

## Werk

**Titel:** Managing and marketing of urban development and urban life

**Untertitel:** proceedings of the IGU-Commission on "Urban Development and Urban Life", Berlin, August 15 to 20, 1994

**Jahr:** 1994

**Kollektion:** fid.geo

**Signatur:** XX

**Digitalisiert:** Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

**Werk Id:** PPN1030505985

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030505985>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030505985>

**LOG Id:** LOG\_0113

**LOG Titel:** Structural underpinnings of an Olympic city bid

**LOG Typ:** article

## Übergeordnetes Werk

**Werk Id:** PPN1030494754

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030494754>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030494754>

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## **STRUCTURAL UNDERPINNINGS OF AN OLYMPIC CITY BID**

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This is a preliminary working paper. Its objective is to explore the structural bases of the marketing of a city as a potential Olympic Games venue. Two dimensions of the city marketing exercise are examined. They concern an appreciation of the nature and structural relations of the product being marketed (the Olympic Games), on the one hand, and those of the place in which it is to be marketed, on the other.

The discussion casts the Olympic Games as a 'commodity' in the production process, the interacting components of which establish a particular pattern of relations and qualities. Relations and qualities inherent in the commodity in turn determine the window of opportunity and the barriers of constraint for cities wishing to compete in an Olympic cities market for the privilege of staging the games. The competitive cities market is thus a conditional one. Only those cities with qualities appropriate to the basic market demands of the commodity will be considered. Moreover, only that city which is able to display market advantage beyond the basic platform will ultimately be selected. Market advantage interestingly enough need not rest entirely upon issues of profitability. These ideas are developed in relation to the marketing competition conducted between South African cities for selection as the South African candidate for the 2004 Olympic Games.

### **Introduction**

This is a preliminary, work in progress, paper. Its objective is to explore the structural bases of the marketing of a city as a potential Olympic Games venue. As a resident of a city which is aspiring to be the 'Olympic city' of 2004, the topic is of relevance in a parochial sense. It also offers wider opportunity, however, to examine a field surprisingly neglected in the contemporary geographical literature on city imaging and marketing - considering the wide international interest and significance attached to Olympic Games events. It is also a topic which in important respects displays quintessential geographical concerns in the practice of city marketing.

In the given context of the paper two interactive dimensions of this particularly city marketing exercise arise. They concern the necessity to develop an appreciation of the nature and structural relations of the product being marketed, on the one hand, and those of the place or venue in which it is to be marketed, on the other.

The Olympic Games may be viewed as a 'commodity' of a very particular kind and order in the control of an international consortium - the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The consortium, very much as the owners or controllers of a high order, major international commodity chain or franchising company might, will be concerned to seek out appropriate places (venues) which meet stringent functional requirements, including geographical location and accessibility, sufficient and suited to the successful staging (marketing) of their commodity.

Marketing of an exceptional commodity in a particular place, carries substantial potential direct and indirect benefits for the selected place. Individual cities will thus enter a competitive 'cities market' in an attempt to attract the consortium and its product to their venue. The key issue in the city marketing exercise is to establish comparative market advantage in the eye of the consortium - in this case the IOC.

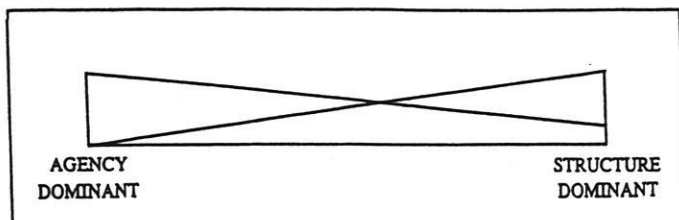
Feasibility of making a bid in the cities market will be determined by the window of opportunity provided and the barriers of constraint imposed by the market qualities and demand inherent in the commodity. In other words the Olympic Cities Market is a conditional one and only some cities with appropriate qualities and structural underpinnings, will have a chance of being considered as possible venues. Moreover, that city which can concretely display that it not only satisfies the basic market demands of the commodity but can also offer market advantage beyond that platform, will be selected.

Issues to be examined in the paper, on the one hand, hinge around the nature and market qualities of the Olympic Games, as a commodity. On the other, an attempt is made to penetrate the parameters of city marketing, as they have played themselves out in an Olympic city market competition between South African cities for the privilege of making a bid for the Olympic Games of 2004.

### The Nature and Market Qualities of the Olympic Games as a Commodity

Sport is an activity which has roots as long as human history and stems from social interaction and innate biological and psychological needs for physical movement, recreation and the joy of play. It is an activity which ranges over a continuum. At one pole is spontaneous play in which individual human agency is paramount in participation in casual games for pure enjoyment and the sake of the game (Figure 1).

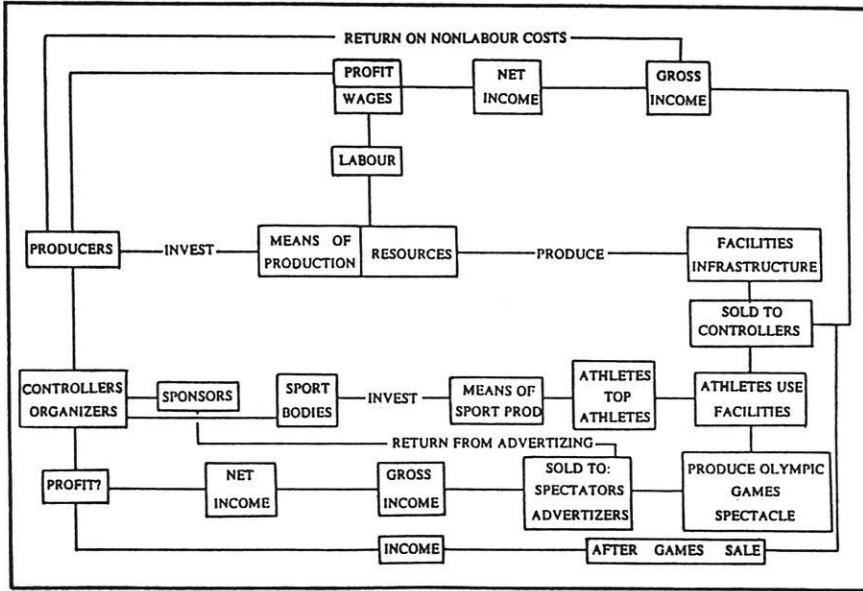
Figure 1 The Sport Continuum



Towards the other pole is institutionalised sport which might involve millions of participants and hundreds of millions as spectators. At the extreme of the latter context is top-level sport of the quality that characterises Olympic Games participation. This is sport in which individual agency remains significant but which,

over time, has become highly organised and structured in ways which now cause participants, sporting bodies, spectators and those involved in staging events to be caught up in the controls of deep structural relations of society (Figure 2).

Figure 2 The Olympic Games: Outlines of the Production Process



Top sporting bodies, their facilities and participants have become commodified directly or indirectly to ensure the production of top quality sports people and means to sport. In achieving that goal the sporting bodies and participants are not infrequently tied in with wider investment and production interests of major firms through sponsorships, loans, grants and in some instances actual ownership. A return on investment is expected through direct and indirect advertising and other rights. In the wider sphere of economic production, moreover, a large scale, high technology, sport equipment and facilities industry has developed. Such industry no doubt plays a significant role in fostering relations of production through top-sport.

Participants in top-sport, through specialization, professionalism, intense measured competition, training and control, have tended to develop structural relations not too dissimilar from those encountered in the economic base and/or the state. In important respects sport at that level assumes the character of work and, participants, roles and relations similar to those of costly, high skilled workers in economic production. At the same time and for their promoters, participants assume the nature of a commodity.

Spectators in contemporary top-sport, including large television audiences, are cast in the role of consumers in a sports market. Directly through entrance fees and

indirectly through advertising and sponsorships, sporting bodies and firms expect to establish high profile market images and to reap significant incomes and profits from the relations.

Characteristically also the structural relations of top-sport have a political dimension. Achievement is important in building another measure of international prestige and status. At a deeper level sport, through its participants and spectators, is considered to be a vital means of ensuring the health of the population - essential to production achievement and in national preparedness. It also contributes to the sublimation of aggressive discontent (much as it did, for example, in ancient Rome) and facilitates political and economic stability. The state will thus, usually, also be concerned to establish structural relations with sporting activities and particularly with those at the top-level which serve as models for the population at large. Direct involvement of the state in support of participation in major events such as an Olympic Games stems from such deep seated relations.

The staging of world collectives of top-sport activities, as in an Olympic Games event, depends not only on the presence of top-level participants but on the selection of top-level places and venues within which the event might be staged. As is suggested in Figure 2, the process of creating the infrastructural commodities and supports required to stage the Games necessarily places the organisers into powerful structural relations with the forces of economic production. At the base of the relations are needs for very substantial capital investments from private firms and the state; the purchase of labour with particular high level skills including organizational, management and technical skills, and the availability of, or capacity to create, particular resources in the production of a highly complex, frequently high technology, integrated infrastructure. Top-level athletes, produced in the sphere of participating sporting bodies, will be the users of (or workers in) the infrastructure (which might be viewed as means of sport production) in the production of the commodity which is the sporting spectacle of an Olympic Games event. It is anticipated that forward linkages in the set of relations will produce the income necessary to permit investors and organisers to draw a return on costs and possible profits. Many participants will often be rewarded through sponsorships, promotions, employment offers and the like.

Beyond these baseline economic demands will be those that involve other circuits of capital. They will include capacity for the production of appropriate, wider, infrastructural commodities such as international access by air, internal and local transport infrastructure; appropriate accommodation resources for spectators; peripheral feeding and entertainment facilities and activities; national and international organisational agencies; health services, security services, and importantly the provision of opportunities for multiple purpose visits by the spectators who will expect opportunity for peripheral tourism locally, regionally and possibly nationally. Investment in such spheres will involve both private firms and the state perhaps required to make expenditures ahead of normal expected future demand.

What these broad observations mean in real terms for particular cities is suggested by the budgets prepared by the five competing cities for the 2000 Games. The budgets show the level of financial commitment to cover operational costs and the creation of the basic infrastructure to stage the games (Table 1). No readily available data have been found to suggest the level of wider expenditures.

Table 1 Basic Financial Commitments of Five Cities for the 2000 Olympic Games

	Cities				
	Beijing	Berlin	Istanbul	Manchester	Sydney
Budgeted:	Millions of US\$				
Incomes	1140	2117	1232	1451	975
Expenditure	1020	2001	1025	1359	960
Surplus	120	116	207	92	15

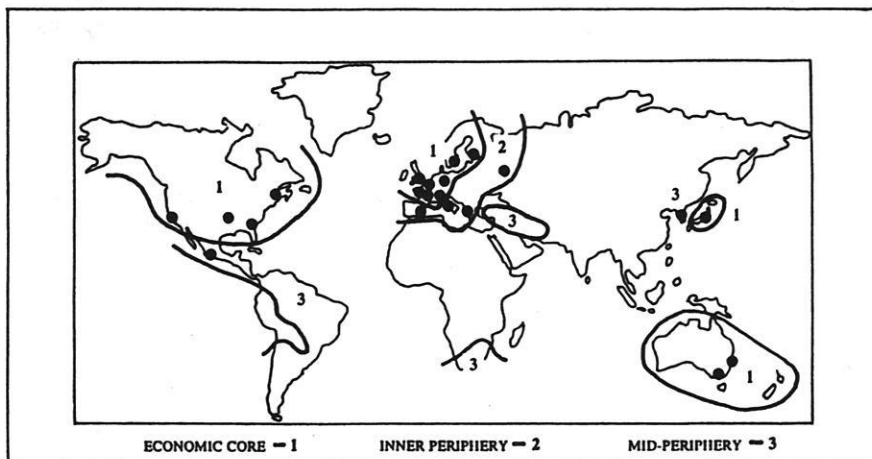
Source: IOC Enquiry Commission for the Olympic Games of 2000

The budgets suggest constraints of the window of opportunity for cities in the market. Clearly only cities which have a local and national economic, operational and technological base sufficient to support the required levels of expenditure might bid. The constraints are strongly evident in the geography of modern Olympic cities. Though the 24 Olympic cities of the past have not all been world cities in the true sense, they are nearly all (22) major places located within the Developed Core and Inner Periphery zones of international economic space (using GGP per capita as a crude measuring stick) (Figure 3). The remaining two cities (Mexico City and Seoul) fall within the Mid-Economic Periphery, in newly industrializing countries with high levels of economic primacy and concentration of development within the major city. The cases of the two cities suggest that other major cities, in other significant Mid-Periphery countries, might succeed in meeting the financial platform sufficient to support a bid.

Several cities in Latin-America (Rio, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Caracas), the Middle East (Istanbul, Teheran, Baghdad), North Africa (Algiers) and South Africa fall in this category. It may be possible also that major cities, in large countries in the Outer-Periphery, might succeed - including the cases of China (Beijing or Shanghai and Hong Kong) and Indonesia or Egypt with Djakarta and Cairo. The cities of Istanbul and Beijing were competitors in the 2000 games market and are already cases in point. Such cities could, however, be excluded on other, non-economic, grounds such as levels of human rights, political instability and inadequate technological bases.



Figure 3 Geography of the Olympic City in Economic Space



Though the level of investment required to stage an Olympic Games event constitutes an affordability constraint, it also carries substantial potential for the generation of economic output and profit, the lifting of employment levels over a wide range of skills and a considerable time span. It will yield infrastructure that might contribute to greater social well-being in the longer term. In cities with a local tourist potential the status gained and publicity generated may also have a substantial longer term impact. Potential development associated with staging an Olympic Games will thus be attractive to major cities in developing countries. It would also integrate with contemporary international awareness of development needs of poorer countries - a factor which is not unlikely to have escaped the notice of the controllers of the Games (IOC). Expectations might be that more bids might be received from major cities, with the necessary production capacity, in developing countries in future.

In the contemporary transition phase of South African society, this is undoubtedly one of the contexts in which decisions were taken by the National Olympic Committee (NOCSA) in suggesting that a South African city be put forward as a candidate in the Olympic City market for 2004. This apart from the growing perception that an Olympic event should be staged in Africa. There is also little doubt, however, that cities in developing countries, which should include South Africa, have a fairly narrow window of affordability opportunity and that their bids might thus be of only moderate strength.

In the South African case, the inherited, unequal pattern of economic development has possibly worked to its advantage in this particular market context. Production capacities, organizational skill and a surprisingly high level of technological development and infrastructure are highly concentrated in three major urban regions - PWV (Johannesburg) Cape Town and Durban. Though the PWV with approximately 40 per cent of GGP, is the largest and economically most powerful urban region, not only in South Africa, but in Africa as a whole, each of the three city regions has, within its own context, proved to have a sufficient economic base and capacity to satisfy basic financial and production requirements to compete in the national Olympic City market (1994).

In the Cape Town case budgeted revenue is R3800 million (\$1036 million) with an operating expenditure of R2800 million (\$763 million) and a surplus of R840 million (\$229 million). Of the expenditure some R128 million are expected to be spent before 1997 in preparing for the international bid.

These budgetary levels compare fairly closely with those set for Sydney's winning bid for 2000. While the R840 million surplus will be used in capital expenditure necessary to provide Olympic level sport infrastructure, a substantial additional capital investment of R5900 million (\$1608 million) will be necessary to upgrade the city's transport infrastructure, provide for the Olympic Village and Media Centre and sporting facilities in less advantaged parts of the city. Much of that additional expenditure (94 per cent), however, would be necessary in any event to cover costs of future development needs in the city. The expenditure would thus represent a 'forward spend'. The total investment budgeted would be nearly R9000 million (\$2500 million) - a value equal to nearly 50 per cent of the regional GGP for one year!

### **Bidding in the South African Olympic City Market**

Though of fundamental importance, the fact that each of the three cities was able to establish a financial base sufficient to enable it to bid for the Olympic Games tells us little further about the 1994 city marketing exercise in competing for NOCSA'S selection to make the international bid in 1997. It is necessary now to examine the other structural underpinnings of the bids. The question hinges about the establishment of market advantage and specifically the bases upon which Cape Town, the winning city, attained success in the market. Beyond that it may be possible to relate the exercise to basic marketing theory.

In this context two facets of market advantage arise. The first rests on more superficial variables and the identification and imaging of innate qualities of the cities. The second hinges about deeper concerns such as marketing strategies employed, the penetration of the underlying bid philosophy, innovative use of urban space relations and structural outcomes that might arise from staging the Olympic Games



event. Research reported here refers only to the two coastal cities (Cape Town and Durban). Access to data for Johannesburg has unfortunately been delayed.

### Comparison of Innate Qualities

Table 2 shows thumbnail assessments on 30 innate qualities of the two coastal cities. They are drawn from personal investigations and data included in independent bid submissions to NOCSA. Characteristically the list includes only qualities that might be considered relevant and positive in the context of the bid or that might be readily ameliorated. City marketing, in whatever context, will not include negative characteristics - and there are several in both cases!

Though deeper research would be necessary to penetrate the detail of each variable and to weight its relative importance, preliminary conclusions from the overall picture presented suggest that:

- (i) on half of the variables listed the two cities qualify at the same level, though in some instances on the basis of alternate opportunity,
- (ii) in two instances, those of environmental category and setting, the cities offer distinct, alternate opportunities. The one is a subtropical city with a distinctly African setting, the other is set in a Mediterranean environment with few truly African characteristics.
- (iii) on four variables - access to the national population,
  - tourist accommodation quotient
  - a mass holiday alternative and
  - dates proposed for the Games

Durban exceeds the level of Cape Town. The finding confirms the key characteristics of Durban as South Africa's premier coastal, mass-holiday resort.

Cape Town enjoys advantage over Durban on nine variables:

- natural environmental aesthetic at local and regional levels, built environmental aesthetic, height of tourist profile at local and regional levels
- historical-cultural environment,
- theatre,
- the geographical relations of intra-urban space
- security

Appropriately these variables, on the one hand, image the key characteristics of the historical 'mother city' of the country. It is set in one of the aesthetically outstanding major, urban sites in the world. Cape Town ranks with San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro, Hong Kong, Sydney and Vancouver in the natural beauty of its site. On the other, and without painting too glowing a picture, it is a city with a long social history of positive interaction and empathy among its multi-ethnic people, and its resistance to racial oppression and a lower, but by no means absent, level of political and social unrest are matters of record. Major, and significant factors in its

Table 2 Two Cities: Innate Qualities Assessment

Variable	Durban	Cape Town
• Size	Moderate	Moderate
• Climate T	23°C	20°C
R	39-58mm	35mm
RH	73-76%	55%
• Env. Category	Sub-Trop.	Mediterranean
• Altitude	Sea Level	Sea Level
• Env Aesthetic		
Local	Good	Excellent
Regional	V. Good	Excellent
Distant	Excellent	Excellent
Setting	African	Mediterranean
• Built Env Aesthetic	Moderate	Moderate - Good
• Access Nat Pop	Good	Weak
• Intnat Access	Partial Gateway	Gateway
• Tourism Profile		
Local	Good	Very Good
Regional	Good	Very Good
Distant	Excellent	Excellent
• Medical	Good - Very Good	Very Good
• Tour.Accomm.	Very Good	Good - Moderate
• Public Trans	Poor	Poor - Moderate
• Local Cult Env		
History	Moderate	Very Good
Pop Mix	Very Good	Very
Theatre	Poor - moderate	Moderate - good
Night	Moderate	Moderate
• Tech Basis	Good	Good
• Org Basis	Good	Good
• Sport Org	Good	Good
• Sport Infra. 97	79%	78%
• Dates Games	Excellent	Good
• City Geog Rels		
Sites	Centralised	Decentralization Benefits
• Security	Problematic	Good
• Mass Holiday	Very Good	Good

favour are the intra-urban geographical relations of the city and availability and selection of structurally desirable sites for the location of the Olympic stadium, Olympic village, media village and other important sporting facilities. The major Olympic facilities will be concentrated on sites which, while providing for very convenient access to the city centre and other major amenities, will at the same time be oriented towards less advantaged communities in the city. Together with access to new, decentralised major sports facilities, disadvantaged communities are likely to be more strongly and directly integrated with the sports amenities of the city. Olympic housing, too, will find appropriate after-games use. In Durban, by contrast, most Olympic facilities, including housing, will, by virtue of the city's geographical relations, be highly centralised in the inner city. The space relations would tend to entrench spatial inequalities and the privilege enjoyed by the more affluent population. The image of inequality could be very strong, and disadvantaged groups could remain unintegrated in the urban periphery.

It is probable that these variables would carry a fair relative weight against others and on innate qualities alone Cape Town appears to have significant market advantage over Durban. Its distance from the centre of gravity of the national population, a major source of spectators, and its non-'African' image, however, would be distinct disadvantages.

The innate advantages Cape Town enjoys over Durban would, in themselves, not be a sufficient basis upon which to clearly distinguish market advantage in the bids of the two cities. In the context of a society in transition, deeper and possibly more powerful factors arise. They concern the underlying philosophy of the two city bids, strategies employed in staging the bids, evidence of underlying community support and participation, and the imaging of the structural relations inherent in staging an Olympic Games among others.

Key issues in the philosophy of the bids are listed in Table 3. In both cases the bids contain noble and admirable rhetoric relevant to societal needs and the Olympic ideals. The philosophy of the Cape Town bid, however, is more penetrating. It is clearly underpinned by a development ethic concretely oriented towards effective integration of disadvantaged communities. The city intends to use its intra-urban geographical relations, through location of facilities and infrastructure, to attain that goal. Durban's bid, on the other hand, relies heavily on rhetoric. It makes much of the need to reduce violence and establish peace and harmony (major factors in the local environment), and needs for regional investment. It does not, however, found its ideas on a concrete base of intended action. This comment, of course, is not intended to suggest that Durban's Olympic planners have no real concern for the development of disadvantaged groups. They simply did not grasp the opportunity, at a vital point in the bid, to suggest how their philosophy might be applied in practical goals. The reason, possibly, and interestingly enough, is that the geographical relations of the city do not lend themselves as well to the redistribution of Olympic amenities and welfare as is the case in Cape Town.

Strategies employed in making the bid in Cape Town were multi-pronged. The bid was the outcome of work by a widely representative Steering Committee headed by black and white Co-Chairpersons. The Committee undertook city-wide discussion and negotiation with institutional and grass roots community-based bodies. The process, spread awareness widely and attained striking success. From evidence available, it is apparent that in Durban such consultations, by a Committee headed by a white, took place mainly at the institutional level with local government and political bodies. The bid was municipally rather than community driven. Moreover, Cape Town's bid was underpinned by powerful, and nationally recognised community agents who very actively and publicly promoted it. They were instrumental in drawing support from a range of distinguished South African leadership across a wide spectrum of interests. This factor assisted the projection of the image that the bid also enjoyed wide national support and patronage.

That the Cape Town bid found strong local support is strongly evident also in its ability to raise private sector funding for its work with municipal assistance limited to infrastructural support and expert research. Future strategy to raise further private funds have been set in place. Over 50 per cent of Durban's bid was supported by public funds drawn from the municipality and does not project an image of universal enthusiasm.

The final element of assessment relates to a content analysis of video presentations prepared in support of the bids. Visual imagery is a powerful marketing tool universally employed in commodity marketing. The analysis is telling and strikingly distinguishes differences in approach adopted by the two cities in imaging their national Olympic bids (Table 4).

Without entering a detailed analysis of the content of the table the difference in emphases between the two bids is strongly apparent. The Durban video highlights the consumption of pleasure in a sub-tropical coastal environment and ability to technically support an Olympic Games. By contrast the Cape Town presentation is systematic, expressive of structural penetration of requirements in staging an Olympic Games and the role which the Olympic Games might have in facilitating important social change. Though important, the tourist dimension is given only an appropriate weight. The video displays constructive, innovative lateral thinking and imaginative means of application that characterise the bid in general.

Taken together, the innate qualities of the City, philosophy and strategies employed in pursuing the Olympic bid and the format in which it presented itself as a potential candidate, clearly demonstrate the attainment of market advantage by the winning city - Cape Town. The city marketing exercise to be undertaken in making an international bid in 1997 when Cape Town will possibly face major competitors such as Paris, Berlin, Beijing, Istanbul and Cairo is now underway. That, however, is a new challenge in which I hope geographers will participate.

Table 3 Bid Philosophies, Strategies and Imaging of Structural Relations of the National Olympic Bid : Cape Town and Durban 1994

CAPE TOWN	DURBAN
<b><u>Philosophies</u></b> <b><u>Rhetoric</u></b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• development and unity</li> <li>• empowerment and integration of disadvantaged communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• symbolic use of Olympic ideal to create hope, end of violence and poverty, friendship</li> <li>• promote interaction and harmony</li> <li>• convert area to diverse prosperity, capital investment, publicity</li> <li>• improve quality of life, eliminate sport inequalities, new opportunities</li> <li>• create vision for those deprived</li> </ul>
<b><u>Application</u></b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• use games for upliftment, removal of structural imbalance</li> <li>• open participation opportunity</li> <li>• use <u>location</u> to achieve goals</li> <li>• develop facilities locally</li> <li>• disadvantaged areas should be main beneficiaries</li> <li>• attention to after use of facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Little mention of application of rhetoric</li> <li>• emphasis on economic development but not on who might benefit most</li> <li>• emphasis on attainment of peace, end to violence</li> </ul>
<b><u>Bid Strategies</u></b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• high level of community and formal institutional participation</li> <li>• Control-management by widely representative Committee</li> <li>• Role of powerful community agents</li> <li>• Private sector means of funding of National Bid</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• attempt to create representative participation</li> <li>• rather heavy reliance on formal institutional participation</li> <li>• municipally driven</li> <li>• Committee strongly dependent on public authority participation</li> <li>• dependence on public authority funding for National Bid (+50%)</li> </ul>

Table 4 Key Dimensions of Content in Video Presentations of the Cape Town and Durban Olympic Bids

Durban		Cape Town	
Dimensions	%	Dimensions	%
• Philosophy of an Olympic Games in a "new Eden" and an "African Paradise"	8	• Philosophy of reconciliation and reconstruction underpinned by practical application	37
• Tourist attractions	28	• Events, places, people and symbols of reconstruction and reconciliation	22
• Outdoor life styles sub-tropical, coastal setting	23	• Breadth of support	10
• Cultural mix	9	• Technical bases and supports for Olympic Games	12
• Sub-Tropical environment planning	5	Establishment of desirable urban geographical relations in sport	12
• City Centre	5	• Tourist attractions	12
• Accommodation	4		
• Life style images for Olympic participants	5		
• Sports images	9		
• Technical bases and supports for Olympic games	4		
	<hr/> 100		<hr/> 100

## Conclusion

Though this research is preliminary it offers opportunity to draw some theoretical insights and conclusions.

Commodity marketing in general is based, in theory, on four mutually dependent factors:

- (i) adequate generic definition of the qualities of the commodity - penetrating extraction of those qualities of the commodity which are, in reality, being marketed,
- (ii) a reading of the character, contexts and requirements of the target group(s) towards whom the marketing exercise is being directed,
- (iii) differential marketing - providing for different appeals that might be identified and
- (iv) creation of market advantage over competitors



In the specific context of this city marketing exercise, the primary target group is NOCSA (with an eye to the eventual requirements of the IOC) Through NOCSA, however, will be concern also for the needs of the potential body of participants and spectators and, at base, those of the urban community that will underpin the Olympic Games event and whose committed approval and support are fundamentally necessary.

In generic definition both cities satisfy basic Olympic Games requirements. Beyond those, Durban appears to be defining varied qualities of an exotic tourist-holiday experience in a sub-tropical African-Eden rediscovered for participants and spectators alike. An image of 'better-off' consumption is being projected. By contrast Cape Town, which also offers an exiting, but alternate, tourist opportunity is defining a far more diverse and powerful set of qualities. They include fundamental community approval and support extending to full private funding for the bid and the prospect of attaining concrete dimensions of urban reconstruction, development and transformation directed at attaining a reduction in structural disadvantage.

Given the fact that NOCSA, the primary target group, at this stage is operating as one agent in the social transformation process in South Africa, these additional commodity qualities are likely to have attained approval. They are also powerful qualities enriching the market diversity of the commodity. In the light of the Olympic ideal to foster understanding and interaction, the IOC may very well also be attracted by the market offering proposed by Cape Town. The model would be a very powerful one not only in Africa but elsewhere. What spectators would make of these considerations is a little obscure at this stage and more research would be necessary to speak with any confidence.

Perhaps the most important theoretical findings in a purely city marketing sense, to come out of this discussion, are the following:

- (i) any city wishing to market itself effectively must pay particular attention to generic definition of qualities and
- (ii) such qualities should be identified and defined in terms appropriate to the contexts of the target group it wishes to impress.