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Gordon R. Waitt
University of Wollongong, gwaitt@uow.edu.au

Philippe Furrer
University of Wollongong

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Abstract

This article seeks to contribute to the literature that assesses the local outcomes of hosting hallmark events by examining the expressed levels of enthusiasm for the year 2000 Olympic Games within Sydney. We report on the results of a telephone survey of 658 Sydney residents conducted in February 1998 designed to measure enthusiasm for the 2000 Olympic Games. As of February 1998, it appeared that enthusiasm for the 2000 Olympics remained strong in Sydney, thereby providing support to the views of those who regard hallmark events as a psychological mechanism to assist residents to feel a sense of pride in their city and nation. However, higher levels of enthusiasm were recorded in the lower socioeconomic status suburbs of Western Sydney than in the higher status suburbs of the North Shore. These differences were not statistically differentiated by economic indicators (income, occupation, and education levels) but were significant by association with social variables such as country of birth, age, and marital and family status. Several implications of these results are considered within the literature debating the outcome of hosting hallmark events.

Keywords

enthusiasm, games, sharing, sociospatial, spirit, olympic, expressed, polarization

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SHARING THE SPIRIT? SOCIO.SPATIAL POLARIZATION AND EXPRESSED ENTHUSIASM FOR THE OLYMPIC GAMES

GORDON WAITT and PHILIPPE FURRER

University of Wollongong, School of Geosciences, University of Wollongong, NSW, 2522 Australia

This article seeks to contribute to the literature that assesses the local outcomes of hosting hallmark events by examining the expressed levels of enthusiasm for the year 2000 Olympic Games within Sydney. We report on the results of a telephone survey of 658 Sydney residents conducted in February 1998 designed to measure enthusiasm for the 2000 Olympic Games. As of February 1998, it appeared that enthusiasm for the 2000 Olympics remained strong in Sydney, thereby providing support to the views of those who regard hallmark events as a psychological mechanism to assist residents to feel a sense of pride in their city and nation. However, higher levels of enthusiasm were recorded in the lower socioeconomic status suburbs of Western Sydney than in the higher status suburbs of the North Shore. These differences were not statistically differentiated by economic indicators (income, occupation, and education levels) but were significant by association with social variables such as country of birth, age, and marital and family status. Several implications of these results are considered within the literature debating the outcome of hosting hallmark events.

Hallmark events	Enthusiasm	Sociospatial polarization	Olympic Games
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The aim of this article is to explore Harvey's (1989) argument that hallmark events can act as a mechanism of civic boosterism by which the urban political elite can mask the social inequalities of the economic restructuring process. Regardless of socioeconomic status, high levels of expressed enthusiasm are thus desired by those responsible for hosting such events. To this end, the article is divided into two sections. The first part considers the relevance of other academics' views on the role of hallmark events (Cox & Mair, 1988; Hall, 1992;

Hewison, 1987; Hiller, 1995; Ley & Olds, 1988; Ritchie, 1984; Syme, Shaw, Fenton, & Mueller, 1989). The second section presents the analysis and results of a telephone survey conducted to measure Sydney resident's enthusiasm for the Olympic Games in the year 2000.

Hallmark Events and Urban Entrepreneurialism

Hallmark events are urban spectacles. They are an example par excellence of the transformation of

urban landscape into cultural capital, a process in which the city becomes a dreamscape for visual consumption (Cox & Mair, 1988; Harvey, 1989; Hewison, 1987; Ley & Olds, 1988). They may also be regarded as one example of the transition of the role of the local state from urban managerialism to entrepreneurialism—a transition in which urban governance is preoccupied with the speculative use of local resources to attract investment by private capital rather than addressing social inequalities by providing welfare to the local community (Boyle & Hughes, 1994; McGuirk, Winchester, & Dunn, 1996; Winter & Brook, 1993). In essence, it is argued, a coalition is formed between capital and the state, with the latter playing a largely “facilitative and coordinating role” (Harvey, 1989, p. 6). Indeed, the SOBC itself epitomizes the entrepreneurial state, its members representing each of the tiers of the Australia tripartite political system as well as Australian corporate interests (Waitt, 1999).

Cities as spectacle are nothing new. The use of hallmark events as a political mechanism for social control and to convey a particular ideologically loaded version of “reality” is a constant theme of urban history (Bonnemaison, 1990). Harvey’s (1989) analysis of hallmark events within the Roman theme of bread and circuses (*panem et circenses*) emphasizes the urban spectacle as a historical constant. In the Rome of the second century A.D., the underemployed and discontented momentarily forgot their complaints against the authorities by participating in free shows and food organized by the state, which constituted for the plebeians of ancient Rome the ideal of happiness (Ley & Olds, 1988). While the context for social discontent and the definition of happiness may have changed since then, Harvey (1989) nonetheless argues that a psychological role for bread and circuses remains on the political agenda. In contemporary society, spectacles such as the Olympic Games may therefore act as a mechanism by which the urban elite generate enthusiasm among those most disadvantaged by the processes of economic restructuring, acting as a temporary mask to hide inequalities born by the new relations and forces of production, and generating social cohesion, national identity, and pride in the city (Hall, 1992; Hiller, 1995; Ritchie, 1984; Syme et al., 1989).

In Sydney, the levels of social discontent have certainly arisen in parts of the city through outcomes

of the most recent phase of economic restructuring, which is manifest in many ways, including selective job decline within the manufacturing sector (Baum, 1997; Fagan & Webber, 1994), sociospatial polarization (Walmsley & Weinand, 1997) and the “loss” of Australian industry to “foreign” investors (James, 1997). Indeed, some argue that the very essence of Australian identity is threatened in this economic climate by continuing levels of international migration (Betts, 1996; Betts & Rapson, 1997; Jones, 1996). As Walmsley and Weinand (1997) argue, economic globalization serves “to emphasise social and cultural prejudices and boundaries” (p. 84). Overseas migrants, it has been argued, tend not only to take “Australians” jobs (Birrell, 1993) but fail to “assimilate” into an Australian way of life (Blainey, 1984). Nevertheless, such arguments are strongly countered by those arguing the national employment benefits derived from international migration (Ackland & Williams, 1992; Junankar & Pope, 1990; Pope & Withers, 1993) as well as by those who demonstrate high rates of intermarriage between ethnic groups (Jones & Luijks, 1996; Penny & Khoo, 1996).

Sociospatial polarization refers to the expression in a city’s residential patterns of the divergence over time of the life chances and socioeconomic circumstances of its inhabitants. Theoretically, it is argued that this resulted from urban restructuring accompanying the economic transition to global capitalism. The emergence of employment opportunities associated with the rise of global cities, directly or indirectly, creates new or intensifies old social divisions (Fainstein, Gordon, & Harloe, 1992; Hamnett, 1994; Woodward, 1995).

Sociospatial polarization within Australian cities is a highly contested issue engendering debates over such matters as appropriate measures (Gregory & Hunter, 1995; Stilwell, 1993; Travers & Richardson, 1993; Walmsley & Weinand, 1997; Whiteford, 1995), boundaries (Withers, Clarke, & Johnstone, 1995), models (Badcock, 1997), and representations (Hodge, 1996; Mee, 1994; Murphy & Watson, 1994; Powell, 1993). Maps and models of a dual or polarized city are seductive because they promise to encapsulate the outcome of a wide variety of complex processes in a single, neat, and easily comprehensible phase (Woodward, 1995). Evidence to support such a neat spatial divide remains,

at best, sketchy. Nevertheless, while debate remains over the best measures and boundaries of sociospatial polarization, there is general agreement among many researchers that in terms of real income, residents of Australian cities in general and Sydney in particular have experienced increasingly divergent life opportunities and socioeconomic circumstances (Badcock, 1997) due, for example, to Sydney's status as the nation's preeminent "global city," and by far the nation's major recipient of immigrants (Searle, 1996). For this reason, arguments emphasizing the emergence of people disadvantaged by the process of economic restructuring are especially relevant.

In this economic and social context hallmark events are thus theorized as providing a mechanism by which the state can generate a new sense of community, nationalism, and general euphoria among those people most socially and economically disadvantaged by the processes of economic restructuring—in Hiller's (1995) terms the "showcase effect." According to Mueller and Fenton (1989), the sense of pride and the self-esteem of the community is expressed in a feeling of "we can do it" (p. 275). Notions of difference and diversity in ideology and sociodemographic characteristics are, if only momentarily, forgotten and replaced by themes of togetherness. As Day (1988) has argued, a sense of community and unity transcends social and ideological divisions. In the context of currently elevated levels of social anomie generated by rapid social and economic change the psychological reasoning for hosting the Olympics Games in 2000 may well have been of great political significance.

McGeoch (1994), chief executive of the Sydney 2000 Olympic bid, supported such psychological arguments during the preparation of the bid documents for hosting the Olympic Games in Sydney. According to McGeoch, feelings of achievement, community, and togetherness arise from the symbolic signage of "prestige events" like the Olympic Games. McGeoch interpreted the benefits arising from such social cohesion in entrepreneurial rather than welfare terms. Businesses, he argued, could benefit not only from marketing Sydney as a winning location, but also the consolidated local support for the Games would prevent community resistance to an infusion of external funding in addition to the expenditure and disruption created by capi-

tal projects required in preparation for the event. Feelings of national, city, and community pride generated by the Olympic spirit through the successful bidding and hosting of the Games would therefore act as a mechanism to ease the transition of the state's role from welfare to entrepreneurialism.

The emergence of such feelings of community, nationalism, and euphoria, however, was not left to chance. Successful civic boosterism must be researched, planned, and implemented by the organizing committee. The necessary feeling of euphoria over hosting a hallmark event may be evoked, excited, and sustained by providing the public with the appropriate sites, signs, and symbols. Simultaneously, feelings of despair, powerlessness, and uncertainty arguably generated by the scale and rapidity of urban change need to be dispelled within an advertising campaign, even if only temporarily (Day, 1988). In general, the organizing committee must ensure that feelings of pride, sense of place, and togetherness displace those of placelessness and alienation.

To this end the SOBC carefully crafted an advertising campaign to generate support for the bid, which sought to enhance feelings of pride in the city and the Australian nation through the slogan "Share the Spirit" (McGeoch, 1994). The marketing strategy sought to convey the view that each Sydney resident would be "touched" by the Olympic spirit. Sharing in the Olympic Games was thus to be seen as equivalent to a sacred experience or a rite of passage. The experience of the Olympic Games, so residents were informed, would make each individual a "better" person and Sydney itself a better place through the "symbolic exchange" (Hall, 1992; Hiller, 1995) arising from experiencing Baron de Courbertin's Olympic ideals of peace and harmony between peoples. Sydney would apparently be a "better" place to live not only because of the income, employment, and infrastructure generated by the hallmark event but simply through having been touched by the Olympic spirit.

The SOBC brought one of the biggest circuses on Earth to town, hoping the circus would more than simply entertain. For those supporting the civic boosterism arguments the staging of the year 2000 Olympic "circus" provided politicians with a mechanism for generating feelings of enthusiasm, manifesting itself in pride in Sydney and Australia and

fostering a local community spirit. In political terms such psychological benefits may be interpreted as a mechanism of social cohesion and distraction. Being "touched" by the presence of the Olympic spirit or the desire to witness the Olympic spectacle could perhaps temporarily generate feelings of social unity within Sydney, making those most disadvantaged by the process of economic restructuring forget their social inequalities and injustices.

Data and Methods

Measuring Enthusiasm

As a precursor to empirical analysis it was necessary to quantitatively define "enthusiasm." This section outlines how enthusiasm towards the Olympic Games was defined and measured. Greater enthusiasm towards the Olympics was assumed not to be simply a case of an individual possessing a more ardent outlook on life. Rather, enthusiasm for the Olympics was conceived as effects arising directly from the perceived costs and benefits arising from hosting of the Games. Enthusiasm was therefore assumed to be an individual psychological attribute derived from subjective feelings. At the outset it was assumed that the base level of enthusiasm in the population did not vary significantly throughout the population on social, economic, or political criteria. Second, enthusiasm as an attitudinal variable was assumed to exist prior to measurement and to remain persistent in the sense of reliability of measurement. The standard psychometric approach to these assumptions is to construct multi-item indexes or scales (Schuman & Presser, 1996).

To encapsulate the concept that the emotional effect of the Games is a multidimensional attitudinal variable required designing a composite multi-item scale. The variables included for this scale were identified from other relevant hallmark event studies including Ritchie (1984), Day (1988), The Centre for Applied and Business Research (1987), and Syme et al. (1989). In total, seven variables were selected (Table 1).

To measure enthusiasm each of the seven variables was asked as a separate closed question. Respondents answered on a 5-point Likert scale, strongly agreeing, or disagreeing with the statement. To avoid response bias, questions were asked in both positive and negative forms. Enthusiasm questions were also

Table 1
Enthusiasm Item List

Item	Statements
Item 1	Looking forward, do you feel that you would like to attend an Olympic sporting event?
Item 2	Looking forward, do you feel that you would like to be a volunteer worker during the Games?
Item 3	Do you feel that if another bid for the Sydney Olympic Games was to occur today you would support that bid?
Item 4	Do you feel a sense of community spirit as a Sydneysider as a result of preparations to host the 2000 Olympics?
Item 5	Do you feel a sense of pride for your city as a result of hosting the 2000 Olympics?
Item 6	Do you feel a sense of excitement about Sydney hosting the Olympic Games?
Item 7	Has your sense of pride in Australia increased as a result of the successful bid for the 2000 Olympics?

distributed throughout a questionnaire that asked respondents about their sociodemographic characteristics, their environmental concerns, and their desired and actual attendance at the Games. These techniques were employed to reduce response bias within the questionnaire.

To test if this multi-item scale was measuring enthusiasm a principal component analysis of a pilot survey of 200 respondents was conducted. The principal component analysis produced one factor, labeled "enthusiasm." Furthermore, a reliability analysis for this seven-item scale gave an alpha coefficient index of 0.8 (an alpha coefficient of 1.0 is the most reliable scale). These results confirmed that statistically the multi-item scale measured enthusiasm.

The Sample

A two-stage random sample was employed. First, specific Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) were identified to represent the extremes of socioeconomic status within Sydney. Utilizing census data (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 1996), highest and lowest socioeconomic status SLAs were distinguished by averaging the ranked score of Sydney's SLAs according to income, occupation, and education levels. Horvath, Harrison, and Dowling (1989) suggest these are the preferred indicators of socioeconomic status. Results from these calculations suggested that the highest socioeconomic status SLAs were Mosman, Ku-ring-gai, and Willoughby, and the lowest were Auburn, Fairfield, and Liverpool.

In the second stage of the sampling process, random quota samples were generated employing computer technology to select telephone numbers for each SLA. The sample size drawn from each SLA was proportional to its total population. Roughly half the sample was drawn from the most and least affluent SLAs. A telephone survey was chosen because of its generally higher response rate and ability to often eliminate elements of bias introduced by mail surveys. Given the constraints of time and budget, the telephone survey also offered a fast and economical mechanism to implement a survey of over 2000 respondents.

The Survey

The survey was conducted over a period of 3 weeks in March 1998. To avoid introducing biases of who would be at home through the working week telephone calls were made to the randomly selected household on each day of the week between 0930 and 2030 h. Only persons aged 18 years or over were eligible. Only one suitable person from each household was sampled. Over 2000 telephone calls were made from which 658 telephone questionnaires were completed (Fairfield 157; Auburn 44; Liverpool 149; Mosman 50; Ku-ring-gai 168; Willoughby 90). A response rate of 33% is similar in comparison to those of other telephone surveys (Haxton, 1993). No statistically significant difference in response rates occurred between the SLAs. Of the eligible population 9% did not respond because of English language difficulties, 43% declined because they were not interested, and a similar percentage gave time constraint as a reason not to participate. The telephone survey design therefore attempted to reduce introducing bias and maximize participation, but was subject to the constraints of reluctance to participate because of apathy, time, or language constraints.

Respondent Characteristics

Characteristics of the respondents from each socioeconomic characteristic shown in Tables 2 and 3 closely match the SLA census population means. Statistically significant differences between the high and low status areas were found for the respondents' age, family size, education level, occupation, country of birth, and household income.

The mean sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents mirror findings from the 1996 census. In general terms the populations of Auburn, Fairfield, and Liverpool are composed of young families (median ages 32, 31, and 29 years, respectively), with low median weekly household incomes (\$703, \$650, and \$593), low tertiary education levels (9%, 5%, and 6% of the population with degrees/diplomas), and a high proportion born in a non-English-speaking country (48%, 50%, and 30% and with highest proportions of the labor force employed in the trades and manual labor categories (ABS, 1996). By contrast, the proportions of Mosman, Ku-Ring-Gai, and Willoughby are slightly older (median ages are 37, 39, and 36 years), have higher weekly household incomes (\$1,096, \$1,225, and \$996), higher levels of tertiary education (32%, 30%, and 26%), lower proportions of their population born in non-English-speaking countries (12%, 17%, and 26%), and around 30% in each SLA are employed in professional services (ABS, 1996).

Table 2
Respondents' Sociodemographic Characteristics

Sociodemographic Characteristic	Fairfield, Auburn, Liverpool	Mosman, Ku-Ring-Gai, Willoughby	Total Sample
Gender (chi-square = 1.16, $p = 0.28$)			
Male	137 (39%)	108 (35%)	245 (37%)
Female	213 (61%)	200 (65%)	413 (63%)
Total	350 (53%)	308 (47%)	658 (100%)
Age cohorts (chi-square = 19.17, $p = 0.0003$)			
18-24 years	77 (22%)	37 (12%)	114 (18%)
25-34 years	67 (20%)	59 (19%)	126 (19%)
35-49 years	93 (27%)	71 (23%)	164 (25%)
>50 years	106 (31%)	137 (45%)	243 (38%)
Do you have children? (chi-square = 3.19, $p = 0.28$)			
Yes	222 (66%)	220 (53%)	442 (70%)
No	114 (34%)	197 (47%)	197 (30%)
How many children do you now have living at home? (chi-square = 5.88, $p = 0.052$)			
1-2 children	69 (46%)	75 (63%)	144 (54%)
3-4 children	66 (44%)	41 (34%)	107 (41%)
>4 children	9 (12%)	4 (3%)	13 (5%)
What is your approximate annual household income (before tax) in government tax year 1997/98? (chi-square = 63.44, $p < 0.0001$)			
<\$16,000	54 (22%)	37 (15%)	91 (18%)
\$16,000-29,999	45 (19%)	28 (11%)	73 (15%)
\$30,000-49,999	78 (32%)	41 (16%)	119 (24%)
\$50,000-69,999	37 (15%)	42 (16%)	79 (16%)
>\$70,000	29 (12%)	107 (42%)	136 (27%)

Table 3
Respondent Sociodemographic Characteristics

Sociodemographic Characteristic	Fairfield, Auburn, Liverpool	Mosman, Ku-Ring-Gai, Willoughby	Total
What is the highest level of education you have attained? (chi-square = 87.59, $p < 0.0001$)			
Bachelor degree or higher	70 (21%)	144 (47%)	214 (33%)
Certificate or diploma	41 (12%)	39 (13%)	80 (12%)
Trade qualification	13 (4%)	2 (1%)	15 (2%)
Completed highest level of secondary school	118 (35%)	100 (33%)	218 (34%)
Did not complete highest level of secondary school	99 (29%)	19 (6%)	118 (18%)
What is your present occupation? (chi-square = 33.56, $p < 0.0001$)			
Manager, administrator, professionals and para-professional	65 (41%)	99 (74%)	164 (56%)
Tradesperson, clerk, sales and personal service worker	68 (43%)	31 (23%)	99 (34%)
Plant and machine operator and driver, laborer	24 (15%)	4 (3%)	28 (10%)
House duties	50 (14%)	45 (14%)	95 (4%)
Unemployed	13 (4%)	11 (4%)	24 (14%)
Retired	65 (4%)	81 (26%)	146 (22%)
Student	46 (19%)	20 (6%)	66 (10%)
Not stated	19 (5%)	17 (6%)	36 (5%)
Country of birth (chi-square = 37.93, $p < 0.0001$)			
Australia	204 (59%)	212 (69%)	416 (64%)
UK, US, SA, CAN, IRE, NZ	29 (8%)	53 (17%)	82 (13%)
Other countries	112 (32%)	41 (13%)	153 (23%)

The complexity of the social composition of these suburbs is masked by such averages, however, which rather tend to oversimplify and reinforce the notion of the binary social divide within Sydney. Tertiary-educated, high-income-earning professionals reside in both sets of SLAs, along with those who lack tertiary-level education, have low household incomes, or who are employed in manual labor. Hence, the heterogeneity of each targeted SLA is reflected in the sample and the validity of the sampling system is confirmed.

Limitations

One limitation of the data is identified by the gender imbalances in the sociodemographic profile. The survey technique generated more completed questionnaires from female than male respondents, due perhaps to a greater willingness of females to participate in telephone surveys. Higher female participation to completion of the questionnaire may reflect the socialization of women to answer questionnaires or to express their emotional feelings. Differences in

life expectancy between males and females may also be a partial explanation. Whatever the reason, the sample is composed of 63% female respondents. Another limitation of the data in terms of conducting parametric statistical tests arose from a visual check on the normality of the distribution of observations that revealed a bias towards the upper end of the scale. This was corrected by undertaking a square root transformation, producing a new scale from 1 to 2.5, within which the new measures were arranged symmetrically.

Results

Harvey (1989) argued that civic boosterism would be generated by the hosting of a hallmark event. Certainly a high level of initial public euphoria seemed to be demonstrated by those participating in street-parties on the night of September 23, 1993, the day the city's successful bid to host the 2000 Olympic Games was announced. Just as Sydneysiders were momentarily united in their city's victory, so, we are led to believe, residents in

Manchester and Beijing looked on in dismay, disappointment, and disbelief. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that

[A]t Circular Quay, just across the water from where unwanted white men and women fixed the city with unsavoury origins two-hundred and five years ago, the people rejoiced at being wanted by the world. ("Longest night explodes," 1993)

If only for an instant, Sydney had, for some civic boosters, become the focus of world attention.

Overall, results from this survey confirm the civic boosterism arguments. In the temporal context of pre-2000 Sydney Olympics, the results from this survey seem to confirm arguments of the role of hallmark events in generating feelings of pride. Some 2 years before the Games, expressed levels of overall respondent enthusiasm were strong, particularly with respect to the desire to attend the Sydney 2000 Olympics, participating in the general sense of excitement generated by hosting The Olympic Games, and the desire to bid for the games again (with around 55% of respondents strongly agreeing). Overall, sense of pride in Sydney, Australia and having a sense of coming together as a community was also responded to positively (with around 50% of respondents strongly agreeing). Least respondent enthusiasm was generated by the suggestion they might become a Game's volunteer worker (with only 21% of respondents strongly agreeing), confirming arguments of the perceived role of hallmark events as a source of entertainment. Overall, in 1998, the local reaction to the 2000 Olympic Games was one of generally strong but not unconditional support.

Results suggest that for the total sample no statistically significant difference existed in the high level of enthusiasm by economic indicators, specifically household income [$F(4, 493) = 0.92, p = 0.453$] or education levels [$F(4, 640) = 1.19, p = 0.34$]. In contrast, labor force categories were statistically significant [$F(6, 615) = 5.14, p < 0.001$]. The mean square-root transformed scores for the seven labor force categories were professional (1.5), tradesperson/clerk (1.4), manufacturing/laborer (1.4), unemployed (1.5), retired (1.7), home duties (1.4), and student (1.2). Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc tests suggest the difference in mean values across

the labor force categories was because students were far more enthusiastic and retirees were far less enthusiastic than those in other categories. When these two categories were removed, given that they are perhaps more a function of age rather than occupation, no statistical difference was apparent for labor force status [$F(4, 405) = 0.563, p = 0.69$]. Indeed, those classified as unemployed, laborer, home duties, and professionals scored almost the identical mean value. Although the unemployed are a relatively small segment of the total sample ($n = 24$), the small SD (0.889) and SE (0.207) suggest a relatively high degree of statistical confidence in the mean value. In short, it would appear that all respondents regardless of their employment or economic status were enthusiastic about the Olympic Games. Enthusiasm for the Games was apparently equally as high among those people economically most disadvantaged or most advantaged by the process of economic restructuring.

The results of high enthusiasm for the Games some 2 years before the event counters Doxey's Irridex model, which suggests that a community's reaction to an event changes from initial enthusiasm to apathy, annoyance, and eventually antagonism (Murphy, 1985). Consolidated enthusiasm among the community as the actual date of an event approaches, however, was also the reported findings of Soutar and McLeod (1989) for the America's Cup in Fremantle, and of Ritchie and Smith (1991) for the Calgary Winter Olympics. Overall, local enthusiasm has apparently consolidated in favor of The Sydney 2000 Games, as has occurred with previous hallmark events hosted in Australia and elsewhere.

Within the responses generated from this sample there is no evidence to confirm the argument of Boyle (1997) and Boyle and Hughes (1994) that instead of consolidating local support, hallmark events may well trigger off community opposition and provide a focus around which locals can articulate their anxieties concerning the transition to urban entrepreneurialism. Boyle (1997) challenged the civic authority's conceptualization of the community response to hallmark events as enthusiastic. Instead, the hallmark event acts a catalyst for citizen's actions groups to politicize a variety of local concerns including environmental issues, loss of attachment to place, or fast-track planning. In Toronto, for example, such a local reaction was

epitomized in the formation of the "Bread Not Circuses Coalition," a citizens' action group, formed to oppose that city's bid to host the 2008 Games (Shapcot, 1998).

In the Sydney context, significant signs of opposition to the Games emerged both before and after the announcement of the city's successful bid. For example, environmental groups released statements reporting on how they had been misrepresented in the bid documents ("We'd Win a Gold," 1992) and Aboriginal groups protested against the hypocrisy of the advertising campaign representing Australia as a multicultural and just society ("Storm," 1992). Unlike Toronto, however, such disparate groups failed to coalesce into a single citizen's action group. Arguably, the continuing high level of public enthusiasm for the Games still reflects the fact that many expressions of opposition were effectively silenced by press releases and advertising campaigns of the SOBC and the mode of public involvement in the planning process (Booth & Tatz, 1993). For example, objections were either stifled by members of the Sydney Olympic 2000 Bid Board or depicted in SOBC press releases as un-Australian. In addition, "public participation" was effectively restricted by being channeled through opinion polls, rather than formal public consultation by allowing full voice being given to opposition arguments. The measurements of public support for the bid were also putatively gauged by the extent of attendance at promotional events sponsored and organized by the SOBC itself, including activities tacked on to and thereby hijacking celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and the 1993 City to Surf Fun Run—a long-standing element of the Sydney activity calendar attracting over 40,000 participants. In short, the SOBC masterfully diffused opposition to the Games through its advertising campaign, promotional events, side-stepping formal public participation in the planning process, and smothering opposition debate.

Place of Residence and Expressed Enthusiasm

Further analysis was conducted to examine the significance of place of residence on expressed enthusiasm. If the arguments of the civic boosterism tradition have any validity, respondents living in low socioeconomic status suburbs could be expected

to express greater enthusiasm for the Games. Differences do exist between the two SLAs, with respondents living in the suburbs of Auburn, Fairfield, and Liverpool displaying significantly higher mean enthusiasm scores on each item than respondents in Mosman, Ku-ring-gai, and Willoughby, except the desire to be an Olympic volunteer worker (Table 4). Greatest differences between the two sociostatus areas were for the items measuring feelings of "pride in the city" and of "excitement generated by the Olympic Games." Statistically significant differences between the two SLAs were suggested by the results of an ANOVA test for the composite enthusiasm index [$F(1, 656) = 22.86, p < 0.001$]. These would suggest that the different socioeconomic composition of SLAs make place of residence important in considering the level of enthusiasm towards the Games.

If the arguments of the civic boosterists hold true, the identified spatial divide for expressed level of enthusiasm for The 2000 Games in Sydney is explained by a hallmark event's role as a spectacle to momentarily distract those most disadvantaged in society by generating feelings of pride, community, and nationalism. To examine the effect on enthusiasm of both place of residence and the various economic indicators, a series of two-way ANOVAs was conducted. Two-variable ANOVA permits an assessment of the effect of each variable separately (the main effect) and also the interaction between the two variables (the interaction effect; expressed as A by B). If the interaction is significant, any main effect is dubious and the patterns of result should be further examined. Statistically the interaction effect suggests that there is no difference in the level of mean values for enthusiasm when place of residence by household income are considered (Table 5). Similarly, the interaction effects between place of residence by education level suggest that there is no significant difference in the level of mean values of enthusiasm (Table 5). However, difference in the mean level of enthusiasm was indicated in the interaction effect when considering place of residence by status in the labor force (Table 5). Most importantly, different levels of mean values for expressed enthusiasm can be attributed to those employed in "home duties" rather than those employed in other categories of the labor force (a square-root mean score of 1.36 in the lower socioeconomic status SLAs

Table 4

Analysis of Variance Results for Expressed Feelings for Each Enthusiasm Item and the Composite Enthusiasm Index Between Statistical Local Areas

	Item 1: Desire to be in Attendance	Item 2: Desire to be a Volunteer	Item 3: Willing to Support Bid Again	Item 4: Feel Sense of Community	Item 5: Feel Pride in Sydney	Item 6: Feel Sense of Excitement	Item 7: Feel Pride in Australia	Composite Enthusiasm Index
Mean western or lowest socioeconomic SLAs: Auburn, Fairfield, Liverpool	1.3	1.76	1.38	1.39	1.33	1.29	1.36	1.4
Mean northern or highest socioeconomic SLAs: Mosman, Ku-ring-gai, Willoughby	1.4	1.83	1.46	1.54	1.5	1.47	1.53	1.6
F-value	9.42	2.32	4.75	16.77	20.66	25.29	19.02	22.86
p-value	0.0022	0.1283	0.029	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001	<0.0001

Mean scores were calculated for composite enthusiasm index from the square-root transformed data; this scale ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 2.5 (strongly disagree). Bold indicates results that are statistically significant.

in comparison to 1.64 in the higher socioeconomic status SLAs). One source of spatial difference in the level of enthusiasm is not different household incomes or individual educational status, but can be attributed to that of the more enthusiastic homemakers in the lower socioeconomic status suburbs.

Our results suggest that the Olympics may operate as a mechanism of generating higher levels of

civic boosterism within Sydney's lower socioeconomic status SLAs, particularly among those employed as homemakers. Perhaps for those homemakers expressing high levels of enthusiasm the Olympics can be explained in its theoretical role as a mechanism of escape from daily routine. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that civic boosterism's arguments to explain the hosting of

Table 5

Summary Table for Two-Way ANOVA for SLAs by Education, Income, and Labor Force

Source	SS	df	MS	F-Value	p-Value
Highest and lowest grouped socioeconomic status SLAs	1.65	1	1.64	15.7	<0.001
Education levels	1.57	4	0.39	3.7	0.005*
Interaction: Education levels by SLAs	0.54	4	0.13	1.3	0.2684
Within error	66.37	635	0.1		
Highest and lowest grouped socioeconomic SLAs	2.02	1	2.0	19.2	<0.001
Income level	0.8	4	0.2	1.9	0.1
Interaction: Income level by SLAs	0.37	4	0.09	0.87	0.47
Within error	51.4	488	0.1		
Highest and lowest grouped socioeconomic SLAs	1.2	1	1.2	1.6	0.007
Labor force—employment status	2.4	6	0.4	3.9	0.007†
Interaction: Labor force by SLAs	1.3	6	0.21	2.1	0.049‡
Within error	62.7	608	0.1		

*Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc tests suggest the statistical difference is attributable to higher levels of enthusiasm being expressed by those with a bachelor degree or higher and lower levels of enthusiasm expressed by those with secondary school education.

†Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc tests suggest the statistical difference is attributable to higher levels of enthusiasm being expressed by students and lower levels of enthusiasm expressed by retirees.

‡The interaction is explained by those employed in housework in the lowest socioeconomic status SLAs being more enthusiastic than those in the highest status SLAs.

hallmark events can be extended to all those most disadvantaged by the process of economic restructuring: the unemployed, the low skilled, and those employed in the manufacturing sector.

Further analysis was therefore conducted to determine whether, in the total sample, expressed levels of enthusiasm were significantly different across the categories of the sociodemographic variables (i.e., country of birth, age, and marital and family status). Interestingly, Table 6 shows for the total sample statistically significant differences do exist for each of these variables. Regardless of their places of residence in Sydney, respondents expressing most enthusiasm about the year 2000 Olympic Games are generally those born in non-English-speaking countries, those aged less than 50 years old, and those never married.

Two-way ANOVAs were then used to explore further the relationships between enthusiasm and non-English-speaking countries first by age and then by marital status. Results of these two-way ANOVAs suggest that there is no interaction effect on enthusiasm held by those respondents born in non-English-speaking countries by either age or by marital status. Regardless of age or marital status, those born in non-English-speaking countries are more enthusiastic about hosting the Olympic Games. Why this should be can only be speculated upon at this point, but reasons may include the following: a greater willingness to express enthusiasm; greater awareness of international issues; enhanced sensitivity to issues of identity and nationalism; or a greater appreciation of the Olympic ideals of equivalence of cultures. Perhaps the high expressed level of enthusiasm for the Olympics and sense of pride in Australia is motivated by the same reasons that results in peoples from non-English-speaking countries being more likely to become Australian citizens than those from English-speaking backgrounds. Whatever the case, regardless of where respondents live in Sydney and regardless of their sociodemographic characteristics, those born in non-English-speaking countries display the greatest degree of enthusiasm about hosting the Olympic Games.

Conclusion

The results of this study offer confirmation to civic boosterism arguments that hallmark events such as

Table 6

Analysis of Variance and *t*-Test Results for Differences in Levels of Enthusiasm by Sociodemographic Variables

Sociodemographic Characteristic	Fairfield, Auburn, Liverpool	Mosman, Ku-Ring-Gai, Willoughby	Total Sample
Country of birth			
Australia (mean)	1.5	1.6	1.54
UK, US, SA, CAN, IRE, NZ (mean)	1.6	1.6	1.59
Other countries (mean)	1.3	1.4	1.3
<i>F</i> -value	13.3	4.48	20.56
<i>p</i> -value	<0.0001*	0.012*	<0.0001*
Age cohorts			
18-24 years (mean)	1.36	1.42	1.38
25-34 years (mean)	1.44	1.48	1.5
35-49 years (mean)	1.42	1.51	1.46
>50 years (mean)	1.53	1.67	1.6
<i>F</i> -value	4.5	9.7	16.56
<i>p</i> -value	0.0039†	<0.0001†	<0.0001†
Marital Status			
Married (mean)	1.4	1.58	1.5
Divorced or separated (mean)	1.5	1.65	1.6
Widowed (mean)	1.7	1.71	1.7
De-facto relationship (mean)	1.5	1.36	1.46
Never married (mean)	1.4	1.45	1.42
<i>F</i> -value	6.69	4.41	8.97
<i>p</i> -value	0.0002‡	<0.0018‡	<0.0001‡
Dependent Children			
Having dependent children	1.47	1.61	1.54
Not having dependent children	1.4	1.46	1.43
<i>t</i> -value	1.83	3.07	3.92
<i>p</i> -value	0.0598	0.0009	<0.0001

Mean values are calculated for square-root transformed data, with a range from 1 to 2.5.

*Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc tests suggest that statistical differences exist because of the higher enthusiasm expressed by those born in non-English-speaking countries, regardless of whether they lived in high or low socioeconomic status suburbs in Sydney.

†Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc test suggest that statistical differences exist because of the lower enthusiasm expressed by those aged over 50 years of age, regardless of whether they lived in high or low socioeconomic status suburbs in Sydney.

‡Bonferroni/Dunn post hoc test suggest that statistical differences exist because of the lower enthusiasm expressed by divorcees and higher levels of enthusiasm expressed by those never married, regardless of whether they lived in high or low socioeconomic status suburbs in Sydney.

the Olympics Games can function as a mechanism to generate feeling of pride, community, and achievement. Even if the euphoria of September 1993 has now dissipated somewhat, 5 years after

the announcement of the successful bid for the Games, Sydney residents remain very enthusiastic about the event rather than antagonistic. The continuing strong enthusiasm for the Sydney 2000 Olympics replicates findings for other hallmark events (Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Soutar & McLeod, 1989). Indeed, the enthusiasm so strongly expressed across Sydney is not restricted to those most likely to be worst affected by economic restructuring (i.e., the unskilled, the least educated, the lowest income households). Regardless of socioeconomic status enthusiasm for the Olympics was strong. Arguments that those most disadvantaged by the process of economic restructuring would be most enthusiastic about the year 2000 Games gains no support from the results of this survey. Nor is there evidence to support arguments that the Olympics will act as a mechanism to unite local residents in opposition to the actions of an entrepreneurial state government.

Nevertheless, it is clear that expressed enthusiasm for "Sharing the Spirit" of the Games has not been equally felt by all segments of Sydney's population, for there are clearly indicated differences according to place of residence, age, ethnicity, and family status. Those living in Sydney's western suburbs, particularly those employed in "home duties," seem to be far more enthusiastic than those living on the North Shore, while regardless of where they lived, respondents without dependent children, under 50 years of age, and born in a non-English-speaking country expressed far greater enthusiasm for the Olympics.

For the organizers and sponsors of Sydney 2000 the difference in levels of expressed enthusiasm is perhaps not problematic. Those most enthusiastic about the Games are perhaps exactly the people among whom the federal and state governments would wish to engender feelings of belonging to the "imagined community" of Australia and a greater community through the identification of self with place. Further research must address why these differences exist. Several suggestions are made in this article. Whatever the case, if this level of expressed enthusiasm can be retained among those born in non-English-speaking countries in an era marred by accusations of racism (Chan, 1997; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1991) incited against those not conforming to an Australian national identity, the psychological benefits of the Games may outweigh any actual economic gains or losses.

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