that population, as well as internal stakeholders (e.g., consumers) to know how to better serve that population. Heeding this recommendation would improve awareness among administration with regard to minority population needs and serve as a marketing tool to potentially increase consumers and revenue.

Conclusion

The Lakeshore Foundation’s 2003 designation as a US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site helped address concerns of opportunities for athletes with disabilities. The accessible facilities (e.g., environmental dimension of service quality) offered at the Lakeshore Foundation’s training site were the surface attraction for athletes with disabilities and created an international reputation for the organization. While two other training sites also served Paralympians and Paralympic hopefuls in at least one sport, no other location offered a multi-sport platform with athletic training, dining services, housing, and research support. Yet, it was the functional dimension of service quality that kept the US national teams returning to train at Lakeshore. Lakeshore employees treated Paralympians and Paralympic hopefuls with respect while offering personal attention and unwavering service to make their experience at the training site easy and comfortable. Interviews and observations revealed that Lakeshore employees were passionate toward providing an elite training environment for athletes.

Employees identified similar qualities in a brainstorming session several years prior to this study in which they were asked to identify the core values of the Lakeshore Foundation. The employees said: Passion, Integrity, Creating Opportunities, and Raising Expectations. This study revealed that after Lakeshore’s designation as a US Olympic and Paralympic Training Site, athletes and coaches chose to continually train at Lakeshore because it offered those precise qualities.

Endnotes

Munich 1972—Turning Point in the Olympic Doping Control System:
The First Official Appearance of Doping Concerns
on the Agenda of the International Olympic Committee

Stephan Wassong & Jörg Krieger
German Sport University Cologne, Germany

Citius—Altius—Fortius is the well known motto of Olympic sport. It was introduced by Baron Pierre de Coubertin during the closing ceremony of the first Olympic Congress held at the Sorbonne in 1894. But the Baron was not the originator of the famous motto. This honour goes to Dominican Father Henri Didon, who coined it as a guiding principle for a student sport festival organised at the Albertus Magnus Schule in Arceuil on 17 March 1891. Coubertin, who attended the school’s sports day, valued Didon for his public support for integrating sporting activities into everyday school life. Since 1914, Citius—Altius—Fortius has become the official motto of the Olympic Movement.1 Coubertin mentions in his article *La psychologie du sport* that the motto draws on the individual’s desire to strive for the best result possible.2

The true nature of Citius—Altius—Fortius is traditionally based on the appreciation of an honourable and ethically justifiable achievement.3 But this highly moral expectation was and has been challenged by, among others, the issue of doping, which was known to be happening by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) long before the Olympic Games were opened to professionals in the 1980s. In fact, at the 37th IOC Session in Warsaw in 1937, the topic of doping made its way onto the IOC agenda for the first time. It was Lord David George Burghley, IOC member for Great Britain, who drew the attention of his IOC colleagues to the problem of doping.4 The evidence we collected for this paper does not provide concrete evidence on what exactly induced Burghley to raise the issue.5 Nevertheless, it can be argued that Burghley was alarmed by the growing interest of science in performance enhancing drugs and the fact that the new scientific knowledge was welcomed by athletes.6 Due to Burghley’s initiative, the IOC was decided to appoint a commission which would present a report on the issue of doping at the IOC session, scheduled for Cairo in 1938. In addition to Burghley, Avery Brundage, Karl Ritter von Halt, Alberto Bonacossa, and Sigfrid Edstroem were appointed members to this commission.7 At the Cairo session, a very brief report on doping was submitted by Burghley. As a result, the IOC condemned both the consumption of and the trade in doping substances. The IOC minutes state:

*L’usage des drogues ou des stimulants artificiel de toutes sortes est des plus condamnables, et toute personne qui reçoit ou offre de doping, sous quelque forme que ce soit, ne devrait pas être admise aux meetings d’amateurs ou aux jeux Olympiques.*8
However, it took more than twenty years for the IOC to put the decision is made in Cairo into action. It was the death of the Danish cyclist, Knud Jensen, at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games that forced the IOC to become more active in the fight against doping. Jensen collapsed during the competition and later died in hospital. The autopsy showed that the athlete had consumed Ronicol, which enhances blood circulation.9

Uncoordinated Approaches to Doping Analysis

In the aftermath of the Olympic Games in Rome, and in response to the tragic death of Knud Jensen, the IOC adopted a more active role in the fight against doping. However, its actions were delayed and uncoordinated. IOC president Avery Brundage showed an increased concern in the matter following the 1960 Games, and addressed the issue during the 58th IOC Session in Athens in July 1961.10 Consequently, the IOC appointed a commission to contact the Fédération Internationale de Médecine du Sport (FIMS)11 about the doping problem and created a subcommittee on doping in March 1962. It was headed by IOC member and surgeon Dr. Arthur Porritt; its primary aim was to study the doping problem and give medical advice on doping matters to the IOC.13 Progress was slow. Two years later, Porritt reported to the IOC Session in Innsbruck that more time was needed in order to produce a report on doping in sport despite FIMS Secretary-General Giuseppe La Cava already outlining the use of drugs in sports and their effects on performance in the Bulletin of the International Olympic Committee in May 1962.14 Although Porritt and his colleagues on the commission, notably Dr. Ferreira Santos from Brazil, published individual articles and recommendations on the matter, neither extensive doping research was conducted, nor were there any regulations made concerning doping analysis and testing procedures. In 1966, the doping subcommittee published a recommendation to implement the list of banned substances ahead of the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. However, after Porritt’s resignation in the same year,15 the IOC decided to change the structure of the working group and officially founded the IOC Medical Commission in August 1967. Prince Alexandre de Merode from Belgium was made its first president. The first tasks of the new Commission included the preparation of doping tests for the 1968 Olympic Games and addressing the concerns of the impact of high altitude on performance in Mexico City. Whereas the latter issue drew considerably more attention within the Commission, and preparation time for athletes in special training camps was eventually extended to six weeks,16 the doping tests at the 1968 Summer and Winter Olympic Games were still uncoordinated.

Although the Games in Grenoble are widely known for being the first Olympic Games at which doping controls were officially conducted by the IOC, Dr. Jacques Thiebault, member of the IOC Medical Commission, stated in his report that there were “certain shortcomings when they [sex tests for women and doping controls] were put into practice.”17 For example, there was no official protocol for the doping controls. Hence, Thiebault recommended that “our Commission could perhaps carry out the dispatch of a sort of memorandum, which would be widely circulated by the I.O.C. to all those concerned with these questions.” a first indication that an official doping protocol was needed.18 General Coordinator at the Mexico City Games19 was Dr. Eduardo Hay, member of the IOC Medical Commission and delegate of the Organizing Committee. He compiled a report after the Games, in which he outlined the different doping testing procedures, which were more comprehensive than in Grenoble but still lacked standardization. Like Thiebault, in hindsight of the Grenoble Games, he argued that standardized regulations concerning the doping analysis were needed:
Among its functions, the Medical Commission can officially establish the analysis techniques to be applied in all sports events controlled by the I.O.C. and provide the standards of the drugs to the laboratory responsible for the analysis. It can also give counsel, as a form of collaboration, to those responsible for analysis in the future. 20

This task, as envisaged by Thiebault and Hay, would consequently fall to the persons responsible for doping control and doping analysis at the next Olympic Games in Sapporo and Munich.

Enter Manfred Donike

After the 1968 Games, the IOC Medical Commission published its first official list of classes of banned substances, and testing procedures became more and more standardized. 21 However, questions of responsibilities for testing arose, with Brundage continuously trying to shift the doping controls to the International Federations. Consequently, the IOC Medical Commission decided to publish a doping control brochure to manifest its position. The brochure contained articles on the doping problem in general, doping analysis, and the technical organization of the doping controls at the 1972 Games in Sapporo and Munich. This was the first time that an official doping control program, including guidelines for the doping analysis, had been published. The chapter on doping analysis was written by Professor Arnold Beckett, who was a member of the IOC Medical Commission and a pioneer in the development of doping control and analysis. 22 Also involved in the preparation of the chapter was Dr. Manfred Donike, whose role was to organize the doping analysis at the Games in Munich. Donike had already been engaged in doping analysis since 1966 as part of his occupation at the German Sport University Cologne, and published his first paper on the detection of performance enhancing substances in 1966. 23 In 1969 he was successful in his attempt to synthesize N-Methyl-N-trimethylsilyl trifluoracetamide, which is still used as a substance for derivatisation in gas-chromatography (GS) today. Due to his previous achievements, the Organizing Committee of the Munich Games chose him and the doping laboratory at the German Sport University to coordinate and supervise the doping controls at the Munich Games. Consequently, Donike was also present at the preparatory meetings of the IOC Medical Commission and the Organizing Committee prior to the Games, from which the analytical methods for the examination of the doping samples were determined. 24

The doping protocol for the Munich Games for which Beckett (for the IOC Medical Commission) and Donike (for the Organizing Committee) were primarily responsible, and which was published in the IOC brochure, can be separated into five parts: (1) selection of athletes, (2) sample-taking, (3) analysis, (4) evaluation of the results of the analysis, and (5) sanctions. Whereas parts 1, 2 and 5 were under the responsibility of the IOC Medical Commission, Donike and his team were responsible for parts 3 and 4, the analysis and the evaluation of the results of the analysis. The report on doping controls at the Munich Games states that, for many decades, doping analysis was the weak point of doping controls, and that existing methods were not sufficient to prove the usage of certain substances. 25 However, in the years leading to the Munich Games, methods were developed that led to the possibility of standardizing the analytical part of the doping controls. Since the main challenge of doping analysis during mega-sporting events is the large number of samples that have to be analyzed in a short period of time, the methods have to be standardized and chosen carefully. 26 The following analytical steps were undertaken during the Games in Munich, thus instituting the first protocol for doping analysis within the Olympic Movement: 27

1 If possible, the analysis has to be conducted within 24 hours, starting with the arrival of the sample at the laboratory.
2 The analysis encompasses the following steps:
   2.1 Screening
   Thin-layer chromatography on non-volatile substances and gas chromatography on volatile substances.
   2.2 Identification
   a) gas chromatography with two columns of different polarity and derivation before the gas chromatography analysis or the assay of the Kovats-Indices.
   b) Alternatively: combined chromatography (thin-layer and gas) with mass or infrared spectroscopy.
   c) A substance is proven if the measured value coincides with the value of an authentic comparable value

3 With the exception of the head of the laboratory and the laboratory staff only the following people can get access to the labs: Members of the IOC Medical Commission, people authorized by the Head of the IOC Medical Commission, the Head of the doping controls.

The doping control team in the laboratory in Munich eventually included six chemists, six biologists, two medical doctors, three chemical-technical assistants, two technical assistants, and one secretary. President of the Munich Medical Commission was Professor Gottfried Schönholzer, who was more involved in the administrative and political tasks rather than the actual testing procedures. Doping protocol compliance control was under the supervision of Beckett and Donike. This was also pointed out in a letter by Brundage to the President of the Organising Committee of the Munich Games, Willi Daume, in which he calls Daume’s attention to the need for strict observance of the cooperation between the IOC Medical Commission and the doping laboratories. Due to the intervention of Professor Schönholzer, laboratory processes were disrupted, a matter that greatly concerned the IOC President. These complications have also been noted in the report of the doping control team. Thus, one can say that Brundage quickly realized the significance of Donike’s role in the conduct of doping controls and the analysis of samples. As Beckett was equally knowledgeable regarding the technical questions, Brundage wanted the two to cooperate directly. It is also notable that prior to the Games, Donike received a letter from the German Democratic Republic inquiring whether four of their doctors could assist the doping analysis. However, this request was denied by the IOC Medical Commission and Donike.

In total, 2,079 athlete urine and 65 blood samples were taken and analyzed by the 1972 Munich doping laboratory, all in accordance with the newly implemented protocol. This remains the third highest number of samples taken at the Olympic Games to date. Even Manfred Donike himself noted that the doping controls conducted at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich were the first ones “which deserve this assertion”.

Conclusion

As outlined, the IOC has shown a long-standing interest in the problem of doping within the Olympic Movement. As early as 1937 a Commission was set up to conduct research on the matter. However, not only did it take until the death of cyclist Knud Jensen for the IOC to act more rigorously, it would take a further 35 years until standardized doping controls were introduced at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972. The wide-ranging effect of the newly adopted doping protocol and its implementation under the supervision of the German biochemist Manfred Donike from the German Sport University Cologne can, however, not be emphasized highly enough. Many national and international
federations have adopted the standards set in Munich; what is more, many of the regulations that were introduced for the doping analysis at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games are still used. For example, laboratories still have to provide reports within 24 hours, every testing procedure must contain the analysis of four control samples, and the GC separation and MS detection instruments that are used today have been developed on the basis of apparatuses used by Donike in 1972. It was the aim of the doping control team of the Munich Games to “set internationally approved standards with the doping controls at the 1972 Olympics in Munich”, and the long-lasting legacy leaves no doubt that this objective has been reached. Furthermore, Arnold Beckett and Manfred Donike were given the responsibility to accredit and supervise doping laboratories at future Olympic Games. Although the IOC was, and still is, heavily criticized for its doping policies and the inconsistency in protecting the honourable and ethically justifiable dimensions of its motto Citius—Altius—Fortius, one has to acknowledge that the introduction of tests and an official doping testing protocol at the beginning of the 1970s speak to the organization’s awareness of the increasing problem. The numerous scientific advances in doping analysis made in the same time period certainly supported this attitude as one should not forget that success in doping control depends on functioning doping analysis procedures. In light of this, the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich can be seen as the turning point in the doping control system within the Olympic Movement, which led the way for extensive doping controls in subsequent Olympic Games.

**Endnotes**


2 Pierre De Coubertin, “Sports Psychology,” in *Olympism. Selected Writings*, ed. Norbert Müller (Lausanne: Comité International Olympique, 2000), 148: “The task that he [sportsman] accomplishes is one that he has set for himself. Since he does not need to return to this task the very next day to earn his living, there is no reason for him to conserve his energy. In this way he is able to cultivate effort for effort’s sake, to seek out obstacles, to place a few obstacles in his own path, and always to aim a little higher than the level he must achieve.”


4 Minutes of the 37th Session of the IOC, Warsaw, 7-11 June, 1937, 2. In these days doping could only mean the consumption of stimulants, narcotics and possibly alcohol. Testosterone was discovered in 1935 for which the noble prize has been awarded. Of course, steroids were known before but the genuine anabolic steroid was not characterized before 1935.

5 Research on this is followed in a bigger research project on the history of doping by the two authors of the article.


7 Minutes of the 37th Session of the IOC, Warsaw, 7-11 June, 1937.

8 “The use of drugs or artificial stimulants of any kind must be condemned most strongly, and everyone who accepts or offers to dope, no matter in what form, should not be allowed to participate in amateur meetings or in the Olympic Games.” Minutes of the 38th Session of the IOC, Cairo, 13-18 March, 1938.


He was to become governor of New Zealand.

For a complete history on the high-altitude issue prior to the Mexico City Games, see: Alison M. Wrynn, “A debt was paid off in tears’: Science, IOC politics and the debate about high altitude in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics,” The International Journal of the History of Sport 23, no.7 (2006), 1152-1172.

Report by Doctor Thiebault on the Grenoble Games to the IOC Medical Commission, Grenoble, 1968.

Ibid.

The short period in the preparation to the Mexico City Games was interrupted by a struggle between Brundage and De Merode. Whereas the former one wanted to give the responsibility of testing to the International Federations, De Merode eventually succeeded with his argumentation that fair testing procedures could only be implemented through the IOC Medical Commission. See: Thomas Hunt: Drug Games. The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 36.

General Report on the Work of the Medical Commission of the International Olympic Committee during the Games of the XIXth Olympiad presented by Dr. Eudardo Hay, Member of the Organizing Committee, Mexico, September-October, 1968.


Dimeo, History, 106. Beckett and his colleagues from the School of Pharmacy at Chelsea College of Science and Technology in London had worked on methods to find drugs already since 1958.


Minutes of the meeting of the IOC Medical Commission in the offices of the Organizing Committee in Munich, Munich, 12 June, 1970.


Minutes of the Meetings of the IOC Medical Commission, Munich, 21st, 23rd, 25th and 26th August, 1972, 9. For example, he held the negotiations with the different International Federations concerning the numbers and locations of tests. In particular in Yachting this was an important issue as the events were staged in Kiel and consequently doping controls were conducted there as well.

Avery Brundage. Letter to Willi Daume, 4th September 1972, IOC. Brundage also recommends that Professor Schönholzer, who had interfered the doping controls, should not be involved in the doping control.


Minutes of the Meetings of the IOC Medical Commission, Munich, 21st, 23rd, 25th and 26th August, 1972, 2-3. Although the presence of GDR doctors was not granted throughout the Games, the Medical Commission decided on the same meeting that the laboratories will be opened for one doctor from each nation prior to the Games.

Hemmersbach, “History”, 840.


Hemmersbach, “History”, 839.

Clasing, Donike & Klümpner, “Dopingkontrolle (III),” 306.
The Politics of Olympic Transportation Planning: 
The Case of the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games

Tuna Batuhan
The Florida State University, U.S.A.

The political situation and institutional structure determines the policy approach that a host city will use to prepare for the Olympic Games. Although each host city uses fixed strategies to plan for the short-term event, the outcome of these strategies mostly depends on a host city’s political structure and its institutional culture. In other words, the impact of mega-events on a host city’s long-term planning strategy varies according to the choice to continue using these strategies in the long-term and is restricted by the host city’s planning traditions. In this sense, this paper will analyze and evaluate the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games by focusing on the role of institutions, politics, and power relations on Olympic transportation planning in order to gain a better understanding of the positive and negative impacts of the events on Atlanta. This is particularly important given the fact that the impact of Olympic Games on a host cities’ long-term policy-making process has largely remained understudied, and this study represents an initial attempt to explore this phenomenon.

Introduction

The Olympics are not just a sporting competition, but are also an international phenomenon in many respects. This spirit of competition is shared by rival candidate cities. In order to win their bids to host the Olympic Games, cities must put their best foot forward. Since the 1984 Los Angeles Games, the Olympics have grown in many aspects, mainly due to the financial success of the Los Angeles Games and the increasing economic potential of the Games. Thus, the event planning process becomes more comprehensive and more challenging.

The Olympic Games generate a demand not only for the event itself, but also for other related services, including transportation. The transportation concept is one of the technical criteria used to evaluate the candidate cities’ capacity to host the Olympic Games, and is also one of the main legacies left by the Games. Olympic Transportation Plans—as a connective element of different activities which play a crucial role to avoid underutilization of resources, infrastructure, and facilities—use the correct modes for development pattern by linking policy and transportation to achieve long-term planning goals with a more efficient and strict schedule. Regardless of their hidden agendas, improved transportation service is a major goal for each Olympic host city, since the demand for transport peaks during the short time period of the event. Quality public transportation is the backbone to passenger movement for the Olympics. All game areas are designed to be accessible by pub-
lic transportation, while other modes of transportation, such as parks, automobile lanes, bike lanes, and sidewalks for pedestrians, are linked to it.

The Olympic Games require years of event preparation and pose one of the biggest global planning challenges. As such, urban planning is an essential part of the events planning process, and the event itself provides an exceptional stage to seek long-term approaches. Since mega-events have an impact on cities beyond sport, and these non-sport outcomes may be even more important than the sporting outcomes, the events can be analyzed from an urban perspective in terms of how post-event usage, with its side effects and parallel linkages, relates to urban processes.2

1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games

The Atlanta region’s population has grown rapidly in the last few decades. Especially after the Olympics, the region has attracted millions of people and the economy has expanded. Class and racial separation are the two characteristics of the region. Historical class and racial separation became permanent with the edge-city suburban development, exclusionary suburban land-use regulations, and weak fair-housing enforcement, which created two separate cities: black south and white north.3 It is mostly the city’s downtown business leaders who control local politics by influencing elected officials. This political environment in Atlanta leads to policy decisions that neglect public interests and undermine regional and social needs because of a narrowly defined private interest.4 Limited vision, class and race segregation, along with the lack of attention to fundamental issues, created serious problems that were transferred to the future decision makers of the city.

After President Reagan eliminated several federal aid programs geared toward urban policy in 1984, U.S. cities had to look for other funding sources and, for Atlanta, the Olympics provided the perfect economic impetus to focus on the revitalization of the downtown area.5 Atlanta’s bid for hosting the Olympic Games can be understood as the product of an active growth coalition that already existed within the city. For Atlanta, the vision and the central motivation among growth elites were to show that Atlanta was a “world-class” city that was capable of hosting the Olympic Games. In order to justify local development plans, public policy strategies promoted tourism, and the Olympic Games provided the promotional means to reach a broader population.6 For Atlanta, the Olympic bid was not just about hosting a major sporting event, but to transform the city into a city with world-class amenities and business opportunities. Atlanta’s bid was considered strong in terms of its concepts for transportation, in particular, its plans to enhance its airport so that it was a world-leader in terms of capacity and passenger safety and comfort, as well as its plans to enhance existing sport facilities, accommodations, and communication systems. However, these concepts created serious problems during the Games.7

The business elites were pushing for Atlanta to bid for the Olympics. The Atlanta bid was developed under the leadership of Billy Payne, a real-estate attorney and former baseball player. Payne’s vision and determination, along with the support of his friends, collectively known as the “Crazy Atlanta Nine,” later formed the Atlanta Organizing Committee (AOC), which enabled Atlanta to host the Olympics in 1996.8 The members of the AOC preferred an organizational structure where decision-making could be closely controlled and operations would be less subject to public oversight. The Atlanta Olympics included the features of Los Angeles Games, with a minimum of new public investment and a maximization of private profit,9 mainly because the Games were privately funded. A “No New Taxes” pledge was at the heart of the bid to generate and maintain public support for the Games, which also had the effect of limiting government involvement on major decisions.10 The lack
of public involvement and public funding also meant that implementing comprehensive and integrated planning was limited.

The goal of the Olympic transportation plan in Atlanta was to confine activities to a constricted area to shorten travel time between venues. Thus, major venues and events were concentrated within the “Olympic Ring” circle, a space occupying 3.1 miles (5 km) in diameter in downtown Atlanta. The Olympic Transportation System (OTS) was created to coordinate all transportation systems so as to provide sufficient service. The ACOG voluntarily took responsibility for spectator transportation based on the assumption that Olympic officials could not be moved efficiently if the public movement was not controlled. For ACOG, Atlanta’s transportation system prior to the Games was incapable of providing service to millions of people during the Olympics. Based on this argument, the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) formulated a plan to use the existing bus and rail systems, as well as put into place a temporary bus system that would operate during the Games only; the temporary bus system included 1475 buses borrowed from more than 65 transit agencies throughout the U.S.11 Overall, the transit system met MARTA’s expectations and delivered about 14.4 million one-way trips, while the supplemental bus system delivered almost 4 million one-way trips during the Olympics.12

The Legacy of the Atlanta Olympics

Atlanta’s Olympic efforts were primarily aimed to meet the IOC’s requirements in an efficient way, from Games organization to architecture, with limited infrastructure investment. In other words, Atlanta, as a “pragmatic and bottom-line-oriented city,” reflects the characteristic of the 1990s, “a decade of stringency and moderated expectations.”13 An Olympic bid was thought to be the logical next step for Atlanta to grow and to put the city on the world map. The goal of the Atlanta Games was to promote business development, create a world-class city image, and attract international business to the area. After staging the Games, several companies relocated to Atlanta, and the Games was one of the important reasons for achieving this.

Although Atlanta prioritized creating a world-class city image instead of creating permanent physical legacies, the city itself and its universities, particularly Georgia Tech and Georgia State University, benefitted from the physical facilities that were built for the Games, including Centennial Olympic Park, Olympic Stadium, the Georgia Tech Aquatic Center, the twelve upgraded pedestrian corridors, the new international concourse, the central atrium at Hartsfield International Airport, and the ITS System.14 On the other hand, the Olympics left a negative legacy among low-income minority residents and neighborhoods, intensified social problems, and deepened existing divides among residents. For example, the Olympic Stadium construction inflicted further damage on the low-income black neighborhoods in the area, and their limited role in Olympic Planning prevented local governments to take action and protect these people from damage.15

Politics of the Atlanta Olympics

The difficulties that city leaders face within the broader political and economic environment, as well as changes in federal policy and the international economy, force American cities to play an entrepreneurial role with regard to the Olympic Games, viewing the Games as a way to achieve local economic goals.16 Atlanta’s bid for hosting the Olympic Games can be understood as the product of this entrepreneurial growth approach. In Atlanta, the Olympic bid occurred because of the existence of an urban growth regime that aimed to provide a way to overcome the weaknesses of city government
and benefit local businesses. The basic idea of regime theory is that the political leaders and businesses establish an “informal agreement,” which consists of a network of well-established connections built on trust between business and political leaders.\(^\text{17}\) Both government and business have an interest in local politics, and the urban regime fosters an environment whereby “the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interest function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions.”\(^\text{18}\) In this sense, for any city, “an Olympic bid does not involve all the individuals who may be part of the informal governing structure of a city, but it does illustrate in a concrete fashion how business resources and governmental authority come together to undertake a policy initiative.”\(^\text{19}\) For Atlanta, the vision and the central motivation among growth elites was to show that Atlanta was a world-class city that was capable of hosting the Olympic Games. The main goal for business leaders was to encourage companies to re/locate their regional and national headquarters and offices to Atlanta, thereby creating a commercial legacy from the Games. The commercially orientated perspective of the planners resulted in a legacy that favored the development of the commercial downtown district rather than neighborhood renewal.

**Conclusion**

Many cities from different parts of the world have already hosted the Olympic Games, and each has taken a unique approach to addressing public transportation needs. As a result, the strategies developed for each city have resulted in the application of diverse planning principles. While each of the host cities have used similar strategies, their distinct transportation cultures have resulted in different outcomes. Transportation management is generally a major issue for host cities, and this was especially true in Atlanta.

In Atlanta and the outlying areas, individual political power bases created a situation where no other city, town, or county wanted to combine its problems, resources, or efforts with those of Atlanta, and any metro-wide cooperation was seen as a threat to this status quo.\(^\text{20}\) Furthermore, Atlanta was largely divided along political and racial lines, which posed additional barriers for achieving metro-wide cooperation and coordination. Within its unique planning environment, the Olympics helped to make the process faster, fostering cooperation and coordination among the different agencies.\(^\text{21}\) However, sustaining collaboration was challenging because of the political, cultural, historical, and social boundaries, and it was hard to expect the same motivation and concentration from each authority. Since the emergent problems caused by the Olympics are temporary, it becomes easier to agree on a “potentially controversial strategy” for each agency or authority, but once the Games are over, disagreements can easily rise again.\(^\text{22}\) Many of the changes in the way of thinking and operating do not continue after the Games.

Each Olympic host city’s experience is unique, and this experience is not necessarily transferable for solving current policy problems of the city. However, it does provide some policy alternatives for the future. Understanding the organizer’s agendas and priorities, as well as their decision-making processes, for transportation planning can also provide insight for the future Olympic organizers. The Olympic experience of Atlanta shows that the Games had a limited impact on renovating the host city. Even though the economic and physical benefits of the event were clear, transportation policy culture did not change significantly because of the lack of a comprehensive planning effort and funding. The city focused more on the “Olympics-as-sport” side and overlooked the needs of communities are disregarded.\(^\text{23}\) In sum, focusing primarily on short-term, visual success, rather than a systematic linking of means and ends does not create long-term legacies.
Endnotes


4 Ibid.


6 Ibid.


9 Ibid.


15 Keating, “Atlanta”.


17 Ibid.


19 Burbank et al., “Olympic Dreams,” 158.


21 Ibid.


How Social Factors Developed Sport Legacies after the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games

Keiko Homma & Naofumi Masumoto
Tokyo Metropolitan University, Japan

Abstract

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) introduced the Olympic Games Global Impact indicators (OGGI), in 2003 to measure the impact of the Olympic Games on host cities and nations. The OGGI later underwent review and, in 2007, was renamed the Olympic Global Impact (OGI). The OGI requires Organizing Committees of Olympic Games (OCOGs) to submit four reports covering economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts over 12 years, spanning two years before bidding for the Olympics to three years after hosting the Games. The introduction of the OGI was a significant step towards sustainable development of the Olympic Games. However, some researchers have pointed out several concerns with the study, including: (1) the availability of data required for the OGI reports, (2) administrative responsibility for conducting the OGI and length of the study period, and (3) methodological issues. The observations made in the prior analyses indicate that analysing process and relationship would be more important to understand legacies than analysing outcome. For example, in terms of sport legacies, which are considered to be a primary objective of Olympism, social factors such as sport policy, education, sport participation, and change in lifestyle should be analysed. This study will test that hypothesis by analysing the process of national sport policy determination and the relationship between sport policy and the Olympic Games. In this paper, Australian sport policies and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games are examined to better understand the long-term legacies of Olympic Games.

Introduction

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) introduced the Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI) indicators in 2003 to measure global impacts made by the Olympic Games. The OGGI consisted of 154 indicators covering areas of economic, social, and environmental concern, and required each OCOG to submit four reports over 11 years, from two years before being selected to host the Olympics to two years after hosting the Games. Afterwards, the OGGI was reviewed, with the original intent being to address the problem of data collection. As the result, the number of indicators was reduced to 120 and the study period extended to 12 years, with the one-year extension being applied to the post-Games period. The study also underwent a name change in 2007, to the Olympic Games Impact (OGI). The current four OGI reports consist of a baseline report, a pre-Games report, a Games report, and a post-Games report.
For the IOC, it was important to understand how the Olympic Games generated positive and/or negative impacts on the host city and nation. Minimizing negative impacts and maximizing positive legacies became an issue from the viewpoint of social responsibility and sustainability. Therefore, the introduction of the OGI was a significant step towards a sustainable Olympic Movement. However, once the OGI started, researchers pointed out various concerns with the study, including: (1) Difficulty collecting all of the data required to complete the OGI.³ (2) As temporary organisations, OCOGs are not suited for OGI report creation and long-term legacy analysis.⁴ (3) Inconsistencies in methodology impaired trend analysis and data comparison⁵. One of the reasons why those issues emerged was the fact that the OGI is an outcome-based impact study. Girginov and Hills explained two approaches to conducting evaluations. A positivist or functionalist view is an approach that evaluates the functionality of events or organizations using conventional methods of measurement. However, this approach cannot respond to changes in society. As a result, the constructivist approach emerged in response to address social change, and focuses on process rather than outcomes. Girginov and Hills also refer to sustainable sport development as a process where people participate in sports, and in so doing, enjoy a better quality of life.⁶ This paper will utilise the constructivist approach to analyse Olympic sport legacies.

When looking at the process whereby people come to participate in sports, it is important to consider the social factors involved. The list of social factors may include, for example, sport policy, programs of physical education, the range of community activities available to a population, and changes in lifestyle or health. This research focuses on sport policy and analyses how Olympic sport legacies were developed through intervention by sport policy. Specifically, this research focuses on the relationship between Australian sport policies and the Olympic Games. In addition to understand how the Olympic Games and sport policy are interrelated, this paper explores Australian sport policy over 20 years, from the time the city of Sydney bid for the Games to present day.

### Australian Sport Policy and the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games

#### Baseline policy

When the city of Sydney was awarded the 2000 Olympic Games in 1993, the Australian government was in the process of implementing its baseline national sport policy, Maintain the Momentum. The four-year policy spanned the years from 1992 through to 1996, and most of the programs were inherited from the previous policy, Next Step. The intent of Maintain the Momentum was to build on the success of the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games. Next Step also encouraged sport participation, and 88% of primary schools participated in one of the programs. Next Step was considered to be the first comprehensive sport policy in Australian history. For Maintain the Momentum, the government promised AU$5 million in 1992-93 for the Sydney 2000 Bid Committee and AU$150 million to New South Wales for facilities to stage the Games should the bid be successful.⁹
Pre-Games policies

The successful bid for the 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games pushed the local and national government to seek further success at the Games. In 1994, another athlete specific program, called the Olympic Athlete Program (OAP), was implemented in addition to existing elite programs as part of the policy strategy. According to the report, *Olympic Athlete Program: Making Great Australians*, the government introduced a two-fold strategy for Australian sport. The strategy aimed to: (1) continue with Maintain the Momentum, at AU$63 million, until the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, and (2) invest AU$135 million into developing and implementing a new, six-year OAP to prepare the Sydney Olympic and Paralympic teams to perform with distinction. The goal for the 2000 Games had been set by the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) as finishing in the top five nations in the medal rankings. To achieve this, Australia needed to win some 60 medals, of which about 20 needed to be gold.\(^\text{10}\) As a result of injecting more funding into sport to ensure Olympic success, the funding rate for elite sport increased from about 20% in 1993-94 to nearly 50% in 1994-95. The Australian Sports Commission (ASC) managed the sport participation programs as well as the elite sport programs, but the rate of funding for sport participation decreased accordingly. The rational underpinning the differential support was that officials believed Olympic success would bring international prestige to Australia, and would lead to positive outcomes in a variety of key areas such as health and the economy. To support its case, the government referred to the example of the gold-medal winning women’s hockey team at the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, Canada, after which the number of registered women hockey players doubled in the four years after the Games.

On the other hand, in 1996, after *Maintain the Moment* completed its four-year cycle, a new four-year federal government sport policy, called *Active Australia*, was introduced. The policy was in effect from 1996 through to 2000. It was the first national participation framework committed to by key stakeholders in sport, recreation, and health. It projected a positive image of Australia as a sport-loving nation. However, key government and non-government organizations identified the need to encourage higher levels of participation among Australians like other developed countries, and, thus, increasing participation in physical activity became a high public health priority.\(^\text{11}\) According to the 1995 National Health Survey, nearly 40% of adults reported that they did not exercise. The rate of male respondents who reported they did not exercise increased from nearly 35% to about 42% in 1995. In response to this trend, the goals of the Active Australia policy were set as follows: (1) to increase and enhance lifelong participation, (2) to realise the social, health, and economic benefits of participation, and (3) to develop quality infrastructure, opportunities, and services to support participation.\(^\text{12}\) It was believed that sport participation generally could be leveraged with Olympic success.

Post-Games policies

In the wake of Australian success at the 2000 Sydney Games, the federal government determined that success in elite sport should be a priority and implemented a new four year policy, titled *Backing Australia’s Sport Ability: A More Active Australia*. Since the OAP expired at the end of the 2000 Games, the new policy integrated both elite sport and grassroots sport participation programs. The government allocated approximately AU$547 million in total for the policy.\(^\text{13}\) In terms of grassroots sport, the policy focused on increasing participation in sport, especially among school-aged children and in rural areas by building a network between government, local, and national sporting organisations and schools. There was a notion that a larger number of players would generate more winners. Thus, a new initiative called Australian Youth Olympic Festival (AYOF) was introduced for youth sport
development. The AYOF was developed in partnership with the AOC as a legacy of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. The AYOF commenced in 2001 and has been held every two years since then.

On the other hand, the data raised awareness and concerns about the need for more physical activity for children. The report “Healthy Weight 2008,” published in 2003 by the Australian government, identified obesity, particularly in childhood, as a major public health issue with serious implications for Australian life. In response, the government introduced the Active After-School Communities Programme as part of the next sport policy, Building Australian Communities through Sport, which was implemented for the 2004 to 2008 policy cycle. The program was for primary school-aged children, and provided for structured physical activities after school, between 3:00 and 5:30 p.m. The program included activities that facilitated skill development (e.g., running, jumping, throwing), as well as activities that encouraged competition in sport. Furthermore, the government initiated examinations of in-school physical activity and then required primary and junior secondary schools to include at least two hours of physical activity per week. The initiatives targeted children were not directly related to the Olympic Games. Rather, they were implemented in response to widespread health concerns for children.

Australian Olympic success was repeated at the 2004 Athens Games, but challenges in global competitiveness did emerge. By now, sport policy, sport science, technology, and sport specific institutions were developed in many countries. Talented coaches were headhunted by and ended up working for rival nations. The cost of winning at the Olympic Games had increased, while the social cost for health was likewise projected to increase due to inactive lifestyles and an aging society. Policymakers were required to allocate budgets that taxpayers would understand. Those challenges led Australia to review its sport policy. In 2009, an independent sport panel published a report, “The Future of Sports in Australia,” after consultation with key stakeholders and the general public. The report identified problems and recommendations on issues such as an unbalanced budget allocation between elite sport and grassroots sport and physical activity participation. A new sport policy, Pathway to Success, was established in 2010 in response to these issues. With the new policy, the government allocated more funding than before to grassroots sport and physical activity. And for the first time, the government built networks between grassroots sport and elite sport. It also recognised and supported Olympic sports as well as non-Olympic professional sports, which were popular in Australia. In addition, funding was provided to maintain and enhance sports facilities, some of which became public space for community use. Those review shifted the sport policy from elite sport toward sport participation more than before, with a concomitant shift in administrative responsibility – sport became positioned under the Department of Health and Aging.

Conclusion

In Australia, sports policies are reviewed every four years, and these reviews coincide with the Summer Olympic Games. As a result, and in an effort to garner Olympic success, government budget allocations have likewise prioritised elite sport over general physical activity. It is clear that the Olympic Games have had a significant impact on sport policy planning and implementation. Furthermore, hosting the Games accelerated the trend regarding budget allocation, but social change led to some reconsideration of government priorities. During the pre-Games period, in 1996, a sport participation specific policy, Active Australia, was introduced to address public health issues while funds were shifting to elite sport. This policy targeted all ages and aimed to promote lifelong sport participation. However, that direction was changed to children and youth after the 2000 Games. Thus, in 2001, to develop future Olympic athletes, the AOC organized the AYOF. The AYOF has also contrib-
uted to sport education and participation among children. The event attracted more youth athletes nationally and internationally, and later some of the AYOF athletes brought Olympic success to their countries. The AYOF timeframe was changed to every four years after the 2010 Youth Olympic Games, but the event could be considered as a lasting successful sport legacy.

More than ten years after the 2000 Games, Australian sport policy was shifted to focus on grassroots sport and physical activity. Positioning sport as a health concern, and placing administrative responsibility for sport under the auspices of Health was a key turning point in Australian sport history. It was a turning point that sport was positioned under the health category. In the policy review process, there was a discussion about “what is sporting success?” Australians had been winning at the Olympic Games; however, the current question would address the issue of sporting success in the context of a sustainable society. This question would also relate to sustainable Olympic Movement. The answer has not been found yet.

Endnotes


8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.


12 Ibid.


The ‘Spirit of Sport’: Understanding the Cultural Foundations of Olympism through Anti-Doping Policies

Ian Ritchie
Brock University, Canada

There are many ways in which the term “spirit” is used in everyday vernacular. However, two of the most common ways in which the term is—what the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) lists as the first and third most common—are pertinent to its use in relation to the Olympic Games and as a justification for anti-doping policies and regulations. First, the OED defines spirit as “[t]he animating or vital principle in man (and animals); that which gives life to the physical organism, in contrast to its purely material elements; the breath of life.” Second, it is “[a] supernatural, incorporeal, rational being or personality, usually regarded as imperceptible at ordinary times to the human senses, but capable of becoming visible at pleasure, and freq. conceived as troublesome, terrifying, or hostile to mankind.”

This paper provides a brief outline for understanding a genealogy of the “spirit” of Olympic sport, in as much as the term refers to the ‘inherent’ or ‘essential’ values used to justify anti-doping prohibitions. Specifically, the World Anti-Doping Agency’s (WADA) World Anti-Doping Code states that drug rules “seek to preserve what is intrinsically valuable about sport. This intrinsic value is often referred to as ‘the spirit of sport,’ it is the essence of Olympism.” This paper will claim that while WADA calls upon a notion of spirit that is in line with the first OED definition provided above, it is in fact the second definition—the idea of an apparition, and one that becomes “visible at pleasure”—that is much more accurate. What follows cannot by any means be a complete genealogy of the “spirit of sport,” however this paper does attempt to create a framework for thinking about this term through a consideration of some important examples. As such, while only preliminary in nature, the following examples are important ones that seriously question the legitimacy of using the term “spirit” to justify anti-doping prohibitions.

When French critic Roland Barthes referred to myth as that which “deprives the object of which it speaks of all history,” he was attempting to overcome a common perception that myths simply hide or falsify the world. Barthes’ argued that myths are instead powerful elements in cultural belief systems based precisely on what they portend to make self-evident, clear, and most importantly, ‘natural’. For example, the Tour de France, as Barthes explained it, is a spectacle that appears to provide “total clarity of relations between man, men, and Nature” or, in other words, for spectators the Tour provides a sense of wonderment of riders’ genuine athleticism. However, the Tour, as myth, disguises “the economic motives, the ultimate profit of the ordeal,” which, he points out, are the “material generator of the ideological image” that is viewed and admired by its spectators. In their recent discus-
sion of myth and the Olympic Games, specifically the two important myths of “peaceful internationalism” and “all-inclusive universalism.” Toby Rider and Kevin Wamsley reiterate much the same idea about myth and sport, citing Barthes’ other famous example of wrestling, in which the wrestler achieves great mythical proportions inside the ring while, outside of it, he is once again transformed to a ‘mere mortal’. Barthes’ applied his nuanced ideas about the role of myth to the sports of cycling and wrestling, but the same ideas could equally be applied to the Olympic Games and the current—and past—role the “spirit of sport” plays, both in general and specifically to anti-doping policies.

It is crucial to consider the manner in which founder Pierre de Coubertin built images of grandeur and universalism for his social movement in order to overcome the obstacles he faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, it is important to consider the manner in which myth making was part of the Olympic project from the start. Coubertin could not realize the ideals of his educational project, overcome the apathy of various national sport officials, including most importantly those from Britain, the United States, Germany, and even his own France, nor would he be able to prevent the first host nation’s organizers from overtaking his interests in pursuit of ones of Greek nationalism, without shaping into people’s minds a sense that his Olympic Games represented a universal version of sport that had essentialist characteristics and was ‘pure’. Sophisticated in propaganda and social marketing, Coubertin took full advantage of image-creating techniques to garner support.

First, Coubertin sought to establish a ‘mythology of continuity’ between the ancient Games and his proposed modern ones in his attempt to make his version appear to stand above the crass materialism of industrial capitalism. In his words, unlike the material world of “advertisement and bluff… where athletic sports are likely to be commercially exploited,” the Olympic Games for Coubertin were to “inspire reverence.” Ancient sport, Coubertin continued, was “pure and magnificent” and to Olympia “young men, who, imbued with a sense of the moral grandeur of the Games, went to them in a spirit of almost religious reverence.” Imbuing Coubertin’s movement with quasi-religious qualities was also crucial to the achievement of his goals, and while it is well known that Coubertin attempted to elevate the status of his modern Games to a religion, this social marketing tool was also one that linked back to the ancient origins of ‘pure’ sport. In a radio address from Geneva in 1935, Coubertin told his audience that “[t]he primary, fundamental characteristic of ancient Olympism, and of modern Olympism as well, is that it is a religion” and that his Games would instil “a religious sentiment…[similar to the] religious sentiment that led the young Hellenes, eager for the victory of their muscles, to the foot of the altars of Zeus.”

While Coubertin’s linking of modern sport to ancient was powerful and persuasive, we of course now know that the sporting festivals in ancient Greece were vastly different. The real games of ancient times were, like all sporting festivals in history, imbedded in the material conditions of their time. They involved athletes akin to professional warriors fighting for city-state favors and privileges more so than the genteel amateurs Coubertin envisioned; they were so intimately linked to military training that ‘sporting’ contests were frequently brutal, violent struggles; and in general they bore little resemblance to Coubertin’s inspiring prose and imagery.

Also, it is now known that Coubertin’s self-proclamation that he was the re-generator of age-old traditions was somewhat deceitful. David Young has shown that Coubertin used other Olympic movements in Greece and England in the mid-to-late nineteenth century as models for his own. For example, admiring the sporting movement inspired by Englishman William Penny Brookes, whose work led to the National Olympic Games held in London’s Crystal Palace in 1866, many years before
the arrival of Coubertin’s first Games, Coubertin would ironically later deny Brookes’ inspiration for his own Olympic movement. As Young says, “[h]istorical evidence clearly demonstrates that Coubertin borrowed the ideas of others for his international festival and knowingly declined to give them appropriate recognition.”

But the profound associations Coubertin made between his movement and the ancient one was important because Coubertin was able to counter competing movements and the nationalistic political interests of various sporting authorities mentioned earlier, while simultaneously fighting against the rising tide of commercial interests in sport by marketing his Games as ‘timeless’ and representing sport in its ‘purest’ form. Even more importantly, the ‘essential’ nature of the Games—one actively created by Coubertin for purposes of social marketing—became a vital part of Olympic branding, even if it was not explicitly referred to as such in the early days. From the earliest bureaucratic and financial challenges facing the movement in the first decades of the twentieth century, to the cold war and the concomitant challenges of using sport ‘performance’ for overt political purposes, to television and rights payments controversies that started in the 1950s, through to the eventual commercialization of the Games and use of athletes for commercial endorsements, the myth of Olympic sport as ‘pure’ and ‘old as the hills’ continued.

IOC president Avery Brundage defended the ‘purity’ of the Olympic brand more than anyone, declaring that Olympic sport “[c]ame to us from antiquity, contributed to and strengthened by the noblest aspirations of great men of each generation, embraces the highest moral laws. No philosophy, no religion, preaches loftier sentiments.” And of course the rules of amateurism formally defended and defined the ‘purity’ and ‘essential’ character of Olympic sport for decades, even though those rules were abandoned by the International Olympic Committee in the 1970s.

Today, the branding of ‘pure’ Olympic sport is alive, well, and acting as a moral justification for the ban on performance-enhancing substances. As mentioned earlier, WADA’s Code reflects Coubertin’s legacy perfectly, defending anti-drug rules based on the “intrinsic value [of] ‘the spirit of sport.’” But such notions, it should be realized, are as sociologically and historically vacuous as we now know Coubertin’s to have been a century ago. First, as has been shown here, even if only briefly, the ideal of ‘pure’ Olympic sport was fabricated right from the start. To believe in such an ideal is to believe in historical mythology. Second, the Olympic Games and the world of contemporary high-performance sport more generally are socially, historically and politically shaped activities that are constituted by, among others, athletes, officials, politicians, spectators, and, in the case of the contemporary period, advertisers, manufacturers, and the media. The competitive events themselves are social practices embedded in a broad and complex network of activities and ideas that constitute and reconstitute a highly competitive, increasingly commercialized and professionalized, and often exploitative international system. The use of banned substances and performance-enhancing practices in high-performance sport is an integral component of the human activities that currently constitute the entire international, high-performance sport system. Although the IOC may want these practices eliminated from high-performance sport internationally, the reality at present is that they have been woven directly into the very fabric of this form of human activity and any reference to some mythical ‘pure’ or ‘authentic’ sport only serves to divorce the use of particular substances from the constitutive practices that have led to their use in the first place.

Finally, historical research of late has shown that the creation of anti-doping rules was based on anything but ‘spirit’. Indeed, it appears that even the most basic notions of ethics were not consulted. Beamish and Ritchie have pointed out that anti-doping rules were created in the 1960s based primarily on their perceived threat to amateurism, concerns with east bloc nations usurping western powers, and associations between drugs and ‘gender bending’ east bloc athletes. Paul Dimeo has demon-
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strated that a relatively small group of medical scientists and sports administrators with conservative views on sport re-shifted public and private discussions about drugs away from the concerns about athletes’ health towards a moral crusade against the ‘evils’ of drugs. Indeed, these and other authors have pointed out that the trajectory of events during the 1950s and 1960s has restricted any open discussion about drugs to this day.

One important—albeit somewhat forgotten—example from Canadian sport gives us some insight into the myths versus the realities of Olympic sport. In Canada’s first drug scandal in 1983 at the Pan American Games in Caracas, Venezuela, 19 athletes tested positive for steroid use, including Canadian weightlifter Guy Greavette. Interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s The Journal only a few days after his positive test results, Greavette spoke openly about the incident, stating that “I started to take steroids in 1980…and then in 1981 I started to take it more regular; I don’t take very much of them, I take them for short periods of time.” Then, responding to a question regarding concerns about potential side effects, Greavette said “I understand there are some risks….I’m sure that there are probably some bad side effects, if you abuse a drug, I don’t feel I have abused it; I’ve used it, but I haven’t abused it.” Greavette’s coach Aldo Roy, also interviewed on The Journal, was asked if he felt a sense of responsibility, to which he responded, “[A]s coaches, we’re all amateurs, we’re all volunteers in this organization; as with other organizations, our duty is to expose the athletes to the pros and cons…I think you have to educate people.”

Greavette’s and Roy’s comments are remarkable because, first, only a few days after a positive test, they spoke candidly about the use of drugs to enhance performance, and without guilt, something athletes and coaches would never do today. Second, both Greavette’s and Roy’s expressions of the ‘relative’ harms from steroids are a far cry from today’s anti-doping policies’ ‘all or nothing’ outlook on the dangers of drugs. Indeed, these comments would be shocking to many who defend antidoping policies, although refreshing statements for many who critique them.

However, more important than both of these reasons, Greavette and Roy symbolically represented, and spoke honestly about, a stage in the Olympic Games where the brute realities of ‘high-performance’ sport had become apparent. Greavette found himself ensconced in that reality and it included the use of a performance-enhancing drug. The Canadian weightlifter, as it turns out, represented the honest truth about the changing nature of Olympic sport. But even as Greavette and Roy spoke, the forces of anti-doping were already well under way in creating yet another version of sport’s ‘essential’ values, one that was to recapitulate Olympic sport’s ‘spirit’ dating back to Coubertin. Athletes or coaches today would not dare speak the truth as Greavette and Roy did; the idea that the use of certain performance-enhancing substances contradicts the essential ‘nature’ of Olympic sport’s ‘spirit’ has become far too entrenched. But in Greavette’s and Roy’s time, this apparition of Olympic sport’s ‘spirit’ was just becoming visible.

Endnotes


6 Ibid., 291.

7 I have also discussed the ‘mythology’ of the 1968 Mexico Games in terms of anti-doping policies. See Ian Ritchie, “Before and After 1968: Reconsidering the Introduction of Drug Testing in the Olympic Games,” in Myths and Milestones in the History of Sport, ed. Stephen Wagg (UK and New York: Palgrave MacMillan), 141-158. See also the other interesting chapters in the same volume that consider various myths in sport.


11 Ibid., 543.

12 Ibid., 543.


15 Young, “From Olympia,” 16.

16 On changing commercial forces in the Olympic Games, see Robert K. Barney, Stephen R. Wenn, and Scott G. Martyn, Selling the Five Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Rise of Olympic Commercialism (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2002); on both political and economic forces in general, see Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie, Fastest, Highest, Strongest: A Critique of High-performance Sport (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).


18 Of course, the rules of amateurism were incredibly complex. For example, see Vanessa Heggie, A History of British Sports Medicine (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 8-12; Beamish and Ritchie, Fastest, Highest, Strongest, 11-30.


21 Beamish and Ritchie, Fastest, Highest, Strongest.

22 Dimeo, A History of Drug Use.


Tracing Olympic Bio-Citizenship:
The Implications of Testing for Ineligibility

Kathryn Henne
Australian National University

This paper explores how the regulation of fair play in sport informs understandings of elite athletes and contributes to a formation of citizenship, which I (rather simply) refer to as athlete-citizenship. These athletes constitute a transnational caste because of their status as exceptional bodies with distinct physical abilities. They are also subject to heightened public scrutiny and surveillance to ensure that their performances are not artificially manufactured or unfairly enhanced by ergogenic aids. These developments, I argue, not only affect athletes’ subjectivity, but also their status as citizen-subjects. Various factors influence citizenship. As Aihwa Ong explains,

_Diverse actors invoke not territorialized notions of citizenship, but new claims—post-national, flexible, technological, cyber-based, and biological—as grounds for resources, entitlements, and protection. … In addition to the nation-state, entities such as corporations and NGOs have become practitioners of humanity, defining and representing varied categories of human beings according to degrees of economic, biopolitical, and moral worthiness._

While citizenship can take on a myriad of configurations including imagined, global, sexual, biological and even genetic dimensions, there is a common tenet: citizenship entails a form of boundary work that delineates insiders—those who enjoy a particular status and benefits—and outsiders—those who may desire such privileges but are denied.

Although a unique domain, sport operates within and alongside other apparatuses of social life. It has been characterized as “a central cultural technology of governing the social body,” one that leverages the elite athlete as “signifier of state power” in order to “help maintain the body of the population to be healthy, efficient, and productive.” Sport’s significance, according to Susan Birrell, rests on “the status of the athlete as exemplary role incumbent with power to mediate between the individuals who comprise the audience and the moral order of the community.” As visible representations of nation, Olympic-caliber athletes are often subject to judgments about their physical integrity in ways that connect with aspirations of national and moral fortitude.

Not all elite athletes are cast as virtuous or held to those expectations. Many spectators actually expect certain (often professional) athletes to be deviant and immoral. Alison Young reminds us that how spectators imagine deviant bodies is arguably more telling than criminalistic acts they may (or may not) commit. These bodies, Young writes, are “textual outlaws” fashioned through a series of “linguistic turns and tricks, the framing and editing devices.” The narratives conveyed through and
around them are the outgrowth of normative and regulatory orders. In this case, the bodies of doped athletes demonstrate not only who has violated the terms of fair play in sport, but also who is not deserving of elite athlete status. The desire for bodily purity is a condition of athlete-citizenship reinforced by regulation. To explain, I first discuss distinctions in citizenship applicable to Olympic sport, focusing specifically on bio-citizenship, and then provide an overview of how anti-doping regulations reveal them. Before doing so, I should note that recent changes to the eligibility requirements in women’s sports highlight the gendered dimensions of gatekeeping fair play, which I have discussed elsewhere. In this piece, I do not focus on those dynamics here but instead provide a broader excavation of athlete-citizenship as it emerges in relation to anti-doping regulation.

**Olympic Sport as a Site of Bio-Citizenship**

Citizenship has been an important facet of the modern Olympic Movement. Early on, the Olympics featured a selective group of athletes. In fact, their founding father Pierre de Coubertin considered the competition an important venue through which to celebrate these men as a particular caste. As Otto Schantz writes,

> He considered that respect for his principles of Olympism would create a “race of sportsmen,” a race sportive. Such use of this term recalls the old signification of race in its sense of distinguished class or noble lineage, and as such it joins the “aristocracy of muscle,” another expression of Coubertin often used to distinguish “true” sportsmen from ordinary people.  

For Coubertin, the Games played an important role in promoting Olympism, a philosophy that encourages individual development by cultivating a strong body, will, and mind. Sport, according to Coubertin, was “a cult, an impassioned soaring which is capable of going from play to heroism.” It was like “a religion with church, dogmas, and ritual,” he wrote, “but most of all with religious feelings.” Coubertin’s fervor for this secular religion, which he even referred to as *religio athletae*, is well documented. Although the Olympic Movement does not uphold all of Coubertin’s ideas, athlete-citizenship maintains dimensions that reflect the former’s tropes, particularly in the valuing of “clean” (or unenhanced by doping) over “dirty” (contaminated) bodies.

The regulation of fair play, particularly anti-doping efforts and the testing of athletes’ biological features, relies upon forms of bodily policing not always rendered explicit in other social contexts or juridical settings. The fundamental characteristics of its jurisdiction are biopolitical. By biopolitical, I refer to features that imbue Foucauldian notions of biopower, the “numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations.” Anti-doping regulation reproduces biopower in two distinct ways: first, it configures around individual bodies in the pursuit of optimized vitality and performance; second (and through the first), we can observe how it aids in the management of a transnational population.

Other ethnographic studies have focused on similar issues, such as biological profiling (namely in relation to genetics) and population control, as they inform state-citizens relations. However, sport offers a site through which to scrutinize biopower in relation to transnational articulations of citizenship. Further, as Olympic drug testing began in the 1960s, it is a distinct form of what Nikolas Rose and Carlos Novas refer to as biological citizenship that also reflects that it has taken “shape in the age of biomedicine, biotechnology, and genomics.” Bio-citizenship, as explained in scholarship on obesity, resonates with sport, because it highlights how the rhetoric and regulation around bodies operates as a form of social control. It demonstrates how medicalized discourses carry very real
consequences for those labeled obese and thus “abnormal,” considering how the social constructiveness of “fatness” and other ideologies conjoin to inform perceptions of health and embodied subjectivities.

Olympians are abnormal citizens who are often synonymous with the positive aspects of embodiment. They are optimally disciplined bodies. Compared to people deemed obese, athletes are bio-citizens who occupy the other end of spectrum: their bodies are celebrated through sport. Elite athletes are often iconic, inhabiting a privileged space within a broader discourse that “configure[s] virtue as an open-ended condition: a state of excellence.” Such virtue discourses, according to Christine Halse, operate across many societies, and indicators of health, such as regular physical activity and lean body frames, are “aligned with self-discipline and moral fortitude, and a high BMI [Body Mass Index] (overweight and obesity) is the binary ‘Other’—the physical manifestation of self-indulgence and a lack of self-discipline and moral fortitude.” Special regulations aimed at athlete-citizens reflect a desire to ensure that they are virtuous subjects, at least in a bodily sense. If athletes fail, they are often vilified as frauds.

In doing so, elite athletes serve a broader biopedagogical function—that is, their performances and narrations of their accomplishments serve as lessons about life and how “to be ‘healthy’ (and good) citizens.” Arguably, however, athletes are normal people, except, as Olympic medalist Kate Schmidt explained in a Los Angeles Times opinion piece in October 2007, “for being born with a singular skill with which they become obsessed.” The physical and psychological markers of training to pursue their obsession can condition athletes to be anything but normal and not necessarily upright in the ways that public discourses suggest. Nonetheless, the athlete-citizen symbolizes optimized life, one that also reflects an ethic of discipline in order to achieve this stature. This stature and its benefits often justify the heightened policing of athletes.

**Gatekeeping Fair Play and Athlete-Citizenship**

Fair play is an ideology of sport expressed as a significant goal by many organizations and campaigns, including the anti-doping movement. Although arguably important, it is not clear what constitutes fair play or what social good it delivers. In fact, some critics characterize anti-doping guidelines as a mistargeted attempt at leveling the playing field, because various forms of global inequality undermine its achievement. The particular idea of fair play valued in anti-doping efforts has roots in amateurism. Under this ethic, the cornerstone of Olympic eligibility until the 1970s, athletes were not to receive payment for their work and were only to compete “in ‘the spirit of chivalry’ and ‘fair play’ as ‘brothers-in-arms’...united by a bond that is stronger than that of mere camaraderie.” Amateurism rendered physical and moral fortitude as inextricably linked. Although there is no longer an amateurism requirement for competitors, the Olympic Games still articulate ideological claims about purity and naturalness. Drug testing, for instance, operates under the auspices that it can detect competitors who are not pure, both physically and ethically.

Athlete-citizenship requires compliance with a supranational regime legally backed by the UNESCO International Convention Against Doping in Sport, which came into force in February 2007. Although initially spearheaded by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) now leads anti-doping efforts. Since its establishment in 1999, WADA’s campaign relies on a hybridized approach. It has drafted, adopted, and implemented the World Anti-Doping Code (the Code), a charter drawn up for the purpose of harmonizing anti-doping efforts across the globe. In total, there are over 160 government signatories to the UNESCO Convention,
regional and national anti-doping organizations, and 600 governing sports bodies that contribute to anti-doping efforts.  

WADA annually updates its official list of banned substances, promotes scientific and medical research to enhance anti-doping detection methods, hosts a global web-based database to assist the implementation of programming, and facilitates the actions of regional and national anti-doping organizations. It also manages outreach efforts and out-of competition testing. WADA’s methods incorporate enforcement and surveillance strategies beyond the collection and analysis of athletes’ urine and/or blood samples. Among them are the Whereabouts Program, which requires athletes to notify authorities where they are for one specific hour for every day of the year for random testing, and the Biological Passport, an electronic record of blood and urine profiles used to document abnormalities that may indicate banned substance use.  

WADA’s mission is broader than enforcing anti-doping regulation. Its website describes it as a transnational community building project of likeminded stakeholders. It seeks to inform popular understandings of sport and its ethics. According to a WADA representative at the most recent World Conference on Doping in Sport, the agency carries the responsibility of “preserving and protecting its [sport’s] integrity.” Thus, anti-doping regulation is not simply concerned about athletes complying with the rules; it is also concerned about their ethics and those of the spectators who follow sport. Undergirding these expectations is the tacit assumption that athletes are to be hard working, disciplined, and never cheat—certainly not by taking banned substances. Beneath this rhetoric lies a contradiction, though. Elite athletes are never natural. They are made, relying on practice and specific training technologies for physical conditioning and recovery.  

Equally telling are the distinctions between athletes and other citizens. Doping is not a condemnable offense in all spheres of social life, and it is not a recent trend. Over a quarter century ago, Harry Edwards argued that “Americans continue to buy and use an ever-expanding volume and variety of such drugs in search of remedies for afflictions both real and imagined. Indeed, we have so ‘medicalized’ the personal and social vicissitudes of life in our society that people who truly use no drugs could well be considered an extremely deviant minority.”  

His point is perhaps more relevant today, as working professionals and university students alike use stimulants and psychostimulant drugs—at times illegally without prescriptions—in order to work longer hours. Others take beta-blockers to calm anxiety in high-stress situations. Even the use of sexual enhancement drugs like Viagra is a form of everyday doping. Sport, however, is an arena where the effects of doping are visible and condemned.  

Concluding Thoughts  

This paper is a preliminary mapping of how anti-doping regulation reveals a distinct form of bio-citizenship. Although not comprehensive, it highlights both imagined and tangible dimensions of athlete-citizenship with the hope of sparking further scrutiny in this field. Although other scholars have discussed global citizenship in relation to sport, there is little investigation into how these regulations come to bear on athletes and how they reflect broader trends in regulatory relations between various actors. As evidenced here, elite athletes are held to different expectations than normal citizens and are subject to a very different set of rules that render them as a distinct caste of subjects. With law supporting the divergent treatment of athletes, we might also ask ourselves: if citizenship is this context is at the same time multi-dimensional yet taken-for-granted and often overlooked, in what other ways are accepted forms of citizenship more complex than how we perceive them?
Endnotes

7 Women were not formally allowed to compete in the first modern Olympic Games.
12 Foucault, 140-141.
17 Halse 2007, 220.
25 See WADA’s website for an updated list of its partner organizations, which it refers to as the Anti-Doping Community: http://www.wada-ama.org/en/Anti-Doping-Community/
26 http://www.wada-ama.org/en/Anti-Doping-Community/
I argue that the Amateur International Boxing Association’s (AIBA) proposed uniform rule, that women boxers compete at the 2012 London Olympic Games in skirts, was sexist and constitutes yet another example of the tension and struggles women Olympians face.

The First Punch

Persistent reinforcement of traditional gender binaries creates the expectation that women be less physically aggressive than males, which explains why boxing heightens the struggle and tension regarding women’s bodies and physical capabilities:

…the masculinity that is in play in boxing is predicated upon a history of risk-taking, danger, adventure, the practice of physical force and exclusivity, all of which constitute the making of traditional masculinities. These masculinities are tied into the particularities of the bodies with which they are associated; that is, men’s bodies as perceived by those who box.¹

Woodward argues that boxing bodies are saturated by disciplinary techniques and involve extensive self-discipline: “Boxing offers an important site for the development of understanding about how ‘we are our bodies’ in a form of ‘direct embodiment.”² She argues that boxers are their bodies and truly only become boxers through practice and physical engagement. Woodward draws an interesting parallel that women’s boxing has been described as conforming to the ‘softer’ regimes of bodily practices associated with femininity rather than as ‘doing’ masculinity. ‘Soft boxing’ could imply throwing punches ‘like a girl,’ which is a direct reference to Iris Marion Young’s classic book, On Female Body Experience: “Throwing Like a Girl” and Other Essays.³

Young argues that the female body is not simply experienced as a direct communication with the active self, but it is also experienced as an object. In terms of sport, this involves constraints of space and repeatedly acting in less assertive and aggressive ways than men. Young argues, “women in sexist society are physically handicapped. Insofar as we learn to live out our existence in accordance with the definition that patriarchal culture assigns to us, we are physically inhibited, confined, positioned, and objectified.”⁴

According to Hargreaves, women’s boxing dates back to the 18th century, when fights were staged between women, and sometimes against men, in the pursuit of money and status. Medical beliefs about innate physical limitations, inappropriateness to take part in strenuous exercise, and the deviation from gender norms all prevented women’s boxing from developing as a widely practiced and accepted sport.² Boxing is at odds with the traditional sense of femininity. Hargreaves further notes,
“women are empowering themselves by appropriating male symbols of physical capital and shifting gender relations of power.” Yet, women boxers are often stereotyped as overweight or husky, manly or butch, lesbian, ugly, or as Foxee7 boxers.8

**Skirting around Sexism**

In the summer of 2009, it was announced that women’s boxing would be added to the 2012 London Summer Olympics program. Despite this major step in increasing gender equity at the Games, there were only be three weight categories (there are 10 divisions for men’s boxing). As a result, 36 slots were included for women and 250 slots for men. Flyweight (112 lb. limit), lightweight (132 lb.) and middleweight (165 lb.) were the respective categories for the women’s competition. Men’s Olympic bouts lasted for three rounds of 3 minutes each, whereas the women’s competition included four rounds of two minutes each. I will not elaborate on the comparisons between men’s and women’s boxing; however, it is relevant to mention a few examples in order to set the stage for the context surrounding the inclusion of women’s boxing in the Olympic Games.

At the 2010 women’s world boxing championships, the AIBA recommended that boxers wear skirts, and most national federations complied.9 North American media was saturated with discussions on the looming ‘skirt rule,’ and media reports highlighted AIBA President Ching-Kuo Wu’s September 2010 troubling claims that some television viewers were having trouble distinguishing the female boxers from men, thus creating a need for women competitors to box in skirts: “People say, ‘we can’t tell the difference between the men and the women,’ especially on TV, since they’re in the same uniforms and are wearing headgear.”10 It is odd to suggest that spectators can’t tell the difference between men and women boxing unless women wear skirts.

A petition on the website change.org indicated that there are “misogynistic implications to making skirts mandatory. Female boxers should no more be forced into a skirt than a male boxer should have a jacket and tie required.” Boxing Canada was opposed to making skirts mandatory, and executive director Robert Crete said, “an athlete should have an option in what he or she wears.”11 On 1 March 2012, the AIBA published its rule changes on its website, and without any grand announcement, stateted that female boxers could wear shorts or skirts (no length was specified).12 Even though sporting a skirt is no longer a requirement, it is necessary to unpack the context surrounding such a rule.

**Boxing Babes**

Hargeaves argued in 1997 that promoters and female boxers themselves wished to promote a feminine image of women’s boxing. There was fear that the women would look more “like blokes,” and some women boxers expressed concern that they would be labeled as “butch.”13 Unfortunately, not much has changed in fifteen years. Halbert argues:

The concept 100% woman has heterosexist implications because “real” women highlight femininity in traditional ways, such as socially approved dress, recognizable use of makeup and “appropriate” hairstyles. This boxer speculates that stereotypical women are actually hurting themselves by not catering to expected standards of femininity. This connection between perceived femininity and marketability is widely recognized by women prize fighters.14

The miniskirt represents ideal femininity and heterosexuality and features the female boxer as an object of desire rather than a subject (a talented female athlete), to use Young’s framing. According to
Mandy Bujold, a Canadian boxer, “there’s going to be a lot of attention on female boxing and a lot of stereotypes are going to be broken. This was a great opportunity for them to be part of breaking that stereotype. The main thing I think is going to change people’s opinions is not what women look like, but how women fight. That’s No. 1. But No. 2, a very common stereotype is how boxers act outside the ring and look outside the ring.” 15 According to Globe and Mail journalist, Katrina Onstead, “Being asked to wear miniskirts is a little like saying, ‘Come to the party, but use the back entrance—and dress like it’s Slutoween.’” 16

The general media perception (North America and UK) was that the rule proposal was ridiculous, failed attempt to ensure ‘womanliness’ in women’s boxing. The actual boxers’ reactions were more varied. For example, Queen Underwood, the lightweight world bronze medalist indicated that she, “was shocked when she opened her box of official gear before the medal rounds and found not only a skirt but what she described as a padded, non-sports bra...thought she had no choice but to wear the outfit.” 17 Natasha Jonas, a British lightweight believed, “there should be a choice—no one should be forced to do anything. In other sports like football and cricket, you aren’t forced to wear skirts so I don’t see why boxing should have to. For me, it doesn’t seem practical. I know there are girls in AIBA who wear skirts all the time. But psychologically, I don’t feel comfortable wearing one.” 18 Additionally, Ireland’s three-time world champion, Katie Taylor, told the BBC, “I don’t even wear miniskirts on a night out, so I definitely won’t be wearing miniskirts in the ring.” 19 Contrary to Underwood and Jonas, the Polish boxing federation forced its female athletes to wear skirts because it was thought the attire made the women appear more “elegant” in the ring. The team’s coach, Leszek Piotrowski, noted, “by wearing skirts, in my opinion, it gives a good impression, a womanly impression.” 20 In contrast, Australian boxing coach Charlie Coumi believed, “It would be like making it a slideshow. People shouldn’t be there to watch their arse, they should be there to watch their gloves.” 21

Mary Spencer, a Canadian boxing champion, said many are misunderstanding that the skirt debate is about the garment’s ease and function, not sexism: “A lot of people who are not in the sport don’t realize how practical it is so they make a big deal about it. You could turn on Friday Night Fights and you’ll see some men who wear a skirt because it’s so practical.” 22 Her rationale is that shorts are sometimes restrictive and can limit leg movement while fighting an opponent. Such an argument has been utilized in the past in terms of uniform regulations and women Olympians. For example, when the Internationale Fédération de Beach Volleyball (FIVB) first proposed that women wear bikini bottoms instead of shorts, some players discussed how this would ease their ability to maneuver around the court. A common counter argument to such a claim involves the notion that if the shorts are so restrictive for female boxers, wouldn’t all boxers, including men, especially at the Olympic level, be looking to adopt a more functional garment? In short, the skirt rule is more about promoting a certain feminine ideal than it is about ensuring proper uniform functionality.

Spencer represents an interesting case amidst the skirt discussion. The beauty company Covergirl signed USA women’s boxer Marlen Exparza and Spencer to celebrate so-called ‘power and strength in beauty.’ “In the advertisements, [they] showcase how powerful makeup can make you look and feel confident from the inside out.” 23 Associating the beauty brand COVERGIRL with women’s boxing also helps to celebrate a more feminine ideal and distance women’s boxing from traditional stereotypes. When Spencer was interviewed in the Toronto Star, she attempted to highlight that even though she was part of this sponsorship campaign, it was not going to change the way she competed, and she would not take steps to emphasize her femininity like wearing makeup during fights:

Even while surrounded by neatly laid out tubes of mascara, eyeliner and lipstick, Spencer said her once-a-week or so makeup routine remains intact. She’s partial to mas-
'Babes Boxing in Skirts:' A Critique of the Proposed AIBA Uniform Rule

‘Cara. ‘I’m always focused on the eyes and making them pop.’ She means of course, with makeup. ‘I’m a very practical person. Am I going to start wearing makeup to the gym? Not at all. Am I going to wear it when I’m competing now? No, I didn’t before because it didn’t make sense and I’m not going to now because it doesn’t make sense.’

The Three B’s: Boxing, Badminton, and Beach Volleyball

As briefly addressed in the previous section, boxing is not the only sport to propose implementing a skirt rule, or some other slight uniform rule modification that is in essence impractical and motivated by highlighting femininity and heterosexuality.

In 1996, the FIVB made its uniform requirements public. The requirements included such rules as, “the briefs should be a close fit and be cut on an upward angle towards the top of the leg.” Christine Brooks argued that such a rule promotes the objectification and sexualization of female athletes, and that the uniform “was designed to use the female players as a sex object to attract an audience…[and to] use sex and eroticism to promote a sport.” On 18 March 2012 (shortly after the boxing ruling), the FIVB announced a modification to its uniform regulation to include a third option for women at the 2012 Games. Players can now wear shorts of a maximum length of 3 cm above the knee. This rule modification does little to change how female Olympians are viewed, and it is suspected that most beach volleyball players will continue to wear the bikini bottoms regardless of the option to wear shorts. “Having examined the evolution of the governance and representation of women’s beach volleyball, we find no evidence of progress in how women are treated or portrayed. Women are still confined to two acceptable roles, sex object or mother, both of which trivialize their athletic abilities and inherent value.”

In 2004, Sepp Blatter, president of Fédération Internationale de Football (FIFA), stated that female soccer players should wear tighter uniforms (described as ‘hot pants’) to promote “a more female aesthetic...let the women play in more feminine clothes like they do in volleyball.” And, in 2001, the Badminton World Federation (BWF) proposed skirts or dresses as regulation uniforms for women players. The BWF’s deputy president, Paisan Rangsikitpho, supported the rule change: “We just want them to look feminine and have a nice presentation so women will be more popular. Interest is declining. Some women compete in oversize shorts and long pants and appear...almost like men.” A highly ranked international badminton player from Scotland, Imogen Bankier, was critical of the rule: “I understand what they are trying to do—make it more appealing to spectators and the media. I don’t think women wearing skirts is going to make it more aesthetically pleasing. If people want to see women in skirts, they will go elsewhere—they won’t go watch badminton.”

Given these cases, boxing officials proposing skirts for their competitors is not a new or unique concept. Rather, it appears to be standard protocol for women’s Olympic sports. There is the belief that in order for women’s Olympic sport to be successful, female athletes should look feminine and spectators should be able to clearly distinguish female competitors from male competitors.

The Knockout

In this essay, I have argued that the proposal to make it mandatory that women boxers wear skirts is rooted in sexism and a strong desire to promote a feminine ideal. Because of the public and media discourse that surrounded the proposal, boxing officials did not make the skirt rule mandatory. Additionally, I believe that the proposed uniform regulation, unfortunately, overshadowed the women’s boxing debut at the Olympic Games and further reinforced inequity at the 2012 Games. Women
Olympians continue to struggle to dominate in their field as well as uphold unrealistic social expectations surrounding femininity. As Mary Jo Kane eloquently puts it, “sex sells sex, sex does not sell women’s sports.”

Endnotes

2 Ibid., 542-543.
3 Ibid., 546.
6 Ibid., 40.
7 Foxee boxing or topless boxing features bikini-clad women wearing oversized gloves fighting. Such events create highly sexualized images of women boxers: “these women are ‘displayed’ as stereotyped, (hetero) sexualized commodities, high-heeled shoes, lycra tights and black silk stockings” (Ibid., 47). Interestingly, *Time* magazine, in the March 2012 special double issue, discussed women’s boxing at the Games, and they featured the top three female boxers in the United States in powerful, raw athletic poses. This feature was contrary to the typical portrayals of women athletes, especially those who participate in traditional masculine sports like boxing. I see these images to be positive since they highlight the skill and physical prowess of female competitors rather than emphasize forced femininity. Consequently, women boxers are also photographed similar to how male boxers would be captured in photographs.
16 Onstad, “Do Female Athletes.”
17 Ford, “Drawing a (Hem)Line in the Sand.”
19 Onstad, “Do Female Athletes.”
21 Christie, “Women Still Fighting.”
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27 The FIVB noted that the change was made in order to be more accommodating for religious and cultural requirements. In lieu of length restrictions, I was unable to expand on the role religion plays for skirts and boxing, but am aware that some women boxers may choose to wear a skirt because of religious convictions.


29 Christie, “Women Still Fighting.”

30 Onstad, “Do Female Athletes.”

31 Brennan, “Skirts Won’t Make Women’s Boxing.”
‘Float Like a Butterfly, Sting Like a Bee’—But Only if You Dress Like a Girl:
An Analysis of the Feminization of Female Olympic Athletes through Athletic Attire

Amanda N. Schweinbenz
Laurentian University, Canada

During an interview in the fall of 2010, Association Internationale de Boxe Amateur (AIBA) President Dr. Ching-Kuo Wu expressed his excitement about the introduction of women’s boxing to the 2012 Summer Olympic program. The President and the AIBA had negotiated with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) about the inclusion of women’s boxing into the Olympic Games for a number of years, as this was the only sport in the Summer Games that excluded female competitors. In 2009, after a systematic review of the Olympic sports programme, the IOC had agreed to admit female pugilists in a limited number of weight categories. However, rather than embrace these new Olympians and showcase their athleticism, the AIBA looked to establish a regulation that required all female boxers to wear skirts in the ring, thereby visually and symbolically separating them from their male counterparts – a regulation that would have the effect of marginalizing their performances. Wu justified the AIBA’s decision to regulate the women’s uniform arguing, “I have heard many times, people say, ‘We can’t tell the difference between the men and the women,’ especially on TV, since they’re in the same uniforms and are wearing headgear.”

There were mixed reactions within the international boxing community. Polish coach Leszek Piotrowski stated, “by wearing skirts…it gives a good impression, a womanly impression… wearing shorts is not a good way for women boxers to dress.” American boxer Mikaela Mayer saw no issue with competitors wearing skirts and said, “I would fight in them… I actually want to get one because I think it’s cute.” Australia’s Naomi Fischer-Rasmussen looked at the possibilities associated with female boxers wearing skirts and indicated that the women had the potential to “look sexy.” However, not all competitors were excited or even interested in the idea of overtly feminizing the sport. Ireland’s three-time world champion, Katie Taylor, was outraged and argued, “It’s a disgrace that they’re forcing some of the women to wear those mini-skirts. We should be able to wear shorts, just like he men. I won’t be wearing a mini-skirt. I don’t even wear mini-skirts on a night out, so I definitely won’t be wearing mini-skirts in the ring.” Patricia Manual, former US national champion, was even more pointed in her critique, stating, “This is absurd… to put fighters in skirts to label them as women is incredibly outdated. It seems to me sexist.”

The desire to feminize female athletes is not a new pattern, and fashion plays a major contributing factor to how women experience sport. The maintenance of the desirable feminine appearance
and distinct gender binary has laid the foundation in defining what is appropriate for the physically active woman to wear. Social mores regarding appearance and behavior, which have been largely based on a rigid gender binary, have dictated what is acceptable for men and women. The gender binary has forced the female athletic body to be scrutinized; one that needs to be socially accepted. I therefore argue that the reasoning behind the IABF’s proposed clothing regulations for female boxers justifies and reinforced the gender binary as natural and helped to reassure the public that female boxers are in fact true women.

It is within the constructs of gender role that masculinity and femininity are correlated with being male or female. However, femininity and masculinity have social histories and meanings that change, sometimes radically, depending upon geopolitical boundaries and cultural constraints. We therefore must consider how the body is gendered “through a series of social acts that often begin long before physical birth and are determined only partially by personal (self) decipherment of physiological body parts.”

Arguably, within Western society, the rigid binary conceptualization is constantly reinforced in various ways. It is a common social practice to distinguish between the two sexes, to try to fit people into neat little boxes or categories that provide order – to specify them either as male or female. Sex, as Grosz has argued, “is not merely a contingent, isolated, or minor variation of an underlying humanity. It is not trivial to one’s social and political status in a way in which it is conceivable that eye color is: it is integral to the status and social position of the subject.” At birth, one’s sex is determined and the different biological functions or capacities of female and male bodies serve as the starting point for the imperative differences between the sexes and help to frame one’s way of life, characteristics, appearance, and behaviour. Patriarchy affirms that sex differences are inherent, natural, and unchangeable; “Sexed bodies become important symbols of what is considered proper or improper gender-practices.” Butler has argued, “The presumption of a binary gender system implicitly retains the belief in a mimetic relation of gender to sex whereby gender mirrors sex or is otherwise restricted by it.”

Within the realm of sport, the gender binary is continuously supported and reinforced; athletes are either male or female and they compete in men’s or women’s events. With the exception of a number of mixed events, men compete against men and women against women. Rules and regulations have been established that distinguish between men’s and women’s events, which are largely based on the perceived physical superiority of men over their female counterparts. The female body is constructed as being physically weaker than male bodies; her body is “more docile, malleable, and impressionable than the masculine body.” Despite there being no empirical evidence to support these claims, the discourse that constitutes female bodies as relatively weak and thus inferior is pervasive, and clothing and sports attire regulations play a role in supporting and restricting these bodies. For example, throughout the 19th century, the corset, hoop skirt, and the bustle invoked both symbolic and practical femininities on fashionable, upper-middle class and elite women. Designers helped to inhibit unfeminine movements by cutting dresses in a way that prevented excessive movements of the arms and waist, with the result that women were made to “conform to the passive lifestyle that was the hallmark of gentility.” This is not to suggest that women were passive bystanders in their decisions regarding fitness and physical activity attire; rather, physically active women negotiated the tensions of desirable and acceptable femininity in the construction of their own identities.

The growth of women’s participation in competitive sport has helped to challenge restrictive understandings of female athletic skill, competitiveness, and the ability to endure pain and injury. Female athletes have shown that they too are capable of competing in any sporting activity that has
historically been defined a masculine preserve. However, while women’s participation in competitive sport challenges the gender order, it can also act to entrench problematic perceptions about female athletes. Female athletes’ sporting experiences continue to be marginalized, and their skill and abilities are framed as being “less than” their male counterparts. Regulations still exist that prevent female athletes from having the same sporting experiences as men. For instance, in a number of cases, women compete in shorter running, swimming, skiing, and skating distances, while also being required to conform to restrictions on competition apparel in order to participate in sport. The situation is further complicated when women engage in sporting activities that have traditionally been associated with men and masculinity, such as combat sports. Jennifer Hargreaves has argued: “Sports have been classified as ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine-appropriate’ because of fiercely defended heterosexist traditions. Conventional femininity does not incorporate images of physical power and masculinity.”

As such, female athletes in perceived ‘masculine’ sporting activities, such as boxing, do not convey traditional heteronomative femininity, and, as such, are habitually scrutinized. Not surprisingly, these female athletes are encouraged, and, in some instances, forced to display overt femininity – an act or performance that is learned through heteronormative exposure.

Arguably, the sport of boxing is the most masculine physical activity because it requires one to “beat an opponent to a bloody pulp, to subjugate and dominate the opponent into submission.” Sarah Field has argued that the sport has been envisioned as “both saving masculinity and destroying civilization,” where the “gender roles are carefully divided” – women are expected to be spectators far removed from the gym. Thus, a paradox exists for female boxers; they compete in an aggressive sport, but are not believed to possess the same inclinations toward violence and rage that men have. Instead, they are “supposed to be the civilizing influence on society, and a conundrum results when they box.”

However, the mythology that boxing is exclusively a male domain is incorrect. In the West, female pugilism dates back to the 18th century. Irish women were said to fight “stoutly” and draw blood at the James Figg’s amphitheatre in 1743. Historian Allen Guttmann has indicated that these women were most certainly poor and were mostly likely sexually disreputable. As such, they had little to lose from what appears to have been “a ritual of degradation similar to the prostitutes” of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Yet, while promoters and spectators objectified these women, they were active agents in their sporting practices and experienced pride in their physical abilities and prowess.

Despite the long history of women’s boxing, its incorporation into the Olympic programme forced additional analysis, as the “properly gendered body has been a means of shoring up Olympic ideals and maintaining the Olympic brand.” Successful female athletes who express traditional masculine characteristics cause discomfort and often lead journalists to search for evidence of physical and/or social femininity as a means of justifying their “masculine physical ability.” The pervasive assumption that athletic excellence is incompatible with femininity continues to exist. As Susan Cahn has argued, the “presence of powerful women athletes” strikes at the “roots of male dominance in … society – the seemingly natural physical superiority of men.” As such, steps have been taken to ensure the visual appearance of femininity of female Olympians, and the fundamental underpinnings of restrictive clothing for athletic women are rooted in the perceived gender binary.

The first evidence of specific regulations regarding women’s athletic attire was for the women’s swimming costumes for the 1908 Summer Games in London, England. The cut of the neckline and length of sleeves were all designed to not only maintain femininity, but preserve modesty as well.
While many would argue that since 1908 society has found greater acceptance for women’s participation in elite sport, the continued feminization of female athletes through athletic attire confirms their marginalization. Until March of 2012, women’s beach volleyball players were required to wear a bikini, while male players are permitted to wear shorts and tank tops. The bikini-clad women have been crowd and television favourites since their introduction into the Games. And, in badminton, in 2011, the international federation proposed a rule that required players to wear skirts or dresses to “ensure attractive presentation.” The rule was not enforced.

Conclusion

The mere suggestion that women should wear “feminine appropriate” sporting attire reinforces the gender binary and places women at the centre of two opposing forces. While women have fully embraced the competitive ethos, being stronger, faster, and more aggressive than they have ever been before in sport, at the same time, they have had to so under conditions that require them to maintain a feminine appearance. The paradox is made more problematic by the IOC’s rhetoric that its mandate is “to encourage and support the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures, with a view to implementing the principle of equality of men and women.” What is clear is that the International Federations’ proposed regulations concerning the feminization of women’s sporting attire reinforces traditional and antiquated distinctions between the sexes and thus serves to marginalize women’s sport. Thus, the support of gender binary is systemic within competitive sport. Although strong and competitive, female athletes must maintain a feminine appearance. The blurring of lines between men and women, masculine and feminine, challenges heteronormative ideology. Ultimately, for female athletes today, the message is clear – you have to be good at your sport, just make sure you look good as well. That being said, it is perhaps a hopeful sign that the attempt to force female boxers to wear skirts in the ring was, instead, made an option.

Endnotes

1. While female athletes now have access to the same sports as men in the Summer Games, in the Winter Games, they continue to be barred from ski jumping and Nordic combined.
5. Glen Foreman, “Sweet Science Hhas KO’d Gender Gap,” The Sunday Mail, 10 June 2012, 92.
See Laura A. Wackwitz, "Verifying the Myth: Olympic Sex Testing and the Category ‘Woman’," Women’s Studies International Forum 26, no. 6 (2003), 553-560; Stefan Wiederkehr, "We Shall Never Know the Exact Number of Men Who Have Competed in the Olympics Posing as Women: Sport, Gender Verification and the Cold War," The International Journal of the History of Sport 26, no. 4 (2009), 556-572.


19 Hargreaves, Sporting Females.


21 Sarah H. Fields, Female Gladiators: Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 130.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.


26 Ibid., p 74.


28 Susan Cahn, Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women’s Sport (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 211.

29 Cahn, Coming on Strong, 207-208.


34 “Female Boxers Will Not Be Forced to Wear Skirts at the Olympics” BBC Sport, 2 March 2012.
Igniting a Resistance Movement:
Understanding Indigenous Opposition to the 2010 Olympic Torch Relay

Christine O’Bonsawin
University of Victoria, Canada

On a wet and windy October morning in Victoria, British Columbia, approximately fifteen thousand spectators congregated around the Inner Harbour for the 2010 Olympic flame arrival ceremony and community celebrations. The festivities commenced with the first sighting of the flame, as it travelled across the downtown harbour with the Four Host First Nations (FHFN) Chiefs aboard an ocean-going West Coast red cedar canoe, flanked by two other canoes being paddled by and carrying representatives from local indigenous communities. As the canoes approached the shoreline, onlookers waved Canadian flags and cheered in celebration; however, Olympic festivities were momentarily halted so that indigenous leaders could observe local protocol. According to Coast Salish law, the FHFN Chiefs needed to receive permission from local leaders before entering their territory. Following a brief ceremony, local Chiefs Robert Sam (Songhees Nation) and Andy Thomas (Esquimalt Nation) formally welcomed the members in the FHFN canoe and the Olympic flame to Lekwungen territory. With the arrival of the coveted flame, Olympic dignitaries lit the cauldron in Victoria, thereby officially commemorating the launch of the Canadian leg of the 2010 Olympic Torch Relay.

Elsewhere in the city, the V2010 Integrated Security Unit and local police were preparing for anti-Olympic protest action. This included a well-publicized demonstration event scheduled to take place that afternoon in Victoria’s downtown Centennial Square. A local grassroots collective, known as “No 2010 Victoria,” had organized an “Anti-Olympic Festival” and “Zombie March” so as to “greet” the flame with anti-Olympic messages. Furthermore, activists cited “indigenous rights violations” as one reason for resisting Olympic celebrations on Lekwungen territory. According to mainstream media reports as well as a statement from No 2010 Victoria, approximately 400 protestors successfully disrupted and diverted the relay.

On this occasion, and in the months ahead, Olympic flame celebrations played out in similar fashion in many communities throughout the nation. While Olympic enthusiasts, indigenous and non-indigenous alike, eagerly anticipated the celebratory events, Olympic opponents were eager to use these opportunities to declare their grievances publicly and via mass media. By providing a brief summary on the origin of the modern Olympic torch relay, as well as the Vancouver relay organizational efforts, particularly in relationship to indigenous programming, this paper disentangles the complex issues that arose during the 2010 Vancouver Olympic torch relay. Anti-Olympic sentiments concerning indigenous injustices primarily centered on the issue of indigenous treaties and land sovereignty, which were cited by many indigenous peoples, their supporters, and social activists.
The flame has become one of the greatest symbols of the modern Olympic movement, and the torch relay one of its most cherished traditions. However, it is necessary to remember that the history of the relay stems from a dark and difficult past. The Olympic torch relay was, in fact, conceived and implemented as a propaganda tool under the directive of the National Socialists for the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. For this event, Nazi organizers commissioned the German arms producer, Friedrich Krupp AG, to create and manufacture torches that would be used along the relay route, thus marking the first official sponsor of the torch relay. The flame was lit on the ancient grounds in Olympia, Greece, and travelled through Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria before arriving at the Olympic Stadium in Berlin for the opening ceremony. During the eight-day relay, there were a significant number of physical confrontations and arrests. Despite this tremulous beginning, the IOC formally entrenched the torch relay into the Olympic program following the Second World War. However, it has only been since 1984, with advances in mass media, mobile camera crews, and the Internet that substantial attention has been paid to this Olympic tradition. Since then, engagement with Olympic relay celebrations has increased considerably as members of the general public have come to recognize the potential of using the relay to either participate, disengage, or oppose the Games.

The Vancouver 2010 Olympic torch relay was marketed as “A Path of Northern Lights.” On that note, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC), John Furlong, stated: “[W]e’ve always wanted these Games to be about the entire nation—to let everyone in, from every single corner of this huge, extraordinary country. We want these Games to bring Canadians together, igniting something in our hearts and souls that makes us better.”

Vancouver organizers ultimately devised a relay route that not only exceeded public expectations but also challenged the Olympic norm. The 2010 relay commenced on October 22, 2009, with the kindling of the Olympic flame in the ancient stadium in Olympia, Greece, and ended with the lighting of the Olympic cauldron during the opening ceremony on February 12, 2010. As for the Canadian segment, it was the longest domestic relay in the history of the Olympic Winter Games. The overall distance covered during the 106-day run totaled 45,000 kilometres, traveling by way of land, sea, and sky through approximately 1,020 communities, including the northernmost inhabited community on the globe, Alert, Nunavut. In the end, more than 12,000 torchbearers carried the Olympic flame. The operating budget for the 2010 relay was approximately $30 million, which included support from the Government of Canada and VANOC, as well as sponsorship from the official Presenting Partners, Coca-Cola and the Royal Bank of Canada (RBC), while manufacturing expenses for the torches (numbering more than 12,000) were covered by its design creator, Bombardier.

The 2010 Olympic Torch Relay Committee remained committed to VANOC’s intent to achieve unprecedented aboriginal participation in the planning and hosting of the Games. Accordingly, the relay travelled to more than 100 indigenous communities. Included in community celebrations was an equal number of Community Torchbearers selected to carry the flame through their territories. Also selected were 11 Youth Flame Attendants, 71 Language Torchbearers, and 10 Hero Torchbearers. An Honorary Elder Fire Keeper from each community delivered welcome blessings and shared traditional teachings. The torch travelled through at least one indigenous community, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities, in every province and territory. In the province of British Columbia alone, the Olympic flame travelled through 50 indigenous communities. This was not only due to the province’s Olympic host status but also indicative of the large number of indigenous communities located in the province (in total there are 203 First Nations communities in British Colum-
Igniting a Resistance Movement

b) Moreover, RBC announced the appointment of Phil Fontaine, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations (1997-2009), as Special Advisor on indigenous issues. One of his first responsibilities in this role was to ensure that RBC maximized the involvement of aboriginal communities in the 2010 relay. Meanwhile, anti-Olympic activists drew attention to the fact that RBC was financing the Alberta Oil Sands (commonly referred to as the Oil Reserves or Tar Sands) initiative, which contravened indigenous treaty and land rights in the province. For anti-Olympic activists and members of the Olympic Resistance Network, RBC’s hiring of Fontaine suggested RBC officials were genuinely fearful that protest action in First Nations communities, as well as militant activity by groups supporting indigenous grievances, would seriously undermine relay celebrations. Olympic officials, partners, and enthusiasts certainly had cause for concern.

The story of indigenous resistance to Canadian Olympic torch celebrations predates the 2010 Games. In 1988, the Lubicon Lake Nation, a relatively small Cree nation located in northern Alberta, called for a boycott of certain events, including the torch relay, during the Calgary Olympics. At this time, countless indigenous peoples and supporters from across the nation stood in solidarity with the Lubicon Cree as they made their Olympic-related grievances known to the world. The leader of the Lubicon, Chief Bernard Ominayak, drew attention to the fact that the Government of Canada and Petro-Canada were co-sponsoring the relay—two entities illegally invading and destroying Lubicon territory. For the 2010 Olympics, indigenous peoples and activists opposed the torch relay and the Games more broadly on the basis of ongoing indigenous grievances concerning indigenous land claims in British Columbia (or the lack thereof), as well as the carrying of the Olympic flame through sovereign indigenous territories.

While the majority of relay events were celebratory in nature, there remained significant opposition to some Olympic festivities. Whether supporting indigenous rights, anti-capitalist interests, environmentalism, low-income housing, or the rights of the homeless, many, if not most, anti-Olympic activists coalesced under a campaign calling for “No Olympics on Stolen Native Land.” The campaign itself was an indication of how sophisticated anti-Olympic protest action had become, and the name became a slogan for most organized protest groups. Still, the campaign referred specifically to indigenous grievances: “The slogan reflects the fact that the majority of land in British Columbia remained unceded and non-surrendered indigenous lands in the lead up, and at time of hosting the games.” At the heart of anti-Olympic engagement remained the question of colonial land theft, and the ongoing destruction of indigenous territories in British Columbia. While it is safe to say that a great number of indigenous peoples and communities supported the 2010 Games (i.e., the FHFN and those that participated in the torch celebrations), there remained significant opposition to the hosting of the Olympics on unceded indigenous lands.

On most days of the relay, the celebrations encountered some type of anti-Olympic messaging, or at least the threat of opposition. While advances in mass communication have increased public interest in the torch relay, Olympic researchers Horne and Whannel argue: “Gatekeeping, agenda setting, framing and constructing news remain key aspects of the mediation of any event and mega-event. Power and influence to shape the agenda—and construct the story—remain tied to large media organizations despite the internet and the emergence of heterogeneous voices.” The media reported on protest action along the relay route, including the arrests of activists in places such as Victoria, Montréal, Kahnawà:ke, Toronto, Six Nations of the Grand River, Guelph, Oneida of the Thames, Spanish River, Fort Rupert, and Vancouver, to name a few. This list is likely only a small sample of anti-Olympic protest activity that occurred along the route, as media agenda setting remained in the hands of the gatekeepers whose job it was to downplay the level of anti-Olympic sentiment and boost the feel-
good messaging that always accompanies Olympic celebrations. That being said, some torch celebrations received considerably more attention from mainstream and alternative media than others, most notably Kahnawà:ke, a Mohawk community located south of Montreal, Quebec.

Mainstream and alternative media sources provided considerable attention to the controversies and deliberations that took place in Kahnawà:ke prior to the arrival of the Olympic flame. The relay was scheduled to stop in the Mohawk community on December 8, 2009. However, one week prior to its arrival, official representatives form the Mohawk nation issued the following statement: “We must seriously consider the ongoing struggle of our Indigenous brothers and sisters in British Columbia who endeavor to prevent the Government of Canada from further commandeering and expropriating their traditional territory.”

It is worth noting that Kahnawà:ke was involved in an aggressive standoff with the Canadian military in the summer of 1990, an event commonly referred to as the Oka Crisis. As Cheryl Diabo, a member of the community's traditional council stated, “We don’t support the torch coming through Kahnawake or any native community because of the land that's being destroyed in B.C...We support our native sisters and brothers who stood in line in our defence in 1990 during the crisis we faced, and it's only natural that we do the same.”

Furthermore, members of Kahnawà:ke rejected the presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Force (RCMP), who were escorting the Olympic torch on Mohawk territory, due to the long and arduous relationship between the community and the RCMP, who were viewed as a foreign and colonial policing unit. Then, immediately prior to the arrival of the torch, Olympic officials and members of the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke negotiated an alternative, which was to have the community Peacekeepers, the local indigenous policing unit, escort the Olympic flame through the community. In the end, the torch relay travelled through Kahnawà:ke, and a large number of people lined the road and cheered in celebration. To be sure, protestors also lined the route and held banners that opposed the relay, including one that read, “Remove the Poison. Remove the Torch.”

As demonstrated in this paper, the decision to participate in the celebrations of the 2010 Olympic Games differed amongst various indigenous groups and peoples. VANOC went to considerable lengths to ensure unprecedented indigenous participation in the planning and hosting of the Vancouver Winter Games, as indicated by partnerships with the FHFN, as well as public ceremonies, similar to the one that took place in Victoria’s Inner Harbour. However, not all indigenous peoples supported the relay. In fact, it was through the torch relay celebrations that many had the opportunity to draw attention to the injustices that indigenous peoples continue to experience within Canada’s colonial structure, and to publicly protest the presence of the Olympic Games on non-surrendered indigenous territories.

Endnotes

1 The Four Host First Nations included the Lil’wat Nation, Musqueam Nation, Squamish Nation, and Tsleilaututh Nation, which were led by Chiefs Leonard Andrew (Lil’wat), Ernest Campbell (Musqueam), Leah George Wilson (Tsleil-Waututh), Bill Williams (Squamish), and Gibby Jacobs (Squamish and VANOC Board Member), respectively.


18 The name “No Olympics on Stolen Na
17 Kevin B. Wamsley and Michael Heine,
16 Rod Mickleburgh, “Olympic Torch Stokes Warm Pride and
Horne and Whannel, 767.
5” A c t i v i s t s  I n t e r r u p t  O l y m p i c  T o r c h  R e l a y , “ C B C  N e w s , O c
Igniting a Resistance Movement
10 Federal support for the Olympic and Paralympic Torch Re
9I n t e r n a t i o n a l  O l y m p i c  C o m m i t t e e ,  “ V a n c o
8 A Path of Northern Lights: The Story of
7J a n e t  C a h i l l , “ T h e  O l y m p i c  F l a m e  a n d
11 The initial number of communities list
12 Community Torchbearers were selected to carry the flame
13 According to a RBC News Research, Fontaine was responsible for providing “advice and counsel to RBC's Canadian
14 Ibid.
15 The Alberta Oil Sands export initiative is largest energy project on the planet. The government of Alberta asserts that the
province's oil reserves not only play an important role in the national and international economies, but they provide the
global community with “stable and reliable energy.” However, in order to access these oil reserves, treaties with Indig
enous peoples are being dishonoured and outright ignored. Furthermore, opponents of the Oil Sands have identified far-reaching environmental, resource, and health concerns resulting from this this energy project initiative.
17 Kevin B. Wamsley and Michael Heine, “‘Don’t Mess with the Relay—It’s Bad Medicine’: Aboriginal Cultural and the
18 The name “No Olympics on Stolen Native Land” was adopted by the Olympic Resistance Network (ORN), which served as an umbrella organization for anti-Olympic engagement. The ORN coordinated efforts between numerous anti-Olympic individuals and groups, including 2010 Games Watch, Anti-Poverty Committee, No 2010 Olympics on Stolen Native Land, No One is Illegal, and Our Freedom.
19 Christine M. O’Bonsawin, “No Olympics on Stolen Native Land: Contesting Olympic Narratives and Asserting Indigeneous Rights within the Discourse of the 2010 Vancouver Olympics,” Sport and Society 13(1) (January 2010): 143-156.
20 Horne and Whannel, 767.


23 Ibid.
Citius, Altius, Fortius: At Whose Expense?
Making Sense of the Death of Nodar Kumaratishvili
at the 2010 Olympic Winter Games

Wanda Ellen Wakefield
SUNY College at Brockport, U.S.A.

Full disclosure. I have been involved in the sport of luge since January 1988, when I went to Lake Placid, New York, for a long weekend and attended that year’s Olympic Trials. There, I met slider Jon Owen who had just qualified to compete at the Calgary Games and shared with me his thoughts about luge. I then decided I wanted to know more about the sport. So I wrote a letter to the U.S. luge office asking for further information. In reply, I received an invitation to become a luge official. So I first qualified to work at national races, then, in 1989, I became an internationally certified official. Over the years I have worked at numerous youth races, junior races, World Cups, World Championships, and at the 2002 Olympic Winter Games. During those years I have seen athletes injure themselves by crashing into walls and banging up their arms and legs. However, I never saw a truly life-threatening injury at any race I ever officiated and had never expected to hear that a slider had lost his life while training for competition. Therefore, I was amazed and heartbroken when I heard that the Georgian athlete, Nodar Kumaratishvili, had died after crashing during his last training run before the 2010 Olympic Games began in Vancouver.

In the years before 2010, the International Luge Federation (FIL) had developed a competition plan requiring that all athletes wishing to participate in an Olympic Games or a World Championship qualify by racing in a designated number of World Cups. The FIL had also instituted a rule requiring each athlete to meet a time standard during their official training for championship events in order to qualify to race. These rules were intended both to ensure exciting competition among relatively equal athletes and to ensure that no athlete incapable of negotiating a track safely would be allowed to risk his or her life doing so. Nevertheless, these efforts by the FIL were limited by two realities: the International Olympic Committee (IOC) wants participation from the maximum number of countries at each Olympiad, and television networks want to be able to advertise and broadcast the fastest, highest, and strongest athlete achievements. These two realities certainly affected the lead-up to the 2010 Olympic Winter Games and created a situation where, I would argue, serious injury and death were virtually predictable. Indeed, the possibility of serious injury or death from competition is inherent in the slogan “citius, altius, fortius” as it is understood today.

The truth is that sports are difficult. Speed sports are even more challenging. And speed sports that pose the danger of sudden deceleration are the most challenging of all. There is no good that can
come when a young gymnast bangs her head on the vaulting horse or when an inexperienced diver comes too close to the platform with his head. Nor is there any good that can come from a crash involving a bike rider speeding down an Italian hillside during the Giro d'Italia. And in winter sports, careful observers have long known that sliding sports and alpine/freestyle skiing/boarding pose particular dangers. As Tim Layden wrote in *Sports Illustrated* before the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, the winter games are different “because they inspire fear.” Similarly, Samantha Levine chronicled for the *US News and World Report* in January, 2002, the many “fear factors” winter sports athletes face, including the 90 miles per hour speeds then being reached at the Salt Lake track, although she suggested that the likely outcome of a luge crash would be “friction burns on limbs [and] back” and not death. Of course, there are sometimes technological fixes to improve athlete safety, as happened in NASCAR when, after the death of Dale Earnhardt Sr. at the 2001 Daytona 500, drivers were required to use a HANS device to stabilize their head and neck. In the immediate wake of Kumaratashvili’s crash, race organizers also turned to technology to make the track safer by putting up higher walls at the finish, changing the ice profile at the fatal curve 16, and lowering the men’s, women’s, and doubles starts in order to slow down the sleds. But technology cannot solve the basic problem any athlete faces when, at speed, they lose control. Only harnessing fear through training and confidence can do that.

**After the Accident**

In the immediate aftermath of the Kumaritashvili tragedy, Jacques Rogge, IOC President, issued a variety of statements recognizing the sorrow felt by members in the luge community and in the larger Olympic family. The FIL also responded by emphasizing the organization’s intent that races be safe and fair. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the British Columbia coroner started an investigation of the crash as did FIL. These investigations addressed many questions, such as: How did the accident happen? Was Nodar Kumaritashvili too inexperienced to handle the track at Whistler? Were there problems with the track itself that made it inherently too dangerous for competition? Were there problems with his sled? Were there other problems during training that might have suggested the need for changes to the track?

Meanwhile, the Race Committee responsible for the luge races at Vancouver met to decide how best to respond to the tragedy. Obviously, the needs of sport, media, and the organizers of Vancouver 2012 had to be met by holding a competition in the sliding sports, including luge. Obviously, some sort of changes had to be made before athletes again tested themselves against the demands of the Whistler track. Therefore, in short order, the Race Committee (jury, Race Director, Technical Delegates, and FIL representatives) decided to hold the Olympic races on the dates and times as scheduled while rushing through changes in the track—including the aforementioned construction of a much higher wall at the finish designed to keep athletes from flying out of the track as Kumaritashvili had done, and lowering the start position. The Whistler track was then re-opened for sliding and the Olympic competitions in luge, skeleton, and bobsled proceeded without any major problems.

**History**

Long before the development of modern sleds, stricter training regimens, and more extreme challenges, athletes faced danger whenever they encountered a *piste* or a *bahn*. Before luge had even been contested at an Olympic Games, problems with the track built for the Innsbruck 1964 Olympic Winter Games forced organizers to modify the parameters of the *bahn* before official training. Then,
when the British slider Kazimierz Skrzykecki died after an accident and Josef Fleischmann, a German athlete, was seriously injured during official training, track workers made further changes by building up the “lips” at difficult curves to keep the sliders from leaving the track during a crash. Interestingly, the 1964 Games were also marred by a training accident that killed the Australian skier, Ross Milne. Rather than call for changes on the ski hill, however, IOC member Bertle Neumann, suggested that in the future there should be two “leagues” in skiing—one reserved exclusively for the very experienced skiers and the other reserved for beginners. As he pointed out, the problem was that at the Olympics, alpine courses are set up to challenge the best, not to ensure that the worst would be able to compete safely. In any event, the sliding track built for Innsbruck would not be the only one that would require modifications before an Olympics. Nor would questions about whether or not to allow less experienced athletes to race die down.

For example, although the track built for the 2002 Salt Lake Winter Olympic Games was not considered particularly challenging, some athletes still found it almost impossible to negotiate safely. That was the case with Venezuelan slider Igenia Boccalandro. She had raced at the 1988 Nagano Winter Olympic Games and took advantage of living in Salt Lake City in the intervening years to practice her runs down the track, racing in the 1999 Utah Winter Games and other local competitions. She also slid during the International Training Week (held in November 2001) and in the World Cups required by the FIL in order to qualify for the 2002 Olympic Winter Games. But during the official Olympic training period, officials began to worry that her skills had deteriorated and that she was no longer safe to slide. At the time, Boccalandro was only required by FIL rules to complete one run within 7% of the fastest time in her training group. This she was able to accomplish despite crashing in every other attempt. Thus, there was nothing in the rules that would have allowed race officials to keep her from sliding. Sadly, on the first day of the women’s competition, and on her first run, Boccalandro crashed. She lost consciousness and command of her sled. When an official reached into the track to keep the sled from running over Boccalandro, the sled cut off the end of his finger. Later, Georg Hackl, silver medalist at Salt Lake, argued that something needed to be done to avoid similar situations in the future as they were “bad” for the sport’s public image.

Three years later, the track at Cesana Pariol, Italy, built for the 2006 Torino Winter Olympics, was opened for its first international test event. A series of accidents and serious injuries then followed, which ultimately resulted in the cancelation of the 2005 World Cup at the track. This time it was not just lesser experienced athletes who were injured, such as Brazilian Renato Mizaguchi, who ended up in a coma following a concussion. Wolfgang Linger, who won the 2006 doubles competition with his brother Andreas, also ended up in the hospital with a broken leg following a crash. In response, Italian organizers rebuilt some of the most troublesome features on the track before reopening it in the fall of 2005.

FIL Rule Changes

Every new sliding track experiences a “shake-down” period during which problems can be identified and addressed. Unfortunately, the problem with the Whistler track, identified by FIL President Josef Fendt before the Games began, was that athletes were reaching speeds beyond those predicted by track designers, and these concerns were not addressed before Kumaritashvili’s fatal crash. In the fall of 2010, American and Canadian luge officials gathered together in Lake Placid for an update on the rules—especially those rules that had been changed in light of the tragedy at Vancouver. One of the most important rule changes announced at that meeting involved a change in the parameters for
building new tracks. The new regulation governing design and construction provides that “the calculated maximum speed should not exceed 135 km/h.” Will television viewers, and those beside the track at the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, be able to tell that sliders are going slower than they did at Vancouver? Almost certainly not. The FIL also introduced another new regulation designed to give Race Directors more control over the process of qualifying athletes for races. New Rule 4.1.1.8 affords the Race Directors the right, after consultation with the Technical Delegate on site, to “bar an athlete from the training for a Junior/Youth Competition if he/she cannot meet the demands of the track.” Although this rule would not have kept Kumaritashvili from sliding at Whistler, because he was not a junior or youth athlete, the hope is that the rule will give Race Directors the power to force younger athletes to get more training before their competition runs.

In the end, sliders recognize that there is no perfect safety in their sport. Organizers can make as many modifications to any track as they want, but, as American luge athlete Matt Mortensen remarked before the 2011 World Champions, even if a track “is safe, … if you’re not up to speed with it then it can bite you, but that’s everywhere.” Likewise, Armin Zoeggeler, multiple Olympic luge medalist, commented, “There are always risks … but even in Vancouver we didn’t think something like that could happen. These are things that you don’t see coming beforehand.” In other words, sports are challenging and the human body is fragile. There can never be perfect safety at speed, but hopefully with the designed limitation on speeds for future tracks and the ability by Race Directors to require additional training, no slider will ever again die from “making a mistake.”

**Endnotes**

1. According to Canadian luge athlete, Bruce Smith, the FIL began to make those changes after the Canadian team was not allowed to slide at the 1978 World Championships until they had adequate training. Bruce Smith to M.J. Bowie, February 24, 2010.
3. Even the most casual television viewer will recall the NBC announcer sending them back to “the fastest track in the world”—even after Kumaratishvili’s accident. The Organizing Committee clearly wanted to build a technically challenging track at Whistler that would contrast with the track at Calgary, generally considered by members of the luge community to be a “boulevard.” See Tom Pawlowski, Coroner, Province of British Columbia, *Coroner’s Report into the Death of Nodar Kumaritishvili*, Case No.: 2010-02690-0002, 6.
8. The Jury for bobsled decided, independently of other track changes, to limit the amount of track maintenance during races, which would inevitably slow down the sleds. Conversation with member of Jury, Tony Carlino, Lake Placid, October 2010.
13 Boccalandro raced in a competition at the Salt Lake track at which I was an official there in February, 1999.
14 Personal conversation with Georg Hackl, 14 February 2012.
17 IRO 4.1.1.8.
Volunteer Management at the 2012 Olympic Games:
A Tension between ‘Programme’ and ‘Membership’ Management Styles

Geoff Nichols & Rita Ralston
University of Sheffield & Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

This paper explores aspects of the ‘programme management’ approach taken by the LOCOG in the lead-up to the 2012 Olympic Games and considers the effects of that choice on the motivation of potential and actual volunteers. It briefly contrasts this style with the more complicated and more costly but more volunteer-centred ‘membership management’ approach, and explores several typical features of the ‘programme management’ approach that result in strain on volunteer commitment. These effects, such as asymmetric flow of information, mis-match of assigned roles, and increased inconvenience for the volunteers, may be an inevitable consequence of the use of a ‘programme management’ approach. But consideration of the implications of this management style choice is crucial for other sports mega-events which rely on volunteers for their successful conduct.

Volunteers at the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games rely on a large number of volunteers—the 2012 London Olympics required approximately 70,000. Comparisons of volunteer attitudes and expectations at this Games with other Olympics are clouded because the notion of volunteering is socially constructed, and thus the volunteer experiences of Beijing 2008, London 2012, and the 2014 winter Olympics in Russia, can be expected to be different. Nevertheless, in each host country the importance of volunteers involves “not only the work they do, but also the image of the host nation they create…” and their contribution to the experience of participants and spectators.

Programme management versus membership management at mega-sports events

“Programme management” of volunteers reflects a “rational systems” approach in which the organisation’s resources are allocated in the most rational way to achieve its objectives. The starting point is the objectives of the organisation: a list of tasks are defined and volunteers allocated to fulfill them. In contrast, the starting point of ‘membership management’ is the volunteers’ needs and expectations—these are the primary considerations for determining volunteer roles. A dilemma for a mega sports event is that its complexity and political prerogative to deliver is an overwhelming factor in adopting programme management. Yet, at the same time, considering volunteers’ motivations is critical to ensure the ambiance of the Games, and to ensure volunteers’ reliability. Event volunteers “desire some control over their work environment” and “don’t want to feel overly inconvenienced or taken for granted.” While the goal on both sides is to achieve a “winning scenario” in which each volun-
Programme management is less complicated than membership management and less costly for an organization to conduct. The London Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) might have been inclined to adopt this approach because of the vast number of potential volunteers—there were 250,000 applicants for the 70,000 ‘Games Maker’ (the title given to Olympic volunteers) roles—and because of the volunteers’ strong motivation to take part in a ‘once in a life-time’ opportunity. Although one could expect initial motivations to change during the event, it is also possible that any negative consequences of the management style would be overwhelmed by the sense of collective euphoria at the end, as was the experience at the Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia.

Research Questions

1. What were the effects of programme-style management in the volunteer programme at the London 2012 Olympic Games?

2. How did this choice affect the volunteering experience?

Methods

A sample of 46 interviewees was obtained by promoting the research through distribution lists at Manchester Metropolitan University, Sheffield University, and Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV), a volunteer broker and development organisation established as a legacy of the 2002 Commonwealth Games. From these initial contacts further interviewees were recommended to the research team. All the sample members lived outside the city of London and most came from the Sheffield and Manchester areas. As a consequence they all had a similar distance to travel to London for training and the event, and all had to find suitable accommodation. The sample included volunteers for both the Olympic Games and the Paralympics. Some of the sample had withdrawn their application to volunteer during the recruitment process, indicating that the demands of the particular process, or of volunteering at all, had outweighed their initial motivation to volunteer.

Interviews were conducted one-to-one using a semi-structured schedule. They were recorded and transcribed to permit analysis using NVivo. During the interviews, volunteers were asked to describe their experience with the application process, interview, and training, as well as the impact of these on their motivations for volunteering. The interviews were conducted between February and June 2012, so all of the interviewees had considerable experience of the recruitment and training phases, though not of the Olympics because the Games had not yet taken place. The results reported are from these interviews.

Results and Discussion

Applying to volunteer

LOCOG applications were completed through an online form. This asked about work history and why the applicant wanted to volunteer, but, due to its format, restricted the inclusion of the applicant’s volunteer experience. Applicants could however express a preference for involvement at the Olympics, Paralympics, or both, and indicate up to three desired roles. This information may have been used to allocate roles, which appeared to have been assigned at the point of interview.
The interview process

The LOCOG interview process included a structured, value-based, 20-minute individual interview in which responses to 6 standard questions relating to the applicant’s values, strengths, weaknesses, and commitment were rated on a 1–5 scale. The interview, like the application form, did not include questions about the applicant’s past volunteer experience.

The interviews were held at regional locations, as well as in London, although regional locations could still involve considerable travel from there into London. Though volunteers could ask questions of the interviewer, they generally did not know what questions might have been appropriate; and when they did have questions, the interviewer either often could not respond or was only able to provide a vague answer.

The interview results allowed LOCOG officials to glean information about the applicant’s level of commitment to volunteering, but not to match that applicant to roles that either fully utilised the applicant’s experience or matched the applicant’s aspirations. Nor did the interview provide applicants with enough information to help them decide if they could, or wanted to, fulfil the offered “role”. For example, the interview did not inform them about likely shift patterns, how to find their own accommodations in London, which venue they would be stationed at, or the availability of transportation in London during the Games. This asymmetric flow of information is typical of a programme management approach.

Volunteers’ motivations were neutrally affected by this stage of the process. They felt they were getting involved and the process was efficient. However, the distance travelled, with no expenses available, was an irritant.

Being offered a role

If the role offered to the applicant was completely different from the one for which s/he had applied, or did not match his/her self-perceived skill set, this led to de-motivation and drop-out. For instance, one volunteer who had a life-time of experience in volunteer training and administration, but was offered a role assisting volleyball players at the Paralympics, stated, “I just felt undervalued, really undervalued, I’ve got all this experience.” In another example, a student who was fluent in three languages was offered a role as a driver—something she felt very unsure of doing. She explained, “[I kept] thinking of myself just driving people around and I am not a very good driver and it’s not something that I want to do.”

The long wait-time between the LOCOG interview and being offered a role was also de-motivating as potential volunteers felt they had to put their lives ‘on hold’ until they got a response from LOCOG. By contrast, LOCOG required volunteers to respond to an offer of a role within two weeks. For some applicants, that was not long enough for them to make an informed decision about their ability to commit to volunteering at the Games because they were on holidays at the time of the call, or felt they were under-informed about the role, or were unsure of their personal circumstances.

Thus, not offering roles to match volunteers’ experience, and the long time volunteers had to wait for notification of the interview results compared with the short time they were given to confirm acceptance, are further typical features of the programme management approach.

Orientation and training

Successful applicants attended a half-day orientation session as their first training event. This training opportunity, and subsequent training events, were all held in London for up to 10,000 volunteers at one time. A draft volunteer strategy drawn up in 2005–6 but abandoned in 2007—probably because
the LOGOC focus was purely on delivery rather than legacy—had recommended regional training events to promote a regional sense of identity. The orientation events involved inspirational talks, information on what it might be like for a visitor or an athlete at the Games, and instructional sessions concerning the type of conduct and behaviour that LOCOG expected of its volunteers. Volunteers were issued a workbook that elaborated on all of this information. Volunteers were repeatedly thanked by LOCOG for their time and effort, though not all volunteer found this to seem genuine. Indeed, one volunteer found the recognition “cringeful” because of the discrepancy between the verbal thanks and the lack of resource support, such as refreshments or travel expenses.

Orientation events were held on weekends, making it easier for many volunteers to attend because it did not interfere with their paid work during the weekdays. Some volunteers accepted that large orientation events, like those required for the Olympic and Paralympic Games, probably had motivational value for many people, and that it could induce a feeling of being part of something unique and exciting. Others felt the exercise was irrelevant: as one volunteer claimed, “[The orientation event was] a lot of fluff...they could have sent out the pack and put a DVD clip on u-tube and that would have been a lot easier for all of us.” The nature of the orientation event was an irritant to some, but the only reason for dropping out was the inability to make arrangements to attend at relatively short notice.

In addition to the orientation session, volunteers attended two further training events, as well as one further event to collect accreditation and a uniform—all in London. Training events were held on weekdays, which meant that volunteers in employment had to give up a day’s work to attend. The cost and travel time to the events was a negative implication for the volunteers. In general, however, there was a boost to motivation once volunteers were engaged in practical training for their roles. After the volunteers were assigned their specific roles, training was delivered in much smaller groups. The only reason volunteers cited for dropping out at this stage was if they could not arrange to attend at the dates offered.

No attempt appears to have been made to co-ordinate accreditation with training events to enable volunteers to combine the two trips to London. However, it was possible for volunteers to phone LOCOG and ask for the date of accreditation to be changed to coincide with training. In some cases this was done.

**Shift patterns and accommodation**
The volunteers worked in shifts, which were allocated at the end of April 2012. Shifts might start as early as 5:30 a.m. and finish as late as 1:30 a.m. Volunteers had to find their own accommodations. This was a considerable challenge for many, and some volunteers dropped out because of it. Furthermore, volunteers were allocated shifts and venues only after they had arranged their accommodations. Only at this point did the considerable practical difficulties of making transport arrangements to get to their assigned venues for their shift become apparent, necessitating some volunteers getting up at 3:00 a.m. for successive shifts. For some volunteers, the combination of shift-work, travel, and finding accommodations caused them to withdraw, either because it was impossible for them to make travel arrangements around their assigned shifts, or because that could only be done at extreme personal inconvenience.

**Conclusions**
As evidenced by the pre-Games volunteer interview data, programme management of volunteers appeared to be the dominant approach at the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, with
LOCOG’s interests being paramount. The effects of the approach caused some potential volunteers to withdraw, but many more experienced them as a set of cumulative irritants. In general, the commitment shown by the volunteers was sustained by their strong motivation to be part of this “once in a life-time” experience, and, for some, by their commitment to volunteering in general. It is very probable that once involved in the delivery of the Games the collective euphoria associated with the event will dominate their experience.

In implementing an extreme programme management oriented approach, did LOCOG directors take a chance, or did they make an astute calculation that the potential volunteer loss due to the negative features of the approach would be balanced by the volunteers’ dedication and enthusiasm for the event? Perhaps they considered the loss of potential volunteers in the recruitment and training stages could be just seen as the process weeding-out the less-motivated. This gamble, based on a judgement of the tolerable balance between strong volunteer motivations and the way volunteers are managed, is distinctive of the management choices for events of the size and prestige of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. And it can also be seen to be specific to western volunteering culture. For instance, at the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games in Beijing, China, volunteers’ expectations of the experience were different from those of western volunteers, but were consistent with their different constructions of the meaning of volunteering. Thus the optimum programme management / membership management balance is culturally specific.

Two further research questions could only be answered with access to LOCOG records and staff: what was the drop-out rate of volunteers at each stage in the recruitment and training process?; and, did LOCOG modify their approach as they experienced volunteers’ reactions? It is interesting to consider how management might have been different if LOCOG had objectives of social inclusion and developing volunteering, rather than just delivering the volunteers at the event.

Endnotes


Ibid.

Ibid.

Nichols, “Volunteering for the Games”.

Nichols and Ralston, “Lessons.”

Olympic Houses: A Comparative Investigation
Between Canada, Germany and Australia

Richard Baka
Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia

A growing phenomenon within the Olympic Games is the emergence of “Olympic houses” organised by various National Olympic Committees. Introduced by a number of nations, these temporary establishments operate in host cities during the time of Olympic Games. This research was a comparative investigation of Canada, Germany and Australia. The study traced the historical background of Olympic houses and the motives behind their establishment. It was found that most Olympic houses served a very valuable role of “distraction management” for Olympic athletes. They also were a means of providing a larger profile to sponsors of National Olympic Committees as well as a “home away from home” for key individuals associated with an Olympic team. Attendance figures at Olympic houses which allow public entry are also at extremely high levels. It appears that Olympic houses, which could be labelled “Embassies of Sport,” are here to stay.

Historical Background of Olympic Houses

Of the three countries examined in this investigation, the Germans were the first to introduce an Olympic house called “Deutsches Haus,” which they commonly referred to as an “Embassy of German Sport,” starting with the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympics. The Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) had its first version starting at the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympics and then at every Games thereafter. The Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) set up its initial Olympic house at the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics, but this was its first and only attempt at having such a support program. Several other National Olympic Committees (NOC’s) have set up Olympic houses. Holland Heineken House in London was its 11th instalment (dating back to 1992), and over the years it has achieved legendary status.

At the London 2012 Games, there was an unprecedented number of Olympic houses, estimated at close to 45, spread all over the city (see Table 1). As reported in one source:

*During the London 2012 Games, many countries have set up national hospitality houses to entertain athletes and VIPs. The good news for fans is that some of these London 2012 hospitality houses are open to the public, hosting medal ceremonies, exhibitions, concerts and parties.*

German Olympic House: “Leading the Way”

The German version of this concept is certainly one of the most comprehensive and impressive. German House serves as a major “hospitality area” and a communications platform for business partners,
as well as a place for the German Olympic family (i.e., athletes, family and friends, the German media, NOC staff, sponsors, and special guests) to gather. Entry is by invitation only and not open to the general public, except for its Fan Fest section.²

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<tr>
<th>NOC and Name of Olympic House</th>
<th>NOC and Name of Olympic House</th>
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<tr>
<td>Africa House (53 NOC’s)</td>
<td>ALBA House (Bolivia, Cuba and Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela)</td>
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<td>Austria House</td>
<td>Belgium House</td>
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<td>Canada Olympic House / Petro Canada Paralympic House</td>
<td>Casa Brasil</td>
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<td>Casa Italia</td>
<td>Czech House</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
<td>France House (Club France)</td>
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<td>Georgia House</td>
<td>German House and Fan Fest (Deutsches Haus)</td>
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<td>Great Britain House (Team GB House)</td>
<td>Grenada House</td>
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<td>Holland Heineken House</td>
<td>House of Switzerland and a Swiss Fan Zone during the Paralympics</td>
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<td>Irish Olympic House</td>
<td>Jamaica House (Jamaica Village 2012)</td>
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<td>Japan House</td>
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<td>Monaco House</td>
<td>Nigeria House (Nigerian Olympic Celebrations)</td>
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<td>Qatar House (Bayt Qatar)</td>
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<td>Russia Park and Sochi Park (Ruski Dom)</td>
<td>Serbia House</td>
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<td>Slovak House</td>
<td>South Africa Ekhaya Hospitality Centre</td>
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<td>South Pacific House (Fiji, Samoa, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea)</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Village</td>
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<td>USA House and the Procter &amp; Gamble Family and Friends Hospitality Venue</td>
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a. Hospitality houses are not the exclusive domain of NOCs and a number of Olympic and non-Olympic sponsors also had hospitality venues, e.g., Cadbury House, Omega House, as do virtually all IOC and many NOC sponsors. In London, there were also specialist venues, such as Pride House.

At the Vancouver 2010 Games, Germany even had two facilities. The main one was located at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver and a second at Whistler. There were 115 staff members, including 77 volunteers, to operate the venue. In Vancouver, the venue was over 1,000 square meters and could cater up to 450 guests at a time. Its specific services included a media area (TV broadcasts and daily press conferences as well as the publication of a daily Olympic newspaper), a Sportsbar (with a buffet and coffee bar), lounges, a medical area, meeting rooms, an area promoting Munich 2018 as a future Winter Games host, and a service area. The Whistler version was on a smaller scale, totalling 400 square meters with the capacity to accommodate 150 guests at a time. A new addition in Vancouver was the establishment of the German Fan Fest, which was open to the public and resembled a giant beer garden complete with music, food, and “pub-like” atmosphere.³ No doubt this concept was borrowed from the highly successful Dutch “Heineken House” model. Its initial success in Vancouver led to it being duplicated at the London 2012 Summer Games.

At the London Games, the “Deutsches Haus” was set up along similar lines as Vancouver but with the need for only one location. A combined German Olympic House and an attached German Fan Fest venue were set up in the Canary Wharf area in the beautiful historic Museum of the Dock-
lands building. The German House had all of the same amenities as in Vancouver, and it had a great atmosphere for all guests and those who paid to get into the Fan Fast area. A new feature added in London was having a German cruise ship, the “Traumschiff” MS Deutschland translated as the “Dream Ship” anchored nearby in the harbour area of Canary Wharf for corporate hospitality and accommodation.4

The floating luxury hotel decorated in art-deco style will accommodate the official partners of the German Olympic Team. She will also host the CHAMPIONS CLUB, where numerous Berliner athletes will be able to celebrate and relax after the games. MS Deutschland will be staying in London until August 13 when she will head to Hamburg to greet team Germany with a great welcome party on August 15. MS Deutschland has been made famous by the German soap Das Traumschiff (the Dream Ship) which was set on the Deutschland.5

It was reported that, at the Games’ conclusion, a large portion of the German Olympic athletes (each athlete could have one accompanying guest) and officials were transported to Germany in this “unique manner” and were given a welcome party in Hamburg to complete the program.6

Canada Olympic House (COH): “A Late Starter”

The Canadians set up their first Olympic house at the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Games. One of the main purposes of the COH is to serve as a “hospitality venue” and be a relaxed and friendly meeting place for Canadian Olympic athletes, their family and friends, coaches, support staff, mission team members, sponsors and special guests. It is the prime meeting site while at the Games for this select group.7

A key purpose and mandate of the COH is to be the focal point of the COC Family and Friends program, which, in Vancouver, was heavily funded by sponsor Petro Canada in conjunction with the COC, the Canadian Paralympic Committee, and VANOC (the Organising Committee for the Vancouver Games). Under one part of this program, up to six family members and friends nominated by an Olympic athlete, could be accredited for COH, and coaches, and other staff had a guest allotment as well. Furthermore, in Vancouver, Petro Canada sponsored the Canadian Athlete Family Program, which gave two immediate family members of a Canadian Olympic athlete airport transfers to/from the Listel hotel, four nights accommodation and access to the Petro-Canada Hospitality Suite at the hotel, premium Olympic tickets to see their family member compete, complimentary food and drink and a clothing package. Family members were also accredited to visit the COH at any time during the Games. For Canadian Olympic and Paralympic athletes, the Family and Friends program served an important “distraction management” role as guests cannot easily gain regular access to the Olympic Village, so COH gave them a venue at which to meet.8 Christiane Despatie, the mother of Olympic diver Alexandre Despatie supported this program with her insightful comments that, “There is no greater pride than watching your child compete in the Olympic Games. As a parent, I appreciate that there is a dedicated space for Canadian families of athletes to come together…The athletes are ready for the Olympics, but the parents are not always ready.”9

By far the largest and most elaborate COH program was during the Vancouver Games where, like the Germans, they had two venues, one in Vancouver and another in Whistler. With Canada the host of these Games, it made sense to have a large and well-developed COH, with the Vancouver site located in a prime downtown location, on the 6th floor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and a smaller site in the public library in Whistler. In Vancouver, the facilities included several sponsor-financed amenities, such as the Petro-Canada Big Café lounge area with TV viewing and the Bell Internet
Lounge, as well as a bar area, a light meal and snacks service area, an area for press conferences and athlete medal receptions, a large hospitality room for special sponsors, government, national sport federation and partner events, and the distribution of a daily newsletter called “The Red Letter.” There were also a number of free sponsor products given to visitors, such as Cold FX flu tablets, Excel chewing gum, etc. The venue proved to be an ideal place to view the Games on big screen televisions and celebrate Canadian medal victories, or to watch prime ice hockey matches.¹⁰

At the London 2012 Games, a less elaborate COH was set up at the Canadian Embassy in Trafalgar Square. Many of the same features of the COH in Vancouver were available, including a large screen TV viewing area, complimentary drinks and snacks, light meals during set times, an area for press activities, etc. The Family and Friends program was not as extensive as in Vancouver, but once again Canadian Olympians and coaches could nominate a number of family and friend supporters to gain accreditation for COH. A special Business Club, called the Larkin Club, was organised by the Canadian Government and was also set up in the Canadian Embassy along with the COH but it had a totally separate application procedure and cost structure. The London venue proved to be a very popular venue to celebrate Canadian medal victories. A well publicised guest visitor to COH was Prince Harry, who visited and watched the Canadian silver medal win in the women’s eight rowing event.¹¹ Petro Canada sponsorship in London was directed at the Paralympics, and a Canada Paralympic House was set up in East London with a Family and Friends program in operation. In effect, the Canadians had two separate types of Olympic Houses, one for the mainstream Games and the other for the Paralympics that was funded by Petro Canada, as a slightly different model was in use in comparison to Vancouver.¹²

**Australia Olympic House: “A Token Effort”**

Surprisingly, one of the great Olympic nations, Australia, has had very limited exposure to the Olympic house phenomenon. It tried the concept once in Atlanta in 1996, where its Out of Village Services included setting up a hospitality venue at the Fox Theatre, with such Team sponsors as Qantas, Carlton and United Breweries (CUB), Australia Post, Telstra, and others. The Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG) was also involved as they required a venue to promote the upcoming Sydney 2000 Summer Olympics, which it had been awarded in 1993. Within this complex was the Fosters Olympic Club with a clear cut emphasis on hospitality:

> A Reception and Information/Business Centre operated from the Fox providing information about the Australian Team, daily results, tourist activities and the Sydney 2000 Games. A team of volunteers, both locals and Australians resident in Atlanta, offered a support service to AOC guests and sponsors with the provision of event tickets, transport, accreditation and hospitality arrangements. The Fosters Club Australia operated by CUB, proved a popular venue to members who could relax and watch the Games, particularly Australian performances provided through Seven Network’s coverage. Guests were joined by Team members who had finished competition which added greatly to the Australian Olympic atmosphere.¹³

Not much written documentation could be found on this Olympic house other than this brief reference in the 1996 Annual Report of the AOC. A number of Olympic athletes and officials in Atlanta remembered some of the hospitality features of this venue, but they confirmed that it was not a place for them to meet their family or supporters as commonly occurs in many Olympic houses.¹⁴ The Atlanta version therefore was a private model linked to the AOC but tied in with corporate hospitality for key sponsors and the promotion of the 2000 Sydney Olympics.
In trying to ascertain the reasons for the lack of continuity in the program, it was mentioned in an AOC analysis of the Atlanta Games concept that it was deemed by President John Coates and other AOC staff to be “too boozy.”\textsuperscript{15} It may be that this early Australian version was typical of many of the Olympic houses at the time: it was not structured along the lines of several of the current models that feature more athlete and support services. For a nation whose Olympic family of athletes, supporters, sponsors, government entities, etc. normally have to relocate a large distance away from home for the vast majority of summer and winter Olympic Games, it is a shame that there is not a common meeting place or Australia Olympic House (AOH). Family and friends of Olympic athletes seem to be left out, in particular as they do not have a congregation point.

At Olympic Games, there tends to be some special Olympic supported events for Australians. At the 1984 LA Summer Olympics, there was an interesting ad hoc type of hospitality courtesy of the Australian government, which suggests Australia may have had one of the “earliest” versions of an Olympic house:

\begin{quote}
If we are to single out individuals for services above and beyond the call of duty, then Mr. Basil Teasey, the Consul-General for Australia in Los Angeles, and his wife, are the exemplary couple. Mr. Teasey opened his superb residence to the Australian community in Los Angeles for the Games in a splendid display of genuine hospitality, backed up by an ever-willing staff.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

The Australian government’s Austrade division often ends up running a series of business oriented events or one-off functions at the summer and winter Olympic Games. At the London 2012 Games, Austrade ran an “Australia Unlimited” event on July 28 at the Australian High Commission. At this very impressive glorified “cocktail party,” the distinguished guest list included the Minister of Sport, Kate Lundy, government officials, Australian companies, and international guests, since its purpose was to promote Australian business linkages with future Olympic Games and other major international sporting events. But while its overall purpose was far removed from the athlete services mandate of many Olympic houses, the event did have an important corporate hospitality and business function, which is often a role within most of these venues.

Several Australian Olympic sponsors also do their “own thing” with corporate hospitality programs at each Games. At the Sydney 2000 Games, Australian Olympians mentioned such services as Samsung House and other places where they met during a “home” Olympics, but there was still no official AOH.\textsuperscript{17} Likewise, the AOC does host a major reception and some other special functions for its athletes and special guests at all Olympic Games. Upon returning to Australia, Olympians are involved in AOC sponsored parades and welcome functions in most of the major cities.\textsuperscript{18}

It is also commonplace at Olympic Games for Australian Olympic supporters to adopt or “take over” a pub or club and make it the unofficial Australian gathering place. In London, a sports tour company, Sportslink International, set up an “Australia House” as a totally private venture. It was located five kilometres from Olympic Park and had full bar facilities (including Australian beers), a DJ and dance floor, seven large TV screens with 27 Olympic channels, special sport parties, a ticket swap area, and a tour desk for day tours. This obvious themed sports bar charged a five pound entry fee and had no official connection with the AOC.\textsuperscript{19}

In another example of a special Olympic supporter group, the family and friends of Australian swimmers have a specially incorporated body called Parents, Pals and Partners of Swimmers, Inc. (POOS), which meets at every Summer Games and attempts to assist the swimming fraternity.\textsuperscript{20} So, while there is a reasonable amount of activity, there is currently no formal type of AOH operated by the AOC independently or in conjunction with its sponsors and the Australian Government.
Summary and Conclusions

It would appear that there are several different types of models associated with Olympic houses: 1. Hospitality houses with a private label (i.e., by invitation only) and virtually no public access (i.e., COH); 2. Public access Olympic houses with free entry or entry fees; 3. Hybrid styles such as German House incorporating a private and a public component and possibly serving special promotional purposes (i.e., promoting future Game sites which have been awarded or bid sites for future Games); see Table 2 for a categorization of models.

The concept of Olympic houses has grown over the last few Olympics and, with approximately 45 of these in London, many seem popular with the public and definitely add to the atmosphere in an Olympic city. Further evidence of the rise in popularity of Olympic houses was that IOC officials were at these venues in London to take photos and make notes.21

It appears that an NOC that chooses to operate an Olympic house can offset the costs primarily through sponsors by offering them value-added benefits. There is also the injection of government funding if an NOC “partners” with this sector. As well, income can be generated from charging entry fees and from food and beverage sales. “To each his own” may be a good descriptor in that a NOC can find a suitable structure that is cost-effective and meets a useful set of objectives.

Surprisingly, a country such as Australia does not have an Olympic house and should investigate the concept further. When questioned on the establishment of an Olympic house for Australia, AOC Board Member and former IOC Vice President, Kevan Gosper,22 along with a number of ex and current Australian Olympians, all expressed support for this program.23 With the Australian Government often running “business-oriented” events at every Olympic Games and Australian Olympic sponsors doing various promotional programs or running independent corporate hospitality programs, there may be an opportunistic way for the AOC, the Commonwealth Government, and private sector Olympic sponsors to jointly deliver an AOH at future Olympic Games.24

Evaluations from athletes, their supporters, Olympic house workers, and volunteers, sponsors and guests are all generally very positive. A volunteer worker at COH at both the Vancouver and London
Games, William Lindsay, stated, “…it was a fantastic experience and I enjoyed meeting Olympians, their supporters and I felt like I was inside the Olympic bubble!” 25 A volunteer worker at Deutsches Haus in London, Fabian Feindler, had a similar positive experience about his role at the hospitality venue, and expressed how he enjoyed having duties in both the private section as well as in the public Fan Fest area. 26 An academic Olympic researcher, Dr. Norm O’Reilly, who was involved with survey evaluations of the COH in Beijing and Vancouver, as well as gathering information on the USA Olympic house in Vancouver, commented, “…for the friends and family of the athletes, COH in Vancouver and Beijing was a tremendous success on all measures.” 27 Canadian Olympian, Marie-Pier Boudreau-Gagnon, noted, “I know what it’s like to worry about your family when they come watch you compete. It’s amazing to know that there’s a whole building dedicated to taking care of them, making them comfortable, and where we can meet up once we’re done competing.” 28

Olympic houses, which have very active public areas, such as the German Fan Fest, have captured the public’s attention and have not only proven very popular but add an important revenue stream to help subsidise these facilities. A few of these hospitality houses generated a bit of negative press. By far, one of the largest critical media reports was that of $600,000 worth of damage to the German cruise ship that was caused by the German gold medal winning men’s hockey team and supporters who were ‘extreme” in their celebrations. The COH received some negative press via comments from Canadians in London who were denied entry due to its private and restrictive nature. An interesting comment was made by COC spokesman Dimitri Soudas as to the possible future direction of COH:

We would love to welcome every single Canadian into Canada House, but we’re constrained by capacity...Although European houses double as exhibitions, Canada’s focus is giving athletes, their family and friends a ‘home away from home,’ …but added all options were open to discussion in future. 29

The format, programs and services of Olympic houses varied considerably, with Germany being the most developed, followed by Canada and lastly Australia. It was found that most Olympic houses served the valuable role of “distraction management” for Olympic athletes and was of great benefit to their friends and supporters. The venues are an ideal place for celebrations when medals are won. They also provide a larger profile to sponsors of NOCs and serve as a “home away from home” for key individuals associated with an Olympic team. The German terminology of an “Embassy of Sport” seems very appropriate.

Endnotes
3 Ibid.
4 Olympische Momente 1, Newsletter of German House, July 27, 2012 as well a personal tour by the author as a visitor to German House on July 30, 2012.
5 www.london.dipl.de/Vertretung/london/en/_pr/OlympicsParalympics/07/MSD...
6 Ibid.
7 www.family.olympic.ca/canada-olympic-house/
Olympic Houses: A Comparative Investigation Between Canada, Germany and Australia


12 www.family.olympic.ca/canada-olympic-house/


15 Mike Tancred. Director of Media and Communications with the AOC. An interview with the author. June 27, 2011.


18 As a member of the Education Commission of the Victorian Olympic Council, the author was a guest at the Australian Olympic Team Reception in Melbourne on August 21, 2012.

19 www.sportlinkinternational.com/australiahouse

20 www.poosaus.com

21 Fabian Feindler. Correspondence with the author. September 11, 2012.

22 Kevan Gosper. An interview with the author. April 8, 2011.


24 Richard Baka. “A Home Away From Home: Why Australia Needs Olympic Houses” Blog in the The Conversation, an online academic resource. August 13, 2012. The author has been doing research on the concept of Olympic Houses since 2008 and is in contact with the AOC about sharing his research findings in order to encourage the AOC to undertake a feasibility study with the intent of implementing a AOH at future Olympic Games.


28 www.olympic.ca/news.

29 Ibid.
**Presentation Abstracts**

**Ahmed Alafandi, University of Benha, Egypt — Ottawa, Ontario, Canada**

Protection Strategies for Olympic Sponsorship Rights in Egypt

Due to the economic recession that hit the world in the last two years, and the important decrease in government funding towards Egyptian Olympic Committee and Egyptian sports associations in recent years have left sport leaders with fewer choices forcing them to consider alternate means of financial support. Marketing and sponsorship are new phenomenon which appears as magic solution. To design some strategies to protect the sponsors’ rights to encourage them to spend more money and increase their sponsorship programmes toward Egyptian sport through answering this question: What are the appropriate strategies to protect the sponsor’s rights? This paper would analyze the sports industry environment in Egypt in general, and particularly the Egyptian Olympic Committee environment to determine the environmental factors (e.g. political, economical, legal and legislative, social and cultural factors) which influence the Egyptian Olympic Committee using In-depth interviews and SOWT analysis through the eyes of sports experts, Intuitively the methodology developed and implemented is the most important part of designing sponsors rights protection strategies. Document analysis and a specific metrics would be developed for each of the three stakeholder groups (sponsors, sponsees and agencies) and the overall calculation of the environmental factors (e.g. political, economical, legal and legislative, social and cultural factors). The data would be collected via three specific online questionnaires, one for each of sponsors, sponsees and agencies. Questions would be developed based on a review of the literature, consultation with EOC B.O.D and research experience and expertise. The environmental analysis will led to some facts to identify the weakness, strength, opportunities and threats in the Egyptian football association to design some protection strategies for the sports sponsorship rights in Egypt.

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**James R. Angelini, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA, Paul J. MacArthur, Utica College, Utica, New York, USA, Andrew C. Billings, The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, USA**

Skating with Stereotypes: NBC’s Depiction of Male Figure Skaters at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games

Previous Olympic media studies reveal that NBC’s Winter Olympic telecast is far more likely to promote and advance men athletes and sports than women athletes and sports, and that NBC sportscast-
ers have employed gendered dialogue differences within the aggregate of the primetime telecast. This study of NBC’s primetime telecast of the Vancouver Winter Olympic games examines how NBC sportscasters described male figure skaters compared to other male Olympic athletes. Personality and physicality descriptors used by NBC sportscasters for athletes were analyzed in seven key areas, while sportscaster attributions for success and failure were analyzed in nine key areas. The findings reveal that male figure skaters were often portrayed differently than their male counterparts in other sports, suggesting that males who participate in stereotypically "feminine" sports are viewed differently by network sportscasters. Discussion focuses on whether gender differences in Olympic media manifest based on athletic gender or based on the perceived gender acceptability of the sport being enacted.

Josh Archer, Western University, London, Canada
Canada, the Olympic Games, and the Cold War: Convergence

After the Second World War, the Olympic Games emerged as a major international spectacle where Cold War politics were played out and contested on a global scale. The Games had always been a platform for countries to broadcast nationalist ideologies; however, as the Cold War progressed, this practice intensified as people worldwide turned their attention to international sport as a means to engage in conflict without the devastation caused by war. During this era, the Olympic Games took on a whole new level of cultural significance, as the Games transitioned from an internationally renowned sporting event to an event where sports merged with the highest level of politics so that it was impossible, ideologically or practically, to separate the two. Researchers have only recently begun to use sport, in particular the Olympic Games, as a unique and productive lens through which to examine Cold War politics. Of the existing body of knowledge in the literature on sport history, much of it focuses on the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, resulting in a significant gap in terms of our understanding of the role of satellite nations in shaping the broader East-West struggle for supremacy. Research that focuses on the history of how satellite countries (in this case, Canada) used the Olympic Games to further engage in Cold War politics will shed new and important insights on how sport shapes, and is shaped by, global political issues. During much of the Cold War, James Worrall (1948-2011) was highly involved within the Canadian Sport System; first as president of the Canadian Olympic Committee from 1964-1968, and later as a member of the International Olympic Committee from 1967-1989. Furthermore, he was on the board of directors for both the 1976 Montreal and 1988 Calgary Olympic Games. This paper, through the use of primary sources gleaned from, but not limited to, the James Worrall Archival Collection (Western University), will provide a preliminary study of Canada’s involvement in, and perspective of, the Cold War and its politics through the lens of sport and the Olympic Games.

Anahit Armenakyan, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
The Role of Expectations, Confirmation, and Perceived Performance in Olympic Games Attitudes: A Cross-National Longitudinal Study

This study explores the impact of expectations from the national Olympic team, confirmation of the expectations, and perceived performance of the team on attitudes and evaluations of the Olympic Games (OG) as a mega-event and as a destination from the perspective of domestic (Canadian) and
foreign (American) residents in the context of the XXI Winter Vancouver Olympic Games (VOG). A longitudinal study was conducted over a five-month period from two nationally representative matched samples using an on-line commercial panel. The samples were surveyed two months prior to/in the middle of/two months after the VOG. A Mega-Event Involvement Inventory (MEII) was developed on the basis of Zaichkowski’s product involvement index and applied to identify the level of individual involvement with the mega-event. MEII was found to moderate the impact of the direct effects of expectations and perceived performance on the evaluation and behavioural attitudes. The results provide input to how expectations can impact mega-event attitude outcomes.

Anahit Armenakyan, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, Norm O’Reilly, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, Louise Heslop, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, John Nadeau, Nipissing University, North Bay, Ontario, Canada

Sponsorship, Country Images and the Olympic Games: Results of a Research Agenda around Beijing 2008 and Vancouver 2010

This paper summarizes four years of research on sponsorship and country images during the 2008 and 2010 Olympic Games. Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to improve our understanding the Olympic Games hosting effects for tourists, residents and sponsors. A number of publications have resulted from this research; however an overall summary view on how the research impacts current and future Olympic Games and the International Olympic Committee has yet to been developed. That is the purpose of this paper. The research draws on three distinct literature areas: sponsorship, product-country images (PCI), and tourist-destination images (TDI). This intersection is an emerging area of study and application. Previous literature on country images demonstrated that major events positively affect a country image. Thus, this research agenda sought to examine the relationship between mega-events and country image while also exploring the interaction of these images with sponsorship images. Particularly, it is important to determine whether and which country image dimensions influence the event (sponsee) image and/or the image of sponsors. Over the course of the research, three hypotheses were tested: Hypothesis 1: perceptions of the characteristics and competencies of a country and its people will influence the image of a country-based mega-event. Hypothesis 2: country image will influence mega-event sponsor evaluations either directly or indirectly through the image of the mega-event. Hypothesis 3: the overall image of the country impacts the ability of the mega-event sponsorship to achieve its objectives (i.e. consumer buying intentions).

In order to test these hypotheses, data collection involved large-sample surveys of Canadian, American and Chinese consumers prior to the beginning of the 2008 and 2010 Olympic Games and after the Games concluded. At least 300 surveys were collected in each instance. In-depth interviews with senior management of one Olympic sponsor compliment the surveys with insight into sponsor expectations.

Richard Baka, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia

Olympic Houses: A Comparative Investigation Between Canada, Germany, and Australia

A growing phenomenon within the Olympic Games is the emergence of "Olympic houses" organised by various National Olympic Committees. Introduced by a number of nations, these temporary establishments operate in host cities during the time of Olympic Games. This research was a comparative
investigation of Canada, Germany and Australia. The study traced the historical background of Olympic houses and the motives behind their establishment. It was found that most Olympic houses served a very valuable role of "distraction management" for Olympic athletes. They also were a means of providing a larger profile to sponsors of National Olympic Committees as well as a "home away from home" for key individuals associated with an Olympic team. Attendance figures at Olympic houses, which allow public entry are also at extremely high levels. It appears that Olympic houses, which could be labeled “Embassies of Sport,” are here to stay.

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TUNA BATUHAN, THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA, USA
The Politics of Olympic Transportation Planning: The Case of 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games

The political situation and institutional structure determines the policy approach that a host city will use to prepare for the Olympic Games. Although each host city uses fixed strategies to plan for the short-term event, the outcome of these strategies mostly depends on a host city’s political structure and its institutional culture. In other words, the impact of mega-events on a host city's long-term planning strategy varies according to the choice to continue using these strategies in the long-term and is restricted by the host city's planning traditions. In this sense, this paper will analyze and evaluate the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games by focusing on the role of institutions, politics, and power relations on Olympic transportation planning in order to gain a better understanding of the positive and negative impacts of the events on Atlanta. This is particularly important given the fact that the impact of Olympic Games on a host cities' long-term policy-making process has largely remained understudied, and this study represents an initial attempt to explore this phenomenon.

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JULES BOYKOFF, PACIFIC UNIVERSITY, FOREST GROVE, CALIFORNIA, USA
Media, Politics, and the 2012 London Summer Olympics

The Olympics have become one of the glitziest global media extravaganzas. Media organizations from around the world flock to the Games to cover events for their home countries and — thanks in large part to the Internet — for global audiences, too. A great deal of this coverage is straight-up sports fare, and much of it in the predictable rhythms of victory and defeat. However, in the lead-up to the London 2012 Summer Games, British media offered news consumers significant coverage exploring the politics and economics of hosting the Games. While Olympics boosters hailed the Games as environmentally sustainable, economically beneficial, and a reliable road to the revitalization of East London, critics questioned the social, economic, and spatial impacts of the Olympics. This paper explores the following question: what are the predominant frames media outlets in the United Kingdom employed when covering the politics and economics of the London Olympics? The empirical data for this study derive from the following media outlets: the Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror, the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian, the Independent, and other sources. The time frame includes the lead-up to the Games, the actual Olympics, and the aftermath. This systematic analysis — which examines both hard news and opinion journalism — helps us understand whose views dominated the news. Did pro-Olympics boosters colonize media space? Were Olympics critics afforded discursive space to voice their grievances? Or did the frames the media adopted depend on the news outlet and temporal considerations.

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Cheri L. Bradish, Chris Chard & Cheryl Mallen, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the Olympic Games: An Examination of the Accountability and Ethics of Olympic Corporate Partnerships

The Olympics, through management functions of both the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and respective Organizing Committees (OCOGs), provide excellent opportunities to examine a myriad of implications and direction for both future Games in particular and overarching sport practices in general. While there are a variety of responsibilities of the IOC and the OCOGs, the management of the related marketing and sponsorship relationships are a unique area of examination, given the increased awareness, financial importance and overall input of these corporate partners. At the same time, one area of the Games that has, most appropriately, received increased scrutiny and critical analysis is with regard the 'social responsibility' inherent to the Olympic movement, as identified by a number of facets. As such, this paper furthers the lens of 'corporate social responsibility' and the Olympics, through an examination of the accountability and ethics of Olympic Corporate partnerships at both the IOC (via The Olympic Partner (TOP) marketing programme) and OCOG levels. Through a mixed methods analysis (to include document analysis), of select Olympic marketing relationships—including London 2012’s partnerships with BP and Cadbury, Sochi 2014’s cadre of oil and gas partners, and the IOC's Dow Chemical alliance—this presentation will review key specifics of disconcerting Olympic partnership cases (including business strategies and objectives), associated concerns of social responsibility (ranging from human rights to environmental concerns), in addition to an examination of the related discord between Olympic ethical decision-making and property values (i.e. the spirit Olympism) with questionable partner principles and practices. Finally, this study will conclude with a discussion of ‘future considerations’ for Olympic Games sponsorship programs. Presentation of this research will advance current Olympic marketing understandings and practices as well as build on both the existing Games sponsorship and related Olympic management scholarship.

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Brad Congelio, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada

An Olympic Scandal's Ancestry: Anchorage and the Bidding for the 1992 Olympic Winter Games

During the height of the Salt Lake City bidding scandal, Fred Upton, chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, requested a federal hearing on Atlanta's bid for the 1996 Olympic Summer Games. It was discovered during the proceedings that the Atlanta Organizing Committee possessed International Olympic Committee member portfolios—or, detailed documentation of each member’s personality and lifestyle. Moreover, The Salt Lake Tribune revealed that an unnamed individual attached to Anchorage’s failed 1994 bid provided the portfolios to the Atlanta group. This research traces the historical lineage of the shared IOC member portfolios between Anchorage and Atlanta to the bidding for the 1992 Olympic Winter Games. It is contested that the skeletal origins of the member portfolios were formulated in the mid-1980s by the Anchorage Organizing Committee as its members travelled aggressively and frequently in an attempt to influence individual IOC member voting preferences. Primary documents obtained through the Anchorage Organizing Committee Archives, housed at the University of Alaska-Anchorage, form the majority of this research. While the Olympic bidding scandal is otherwise meticulously researched and documented, this research will provide the first academic foray into Anchorage's peripheral involvement with one of the Olympic Movement's most tumultuous times.
Felipe R. Costa, Universidade Gama Filho, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Manuel Eduardo González-Ramallal, Universidad La Laguna, San Cristóbal de La Laguna, España, Otavio Tavares, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Brazil, Antono Jorge G. Soares, Universidade Federal do, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Lamartine P. DaCosta, Universidade Gama Filho, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Olympic Games Bidding and National Identity: Historical and Comparative Approaches from Brazilian and Spanish Media

International sports competition is a traditional opportunity to produce and reinforce national identities discourses. The contribution sought by this research is based on a comparative approach, examining how Globoesporte.com (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) and Marca.com (Madrid, Spain) made representations of Rio and Madrid during the campaign to host the 2016 Olympic Games, focusing on national identities. With this purpose, argumentative strategies that Brazilian and Spanish leading press have drawn were analyzed by means of the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to identify narratives that shape the national debate of those candidatures. One could observe how to bid the Olympic Games could be seen mainly as a national or a local accomplishment according to particular historical and cultural contexts.

Helen Curtis, Canterbury Christchurch University, Canterbury, England, UK

Inspiring a Generation of Young People? Gender Bias and Young People's Perceptions of Olympic Athletes

The Olympic Games is a cultural medium through which Olympic athletes are revered, idolised and criticised. The mediated growth of the Olympic Games has led to the representation and consumption of complex and contested identities. This paper represents a feminist critique for understanding the gendered nature of sport when examining young people’s perceptions of Olympic athletes. The research is part of a wider project which investigates young people's mediated consumption of the Olympic Games, female athletes and sports participation. Focus groups were conducted with young people, males and females aged between 11-18 years of age in the United Kingdom, in which participants were asked to draw and describe an Olympic athlete. A semiotic analysis was conducted to determine the extent to which depictions and descriptors contained gender bias. Drawing on theoretical perspectives of gender, women and sport and the wider literature on feminisms and identification, young people’s perceptions of Olympic athletes were examined. In doing so, this paper considers the inter-relationship between gendered identities and sports participation for understanding the ways in which young people perceive athletes, the Olympic Games and sport more generally.

Mark Devitt, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Olympic Education: Gold Medal for Propaganda?

Commercialism in Canadian schools is a growing concern as fiscal and budgetary restraints make providing resources increasingly difficult. School boards, parents, and academics work hard to protect classrooms from corporate funding, sponsorship, and advertising. Despite this, Olympic Education in the classroom has provided an opportunity for corporate interests to become a part of the curriculum. While corporations enact marketing campaigns, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has penetrated the school system and actively promotes Olympic Education in schools bringing
with its own public pedagogy and a corporate agenda. What is the goal of Olympic Education? What motivates Organizing Committees to create educational materials? How have the Olympics become a part of the Canadian classroom, and what is its educational value? I will examine the origins of Olympic Education and explore how the Olympics have entered the classroom. Throughout this work, I will examine the public pedagogy of the Olympics and critique the cultural lessons of the IOC. It is essential to explore the specific pedagogy of the Olympics in the classroom and I will critique these programs to examine what students actually learn about values, culture, nationalism, and the IOC. In doing so, I will show that the IOC teaches students a value system that is created and defined by corporate interests and dominant Western ideology.

Doiara S. dos Santos, Western University, Canada, London, Ontario, Canada

Growing Pains: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement in South America

Making the Olympic Movement truly global was Pierre de Coubertin’s original vision. However, it proved to be a difficult challenge for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) during its early years of history. The formation of amateur sport organizations, especially National Olympic Committees in Asian, African, and South American countries was especially slow to occur; with respect to South America it was not until the 1920s and beyond that stimulation to organize such Committees took place. Although some South American countries could rightfully point at “earlier touches” with “matters Olympic,” it was not until a 1922 tour throughout South America by Henri Baillet-Latour, Coubertin’s successor as IOC President, that so-called “Olympism” rose in the “hearts and minds” of sport leaders. Baillet-Latour’s tour occurred commensurately with one of the first instances of “regional games” celebrated in South America, those organized in Rio de Janeiro in 1922. Though Baillet-Latour was critical of Rio’s organization effort, he also realized that South America might provide a fertile field for new adherents to the global Olympic cause. He pointed out that Latin America, in general, could be effectively incorporated into the Olympic Movement if regional sport bureaucracies were formed and properly assisted. Empirical research that trace the developments that followed Baillet-Latour’s visit and the commensurate rise of the Olympic Movement in Latin America is drastically limited. There is little doubt that Avery Brundage, from his position as an IOC Executive Committee member and IOC Vice-President during Sigfrid Edström’s presidency (1942-1952), played a major role in simulating Olympic affairs in South America during the 1940s and up to the celebration of the first-ever Pan-American Games in 1951. This study examines the role played by Avery Brundage in the expansion and strengthening of the Olympic Movement in South America, particularly through his wide travels in South America and his energetic correspondence with amateur sport officials there. The study’s research material is underscored by primary sources located in the Avery Brundage Collection, housed in the International Centre for Olympic Studies at the University of Western Ontario.

Clement Fasan, Lagos State University, Ojo-Lagos, Nigeria

Building for Now or For the Future: The Challenge of Gigantism in Olympic Games

One of the legacies of mega sports events most especially Olympic Games is ability to bequeath good infrastructure in terms of sports facilities to the hosting communities. Some of the facilities are newly built while others are refurbished. However many of them are massive in structure and economic fortune. What was the objective or purpose of building the facilities? Are they just meant for
the games only or for future use? Can these facilities be sustained? Can there be return on investment? Can the resources or economy of the local community or country generate income to recuperate the cost? Can the facilities attract international or regional competitions? Can there be continual patronage of facilities. The issue of gigantism in sports is a challenge to sports events organizers and Government in terms of facilities construction to meet the standard for hosting cities. However the problem of low patronage and non-usage of facilities makes the competition an economic waste. The questions are thus: How best can we reduce the risk in terms of cost of construction? What after use plan do we put in place even before construction? Can there be some model that can be developed to share the risk? The Paper will address issues of purpose of construction, funding options for construction, sustainability, risk of investment, return on investment, purchasing power of populace and propensity to consume, location and accessibility, use and disuse, viability after game and peculiarity of developing countries. The current global economic crisis vis-à-vis competition with other government priorities and demands apart from sports calls for a re-visit of the bidding process as it affects construction of sports facilities. The paper will be an eye opener to those who are bidding as well as IOC as to avoidable mistakes in sports facilities construction and after-competition usage.

Hilary A. Findlay & Marcus F. Mazzucco, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada
Which Passport Do You Mean? Blood Profiling at the London 2012 Olympics

Blood profiling is the most recent tool adopted by anti-doping authorities to detect athletes’ using performance-enhancing substances. It will be front and centre at the 2012 London Olympic Games. Athletes will carry biological passports, which essentially store a longitudinal sample analysis of the athlete’s blood profile. Variations in the profile may reflect use of a banned substances. Indeed, information stored in the athlete’s biological passport has been found sufficient to launch a disciplinary procedure against an athlete without any direct proof of substance use. In Pechstein v. International Skating Union, the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) found a doping infraction on the basis of the athlete’s profile. No actual finding of substance use was necessary. Blood profiling is based on an accumulation of athlete blood samples (in Pechstein’s case, over 90 samples) and statistical analysis. The entire regime raises issues around athletes’ rights and the ethics of such an approach. This paper builds on the analysis of David McArdle and questions the efficacy of the biological passport from a legal perspective and the changing landscape for athletes challenging allegations based on their blood profile.

Estee Fresco, Western University Canada, London, Ontario, Canada
Consuming Canada's Colonial Past: Reconciliation and Corporate Sponsorship in the Vancouver 2010 Olympics

This paper will examine the relationship between reconciliation efforts in Canada—most notably, Prime Minister Harper’s 2008 apology to Aboriginal peoples for residential schools—and the prominent display of Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) merchandise in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. By relying on McClintock’s idea that a fetish object is an object that embodies historical contradictions, and Belisle’s application of this idea to the Canadian flag, I will argue that symbols of the nation represented by accessories designed by the HBC (and worn by Olympic athletes) embody a historical contradiction. On the one hand, they represent a
version of Canadian history that relies on the idea that white settlers discovered Canada and founded the nation. On the other hand, they symbolize the fact that Aboriginal peoples already inhabited the land that settlers claimed when they arrived in Canada and that colonial violence perpetuated against Aboriginal peoples accompanied settlers’ nation-building project. Moreover, I argue that these symbols work in conjunction with contemporary reconciliation efforts in Canada to maintain the open secret of Canada’s colonial past. Henderson & Wakeham argue that Prime Minister Harper’s apology failed to acknowledge the colonial context that gave rise to residential schools in Canada. Their critique of Harper’s apology is analogous to my observations about the HBC merchandise because, like the merchandise, Harper’s apology effaces the fact that Canada is a colonial nation. By considering the role that the HBC plays in helping to construct and perpetuate an image of the nation that serves the interests of Canadian settlers, my paper contributes to considerations of the role that corporate sponsorship of the Olympics plays in helping countries convey and entrench the dominant ideologies that underlie national identity.

LINDA K. FULLER, WORCESTER STATE UNIVERSITY, WILBRAHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, USA

Sexist Commentary at the Olympic Games

Interested in sportscaster reportage of women in sport in general, the Olympic Games in particular, this investigation concerns itself with the language surrounding women and their experiences with, and in, that venue. Beginning with an historical review of women’s role vis-à-vis the Games (in 1896, when the Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived them, his Victorian philosophy made its mark indelibly on the proceedings by declaring that “Women have but one task, that of the role of crowning the winner with Garlands”), then re-considering socio-cultural, psychological, medical, and legal obstacles to female athletes, it becomes evident that sexist commentary of the Olympic Games continues throughout the world in print, electronic, and Internet sports journalism. Describing women’s role within the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in terms of gender equity, a literature review demonstrates gendered commentary at the Games, most recently best exemplified in case study reportage on beach volleyball. Yet, taking into consideration issues such as access, cultural attitudes, changing technologies, and—most tellingly—the rhetoric of commentary about women and the Olympic Games, we see promise in the picture. For mega-sporting events such as the Olympic Games, analyses of sexism in representations and rhetoric are part of wider cultural concerns about discrimination relative to women’s roles both in sport and in society. When female athletes are marginalized, trivialized, underrepresented or represented sexually and stereotypically, they become reduced to second-class citizens.

RYAN GAUTHIER, ERASMUS UNIVERSITY OF ROTTERDAM, ROTTERDAM, NETHERLANDS

The Olympic Host Selection Process and its Effect on State Law

This work examines the bids submitted to host the Olympic Games from 2012-2020, focusing on International Olympic Committee requirements that may cause hosts to change local and national laws. During the bidding process, the IOC requires bidders to discuss plans and make guarantees in such areas of the law as customs/immigration, intellectual property, and anti-doping measures as part of demonstrating support for the Games. While bidders generally respond in a uniform manner, as compliance with these legal requirements is considered to be a minimum for a bid to be accepted, there are some interesting trends and exceptions. As bidding for the right to host the Olympic Games
goes truly global, with cities such as Istanbul, Doha, and Baku joining the race, bidders may be increasingly willing to do whatever is needed to win. This work hopes to be a baseline for future discussion amongst bidders, and of the host selection process, generally.

Larry R. Gerlach, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, USA
Alma Richards and Hans Liesche: An Olympic Friendship

Among the reasons Pierre de Coubertin decided to revive the concept of modern Olympic Games was the belief that international competition in sport could promote understanding, respect, indeed friendship, among athletes and nations. While most friendships struck up during the Games have been transitory, some proved noteworthy, some even enduring. The friendship forged at the broad jump pit between the African American Jesse Owens and the German Carl “Luz” Long in the 1936 Berlin Games is the most famous example Olympic bonding. Another interesting and more enduring Olympic friendship, one initiated during the high jump competition in the 1912 Stockholm Games, involved Alma Richards of the United States and Hans Liesche from Germany. Richards, a veritable unknown and inexperienced jumper from rural Utah, won the gold medal in part thanks to extraordinary circumstances in the finals that unnerved Liesche, who received the silver medal. Their relationship, which dimmed but never faded despite geographical separation, the passage of time, distance and the hostilities of two World Wars, was reestablished forty years later in a most remarkable circumstance. The pair began an extraordinary correspondence that revealed much about their personal lives, athletic experiences, and sporting values. Their letters, the more remarkable because Richards knew no German and Liesche no English, tell a human-interest story of two athletes that harkens back to a time when competition was intense, but confined to athletic performance; when the pressures of politics, publicity, and commercialism had not yet made competition larger than life. This presentation, which draws upon my research on a biography of Richards, is based primarily on the collection of letters between Richards and Liesche contained in the Alma Richards Collection in the Brigham Young University Library.

Gabriela Gonçalves, Katia Rubio & Luciana Angelo, Ferreira University of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo, Brazil
Multicultural Influences in the Formation of Brazilian Olympic and Paralympic Table Tennis Athletes

Table tennis originated in England in the nineteenth century and spread around the world throughout the twentieth century. The sport is part of the Olympic program since the Seoul Olympics in 1988 and is known as a sport dominated by eastern culture. The Chinese lead the world rankings in both gender-specific modalities. Although the sport arrived in Brazil through English tourists, its development happened mostly within the large Asian immigrant communities in the country, primarily through their descendants. The aim of this paper is to present how these cultural issues influence the formation of the current Olympic and Paralympic team in Brazil. We interviewed 17 Olympic and 13 Paralympics athletes among which some will represent the country at the Olympic and Paralympic games in London. The interviews were conducted in a format of life story. Observed on the interviews are issues related to understanding what is a good sports performance in Brazil and in countries where the athletes train today such as China and France; the influence exerted by the family and the ignorance on the part of many involved in the process of what is Olympic education and what are Olympic values.
Greg Hassett, State University College at Brockport, Rochester, New York, USA
What's in a Name? How the Special Olympics Got to Use the Word ‘Olympic’

The historical details of the beginnings of Special Olympics are often presented through easy-to-grasp anecdotes provided by the Joseph P. Kennedy foundation i.e. Special Olympics Inc. But the history of the Special Olympics holds within it an element that has not been fully explained. The detailed story about how this entity got permission to incorporate, as part of its official name, the word "Olympics," which was so fiercely guarded by the Unites States Olympic Committee (USOC) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from inclusion in any other organization's title. Accounts of how Special Olympics Inc. acquired use of the word "Olympics" have been limited, generally excluding the view of USOC or IOC members. A deep look into the well-preserved records of the former higher-ups of the USOC and the IOC (including Douglas Roby, and Avery Brundage) revealed a Kennedy camp that ignored threats of legal action, and a flip-flopping USOC/IOC camp, that showed support, but then decided to take the word "Olympic," away from this organization. The research included the discovery of many letters between key members of both organizations, select inter-office memoranda, editorial and news articles from the era, and an interview with the man who decided that "Special Olympics" was the only name that would do (Frank Hayden). This essay reveals the degree to which the USOC desired to eliminate the word "Olympic" from anything associated with the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation. Additionally, it explores the tactics that the Kennedy foundation and its supporters used, in order to hang-on to the moniker. It is historically significant in that this story has never been told with any USOC/IOC documentation. There have only been a few vague representations of this conflict. Occasionally an author touches upon some aspect of this issue in the midst of another story. It is time to read what really happened.

Michael Heine, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada
Constructing the Volunteer: Preliminary Examination of Olympic Discourses on Volunteering

Next to spectators and mediated viewers, volunteers constitute the largest group of social actors involved in the production of the Olympic event. They represent an essential pool of free labour power, while at the same time presenting the IOC and local Olympic organizers with significant challenges in respect of conformance and control. In the absence of immediate control devices, strategies deployed by organizers thus seek to emplace identity positions that serve positively to interpellate volunteers as conformant to forms of discipline, and modalities of behaviour that are aligned with the tenets of the Olympic ideology. This presentation examines the discursive structures on volunteerism evident in the technical, administrative and promotional documents produced by the IOC and local organizers.

Kathryn Henne, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia
Tracing Olympic Bio-Citizenship: The Implications of Testing for Ineligibility Reconsidered

Analyses of the regulation of Olympic athletes' bodies point to the significant impact of scientific testing in determining whether or not they meet eligibility requirements, particularly in relation to doping and gender verification. What is not as clear from this literature is how the deployment of such testing speaks to transnational trends related to technologies of surveillance and their broader implications. Drawing
from archival research conducted at the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne and findings from a long-term multi-sited ethnographic study, this paper examines how these technocratic practices reveal a non-state-centric formation of "biological citizenship." Biological citizenship is a concept that captures the interplay between embodiment and regulation, enabling the querying of linkages and interstices between corporeality and subject formation. Using insights from Rose and Novas' (2005) foundational excavation and subsequent applications in anthropology and critical health studies, I argue that Olympic testing regimes—and their proliferation beyond the Olympic Movement—emerge as important tools that aid in co-construction and refashioning a sport-specific notion of citizenship. This paper conceptualizes how testing for ineligibility from the 1960s onward informs an "athlete-citizenship" that is not static in nature. As evidenced by this analysis, its terms continue to morph alongside ideological and scientific shifts, revealing a discursive instance of Olympic ideologies infusing and changing with other social and technical apparatuses. In doing so, this paper attests to an instance in which Olympic values come to bear on subjects through diffused modes, not simply the spectacle of the Games themselves.

Keiko Homma & Naofumi Masumoto, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo, Japan

How Social Factors Developed the Sport Legacies after the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) introduced indexes named the Olympic Games Global Impact (OGGI) in 2003 to measure Olympic impacts on hosting cities and nations, aimed at sustainable Olympic Movement. The OGGI was then reviewed and changed to the Olympic Global Impact (OGI) in 2007. The OGI requires Organizing Committees of Olympic Games (OCOGs) to submit 4 reports covering areas of economic, socio-cultural, and environment over 12 years from 2 years before bidding the Olympic Games to 3 years after the Olympic Games. The introduction of the OGI was a significant step for sustainable development of the Olympic Games, however, some researchers point out issues in the OGI and legacy study. The main issues are: 1. Data availability required for the OGI report, 2. Organisation responsible for legacy study, and 3. Legacy study methodology. The hypothesis led by the prior analysis above is that analysing processes and relationship would be important to understand social issues. In other word, analysing how social factors played a role in developing Olympic legacies would be important. For example, for Olympic sport legacy, social factors such as sport policy, education, sport participation, and change in lifestyle are to be analysed by re-evaluating existing data and finding out the relationship between the social factors and sport legacy. This study will test the hypothesis utilizing a case of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games to understand long term legacy after the Games. In addition, this study will focus on sport legacy, which is considered as a primary objective of Olympism. Through the hypothesis testing, this study aims at providing a notion for sustainability of the Olympic Movement.

Yao Jingyao, Pei Dongguang, & Chen Liang, Capital Institution of Physical Education and Sports, Beijing, China

Current Situation of Sports System Reformation in China

China intend to transit from the centrally planned economic to market-oriented economy nowadays. Due to the inadequate reformation of the China’s nationwide sports system, the sports organization structure is not clear enough. After the great glory of the 2008 Olympic Games, China’s sports regulators to transited their role which primarily has been to drive a system that aims to win Olympic gold medals.
Objectives: Physical education (PE), competitive sports and the national fitness. Methods: Literature research method and qualitative analysis. Results: Sports play an underappreciated role in China’s educational system. The main goal of professional sport school is to develop new professional talents. The Olympic Games in Beijing have improved civic awareness of fitness but the gold medal strategy has lowered the status of national fitness. The government should attach importance to the PE of the unprofessional sport school and make education well-rounded. Professional sport schools are obligated to pay attention to learning knowledge of students. In the unpopular sports, the government could stay with the nationwide system at the present stage because of the lack equipment of athletes. According to the current reality in China, new organizational structure model which could be appropriate for development of competitive sports should be put forward. Government should concentrate resources to the national fitness and the fitness facilities can be built in parks and communities. Varies competitions can be held so that it can muster enthusiasm of residents. Conclusion: It is an inevitable trend that PE and national fitness will be more important and participate in the development of Chinese physical culture. Improve the PE and the national fitness while avoid the decline of competitive sports so that the rapid economic and industry of physical culture in China will create more novel and important opportunities in the future.

Lawrence W. Judge, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, USA, Jeffrey Petersen, Baylor University, Waco, Texas, USA, David Bellar, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, Lafayette, Louisiana, USA, Erin Gilreath, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana, USA, Elizabeth Wanless, Ball State University, Laura Simon, Ball State University

Cause and Effect: The Awareness of the 2010 Youth Olympic Games

In an effort to reignite interest in Olympic sports within the current generation of adolescents, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Jacques Rogge, with the approval of the General Assembly, led development of an Olympic Games for teenagers beginning in summer 2010. Since the July 6, 2007 declaration of the Youth Olympic Games (YOG), this new event has provoked response from both loyal advocates and equally-committed critics. This research examined YOG awareness and perceptions amongst study figure skating coaches in the United States approximately one year prior to the inaugural event. The participants in the investigation (n = 114) reported very low (Likert scale 1 to 7) personal familiarity (M = 2.32±1.70) and public awareness (M = 2.04±2.50) for the inaugural YOG. A tertiary research question explored if "adequate preparations" had been made for the YOG, and 67.5% indicated no. The low level of personal awareness and public awareness may be linked to limited YOG marketing and promotional activities. An application of historical institutionalism as a theoretical framework guides analysis of the IOC's performance staging the YOG. These findings are described and evaluated in order to provide further insight into the development of this new international sport festival.

Kaplanidou Kyriaki & Karadakis Kostas, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, USA

Four Summer Olympic Cities 1996-2008: Residents' Unaided Response to the Meaning of Legacy of the Olympic Games

The purpose of the study was to understand how residents of past Olympic Games host cities perceive the legacy of the event after a certain time has passed. Most studies that focus on legacy evaluation lack the long-term evaluation of legacy outcomes. In this study, the residents of four Olympic Games Cities were asked to provide the three words that describe the legacy of the Olympic Games for their city. This
unaided elicitation method reveals the salient knowledge structures people hold in their minds about certain issues. Data were collected from convenience samples of residents from each city involved in the research project. Convenience samples were chosen due to budget limitations from four Olympic Games host cities residents: Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing. The last four summer Olympic Games were selected because the legacy concept became IOC’s focus more intensely with and after the Atlanta Games. The sample size and the number of completed surveys per city were: Atlanta, N=203, Sydney, N=201, Athens, N=191, Beijing, N=204. Researchers coded the words provided by the respondents separately. Coder differences were resolved with discussion resulting in twelve legacy categories for Atlanta and Sydney and fourteen categories for Athens and Beijing. These categories were: psychological, sports/logos/competition, tourism, infrastructure, urban development, economic, environmental, social, cultural, political/governance reform, knowledge development, technology, health and successful sport event hosting. For Atlanta and Sydney the most frequent category was the psychological legacies (48.5% and 27.4% respectively), while for Athens and Beijing was the infrastructure legacies (17.3% and 43.6% respectively). These exploratory results suggest a shift from intangible (i.e., psychological) legacies to more tangible ones with the advent of time. For the Olympic movement and the IOC this means that infrastructure legacies recede in memory compared to psychological benefits gained from the event. From a management standpoint, legacy management programs targeting the psychological connection with the event to sustain its long-term impact over time should be created.

Naghmeh Kariminezhad, University of Lyon, France, Edgar Shamounian, Islamic Azad University, Central Branch, Tehran, Iran

Study of Validity and Reliability of Persian Version of Psychological Empowerment Instrument in Olympic Sports Organizations in Iran

The purpose of this research was to study the validity and reliability of Persian version of Psychological Empowerment Instrument designed by Spritzer (1995) in Olympic Sport Organizations in Iran. To this end 78 coaches male and female were selected among national, super league and clubs. Research participants were selected by convenient and non-accidental sampling method and among those coaches who had at least one-year experience of working in Olympic and Asian sports. To evaluate the content validity, the Persian version of the questionnaire was examined by university professors, sports coaching pioneers, experts, and coaches. Exploratory factor analysis was used for construct validation. Self-motivation questionnaire designed by Peter Terry was used to study the concurrent validity of Spritzer's questionnaire. SPSS and LISREL soft wares were used to analyze the data. Descriptive analysis was applied to determine the frequency, mean, percentage and standard deviation. Result showed that this instrument has construct and content validity. It also enjoys desirable norms and this instrument is valid and reliable to measure the level of psychological empowerment of Iranian coaches in Olympic Sports Organizations in Iran. It is strongly suggested to the National Olympic Committee and National Olympic Academy of Iran to use this instrument for their involved sports coached at all levels.

Jörg Krieger, German Sport University Cologne, Köln, Germany

Fastest, Highest, Youngest: The Youth Olympic Games from the Athlete’s Perspective

The Youth Olympic Games (YOG) are the newest addition to the Olympic Movement and in light of recent discussions of the education of high-performance athletes represent a change within
the International Olympic Committee (IOC) from a philosophy of “winning by all means” to a philosophy much more informed by education. Therefore this paper will analyse the YOG through the experiences of participating athletes and put their perception of the event in relation to IOC policies and contemporary critical sociological concepts. An overview of the different elements of the YOG with a particular focus on its indicated aims and objectives is given. The methodological framework is based on a Foucauldian approach, which constitutes different discourses on the YOG and is closely linked to the process of hermeneutic which is used in order to analyse the construction and production of meanings around the event by the IOC and the participants. Through the centering of the agents within the hermeneutic process along with the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) a more relevant image of the YOG is constructed. Evidence is given through qualitative interviews conducted with German participants that took part in the inaugural Singapore 2010 Youth Olympic Games and the 1st Winter Youth Olympic Games in Innsbruck 2012. It is argued that the YOG are a worthwhile and important addition to the Olympic Movement with athletes realizing the importance of cultural and educational values. However, the Games are still too closely associated with high-performance sport and the critical aspects involved in it.

ROBERT LAKE, WILFRED LAURIER UNIVERSITY, WATERLOO, ONTARIO, CANADA

The Marriage of Lawn Tennis and the Olympic Games: Understanding Their On-Off Relationship Since 1896

Lawn tennis can be said to have had an on-off relationship with the Olympics. It was included in the first Games in 1896 and continued to be a regular feature until 1924, when a disagreement between the ILTF and the IOC resulted in the sport dropping out of the Olympic Movement altogether. The ILTF took issue with the dogmatic IOC: their inflexible regulations on amateurism, their unworkable suggestion to cancel grand slam events during Olympic years and their marginalisation of the sport during the Games themselves. After a brief exhibition in 1968, the sport did not regain its position as a regular feature of the Olympics until 1984, sixty years after their last full participation. Several questions form the basis of this presentation: What were the underlying issues that prevented or delayed an amicable resolution being found between the ILTF and the IOC? How did a more marginal sport like lawn tennis compare to a more central sport like athletics/track and field, in terms of how the IOC dealt with enforcing rules, particular with regard to amateurism? What changes in the 60s, 70s and 80s paved the way for reconciliation between these two bodies, and what lessons are learnt from the experience of lawn tennis in the Olympics?

CHEN LIANG, LEE XIAOTIAN, YAO JINGYAO & PEI DONGGUANG, CAPITAL INSTITUTE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT, BEIJING, CHINA

The Promotion Effect of Nationwide Fitness Campaign in China for the Olympic Movement

Guided by the Olympics principle, China’s national fitness campaign is based on Olympics sports as the main content, and improves physical and mental health for the purpose. It is a comprehensive and sustainable activity which integrated sports, education, culture, and widespread the Olympic spirit. It is also the sign that Chinese government will transform the Olympic gold medal strategy into
universal participation in the Olympic activities. Objective: To demonstrate that national fitness campaign promotes the spread of the Olympic movement in China, and accelerates socio-economic and cultural development. Methods: Multi-factor variance method, linear regression method of dummy variable method, survey Analysis method. Results: The Olympic Gold strategy in Peking has reduced the position of the National Fitness. Sustainable socio-economic and cultural development needs of the national fitness campaign for effective protection. According to the reality, Chinese Government should pay full attention to sports science education in schools, the science education of sports and fitness skills in society. To innovate the organizational structure model and the scientific promotion model of national fitness campaign. Make the most of the social idle fund to increase the corresponding facility. Fully utilize the existing stadiums in society and schools. Strengthen the instruction of various sports skills in community. It is the effective initiative that organizing competitive sports of a mass character to promote the development of China's national fitness campaign in their leisure time. Conclusion: Because the urban residents in China did not actively use their leisure time to participate in sports, China can't become the world's Olympic sports powerful nation. Promoting nationwide fitness campaign in China to transmit the Olympic spirit, improve the achievement of competitive sports and promote the development of sustainable socio-economic and cultural.

Matthew P. Llewellyn & John T. Gleaves, California State University, Fullerton, California, USA

The Rise of the 'Shamateur': The IOC and the Preservation of the Amateur Ideal

The inter-war years marked a period of sustained challenges to the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) vaunted amateur ethos. In the aftermath of one of the darkest and most violent epochs in modern history, western civilization reemerged from the shadows of the Great War radically transformed. Amidst the smoldering of ash, dilapidation, and lost lives, democratic impulses swept throughout Europe and North America, as evidenced by the rise of socialist and communist movements on the continent and the granting of enfranchisement to women. In this era of widespread social and political upheaval, the old world aristocratic and conservative power structures that sustained and legitimized the dominant traditions of bourgeois amateurism were rocked to their core. Progressively-minded nations, in concert with a small band of international governing bodies, pushed for a gradual loosening of the amateur restraints during the inter-war years. As this paper will reveal, calls for the democratization of amateur sport culminated in numerous European bids to award "Broken-Time" payments to Olympic athletes throughout the 1920s and 30s. Drawing upon archival materials from the IOC's Olympic Studies Center and public debates in the leading national newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will contend that challenges to the amateur ethos, coupled with the rise of mass spectatorship and heightened commercialism in sport, placed the IOC in a seemingly impossible bind. Trapped between the lure of increased spectatorship and windfall profits on the one hand, and appeasing its most vocal anti-Shamateur allies on the other, the IOC tackled the harsh realities of maintaining an increasingly anachronistic amateur ideal in an era of democratic reform. By charting and analyzing the IOC’s efforts to preserve the amateur ideal, this paper will make a significant contribution to both the scholarly literature and our understanding of one the Olympic movement's most evocative ideals.
Raoni Perrucci Toledo Machado, Lavras Federal University, Lavras, Brasil

The Cultural Background of Olympic Education

The greatness of the so-called "sports megaevents", are built to serve as a stage for athletes, which performance are seen by a thousands of peoples around the world, in order to provide a great spectacle. However, their behavior, gestures and actions will be judged and imitated by many children who have them the object of admiration. Inevitably, the eyes of these children will be filtered, selected and specially commented by the television, which is inserted in a cultural context historically molded. For this research we will analyze the two biggest sports organization entities, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). The IOC since its beginning has tried to transmit educational elements through the Olympic Movement and the Olimpism as we can see in the Olympic Charter, while FIFA is still seeking ways to do this task, with the slogan "My game is Fair Play" as it first approach. The Olympic Movement was created based in principles built on the Ancient Greece, believing in the prototype of the athlete as that one who beyond have beautiful body, have also a good spirit, reaching physical and moral excellence, which we recognize as the principle of the "kalos kai agathos" (good and beautiful). The principles of Olimpism, therefore, were born together with the Olympic Movement itself, which facilitated their acceptance and establishment in educational programs, however, with the football did not happen the same thing, actually, no one knows exactly when it appeared, although we can speak with more tranquility through its institutionalization. The social responsibility goes beyond the federations, having the media itself and especially the athletes a primary importance for the education of the children.

Fred Mason, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

Choices of Commemoration: Analysis of Canadian Winter Olympic Commemorative Videos

Scholars have long argued that sports media coverage of the Olympic Games celebrate the nation’s triumphs and reflects national issues and concerns. Commemorative videos amplify this type of coverage to a great degree. This paper analyzes three commemorative videos from the official television broadcaster of recent Winter Olympic Games—Canada's Quest for Success, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) video from Torino, 2006, and the Canadian Television Network's (CTV) videos from 2010 —XXI Olympic Winter Games and Hockey Gold 2010. Considerations are made of the physical packaging of the box sets, of the breakdown in content by sport and gender, and of the bonus content that was not offered on the networks' original coverage. CBC's 2006 set offers three disks which recap highlights across a range of sports from the 15 days of competition, a disk devoted to men's and women's curling, a disk for women's hockey, and one for men's hockey (despite the Canadian team's poor performance). CTV's official set for the 2010 games devotes one disk to ceremonies and medal presentations, another to men's and women's hockey, and three disks to a variety of sports, almost all medal-winning performances. At the same time, there is the hockey-specific box-set, which gives slightly less than one disk to women's hockey, showing the gold medal game, and 4 other disks showing men's hockey, with a particular focus on NHL players at the Games. These box sets speak to similarities and differences between approaches to commemoration of public and private broadcasters, reflect and create notions of which sports matter most, and point to influences of commercialization and nation-building in the choice of what to commemorate, and publicly remember, from international sporting events.
Naofumi Masumoto, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo, Japan

Youth Olympic Games: New Paradigm Questing for Transnationalism

The YOG is a movement back to the original concept of the Olympic Games. The vision of the YOG is to inspire young generation to participate in sport and to learn the Olympism and the Olympic Values not only with athletics but also with CEP. The Singapore YOG was taken place from 14 to 26 August 2010 gathering approximately 3,600 athletes between 14 to 18 years old. In this YOG, the CEP was implemented. The 2012 winter YOG will be held in Innsbruck from 13 to 22 January with 1,059 athletes of 60 NOCs. They are going to experience the CEP and also to compete in new competition formats. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the significance of the transnational directions to which this new format of the 2010 YOG had tried especially focusing on the CEP and the new competition styles. Alongside new competition formats, the objectives of the CEP were to share the Olympic values with young athletes around the world and to learn about various foreign cultures, environmental problems and anti-doping issues, and so on. The CEP was implemented based on five themes, seven formats and over 50 different activities. Thus through the actual experiences, young athletes learned the Olympic values and Olympism. As the main theme of the 2010 YOG was "Blazing the Trail," which showed the innovative trials for the sport and educational programs seeking for the new paradigm of the Olympic Games. In the 2010 YOG, the delegation of the NOCs was limited to maximum 70 athletes to avoid the gigantism of the Games. Moreover, SYOCOG introduced the new sport format including the 3 on 3, gender mixed team, mixed NOCs, five continental teams competition, and so on. These new paradigm of the Games showed the transnational spirits symbolized by the Olympism.

Douglas McLaughlin, California State University Northridge, Northridge, California, USA, Cesar Torres, The College of Brockport, State University of New York, Brockport, New York, USA

A Veil of Separation: Intersubjectivity, Olympism, and FIFA's Ban of the Hijab

According to McLaughlin and Torres (1), Olympic philosophy can be fruitfully understood as an intersubjective moral approach to sport. Understood as such, Olympism can provide an important means of addressing moral dilemmas within the Olympic Movement. One such dilemma is FIFA's banning women's soccer players from wearing hijabs. The issue was brought to light when FIFA refused to allow the Iranian women's soccer team from wearing hijabs in a 2010 Olympic qualifying game (2). This is an interesting and complex case that has implications for the Olympic Games. Considerations related to religion, politics, identity, recognition, and safety all inform this moral debate. Even when framed within an intersubjective moral approach, it is unlikely that a clear consensus will be attained. But an intersubjective moral approach to sport can be beneficial on several grounds. First, it can provide the basis for identifying how competing claims can be recognized by the vast array of stakeholders. Second, it can distinguish compelling moral justifications from those that do not hold up to intersubjective scrutiny. Finally, it can provide a basis for determining policy that is aligned with the Olympic philosophy. In this paper, the examination of the ban on wearing hijabs will be addressed from two perspectives. One will be a practical examination that attempts to gain moral clarity on the ban itself. The other will be a more theoretical examination of how an intersubjective moral approach to sport can provide moral clarity on issues related to the practice and governance of sport in general.
Ana Gabriela Alves Medeiros, Federal University of Espirito Santo, Vitória, Espírito Santo, Brazil

Brazilian Olympic History Through the Print Media Coverage

The development of media and the Olympics' consolidation occurred throughout the twentieth century (a remarkable and complex context of social, political and historical change in Brazil). Media vehicles are important sources for understanding these changes. This essay is aimed to analyze media narratives about the Olympics from the 1960s to the 1990s, published in a Brazilian magazine. Most works published on the topic (media and Olympics) in Brazil do not use sources prior to the 2000s. The current discussions on the symbolic space that the Olympics have in the Brazilian social universe (especially now Rio de Janeiro is the host city for the 2016 Olympics) require a more articulate understanding of the dynamics that involve such historic narratives. The research material for the current study is drawn from coverage in Veja (the most well-known Brazilian magazine), from every Olympic year from 1968 to 1996. Data was discussed in two categories: "Being Olympic" (refers to the legitimate sense of "amateur" participation of the Brazilian team at the Olympics) and "The bureaucratization of the Brazilian Olympic sport" (with respect to the claim for a "generation of athletes"). In fact, the complexity of the Olympic Games, in both its ideological and materialized way, produces multiple possibilities of production and articulation of stories. The "event" is not in a "raw" state, there are games of interests, power and, perhaps, less tangible, there are the "symbolic games."

Laura Misener, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada, Simon Darcy, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, David Legg, Mount Royal College, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, Keith Gilbert, University of East London, Stratford Campus, London, UK

Evaluating Paralympic Legacies: A Research Synthesis

Over the last decade a great deal of work has examined major sport event legacies, with much of this research focusing on the Olympic Games. While the concept of legacy is a highly contested term, we refer to the positive aspects of legacy as that which as beneficial for the host community after the hosting of an event. An emerging area of event related research utilises the concept of leverage, which emphasises the strategic use of event related resources for the enhancement of the host community. This paper seeks to add to the body of knowledge surrounding major sport event legacies and leverage by examining the largely overlooked area of the Paralympic Games. The Paralympic Games are the second largest multi-sport event after the Olympic Games depending upon which parameters are used and since Sydney 2000 there has been an 'operational partnership' where the Paralympics are required to occur in the same city as the Olympics. Yet, no work has evaluated the comparative outcomes, legacies and event leverage that Paralympic games have generated. This paper uses the legacies and leveraging framework to conduct a synthesis of previous research to examine Paralympic games. In reviewing the research, it is noted that the bulk of the research has focused upon summer Paralympic Games with little interest in the Winter Paralympic Games. The major findings for legacy-based research include: sport development, infrastructure, community development, and attitude change. The leveraging literature is void of references to the Paralympic despite assertions that several Paralympic Games have strategically attempted community engagement strategies. The findings suggest that little consideration has been given to legacy research in the Paralympic Games, and thus
greater attention to disability sporting events could broaden our understanding of the social outcomes of major sport events.

Laura Misener, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada

A Media Frames Analysis of the 'Legacy' of the 2010 Winter Paralympic Games

The purpose of this study was to examine the media framing of the 'legacy' of the 2010 Vancouver Winter Paralympic Games. To examine this, I draw upon the concept of media framing which emphasizes the context that informs behaviors, actions, and understanding. A frame is a definition of a situation, which includes organizational and subjective elements. The media plays a particularly important role in shaping audiences' perceptions, and actively creates the frames of reference that the public readers and viewers use to interpret and discuss events. The frame manifests itself within the media content through various forms of framing devices, such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images. This particular analyses focuses on three primary newsprint media outlets: The Vancouver Sun (Local); The National Post (National); and the Globe and Mail (National). The focus of the frames analysis was on the representation of the 'legacy' of hosting the Paralympics. The analysis reveals that despite the rhetoric from the host committee and the Canadian Paralympic Committee about the increased media attention of these Paralympic Games, very little emphasis was on the legacy in the National media outlets. The framing of Paralympic legacy, which occurred primarily in the local media outlet, centred upon three legacy areas: 1) increased opportunities for sporting excellence; 2) awareness of (dis)ability; and 3) broader issues of accessibility and inclusion in the city of Vancouver. These issues do not represent a broadening of the agenda for legacy of the Paralympic Games, and in fact the lack of attention in the media framing of Paralympic legacy is counter to the forecast rise in media attention of these games in Canada.

Paulo Nascimento & Katia Rubio, University of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo, Brazil

1996—The First Brazilian Female Olympic Medalists. Why Did We Have to Wait So Long?

It was 1932 when the first Brazilian woman competed in the Olympic Games. Relatively, up to the 80s this incursion was quite modest. Public policies preventing their participation in a number of sports help us understand this process better. Professionalism in the Brazilian Olympic arena reached men first. This phenomenon can be understood by analyzing both the imperative of the Ethos in sports as well as the recurring Brazilian patriarchy even in modern times—residues of its colonial past. To women, professionalism presented itself one decade later if compared to men. The result of this new reality culminated with an inedited accomplishment of Olympic medals by the Brazilian female competitors. There has been ever since a constant presence of Brazilian women up the Olympic podium. The four medals earned in Atlanta 1996 were conquered in basketball, volleyball and beach volleyball. If in the past, the gap between men and women were abyssal, today their roles are even—their medals included. Atlanta was the beginning of this nowadays equivalence. With the aid of the life history from 14 women who had conquered these four medals to Brazil, this paper aims at building a panorama of these very important moment for 2016 Olympic Games host country. Because of their life histories, it is possible to verify female athlete's perceptions of being pioneers,
considering that in Atlanta they started to occupy one of the last bastions of male dominance in society as a whole: high level sports.

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**Geoff Nichols, University of Sheffield Management School, Sheffield, England, UK, Rita Ralston, Manchester Metropolitan, Manchester, England, UK**

**Volunteer Management at the 2012 Olympic Games: A Tension Between 'Programme' and 'Membership' Management Styles**

This paper explores the style of management of the volunteers at the 2012 Games and the relationship between this and maintaining the volunteers' motivation, which is an important contribution to the event atmosphere. Event volunteering management can be characterised as 'programme management'; in which the required roles are defined and volunteers allocated to them; or 'membership management', in which volunteers are allocated to roles to match their aspirations. The complexity of mega-sports events and the strong motivations of volunteers; associated with the event prestige; leads such events to adopt 'programme management'. However research suggests event volunteers 'desire some control over their work environment' and 'don't want to feel overly inconvenienced or taken for granted.' Thus a programme management approach may not accommodate these motivations. Further, volunteers' motivations change during the 'life-cycle' of the event. An analysis of the management of volunteers at the 2012 Olympic Games; using interviews, documents and observation; explores this tension and the implications for volunteer motivation, a volunteer legacy and management of volunteers at future Olympic Games.

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**Christine M. O’Bonsawin, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada**

**Igniting a Resistance Movement: Understanding Indigenous Opposition to the 2010 Olympic Torch Run**

On October 30th, 2009 the Olympic torch landed on the shores of Lekwungen territory, also known as Victoria, British Columbia, to commence a record long 106-day national circuit across Canada in anticipation of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games. As eager citizens and Olympic enthusiasts prepared for the arrival of the Olympic flame, policing units and security teams prepared for protest action and anti-Olympic activity. On this day, and in the 105 days that followed, the Olympic flame was met with considerable resistance and protest action as Indigenous and non-Indigenous/Settler peoples alike cited Indigenous rights as an underlying and fundamental reason for the rejection of the Olympic flame. The purpose of this paper is twofold; 1) to provide an historical context for the rejection of the flame leading up to the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games, and; 2) to conceptualize, using examples of Indigenous protest action along the torch route, the complex and multifaceted reasons as to why there was considerable protest and activist action in support of Indigenous rights throughout the duration of the 106-day relay. Accordingly, this paper will be contextualized within discourse literature relating to the origins of the Olympic torch run, past and present examples of Indigenous resistance against Olympic torch runs in Canada, as well as the historic and ongoing rights of Indigenous peoples within Canada. Furthermore, Individuals involved in anti-Olympic efforts we well as some diametrically opposed to Olympic endorsed events, such as the torch run, will be interviewed and consulted. Accordingly, this study contributes to a larger body of literature which challenges ongoing assertions that the Olympic movement is unequivocally humanitarian-centred.
Robert D. Oliver, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia, USA

A Sporting Chance for Toronto? Toronto's 2008 Olympic Bid Legacy

Toronto has failed to secure the right to the host the Olympic Games on five different occasions (1960, 1964, 1976, 1996, 2008). This research seeks to expand the concept of Olympic legacy to include the bidding process and to investigate what Toronto's most recent Olympic bid effort accomplished. Previous research has shown that Toronto's 2008 Olympic bid did produce a serious public debate about urban waterfront renewal in Toronto and did stimulate a tangible legacy in the creation of a Waterfront Task Force that became the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation following the bid period (it is now called Waterfront Toronto). Less clear is how the bidding process contributed to a rethinking of the city's local sportscapes. Relying on a series of interviews conducted in 2004 and 2011 this research offers a 10-year reflection on the 'legacies of the bidding process' in Toronto since the 2008 Olympic Games were awarded to Beijing, China. Following the loss of the Olympic Games, a new Sports Strategy Framework was crafted and a "new voice for sport" in the form of the Toronto Sports Council was established. Nevertheless, investment in sport and sport related infrastructure has remained a delicate political exercise and this case study illustrates that sport and leisure as budget items simply do not rank as highly on municipal agendas as other forms of public infrastructure. With the city's sporting landscape remaining fractured, it has remained committed to winning a major sporting event as a means to secure a more impressive suite of sport facilities. At least some of the spirit and intention of Toronto's series of Olympic bids was woven into their successful 2015 Pan American Games candidature.

Joshua R. Pate, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia, USA, Robin Hardin, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, USA

The Model for U.S. Paralympic Training Sites: A Case Study of Lakeshore Foundation

U.S. Paralympic athletes have limited choices in regard to training at accessible facilities. As of 2012, the United States had three designated Paralympic Training Sites in addition to the training location at the U.S. Paralympics home in Colorado Springs, Colo. However, Lakeshore Foundation in Birmingham, Ala., became the first U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Training Site in 2003 and has transformed into a destination of choice for elite athletes with disabilities and national teams to train. Athletes and teams travel from across the United States, including Colorado, to train at Lakeshore Foundation's smaller yet accessible facilities. The purpose of this study was two-fold: (1) explore the programming, participant makeup, and organizational structure of a U.S. Paralympic Training Site through seeking an understanding of how it operates, and (2) explore why elite athletes and coaches are attracted to Lakeshore Foundation's Paralympic Training Site. Case study methodology was used with semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis as methods for data collection. Results showed that Lakeshore Foundation's accessible training facilities and the personal attention shown by staff members to U.S. national teams in training were among the primary factors that have made the facility a destination of choice for the most successful U.S. national teams. Three U.S. national teams used Lakeshore as their primary training location leading into the 2008 Paralympic Games: women's wheelchair basketball, women's goalball, and men's wheelchair rugby. Those three teams were the only U.S. representatives to win gold medals in team competition at the 2008 Paralympic Games. This study suggests that the experiences of a national team at its training facility may impact
its success on an international stage of competition. Practical implications offer a blueprint of how staff can best serve stakeholders (e.g., national teams), and conversely those stakeholders serve as a public relations arm of a facility.

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LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO, USA
"The Brutal Kilometer": Mary Decker and Zola Budd's Collision in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics

In the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics 3,000-meter women's final, South African runner Zola Budd, competing under the British flag, paced ahead of the heavily-favored U.S. runner Mary Decker. With just three laps remaining in the race, an ahead-but-outside Budd moved toward the inside lane, immediately in front of Decker. Her shift caused several bouts of contact between the two competitors and on the third collision Decker stumbled and crashed to ground. Injuring her hip and unable to continue, Decker was carried off the course in tears. Although Budd maintained her balance, she crossed the finish line seventh to a cacophony of boos. Track officials immediately disqualified Budd for the contact; however, upon reviewing film reinstated her within an hour. This paper examines the nationalistic discourses surrounding the 1984 3,000-meter collision. In the lead-up to the controversial championship race, international media outlets questioned Budd's decision to compete for Great Britain while British athletes similarly criticized her quick change in citizenship. Yet with South Africa banned from the Olympics due to its system of Apartheid, questions of the country's inequitable racial structures remained tellingly absent in discussions of Budd. Following the contest, the U.S. public faulted Budd in defense of Decker, subtly utilizing Budd's South African roots to construct her as inexperienced and inferior. The European audience largely defended Budd as British. Analyzing the ethnocentric undertones of the race-through the British Olympic Association's decision, United States Olympic Committee's descriptions, Budd's autobiography, Decker's recollections and media accounts-enhances our understanding of the Olympics' role in the construction, perpetuation and reaffirmation of nationalism in international sport.

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CONSTANTINE PSIMOPoulos, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, USA
Youth Olympic Games: A Promising Practice for Olympic Pedagogy

This will be a presentation of a lived experience from the first Winter Youth Olympic Games (YOG) in Innsbruck 2012, from a volunteer (the author as participant-observer) employed by the organizing committee, and will include an assessment of the significance and effectiveness of the Culture and Education Program. The YOG may be a new project of the Olympic Movement and the IOC, however, it is very closely aligned with Pierre de Coubertin's 'pedagogic symphony' and the mission of the International Olympic Academy, described by some scholars as a practical manifestation of Coubertin's educational vision. As the newest expression of the Olympic Movement, the vision of YOG accentuates efforts by the International Olympic Academy (IOA), National Olympic Academies and those of Centers for Olympic Studies towards a more thorough understanding of what the enactment of Olympic Education is and ought to be, and establishes the parameters for the justification of a unique methodology in physical education teacher preparation at the university level, which I would like to call Olympic Pedagogy within a teacher preparation unit, a notion other than what Naul
(2007; 2010) argues in his recent book and what is predominantly discussed in the literature. Given the analysis of the culture and education program at YOG (Innsbruck 2012) and the synthesis of sources so that a meaningful comparison (between Coubertin's view on pedagogy, the mission of the IOA and that of YOG) can be drawn, the crux of my argument will be the fact that the Youth Olympic Games can be a model that all future Olympic Games should emulate.

Toby C. Rider, Pennsylvania State University Berks, Reading, Pennsylvania, USA

"It is Not a Simple Matter to Keep Aloof:" Avery Brundage and the U.S. Government in the Early Cold War Years

During an International Olympic Committee meeting in 1955, the organization’s president, Avery Brundage, commented on the trying conditions of the Cold War: "In a world engaged in a titanic struggle between different political systems, it is not a simple matter to keep aloof." While he spoke in defense of the Olympic Movement, he may just as well have spoken for himself. A voluminous amount has been written about Brundage, and a considerable amount of it has examined his years in charge of the IOC. Some Olympic historians have documented how Brundage tackled the rise of Cold War politics during his presidency; a challenge that Brundage faced by repeatedly demanding that the Olympics be kept free from the interference of governments and the machinations of foreign policy. As an American citizen, Brundage was obviously open to accusations of impartiality in the superpower conflict, and there is no doubt that he cared little for communist doctrine. But did the IOC leader follow a tune played in Washington? There is a relative paucity of scholarly inquiry directed at Brundage’s dealings with the government of his homeland, yet his personal papers and declassified state documents reveal a less than harmonious relationship between the two parties. This paper argues that Brundage was, for the most part, careful to keep "aloof" from the advances of American officials who wished to gain influence within the Olympic Movement. Brundage was courted most frequently in the early Cold War years, though he rarely toed the line. Indeed, he became somewhat of a frustrating figure to the U.S. government, often refusing to accept that the Olympics could be used for political purposes, and berating state efforts to use sport as an ideological weapon.

Ian Ritchie, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada

The ‘Spirit of Sport’: Understanding the Cultural Foundations of Olympism through Anti-Doping Policies

‘Doping’ is considered by many to be the central moral issue facing the contemporary Olympic movement. Furthermore, the central justification for the current ban on performance-enhancing substances and methods is the ‘spirit of sport’, an essentialist notion of sport that the use of ‘drugs’ is said to contravene. As such, understanding the ‘spirit of sport’ is crucial; the concept speaks not only to the main justification for the prohibition of drugs, it ultimately speaks to the foundations of ‘Olympic sport’. What is the ‘spirit of sport’? This is the central question this paper addresses. Three claims are made. First, theoretically, the notion that there exists an essentialist or ‘transhistorical’ nature of sport is considered in terms of sociological literature on the naturalization of sport through common perceptions of sport’s central medium—the body. Second, the contemporary use of the idea of the ‘spirit of sport’ is considered in terms of the World Anti-Doping Agency’s popularization of the term and also in terms of Olympic branding efforts to create an idealized notion of ‘pure sport’. Third, the creation of the idealized ‘spirit of sport’ is contextualized in
terms of two important historical influences on the Olympic movement: (1) the particular ideal and practice of amateurism, which of course was crucial to the Olympic Games for most of its history; and (2) Coubertin’s ideals for the Games. The contemporary notion of sport’s ‘spirit’, it will be shown, is in fact part of a long-standing attempt to proffer an image of the Olympics as a ‘pure’ form of sport. The paper will demonstrate that, contrary to the intended meaning of the term itself, the spirit of sport is a historically and socially context specific notion. Indeed, by understanding the social and historical underpinnings of anti-doping, we are better able to understand the very foundations of Olympism itself.

Katia Rubio, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil

Mexico Olympic Games: The Political Interference on the Formation of the Brazilian Delegation

The 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico represent a mark on the Olympic history for being the first Olympic Games in Latin America. Beyond that, it happened in a moment of a worldwide political turbulence. The Prague Spring, the student protests in France and the Black Power Movement in the US. In the particular case of Brazil the country was under a military dictatorship that started in 1964 and in 1968 lived its darkest moments with pursuits and restriction of freedom. During this period sports were used as an instrument for military divulgation which searched to prove your excellence through good results achieved by some athletes. The objective of this paper is to point how the Brazilian political momentum interfered on the formation of the Brazilian delegation planned to initially send 8 athletes but by presidential order sent 80. The methodology used on this research is life stories of the Brazilian Olympic athletes realized as an oral storytelling. Until the moment, 39 athletes of that delegation of 1968 were interviewed. On these interviews it’s possible to observe how the selection process of the 8 participants indicated initially by merit, how were chosen the other 72 athletes—confirming the policy of using the result obtained by athletes to devote the military regime—and the restriction to female participation—only 4 women participated on the delegation, claiming a trend observed throughout the 1960’s exclusion of women’s Olympic Games.

Pam R. Sailors, Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, USA

"Organically Sound" Olympians: Gender and Women's Distance Running

The long and difficult process of women’s inclusion in the Olympic Games has been well-documented, but room for discussion remains regarding women’s distance running in at least two areas beyond the fact of mere inclusion. First, when women are allowed to participate in a sport, they may only be awarded an opportunity to compete in a diminutive form. As recently as the early 1960s, the authors of a book on coaching track and field found it necessary to reassure their readers that girls and women could exert themselves physically without danger, so long as they were properly conditioned and "organically sound." Even so, women were not allowed to run events of the same distances as men, since the International Olympic Committee was not persuaded to include events for women at any distance over 1,500 meters until the 1980 games in Moscow. Second, even when women are allowed to engage in exactly the same contests as men, they may bear the burden of additional expectations, negative stereotypes and inequity as a consequence of their gender. Most prominently, the appearance and personal lives of women distance runners are subject to far more scrutiny than is the case for their male counterparts. I begin this examination by providing a brief history of the effort to include women’s dis-
tance running events, with a particular focus on the marathon, which was contested for the first time in the 1984 Games held in Los Angeles. I then provide an examination of previous texts addressing issues of gender norms, differences, and equality in the context of sport in order to formulate a framework that I then use for analysis of women’s participation in Olympic distance running events.

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Alyson Schmidt & Cheri L. Bradish, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada

Lululemon and the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games: A Case of Ambush Marketing?

The Vancouver 2010 Olympics accomplished many Games successes, much of this attributed to the sound and progressive management by the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games Organizing Committee (VANOC). One particular area of VANOC which was noted for achieving remarkable OCOG benchmarks was the Sponsorship and Sales division, responsible for retaining national sponsorship partners. Tripling expected values, this unit was responsible for stimulating a record $750 million dollar domestic investment via sponsorship agreements from over 75 leading Canadian corporations. Coupled with the management of these partnerships was a 'Commercial Rights Management' (CRM) subdivision, which served as the unit to protect the corporate investment of these Games 'supporters' which had the intent and mandate to "build and protect a commercial rights model that justifies the investment of VANOC and the IOC sponsors and partners" (VANOC, Commercial Rights Management, 2010) including the provisions to, through both federal and provincial legislation, to legally enforce violations against the commercial rights of Games partners, often associated with ambush marketing. While these programs from a sport management perspective received considerable acclaim, there was considerable debate as to their overall positioning from a perspective of the 'public domain' in particular from a gradient of 'ambush marketing' concern. As such, this presentation will review the 'ambush marketing' case of Lululemon, who in 2009 revealed a line of clothing called "Cool Sporting Event That Takes Place in British Columbia Between 2009 and 2011 Edition" and which caused considerable consternation and challenge to the VANOC Sponsorship and Sales and CRM units. Presentation of this research will advance current understandings of Olympic marketing functions, specifically with regard to the legally, ethical and political consequences of ambush marketing Games policy.

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Amanda N. Schweinbenz, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada

"Float Like a Butterfly, Sting Like a Bee"—Just Make Sure You Wear a Skirt

In August of 2009 after years of negotiations, the International Olympic Committee formally added women’s boxing to the 2012 Summer Olympic Program. Female boxers around the world rejoiced; they too now had the opportunity to compete at the illustrious Olympic Games alongside their male counterparts. Association Internationale de Boxe Amateur (AIBA) President Dr. Ching-Kuo Wu proudly claimed that the inclusion of women in the Olympic Games was a key goal for the organization and the "Women's Olympic boxing is a vote for the future ... at long last, women can claim their rightful place alongside men on the Olympic boxing program." While the announcement was intended to celebrate the skill and athleticism of female boxes, a subsequent announcement marginalized their admittance. Wu claimed that many had a difficulty distinguishing between male and female boxes on television because they wore the same uniforms. As such, the AIBA suggested the women will be required to box in skirts and a tight fitting vest in 2012. The mere proposal of regulat-
ing female athletes to wear a uniform that overtly genders them emphasizes the deep seeded heterosexist ideologies that continue to exist in international sport and the Olympic Games. Female athletes have long negotiated these types of overt feminization tactics in order to adhere to the dominant narratives of appropriate femininity. The idealized feminine body is celebrated, while all others suggest deviance; once again clothing and uniforms are going to be used to assure normalization. This paper will examine how clothing and uniforms at the Olympic Games have been used to support dominant heterosexist narratives of the ideal female body through an analysis of newspaper articles, meeting minutes, and international sport federation correspondence.

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JEFFREY O. SEGRAVE, SKIDMORE COLLEGE, SARATOGA SPRINGS, NEW YORK, USA

The Modern Olympian as Medieval Knight: The Transubstantiation of Chivalry in Coubertin's Ideology of Olympism

Numerous historical forces conspired to produce a 19th century Zeitgeist receptive to the renovation of the Olympic Games, including the Greek War of Independence, the excavation of Olympia, the Philhellenic Movement in Europe, the French socio-political climate of the day, the emergence of national programs in physical education and international contests in sport, and the Olympic revivalist movement nurtured in England by Dr. W. P. Brookes, and in Greece by the patriotic romanticism of the poet Panagiotis Soutsos. Coubertin himself drew his ideological inspiration primarily from philosophical idealizations of ancient Hellenism and English Muscular Christianity, as well as from European and French liberal educational theorists and cosmopolitan and internationalist doctrines. But while Coubertin may well have been most heavily influenced by classical Hellenism and the 19th century culture of English educational sport, he also owed a large debt of thanks to the chivalric model of the Middle Ages. As Lucas notes, Coubertin's Olympian was "a kind of Greek reincarnation, a modern-day medieval knight, a slightly modified aristocratic English gentleman-athlete." In other words, while the most powerful, and certainly the most commonly addressed, historical precedents for Coubertin's ideology of Olympism emanated both from classical Greece and 19th century England, the Middle Ages, most especially in the form of chivalry, were not without profound significance in the creation of Coubertin's transcenturial Olympic narrative. The purpose of this paper is to delineate the influence of chivalry on Coubertin and to show how Coubertin used his own somewhat romantic interpretation of chivalry to rationalize and legitimize his idiosyncratic Olympic ideology, especially during a century that witnessed the resurrection of the chivalric code as a model of social and athletic behavior.

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HEATHER SYKES, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

'Stolen Land' and 'Pot of Blood': Anti-Colonial Resistance to Winter Olympics in Vancouver and Sochi

This paper will analyze differences between First Nations' and Circassian resistance to the winter olympic games in Vancouver, Canada and Sochi, Russia respectively. Protests by indigenous groups against the Vancouver games focused, among other things, on the unceded territory of Vancouver/Whistler. Thus, the First Nations anti-olympic protests raised issues of indigenous sovereignty, land stewardship and anti-colonial politics in contemporary Canada. Protests by diasporic Circassian groups are calling for the occupying Russian government to recognize the 1864 massacre and depor-
tation of Circassians from Sochi as genocide. Protests across the Circassian diaspora are raising issues of reconciliation and the right to return. Evidence will be drawn from interviews with anti-olympic activists in Vancouver and interviews with members of the Jordanian Association of Circassian Friends. Evidence will also be drawn from a discourse analysis of internet material from anti-olympic groups. The paper will describe different ways indigenous and diasporic people organize resistance against both the olympics, as a transnational organization, and colonial nation-states. The purpose of this analysis is to contribute to transnational discussions and alliances in global civil society between indigenous, diasporic and settler colonial anti-olympic groups and social movements.

Sarah Teetzel, University of Manitoba. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Olympic Support Personnel and Entourages: Coherence with the Philosophy of Olympism

This paper examines the historical involvement of athletes' support personnel on modern Olympic rosters and the philosophical justification for their inclusion. Members of the athletes' entourages, who accompany a country's athletes to the Olympic Games, can include people representing such diverse professions as physicians and nurses, coaches and managers, sport psychologists, nutritionists, masseuses, exercise physiologists, and chiropractors, among others. A country that brings a large team of athletes to compete at the Olympic Games, such as the United States or China, can end up including more support personnel on its Olympic roster than many countries' total number of athletes competing. In early editions of the Olympic Charter, rules stipulated how many people, in addition to the competing athletes, a country could include on its roster. Ostensibly, these rules helped level the playing field and ensured athletes from countries bringing large support staffs did not gain advantages over athletes from smaller contingents that travelled without support personnel. In this paper the roles of the entourage will be evaluated from the philosophical perspectives of fairness, justice, equality of opportunity, and coherence with the philosophy of Olympism. Rationales for expanding, minimizing or changing the number of support personnel each country brings will be examined to try to determine if there is more value in including additional non-athletic participants to provide more people with Olympic experiences, or if greater value arises from promoting the shared use of the host country's support personnel.

Wanda Ellen Wakefield, SUNY College at Brockport, Brockport, New York, USA

Citius, Altius, Fortius—At Whose Expense? The International Sliding Community Responds to Nodar Kumaritashvili’s Death

The opening ceremonies for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games were marked by the sad news that a slider from Georgia, Nodar Kumaritashvili, lost control of his sled and was killed while training at the Whistler Sliding Center. In the wake of his death, luge and bobsled officials had first to determine whether sliding would continue, and, if so, what changes needed to be made to the track to insure the safety of all athletes. In the months after the Vancouver Games the International Luge Association issued its report on the circumstances of Kmaratishvili’s accident and began to make modifications to its official rules, especially giving Race Directors for Junior competitions the authority to keep an athlete off of the track should he or she not be able to negotiate the course safely. Meanwhile, the conversation continues concerning athlete safety, especially in light of the deaths of Belgian cyclist
Wouter Weylandt during the Giro d'Italia and Dan Wheldon during an Indycar race in 2011. To understand the circumstances surrounding Kumaritashvili’s accident and the sliding community’s response I will rely on interviews with officials who were present at Vancouver, newspaper and television accounts, and the rules for bobsled and luge competitions as modified. As the International Olympic movement has its stated purpose the quest for faster, higher, stronger, all who are interested in supporting the Olympic idea must understand the possibilities for disaster as athletes push the limits of their bodies and their equipment in the quest for excellence.

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Stephan Wassong & Jörg Krieger, German Sport University, Köln, Germany

Munich 1972—Turning Point in the Olympic Control System

The Games of the XX Olympiad in Munich 1972 have been subject to many studies. Understandably, research concentrates on the terror attack on Israeli athletes and officials during the Games and the role of sport in the nation building process of the two Germanys. This includes the structures of systematic doping in the GDR and new studies reveal similar processes in the FRG. However, it has been largely neglected that the Munich Games have to be considered a landmark in the Olympic anti-doping fight, too. Thus, this paper adds a new perspective to the research on the 1972 Munich Olympic Games in general and anti-doping in particular. It is shown that for the first time, an official standardized doping protocol has been implemented and the first major drug testing program was introduced. A historical overview of the development of doping analysis is given and the role of individual scientists—such as the German biochemist Manfred Donike, who was in charge of the controls in Munich—in the establishment of the global doping control system is emphasized. The analysis of the Minutes of the IOC Medical Commission and other official documents proves that the Munich Games have been a turning point in the Olympic control system, which led the way for extensive doping controls in subsequent Olympic Games. Consequently, the Games have played a pivotal role in the development of Olympic doping controls and many elements of the doping analysis in 1972 are still important today. Furthermore, the work has also led to the foundation of the Biochemical Institute at the German Sport University Cologne, which has been the leading scientific institution in the Olympic anti-doping fight for the last 35 years.

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Charlene Weaving, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada

Babes Boxing in Skirts: A Critique of the Proposed AIBA Uniform Rule

In this paper, I will argue that the Amateur International Boxing Association (AIBA)’s proposed uniform rule, which suggests that women boxers compete at the upcoming 2012 London Olympic Games in skirts, is sexist and constitutes another example of the tension and struggles women Olympians face. The final ruling will be decided in January 2012, however, regardless of the outcome, the proposed uniform change is worthy of analysis. In applying the classic arguments (sport is a celebration of the body-subject) from Young (1979), I will argue that we continue to view women as body-objects rather than body-subjects. Grounded in philosophical theory, I will also make a case that all National Olympic Committees should advocate on behalf of the women boxers to change the rule given the lack of power the boxers have to enable such change. North American media has been saturated with discussions on the looming ’skirt rule,’ and media reports highlight AIBA President Ching-Kuo Wu’s claims that some television viewers were having trouble distinguishing the female boxers
from men, which created a need for women competitors to box in skirts. Consequently, theories of hyper-femininity and hetero-normativity will be analyzed and connections and comparisons will be made to the uniform regulations in other Olympic events such as Beach Volleyball and Badminton. Overall, I will demonstrate that the proposed uniform regulation overshadows women's boxing debut at the Olympic Games and further reinforces inequity at the Games.

TED FAY, SUNY CORTLAND, CORTLAND, NEW YORK, USA, ELI A. WOLFF, BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, USA, MARY A. HUMS, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, USA, DAVID LEGG, MT. ROYAL UNIVERSITY, CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA

Convergence or Divergence? A Critical Stakeholder Analysis of Past, Present and Potential Future Contractual Relationships Between the IOC and the IPC

Based in part on recent controversies regarding control over the contractual marketing and broadcast rights to the Paralympic Games for the 2018 Winter Games in Pyongchang, Korea, there is growing speculation that the Paralympic Games will be either become more integrated with the Olympic Games as a property of the International Olympic Committee in the future or be cast adrift to survive on its own. This paper will provide a strategic management assessment of the specific contractual relationships between the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) in determining what, if any, future agreements might yield in influencing further progression or potential regression in the ever evolving relationship of these two sport governing bodies. The authors will apply a critical stakeholder analysis to the text of each contractual agreement between the IOC and the IPC, including its predecessors (e.g., the IOSDs and ICC), from 1960 to 2012. Using a set of interrelated conceptual frameworks, the authors will also present an analysis of the mission, vision, and strategic goals and objectives of the IOC and the IPC relative to these agreements. The significance of this paper to the field of Olympic and Paralympic Studies is to provide a critical perspective regarding the whether the Olympic and Paralympic movements are converging or diverging at this point in time.

KRISTEN WORLEY, DIRECTOR, INCLUSION FIRST, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

Gender Policy and its Impact on Female Athletes: Defining Women's Gender and Competitive Performance Through Policy

Gender verification testing in sports is the issue of verifying the eligibility of women athletes competing in domestic, international and Olympic sporting events. The belief behind the testing: it was alleged male athletes may pose as a woman to take an unfair advantage in women's sport. The first tests began at the European Athletic Championships in 1966, heightened by suspicion that some Eastern European female athletes were actually men. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted and introduced testing in sex-segregated sport in 1968 at the Olympic Winter Games in Grenoble. In 2000 gender testing was abolished, due to heavy criticism from medical professionals specializing in genetics, endocrinology and psychology. All too often the athlete's medical history has not remained confidential between the individual athlete and physician. Discriminatory practices and unsupported policy by inaccurate science as history has shown time-and-time again by the IOC, has led to severe trauma and dehumanizing of female athletes and their bodies, leaving them to bear the impact publicly on their own, which has only led to catastrophic and very tragic outcomes. An
overview of scientific developments, emboldened by legal theory and policy analysis, leads to important conclusions toward necessary amendments in IOC and sport federations' policies and removal of gender verification testing of women altogether. Sport policy, which tries to maintain competitive balance as well as fair treatment of athletes, would benefit through a wave of deregulation for these athletes. IOC policy needs to encompass particular inclusion principles, education, science and safeguards that are missing from the current policy statements and universal system of 'Best Practices' to ensure respect, safety and participation, no matter one's level of diversity, from sandbox to high performance.

XIAOWEI YU, WESTERN UNIVERSITY, LONDON, ONTARIO, CANADA
Is There a Bottom Line? An Examination of Host Cities' Costs during the Olympic Journey

This study examines host city costs incurred in the Olympic Games project. The study aims at examining cumulative costs from the perspective of the city itself, rather than the two principle entities usually assessed—the Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). To acquire as wide a picture as possible, all the costs incurred by hosting Olympic Games are firstly grouped into a chronological order: (1) bidding phase, (2) preparation phase, (3) staging phase, and (4) post-Games phase. The study contends that the total costs that host cities are burdened with should include all the Olympic-related costs incurred during the four phases. To further emphasize the idea, the costs in these four phases identify both acknowledged costs and ignored costs. The costs incurred in the second and third phase are usually considered the acknowledged cost, while those incurred in the first and fourth phase are considered the ignored cost. The study also conducts a comparison between Olympic Games celebrated before 1984 and those staged after that in order to demonstrate how oversized the latter became in terms of the financial burden host cities have to bear. By discussing acknowledged cost and ignored cost, respectively, and describing the recent cases of Athens, Beijing and Vancouver, the study shows a picture that host cities vastly underestimated cost pertinent to carrying out the Olympic Games, thereby making such projects financially oversized. This state endangers the Olympic movement. Therefore, this essay argues for a downsizing of the financial scale of the Games, thereby checking the evasion of Olympic purity to the forces of commercialism, and reducing the host city’s cost, two agents necessary for the Olympic movement's sustainable development in the future. This study also provides readers with suggestions towards helping host cities answer the question of how to reduce the cost during their Olympic journey.
Previous Proceedings

Copies of the Proceedings of previous International Symposia for Olympic Research are available for the price of $50.00 (CAN) each if mailed to a Canadian destination; $55.00 (U.S.) if mailed to the United States; and $60.00 (U.S.) outside North America. Please consult the ICOS web site for further information (http://www.uwo.ca/olympic).


