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Exploring the Growth of the Television Audience for the Olympic Winter Games in
'Non-Traditional' markets

Kashef Majid

A Thesis

in

The John Molson School of Business

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ABSTRACT

Exploring the Growth of the Olympic Winter Games in ‘Non-Traditional’ Markets

Kashef Majid

The spectator audience for the Olympic Winter Games has been increasing in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, New Zealand, and South Africa. This phenomenon is noteworthy because, although these countries (termed ‘non-traditional’ markets) rarely participate in the Winter Games, they choose to watch them.

A preliminary analysis of the phenomenon revealed two frequently recurring themes: the Olympic Brand and the Experiential Aspect of viewing the spectacle. In-depth interviews with key producers of the Olympic Spectacle revealed two additional themes: Heroes and Myths and Identification. A hermeneutic analysis of the data identified the relationships between these four key themes. The Olympic Brand and the Experiential Aspect were the two primary themes but they were strengthened by the secondary themes of Heroes and Myths and Identification. When all of the relationships between the themes had been identified, a model was created to find a single abstract theme that captured the entire model. This abstract theme was Hope (a function of yearning and probability).

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Chapter 1

“People are not tuning in to watch a sport that they identify with, they are tuning in to watch the Olympics” - Richard Pound, former Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), 2004

Over the past 20 years the spectator audience for the Olympic Winter Games has grown throughout the world. This is not surprising when one considers the growth of the Games in terms of nations taking part, increasing number of events, and media coverage. However, what is surprising is that nations that do not traditionally take part in the Winter Games are tuning in to watch them. During international competitions, spectators tend to identify with their home nation or a particular sport (Whannel 1992). When there is no home nation to identify with (because no participants are entered) and the sport is foreign to the audience, the question is: Why do spectators watch?

Over 160 nations received TV coverage of the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, yet almost half (78) did not take part in the games. Of the 82 nations that did take part, a handful do not have a strong winter sports tradition (or even winter conditions). The 78 nations are termed ‘non-traditional’ markets because they do not have a strong history of taking part in the Olympic Winter Games. For the purposes this study, I have divided them into traditional and non-traditional Winter Games markets.

To qualify as a non-traditional market a nation must meet at least one of the following criteria:

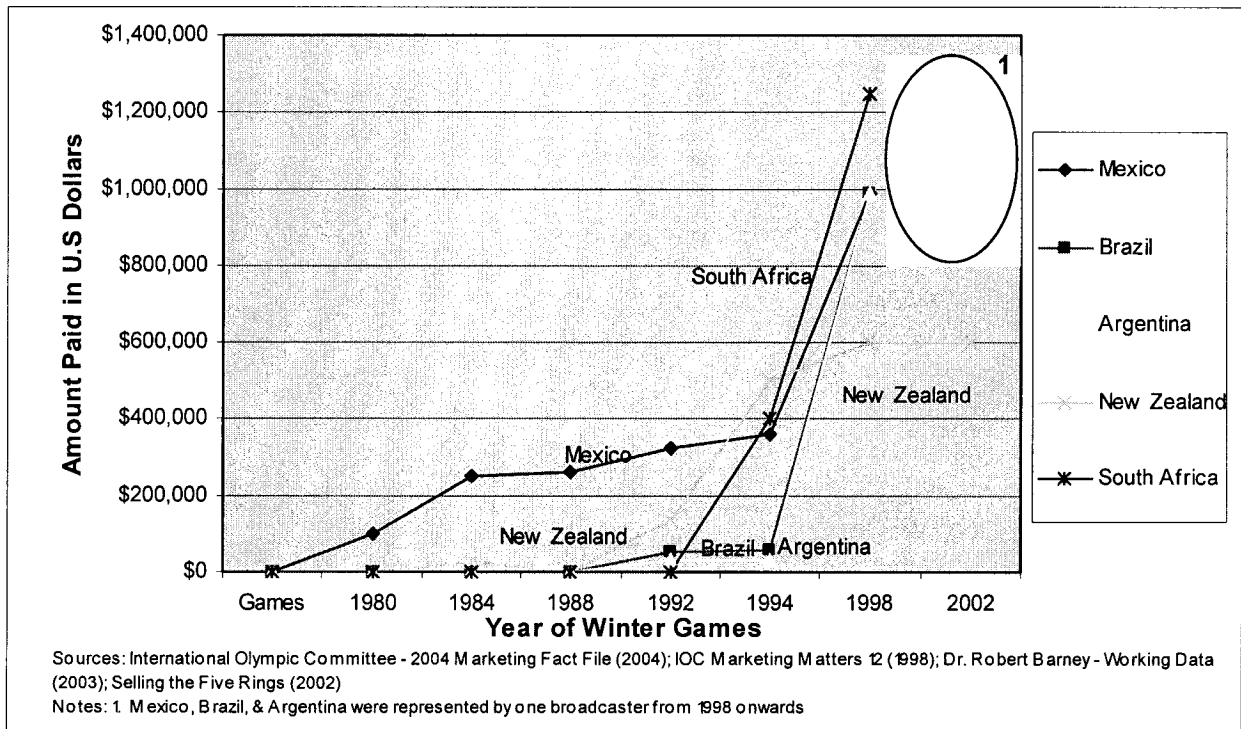
1. The nation does not and has never competed in the Winter Games.

2. Participation in the Winter Games is a recent phenomenon (within the last 20 years).
3. The nation has never won an Olympic Winter medal.
4. Climate conditions are such that only a small minority of the population can practice winter sports.

With these conditions in mind, the majority of the 160 nations that viewed the 2002 Salt Lake City Games are non-traditional markets. Five nations from this group have been chosen to illustrate the growth of the television audience for the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. The five are Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, New Zealand, and South Africa. Brazil and South Africa because each lacks a winter climate and each recently started competing in the Olympic Winter Games, Brazil in 1992 and South Africa in 1998. Argentina, Mexico, and New Zealand have been competing since 1984 but neither has ever won a medal nor do they have a climate conducive to winter sports.

These five nations were chosen because broadcasters representing each nation have gradually been increasing the rights fees paid to broadcast the Winter Games in their market area. Rights fees are a measure of growth (see Fig. 1) for an illustration of these increases please see the chart below.

Figure 1 – Growth of Television Rights Fees Paid for the Olympic Winter Games



1.1 Background

The Olympic Winter Games were first introduced in 1924; Olympic Summer Games were held in the same year. From 1924 to 1980 the Olympic Movement grew steadily, expanding in participation and television viewership. However, up to and including 1980, the cost of the Olympic Games (Summer and Winter) outweighed the financial benefits. The Games were a financial burden on the host cities. This changed in 1984 when Los Angeles successfully hosted the Summer Games and produced a surplus (Barney, Martyn, and Wenn 2002). The key to their success was strong

partnerships with sponsors and aggressive negotiations with American television broadcasters (Barney et al. 2002). Once the Olympic movement demonstrated its ability to sustain itself financially and reach millions of people, additional sponsors and broadcasters jumped on the bandwagon. An increasing number of sponsors and broadcasters began to leverage their association with the Olympic movement to recoup their costs (IOC 1997). By 1988, the Olympic Games were becoming mega-events with hundreds of millions of dollars in turnover. This strained the resources of the IOC and its key sponsors, and a decision was made to change the schedule of the two Games. The IOC decided, that beginning in 1992, the Games would be staged at 2-year intervals. The Summer Games were held in 1992, the Winter Games in 1994.

Currently, the most of the world can turn on their television sets every two years and watch Olympic Games. The potential audience for any given Olympic Games is estimated at over 3 billion (International Olympic Committee 2004), more than half the world's population. A large number of nations compete in both Olympic Games, in over 20 events. At the Opening Ceremony, the official opening of the Games, the athletes parade under their national flag and the Olympic Flame is lit. A similar ceremony marks the closing of the Games. Though revolving around sporting events, the Games also include the arts, education, and culture. For example, the most watched event of the 1992 Barcelona Games was the opening ceremony (Larson & Park 1993).

1.2 Producing the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games are one of the great media events of the modern era. They are different than other genres of broadcasting because they have the power to interrupt lives and captivate an audience into action (Dayan & Katz 1992). Preparation for the

Games begins many years before. A city is awarded the Games seven years before the event; Vancouver, which will host the Winter Games in 2010, was awarded the Games in 2003. The Olympic Games Organizing Committee (OCOG) takes the lead and works in partnership with the National Olympic Committees (NOC). The 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games in Vancouver will be led by the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC) in partnership with the Canadian Olympic Committee (NOC). The Canadian Olympic Committee selected Vancouver to represent Canada in bidding for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games. From that point on the relationship has been a partnership between the OCOG and the NOC, with both sharing revenues and expertise. Direction to the OCOG and the NOC is provided by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Once the infrastructure is in place the International Sport Federations (ISF) sanction the Olympic Games and oversee specific sports. For example, when a judging controversy occurred in the figure skating events in the 2002 Salt Lake City Games, it was up to the International Figure Skating Union to resolve the controversy. The broadcasters start to become involved at least two years prior to the event (Sources: VANOC www.vancouver2010.com, Canadian Olympic Committee www.olympic.ca).

The Games combine the drama and pageantry of a major theatrical production, with the tension and sense of unknown that are present in any live event (Dayan & Katz 1992). The combination of multiple narratives, embedded genres, and layered symbols allows the Games to attract a demographically diverse audience (Chalip 1992). The Games do not present a single message, sport; multi- messages are dynamic and varied across spectators (Chalip 1992). MacAloon (1984), who studies the Games as a global

spectacle, describes the Games as a dynamic exchange of experiences and meanings between the human actors who are centre stage as participants and the spectators. In producing the Games the IOC & OCOG transfer the values of the Games to all areas of humanity (MacAloon 1981, 1984).

The ideas proposed by MacAloon are powerful and we see them applied in business practice. Transferring experience and meaning from producer to consumer drive businesses in today's economy (Pine & Gilmore 1999). We have learned over the past two decades that to be competitive and sustainable, producers must offer more than a product or service. They must create rich experiences that extend beyond the physicality of the product or service (Shostack 1982). Creating rich viewing experiences is the reason Olympic broadcasters are selective in what they show - they must give a salient experience to the audience (Rivenburgh 2003). Games facilities are designed to maximize television coverage. For example, in Lillehammer (1994), the venue proposed for the ski-jumping was moved to a different location because the lighting in the second location was better for television coverage (Puijk 1994). During the Games, television cameras give us access to images and places we are unlikely to visit. Cameras mounted on a luge sled as it travels down the course give viewers the sense of going down the course themselves (Larson, Moragas Spa, and Rivenburgh 1995).

The amount of coverage given to a specific event is determined by how "television friendly" it is and how much spectator interest exists. In 1988 the British Olympic Team won a bronze medal in archery but received only 20 seconds of coverage in Britain (Barnett 1990). Archery is not a popular spectator sport and is very difficult to follow on television (Barnett 1990). To augment the coverage of events, broadcasters

often do a lead up where they profile the competitors and explain the parameters of the sport. For example, to overcome former viewer apathy in a non-traditional Games market such as Mexico, the Mexican broadcaster enlisted a local television personality to explain the sports from a Mexican perspective (IOC 2004).

Producers must also create meaning that separates their products or services from those of their competitors (McCracken 1986, Stern 1995). For the Games to be viewed as a global spectacle it must be able to communicate meanings and experiences effectively. This is the modern challenge that the Olympic spectacle faces. Only a tiny number of people can attend the Games in person; the majority of the world's population relies on television to recreate that spectacle. Herein lies the challenge; television must recreate a spectacle as salient and captivating for the viewers as for those who are actually present. The Games must engage consumers and move them from a state of passive consumption to a state of active consumption (Pine & Gilmour 1999). To achieve this, the consumers must take meaning from the Games that will remain relevant and memorable after the transaction (Pine & Gilmour 1999). Some would argue that television dilutes Olympics meanings and experiences. Even MacAloon, who first proposed the idea of transferring experience and meaning via the Olympic Games, states: "the sheer scale and intensity of it all mock the puny efforts of the television camera to capture it in two-dimensional images" (MacAloon 1984, p. 245). It is true that television cannot reproduce the richness of the Olympic Games that exists for the spectators. . However, in the last 20 years television has advanced to the stage where it has become an active contributor in the exchange between actor, spectator, and television viewer. The participants in the Games have the opportunity to become heroes and create myths in the

minds of the spectators. Heroes and myths are created by competition resulting in conquest and coronation (Dayan & Katz 1992). Without television, competition is replaced by communion (Dayan & Katz 1992). For example, although thousands may line the marathon course, only a minority will see the finish. For the majority the event is communion (Dayan & Katz 1992). Television ensures that the spectacle remains a contest and the meanings associated with such a contest are transferred from the actors to the spectators and viewers. In effect, television forms a triad with the actors and spectators (and viewers) to create meaning and experience from the Games.

To summarize, four parties produce the Olympic Games. The IOC, the Olympic Games Organizing Committee in partnership with the National Olympic Committee, the athletes, and the media all work together to create the Olympic spectacle. The IOC acts as the administrator of the Games and sets the framework upon which all the Games are created. For example, the IOC decides the length of the Games, the host city, the number of events, and the broadcasters. The OGOC, in partnership with the NOC, creates the stage upon which the athletes will perform. Broadcasters capture the performances and transfer them to a viewing audience through television. It could be argued that a fifth party, the spectators present, plays a role in producing the spectacle. For example, the audience of a sporting event, by agreeing to behave like fans, helps to produce the performance (Deighton 1992). However, we have to remember that the spectacle is consumed via television, which does not allow the audience, the viewers, to participate in the spectacle; the audience is a passive consumer (Pine & Gilmour 1999).

1.3 Creating Myths and Heroes

One of the major themes in the literature on the production of the Games is that they create myths and heroes (Chalip 1992, Bernstein 2003, Whannel 1992, Dayan & Katz 1992, Barnett 1990). Chalip (1992) discusses how the Games produce salient images such as the fight against incredible odds that viewers can apply in their lives. Dayan & Katz (1992) go a step further and argue that events such as the Games have helped generations to explain the world around them, the role of myth. Myths communicate through story. They bridge the spiritual, biological, and cultural narratives of society (Stern 1995, Barthes 1972, Levi-Strauss 1963).

Myths allow us to assign meaning to our culturally constituted worlds (Barthes 1972) and to provide a logical model capable of explaining the paradoxes between natural and social experience (Levi-Strauss 1963). Levi-Strauss (1963) uses the example of Oedipus and the paradox of kinship and incest. The myth of Oedipus illustrates the transformation of condemned child to triumphant hero, while warning against the dangers of incest. Myths are consciously created first by identifying meaning (the tragic hero in Oedipus) and then mixing this with form (the structure of the story); the result defines myth (Barthes 1972, Levi-Strauss 1963). Presently we use myth to organize our cultural world into logical structures (Levy 1981).

Levy (1981) studied consumer stories and found that they systematically organized themselves in the logical structure of myth. Today marketers are using myths to structure their advertising messages for greatest effect (Johar, Holbrook, and Stern 2001). Johar et al. (2001) found that myths could be used to provide a structure and a framework upon which to design advertisements. The power of myths is that they

transcend physical/ cultural boundaries and they cannot disappear over time; instead, they vary over space (Levi-Strauss 1963). For example, Levi- Strauss (1963) studied a variety of cultures and found that the details of the Oedipus myth changed in different regions but the meaning and the form remained intact (Levi-Strauss 1963). An integral part of myth is the concept of the hero. Heroes are the protagonists in myths (Raglan 1949, Butler 1979). Heroes rise above challenges with superhuman abilities; they are larger than life and motivated by good (Butler 1979). Heroes are defined by the moments of great conflict in their lives; we know little of their lives before the conflict (Raglan 1949). Upon achieving conquest, the hero becomes an example and a source of inspiration to the masses (Goodman, Duke and Sutherland 2002). In today's context, Browne, Fishwick, and Marsden (1972) argue, heroes are constantly being created to reflect the current culture. For example, with the predominance of media and real time imagery, today's hero generally has great physical appeal (Daddario 1998).

Dayan and Katz (1992) discuss how the very nature of the Games makes the creation of myths and heroes inevitable. Media events, such as the Games, contain three elements: contest, conquest, and coronation (Dayan & Katz 1992, pp. 29). Contests are an inherent part of our society; they give people the opportunity to distinguish themselves and to qualify as heroes (Dayan & Katz 1992). Conquest and coronation show the heroes pushing their limits to overcome competitors and to be glorified (Dayan & Katz 1992). Certain heroes carry on beyond the coronation in our memory and become immortalized in myth (Dayan & Katz 1992, Puijk 1994, Whannel 1992). The formula of competition, conquest, coronation that Dayan & Katz advanced

(1992) deviates only in terminology from adventure, suffering, and festive celebration advanced by Johar *et al.* (2001, p. 6).

Television engages spectators by inviting them to watch the contest. Before the competition starts, television sets the stage for the competition by describing the actor and the forthcoming challenge in terms that the audience can identify with (Puijk 1994, Larson *et al.* 1995). The following is an excerpt from a Brazilian commentator speaking about the Brazilian women's basketball team (Larson, de Moragas Spa, and Rivenburgh 1995; pp. 239):

China ... it's good to remember that they can give us a headache in women's basketball ... but Brazil, here, was lucky to win the game. Because of that we hope to win a medal for Brazil (TV Bandeirantes, Brazil, Opening Ceremony)

The commentator describes the challenge that awaits the Brazilians and the belief in luck and hope that the spectators can identify with. Spectators can now identify with the coming challenges and actively want to see the outcome (conquest). Upon coronation, the actor may be elevated to the position of hero or become immortalized in myth. This is dependent upon the persona of the actors and the circumstances of their contest (Bernstein & Blain 2003, Whannel 1992). It is important to note that the actor need not be the victor in order to be viewed as a hero or part of myth.

1.4 Consuming the Olympic Games

This study focuses on the growth of the Winter Games from the perspective of the producer; therefore, the consumer is not analysed in detail. The consumer in this study is not differentiated by gender, occupation, age, or even participation in recreational activity. This study groups all consumers together, differentiated only by their

nationality. Zecevic (2004) posits that the number of recreational participants in winter sport activities may be one of the causes of the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. For example, the number of recreational skiers in Argentina may be causing viewership of the Winter Games to increase in Argentina. However, during the course of this study all of the winter sports federations in the five study markets were contacted and none of them indicated that the level of participation in any of these sports was high enough to justify a system of broadcasting where consumer demand causes the producer to broadcast certain events (See Appendix C).

The consumption of the Games through television viewership can be categorized as a leisure activity. The key elements of leisure activities are that they are conscious (Nash 1960), fulfil our need for primary pleasure or instant gratification (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982), act as an end rather than a means, and are moderated by the social situation (Unger & Kernan 1983). Viewership of the Olympic Games contains all of these elements. Consumers actively rearrange their schedules to watch the games (Dayan & Katz 1992, Rothenbuhler 1988). The next two elements complement each other; the activity is the end product, consumption of the Games is done without regard to activities that follow (Rothenbuhler 1988). The final element is that the social situation moderates the leisure activity. In the case of the Games, Rothenbuhler (1988) studied the television viewing patterns of a group of spectators during the 1988 Summer Olympic Games and found that the majority watched the Games with one or more people. In fact, viewing the Olympic Games provided people with a reason to have social gatherings (Rothenbuhler 1988).

During the discussion on the production of the Games the importance of transferring salient experiences from the producer to the consumer was a major point. Holt (1995) studied consumption practices using baseball spectatorship. He found that consuming the game as play (how consumers make sense and respond to the game) consisted of three different parts: accounting, evaluating, and appreciating (Holt 1995 p. 4). 'Accounting' occurs when consumers apply their knowledge to make sense of what they encounter, for example, spectators keeping track of the number of hits a batter gets in a baseball game (Holt 1999). Evaluating involves comparing what the spectator has seen to a point of reference in memory in order to pass judgement, for example, two home runs in the same game by the same player is a unique accomplishment because it rarely happens (Holt 1999). Spectators 'appreciate' when they respond emotionally to what they have seen, for example, when a baseball player makes a seemingly impossible catch the spectators clap in approval; this is a display of appreciation (Holt 1999). In the case of the Games the spectators in non-traditional markets do not have enough knowledge of the sports to engage in traditional accounting or evaluation functions. For example, consumers who are watching figure skating for the first time have no way of assigning the points a skater receives (accounting) or of evaluating a gold medal performance against a fifth place performance. That is not to say that consumers are not performing the accounting and evaluating functions but they may be modifying them to their body of knowledge. It is the notion of appreciating as an element of consumption that is relevant to this study. Holt (1995) found that consumers appreciate the elegance and the displays of athleticism and are particularly responsive to seeing the unexpected.

These qualities are very much in evidence during a spectacle such as the Games where the competition is unscripted and full of astonishing athletic performances. Keep in mind that in these non-traditional markets, many viewers have little or no experience of watching the sports on display. The sight of a skier jumping off a man-made cliff or a group of skaters racing around an oval may produce the ultimate form of unexpectedness, the possibility of disaster. In a conversation, the former Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee remarked that the Winter Games are more salient than the Summer Games because in almost every event there is a possibility that someone could be killed (Pound 2004).

Consumers consume the Games because of the experiential qualities they contain, but the Games also reach spectators on an emotional level. Vaughn (1980) argues that consumers become involved with products like sport because of the affect those products generate. Chalip (1992) takes this one step further and explains that fans can be created if an emotional interest in the event can be engendered. The notion of forming an emotional interest with an event takes us away from traditional theories of information processing. Such theories posit that consumers are logical decision makers who make decisions by looking at the pros and cons of the information available (Payne, Bettman, and Johnson 1993). Alternatively, Hirschman & Holbrook (1982) advance the experiential view, where feelings, fantasies, and fun are considered when making consumption decisions. In the experiential view the consumption decision is based on the fun and pleasure derived from the product, as opposed to the product's usefulness (Hirschman & Holbrook 1982). According to the experiential view we can advance the

notion that consumption of the Games is based on the experiences, feelings, and emotions that are engendered by the Games.

The feelings and emotions elicited by the Games are created through symbols such as myths and heroes (Izod 2001). For a global audience, myths overcome regional boundaries and allow us to organize the culturally constituted world around us (Barthes 1972). Typically in a myth the hero displays almost superhuman qualities and perseveres over incredible odds.

1.4.1 Consumption of Myth and Heroes

Myths allow us to structure and give meaning to the world around us (Barthes 1972). Consumers can take myths and use them to mediate the relationship between nature and culture (Milton & Scarborough 1994). For example, Levi-Strauss (1963) found that tribes in South America used myths to warn against the dangers of incest in a mythic structure similar to that of the ancient Greeks. In this case, nature was the tendency to mate with one's relatives while myth warned against such dangers which then became ingrained in culture.

A component of myth is the protagonist or the hero. Heroes reflect our culturally acceptable values (Izod 2001). The hero acts as a role model to which people can aspire (Goodman *et al.*, 2002). Goodman and colleagues argue that heroes such as athletes are seen as larger than life; they provide consumers with a reference point to aspire towards and to imitate. For the consumer, the Games and sports are one of the true environments where they can watch heroes created naturally. Heroes are also found through other dramas in cinema and television, but these heroes are often created to give

the illusion of accomplishment (Browne 1972). The Games allow the consumer to identify with the hero. The athletes have gone from humble beginnings to an elite platform; everybody can identify with the concept of starting from humble beginnings.

The notion of wanting to replicate through imitation has been widely explored in the research on consumption (Girard, Metteer, and Bann 1987; Belk, Ger, and Askegaard 2003, Hirschman 1988). Girard, Metteer, & Bann (1987) describe how we inherently want that which others own. In the case of the Games, consumers aspire to achieve the status of the hero (Fishwick 1972). Belk (2003) demonstrates how consumers often want to emulate heroes because of their desire for otherness. We watch and we are inspired, we desire to escape from where we are and be like what we see (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982). The desire for otherness can be a very strong in some cultures and propel its members to action (Belk 2003). Two-time Olympic medallist Silken Laumann recalled (2001) that she was so inspired by the Olympic performance of Romanian gymnast Nadia Komeneeci that she wanted to emulate her hero and become an Olympian. Desire can lead us to consumption within an acceptable social context (Belk *et al.*, 2003). Desire is a powerful motivating force that submerges us in a state where we surrender our mind to it (Simmel 1978). Though Simmel (1978) is referring to a different context of desire (money), his work on desire illustrates the power desire can play in our consumption behaviours. Belk, Ger, Askegaard (2003) found that we cultivate and maintain desire until we either acquire or attain the object, or we realize that it will never be acquired. In the case of the Olympic Games, we desire to achieve the status of hero. Though all consumers may never achieve the status of hero in an Olympic Games we can take the lessons from those heroes at the Games and apply them towards our own desires: the

“never quit” attitude of Kerry Strugg who competed with a broken ankle (Daddario 1998); the “attention to perfection” of Nadia Comeneci (BBC); or the “willingness to try” of the Jamaican Bobsled team (Moller 2002). The consumer can never be certain when a new hero will be created during viewer-ship of the Olympic Games. However, with every act and every contest the potential for a new hero emerges (Dayan & Katz 1992). Only in conquest will the hero be created (Dayan & Katz 1992, pp. 29). Consumers watch the contest and await the conquest in order to capture the meaning behind viewer-ship.

1.5 Olympic Brand

Other major sports have attempted to reach new audiences with little or no success, for example, the National Football League in Europe and the National Hockey League in the Asia-Pacific region. It can be argued that the reasons for such failures are rooted in what Whannel (2002) described as lack of identification. Global audiences cannot identify with American Football or Ice Hockey and thus derive no pleasure from watching them. If this is true then the notion of identification seems to argue against the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. The key differentiator though is that, unlike other major sports which branched out into new markets, the Olympics is not a new concept. The Summer Games have long been established in the non-traditional markets; it is the Winter Games that are new. The Olympic brand was well-established long before the Winter Games were introduced and may have facilitated the entry of the Winter Games into new markets. To make this claim, the Olympic brand must be very strong and awareness of the brand must be high.

1.5.1 Branding

A brand can be a source of value, a method of differentiation, and a predictor of quality (Randall 2000, Temporal 2002). Brands create perceptions; they allow for association; they have a personality; and they elicit feelings (Aaker 1997, Temporal 2002, Fournier 1998, Travis 2000). The concept of the brand is relatively recent; gone are the days of the mass production of the same product at the same price – today products are differentiated through mechanisms such as brands (Temporal 2002). A brand can be

embodied in an icon, a picture, a few words, an individual, a group, or anything that can carry symbolic meaning (Aaker 1996, Ind 2004). For the firm, brands create equity, although equity is different than value (Keller, 1993). Value is often associated with an item's financial worth; brand equity is the accumulated value of recognition, association, and perception (Temporal 2002, Travis 2000). To summarize, the brand is a culmination of thoughts, feelings, expectations, and meanings associated with a product beyond the useful function which the service or product or serves.

1.5.2 Creators of the Olympic Brand

Building a brand is a joint effort by the producer and the consumer. The producer creates the brand through its values, its mission, and the product or service it sells (Aaker 1996). The brand becomes an embodiment of what the producer represents. This is what sets some firms apart from others in the same category; for example, one firm may represent efficiency while another communicates quality (Ind 2001). The Olympic brand is unique in that its producers go beyond the typical producer/consumer relationship. Six groups work together to create the Olympic brand. They are members of the Olympic Movement, the IOC, the Olympic Games Organizing Committee (OCOG) in partnership with the National Olympic Committee, the media, the athletes, and the consumers.

The Olympic Movement

The Olympic Movement is by far the largest sector of the Olympic brand. When most people think of the Olympics they think of the Games that occur every two years, but the Olympics is actually an ongoing movement similar to a social movement. Social movements are defined by the following elements: their purpose (Putnam 2000), their

membership (Bearman & Kim 1997), and the actions by their members to achieve that purpose (Fredrickson 1997).

The purpose of a social movement is to promote a cause or bring about change (Bearman & Kim 1997, Minkoff 1997). For example, both the civil rights movement and the women's movement developed to further the rights of their members and achieve social equality (Minkoff 1997). The membership has few restrictions; members of a social movement feel that their desire for change would be better served as part of a group (Bearman & Kim 1997). The primary requirement of membership is that members must be actively working towards the goals of the movement. For example, consider the example of the looters in the 1991 Los Angeles riots. Many of them were not actively trying to advance the goal of racial equality through their actions and were not part of the social movement (Denning 2004). The final element of a social movement is the actions of its members towards its purpose. The actions of the membership in a movement can influence how a movement is perceived. In Denning's (2004) work on social movements he found that the U.S riots in 1968 and the aptly termed "Battle in Seattle" in 1993 came to embody the American civil rights movement and the anti-globalisation movements (Denning 2004).

The Olympic Movement contains all of the elements that define a social movement. It has a set of guiding principles which have given it purpose since its inception. (For an outline of these principles, see Appendix A.) Membership in the Olympic Movement is non restrictive. Members can be either formal or informal members. Formally the Olympic Movement consists of the IOC, the athletes, the National Olympic Committees of the worlds countries (such as the Canadian Olympic

Committee), the International Sports Federations (ISFs), and the OCOGs of Games being scheduled or held. . However, like all social movements, formal membership represents only one section of the total membership. Non-formal membership in the Olympic Movement ranges from the volunteers who want to be part of the Games, to artists who are motivated by the Olympics and try to bridge cultural divides through their art. It is impossible to count the number of people involved in the Olympic Movement but with the inclusion of almost every amateur athlete in the world, it is fair to say that the movement is large and diverse. Members serve the purpose of the movement through their conscious actions. It important to distinguish between those who serve the purpose of the Olympic Movement consciously and those who serve the purpose unknowingly. For example, if the leaders of two countries sign a peace agreement they may be actively pursuing the goal of peace as outlined by the Olympic Movement, but this is not carried out under the Olympic banner and is not a part of the Olympic Movement. However, if the leaders of two countries sign an agreement so that the athletes from the two nations can participate in the Olympic Games then this would be considered part of the Olympic Movement.

International Olympic Committee (IOC)

The International Olympic Committee has 117 voting members. There is a president, four vice presidents, and ten executive members (Source: www.olympic.org). The IOC administers the Olympic Movement and oversees the execution of the Olympic Games. It acts as the official spokesperson for the Olympics and chooses which city will host each Games.

Olympic Games Organizing Committee (OCOG), National Olympic Committees (NOCs)

For every Games, the Olympic Games Organizing Committee in partnership with the National Olympic Committee has the primary responsibility for executing the Games. This entails a great deal of preparation beforehand and a co-ordinated effort during the Games. The 2010 Winter Games will be produced by the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC) in partnership with the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC).

Athletes

The athletes represent their countries and sports in competition against one another. Athletes vary by Games and their participation in the Olympic Games is the result of years of training and preparation. For consumers, athletes remain the most visible aspect of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement.

Media

Media consist of various different forms, from print to television broadcasters. The Media is the last producer before the brand is passed on to the consumer. They disseminate the information of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Brand and then filter it towards the audience (Masse 2004).

Consumers

Consumers of the Olympics are difficult to pinpoint or quantify because consumption can take many forms. However, for the purposes of this study consumers will be defined as those that consume the Olympic Games via television.

1.5.3 Creating the Olympic Brand

The six producers create the Olympic brand through a funnel system. A funnel is a useful metaphor. The members of the Olympic Movement are by far the largest group and give the Olympic movement legitimacy. The actions of the millions of people at this level create the values behind the Olympic brand such as competition, fair play, and celebration. The IOC manages these values and applies them towards its activities such as the Olympic Games. The OCOG and NOC of each Olympic Games add their own touches to this brand by aligning their country with the Olympic Brand. The Olympic Games are seen in the context of their host city and country (Larson et al. 1995). For example, the 1994 Winter Games in Norway were largely viewed as being an embodiment of the Norwegian people (Puijk 1997). The athletes showcase the brand in their performances and create associations for people with the Olympic brand. The athletes, many of whom had humble beginnings, are the most identifiable part of the

brand because they represent so many diverse groups (nation, culture, sport). The media filters the brand and then passes it on to the consumers. All five sectors work together to funnel the Olympic brand to the consumer.

1.5.4 Brand Control

In a competitive marketplace brands must be actively promoted and recognized in order to remain active in the minds of consumers. Brands are also constantly under attack from the counterculture (Holt 2002), a crisis (Dawar & Pillutla 2000), or competitors (Dawar & Parker 1994) and must be actively defended. The responsibility of both promoting and defending the Olympic brand falls on the shoulders of the IOC.

To promote the Olympic brand the IOC, and to an extent the NOCs, have leveraged the symbols and meanings of the brand. For example, the five interlocking rings, the most recognizable symbol in the world (IOC 1997), was created in 1913 to symbolize the five continents and are interlocked to represent togetherness (IOC 2002). The colours of the rings represent colours common to the flags of participating countries in 1912 (IOC 2002, Barney 2003). The Olympic flame symbolizes the Olympic spirit burning brightly; the torch relay symbolizes the transfer of the Olympic spirit and the uniting of people from around the world (AOC 2000). The opening and closing ceremonies symbolize the spirit of the Games and the world coming together in celebration, sport, and peace (AOC 2000). Recently the IOC created a number of television commercials entitled “Celebrate Humanity” to promote the Olympic Brand. The “Celebrate Humanity” campaign has allowed the IOC to reach the consumer directly and reinforce the values of the Olympics in a controlled environment. The campaign

started in 2000 and features four to six commercials each showing salient images and text such as the:

“I am an Olympian, transcending my sport, race, culture, and country. I am an agent of peace, of change, with my presence the world grows more understanding of my sport, race, culture, and country. I am an Olympian.”
(IOC 2002)

(See Appendix B for the full text of this and other advertisements and all advertisements.) Advertisements such as these use the advertising system of meaning transfer as discussed by McCracken (1984) where the meaning is contained in a certain frame and transferred to the consumer.

To defend the brand the IOC acts vigilantly to protect its symbols from unauthorized usage and responds quickly when faced with threats (Barney et al. 2002). Since 1978 the IOC has embarked on a strong campaign to stop unauthorized usage of the brand image or ambush marketing tactics (Seguin 2004). For example, during the Atlanta Summer Games (1996) the sportswear manufacturer Nike tried to give consumers the impression that it was an official Olympic sponsor by cleverly setting up stalls around Olympic venues (Seguin 2004). This was a threat to the Olympic brand because if people associated Nike with it then actions by Nike could negatively reflect on the Olympic brand. For example, associating with Nike leaves the door open for critics to argue that, although the IOC says it is trying to promote equality, it is taking money from an organization known to have poor labour practices. Other threats to the Olympic brand have included scandals, terrorism, cheating, and mismanagement. Research by Dawar & Pillutla (1994) shows that when a brand is faced with a threat it must react quickly or risk losing brand equity. In each case of threat the IOC has responded decisively and swiftly to limit damage. For example, when word broke of a scandal involving bribes and

certain IOC members in 2002, the IOC acted quickly to investigate and expel or suspend members they guilty of the infractions (Barney et al. 2002).

1.5.5 Brand Awareness

Brand awareness refers to the recall, recognition, and strength of a brand's presence in the consumer's mind (Aaker 1996, Keller 1993). Brand Image refers to the associations the consumer makes with the brand (Keller 1993). Numerous studies have demonstrated that the Olympic brand has high recall and recognition throughout the world, and that the Olympic Games are seen as the dominant brand in its category (IOC 1997, IOC 1998, COC 2002). In studies conducted for the IOC, when asked to name the premier sporting event in the world, the majority of people responded that it was the Olympic Games (IOC 1997, IOC 1998). This high brand awareness demonstrates that image and, associations have been created.

1.5.6 Creating Brand Associations

In marketing research, considerable attention has been given to the importance of having a strong brand (Aaker 1996, Aaker 1997, Fournier 1998). Having a strong brand can lead to price premiums (Sethuraman 1996), enhanced loyalty (Murphy 1991), and faster diffusion of new products under the original brand label (Keller & Aaker 1990). The strength of the brand has conventionally been measured by intertwining the brand with the product or service and labelling this as brand equity (Aaker 1991). Essentially, brand equity is the attributable results from marketing a product or service with a brand name as opposed to without the brand name (Keller 1993). However, increasingly the brand is being viewed as an entity unto itself (Muniz Jr. & O'Guinn 2001) with intangible qualities and human characteristics (Aaker 1997). The ability of consumers to create

associations with their brands strengthens the brand and enhances the consumption of certain products over similar products (Fournier 1998). As a result, the concept of brand equity has been amended to examine the brand from the customers' perspective, now termed customer-based brand equity (Keller 1993). At the core of customer-based brand equity is how associations with brands can influence the strength of the brand. The stronger and more favourable the associations that people have of the brand, the stronger it will be (Brown & Dacin 1997, Brown, Kosinets, and Sherry 2003). Measuring brand associations presents a new challenge for marketers. Marketing activities need to create tangible results such as an increase in sales, increased monetary value or a more efficient marketing process. Understandably the literature on quantifying brand equity is comprehensive (Aaker 1991, Murphy 1991, Randall 2000). For example, the acquisition cost of a firm above its assets could be designated as brand equity (Murphy 1991). Brand associations are often not quantifiable and thus do not garner as much attention. However, the importance of brand associations cannot be understated; they separate brands from mere names, terms, signs, symbols, design, or anything that is meant to simply identify products or services along with their sellers. Without brand associations we have no way of categorizing (Sujan 1985), comparing (Johnson 1984, Srinivasan & Till 2002), persuading (Brown & Dacin 1997), evaluating (Sethuraman 1996), or building equity apart from economical means (Keller 1993, 1996).

Two classes of models attempt to explain how associations are formed and develop over time. Keller (1993) advances a class of model which posits that each time a brand name co-occurs with a benefit it strengthens the link between the brand name and the benefit. Van Osselaer & Janiszewski (2001) champion a class of model which

suggests that associations are developed by how well the brand predicts the benefit of the product or service. Both classes of model have merit but require elaboration or they may be construed as one-sided. Based purely on the models described above, it appears that repetition is key to creating strong associations. This is not true. Consumers do not simply take meaning given to them by brand producers; rather, they take the information given to them and form their own meanings in accordance with what is important to them (Brucks 1985, Eland & Svenson 1993). McCracken's work on the cultural meaning of goods (1986) elaborates on the creation of associations by stating that different products can contain different meanings. For example, an Olympic medal is essentially a piece of metal with a ribbon attached but it has a symbolic meaning. This is because in our culturally constituted world we value the meaning that a good represents (McCracken 1986). The Olympic medal represents achievement and dedication (among other meanings) in our culture and thus a basic object in the context of these associations has greater meaning.

1.5.7 Associations with the Olympic Brand

Past studies have shown that the Games are associated with concepts of success, sporting achievement, world peace, and international co-operation (IOC 1997, COC 2000). However, the Olympic Brand has also become associated with myths and heroes. As discussed earlier, the Games are a showcase for heroes who become myths. These heroes and myths play an important role in how we construct the world (Barthes 1972, Levi-Strauss 1963). The brand in this case acts as a vehicle to carry these powerful associations. Barthes (1972) argues that the creation of myth is one thing, but there can be no meaning unless there is form. The form can be, for instance, a picture, a story, an

image. Some of the more recognizable forms of the Olympic movement are the five rings, the torch, and the medal presentations. When we see these forms it triggers an association with myths and heroes.

Like any well-known brand, the Olympic Brand has had its share of negative associations. The mid-twentieth century saw politics interfere with the Olympic Movement. Some nations boycotted the Olympic Games; other Games were used as a showcase for the ambitions of certain political movements. Currently the Olympic Movement is dealing with allegations of corruption and drug-enhanced athletes. Though many of these events have occurred outside of IOC control, they have become associated with the Olympic Movement. Past studies in brand associations have shown that people can make associations by what they observe or hear (Aaker 1996, Brown & Dacin 1997). To ensure that the brand did not suffer permanently from these negative associations, the IOC acted quickly and visibly to fix the source of these associations. During the political boycotts of the twentieth century the IOC attempted to create dialogue between nations that were boycotting the Games; this led to participation of almost every nation in later versions of the Games (Pound 2004). Also, the IOC revamped their membership structure and helped to create an independent organization that tests athletes for banned substances. In a conversation, the former chairman of the IOC Marketing Commission stated that the perception of the Olympic Games actually increased following the scandal-plagued Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Games (Pound 2004).

1.5.8 Extending the Olympic Brand

As discussed earlier, the Winter Olympics may be new to some markets but the Olympic Brand has been well established. In the following chapters I demonstrate how the strength of the Olympic brand facilitated the entry of the Winter Olympics into new markets. Previous research has shown that an established brand name can facilitate entry of new products because the new products are thought to have the level of quality associated with the established brand (Keller & Aaker 1992). Perceptions of quality are further enhanced when the brand is very narrow and the new product has similar “fit” with the current product offering (Boush & Loken 1991). The Winter Games fall under this category, as they are very similar to the Olympic framework already in place. The events may be different but the format, traditions, and concepts are similar to the Summer Games. Most importantly, both the Winter and Summer Games promote the values of the Olympic Movement in exactly the same manner. The diffusion of the new product is accelerated by the relationship with the established brand; consumers are more likely to try a new product and thus evaluate it faster if it has an established brand name (Srinivasan & Till 2002).

1.5.9 Differences in rate of adoption

The Winter Games have been diffused in some nations faster than in others. Mexico started watching the Winter Games in 1980, while South Africa started paying for coverage in 1992 (Barney et al. 2004). Several ideas put forth in the literature on the Olympics and new product diffusion help explain this. Bernstein (2000) studied media coverage of the Games in both Britain and Israel. She found that the media focused

primarily on the athletes of the home nation but beyond that the focus was on nations the audience could identify with (Bernstein 2000). For example, secondary media coverage in Israel focused on the U.S, Canada, Britain, and Australia because these were the nations that the audience could identify with (Bernstein 2000). The notion of identification would help to explain why Mexico was the first of the five non-traditional markets in this study to begin paying for coverage of the Winter Games. Mexico shares a number of geographical, economic, and cultural ties with traditional Winter Games nations such as the United States and Canada. Studies on the rate of multinational diffusion of new products indicate that the rate is proportionate to the level of media availability (Takada & Jain 1991, Tellefsen & Takada 1999). Takada & Jain (1991) found that the more homophilous the communications were, the higher was the rate of diffusion, and the more heterophilous, the lower the rate of diffusion. They argue that heterophilous communications might provide conflicting messages and thus slow the rate of diffusion (Takada & Jain 1991).

Chapter 2. Methodology

The growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets is a contemporary phenomenon. This study explored the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional contexts from as it was developing. Since the intention was to provide a rich understanding and a “thick description” (Geertz 1973) of the phenomenon, an interpretivist approach was used. A study such as this seeks to identify themes and develop hypotheses that can be used for further study (Belk et al. 1998).

An interpretivist approach examines experiences and phenomena within the rich cultural context in which it exists (Ozanne 1989). For example, when examining the consumer decisions to purchase one product rather than another, consumers may base their decisions on what the product represents or how it will fulfill certain needs. This may be related to the interplay within the context of those decisions, such as between image and price. The interpretive researcher seeks to understand the meaning that led to the decision in the context in which the decision was made (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Ozanne 1989). Referred to as a qualitative concept (Belk et al. 1988, Anderson 1989), this is done by studying the phenomenon in its natural setting, developing insights into this phenomenon, and continually challenging those insights over time (Belk et al. 1988). By using an interpretive approach, a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon is developed and theories can be built as the study progresses.

An interpretivist approach was chosen for this study for three reasons: a lack of a priori knowledge of the phenomenon, the opportunity to bring together the wealth of information related to the phenomenon, and the possibility of developing a hypothesis

for further testing. Researchers have identified a number of elements in the Olympic Games including broadcasting (Larson 1993, 1995), performance (Klausen 1999), viewer-ship (1988), media coverage (Bernstein 2000), and commercialism (Barney et al. 2002). However, how all these elements tie into the phenomenon has not been identified. Also, this phenomenon has been developing for at least the last 10 years and shows no signs of slowing down. There is an opportunity to explore its developmental process.

This study was based on the following elements of an interpretive approach for exploring a unique phenomenon: a first person focus on lived experience in its contextual setting, in depth interviews with key individuals, a focus on key events to identify themes, and a hermeneutic approach to capture meaning (Joy & Sherry 2003; McCracken 1988; Thompson, Locander, and Polio 1989). Secondary data was used to gather information on the phenomenon and identify key themes (IOC 1997, Rothenbuhler 1988, Bernstein 2000). Key observations of key Games were used to demonstrate the growth of the Winter Games and the components of the Games. The researcher's website viewing and lived experience supplemented other information. However, the primary source of data was in-depth interviews with key producers of the Olympic spectacle.

The researcher had access to a number of key individuals who are involved with the Olympic Movement, from administrators, to athletes. Some of these individuals have been involved with the Olympic Movement for over two decades at a variety of different levels. Their experiences and perspectives on the growth of the Winter Games were invaluable and provided a wealth of information on the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. In-depth interviews were the primary source of data because of the value of information provided by those most closely involved with the Olympic

Movement. These individuals were directly involved in the growth of the Games, for example, John Furlong who led the team that won Vancouver the right to host the 2010 Winter Games and Richard Pound who successfully negotiated television contracts for the Winter Games.

In-depth interviews allowed those participants to draw on their experience to explain the reasoning behind their actions and their perspectives on the phenomenon. The interviews followed a combined phenomenological and hermeneutic approach. The phenomenological approach originates from the existential-phenomenology paradigm for studying consumer research (Thompson et al. 1989). This paradigm emphasizes extracting lived experience from its contextual setting and pursues the belief that an experience can be studied within the context that it occurred (Thompson et al. 1989). Thus a phenomenon need not be separated from its context in order to be analyzed; rather, the phenomenon can be studied with all of its parts. The phenomenological approach to interviews follows this philosophy and seeks to attain the richness of lived experience by the respondent (Thompson et al. 1989). This is done by capturing a first-person description of a specified experience (Thompson et al. 1989). The respondent sets the dialogue and the dialogue moves in a circular fashion as opposed to a linear fashion (Thompson et al. 1989). For example, respondents may describe their last purchase and may elaborate on this by discussing how this met their consumption goals and then how these consumption goals will influence later purchases – thus moving in a circular fashion. The focus of a phenomenological interview is in eliciting rich descriptions of experiences. This approach serves as a guide to capture the richness of the experience without detaching the respondent from the experience (Thompson et al. 1989). Thus

according to the recommendations of Spiggle (1997). The information was labeled according to the themes that had been identified through iteration and then grouped together according to these themes, a process Spiggle (1997, pp. 493) refers to as “categorization”.

The analysis and interpretation of the data was guided by a hermeneutic framework. A hermeneutic framework centers upon the metaphors people use to “makes sense of their lives” and uses the narratives that people tell of their consumption decisions as avenues for discovery (Thompson 1997). Thompson (1997, pp. 2) defines the function of the hermeneutic framework to, “interpret consumption meanings in relation to both a consumer’s sense of personal history and a broader narrative context of historically established cultural meanings” (Thompson 1997, pp. 2). The hermeneutic framework has developed from a need to link consumers’ desires/ needs to their life circumstances (Thompson 1997) and is based on the following assumptions (Thompson 1997, pp. 3): a general worldview, the metaphorically structured models that derive from the general worldview, and specific procedures for implementing the worldview/ theories. What this means is that when consumers reflect on their experiences and then explain them, their experiences are based on their worldview and their narratives recount the most salient aspects of these experiences, framed within a context that they use to explain world around them. By capturing the meaning of these experiences the researcher can not only extract information behind the decisions but also the context that created the decision.

Deriving meaning from consumption stories by using the hermeneutic framework is valuable because they relate past events to present day concerns and project towards

interviewees were asked to draw on their experience to answer questions rather than to theorize. To illustrate, respondents were always asked questions based on their specific background in the Olympic Movement so that they could draw upon their own experiences. Based on their responses, the dialogue then moved in a circular fashion following a hermeneutic approach. Once participants discussed an experience, they would then be asked to relate that information to a more abstract concept so as to provide meaning to their experience and the phenomenon being studied. For example, a participant may have been asked about a first experience with the Olympic Games; then this may be followed with questions as to how they continued to be involved with the Olympic Movement and then of their current experience with the Games. The information given by the participant may reveal the movement from interest to involvement and then to inspiration for others. In this study the hermeneutic approach allowed the perspectives and experiences to relate back to the phenomenon being studied.

During the course of the interviews, the insights revealed moved between the interview data and secondary data. Spiggle (1997, p. 495) refers to this process as “iteration”. This was done to develop the insights as they emerged. As the interviewees revealed new insights, secondary information would be used to explore those insights further and eventually to develop key themes. For example, as participants revealed unique insights the researcher would investigate previous research on these topics and then combine the insights with the previous research to fully understand what had been revealed. Then the researcher would have the next participant expand on what was revealed earlier. This process continued until all of the interviews were conducted. Upon completion of the interviews, the narratives were transcribed and then categorized

an envisioned future (Thompson 1997). Thus, with a phenomenon such as the growth of the Winter Games, a hermeneutic analysis would allow for the present growth to be analyzed in relation to previous experiences and from this a forecast can be modelled.

The first stage in the hermeneutic analysis was for the researcher to gain an understanding of the phenomenon being studied so as to gain perspective (Thompson 1997). The quality of the insights extracted from participant narratives depends on the ability of the researcher to make connections between the phenomenon and the experiences of the participants. I used my own lived experience as an athlete, coach, and volunteer along with secondary data to gain perspective on the phenomenon being studied. Once the data was categorized it was referenced against my perspective and knowledge to fully define the themes.

Once the themes were identified and defined the key tenet of the hermeneutic framework, the hermeneutic circle, allowed me to look for relationships between the themes. The circle analogy is used to describe how meaning is developed through a provisional understanding of the consumption experience then elaborated on and then developed into a more thorough understanding (Thompson et al. 1994). This is done by extracting the most salient elements of the consumption experience and then having the consumer relate this experience to the world, and then apply this to future experiences, thus completing the circle. For example, a consumer who buys a pair of shoes goes through hundreds of decisions but when they recount that experience they may only focus on a few key elements (the most salient) that led to the outcome. These key elements can then be tied into the world around the consumer, for example, they chose to pay more because they value quality. Finally, the way consumers structure the world around them

can help predict their future behavior in a similar context, for example, they may choose to buy expensive clothes because of their insistence on quality. From a single experience, researchers can extract information on the life world of the consumer and what the consumer deems important in their experience.

During the course of this study participants described a situation or experience in their different context (from the perspective of an administrator, or of an athlete, etc.) but the key meanings of these discussions was structured very similar across all participants. For example, all participants would describe their most salient memories of the Olympic Games using a structure similar to myth. The similarity of structures not only served to reinforce the importance of some of the key themes but they also provided key insights into how the themes connected with each other. This was significant because as described by Thompson (1997), the analysis of “emic” meanings allows for the culture of the each individual to be evaluated in relation to their experiences. A consumer may have offered different meanings to their consumption experience but the similarity of structures allowed for connections to be made between themes.

What the participants chose to recount of their experiences and the perspectives that stemmed from those enabled the themes to be divided into different levels. For example, while one theme may have caused participants to be curious about the Olympic Games, it was the strength of another theme that made the Olympic Games an enjoyable spectacle. The themes were divided into three different levels: primary, secondary, and peripheral. The primary themes were the most prevalent in discussions with participants, the secondary themes appeared to feed into and strengthen the primary themes, while the peripheral themes stood alone. A model was developed based on the interaction between

these themes and the data. The final step was to examine the themes and the data for an abstract concept that would encompass the entire model. This process was similar to the work of Thompson (1997) where an underlying concept was identified from the underlying meaning behind consumers' consumption experiences. In this study an abstract theme that incorporated these themes and lent itself to explaining the phenomenon being studied was advanced and formed as the final level in the model.

To provide for the trustworthiness of the research to be evaluated, the research followed certain procedures in line with the work of Belk and Wallendorf (1989) on assessing trustworthiness in consumer research. Any research regardless of its approach requires ways to assess its trustworthiness. However, the concerns associated with an interpretive approach are different than the concerns of other approaches. Belk and Wallendorf (1989, pp. 70) outline the following four questions concerning trustworthiness in interpretive research.

1. Credibility – adequate and believable representations
2. Transferability – extent to which hypothesis can be transferred to other contexts
3. Dependability – avoidance of instability other than that inherent in the phenomenon
4. Confirmability – ability to trace the creation of the study

These four concerns are highlighted in interpretive research because of the open nature of the research (Belk and Wallendorf 1989). They exist primarily to ensure that the method of enquiry followed a reasoned and valid approach.

To enhance trustworthiness, this study incorporated a number of procedures to satisfy these questions. First, a triangulation of methods was employed to enhance the

credibility of the study and the dependability. The interviews were supported with website analyses and secondary data to augment the findings from the interviews. Next, a triangulation of subjects was employed to enhance confirmability and transferability. This study relied on the perspectives of several different types of producers to avoid creating a one-sided view. For credibility and dependability, the study engaged in prolonged exposure to the phenomenon. The time span was over two decades and the participants in this study represented a long involvement with the Olympic Movement. This reduced the likelihood of a narrow perspective on the part of participants. A final technique to establish credibility was the use of member checks. The interpretation and report of the data were given to two participants (Bob Barney and Dr. Ljubisa Zecevic) for comments. Both provided useful feedback on the interpretation of the data and their comments served to ensure proper interpretation of the data.

2.1 Lived Experience by Researcher

The value of lived experience in gaining perspective has been recommended by Belk & Wallendorf (1989) and illustrated by Hill (1991) as useful in gaining perspective on the phenomenon or looking at the phenomenon within its context.

When used alone, lived experience has limited value in consumer research because it can prejudice the results of the research (Gadamer 1991, Wallendorf & Brucks 1993). However, when used in conjunction with other techniques, lived experience can serve to enhance research findings (Gadamer 1991, Wallendorf & Brucks 1993, Thompson et al. 1994). It is especially important in a hermeneutic analysis because one of the key tenets of the hermeneutic approach is the fusing of the consumer perspective and the researcher perspective (Gadamer 1991, Thompson 1997). As Thompson et al.

(1997, pp. 434.) argued, this perspective allows the researcher to gain a better understanding of the consumption experience by understanding it in the context within which it was created.

I had gained perspective on the phenomenon and the Olympic Movement through my lived experience before and during this study. Prior to starting this study I had been involved with the Olympic Movement in a number of different capacities: as a high level athlete, as a coach, and as a volunteer. These experiences and perspectives allowed me to develop an understanding of the phenomenon in the context in which it is created (from a producer's point of view). During the study I had the opportunity to attend the Canadian Olympic Academy where I interacted with others involved with the Olympic Movement and learned how it was making a difference in society. This experience gave me a wider perspective of the impact of the Olympic Movement.

2.2 Key Observations

Observation of and participation in three Olympic Games shaped this study. The Winter Games in 1998 and 2002 served to demonstrate how much the Winter Games have grown both in participation and in the size of the television audience. The 2004 Summer Games occurred during the course of this study and brought to light some of the challenges within the Olympic Movement, such as the threat of terrorism and cheating.

2.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data were used to supplement key observations, gain background knowledge on the participants, and define the parameters of this study. For example, a

study of the “Fundamental Principles of Olympism” and the IOC in-house publication “Marketing Matters” allowed unique insights into the creation and meaning behind the Olympic brand. Three of the participants had published works that provided background knowledge to be gathered as recommend by McCracken (1988). Lastly, the numerical data in the form of television rights fees paid per broadcaster for each Winter Games defined the parameters of this study. Based on the availability of rights fees, the non-traditional markets in this study were reduced to five, and the growth of the games was confined to the years 1980 to 2002.

2.4 Interviews

For the purpose of this thesis the focus of the interviews was on producers of the Olympic Movement. To focus on consumers did not seem a viable choice as the study was broad and spanned five countries. A list of potential participants was created and contacted. Every attempt was made to ensure that each type of producer was represented.

Participants were chosen mostly on the basis of their experience with the Olympics and their accessibility. When potential participants did not respond to my request or declined the request, alternative informants were contacted. Eventually seven informants comprised the sample for this study. The participants ranged in age from 22 to 72 years; they occupied a number of different professions, some related to the Olympics and others not. Once identified, each participant was then sent a letter or an e-mail outlining the purpose of the research and requesting each participant to suggest a convenient time and place to conduct the interview. With the exception of one, participants were interviewed at home or at work. The interviews were conducted between April 2004 and September 2004 and lasted approximately an hour and a half.

I was fortunate to meet with each participant at least a day before the actual interview in order to establish rapport (McCracken 1988). A list of themes was drawn up for each interview. The interviews were conducted using a combined phenomenological and hermeneutic approach. The interviews focused on lived experiences of participants (Thompson 1989). For example, the topics discussed with the lone athlete in the study sought to take advantage of her unique experience as an Olympic athlete. When the interviews were under way the participants largely set the course of the dialogue. In hermeneutic fashion the participants were asked a question and their responses shaped the course of the discussion in line with the work of Thompson et al. (1994). Over the course of the six months that the interviews were conducted the text of the each interview shaped the focus and elaboration of the themes in the later interviews. In some cases the participants were asked specific questions based on their expertise. Upon completion of each interview the participants were sent a transcript and given the opportunity to make changes or clarify what they had discussed earlier (Wallendorf and Belk 1989). Two participants (Ljubisa Zecevic and John Furlong made several additions and amendments. The changes made by Mr. Zecevic and Mr. Furlong dealt primarily with grammar.

This section gives a brief overview of the participants and discusses the significance of their participation. For a detailed biography of each participant, see Appendix D. During the preliminary phase the major producers of the Olympic Spectacle were identified (the IOC, the Olympic Games Organizing Committee and National Organizing Committee, the athletes, and the broadcasters). Then an assessment was done to see if at least one participant from each of these groups could be contacted and interviewed. Through the invaluable help of a professor at the University of Western

Ontario and the Canadian Olympic Committee, a participant from each of these groups was available for this study. The participants and their specific role in this study are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1
Participants and Role of Each Participant in the Study

Participant	Position	Role in Study
Richard W. Pound	Former VP of the International Olympic Committee	- Some have said Richard Pound was the man most responsible for saving the Olympics financially and making into the operation it is today. He was formerly the head of the marketing commission during the years that the Winter Olympics have grown in non-traditional markets
John Furlong	CEO of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic & Paralympic Games Organizing Committee	- As the head of a future Olympic Winter Games John Furlong has the most current view of the Winter Games and the best perspective on the future growth
Ljubisa Zecevic	Former member of the Sarajevo Organizing Committee	- Ljubisa Zecevic's perspective would contrast very well with John's, plus Mr. Zecevic has been involved with the Olympic Movement for over 40 years. He has an excellent perspective on the growth of this movement.
Susan Auch	Five time Olympian, two time medallist	- Susan Auch has had a storied Winter Olympic career from 1988 to 2002, as one of Canada's premier athletes. She provides an excellent perspective from the point of view of an athlete
Dr. Robert Barney	Professor of Kinisiology and founder of The Centre for Olympic Studies	- Bob Barney has studied the Olympics for over three decades and has attended seven Olympic Games as a spectator. He has a valuable perspective as both a spectator and an academic scholar.
Dumisani Chirambo	Student & Malawi national	- Dumisani Chirambo is a consumer in a non-traditional market. Though this study focuses on the perspective of producers, a consumer's perspective gives the study greater insight and depth.
David Masse	Director- Program Operations for CBC	- David Masse has been involved with both the broadcast of the 1998 Olympic Winter Games and the 2000 Summer Olympic Games. He brings the perspective of a television broadcaster

2.5 Website Viewing Experience

To augment the interview data two of the participants went through the IOC website with the researcher and allowed the researcher to document their experience of consuming the website. The interviewer documented the associations that the participants had with the symbols of the Olympic Movement as they viewed each page on the website. The participant would choose to view a specific page on the website and then discuss their impression of this page and the association they had with each of the images. Participants would spend approximately thirty minutes in total on the website.

It was posited that the associations the consumers had with the images on the website would provide additional information on the experiential aspect of the Games. This reasoning was based on previous research that had revealed that sensory perceptions can be transferred from images (Joy & Sherry 2003, Zaltman 1997). For example, consumers were shown images of a skier falling and asked to describe what this image made them feel. These website viewing experiences were conducted after all the interviews were completed, primarily to bolster the quality of information in the study.

CHAPTER 3 - Constructing the Narrative

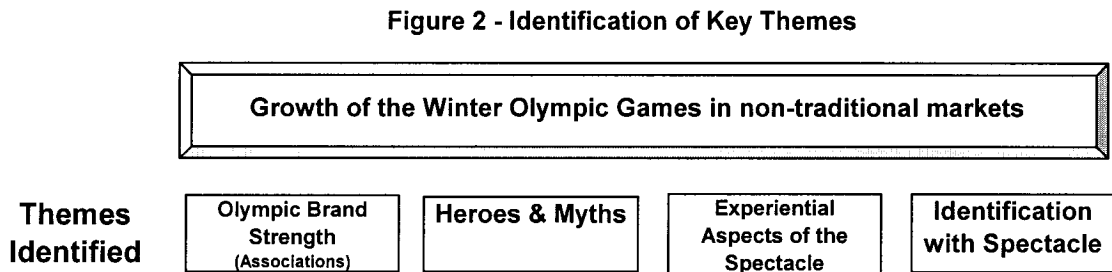
This study attempts to explore a unique phenomenon, the growth of the spectator audience for the Winter Games in five non-traditional markets: South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and New Zealand. It advances an explanation based on several sources of information, the primary one being interview data from the producers of the spectacle. In addition, the growth of the television spectator audience in non-traditional markets measured by the television rights fees paid by broadcasters in these regions will be used to establish growth of the television audience.

Based on the literature, it appears that the brand and the product play a large role in the growth of the Winter Olympics. Past research has proven that the brand is strong (IOC 1997, IOC 1998, COC 2002). This brand strength is caused by strong associations formed with the brand (Brown et al. 2003, Fournier 1998, Keller 1993). In terms of the product, the Winter Games are a salient leisure activity that gives meaning to consumers. Producers, actors, and broadcasters work to create a spectacle on television (Puijk 1997) which separates itself from other programs (Rothenbuhler 1988). Consumers are engaged in the experience (Pine & Gilmour 1999) and perform a number of functions when consuming the spectacle (Holt 1995).

A preliminary analysis of the interview data revealed two other themes that may have played a role in the growth of the Winter Games, the notion of myth and the concept of identification. Myths are a form of communication, a message through story, which bridge the biological and the cultural narratives of society (Barthes 1972, Levi-Strauss 1963, Stern 1995). The concept of identification refers to how consumers comprehend a

spectacle. For example, based on preliminary readings, it appears that spectators at a sporting event need to identify with a side or the sport to derive maximum pleasure from the viewing experience (Whannel 1992).

The four major themes that emerged during the interviews are identified in Figure 2.



The existing literature provides specific insights and augments the development of these themes within the context of this study.

3.1 - Brand

The strength of any brand is dependent upon its awareness (Aaker 1996, Keller 1993) and its associations (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003; Fournier 1998). The awareness of the Olympic brand has already been espoused in a preliminary analysis of research on the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement (IOC 1997; Barney, Martin, and Wynn 2002). However, the reasoning behind the level of awareness is represented through the process by which the Olympic brand is created and controlled. Associations of the brand serve to either strengthen or weaken the value of the Olympic brand. As we shall see later, the importance of making connections between brand strength and brand associations is articulated through producer narratives that describe what the Olympics are and why they are important.

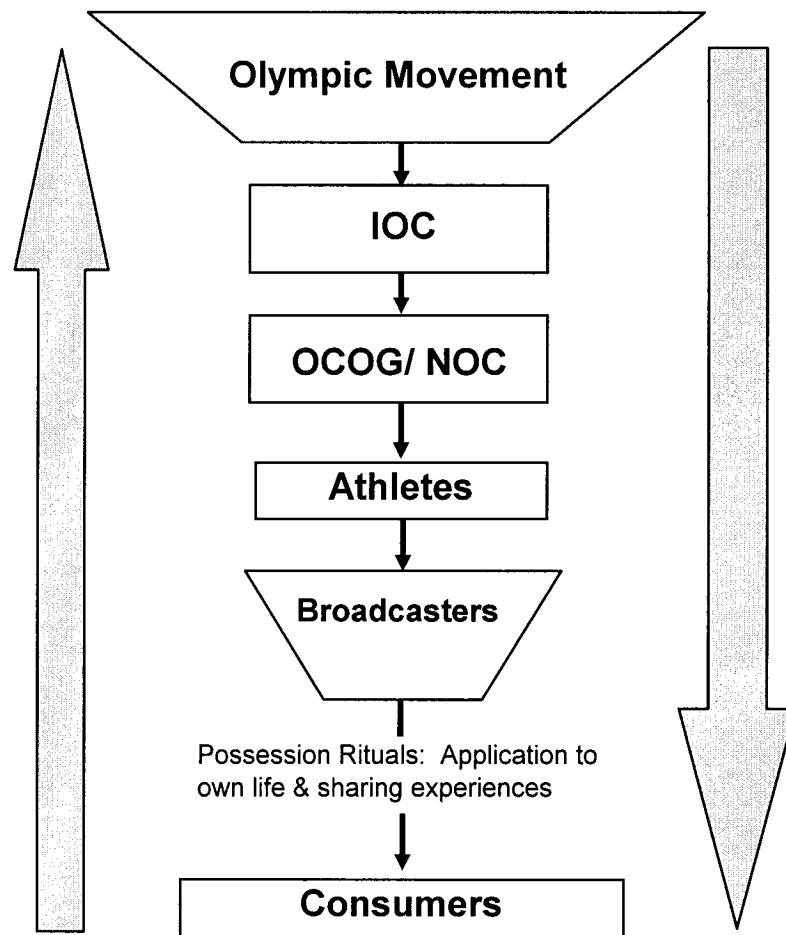
3.1.1 Brand Creation

The Olympic brand is created through a two-way exchange with six major groups: members of the Olympic Movement, the IOC, the OCOG & NOC, the athletes, the media, and the consumers. Members of the Olympic Movement constitute a group of people who believe in the values of the Movement and are actively creating the values of the Olympic movement. These principles are similar to those involved in any social movement (Denning 2004, Fredrickson 1997, Putnam 2000).

The process of creating the Olympic brand is similar to a funnel. At the top of the funnel are members of the Olympic Movement, then comes the IOC, the NOC, and the athletes. The messages and information within this funnel are channelled down towards consumers who translate the messages and the information they receive and then send these back to the top of the funnel through their actions.

The following model indicates the structure by which the Olympic brand is created.

Figure 3 - Brand Creation Model



The brand is transferred between these groups through a process defined by McCracken (1984) as meaning transfer. The Olympic Movement captures the values of society to start the process and then sends the meaning to the IOC; which manages the brand. When the IOC takes possession of the brand it undergoes what McCracken (1984) refers to as a possession ritual where the IOC then transfers meaning from their world to the brand. An example of this would be the IOC creating new programs to help develop sport in different countries. In this case the IOC is transferring their mandate to the brand. This process of meaning transfer continues with the NOC and the athletes before the brand is transferred to the consumer. The brand is transferred to the consumer by

way of an advertising system and a fashion system (McCracken 1986, pp. 72). The advertising system brings the meaning of the product to the consumer within an advertisement (McCracken 1986).

In the case of the Olympic Games meaning has been transmitted by television advertisements, either by the IOC or by the broadcasters. The advertisements capture the meanings of the Olympic Games and Olympic Movement and frame them within the context of the advertisements. As noted by McCracken (1986), a second form of meaning transfer is by way of the fashion system. The fashion system exists when key opinion leaders hold meaning and transfer them to consumers who look upon these opinion leaders (such as athletes) to emulate (McCracken 1986, 1989). In both the advertising and the fashion system, consumers take possession of appropriate meanings (McCracken 1986). In general consumers individualize these meanings and apply them towards their lives (McCracken 1986, pp.80).

In a study on viewer-ship of the Olympic Games, Rothenbuhler (1988) found that consumers often needed to discuss what they saw with other consumers. This is how they made sense of meaning and how they took possession of it. Holt (1995) identified similar findings among consumers attending baseball games. Thus when consumers see performances by the athletes (opinion leaders) they often take possession of the meaning by sharing what they saw with other consumers.

The participants in this study not only describe the role each group plays in creating the Olympic brand but they also give an indication as to the size and scope of the Olympic Movement, which was stated as being the largest group in the brand creation funnel. A key participant, Richard Pound, rationalized the Olympic Games as primarily

having a narrow scope. The Olympic Movement however has a much larger size and scope than the Games.

In some respects, I mean you don't make it more than it really is; it's a sporting event. But, the Olympic Games are very very broad. There's hundreds of millions of people involved at various levels. Not everybody involved is going to turn into an Olympic athlete. Some are going to be able to play in the street, some are going to play in schools, some on city teams, some on provincial teams, the triage separates talent and allows the talent to rise to the top. (Richard Pound)

Not only is the creation of the Olympic brand a funnel but also as Richard Pound illustrated the Olympics themselves are a funnel. At the top is a large group of people that hope to attain the goal of attending the Olympic Games and at the bottom of the funnel is a small group of people (derived from the large group) who actually get to be a part of the Olympic Games. The strength of the desire to achieve the minority outcome, in this case being a part of the Olympic Games, creates a large base for the movement. This is in line with previous work on social movements; which discuss the belief in the outcomes of the social movement as moderating the size of the movement (Fredrickson 1997, Bearman & Kim 1997). For example, the stronger the desire for the outcome of the movement, the larger the base of the movement will be. Therefore, the size of the base of the Olympic Movement illustrates a strong belief in the Olympic Games and a strong desire for them.

Bob Barney also discussed the size of the Olympic Movement but used an example to illustrate how strongly people feel about it. He discussed a scandal involving bribes and IOC members just before the 2002 Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City.

Oh yeah, see when the public thinks of the Olympics, first and foremost they don't think of the Olympic Movement so much as they think about the Olympic Games themselves. The Olympic Movement worldwide largely rests on the shoulders of thousands and thousands of volunteers, volunteers of sports federations – nationally and internationally, volunteers of national Olympic committees, even the IOC members are volunteers. So I imagine that when that scandal broke, I can't help but think, by and large most of those folks, those

volunteers out there who aren't getting paid a nickel for what they do, they love it, they're interested in it, they have a lifelong association with it, were pretty darn disgusted, disappointed by what the events of the Salt Lake City scandal revealed. (Bob Barney)

The notion that members of the movement are diverse across groups (sport organizations) and nations illustrates the scope of the movement and the diversity of its composition.

Overall, the participants tended to detach themselves from the Olympic movement and though each has a role to play in it, none of the participants claimed to be anything more than a member of the movement. Richard Pound talked of how each person has ownership of the Movement through their community.

I think the combination of communication tools that exist now. Plus the fact that it's theirs now, the ownership of it (the Olympics). Because they have kids in it, or their neighbors kids are there, or their countrymen are there and they can identify with the concept. These are the very best athletes in these sports in the world.
(Richard Pound)

Community is referred to as being that which the person most identifies with in the movement. For example, Richard Pound spoke of how people feel a sense of ownership through their identification with their country or neighborhood. In this case community is divided geographically. Susan Auch gave a different example of community that feeds into the Olympic Movement.

Well I was a very good skater back then and I had already been winning lots so we (Susan and her brother) were the only ones in my area of town that had been speed skating so we were very good, my brother and I. We were already known to have some potential I guess, you know I don't know if people assumed we'd make it to the Olympics or anything but we had a lot of media coverage too which was odd back then, to have amateur sport coverage in the media. My brother and I were both in the paper a lot, my brother especially, he was winning everything I was more second – kept that trend going all the way through my career (laughs), so it's bit strange. They were super supportive, every single billboard in my community like 100 billboards in my end of Winnipeg in Transcona had a congratulations Susan on it. That was pretty heartwarming for me, I had a lot of support for sure. Community support, Winnipeggers are pretty gung-ho on sports and I had been around for a long time and they were definitely supporting me going into the Olympics as well. (Susan Auch)

In Susan Auch's case the community was formed through an individual or a desire. The members of this community identified with sport and a particular athlete. They believe in the Olympic Movement because they believe in Susan.

The relationship between brand communities and the brand has been studied by Muniz & O'Guinn (2001) who posited that the brand communities enhance the brand and Brown et al. (2003) who posited that the brand communities are an alliance between producers and consumers. However, the present case of communities and the Olympic brand is not quite a validation of either of these hypotheses. Both of the studies separated the producer of the brand from the consumer of the brand and have focused on the relationship between these two groups. The Olympic brand is dissimilar because there is no clear separation between producer and consumer of the Olympic Brand. Rather the Olympic Brand is created via an interesting system of meaning transfer. In the Olympic system, values are captured from society and produced into the Olympic Movement. This system is similar to McCracken's (1986) work on meaning transfer. McCracken (1986) posits that meaning is created through our culturally constituted world and then transferred through rituals towards the consumer. The Olympic Movement is a representation of the values within our society. Specifically, the Olympics are based on values such as equality, peace, and participation. These values were not created by the Olympic Movement but were already in society and captured by the Olympic Movement. The values serve as the base of the Olympic Movement. The following perspective by John Furlong illustrates the scope of the Olympic Movement.

The Olympics are about fairness, respect, honor, trust, and decency, as opposed to the opposite. They're about principled competition, they're about the proliferation of excellence, they're about fair play, they're about racial equality, they are the celebration of humanity as opposed to not. The Olympics really I

think, they are the quintessential peace movement. You spend time inside the Olympic Village you have the sense of, 'gosh I wish it could all be like this'.
(John Furlong)

John Furlong discussed the Olympics not as an event or an activity but as a movement with core values. It should be noted that the values represented by the Olympic Movement are not innovative nor are they unique. These values have been extolled in various other forms and with varying degrees of success. In the following passage Bob Barney drew a distinction between the Olympics and the values they are based on.

I have reservations about the Olympic Movement trying to take over or do what I think has been the purpose of the family, the church, and the school in terms of developing citizens. The Olympic Movement would like to do that, on the one hand they want to do that but on the other hand they have this severe competition and the quest for gold and what that means or the quest to win and what that means. And there are lengths or extremes that some folks would go to achieve that, like performance enhancement drugs, cheating, or stuff like that. So the values are o.k., but they're not distinct to the Olympic Movement, they've been taught by the church, schools, and families for a millennium. For the Olympic Movement to say well this is the end all, be all, we've got the values that...they do, but I have some reservations with the way they extol the virtues of them.
(Bob Barney)

The point Barney raised is that these values are not unique to the Olympic Movement but have been found in many different forms distinct from the Olympic Movement. The Olympic Movement may not even be the best platform to extol these values as evidenced by the paradoxes Barney referred to. However, the text of Barney's discussion does reinforce the view that the Olympic Movement did not create these values upon which it is based but captured what was already in society.

These values are transferred to the other groups in the brand creation funnel by way of rituals and then on to the consumer. For example, the meanings behind the Olympic Movement are captured and managed by the IOC and then transferred to the Olympic Games Organizing Committee for those Olympic Games; which put the brand through a possession ritual. The brand is personalized by the NOC as an attempt to

transfer meaning from the host nation to the Olympic Brand (McCracken 1986).

Consider the perspective of John Furlong who discussed the example of Norway and the personalization of the Olympic Games by the Norwegian people.

What we set out to do with the games is different and may not be the same as what Norway set out to do with the games. They set out to rebrand their country, we may not, or we might. The legacy a country wishes to have as a result of the Olympics will be different from another and ours will be different. I don't think there's a belief here that we actually need to rebrand a country, we might rebrand a society, we might change the way a society lives and behaves and conducts itself as a result of how we view the Olympics. Norway had a very clear vision of what they wanted to achieve and they achieved it. (John Furlong)

John Furlong discussed the efforts by the Norwegians to align their country with the Olympic brand. As a result the 1994 Winter Games will forever be seen as an embodiment of the Norwegian people and the Olympic brand will be stronger with a successful Winter Games feeding into it.

The final group in the brand creation funnel is the athletes. The athletes are the actors. They represent the communities in the Olympic Movement and their actions showcase the brand. They also provide consumers with a tangible point of reference to identify with. In this case meaning is transferred from the athletes to the consumer by way of a fashion system as discussed by McCracken (1986). Athletes act as opinion leaders who pass on meaning to others who want to imitate them. John Furlong spoke of how athletes can transfer meaning to consumers through inspiration and wonder.

We've had people from Brazil talk to us about coming up here (Vancouver) to train to become Winter Olympic stars. Simon Whitfield went to Sydney with no Olympic credentials, we had no Olympic history in triathlon, we had no world history in triathlon, and we won the gold medal. So, you have to start somewhere, you start by looking and becoming inquisitive and the spirit of wonder that exists around the world, this is how people become involved in athletics and sport. Ultimately, if they watch they might play, if they play they might win, if they win then others might follow – it all fits together. It's how sport evolves; there was a time when there were 20 countries in the Winter Olympics; there's going to be 100 when it's in Vancouver. That's why it's important for people to watch. (John Furlong)

John Furlong noted the linkage in communication between the athlete and the consumer. The consumers watch the athletes and this is how they become interested in the Olympics. Some of the consumers then become part of the Olympic Movement in their respective brand community and this creates a circular process in the creation of the brand. The brand at one end of the funnel then gets transferred back to the top of the funnel and this process continues. Richard Pound spoke of his transition through the funnel when he speaks of his activities after he had finished competing.

Well, you know after I sort of stopped competing my view was always that a lot of people had volunteered to help me get to where I was. You know, having drawn from the well I should probably refill it a bit, as much as I could. At first I started coaching at a Cegep. What's now a Cegep. (Richard Pound)

From Pound's perspective we can see how the process of creating the Olympic brand repeats itself. He moves from being an athlete to being part of the movement at the grass-roots community level. However, Richard Pound's case is unusual as he went from being an Olympic athlete to feeding back into the Olympic Movement through his local community. The majority of those who consume Olympic Games and then feed back into the Olympic Movement may not have been Olympic athletes themselves but believe strongly in the Olympic Movement and want to contribute to it. John Furlong summed up the process well when he described his desire to be an Olympian and his belief in the Games.

I wanted to be an Olympian more than I wanted to breathe and I never made it. I competed internationally but I never got, I never made it, I wanted to. Wrong place, wrong time, not enough talent, but I believe Olympians were special and I've always thought that being an Olympian is the equivalent to having a PhD. in life. I think it's an experience that comes to very few people but when you've had it, when you use it properly, it opens doors, it gives you a perspective, it enables you. So, I would have liked to have had that experience, did not, had others, but did not have that one. To this day I think that because of what the Olympic Games represent, to be an Olympian is an extraordinary achievement. (John Furlong)

3.1.2 Brand Control

For the brand to grow it must be managed and protected. As brands grow they face key moments that can either strengthen or weaken the brand (Dawar & Pillutla 2000). It is especially important to manage the brand in situations where consumers and producers have a vested interest in the brand (Brown et al. 2003). Brown et al. (2003) have shown that the brand meaning can become diluted or distorted by consumers who give the brand a new meaning. For the Olympic Games to maintain the values and meanings represented through its brand, the brand must be actively controlled.

The responsibility ultimately lies with the International Olympic Committee as this is the organization that oversees the administration of the Olympic Movement. To this effect the IOC has been both protecting the brand and communicating its meanings. Protection of the brand has taken the form of the IOC acting quickly to quell potential threats such as the 2002 Salt Lake City bribery scandal and protecting the images of the Olympic brand (Barney et al. 2002). Communication of the brand by the IOC has taken many forms, from the activities the IOC sponsors to promote the Olympic Movement all around the world to the symbols of the Olympic Games. However, this discussion will focus on the transfer of meaning by way of advertising to illustrate the control the IOC exercises over the brand. In line with the methods of meaning transfer as identified by McCracken (1986), advertising can be an effective form of transferring meaning from one group to another.

In 1996 the athletic shoe company Nike started an advertising campaign to coincide with the Summer Olympic Games being held in Atlanta that year. The slogan of the Nike campaign was “Second Place is the First Loser”. This campaign did not sit

well with the IOC as it was against the values of the Olympic brand. The IOC set out to protect the brand and Richard Pound discussed how they did this.

Well this was in Atlanta, we called them in and said, 'look c'mon this is not the kind of ad we should be running at the Olympics'. They said, '...nah, we want to be edgy and counterculture'. We said if you want to sell these basketball shoes on the streets of New York that's fine but not at the Olympics. They said, 'nah, we like it'. We said, 'o.k., pull it, or tomorrow morning we have a press conference with the U.S women's gymnastics team', which won silver and who were just delighted. And they're all good little actors above and beyond what they think. And we're going to have a press conference where we're going to have them in tears saying we don't understand why Nike would say they didn't think this was the most wonderful day of our lives and they're ruining it. And Nike said, o.k., so they pulled it.
(Richard Pound)

In the next Summer Games the IOC began an advertising campaign to promote the values of the Olympic movement that ran counter to the campaign executed by Nike. This campaign was termed "Celebrate Humanity" and communicated the values of the Olympic Movement through television commercials during the broadcast of the 2000 Summer Games. Over the course of the discussions with all participants each was asked to comment on the campaign and the meanings they could extract from the commercials. All of the consumers indicated that they enjoyed watching the commercials and that the values that they were communicating were in line with those of the Olympic Movement. The lone consumer from a non-traditional market in the study, Dumisani Chirambo, made the following comments after viewing all of the advertisements in the 2002 "Celebrate Humanity" campaign:

DC: Yeah, they were alright, you know they concentrated on themselves isn't it, it's not like they're selling anything.

K: What do you think they are promoting?

DC: They're just trying to portray the Olympics in another matter. That it's not about.....that it's a fair competition, spread the competition, yeah that's more like it.

K: Which ad was your favorite, you saw the Herman Maier one, then you saw the one where they were talking about how they were adversaries but not enemies, and then the third one you saw the snowboarder and he was talking about being an Olympian.

DC: It must be the first one.

K: Why?

DC: Because it talks about falling down and standing up again so that alright, that's a good moral anyways. (Dumisani Chirambo)

Dumisani Chirambo was able not only to capture the values promoted through the commercials, he also acknowledged the quality of the commercials by saying “It's not like they're selling anything”. This may be a contrast to a regular advertisement that is trying to draw a consumer to action; however, in this case the commercial is simply promoting a message. John Furlong elaborated on the values the commercials display and raised an interesting point as to why they draw people to watch the Olympic Games.

I think it's what the Olympics are about. The Olympics are much less about Gold medals than they are about giving us all a chance to show our humanity in the most profound way. The lessons are numerous and if you stand and watch and look every two minutes at the Olympic Games, you'll see something that you'll marvel at. I think the Celebrate Humanity Campaign is extraordinarily positive and passionate and well organized and we should see more of it. I think perhaps it's also a reason really why average people all over the world that aren't so inclined to compete in sports watch the Olympics.

K: Could you elaborate on that?

JF: To watch people compete with each other and watch people win and lose and go through the joy of effort and the agony of defeat and the things that happen to athletes and still be able to celebrate and be together. It's just a wonderful way to see what human beings are capable of and how they're able to behave and conduct themselves in a very intense environment. (John Furlong)

Alluded to in John Furlong's comments on the “Celebrate Humanity” campaign is the showcase of values and beliefs over sport. This is an interesting point considering that the Olympic Games are sporting events yet they seem to represent something that

transcends sport. John Furlong's comments indicate that the Olympics appeal to people on a deeper level than regular sports. The comments of both Dumisani Chirambo and John Furlong indicate that the values and the appeal of the Olympics have been properly captured by the promotional efforts of the IOC.

3.1.3 Brand Association

The associations that consumers have of a brand ultimately determine its strength (Brown et al. 2003 & Fournier 1998). The idea is that the stronger and more positive the associations with the brand are, the stronger the brand will be (Brown & Dacin 1997). Previous work on the effectiveness of brands has demonstrated that it can often take a long period of time to create strong positive associations in the minds of consumers (Aaker 1991) but negative associations with the brand can be created in a short period of time (Dawar & Pillutla 2000). Over the years the Olympic brand has been threatened by scandals, terrorism, cheating, and mismanagement. All of these factors may have caused negative associations with the brand and thus decreased the strength of the brand. To make the claim that the brand may have led to the growth of the Winter Games it must be established that the Olympic brand carries positive associations. The value of identifying associations in this study is that most of the participants are producers of the Olympic spectacle and are actively involved with the Olympic Movement. Therefore, the participants have a wealth of information upon which they make their associations. This may deviate from the average consumers who may associate the Olympics with only the most salient of images in their memories or may not be aware of all the factors that could have created negative associations with the Olympics. For most of the participants they have been involved with the Olympic Movement for a long period of time and the text of

their discussions indicates that they have borne witness to some of the threats that the Olympics have encountered. For example, Susan Auch drew on her experience as a competitor in the Games to talk about the exploitation of athletes at the Olympic Games.

Had I had a little more power at my last Olympics I may have made a statement about wanting to allow athletes to have sponsorship during the Olympics. The only ones that don't make a penny at the Olympics are the athletes, where everything from us is withdrawn, all of our sponsors, all of our rights, everything that we own is gone for those two weeks of the Olympic Games, which I don't think is necessarily great. (Susan Auch)

Overall, all of the participants in this study had positive associations with the Olympics. Some of their associations were tempered by either the financial aspects or the political aspects of the Olympics; which were often seen as negative. The following quote from Ljubisa Zecevic illustrated a case where the Games have been polluted by the financial aspects that arise from the Games.

Ljubisa Zecevic has had the unique experience of being part of the Olympic Movement while it was struggling to sustain itself financially (before 1984) and afterwards when money started flowing more readily into the Olympic Movement. Mr. Zecevic, lamented what the Olympics have become as the result of an influx of money; and he worries about their future.

It's changed because Samaranch (the former president of the IOC) used the appropriation (commercialization) of sport athletes to make money, at this moment everything has changed. The money has made a difference, and now you have so many athletes excluded from the Games in Athens. For example, two weeks before the Games there were other things, doping and drugs. There are weightlifters, such as one Greek, who won the medal. Now it's the man from Russia in shot put and yesterday two more athletes that won in discus. Everyday someone is accused. I was in Baden Baden during the Olympic Congress, as a member of the IOC delegation and there was one question they asked us; would you use drugs if it would guarantee you a gold medal? All of them said yes. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

There is no doubt that the Olympic Games have undergone a transformation as a result of an influx of money. The amount of money the IOC receives as a result of sponsorship

money and television rights fees has topped well over a billion dollars since 1992 (Meridian 2003). As a result of the perceived financial benefits and the amount of attention the Olympic Games receives, some countries and individuals may use the Olympic Games as a tool to advance their own agendas. Some countries engage in political style campaigns to win the rights to host the Olympic Games because they believe that the Games will bring attention to their country and provide an influx of money. Individuals may use the Games as a platform to draw attention to their causes. Susan Auch described this political behavior as deriving from a deviation from the base of the Olympic Movement. She desired for the Olympic Games to return to the base because this would be a return to the ideals that it was created on.

I think Canada deserves it (the Olympic Games) much more, I don't care that we've had the Olympics or that we could have an Olympics a couple of years later. Even awarding the Olympics to Athens, I could see why they did it and that's for a different reason, that wasn't political as much as it was the birthplace and they wanted the Centennial to be there, but it's political. Things are done in the Olympic Movement that are done purely for some person's power or urge and it's not always for a big country political reason necessarily but it's sometimes for, well here you scratch my back and I scratch yours. You give me this, the world soccer championships and I'll give you this and that's really unfortunate that it's not done for the best interest of the athletes in mind. I don't think that a country that has such poor human rights as China should ever be awarded anything because it's rewarding them for not necessarily making ground and I know that that country is not open minded in – well for sure speech, free speech, there's no free speech there period. I can't imagine how behind they are in women's rights, it's unfortunate, but on the other hand I maybe kind of feel that they'll advance because of the games, and they might. They might move forward because of the Games, they might, in the years leading up to those games they might make huge grounds in those areas because they have to and hopefully they won't be artificial, it'll be real. That is the power the Olympics can bring to a country, they can make a country do good because ultimately at the very base of the Olympic movement is good. (Susan Auch)

Susan Auch raised an interesting point that also underlies the criticisms of the Olympics from other participants. Based on the interviews, the negative associations of the Olympics being tainted by the financial or political aspects seems to stem from the

execution of the Olympics and not from the core of the movement. The negative associations are confined to the Olympic Games or the activities of the International Olympic Committee. In direct contrast to some of the negative associations with the Olympic Games or the IOC, all participants held positive associations for the basis of the Olympic Movement. The basis of the Olympic Movement is the ideals and values of participation, diversity, and peace that the Olympic Movement was founded on. From the text of the discussions with the participants, all of them not only held positive associations with the values of the Olympics but some of them also stressed the importance of these values in today's context. For Dumisani Chirambo the importance of the Olympics rested in the values of equality and participation. The Olympics provide an opportunity for equality through participation.

K: Do you think that the Olympics is a good thing?

DC: Definitely, it's just a showcase of nations isn't it, even poor countries compete and that. I mean different nations need to participate, there's a lot of time and effort spent on them so yeah I think it's a good idea.

K: Why do you think participation for the poor countries is important?

DC: It shows that they are also in the world isn't it, it's like the world link. It shows that they're not isolated from each other. (Dumisani Chirambo)

For others, the Olympics are a culmination of a host of values that are important and the opportunity to put these values into action have acted as strong motivators for some of the participants. To illustrate, consider the case of John Furlong. After years of effort by a large group of volunteers, Vancouver won the right to hold to the Olympic Winter Games in 2010. John Furlong was among that group of volunteers and today he heads the Olympic Games Organizing Committee for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic and

Paralympic Games. In the proceeding excerpt he talks of what he associates with the Olympics and why they are so important to humanity.

Well having a campaign to get the Olympics in Vancouver, my sense is that the world has a love affair with Olympic values. I think people everywhere believe that Olympic values are values to live by. Olympism is a way of life; we could use a lot more of it. I think that through the Olympics people get a sense of hope that they could be better than they are. There are moments where the Olympics occasionally have their ugly moments. I think in general people see the Olympics as the proliferation of good, it's a wonderful place where a nation's humanity to be expressed, for an individual's humanity to be expressed and the world needs more of it and it's a place where everyone's the same. Everybody's equal, there are certainly great moments where people achieve hero status but for a brief period of time - people of the world are the same. (John Furlong)

Mr. Furlong is a strong believer in the values of equality, peace, and humanity - thus believes strongly in the Olympics because he associates them with those values. He alluded to the belief that we do not see these values acted upon in society as much as we should. However, if an event such as the Olympics can implement them then this would give people the belief that it is possible for these values to be acted upon. Richard Pound echoed the belief that the Olympics are an example to the world that these values can be acted upon. He attributed the Olympics to the assumptions of the Olympic Movement (the values and ethics it was created on).

It's arguably the largest peacetime gathering of people in the world. It has an ethically based system of sport. It's international, it's peaceful, and it's co-operative. It reinforces all of those values of self-discipline, of fair play, I've always found that people expect a lot out of the Olympics. The view is that if the Olympics can work in 200 and a few countries, then maybe the world can work. (Richard Pound)

Both John Furlong and Richard Pound made important links between the actual and the desired that fuels the strength of the association. In this case the brand is the link between what is desired and the probability of fulfilling these desires. In previous work on the brand, the brand moderated the relationships between consumer expectations (desires) and consumer realizations (what is possible) of those expectations (Dawar &

Parker 1994). A strong brand would enhance the probability of a consumer realizing those expectations; this is referred to as signaling (Dawar & Parker 1994). The importance of the brand being able to signal depends on how much the outcome is desired (Dawar & Parker 1994). In this case, the desire is for values such as: equality, peace, and humanity to be acted upon in society. The Olympics showcase these values and show that it is possible to act upon these values. Numerous cues such as the opening and closing ceremonies, the interlocking five rings, and the torch relay to name but a few are all used by the Olympics to represent these values and create associations between these values and the Olympics in the minds of consumers. This serves to enhance the Olympic Brand as multiple cues have been shown to enhance the strength of brand associations (Van Osselaer & Janiszewski 2001).

At a more global level, all of the participants stressed the importance of certain values within our society and associated these values with the Olympic Movement. Several of the participants indicated a decline or a deficiency in these values within society; for example, Dumisani Chirambo indicated that poor countries may not always be connected to the rest of the world and John Furlong discussed his desire to see more of these values in action. It can not be concluded from the text of the participants that the Olympics guarantees these values will be put into action; but the text does indicate that if people desire these values in society the Olympics increases the probability that those desires will be realized.

3.2 Experiential Aspects

The Olympic Movement revolves around the Olympic Games; both summer and winter. Viewer-ship of the Olympic Games is ultimately a leisure activity, consumers

choose to either view the Games or not and the majority that do view the games do so via television. As such, this study has focused on studying the consumption of the Olympic Games via television. The reason for this is twofold, first so that the most salient aspects of consumption can be extracted and secondly to maintain consistency with previous works on viewer-ship of the Olympic Games. Previous works have shown that the television viewing audience for the Games is quite large (IOC 1997) and that they have the power to make consumers interrupt their regular schedules in order to watch (Rothenbuhler 1988, Dayan & Katz 1994). Dayan & Katz (1994) write that few events have the power to interrupt our daily lives but those events that have that ability are perceived as having more power over consumers than those which are a part of our daily lives. The text of the discussions with the producers articulates why the Olympic Games have this power.

3.2.1 Television Viewing Experience

Undoubtedly, the Olympic Games are a global spectacle. They are a dynamic exchange of experiences and meanings between human actors who are center stage and spectators who are excited in turn (MacAloon 1984). However, when the Games are produced via television they lose part of the immediate exchange relationship between actor and spectator (MacAloon 1984). MacAloon (1984) argues that the experience of viewing is lost when the Olympics are viewed through a different form such as television. However, television can also create a rich viewing experience for its audience when it broadcasts the Olympic Games. Television producers can edit and modify the images to tell stories, create suspense, and give viewers unique insights into what they are watching (Rothenbuhler 1988). The spectacle is now produced for the audience as opposed to

being produced with the audience. It is important to recognize a shift in power from the audience to the producer in the creation of the spectacle, especially the increasing importance of television.

Over the course of this study some of the subjects discussed the increasing role of television in creating the spectacle. David Masse's passage illustrates the customization that the spectacle goes through before the audience receives it.

As a rights holder you are provided with a feed from every venue and it's a clean feed, it's international in flavor in that it's not nationalistic. They (the host broadcast) cover the race, the basketball game, there's no voice over, there's no...it's just generic, if you're American, if you're Russian, if you're Canadian, you're getting the same thing and it's not split. Let's take the following example, if we were doing a hockey game, we would shoot...or let's take a track and field meet, that's a good example. In Athens, everybody got this host feed that was generic, but they usually focus on the top three runners for example. Well Canadians don't always finish in the top three so we would pay extra money and have our own unilateral camera to watch the Canadians. (David Masse)

David Masse's description of the production process is in line with previous works on media coverage of sporting events (Bernstein 2000, Rivenburgh 2003). His description of television's customization for the audience illustrates how the spectacle viewed via television is different than that viewed live. In the live event the audience chooses what to watch but via television the consumer must adhere to what is shown to them. For example, during the live event the audience may choose to focus on one particular group of actors while in the televised event the audience may have to watch all the actors and the entire production. The reasoning behind this is that television must be active in maximizing the viewing pleasure of the viewer because the switching costs for the consumer are quite low. A consumer can switch from program to program or simply turn off the television as opposed to the consumer that's attending the spectacle live and must watch what is presented to him/ her (Dayan & Katz 1994).

For our participants the increasing role of television in the creation of spectacle supports the notion that watching the Olympics can still be an experience albeit a different experience than attending the Games in person. Bob gives a comparison of viewing the Olympics via television and viewing the Olympics in person and alludes to the enhanced viewing capabilities of television over watching the Olympics in person.

You can get the feel of the stadium as effectively from television as you would from being there. To see the event is a little bit different. I see a lot of people in the stands; heck, they see the whole darn event through the jumbo-tron, rather than looking at it and seeing it because the stadiums are vast and the high jumps are over there and you're way over there (opposite area). It's like going to theatre in the Skydome once, I sat in the third deck up there and could hardly see the stage, I watched the whole thing on the monitor. So, television I think lends itself to seeing the event better, the event itself from a close perspective with all the techniques of slow motion, of close-ups, of double lenses, all these things. There's no doubt about it, I think you can see the event better on television, I really do. You see for example, slow motion will drag it out and you can sit and watch it. Television does not do the job as well as being there in terms of grabbing the great cultural atmosphere of the Games. (Bob Barney)

Though not a surprising inference that television allows you to see the event better but fails to capture the atmosphere of attending the Games itself. Both Bob Barney and David Masse provided examples of how television can make the Olympic Games a salient viewing experience for the audience.

3.2.2 Evaluating the Performance

In a study on the consumption experience of spectators attending baseball games, Holt (1996) found that consumers were drawn to feats of athleticism and performance because these were attractive to the audience. Part of this attraction was the evaluation of the performances against their expectations or their own abilities in order to determine if what they saw was worthy of being classified as a great performance (Holt 1996). Performances that either exceeded their expectations or were thought to be beyond the abilities of the audience were viewed as particularly attractive (Holt 1996). For the

performance to be evaluated consumers must be able to make a comparison between previous performances or their own abilities. In the case of the Olympic Winter Games and non-traditional markets the argument is that the Games are new to the audiences and thus they can't evaluate using the two methods Holt (1996) describes. Therefore audiences use different variations of the evaluations described earlier to determine if the performance is attractive and thus worth watching.

These variations take two different forms: consumers evaluate the performance against what it resembles and against their own experiences or abilities. The first evaluation involves consumers that watch the Winter Games and compare what they see against what they believe closely resembles what they see. This process of evaluation is nicely illustrated in the following quote from Ljubisa Zecevic:

You know we have about 16 kinds of sports and I will name them based on this principle. I can make three groups of sport, of winter sport. I am speaking only on the point of view of watching and not biological feats or physical education, not as a professor of sport. First of all, figure skating, everybody could see it, this is not a sport only, this is a performance, it's a spectacle – wonderful with the music. Then ski jumping, the downhill skiing– you're flying and you're going down like a Formula 1. This is a Formula 1 in winter sport. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

Ljubisa Zecevic outlined two comparisons between the winter sports showcased in the Winter Games and traditional performances. For example figure skating is akin to a theatrical performance put to music and ski jumping is viewed as being similar to Formula 1. In the following passage, David Masse attributed the ability to compare between the unknown performance and the known performance to the basic foundation that most sports are built on.

Good sports, different sports lend themselves better, but racing is racing is racing, whether you're sliding down a mountain in a bobsled or on skis or across the finish line on a track. It's still racing, the concepts are not that difficult to understand for most sports. There are very few sports, that are...baseball is a bit foreign to the English and cricket is a bit foreign to Americans, but there aren't too many sports where people can't grasp what

people are trying to accomplish and that's the job of the broadcaster to fill in that gap for them. (David Masse)

The second evaluation involves consumers evaluating the performance against their own experiences or what they are capable of doing. A performance that exceeds our capabilities is evaluated more favorably than a performance that we are capable of (Holt 1996). During the website analysis with Bob Barney, he was shown four of the "Celebrate Humanity" commercials during the 2002 campaign. One particular commercial showed a spectacular fall by skier Herman Maier that propelled Maier into the air and broke his leg. For Bob Barney, this image stands out because he compares it to his own experience.

That was one of the greatest moments in Olympic history for me, and why is it, because of personal experience, but not from skiing. Here's Herman Maier, world class, tough athlete, comes down and he has this gigantic fall from which he's injured, but the big thing is not so much the spectacular fall and even the injuries he received from it. It was the fear he must have had in repeating those circumstances. Like for instance, me, I was bodysurfing in California, and I'm bodysurfing and I'm pretty good. I'm at home in the water, just like him – on the ski course. I'm surfing in the six to seven, eight-foot waves and it's great. Well a storm comes up off the Mexican coast makes its way the California coast and puts up those waves 13, 14, 15 ft high and I'm salivating...I've got to get out there and try. I do get out there and well I miss the first wave and it crushed me. I got it too late and instead of riding it...it just crushed me, right down almost to the bottom. I've been in this situation innumerable times before only not such a big wave, not so deep, usually when I open my eyes I can see daylight, now it's pitch black. Instead of being 6 to 7 ft. under the water I'm now 15 ft. and I started to struggle and this 15ft. wave had me in its grip, I couldn't move a muscle, just like if I had you by the wrist. So I thought I was going to die and I thought the only chance I had was to not expend any energy, any needless energy struggling, I just got to wait it out and hope that the grip relaxes enough that the wave relaxes and I can get back to the surface. I did that, I don't know how long I was down there, maybe only about a minute and a half but that's a long time if you think about it. Finally I did get back to the surface, I looked around and a couple of other people had been caught in the same thing I got out of that. Well the upshot of this was, I came off. I went out to the beach the day following and Christ I was afraid of these three foot waves cause of that psychological sting and for him to get right back on that darn thing and take the course just like nothing had ever happened, with no fear whatsoever, I knew what it was for me, and my esteem for him went like that (high). Compared with my own experience and what it had done for me and I said boy hats off to him. He's on a plane much higher than I am when it comes to psychological toughness. For me that guy

sticks out more than any other skier I've ever watched, that guy and that moment I'll never forget.
(Bob Barney)

3.2.3 Viewing the Unknown and the Unexpected in Performance.

The unknown and the unexpected are two different terms. The unknown represents a new concept that does not fit neatly into the consumer's existing body of knowledge (Moreau, Markman, and Lehman 2001). On other hand, in the unexpected the consumer has already formed an expectation of what they are about to see but the unexpected is an event that challenges that expectation (Holt 1995, Deighton 1992).

From the participants' standpoint the unknown can be appealing because it is different, it may have a novelty effect or it may have greater entertainment value because it is different. Both Dumisani Chirambo and Richard Pound describe this.

K: What do you think of snowboarding?

DC: It looks like fun.

K: Does it look safe?

DC: Well nothing is safe but if you do it correctly then yeah.

K: Is it fun to watch?

DC: Yeah, it's alright.

K: Do you think it's more fun to watch than football?

DC: Yeah some of it, yeah, cause it's different, people doing different things, you know. It's got individuality so it's alright. (Dumisani Chirambo)

Yes, you've seen that Herman Maier advertisement, stunning ski jumps, you see people do quads, throwing people high in the air, and the bobsled. They're all hugely amazing; the downhill slalom is just amazing. It's just a spectacle to watch. Maybe for someone in Botswana, these are all extreme sports. (Richard Pound)

When we engage in performance we consume within a framework of what is expected (Deighton 1992). For example, Holt (1995) found that spectators attending a baseball

game viewed consecutive homeruns by one player to be an unexpected event because this was not something that usually happened in baseball. In a performance such as the Olympic Games or sport in general, there always exists the possibility for an event that challenges our expectations. These events cannot be predicted and rarely occur and yet they draw a great deal of attention when they do. When asked why the Olympic Winter Games were being watched in non-traditional markets Ljubisa Zecevic couldn't help but draw on his experience on the Sarajevo 1984 Olympic Games Organizing Committee and a particular incident that stood out because of all the attention it received.

By the way, I spoke with many people about the ski jumping and the bobsled, and asked what did they expect, many of them said 'accident'. Why, I don't know. But TV always covers accidents many many times, that's the influence, the wrong influence of the TV - always to emphasize and to point out some disaster. Do you remember when in the Salt Lake City, the Monaco bobsled started and the pilot was a member of the IOC – the prince of Monaco. He was very angry, and they (television) interviewed him and his first reaction was what is going on, and what happened with his people (in the sled). Because the TV covered this, he was angry. During the ski-jumping world championships in Slovenia (former Yugoslavia), one of the jumpers on the platform lost his balance and fell from the upper to the lower floor. TV once again focused on this repeatedly showed this. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

This was an interesting point raised by Ljubisa Zecevic because from the standpoint of an administrator he could not fathom why this event received so much attention from the television broadcasters. Holt (1995) argues that these events are interesting because they challenge our expectations set up by the framework of the performance. As another example, one of the most replayed events in the 2004 Olympic Games was the last 30 minutes of the men's marathon. With 10 kilometres left in the race a spectator jumped out of the audience and tackled the lead runner. This was a completely unprecedented event in the history of the Olympic Games and provided a conversation point to all the viewers. David Masse, who had worked on previous Olympic broadcasts for the

Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC) was asked the question why this drew so much attention (more than the number of gold medals won by Michael Phelps) and he responded as follows:

DM: Well, the medal performances of Michael Phelps was an amazing story. There are a lot of amazing medal performances at every Olympics but this is a story that is different than just a straight medal performance. Athletic accomplishments or a Michael Phelps are incredible but I think the world loves to see someone struggle against something even bigger than other athletes, so maybe that's what this Brazilian athlete did. Plus you had the whole world primed for disaster to happen there and this is the closest thing they got to it. (David Masse)

David Masse alluded to something very important in the text of his discussion. He described that the world was “primed” for disaster to happen; as though viewers were tuning in to the broadcast in the hopes of seeing things go badly. Then when it did happen, it attracted a great deal of attention because this is what people were waiting for. An event like this challenges our expectations and can generate discussion from the viewers. Holt (1995) found that spectators who had witnessed an unexpected event were able to come together over it, a sense of being “in the loop”.

In the 2000 summer Olympic Games in Sydney, a Canadian triathlete named Simon Whitfield captivated audiences in Canada by coming from a virtual unknown position to capture the gold medal. Whitfield had not been touted as a medal hopeful prior to the Games but as the competition got underway the unbelievable slowly became the believable and Canadian viewers started to culminate to their television sets. David Masse was working for the CBC on the Olympic broadcast to Sydney and described the feeling in the control room.

DM: I think for me, it's the Simon Whitfield performance in Sydney. I thought it was very, for me, as an employee of CBC, it captured many of the things we try to achieve quite specifically. It was good story telling. You had this good story developing, you had this improbable unknown person. In over an hour you had this story build and tension build and tension build.

You move from watching a Canadian who was just part of the competition to this Canadian who was becoming the focus of the competition. I don't know if you remember it or watched it. As he (Simon Whitfield) moved through it, you kept saying, he's for real, he's for real, and HE IS FOR REAL and oh he just picked off another guy, and he picked off another guy, and he just picked off another guy.

K: Was that the feeling at CBC when you were there, did people start to shift their focus, did people come together and realize that this thing happening on the left is starting to gain momentum.

DM: Yeah, yeah, for sure, and to close the circle on why this moment was an important story for CBC. The nice guy finished first, and talking about Simon Whitfield, we did not anticipate that performance, nobody anticipated it, we didn't even have a camera there. But because we are good people, we could call our friends at TVNZ and say, you guys have a camera there, we don't have a camera there, can we borrow your camera? And they turned their camera over to us, Terry Liebel was there as a spectator, we got her over to the camera and we interviewed Simon Whitfield immediately after the race so we were living what we say we want to be and that's good people and good broadcasters and have the respect of our colleagues internationally and you can't do that at the last minute you have to build that up over years. You were totally oblivious to this but it ended up great and we were able to do things that other people might not be able to do because they hadn't invested in being professionals. (David Masse)

As the possibility of seeing the unexpected increased so did the attention on the event.

People started to come together in the belief that they were going to witness something rare and unique. Initially the expectations were so small of the event happening that, as David Masse pointed out, the CBC did not even choose to cover it from the beginning.

When an unexpected event happens it increases the probability of the event happening again. An event that's never occurred has a low probability of occurring than an event that's already occurred. In the text of his discussion, John Furlong posited that over time, if the unexpected repeats itself in a certain arena or performance then an expectation of seeing the unexpected may form.

I think it's the performances of athletes. When people generally see something extraordinary that's outside the norm, that's outside what's expected, it creates a stir. I think that people are genuinely in awe of great performances. I think people tune into the Olympics with the expectation they're going to see something extraordinary, not necessarily from every athlete, but they are

expecting a great story to unfold and they don't know from whom and from where. So I think, that would be my take into it. (John Furlong)

3.2.4 Unknown Outcome

Though consumers may initially tune in to the performance because they expect to see an excellent performance or they have an expectation of seeing the unexpected, consumers may continue to watch because they desire to see the outcome. A performance is similar to a story, the consumers are introduced to the characters and the conflicts that make the plot (Deighton 1992). However in a performance such as the Olympic Games the point of the story is not made clear until the story has reached its climax. Barthes (1972) illustrates this type of performance in his comparison of boxing to wrestling. In wrestling, the interest lies in the process of the spectacle: the build up, the personalities, and the “intellectual pleasure of seeing the moral mechanism function so perfectly” (Barthes 1972). In contrast, boxing is a contest whose purpose was to measure excellence and the outcome is in dispute until the final bell (Barthes 1972). Without this outcome the story has no point and is incomplete to the audience; thus, the desire to complete the story keeps the audience watching until the outcome is reached. Susan Auch attributed the unknown outcome to the drawing power that the Olympics has:

It's just, I think that sport has this power to you know, bring people together and inspire and it's because there's the unknown outcome. People are drawn to watching something with an outcome that's unknown. That's purely going to happen that day. That's the unfortunate thing about the Olympics, those outcomes are becoming more and more predictable because of the superpower athletes which is unfortunate but that's a totally different side (laughs). But the totally unpredictable side of sport is what people are drawn to. They want to see people rise from an underdog position to win a gold medal you know, to pull out all of there...everything that they have on a given day to win a gold medal against all odds. That's what people want to see and they have that opportunity when they watch the Olympics. (Susan Auch)

3.2.5 Infrequent Event

The Olympic Games occur on a four-year cycle. Up until 1992 both the Winter & the Summer Games were held in the same year. However, starting in 1994 the Winter Games were held two years after the Summer Games. For example, since 1994 the Winter Games were held in 1998 and 2002 while the Summer Games were held in 1996, 2000, and 2004. Dayan & Katz (1994) write that the infrequency of the event can cause the Games to be looked upon as unique. Certainly the producers treat it as so. Olympic Games Organizing Committees of the various Games spend years preparing for the event. Ljubisa Zecevic spoke of the Sarajevo Games first being proposed in 1972 and production for the Games was in full swing in 1981 (three years before the Games themselves). Currently, John Furlong's team is developing the infrastructure for the Winter Games to be held in Vancouver five years from now. Some of the participants talk about this infrequency and the effort put into the Games as contributing to its popularity. In the following quotes the first two are from consumption perspectives while the last one is from a production perspective.

I think the Olympics has a wider appeal to a more versatile audience than singular sports or world championships and part of it is because they occur in two-year intervals. It's not an event that you're impacted with everyday like a major league pennant race or a National Football League season.
(Bob Barney)

I think the differences depend on the people. I think there is more hype to the Olympics because they happen every four years. It all depends on where you come from and what you prioritize. (Dumisani Chirambo)

It's the grandest spectacle there is. It's the best of the best in everything putting it all out on the day. It only happens every four years, the expectations are higher and the pressure is higher and the coverage is better, there are a lot of things, it's created its own brand and aura as the biggest and the best. (David Masse)

Consumers can recognize the infrequency of the event and the lead up to it. This is line with theories on consumption that recognize that increased efforts and limited availability can enhance the perception of the consumption experience (Belk 2003, Pine & Gilmour 1999).

3.3 Myths & Heroes

Over the course of the discussions with participants a new theme emerged that was not previously revealed in the preliminary analysis of the growth of the Winter Games. Participants described their most salient memories of the Games in a specific way. They first identified a key figure or group, then described the conflict the figure or group went through, then they gave the outcome. Often the participant used the outcomes to explain the world around them. Consider the following example by John Furlong:

There was a particular moment in the event when an Irish boxer was beaten by a Russian boxer and I thought as had many others – he had won. I was thoroughly disappointed as were others because, I had this feeling that this is the Olympic Games, something like that couldn't possibly happen there. Of course, like most events the Olympic Games is a human endeavor and because there are human beings involved with making judgments things happen that don't always seem to be fair and reasonable and they sometimes can't be explained. (John Furlong)

John first identified the key figure as an Irish boxer and then discussed the conflict the boxer went through, a match against a Russian boxer that he should have won. The outcome was that the Irish boxer didn't win and as a result John Furlong acknowledged that this is an example of some things in life that can not be explained. The structure the participants employed was that typically used to tell a myth.

Myths are a method by story that allows people to put meaning into their culturally constituted world and explain the world around them (Barthes 1972, Levi-

Strauss 1963, Levy 1981, Stern 1995). For example, the myth of Oedipus is used to illustrate the transformation from the condemned child to the triumphant hero, whilst warning against the dangers of incest (Levi-Strauss 1963). The myth usually contains a hero who acts as a protagonist in the story (Raglan 1949, Butler 1979). The structure of myth is as follows: adventure, suffering, festive celebration (Johar *et al.* 2001). However, in the context of media events such as the Olympic Games, Dayan & Katz (1992) posit that the structure of myth is as follows: competition, conquest, and coronation. The power of myths is that they can be applied to all cultures and transcend time (Levi-Strauss 1963).

For our participants the value of myth in the Olympic Games was twofold. The conflict in the story attracted their interest and the outcome often provides lessons that participants applied to their own lives.

3.3.1 Application to life – Life Stories

Myths provide clarity in our culturally constituted world (Barthes 1972) and guide us in future behaviors (Butler 1979). For example, the notion of perseverance has been passed on through several myths (Hercules, Marathon, etc.) to extol the benefits of persevering before performing an activity when the value only becomes evident after the activity.

One of the unique insights from the discussions with participants was the importance they placed on myths in the Olympic Games. They felt that the Olympic Games provided valuable meanings through myths, values that the consumers could apply in their own lives. Susan Auch used the example of Brian Stemmler who showed humility in defeat while Ljubisa Zecevic used a non-Olympic example.

There were stories like Nagano, I was so totally impressed by Brian Stemmler in his interview with Brian Williams after his race and after missing the gate to. He (Stemmler) just refused to give any excuses and just said, 'I didn't do it today', but he was prepared and ready and he has an awesome story. (Susan Auch)

In Albertville there was too much technology and I don't understand this sometimes, all this technology. O.K, there was a so called 'Athletic Games' in Sarajevo in 1966, I was the director of the competition and there is a group running in 5,000 meter race. There was a Yugoslav competitor and one that if I remember that was from Romania. The Romanian was first and the Yugoslavian was last and voila, with 800m to go they were shoulder to shoulder and this Yugoslavian won only by this much (small). Now you know you what happened? It was the 25,000 people in the stadium. Similarly, something like this happened in a stadium in the Greek Republic, it was incredible, there's a high high excitement. There was a relay in the 4x400 relay, the last runner for Greece was Syllas, he was a Greek policeman, very strong, like a boxer, the Yugoslav he was the first with about a 25 meter advantage, but the last approach... approach he (Syllas) pulled the Yugoslav back, and that was really heroic, in the last moment he (Syllas) won, only in the last two centimeters. Can you imagine, that was a situation when the people made all his will to do something in sport, to win, or to try to win, and that I always say, I always emphasize to my students in my lectures that's one of the examples, that's one of the paradigm of what sport means for the people. This is not so important to win, it's very important to try to win, you know, but sometimes it's better to pedal than to have crashed. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

In the last quote Ljubisa Zecevic gave the example of a myth and emphasizes the importance of its meaning. His description of 'Syllas' illustrates the paradox between what is perceived as impossible and what is possible – the solution is to try. In revealing this myth Ljubisa Zecevic indicated that the value of sport is in illustrating these meanings through powerful myths. The hope is that others will take the meaning and use it to change their perception of what is possible.

3.3.2 Application to life – Imitation & Inspiration

Myths not only provide clarity in our lives but they also inspire us to imitate. It has been well documented that heroes (key figures in myth) embody the values that we aspire to (Barthes 1972, Goodman *et al.* 2002). This is because heroes act as we would like to act (Raglan 1949) or because they have qualities that we would like to have

(Butler 1979). In the Olympic Games the heroes are very salient because they attract a great deal of attention. Consumers are made to feel as though they have a relationship with the hero through a process Holt (1995 – pp.7) describes as “bonding” where the consumers identify with the actor in the story. Susan Auch spoke of one form of bonding that television creates:

I think it depends on the culture on the country, and it's also the product of the television. They don't just show the Olympics, they show the lead up. They profile some of the personalities leading up to it. So kids can't help but to get to know a Marion Jones or a Lance Armstrong for that matter, right?
(Susan Auch)

Therefore, when the ‘would be’ heroes go through their competition the interest of the audience has already been triggered

The perspectives of the participants highlight the importance of inspiration in our society. The corresponding result is the motivation of people towards positive actions, when without the inspiration they may not have acted. Many of the participants discussed the actions people take after being inspired.

Well, one thing that I think would generate participation, would be for some early success in the sport by a national athlete, in other words, sort of a role model. So they would identify with a role model. If a non-traditional market country could be reasonably successful in a non-traditional sport, that might generate some interest in following the lead so to speak (Bob Barney)

I look back for example to Sydney, we sent an athlete to Sydney in triathlon and he came from nowhere to win the gold medal and changed the attitude of a whole generation of young people about their sport. The Olympics triggers something in people it creates and sets conditions in which people can be great.
(John Furlong)

Both Bob Barney and John Furlong equate inspiration as the prelude to imitation, positing that success by a hero attracts greater interest in the sport and eventually greater participation (imitation). Certain statistics lend themselves to this belief as well. The number of Canadian children playing baseball almost doubled after the Toronto Blue

Jays won the World Series in 1992 & 1993 (Canadian Census 1996). However, it cannot be concluded that inspiration leads to imitation without the presence of any other intermediary variables. A number of the participants have alluded to the presence of desire as a moderator to imitation. Once the consumer is inspired he/ she then chooses to imitate according to his/ her level of desire to achieve the imitation. If the level of desire is low then the probability that the consumer will imitate is not very high. However, what is interesting to note is that in a study on the effects of desire on consumption, Belk et. al (2003) found that consumers indicated strong desires for that which was out of their reach. Belief that the consumer would attain what he/ she desired was not a prerequisite to having the desire (Belk et. al 2003). That is not to say that consumers desire the impossible but the greater our possibility of attaining what we desire the lower our desire would be. Thus, a consumer may not necessarily believe he/ she will become an Olympian but he/ she may desire that goal regardless.

I wanted to be an Olympian more than I wanted to breathe and I never made it. I competed internationally but I never got, I never made it, I wanted to. Wrong place, wrong time, not enough talent, but I believe Olympians were special and I've always thought that being an Olympian is the equivalent to having a Phd. in life. I think it's an experience that comes to very few people but when you've had it, when you use it properly, it opens doors, it gives you a perspective, it enables you. So, I would have liked to have had that experience, did not, had others, but did not have that one. To this day I think that because of what the Olympic Games represent, to be an Olympian is an extraordinary achievement.

(John Furlong)

There are so many, it's always so hard because I grew up watching the Olympic Games. My first memories of watching the Winter Olympics were of Gaeten Boucher and Eric Heiden and just watching the power of Eric Heiden and his sister. The fact there was a family connection was cool to me, the fact that there was a brother and sister team, they were both great skaters, they trained together, they hung out together, and then they raced together and they were both very successful. To me that, I think it shows normalcy within sports, it makes them be human and it makes me think that I can compete. I think people want to identify with that. If it was too outrageous and too hard to believe, too good to be true, people wouldn't be

able to watch it but sport isn't like that. It seems almost unattainable but there's always that little glimmer of, maybe I could have done something like that or maybe I could do something great. I think that's what people want out of it, they want to be inspired. (Susan Auch)

Susan Auch's perspective underscores the need for inspiration in our society and the tremendous possibility the Olympics has in fulfilling that need. However, later in her discussion Susan Auch draws attention to the lack of positive inspiration in society. Her concern is on the lack of equal gender representation of heroes in society. Since the beginning of the Olympic Winter Games women have not been equally represented in sports disciplines, but the number has slowly been increasing and currently women are almost on par with men in terms of participation in the Winter Games. However, in terms of sport in general, women's sports in particular lag behind that of their male counterparts. Therefore, if imitation is important in society and inspiration is a prelude to that imitation then the Olympic Winter Games rise above other sporting events because they provide equal opportunities for both sexes to imitate heroes of their own gender.

Well it's obviously very flattering, I mean it's cool to think that I could have made a bit of difference to somebody. I think it's healthy for kids to have many role models because we all have different attributes that they can kind of draw from us. But for sure it makes it worthwhile to think that you can affect just one kid even to go to the Olympics or to stay out of trouble and stay in sports. That's more critical than anything, if one child could – especially girls, if I could affect girls, boys have so many role models to choose from and they have so many expectations already and girls don't have the same expectation and it's still like that, I mean it has changed but it hasn't changed completely. We still don't have the same level of fields to play in and arenas to skate in, it's just different for girls it's not as assumed that we will do sports. And it's partly our fault, I mean girls get distracted in their teenage years whereas boys don't typically. But if I could affect one girl to stay in sport and overcome odds that they never thought they could, gain confidence that would help them through the rest of their life and gain self esteem and learn all the values of sport and use them to be a more successful person in life that would just make my whole career worth it, for sure. (Susan Auch)

Naturally the Olympic system is by no means perfect in meeting the needs of imitation and creating desire. This would run counter to the concept of desire where once the object of desire is realized it is often a 'let down' to consumers that desired it (Belk et al. 2003). Perhaps if female heroes were as prevalent as male heroes it may actually take away a motivator for women to fill that gap.

For most participants the Olympics were credited with creating the belief that imitation was possible. Consumers are engendered by the sense of realism of the heroes and their accomplishments. For example, Susan Auch spoke of the line between people being able to identify with the believable as opposed to that which they can not identify with "If it was too outrageous and too hard to believe, too good to be true, people wouldn't be able to watch it but sport isn't like that".

At a more global level the majority of participants have come to associate the Olympic Games with inspiration and have come to believe consumers expect to be inspired when they watch the Olympic Games.

My initial response just in one word is that people want to be inspired. If there's nothing else on which there often isn't in February. There's no Tour de France, there's no Euro Soccer or World Cup Soccer or any of those big sports events that those nations watch in particular. They still want to be inspired and they get inspired by sport regardless of what sport it is basically. I think, I was trying to think of it the other way around and my neighbor and I were actually talking about it. (Susan Auch)

As far as athletic performance is concerned, it's the great meeting of the best in the world in every event with favorites winning and non-favorites winning with lots of upsets and all sorts of inspiration and motivation for young athletes looking at those folks in there to practice and practice hard for the future so that they might someday be at the Olympic Games (Bob Barney)

The value of inspiration though from the standpoint of producers is what consumers do with it. Inspiration creates an opportunity for consumers to channel their desires into imitation and possibly achievement in their own life.

3.3.3 Enhancing the Spectacle – Triumph in Conflict

At the center of a myth is a hero or a group of heroes and that hero is ultimately defined by the great conflict in his/ her life (Raglan 1949, Dayan & Katz 1992). Dayan & Katz (1992, pp. 29) have defined the myth as consisting of competition resulting in conquest and coronation with the hero going through each of these stages. Over the course of this study the participants consistently replayed a myth or described the hero with particular emphasis on the great conflict that the hero overcame. The type of conflict differed amongst the different heroes but what was consistent was that these moments of conflict and triumph produced some of the most salient memories for the participants. From a consumers perspective Dumisani Chirambo was asked for his perspective on the most famous athlete in the world, he chose to name an athlete who has not competed in over a decade, in what follows, he stated the reason for his choice.

K: Most famous athlete in the world?

DC: Mohammad Ali

K: Why do you think Mohammad Ali is famous, he only competed every four months, if that, maybe every year.

DC: It was his defiance, or his character, or something out of the way, you know. It's one of those things, political things, social things.
(Dumisani Chirambo)

In every event in any given Olympic Games there exists the potential for a hero to emerge. However, amongst all the potential cases a few resonated with the participants. In looking for similarities between the perspectives of all the participants it appears that the greater the conflict or the uniqueness of the triumph, the greater the possibility of the event and/ or the hero being memorable to the participants.

JF: ...I found that I remember a discus thrower from the United States winning a gold medal called Al Oerter and thinking what an incredible

athlete this guy was. He went on to win four in a row in the discus. There were a few others but I hardly remember.

K: Why did the discus thrower stand out?

JF: I remember it more because he became a four time gold medallist.

K: He was already a four time gold medallist?

JF: No, but he went on to, it became more relevant later, he went on to win the gold medal four times and every time he won there were issues, things he had to overcome. He was an extraordinary athlete and it's just remarkable, the first time I ever saw him, of course every time he competed after that it was more interesting than the time before, so he was quite the competitor.
(John Furlong)

From a producer's perspective both David Masse and Susan Auch explained how the potential for a memorable moment could be increased. They attributed this resonance to outside influences other than the triumph. David Masse used the example of gymnastics, a sport that traditionally draws a great deal of attention at the Olympics, to posit that competition upon which the hero competes moderates the potential for a memorable moment. Susan Auch used the example of Herman Maier, an Austrian skier who had broken his leg in a spectacular ski accident right before the Olympic Games, and when people heard of this it set the stage for Maier's triumph at the Olympics. In both instances, the factors that may enhance the triumph are outside the control of the hero and are set forth before the hero engages in the conflict.

Clearly, there's people that create some resonance with the audience that other athletes are not able to. Sometimes it's a factor of the amount of profile their sports have or whatever, but clearly there's some people who.....I don't know if too many people can name who won the last two women's gymnastics all-arounds, but everyone can name Nadia Komeneci, or Mary-Lou Retton, Olga Korbet, they all compete in the same thing, they all achieved the same thing, but those three names are synonymous with the Olympics and there's a whole bunch of others that we can't name right now.
(David Masse)

And similarly watching Herman Maier glide through the air and fall and then win his next race. People just love to - they tune in when something tragic

happens and then that person turns it around and against all odds perseveres and succeeds. (Susan Auch)

Watching a hero triumph over a conflict peaks the interest of consumers and adds to the salience of the spectacle. Consider that the Olympic Games occur once every two years, yet all these moments of triumph in conflict remain with the consumers long after the Games have passed. Bob Barney described a case where the moment evoked emotions because of the history behind the event and his identification with it. However, upon hearing Dr. Barney talk about the event one could get a sense that this was not just another event but something special and even though most consumers do not have the same identification with the event as Dr. Barney does, they can still 'feel' for the significance of the moment.

BB: My best memory from Salt Lake, well Jim Shea is pretty vivid, because once I met him in Lake Placid in his grandfather's driveway. I was a good friend of his grandfathers, his grandson I just met, I shook his hand we started talking on the driveway. To see in the opening ceremonies if you remember, he and his father, and it would have included his grandfather had he not died just before the Olympics, they walked around the track together, that was a powerful bit of symbolism.

K: How did that feel for you?

BB: Well rather than feeling elated I felt sad. Sad because the grandfather wasn't there, circumstances prevailed which denied him being there to savour that moment. To be quite frank I know a bit about Jimmy Shea in the community of Lake Placid and he's nowhere near the man his grandfather is in that community. I mean the local population look at him as sort of a guy that did a few things in athletics but didn't do much in the community. Whereas his grandfather is sort of the pinnacle of virtue, soft spoken, gentlemanly, great Olympic hero and so on. So when I saw them walking out there...and I know the father of Jim Shea, not like his own father, he's sort of a quiet guy. But Shea, I don't think people really expected him to win that new event, that skeleton event, because he had some reverses coming up to the games, I don't think he even won the Olympic trials, he did well enough to qualify.

***Breaks to look at some photographs of Bob and Jim Shea on Bob's wall**

BB: So anyways, Jimmy Shea got up there and it was a powerful scene – NBC was right on it. It started to snow, snow pretty hard and he went down

and just had one of those great runs you know, through the snow and everything and get down to the end and he looked at the scoreboard and he knew he had won the gold medal and he jumped out in jubilation and ripped his helmet off. I didn't know then what he was pointing at but what he was pointing at was a picture of his grandfather that he had inside his helmet. I only learned that a short time after. So that was a pretty powerful moment because it tied him and that victory to his grandfather and of course the first thoughts in my mind were, why couldn't it be possible for Jack to have been there and see that his grandson had achieved what he had achieved in terms of gold medal status so many years before. So that was a pretty powerful moment. (Bob Barney)

3.3.4 Enhancing the Spectacle – Epic Battles

At times it is the moment of conflict itself, rather than the outcome of the conflict that resonates with the consumers. Heroes are created by the great conflict they go through (Raglan 1949, Dayan & Katz 1992), but at times the hero becomes secondary to the great conflict in the myth. This is a separation from the idea that the myth revolves around the hero. Rather, the myth would occur regardless of who the antagonist is. Though the antagonist may enhance the conflict he/ she does not create the moment. The great conflict can take any given form that allows two groups to differentiate themselves. For example, the conflict can be enhanced if the two countries have different political systems, have historical ties, or are currently at war with each other. Bob Barney used the example of a weightlifting final between a Turk and a Greek to highlight the battle irrespective of the participants. Both Turkey and Greece have been warring and this tension spilled over to the event as the spectators viewed the final as one country versus the other.

Back then it was all enhanced by the fact that Greece and Turkey are tremendous rivals in the Eastern Mediterranean and have been for centuries as Turkey once occupied Greece during the Ottoman empire and wasn't removed till the 1830's and beyond. So on one side of that stage, right up close to the stage were all the Turkish fans, across from them, on the other side, close up to the stage were all the Greek fans. After every successful lift there were violent demonstrations, flag waving, hooting, hollering at the Greeks and now the Greek would lift and they'd do the same to the Turks

and of course Turkey won the gold medal and it was bedlam in there. That of course was a separate sub-scenario of the event, so I'll never forget it from that point of view. (Bob Barney)

Bob Barney's experience is quite consistent with other accounts of key moments in the Olympic Games (Pound 2004) and traces back to the work on competition by Barthes (1972). Barthes (1972) writes of the competition as a contest to measure excellence. The actors are secondary to the competition itself. For example a championship-boxing match would draw attention regardless of who the competitors were. This is an important concept when discussing the popularity of the Olympic Games. As competitors and circumstances have changed all that has remained constant has been events. In accordance with Barthes' (1972) theory on competition to measure excellence, the Olympic Games have positioned themselves as the pinnacle and thus draw interest because of this ability. In a brand audit conducted by the IOC (1997) the majority of those surveyed felt that an Olympic Gold medal represented the pinnacle of sporting achievement. Consider the following quote from Bob Barney on one of his most salient memories of the Olympic Games.

Well the 100m sprint of course is a premier event, one of the premier events in the Olympic Games so it was also the Ben Johnson and Carl Lewis confrontation, big confrontations, show-downs between principle athletes, are always something that attracts people's attention. (Bob Barney)

The 100m sprint has traditionally defined the "world's fastest man" and has consistently been one of the premier events in the Olympic Games. This considering that there has been a different gold medal winner in each of the last six Olympic Games. It's fair to say that this event will remain a premier event at the Olympic Games regardless of who the competitors are or of the subplots in the event.

3.4 Identification

Before discussions with participants, it was believed that the growth of the spectator audience for the Winter Games in non-traditional markets was unique because the spectator audience could not identify with anybody or any sport when they watched the Winter Games. The reasoning is that spectators from certain countries are primarily interested in watching their own country compete and/ or they want to identify with the sport taking place (such as having played it before). Therefore, according to this logic the spectators in non-traditional markets should not be interested in the Winter Games because they lack a country to identify with. This belief was rooted in work that had previously been done on viewer-ship in sport (Bernstein 1994, Whannel 1992). Bernstein (1994) conducted a study on media coverage during the 1992 Summer Olympic Games and found that national media in both Israel and Britain favored the performances of athletes in either Israel or Britain respectively. Similarly, Whannel (1992) posited that we identify more favorably with sports we have an association with, for example, cricket is more popular in Britain than in the United States because many Britons have played cricket.

However, upon discussions with all of the participants the concept of identification was a recurring theme in the reasons for the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. Participants posited that the consumers were able to identify with the premise behind the sports at the Olympic Winter Games and that identification with countries was not as important a factor for enjoying the Winter Games.

3.4.1 Identification with Sport

As discussed earlier, Holt (1995) describes three functions of how consumers consume play, one of which is “Evaluation” (comparing the actions against your own abilities or expectations). Identification allows consumers to perform this function by transferring basic elements of known sports to sports that are new to the consumer.

But there’s not any obstructions to see to watch, and to enjoy it (winter sports), in all others. For instance, we enjoy it, in some countries – enjoy hockey because it’s hockey and ice. Because it’s a team like football or soccer and skating. The aim, the general aim of winter and summer is totally the same. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

Good sports, different sports lend themselves better, but racing is racing is racing, whether you’re sliding down a mountain in a bobsled or on skis or across the finish line on a track. It’s still racing, the concepts are not that difficult to understand for most sports. There are very few sports, that are...baseball is a bit foreign to the English and cricket is a bit foreign to Americans, but there aren’t too many sports where people can’t grasp what people are trying to accomplish and that’s the job of the broadcaster to fill that gap in for them. (David Masse)

David Masse alluded to the role of the broadcaster in filling the void in knowledge so that a consumer can perform the evaluation function. In these circumstances the broadcaster can bridge the gap between the known sport and the new sport.

3.4.2 Identification with Countries

In his research on the live broadcasting of sport, Whannel (1992) posited that in order for one to gain maximum enjoyment from watching sport one has to identify with a side. This could entail watching a football match and cheering for one team to win as opposed to cheering for both teams. However, the perspectives of some of our participants offer counter arguments. The participants do state that this happens but believe it’s not necessary to identify with one side or country to enjoying watching the spectacle.

They don’t want to, nor should they have to. It’s a novel idea but people want to be patriotic and they want to support their countries and they’ll support other countries too, but I think people want to look and cheer and

you tend to, when you cheer, you're usually cheering for people. Those are the memories, it's hard to look at the act and not look at the person. I think it's perfectly o.k. for people to cheer for their country, I believe that when Canadians sit and cheer for their colleagues who compete, it's a noble thing. I think the idea that they would cheer for others is a noble thing. (John Furlong)

I mean, in Canada it seems that Canadians don't watch sport unless they identify with the individuals. It does seem though, like I'll be racing in Holland they'll be cheering for whoever is the underdog or the person that shows the most heart. (Susan Auch)

Both John Furlong and Susan Auch emphasized that identification with one side is not important in order to create interest in the competition; however, they both acknowledged that identification does take place and spectators do take a side in a competition. When a spectator can identify with a side it gives the spectator information on the competition (Whannel 1992). For example, speed skating might be alien to someone in Senegal but if they were to see a competitor from France then they would know this is an international competition and that people participate in speed skating in France. However, it is not yet evident how people choose to identify with a side.

In the study conducted by Bernstein (1994), her primary conclusion was that media coverage in a certain country focused on the performance of athletes in that country. For example, a British newspaper focused on coverage of British athletes. However, as a secondary result of her study, she found that the media focused on the performance of the home athletes, it would then focus on countries that the population identified with (Bernstein 1994). For example, the British newspapers favored the United States and Australia over the USSR or China because as one newspaper editor put it, "we can't even pronounce their names" (Bernstein 1994). This coverage countered the ideology that consumers watch sports that they identified with because the coverage was dependent upon the nationality of the athlete over the event itself. To illustrate, consider

that Russia performed much better than Australia in the 1992 Summer Olympic Games, yet coverage favored the Australians.

Cultural similarity has been a highly researched and debated topic in the forum of international business (Hofstede 1980, Ross & Homer 1976, Steenkamp 2001). Previous studies grouped cultures by methods of communication (Hofstede 1980) geographic proximity (Ross & Homer 1976) and economic trade (Schwartz 1994). However, no consensus has been reached regarding a clear point upon which cultures can be clustered, instead the point of differentiation seems to vary on a case by case basis. For example, Hofstede (1980) groups China with Japan based on four features, of which none is geographic proximity. While Susan Auch posited that geographic proximity as being the motivating factor why one country would identify with another at the Olympics Games.

I think they do identify with individuals. Yeah, I think that ultimately you do want to cheer for somebody and maybe it begins with a Mexico cheering for someone on this continent or maybe not. Maybe Canada, their friendly neighbors to the North North. (Susan Auch)

3.5 General Discussion

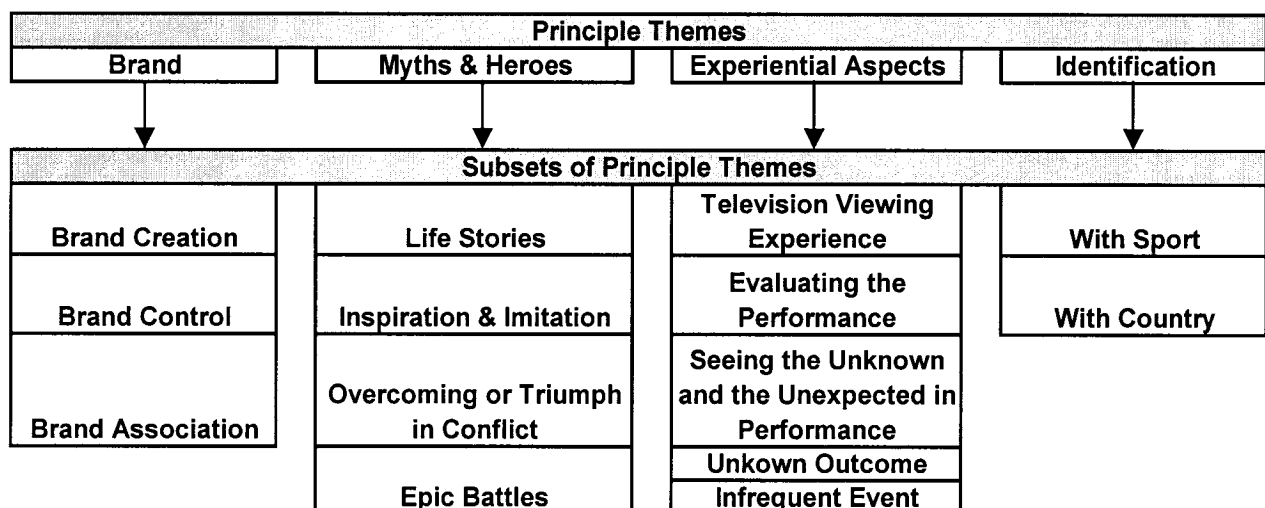
The text of the discussions with the participants strengthened the two themes previously identified through the preliminary research - the brand and the experiential aspects. All of the participants spoke extensively about the brand and each participant had positive associations with the brand. The experiential aspects of watching the spectacle were tempered by the fact that it was consumed via television but the producers posited that this was an experience by itself and the ways consumers consume live performance (such as evaluating) were still occurring. The participant perspectives also strengthened the two themes not identified by the preliminary research, the notion of myth and the concept of identification. When discussing their most salient memories of

the Games, most participants included a reference to a hero and structured the description of the hero's actions in the format of a myth. Identification was a little more difficult to uncover in this study because it had originally been assumed that identification entailed the consumer's familiarity with a country or sport. However, a number of the participants corrected this assumption and redefined identification to entail identification with countries and sport in general. For example, both David Masse and Ljubisa Zecevic stated that because a consumer is familiar with the basic concept of sports, the consumer would likely be able to determine what was happening in many events of the Winter Games.

3.5.1 Relationships Between the Themes

As the analysis moved forward, several sub themes for the principle themes started to emerge. The data was divided amongst these several sub-themes in order to fully utilize the unique perspectives of the participants. These sub-themes and their corresponding principle themes are listed in the diagram below.

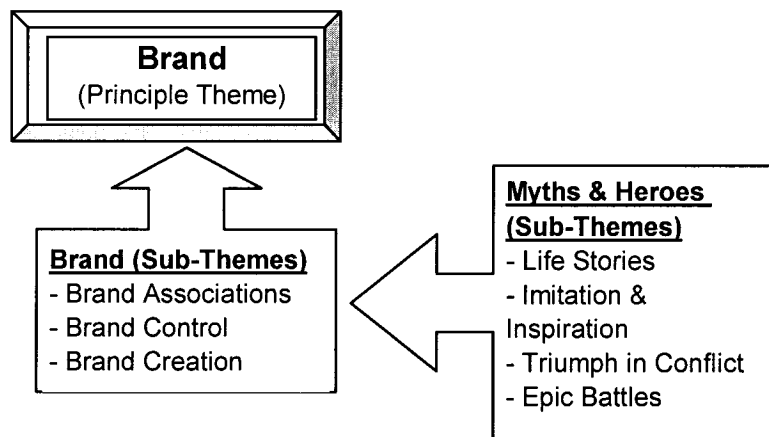
Figure 4 - Principle Themes & Sub Themes



All the principle themes are split between three categories: primary, secondary, and peripheral. The primary themes are those that stand-alone and appear dependent upon other themes to feed into them. Both the brand and the experiential aspects lend themselves as being primary themes. The secondary themes feed into and strengthen the primary themes. The notion of myth is a secondary theme as it feeds into both the brand and the experiential aspects. Identification with sport is also a secondary theme; it feeds into the experiential aspects. The peripheral themes stand-alone but do not appear to have a great deal of weight behind them from the perspectives of the participants. Identification with countries is a peripheral theme as it stands alone but does not have a great deal of weight behind it.

The following model illustrates the relationships between the principle theme of “Brand” as well as the sub-themes and secondary themes that feed into it.

Figure 5 – Principle Theme: Brand



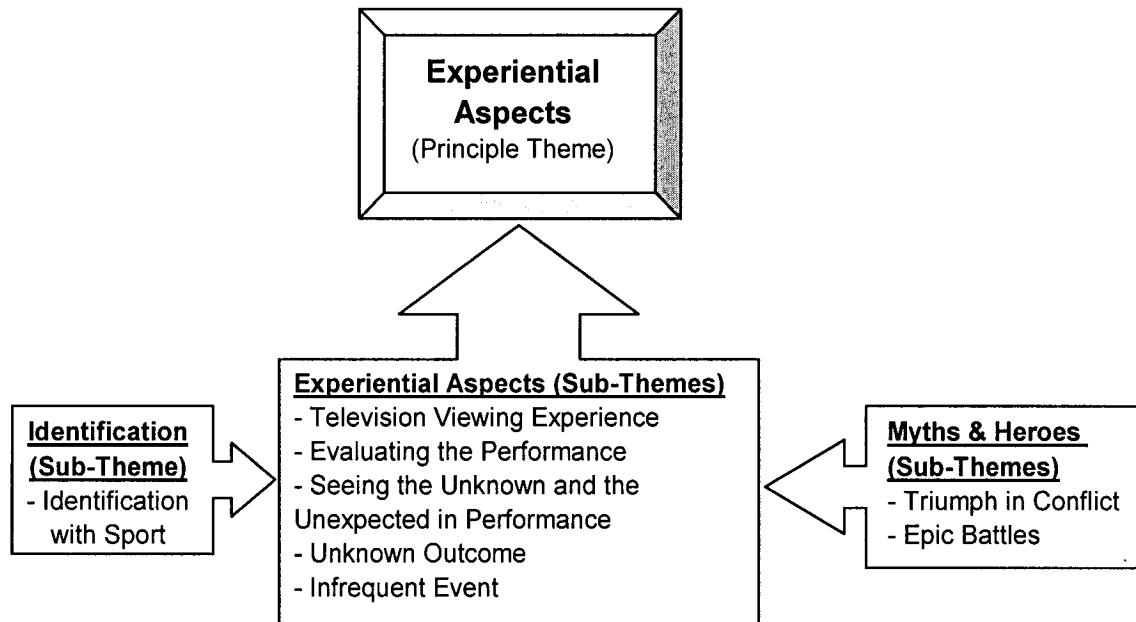
In this model the Brand is strengthened by its sub-themes as well as the sub-themes from Myths & Heroes (Life Stories, Imitation & Inspiration, Triumph in Conflict, and Epic Battles). Life Stories and Imitation & Inspiration are predicated on the notion that these athletes can pass on meaning to consumers. Similarly, the concept of Olympic brand

creation is predicated on the fashion system of meaning transfer (McCracken 1984) whereby a few opinion leaders transfer meaning to those that would imitate them. In this case it is the athletes that are the opinion leaders because of their talents or abilities. The athletes by virtue of their talents and abilities are able to pass on meaning to those would imitate them. A number of these athletes have the power to retain their position of opinion leaders more than others because they have been elevated to the status of hero and are salient in our memory. The number and diversity of heroes at the Olympic Games means that there are number of opinion leaders which can transfer the meaning of the brand to the consumer, thus making the brand stronger.

Triumph in conflict and epic battles feeds into the brand because they create consumer expectations of the Olympic brand. As discussed earlier, the purpose of the brand is to act as a bridge between consumer desires and consumer probabilities (Dawar & Parker 1994). During the analysis all of the participants held an expectation of what they associated with the Olympics and the reason for many of these associations was the moments of triumph and/ or the epic battles they had seen (or created) in previous Olympic Games.

The second primary theme is Experiential Aspects; which, is fed into by Myths & Heroes as well as identification. The relationships between ‘Experiential Aspects’ and the secondary themes is illustrated in the model below.

Figure 6 – Principle Theme: Experiential Aspects



In contrast to the role of the Myths & Heroes in feeding into the Brand, only two sub-themes (Triumph in Conflict & Epic Battles) feed into the Experiential Aspects of watching the Olympic Games. This is because the Experiential Aspects are primarily concerned with the consumption of the Olympic Games during their production.

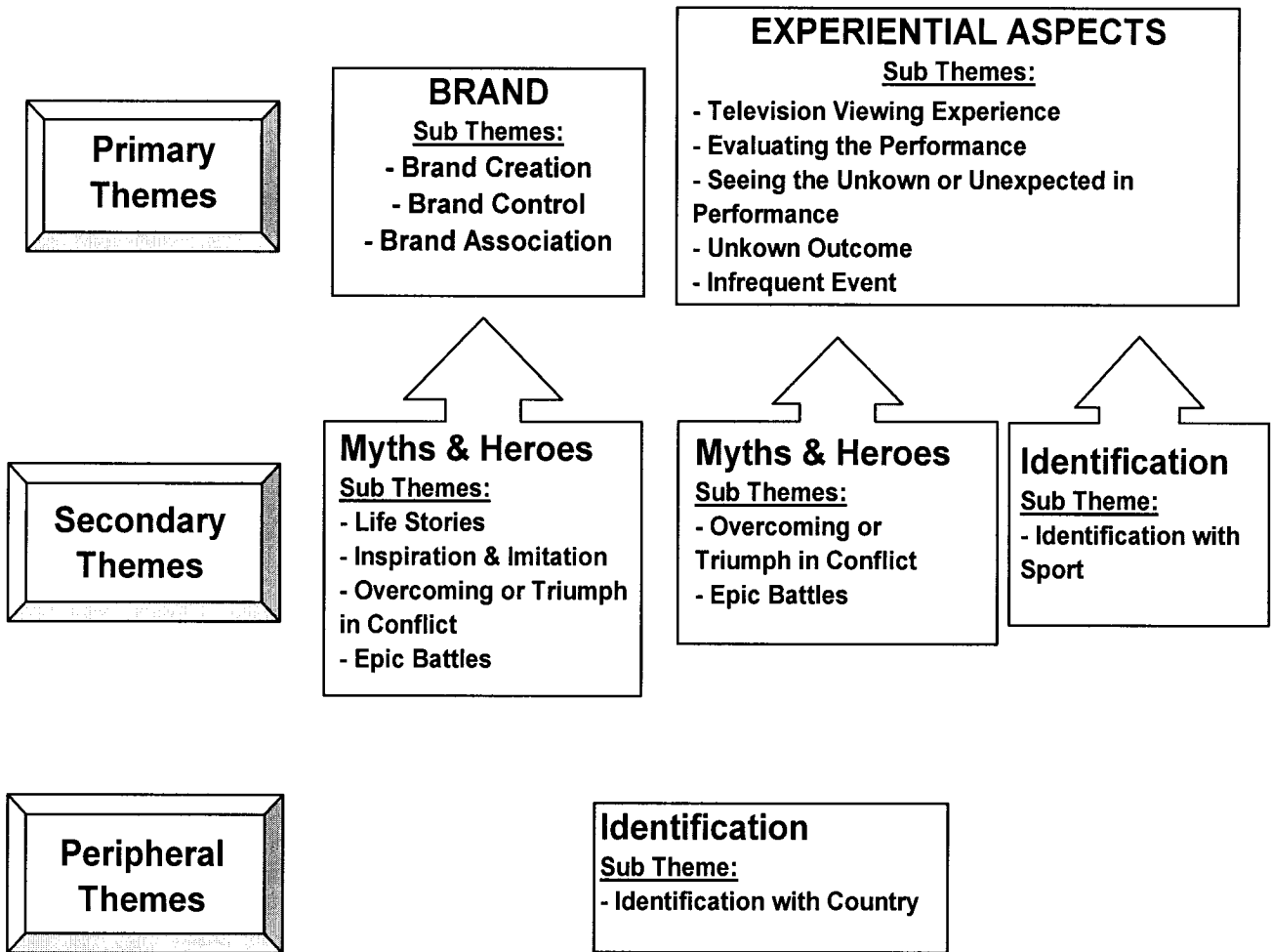
The sub-themes of Myth, Triumph in Conflict and Epic Battles, strengthen the experience of viewing the Olympic Games because they create salient and memorable moments for consumers. In line with the concepts discussed by Pine & Gilmore (1999) in their book “The Experience Economy”, the value of services (or that which is not tangible) has shifted from simple exchanges to complex experience creating endeavours. Services now create competitive advantages over others by offering more than a

transaction but a complete experience. Television is no different in this regard as producers must create the most salient and pleasurable experience as possible (Chandler 1988). Part of this formula is to create programming that the consumer will remember and recall after the program has ended. Myths and specifically the heroes and their conflicts serve this role because they create salient memories for the consumers. All of the participants expressed high recall for moments that involved heroes and the conflicts they were faced with. When a specific hero did not stand out it was the conflict itself (Epic Battle) that provided the salient memory. These salient memories that were brought on by the Triumph in Conflict and Epic Battles enhanced the viewing experience of the Olympic Games.

Identification with sport serves to enhance the Experiential Aspect sub theme – Evaluating the Performance. A number of participants have discussed how consumers take the basic elements of sports they are familiar with and apply them to the sport that is new to them in order to make sense of what they are watching. When this is done consumers can then perform the evaluation function and as Holt (1995) discussed in his research on baseball spectatorship, evaluation is one of the key functions that consumers perform in order to extract enjoyment from the consumption experience. As a result of the relationships between the themes as discussed in this section, a larger theoretical framework is developed:

Figure 7 - Revised Framework

Growth of the Olympic Winter Games in Non-Traditional Markets
Revised Framework



At the top of the model are the two primary themes, Brand & Experiential Aspects.

These two are at the top because they stand-alone and the secondary themes feed into

them. The secondary themes consist of Myths & Heroes as well as Identification with

Sport. Both of these themes are secondary themes because their primary role in

explaining the phenomenon is to feed into and strengthen the primary themes. The final

theme is the sub-theme 'Identification with Country' which stands alone and does not have a strong role to play in explaining the phenomenon.

3.5.2 Abstract Theme

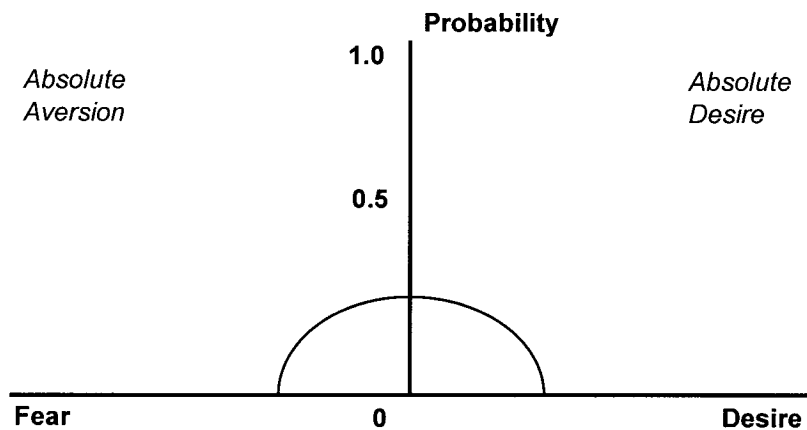
Based on the text of discussions from the participants it appears that the Brand encompasses the meaning of the spectacle while the Experiential Aspects is the vehicle through which the meaning is delivered. Both must work together to cause the phenomenon. However, the experiential aspects of the Olympic Spectacle are not unique to the Olympic Games. Any countless number of spectacles, from the World Cup of Soccer to the Commonwealth Games, contains the same 'Experiential' themes as the Olympic Games. For example, the image of a hero being triumphant in conflict during World Cup soccer games can be just as salient an image as a similar situation in the Olympic Games. Therefore in searching for an abstract theme that would explain the phenomenon we can discount the role of the Experience Aspects because they are not unique to the Olympic Games. The Experiential Aspects do not differentiate the Olympic Games from other sporting events and do not serve to explain the phenomenon on their own. Then our attention therefore focuses on the Brand; which encompasses the meaning of the spectacle. Through our discussions with the participants it was the meaning behind the spectacle that made the Olympic Games what it is. These meanings were diverse and had great depth.

From the text of the discussions with the participants a recurring theme in the meaning of the Olympic Games was hope. Participants either mentioned hope directly or alluded to it in their discussions.

Consumer Hope

A scan of the existing literature on hope reveals that the concept of hope spans several different disciplines from philosophy to medicine and recently to consumer behaviour. In the mid 20th century Day (1969) separated hope from being an emotion by arguing that hope involved an estimation of probabilities that emotions clearly did not contain. Day further advanced the work on hope by modelling hope as a spectrum between desire and fear with probability as the mediating factor (Day 1969, Day 1970). For an illustration of this model please see the figure below.

Figure 8 - The Measurement of Hope, Fear, etc.



*Extracted from "The Anatomy of Hope and Fear" by J.P. Day - Fig 1, Pg. 371

At the ends of the spectrum are fear and desire. Absolute desire is the highest form of hope because it is equal to near certainty (1.0) and high desire. Conversely, absolute aversion is the opposite of absolute desire because it has equal probability and high fear. Day (1970) used the model's curve to illustrate indifference and action. In a situation of desire those above the line would be motivated to act while those below the line would be indifferent. Conversely, in a situation of fear those above the line would act while those

below would not. In equating hope to probability and desire Day (1970) introduced an important facet of hope that has consistently been used in recent research - hope leads to action (Day 1970). In a discussion of hope among the terminally ill patients, Centers (2001) argues that when possible it is best to give patients truthful information about to when they will likely die. The reasoning behind this is that it gives patients the opportunity to get their affairs in order and be surrounded by loved ones when they die. Conversely, not being truthful may move them into fear and despair because they are often worried they will not get their affairs in order and die without seeing loved ones (Centers 2001). This example illustrates the role of probability and desire. By increasing the probability of something they desire (to put their affairs in order and surround themselves with loved ones) a patient moves from uncertainty to a state of hope.

More recently, the concept of hope has been discussed in relation to consumer behaviour in a working paper by MacInnis & de Mello (2005). These authors equate hope to yearning and probabilities as opposed to desire. These authors equate hope to yearning and probabilities as opposed to desire and define hope as, “the degree of yearning one feels for a goal congruent future oriented outcome appraised as uncertain, yet possible” (MacInnis and de Mello 2001, pp. 9). In this definition they replace desire with yearning. They base this reasoning, the switch from desire to yearning, on the work of Belk et al. (2001) who have shown desire to involve a loss of control. On the contrary, MacInnis and de Mello (2001) argue that hope “does not seem relevant to the loss of control” (MacInnis & de Mello 2001, pp. 19).

In our analysis we used the definition offered by both Day (1969) and MacInnis and de Mello (2005). Susan Auch discussed the lack of human rights in China and

expressed yearnings for change while Richard Pound discussed yearnings for achievement through the Olympic Games:

They might move forward because of the Games (China), they might, in the years leading up to those games they might make huge grounds in those areas because they have to and hopefully they won't be artificial, it'll be real. That is the power the Olympics can bring to a country, they can make a country do good because ultimately at the very base of the Olympic movement is good. (Susan Auch)

I think it'll still be pretty much the same (the Olympic Games), it'll still be what everybody hopes to achieve someday as an athlete, it'll remain the most important sporting event in the world. Athletes will be better than they are now. (Richard Pound)

All participants overwhelmingly expressed a desire for fairness and equality although it was not confined to the Games. In terms of equality, participants expressed a yearning for people to leave their differences behind and to focus on people coming together.

Well having a campaign to get the Olympics in Vancouver, my sense is that the world has a love affair with Olympic values. I think people everywhere believe that Olympic values are values to live by. Olympism is a way of life, we could use a lot more of it. I think that through the Olympics people get a sense of hope that they could be better than they are. There are moments where the Olympics occasionally have its ugly moments. I think in general people see the Olympics as the proliferation of good, it's a wonderful place where a nations humanity to be expressed, for an individuals humanity to be expressed and the world needs more of it and it's a place where everyone's the same. Everybody's equal, there are certainly great moments where people achieve hero status but for a brief period of time -. people of the world are the same. (John Furlong)

The Olympic Movement, the IOC, is the organization who is in the struggle against all kinds of the sex, religion, or socially, discrimination. That is one of their most important roles. The role of the Olympic Committee, don't forget the Olympic Committee or the IOC is one of the first universal organizations. The most universal organizations are the IOC and the United Nations, because all others – FAO and others, they are part of the United Nations, but the IOC is not a pragmatic or economical organization, it is a sport organization. In my opinion it is more important than the United Nations because the United Nations could be sometimes in the hands of the system of voting they have. United Nations has a security council, what does that mean, six countries make decisions, they (the six countries) can vote for everyone. In the IOC, that is not possible, because the democracy in the IOC now is equal. It is very hard for them to get to a higher level than before during the time of Avery Brundage. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

It is interesting to note that both John Furlong and Ljubisa Zecevic played key roles in winning the Olympic Games for their countries and in John Furlong's case he made it quite clear that his yearning for equality caused him to bring the Olympic Winter Games to Canada. For our lone consumer from a non-traditional market (Dumisani Chirambo), the equality he yearned for was recognition of poor countries in the world, and he found that recognition through the Olympic Games. He summarized it as follows, "it shows that poor countries are also in the world, it's like the world link" (Dumisani Chirambo).

For the participants, fairness represented an equal and just outcome for all. They drew on their experience to discuss the worldwide need for fairness and the yearning to find it in the Olympic Games.

I think what the Olympics have become is, they've become a political tool unfortunately, partly, not entirely obviously. The fact that there are athletes competing there and competing honestly makes it still the ideal that we all want it to be. But I think, unfortunately, it's become in the last 30 years a political tool to help countries make statements for whatever cause they're trying to make and even athletes do the same things. (Susan Auch)

Well, I think that people associate with doping, they don't want it. They want to see a level playing field. The Greeks were disappointed, and disgusted, and angry with Thula and Konteris over there (in Athens) for the position they placed the Greek Olympic team in and in fact the honor of Greece. I see it worldwide, they don't want to see the country's pride, the pride they have in the country, or the country's honor, compromised by cheats. (Bob Barney)

While Susan Auch alluded to the desire for fairness she feels that the Olympics has moved away from this concept. Bob Barney provided an example of feelings that can be invoked when the concept of fairness is compromised at the Games.

For John Furlong the yearning for fairness is a worldwide concern and the Olympic Games reminds the world how fairness can be achieved.

You can cheat your way to the last seat on the bus, you can't cheat your way into the finals. You can't, in the Olympics, things run out the way they should. There's this great spirit of fairness and respect and you don't get away with, you don't try to get away with things. Life we take edges, we run red-lights, we speed, we do things, we say things, but in the Olympics all of that – we're reminded in the Olympics of how good things can be. You heard Mandela's comment in that humanity message where he talks about, wouldn't it be great if life could always be like this, if life doesn't have to stop at 17 days and I couldn't agree more. The thing is, more and more people need to stand up for this. We need to constantly look at sport and make sure that it's living up to those ideas. (John Furlong)

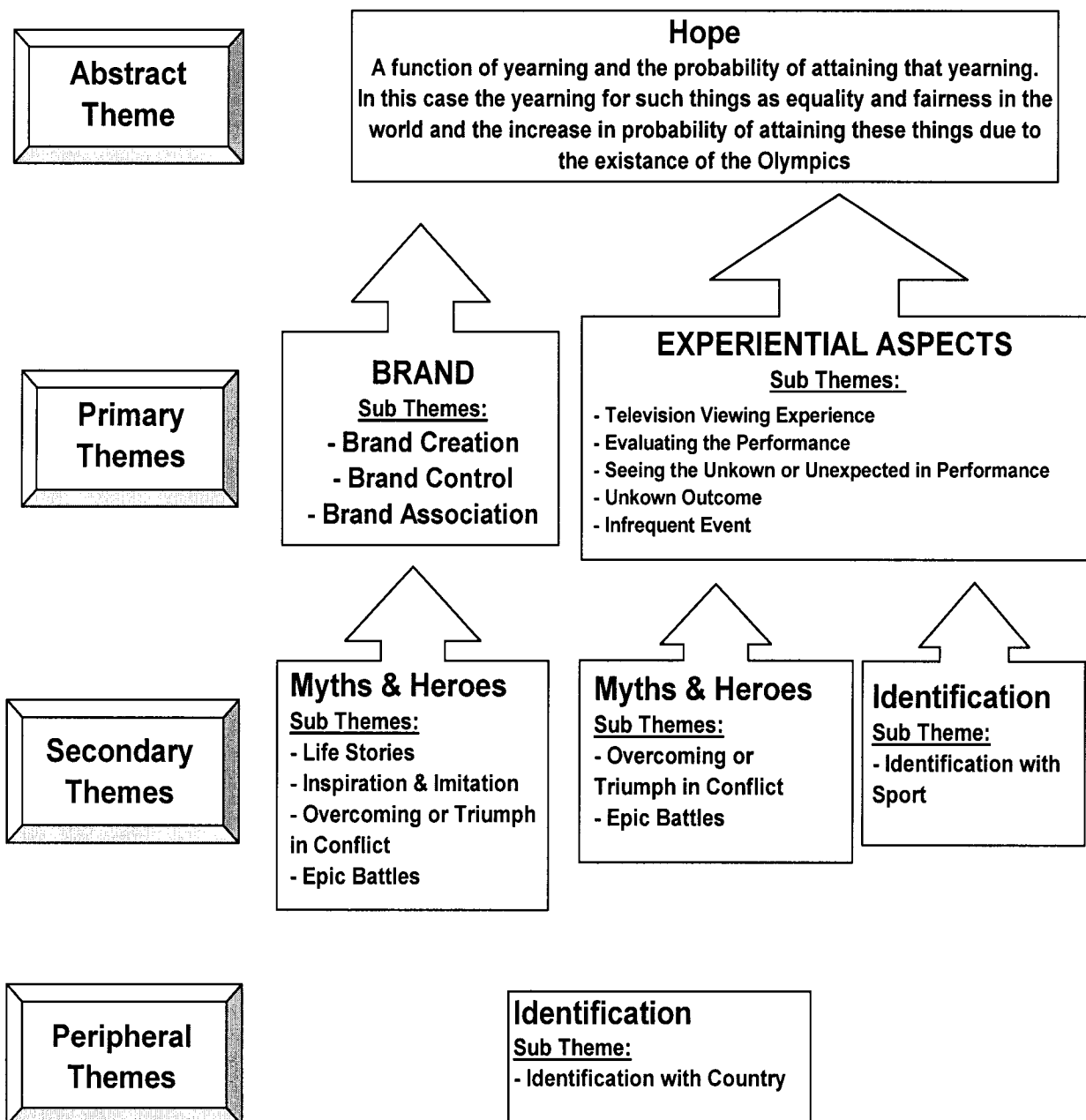
The abstract theme of hope sums up all of the other themes and helps explain the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. Hope has been defined as a function of yearning and the probability of attaining that yearning (MacInnis & de Mello 2001). Consumers yearn for such things as fairness and equality in society, and the Games increases the probability of this yearning being realized. Richard Pound perhaps best sums up this notion of hope in the following quotation:

It's arguably the largest peace-time gathering of people in the world. It has an ethically based system of sport. It's international, it's peaceful, it's co-operative. It reinforces all of those values of self-discipline, of fair play, I've always found that people expect a lot out of the Olympics. The view is that if the Olympics can work in 200 and a few countries, then maybe the world can work.
(Richard Pound)

Hope thus becomes the overarching theme that links all the elements of our study. This finalized framework is illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 9 - Finalized Framework

Growth of the Olympic Winter Games in Non-Traditional Markets
Finalized Framework



3.5.3 Hope and the growth of the Olympic Winter Games.

The Olympic Games are a vehicle for hope, their existence increases the probability of realizing or attaining what we yearn for (fairness, togetherness, etc.). However, having explored the growth of the Olympic Winter Games in non-traditional markets, further insights into the function of hope have been revealed.

Hope leads to action and is centred on the outcome that follows this action. For example, someone may hope to become rich and thus may buy lottery tickets. In this case the action is the purchase of the lottery tickets as a means to attain the hope of becoming rich. What is currently a grey area in research on hope and specifically consumer behaviour is what happens after the person achieves the outcome. If hope is a function of desire as posited by Day (1969) then Belk et al. (2003) have already shown that once the desired is attained then the person no longer desires it to the same extent as before attainment. However, this study posits that hope follows a different stream than the cycle of “desire-acquisition-reformulation” advanced by Belk et al. (2003, pp. 341). As will be illustrated below, the participants in this study demonstrate that hope within the Olympic context is in a constant state of flux.

The participants spoke about their hope for fairness and togetherness yet even at the Games they acknowledged that this has never been achieved and the probability of this hope being achieved by the Games is getting smaller.

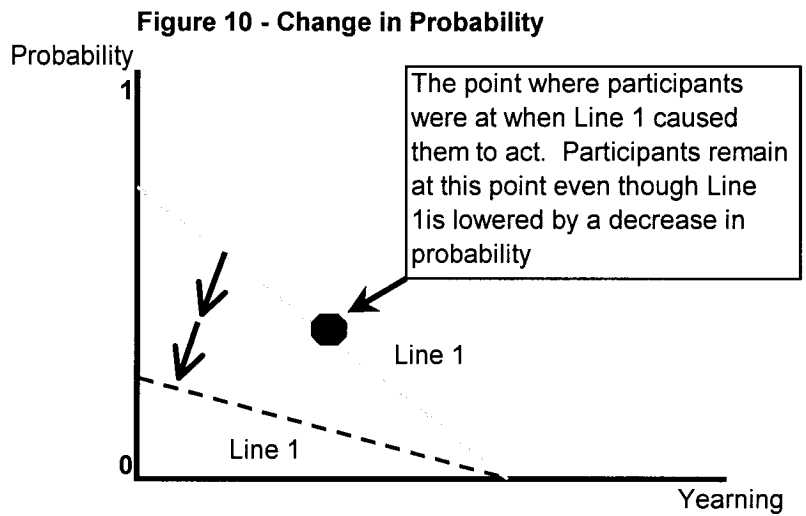
So, some of those things he looked at in terms of what the Games could do, it could be an instrument to preserve and enhance culture, to preserve and enhance education, to initiate friendship, tolerance, fair play, sportsmanship and positive values. They fit more than contribute to those things, it's a good international environment and within reason most of the negatives in the international environment, like severe nationalism, like militarism, or war, these things are nullified inside of the Olympic Movement. At the same token, I have

reservations about the Olympic Movement trying to take over or do what I think has been purpose of the family, the church, and the school in terms of developing citizens. The Olympic Movement would like to do that, but on the one hand they want to do that but on the other hand they have this severe competition and the quest for gold and what that means or the quest to win and what that means. And the lengths or extremes that some folks would go to achieve that, like performance enhancement drugs, cheating, or stuff like that.
(Bob Barney)

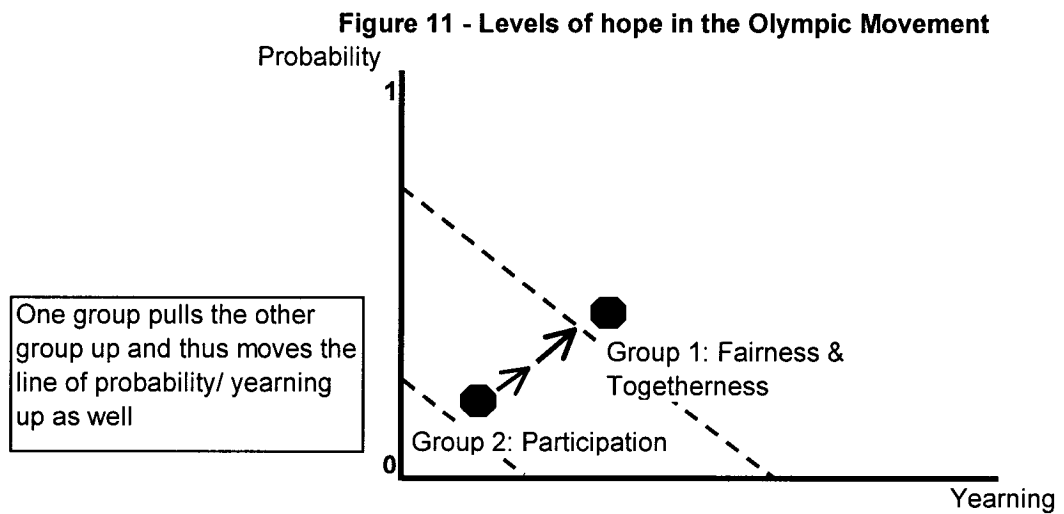
I think what I would like to see the Olympics be is pure, I would like to see the scandals go away, the buying, the payoffs, the you scratch my back I scratch yours but that's wishful thinking it's never going to happen again. I don't think it happened way back, even when it happened way back, even when I think it may have happened. The rich got to go to the Olympics the poor didn't, the amateur status vs. professional status came about because laborers and workers wanted to go to the Olympics and they weren't allowed to go because they were better. The rich people said if you work you can't come, it was only because they didn't want them to beat them. The Olympics has never been a pure movement.
(Susan Auch)

It's changed because Samaranch used the appropriation of sport athletes to make money, in this moment everything has changed. The money has made it different, and now you have so many excluded from the Games. In Athens, two weeks before the Games there are other things, doping, drugs. There was a weightlifter, a Greek, he won the medal now the man from Russian in shotput and yesterday two more won in discuss (all accused of using drugs). Everyday someone is accused. I was in Baden Baden during the Olympic Congress, I was there as a member of the IOC delegation and there was one question they asked the sport people, please, if you wish for that you will win the gold medal if you use the drug, would you use? All of them said yes. (Ljubisa Zecevic)

The participants acknowledged that the Games have changed to the extent that the probability of their hopes for fairness and togetherness are decreasing. Using the model put forth by Day (1970, pp. 371), even though the line of probability/ yearning is lowered the producers continue to act towards the Olympic Movement. The reasoning behind this apparent contradiction is that hope can be in a state of flux and though the probability drops, by continuing to act, consumers can move the probability back up.



The following figure illustrates how this is done in the context of pursuing togetherness and fairness in the Games.



The participants in this group are at the higher level where they find hope for fairness and togetherness through the Olympic Games. Those at the lower level are the

consumers in non-traditional markets whose hope centres on participation in the Winter Games. The actions by those at the higher level move those at the lower level along the spectrum of hope and in turn increase the probability of fairness and togetherness being achieved. Consider that many of the participants spoke of the importance of participation on the part of consumers and how they (the producers) could increase the possibility of increasing participation by consumers. Some of the participants spoke of increasing participation through inspiration or imitation, while others spoke of providing the infrastructure that would encourage consumers (especially new ones) to participate. The idea is that participation leads to involvement in the movement and the bigger the movement the greater probability of achieving togetherness and fairness. However, this outcome (of fairness and togetherness) may never be achieved, but this study illustrates how hope can be in a constant state of flux. Those at the higher levels work to increase the probability of achieving the outcome by bringing others up to their level.

Chapter 4. Conclusions, Limitations and Implications

4.1 Concluding Remarks

This study was a broad exploration of a unique phenomenon – the popularity of the Olympic Winter Games in non-traditional markets. As a result, insights into several powerful concepts were revealed (such as brand creation, myths, heroes, and hope). It provides a partial picture based on experts' views of the Games. By extracting the most salient meaning of the Games from participants' discussions, several themes were identified that played a strong role in the growth of the Winter Games (brand, experiential aspects, myths & heroes, and identification with sport). Further analysis revealed the relationship between these themes and an overarching theme that encompassed these relationships. This abstract theme was the concept of hope and it was determined that the Olympic Games are a vehicle for hope. The Olympic Games embody what participants yearned for and the existence of the Olympic Movement increases the probability of attaining this yearning.

4.2 Implications of Research

This study illustrated the success of the Olympic Winter Games in non-traditional markets and put forth a framework upon which this success was created. Sports marketers, when attempting to introduce new sports into a new market, may apply the framework that was proposed by this study. However, attempting to copy the framework in its entirety would be a mistake. This study revealed that the Olympic Winter Games are more than a sporting event. This was revealed through the associations they had with the Olympic brand. For the study participants, the Olympics represented opportunity,

peace, friendship, etc., and this was a major reason why the Olympic Games were held in high regard. Therefore, unless another sporting event can create associations in a similar manner it would be unwise to use this framework when introducing a new sport into a new market. However, this study provided useful information on why a spectacle can captivate and the power of different elements in a spectacle (such as myths and heroes). Heroes can enhance the salience of the spectacle and create memorable moments, although such a feature is not unique to the Olympic Games. Each sporting event contains its own heroes and these heroes can be leveraged to create interest or salience in the spectacle. For example, based on fees paid for television rights the United States television market consumes the greatest amount of sports via television (IOC 2004, Sporting News 2004). However, until the last six years the premier cycling event in the world, the Tour de France, generated little interest in the biggest sporting market in the world. This has changed over the last five years since the winner of the last four Tour de France titles has been an American (Lance Armstrong) who has overcome cancer to win four titles. People in the American marketplace are tuning into the sport because they want to cheer for their hero (Associated Press 2004).

The implications for this study extend far beyond the realm of sport. It introduced a number of different concepts that could be applied in many fields. The concept of brand creation was documented as a process of meaning transfer from society to consumer and back to society. This process of brand creation helped to strengthen the Olympic brand and gave it legitimacy. The same process can be used to explain how brands evolve and how to maintain the principles their brand was founded on when going through transition. For example, Apple Computers gained its popularity from being the

alternative to the dominant players in the computer market such as IBM & Microsoft (Belk 2004). Consumers prided themselves on choosing the alternative and supporting the “little guy” (Belk 2004).

Another concept introduced in this study is the concept of hope. As this study has shown, hope moves people to act and can exist in a state of flux, which could entail repeated actions. Therefore, in terms of consumer behaviour, the concept of hope is powerful. Marketers can create hope by increasing the probability that their product or service can fulfil consumer yearnings. This probability can be increased by developing the brand so that the brand signals to consumers a high probability of fulfilling their yearning through consumption of the product or service.

4.3. Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, the greatest limitation is that it is focussed mostly on producers and does not have sufficient consumer representation. Since we did not have access to a pool of consumers of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets, I opted to focus on producers of the Games. Consequently, the information provided is skewed towards the identification of certain themes over others. While the perspectives of the producers allowed the Brand theme to be fully developed, the lack of consumer perspectives hindered the development of the Experiential Aspects theme.

Second, due to time and availability constraints, the sample size was limited to seven participants and each participant was interviewed only once. Though each producer was represented, the lack of diversity within each category limited the number of different perspectives upon which the phenomenon was approached. The single

interviews presented limitations because the interviews were stretched over a period of six months (April to September). This meant that information revealed during the course of the study could not be followed up with participants. Also, participants were not questioned in true phenomenological fashion. During the course of the interviews, the questioning moved from the recall of an experience to a “fact-by-fact” recount of an experience. In true phenomenological fashion the participant would have been asked to reconstruct their experience, the purpose being that the choice and quality of information would provide unique insights (Thompson et al. 1989). However, in this study, some participants were given a specific event and asked to “copy” the information from memory to spoken words. This may have reduced the breadth of information provided. Another limitation stemming from the interviews is that a unique perspective may have been missed sine no commercial sponsors were interviewed.

Another drawback was that some participants provided a generalized perspective on the Games, for example, Richard Pound. He has been involved in such an array of capacities that it was difficult to separate his perspective from that of his most general understanding of the Games.

Finally, this study was conducted from 2003 to 2005. The last Olympic Winter Games were in 2002 and the next Olympic Winter Games will be in 2006. Therefore, when asking participants to recall their perspectives of the Games, their recall may have been tempered by the time delay between the Winter Games.

4.3 Future Research

Since this framework was primarily developed on the expertise of the producers of the Olympic Games, it would be important to study the consumer perspectives in non-traditional markets. Studying the same phenomenon from a consumer's perspective may provide additional information that could be combined with the existing framework. For example, the consumer from Malawi described the Olympics as the "world link", whereas the expert from Sarajevo focussed on the experiential aspects of the spectacle. These two contrasting perspectives open up the possibility that consumers in different regions may have varying reasons for watching the Games and the value in watching the Olympic spectacle may be moderated by other factors.

Of the themes identified during the course of this study, all but one fit into a model that fed into the growth of the Winter Games in non-traditional markets. The lone theme that stood alone, as a peripheral theme, was the "Identification with a country". Introduced by a previous study on media coverage of the Games (Bernstein 2000), this theme was not well supported in discussions with participants. Some of the participants mentioned why this might be so but otherwise this theme could not be linked with the other themes in describing the growth of the Winter Games. However, the concept of identification with a country lends itself to the concept of ethnocentrism: the view that one looks to one's own group as the center and all other groups are referenced to that point (Sumner 1908: pp. 13). According to work in the area of ethnocentrism, consumers have been found to have more favorable attitudes towards products from culturally similar countries (Wang & Lamb 1983). Therefore, according to these findings, it would be expected that consumers are more likely to watch the Winter

Games if they can identify with a country on the grounds of cultural similarity. It would be interesting to see if the concept of identification with country may bridge the gap from consumption to passionate consumption. As noted by Whannel (1992) the concept of identifying with a country or group in sport can cause a cult-like following for the sport. It would be important to evaluate the transition some countries (e.g., Australia & Spain) have made from not watching the Winter Games to actively participating and if this has led to passionate consumption of the games within those countries.

In terms of the themes that were linked within this study (such as branding, consumption experiences, and hope) it provided insights into the purpose of these themes. All of these themes can be explored in future research. For example, the study revealed that the Olympic Brand is unique because it is continually being created by consumers, as opposed to being created by producers for consumers. This process has lent itself to the strength of the brand because of the size and diversity of the consumers. Future research provides the opportunity to study how brands are created by consumers and what implications this has on the strength and the meaning of the brand.

Holt (1995) found that spectators bonded with the actors (in his case, baseball players) and formed relationships with them because they repeatedly saw the players. The Olympic Games also have spectators and actors but the consumption experience of the spectators at the Olympic Games is different from those at the baseball games studied by Holt (1995). As Bob Barney noted, the spectators at Olympic Games create a festival atmosphere that is for the most part free from antagonistic behaviour. This is different from the heckling and booing that Holt described in his study. The source of this

variation between consumption practices may yield interesting insight as to how consumption practices evolve or can be moderated.

Lastly, the abstract theme of Hope was posited as a powerful motivator that would move consumers to act based on their yearning and the ability of the Olympic Games to fulfil these yearnings. MacInnis & de Mello (2001) acknowledge that their work on consumer hope is only the beginning of the study of a powerful concept.

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Appendix A – Olympic Principles

*Extracted from the 2004 Marketing Fact File, produced by Meridian Management SA for the International Olympic Committee, 2004.

Fundamental Principles of Olympism

Modern Olympism was conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, on whose initiative the International Athletic Congress of Paris was held in June 1894. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) constituted itself on 23 June 1894. The following are Fundamental Principles of the Olympic Movement, as stated in the Olympic Charter:

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 for universal fundamental ethical principles.

The goal of Olympism is to place everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.

The Olympic Movement, led by the IOC, stems from modern Olympism.

Under the supreme authority of the IOC, the Olympic Movement encompasses organisation, athletes, and other persons who agree to be guided by the Olympic Charter. The criterion for belonging to the Olympic Movement is recognition by the IOC.

The goal of the Olympic Movement is to contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair-play.

The activity of the Olympic Movement is permanent and universal. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of the athletes of the world at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games. The Olympic Charter is the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules and Bye-laws adopted by the IOC. It governs the organisation and operation of the Olympic Movement and stipulates the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games.

The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practising sport in accordance with his or her needs.

The Olympic Charter is the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules and Bye-laws adopted by the IOC. It governs the organisation and operation of the Olympic Movement and stipulates the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games.

Appendix B – Full Text of Celebrate Humanity Advertisements

2000 Celebrate Humanity Campaign – 5 Commercials

Adversary

*You are my adversary but you are not my enemy
For your resistance gives me strength
Your will gives me courage
Your spirit ennobles me
And though I aim to defeat you
Should I succeed
I will not humiliate you
Instead I will honor you
For without you
I am a lesser man*

Courage

*Strength is measured in pounds
Speed is measured in seconds
Courage
You can't measure courage*

Giant

*To be a giant
This has forever been our passion
This desire to be a giant
Not to stand on one's shoulder
Nor to have one for a friend
Though these may be fortunate things
But to be one
Giants step over barriers that seem never ending
They conquer mountains that appear insurmountable
Giants rise above fear
Triumph over pain
Push themselves
And inspire others
To be a giant
To do giant things
To take giant steps
To move the world forward*

Silver Medal

*Someone once said
'You don't win the silver, you lose the gold'
Obviously, they never won the silver*

Bronze Medal

*Just a reminder
That in the Olympic Games
You don't have to come in first
To win*

2002 Celebrate Humanity Campaign – 7 Commercials

Bobsleigh

*They came out of nowhere
They were the underdogs
Nobody thought they could win
And they didn't
But the world sure loved them for trying
Here's to the Jamaican Bobsled Team*

Hermannator

*Falling is easy
Getting back up
That's the hard part*

Ski Jump

*The human spirit can overcome many things
Little things
Like Fear
And even big things
Like gravity*

Smile

*When you smile
I smile
That's the deal
I will not walk past you and not look you in the eyes and not acknowledge you
Instead we will pass each other and say hello
Not with our words for they are not the same
But with our faces
I meet you and I see there is good in your eyes
There's passion in your heart
There's a friendly hello in your smile
And for the first time we can relate and appreciate each other
That's all it takes
That's where it starts
Because I know that you will smile
And I will smile
And all the rest
Is easy*

Adversary

*You are my adversary but you are not my enemy
For your resistance gives me strength
Your will gives me courage
Your spirit ennobles me
And though I aim to defeat you
Should I succeed
I will not humiliate you
Instead I will honor you
For without you
I am a lesser man*

Olympian

*I am an Olympian
Transcending my sport, race, culture, country
I am an agent of peace
Of change
With my presence
The world grows more understanding of my race, culture, and country
I am an Olympian*

Citius, Altius, Fortius

Harder, better, faster, stronger (chorus - repetition)

2004 Celebrate Humanity Campaign – 5 Commercials

Brief Moment

(Narrated by: Kofi Annan)

*The greatest moment of the race is not the touching of the wall
Or when one swimmer begins to pull ahead of the pack
The greatest moment takes place before the pistol even fires
When for a brief time no nation is greater or smaller, stronger or weaker than any other
For me, that is the Olympic moment.*

Heart

(Narrated by: Andrea Bocelli)

*If you could have the arms of Hercules
Legs as swift as the wind
If you could leap shoulder high above the rim
Have the kick of a dolphin
The reflexes of a cat
If you could have all this
You would have the body
You would have the tools
But you would not have greatness
Until you understand that the strongest muscle is the heart
To me, that's the soul of the Olympic Games*

Strength

(Narrated by: Christopher Reeves)

*Funny isn't it
An athlete aspires to be the best his or her country has to offer
And ends up representing the best humanity has to offer
That's the strength I find in the Olympic Games*

Adversaries and Equals

(Narrated by: Nelson Mandela)

*For 17 days they are roommates
For 17 days they are soulmates
And for 22 seconds they are competitors
17 days as equals
22 seconds as adversaries
What a wonderful world that would be
That's the hope I see in the Olympic Games*

Play

(narrated by: Avril Lavigne)

*It doesn't matter where you come from
Who your family is
What you wear
Or how good you are at math
The only thing that matters is that you give it everything you got
To me, that's why the Olympic Games rock*

Appendix C – Sport Participation in ‘Non-Traditional’ Markets

	Bobsleigh	Ice Hockey	Skating	Luge
Argentina	catance@hotmail.com No Olympic Participation	dschiller@ssr.com.ar No Olympic Participation	fasa@speedy.com.ar No Olympic Participation	catance@hotmail.com 1 - Calgary 88' 1 - Albertville 92'
Brazil	mail@abbsl.org 4 Man - Salt Lake 2002	reginaboscolo@terra.com.br No Olympic Participation	emaleson@abbsl.org No Olympic Participation	Mail@abbsl.org 1 - Salt Lake 02'
Mexico	gilberto_bobsled@hotmail.com 4 Man - Calgary 88' 7 Men - Albertville 92' Notes: About 30 people registered and train primarily for the Olympic Games. Television coverage only during the Olympic Games	ilaguilaru@prodigy.net.mx No Olympic Participation	ilaguilaru@prodigy.net.mx 2 FS - Calgary 88' 2 FS - Albertville 92'	No national association or contact information
NZ	lex@star-floors.com 6 Men - Calgary 88'	liz@dalewis.co.nz No Olympic Participation	secretary@nzisa.com 4 SS - Albertville 92'	gbalme@beattie.co.nz No Olympic Participation
SA	No national association or contact information	saiha@iafrica.com No Olympic Participation	safsapen@iafrica.com 1 SS - Lillehammer 94' 1 SS - Nagano 98' Notes: 2500 registered members in national association. Very little television coverage more on digital satellite.	No national association or contact information

	Skiing	Biathlon	Curling
Argentina	fasa@speedy.com.ar 15 skiers - Sarajevo 84' 12 skiers - Calgary 88' 11 skiers - Albertville 92'	salasjar@hotmail.com 4 - Lake Placid 80' 1 - Calgary 88' 8 - Albertville 92' 1 - Nagano 98' 2 - Salt Lake 02' <small>Notes: 100 registered members, no television coverage</small>	No national association or contact information
Brazil	sarnhold@tectoy.com.br 6 AS - Albertville 92' 1 AS - Lillehammer 94' 1 AS - Nagano 98' 1 AS - Salt Lake 02' 350 Brazilians compete in skiing AS, X-Country, snowboard & biathlon. No live coverage on television but some AS and	sarnhold@tectoy.com.br No Olympic Participation	emaleson@abbsl.org No Olympic Participation
Mexico	ilaquilaru@prodiqy.net.mx 1 skier - Sarajevo 84' 6 skiers - Calgary 88' 11 skiers - Albertville 92' 3 skiers - Nagano 98' 3 skiers - Salt Lake 02'	ilaquilaru@prodiqy.net.mx No Olympic Participation	No national association or contact information
NZ	snowsportsnz@xtra.co.nz 6 skiers - Sarajevo 84' 4 skiers - Calgary 88' 2 skiers - Albertville 92'	tim.mahon@nzas.org.nz No Olympic Participation Note: little participation in NZ and no television coverage	p.i.becker@xtra.co.nz No Olympic Participation Note: 640 registered mbrs, able to watch on T.V but rarely and only for "novelty" factor
SA	sanssa@global.co.za No Olympic Participation	sanssa@global.co.za No Olympic Participation	No national association or contact information

Appendix D – Biography of each Participant

Richard Pound – Source: International Olympic Committee

Susan Auch – Source: www.susanauch.com

John Furlong – VANOC

Dumisani Chirambo – Source: Dumisani Chirambo

Dr. Robert Barney – Source: ICOS

Dr. Ljubisa Zecevic - Source: Ljubisa Zecevic

David Masse – Source : Canadian Olympic Committee

Richard Pound



Education

McGill University (Commerce 1962 and Law 1967) and Sir George Williams University (Arts 1963); Chartered Accountant (1964); Lawyer (1968)

Career

Lawyer, Chartered accountant, author, Chancellor of McGill University

Sports Career

Olympic finalist at the Games of the XVII Olympiad in Rome in 1960 (100m freestyle [6th] and 4x 400m medley relay [4th]); gold medalist in 110 yards free style and silver medalist in 440 yards free style relay and in 880 yards freestyle relay at the 1962 Commonwealth Games; bronze medalist in 440 yards medley relay; Canadian Champion freestyle (1958, 1960, 1961, 1962) and butterfly (1961)

Sports Administration

Secretary General (1968-1976) then President (1977-1982) of the Canadian Olympic Association; deputy chef de mission of the Canadian Olympic delegation in Munich (1972); former Secretary of the Canadian Squash Rackets Association; member of the PASO Executive Commission and Legislative Commission; President of World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) (1999-)

Historical IOC

Member of the Executive Board (1983 – 1991, 1992-1996); Vice-President of the IOC (1987-1991, 1996-2000); Chairman of the following Commissions: Protection of the Olympic Games (1981-1983), Television rights negotiations (1983-2001), Marketing (former “New Sources of Financing”, 1988-2001), Coordination for the Olympic Games, Atlanta 1996 (1991-1996), Olympic Games Study (2002-); Vice-Chairman of the Eligibility Commission (1990-1991); member of the following Commissions: Preparation of the XII Olympic Congress (1988-1989), Protection of the Emblems (1974-1977), Eligibility (1984-1987), Olympic Movement (1983-1991, 1992-1999), Programme (1985-1987), Juridical (1993-), Study of the Centennial Olympic Congress, Congress of Unity (1994-1996), Sport and Law (1995-), “IOC 2000” (Executive Committee, 1999)

*Source: International Olympic Committee

Susan Auch



Susan was born and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. She has over 15 years of international experience in speed skating (short track and long track) and has participated in five Olympic Games (1988, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2002). During that time she's won three Olympic medals: a bronze in 88', a silver 94', and a silver in 2000. Susan retired from competitive speed skating after the 2002 Olympic Winter Games and now resides in Calgary.

*Source: www.susanauch.com

John Furlong



Prior to his appointment as CEO of the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC) in February 2004, John Furlong served as President and Chief Operating Officer of the Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation.

A longtime member of the Canadian Olympic Committee, Furlong served as co-chair of the BC Summer Games, BC Winter Games, and Sport BC. He founded the Northern BC Winter Games Society, and served British Columbia at seven Canada Games and two Western Canada Games.

Furlong has chaired several boards and has a distinguished community service record spanning over 30 years. He has served as Chair of Richmond General Hospital and trustee of Vancouver Community College.

Furlong is a highly sought after inspirational public speaker.

Furlong has both competed and coached at the international level in basketball, handball, and squash. He is a former Canadian Squash Champion.

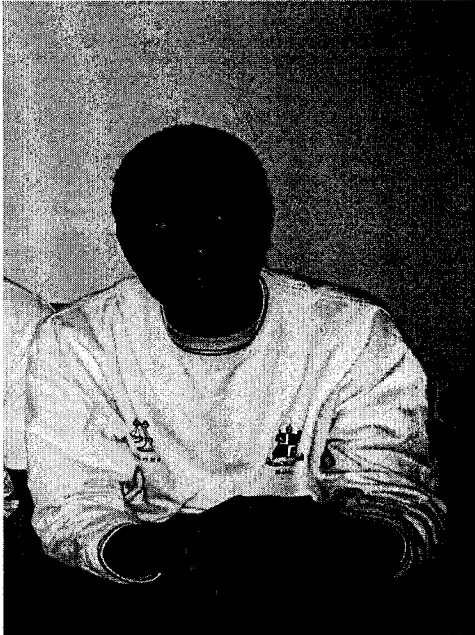
Furlong has been recognized with numerous community awards for his service to sport. He received the Darrel Thompson Award and Kaizan Award for services to sport in British Columbia over a lifetime and was voted Canada's Sport Executive of the Year for his work on Vancouver's Bid for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games. He was also named Vancouver's Executive of the Year by the Vancouver Executive Association before being acclaimed as the 2004 Canadian Sport Awards' Sport Leadership Winner for his service to sport in Canada over a lifetime.

Recently, the City of Richmond recognized Furlong's Vancouver Olympic efforts with a meritorious service award. Earlier this year, John Furlong was also inducted to the BC Sports Hall of Fame as the 2004 W.A.C. Bennett Award recipient.

A resident of Richmond, British Columbia, Furlong is married with five children and six grandchildren.

*Source: VANOC – Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games

Dumisani Chirambo



Dumisani Chirambo was born and raised in Malawi. He lived in Malawi until the age of 19 when moved to Brighton, England to study at the University of Brighton. Dumisani graduated from the University of Brighton in 2003 with a Bachelor of Arts in Urban Planning and currently works for the Eastbourne City Council as a building inspector.

*Source: Dumisani Chirambo

Dr. Ljubisa Zecevic

Dr. Ljubisa Zecevic was born and raised in the former Yugoslavia. In terms of athletic involvement, he competed internationally in track and field competitions as a high-jumper. He was also a professor of sport and a member of the Yugoslavian Olympic Committee and executive member of the Organizing Committee for the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics. He currently resides in London, Ontario, Canada and continues to research and write about the Olympic Movement.

*Sources: Ljubisa Zecevic & The International Centre for Olympic Studies

Dr. Robert (Bob) K. Barney



Bob Barney was born in the United States and competed at both the NCAA level and the professional level. He competed as an NCAA swimmer and later as a professional hockey player. His profession is Professor Emeritus in the School of Kinesiology at the University of Western Ontario and he is the founding director of the International Centre for Olympic Studies.

Bob Barney has been researching the Olympics for over three decades and has written many articles on the history of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. His most recent book that he co-authored (“Selling the Five-Rings”), gives a detailed account of the growth of commercialization within the Olympic Movement.

For his involvement with the Olympic Movement, Bob Barney has been awarded the Olympic Order by the International Olympic Committee which is only granted to those who have made outstanding contributions to the Olympic Movement.

*Sources: Dr. Robert K. Barney, University of Western Ontario, & The International Centre for Olympic Studies

David Masse

David graduated from the University of Windsor with a bachelor's degree in commerce and a bachelor's degree in communications. He then started working for CBC (in the mailroom) and progressed through the ranks of the CBC to become involved with the production of several programs.

In terms of athletics, David has been very involved with water-polo both as a competitor and as a coach. In 1999 David coached our National Junior Water-Polo team.

David has worked on the broadcast of a Commonwealth Games (1994 in Victoria) and two Olympic Games (Winter Games in 1998 & Summer Games in 2000). He is currently the Director of Programming for CBC Sports.

Glossary of Terms

CBC – Canadian Broadcast Corporation

ICOS – International Centre for Olympic Studies

IOC – International Olympic Committee

ISF – International Sport Federation

NOC – National Organizing Committee

OCOG – Olympic Games Organizing Committee

VANOC – Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games