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Nothing new under the sun? Marketing the Stockholm Olympics 1912.

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Introduction

Event marketing, both in the sense of using events as a marketing technique and the marketing of events, has been subject to considerable attention over the past two decades (e.g. Cunningham and Taylor 1995; Hoyle 2002; Getz 2008). But the phenomenon itself is of course much older (Zauhar 2003). In this proposed paper, we offer an empirical study of event marketing as practised a century ago. More specifically, we describe the marketing of the Olympic Games in Stockholm, 1912.

The study is based on the archive of the Organizing Committee for the games, including its subcommittee for advertising. The material consists of the official report from the games, the minutes of meeting of the various bodies, including proposals and supporting documents, incoming and outgoing correspondence, official communications from the Organizing Committee, printed matters, newspaper clippings, etc. This rich material allows us to trace the various efforts made to market the games in detail.

The study seeks to enrich our understanding of marketing as an area of expertise, which has recently attracted increasing scholarly attention, not least within the IMP community (Araujo et al 2010; Zwick and Cayla 2011; Hagberg and Kjellberg 2010; Barrey et al. 2000; Geiger and Finch 2009; Simakova and Neyland 2008). The event under study predates the emergence of the marketing discipline (Shaw and Jones 2005) and the archive material does not suggest that the actors involved ever considered what they were doing to be “marketing”. Rather, they were creating publicity for the Olympic Games. One may thus question whether the games actually were ‘marketed’.¹ On the other hand, the publicity dimension appears to be central to lay-understandings of marketing even today. Further, if we look at the concrete practices that the involved actors engaged in, these bear much resemblance with what we would expect contemporary event marketers to engage in, i.e. contemplating event stake-holder management, partnerships and collaboration (Getz et al. 2007), image-enhancement potential

¹ At roughly the same time the planning started for the Olympic games in Stockholm, the first university courses in Marketing were developed in the US. The first books and articles on the subject that employed the term ‘marketing’ were also published during the following decade (e.g. Weld 1916, 1917; Duncan 1920; Ivey 1921)

of events and their media coverage and how this might generate induced demand for e.g. a destination (Smith 2005), co-branding events and destinations (Chalip and Costa 2006), the ‘leveraging’ of events for additional benefits (O’Brien 2006), and to the goal of generating a lasting event ‘legacy’ (Ritchie 2000). We suggest that by adopting a pragmatic approach, those who engage in (what we now consider to be) marketing are led to deal with certain task-related issues that remain more or less the same over time. The precise manner in which they attend to these issues, however, may differ over time.

In the paper, we inquire into how the games were ‘marketed’? We outline the specific practices involved in marketing the event, including what was done, who were engaged, which techniques were used, which resources were drawn upon, etc. Among other things, this mapping of marketing practices leads us to question the object being marketed: was the committee really marketing the Olympic Games, or were their efforts directed towards some other object, e.g. Sweden? In what ways did the marketing efforts contribute to stabilise this object? What were the organisers seeking to achieve through their ‘marketing’ efforts? Here we seek to establish the ideas underpinning the observed practices. The activities related to the official poster for the games are particularly interesting. The Organizing Committee was able to reach a decision on the design of the poster only after a prolonged process, in which two distinctly different values were contrasted (artistic merit vs. publicity effect). Second, the reception of the poster varied across countries around the world (perceived as artistic by some and obscene by others, explicitly banned in certain countries, etc.).

In the paper we strive to “write history forwards” (Nilsson 1981), i.e. we have tried to avoid letting our contemporary understanding of the phenomenon of marketing guide the account. With the help of the source material we have instead followed the actors involved in order to capture their way of discussing the marketing of the games.² Throughout the account we do however provide shorter comments, which relate to contemporary discourses on marketing. In the final discussion we take a comprehensive approach to these reflections and discuss how the marketing of the Stockholm Olympics appears in the light of today’s understanding of the subject, but also how the practice described can enrich our understanding of marketing as a contemporary phenomenon. Thus the tension between current knowledge of marketing and

² The paper is based on the official repository of the organising committee for the Olympic games in Stockholm kept by the National Archives of Sweden: RA Stockholmsolympiaden 1912: Organisationskommittén A 1:1-6, samt RA: Stockholmsolympiaden 1912: Reklamkommitténs handlingar Ö I j: a-d.

the practices appearing in the archival material is used to understand both the historical course of events and to some extent contemporary marketing phenomena (Bloch 1953).

An overview of the promotional work preceding the games

The issues discussed by the Organising Committee provide a first insight in the promotional work. Somewhat simplified we can say that an important part of the work during 1909 and 1910 was about organisation. The Organising Committee dedicated much time to establishing internal procedures and structures in which promotional issues was one of several specialty areas. In the autumn of 1910 members were recruited to the Advertising- and information committee, and in early 1911 the decision was made to encourage the establishment of local advertising committees in foreign countries. Already in 1910 attention was however given to advertising content and form. For example, the design of the official promotional poster was discussed at some ten meetings during 1910 and to an equal extent in 1911, when also the design of the official advertising brochure of the games was thoroughly discussed. The promotional work in itself was a subject to discussion during the entire period though specific measures, such as distribution of printed matters, bill-posting and advertising, came up particularly during 1911 and 1912. The same goes for issues concerning contact with the press, tickets and ticket prices. During late 1911 and the spring of 1912 attention was given to the sales of souvenirs, photography and film rights during the games, as well as various auxiliary arrangements, such as parties in connection with the games.

The prerequisites for and organisation of advertising work

The supply of time and money set frames for the advertising work. The dates for the games set limits in time; in order for the advertising to successfully attract visitors to the games it of course had to be done in reasonable time before the games began. Available monetary resources in turn affected *what* could be done, although sometimes ways around the economic limits could be found.

The lack of resources for running the advertising work was something that was gradually brought to the fore during the preparations. When the economy was discussed in the autumn of 1910 nothing suggested an acute lack of resources. In December that year the Organising Committee approved a number of advertising activities in principle, although a rough cost estimate was asked for. In the spring of 1911 the planning and preparations for the games as

well as the advertising work continued. As the details became clearer the expected costs rose as well. Several advertising proposals were discussed and approved, for example the printing of advertising brochures and advertising postcards for the games.

The Economy Section investigated the financial situation during the summer and found serious problems: “Already a cursory summary of the expenses already approved and the ones which can certainly be expected shows that the assets in no way suffice to carry out the games.” Primarily the problem was one of liquidity; it would simply not be possible to pay for the things required to carry out the games. Another 285000:- was required. The revenue from the games would cover much of the deficit, but the prognosis was still a loss of about 100000:-. To solve the problem the organisers tried to persuade “a number of people in prominent economic position” to enter as creditors, but without success. The proposed general budget was approved on 4/9 with the addition that the Economy Section needed the approval of the Organising Committee for any essential divergences. In order to solve the liquidity issue no other way out was seen than asking the King for a credit. To cover the expected loss the decision was made to go to the City of Stockholm for support, since the advertising for the games “as good as exclusively is in the interest of the City of Stockholm.”

The Economy Section’s calculations over advertising expenses expected and incurred so far are summarised in Table 1. We can note that difficulties calculating costs for this type of project is not a new phenomenon. When it came to the construction of the stadium the Economy Section’s cost estimate from the autumn of 1910 landed on 715000:-. The compilation of actual costs from January 1913 showed a cost of 1188000:-, an increase by 66%. As for the costs of advertising work the forecasting performance was even poorer. The estimate from summer 1911 indicated total costs would be around 156500:- (column 1-3 in the table) The actual costs up until January 1913 were 306000:-, an increase by over 95%. In the following passages we will examine in detail what this amount was used for.

The precarious financial situation that became known in mid 1911 soon became apparent in the advertising work, for example in the circular letter, which was sent to the Swedish consulates in September 1911:

Account	1. Costs per	2. Approved	3. Probable	4. Costs per
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	19110630	grants per 19120630	expenses beyond these	19130115
Postages, telegrams, advertisements	2 665:80			60 160:75
Postage			7 500:-	
Telegrams			2 000:-	
Advertisements			1 000:-	
Poster- and advertising account	3 472:41			106 527:22
Advertising		8 900:-	10 000:-	
The advertising brochure		11 000:-	2 000:-	
Translations			7 500:-	
Poster, stamps, freights			9 000:-	
Press cuttings		500:-		
Medals and diplomas	757:71	13 000:-		25 021:86
The programmes	734:71	14 000:-	17 500:-	70 878:31
Representation				43 400:44
Reception party			10 000:-	
Final banquet			10 000:-	
Dinner for foreign official repr.			5 000:-	
Various representation expenses			10 000:-	
Sum	7 630:63	47 400:-	101 500:-	305 988:58

Table 1. The Economy section's calculation of advertising costs per June 30 1911, estimate of expenditures for advertising until June 30 1912, and actual costs until January 15 1913.

The now planned cooperation with the Swedish foreign consulates mainly concerns a concentration in the work for distributing the sales literature indicated above, so that this can be sent to and later on distributed from one single address in one city. ... The Organising Committee would however not be allowed to be caused any other costs than such originating from the sending of necessary sales literature from here.

In a corresponding letter expatriate Swedes were encouraged to work with the local consul in order to lower distribution costs. In connection with the major dispatches of advertising materials after New Year 1912 it was specifically pointed out that the Organising Committee would not cover any distribution costs once the advertising materials had reached the consulates. In polite letters many offers, particularly from private persons, to participate in the advertising work against compensation were also turned down, for example:

With reference to your offer through Colonel Balck to, against compensation for travel costs, give instructive lectures on the Olympic games in various places in England, we hereby ask to inform you that the Organising Committee – declaring their sympathy for the proposal – still have not considered themselves able to use it, regarding that the for advertising purposes intended funds are very limited. (Excerpt from a letter to Mr. Donald E. Kidd, Torstensongatan in Stockholm, December 1911)

Offers of help also came from Swedish companies, usually asking for free tickets in return for their “voluntary” advertising work. Foreign companies also offered their services, such as advertising and/or billposting, often at heavily reduced prices. Most offers were kindly but

firmly turned down referring to a lack of resources. But not all of them. Despite the limited budget making exceptions was in some cases seen as necessary, for example when it came to putting up posters in countries where this involved taxes and charges.

Despite certain exceptions the economic limits meant that the Organising Committee had to rely primarily on non-profit advertising work. A large number of volunteers were successfully mobilised in the distribution of the advertising materials. By identifying the collaboration synergies of other organisations certain activities were carried out which the organisers could not have afforded on their own. Ultimately persuasion was of course required to convince companies and organisations do their bit. All in all, the limited budget required negotiation and persuasion, as well as creativity.

So how was the advertising work organised? According to the internal procedures approved by the Organising Committee in May 1910 a specific *Advertising and reception section* was to be responsible for the arrangements around the games (accommodations, travels, transports, food, etc.) while “matters concerning advertising, the press, correspondents in various places etc.” were to be conducted by the Organisation Committee’s secretariat. However, in November 1910 the decision was made to lay the responsibility of the advertising issues on a special *Advertising and Information Committee*. The committee had seven members at the most: the president of the Swedish Tourist Traffic Association R. Petre, the Organisation Committee’s secretary Kristian Hellström, director C. L. Kornerup, “the official of Nordisk Resebureau in Stockholm” Edvin Molin, editor Gustaf Åsbrink, accountant Carl Hellberg, and director Nyman. In addition to organising the home ground work the Organising Committee in January 1910 decided to support the establishment of local advertising committees abroad. At least six such committees were formed (in London, Berlin, Paris, Marseille, Helsinki and Holland) and made important nodes for spreading information about the games in each country. The difficult financial situation, which ensued in 1911, also gave the Economy Section a substantial influence over what could be seen as justifiable advertising activities. (1:196) In November it was decided that the members of the Economy Section were to be called to all of the Advertising Committee’s meetings “to as far as possible accommodate the economic interests of the Organising Committee.” (2:328)

Advertising design

How were the materials used by the Organising Committee to promote the games designed? Based on the register compiled by the Advertising Committee in 1912 we can identify four main categories of advertising materials:

1. Own printed matters · The general programme · Special rules (in 13 fields of sports) · Advertising brochures · Advertising poster · Poster stamps	2. Other printed matters · Centralföreningen's yearbook · Excursions en Suéde · Reisen in Schweden · Tours in Sweden · Holidays in Sweden · Views of Stockholm	3. Medals, marks · The price medal of the games · The steward and participant pin for the games · The memorial medal of the games · The price diploma of the games	4. Photographs etc. · The stadium, other sports arenas, · The Organising Committee's members, and the secretariat · Lithograph of the stadium · Sports postcards
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Among these the first category appears to be the most important. The primary means to spread information about the games and interest the public were no doubt the official poster, the poster stamps with the same motif, the official information brochure, and the general programme for the games. The rules of the various sports served as an advertising channel above all in order to attract participants to the games. When it comes to the degree of control over the design the first category of materials was largely influenced by the members of the Organising Committee and the Advertising Committee, even though in many questions opinions differed. We have therefore chosen to focus on the design of these materials, particularly the poster and the brochure.

The poster game

The official account after the games establishes that the poster regrettably was made available relatively late and that consequently it could not be exploited to the utmost.

It is to be regretted that, in consequence of various circumstances, the poster was not in readiness earlier than 6 months before the Games as, for advertising purposes, it would have been of advantage to have had a greater amount of time available for its distribution, a task that now had to be performed in a very great hurry. (Bergvall 1913: 266)

What circumstances delayed the poster, then? We can establish that at least it wasn't poor planning. The Organising Committee raised the question of an official poster as early as the 14/12 1909, and decided to ask Ferdinand Boberg to come up with a proposal. Boberg declined, however, and recommended the artist Olle Hjortzberg instead. At the Organising

Committee's meeting on 4/1 1910 director Burman informed that Hjortzberg was willing to take on the task against a remuneration of 500 SEK. The committee decided to accept the offer and in mid-February a first poster proposal was discussed. In the end of March a slightly revised version was discussed, but no decision was made. On 11/7 Hjortzberg's proposal was accepted after being up for discussion a third time. On 25/7 the committee discussed in which format the poster should be printed, by whom and in what number of copies. So how is it then, that the poster was not available for distribution until 18 months later?

At the committee's meeting on 8/8 it was decided to photograph the poster and send it to "appropriate publications" in advertising purposes. This was done, and the image of the poster was distributed in the media (see Figure 1). The effect of this was however not the expected. On 26/9 Colonel Balck informed that the Swedish Tourist Traffic Association no longer was willing to distribute the poster. They thought the poster to be "for international reasons hardly appropriate for its purpose" since the placing of the flags "easily could be a cause of jealousy and thereby a bone of contention." Balck had also heard other criticism and suggested the rejection of Hjortzberg's poster and the developing of a new one. Two additional members, who had earlier supported Hjortzberg's proposal, now claimed that "the poster had never appealed to them." The poster question was remitted to the Advertising and Reception Section for further investigation.

Although this was hardly a desirable development from the perspective of the committee, it is still interesting to reflect on these events as part of a market communication process. By making the poster available through Swedish media, the committee appears to have created an effective pretest of the poster design, no doubt unintentionally. Such pretesting is today part of the standard toolkit for marketers to secure effective communications (Vanden Abeele and Butaye 1980; Pieters and Wedel 2007). It is thus particularly interesting to note that this involuntary but 'sharp' test seems to have had other qualities than contemporary methods to measure psychological and neurological effects of advertising exposure (Krishnan and Chakravarti 1999; Schneider and Woolgar 2012 (forthcoming)). Although lacking the technical refinement of contemporary methods, the test proved much less myopic than these, and was able to pick up on issues that the organizers had not thought of.



Figure 1. The initially approved poster proposal by Hjortzberg (11/7 1910).

In mid-October the Advertising and Reception Section suggested the organisation of “a free contest for the obtaining of better proposals.” The Organising Committee decided to first explain the situation to Hjortzberg (“that the by the Committee approved poster for political reasons had proved inappropriate for its purpose”) and ask him whether he would like to make a new proposal. Hjortzberg agreed and the committee decided to wait. At the following meeting, on 14/11, signs of impatience were already starting to show: Hjortzberg was urged to submit his proposal on 15/12 at the latest. At the Organising Committee’s meeting on 12/12 a committee of three members (Levin, von Rosen and Hellström) was appointed to express their opinion “on the sketch in question and the poster question in full.” On 23/1 1911 the Organising Committee accepted their proposal that Hjortzberg’s new sketch should be rejected and a limited number of Swedish artists encouraged to come up with proposals on a new poster. The winner was granted an award of 500 SEK. It was also decided that the final settlement should take into consideration “not only the artistic value but also the suitability of the poster proposals from an advertising point of view.”

When the time assigned for the contest expired the committee had received seven proposals “of which the Poster Committee did not consider any fit recommending for approval.” Instead, voices were now raised suggesting Hjortzberg’s proposal was not so bad. “In connection with this, Dr Levin pointed out that the Swedish artists generally had spoken favourably of Hjortzberg’s poster proposal.” Since additional artists were working on proposals, Thorsten Schonberg among others, the committee decided to wait. On the 8/5 the poster question was once again brought up to discussion.

After consulting with “a few called-in artists” a divided Poster Committee (von Rosen and Levin) now advocated Hjortzberg’s proposal on condition that additional revisions were made. More specifically it was suggested: that the face of the figure in front should show “a Nordic model”; that the body should be made “more developed”; that “the male organs be more concealed”; and that the letterpress should be in white. The third member of the committee, Hellström, advocated Schonberg’s proposal with the support of two members of the Advertising Committee, who considered it better for “advertising and athletic purposes.” The crown prince, on the other hand, “undoubtedly advocated Hjortzberg’s proposal, being the absolutely finest artistically.” Von Rosen, Murray and Levin also expressed their support for Hjortzberg “from an artistic perspective”, while Balck, Frestadius, af Sandberg and Hellström preferred Schonberg’s proposal “particularly considering its value for athletic and advertising purposes.” Finally it was agreed that both Hjortzberg and Schonberg should submit their revised proposals at the latest 31/5.

On 27/6 it was time again. Both Hjortzberg and Schonberg had adjusted their proposals. Von Rosen and Levin once again advocated Hjortzberg whom they considered “further had benefitted from the accomplished revision.” However, they still wanted to adjust the proposal through “the widening of the intersecting ribbon and the lightening of the blue colour on the Swedish flag.” The proposal was supported by several speakers who considered it “unquestioningly the finest artistically,” and in addition that it had “great advertising properties.” Moreover, the permanent undersecretary Murray argued that Hjortzberg had already been paid and that unnecessary costs could thus be avoided. Levin added that Hjortzberg hardly would be interested in designing the diploma if his poster was once again rejected. Balck, Hellström and af Sandberg, however, still considered Schonberg’s proposal better “not only athletically but also for advertising purposes.” After the discussion was concluded “a decision of 3 votes to 2 was made to finally accept the Artist Olle Hjortzberg’s

revised proposal for the advertising poster”. Schonberg did not come away entirely empty-handed: The Organising Committee decided to buy the proposal for 300 SEK against the committee’s right to “regard it as their property.”

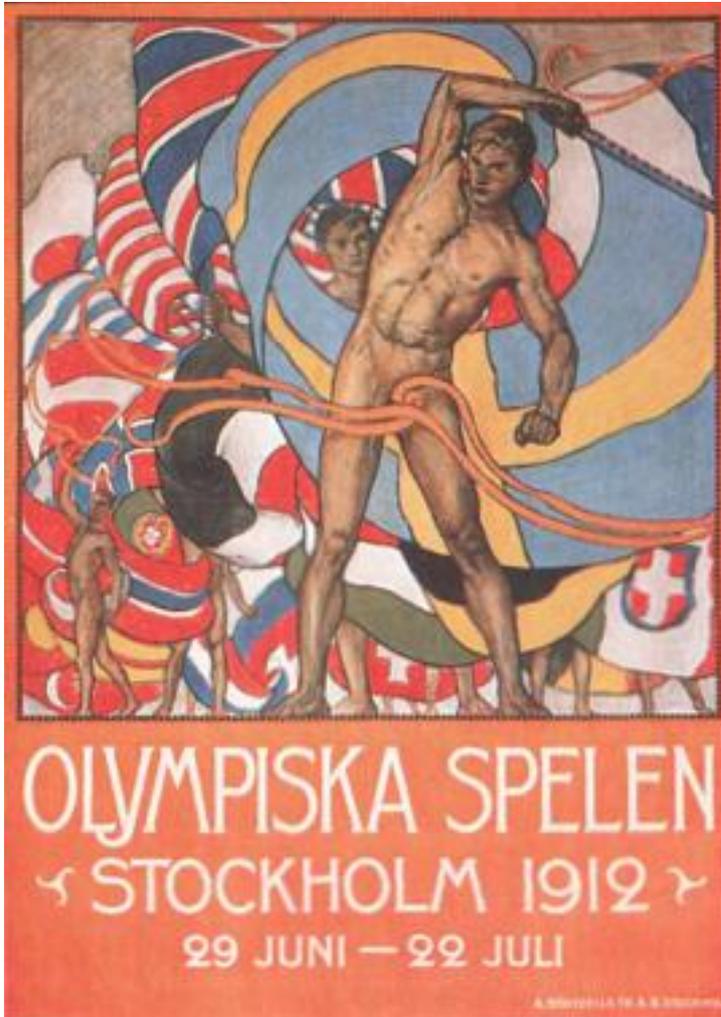


Figure 2. The official advertising poster.

These events prompt a reflection on the tension between artistic and commercial values, which has been subject to considerable discussion within marketing. In a classic article, Hirschman (1983) argued that a marketing perspective was less suitable for artistic production due to the import of personal values and social norms on the production process. More recently, the need to balance commercial and artistic values have been emphasized, i.e. securing that artistic values are not crowded out by commercial ones (Beverland 2005; Eikhof & Haunschild 2007). It is therefore interesting to note how the committee, seemingly without major difficulties, was able to mix different values in their decision, attending to both

aesthetic, political, social and practical concerns (nordic type, developed body, placement of flags, concealed organs, text in white, Hjortzberg already paid, etc.).

At the meeting on 7/8 the Organising Committee decided to let Börtzells Tryckeri-Aktiebolag print the advertising poster in 50000 copies. To facilitate the distribution the poster was to be printed in several editions with writing in different languages. The poster was eventually printed in 16 languages (Swedish, English, French, German, Russian, Italian, Turkish, Japanese, Spanish, Finnish, Dutch, Hungarian, Chinese, Greek, Portuguese and Bohemian). After Hjortzberg had made the final adjustments the members of the committee could study a first trial print in mid-October (see Figure 2). Collaterally, the committee had applied to the Patent and Registration department for reproduction protection and negotiated an agreement on sole rights of reproduction with Östberg & Lenhardtson AB. With this, the discussion passed on to how the poster would best be distributed (see following passage).

The poster stamp

In addition to the various editions of the poster, a miniature of the motif was also printed as a poster stamp (see Figure 3). The possibility to decrease the poster into a poster stamp had been looked into as early as the summer of 1910 (1:080) and in September 1911 an agreement was made with Centraltryckeriet on the printing of poster stamps in 16 languages. (2:267) The stamps proved very popular, among others with stamp collectors worldwide. As a result of the great demand a number of additional orders for stamps were placed in the winter 1911-1912 (2:350) and in total almost 4,8 million stamps were printed.

The advertising brochure

In April 1911 the Advertising and Information Committee suggested that a specific advertising brochure should be produced “in the purpose of spreading knowledge of the upcoming Olympic Games in Sweden and abroad.” (1:607-609) The production of two editions was suggested: one popular edition for distribution to ”private persons, magazines, Olympic Committees and leading athletic organisations abroad, travelling agencies, Swedish foreign consuls” (a total of 75000 copies divided among Swedish, English, French, German and Russian), and one de luxe edition in a larger format for distribution to “reigning royal houses and heads of State” and for setting out in hotels, banks and shipping companies (2000 copies in each language). The brochure was meant to appeal to a wider target audience than those interested in sports and was to contain detailed information on the games, maps of

Stockholm, views from places worth seeing, pictures from the Swedish sporting life in the various branches of the games, sports illustrations by Torsten Schonberg, water sports pictures by the marine painter Alfred Johansson, and the general programme of the Olympic Games. The cost for producing the brochures was estimated to 16000:-, a price the Economy Section considered very high but still justifiable as the brochure was “a quite inevitable factor in the advertising work of the games.” (1:610) In order to keep costs down it was suggested to halve the edition and to make a second printing if required.



Figure 3. The poster stamps in all 16 editions.

The proposal was postponed by the Organising Committee for further investigation and in order for the special committees to get a chance to deliver material on Swedish sporting life. (1:486) Preceding the meeting on 8/5 director Edström suggested that the de luxe edition was unnecessary and should be cancelled to cut costs. (1:485) The committee's decision was to produce only the simpler edition, to cancel the Russian edition, and to not print a greater first edition "than what could be considered necessary." (1:417)

After the summer the special committees still had not delivered any material on Swedish sporting life. Referring to the stretched economy director Edström suggested printing "merely a simple information brochure." Secretary Hellström pointed out that a decision had already been made and that the Advertising Committee had gotten the necessary illustrations and that it would therefore "be unacceptable to change the character of the brochure." (2:253) The Advertising Committee reacted strongly to the proposal, which was regarded as a "vote of no confidence." (2:259) Most special committees delivered their articles on the sports during the latter part of August and the Organising Committee decided to let the work proceed. (2:260) At the beginning of November the contents of the brochure were discussed and Balck took on editing the texts before the brochure was translated (2:312) Another question of detail on the brochures was discussed at the end of November, namely the information on routes that was to be included in each edition. (2:327-328) There were two suggestions: that all the brochures regardless of language should have the same content and therefore include information on "all major routes from European capitals" or that each edition should contain information on "the main routes from the country the language of which the brochure was printed in." (2:903-905) The Organising Committee followed the Advertising Committee's recommendations and chose the first alternative despite the certain increase in costs this involved (4-5 extra pages).

After being pressured by the Advertising Committee at the beginning of December – "when it is of utmost importance that the distribution of advertising printed matters commence" (2:934) – the Organising Committee decided to submit the brochure for printing on 11/12. (2:349) The estimated cost for the brochure was now 20000:-, despite the restrictions placed upon the original proposal. (2:358) But the brochure was to be further delayed: the proof was discussed at the meeting on 16/1 1912 and the members of the committee were asked to leave their comments at the latest on 19/1. (2:368) On 6/2 director Edström informed that the brochure had now been submitted for printing by the executive committee after the "received remarks have been tried in due order" (2:395) But there were still divergent opinions and

Levin, Linnér and Murray made reservations against the publication of the brochure "as this, such as it now is, for its purpose is less satisfactory and that the costs the publication of it involves, are designed to cause concern." When it came to the costs the delay of the brochure in itself involved a significant cost as it could not be co-distributed with posters and stamps but had to be sent separately.

Even though there were critics, the brochure seems to have been well received. So well it was distributed in more copies and more variants than originally intended. According to the official account more than 245000 brochures were printed, i.e. more than three times the number first planned. Moreover, in Finland the local Advertising Committee took on producing a shorter Finnish version.

The committee first gathered on January 10 1912 [...] decided to firstly produce a Finnish edition of the brochure of the Games, the cost of which the Organising committee declared to be incontestable. On printed subscription lists 632 fmk were collected, 387 of which through the vice consulates, besides which interested firms with two Finnish and one North Swedish steamship company in the forefront subscribed 975 fmk for 13 advertisements. The brochure was a shortened and revised translation of the Swedish one with the majority of its pictures, for which the line cuts were received free of charge from Sthlm, were printed in 15000 copies and sent out as a supplement to Helsinkin Sanomat's mail edition in the country. The funds were not sufficient for anything else, and it had to be good at that. Distributing the brochure within Helsinki was considered less necessary, as also the Finnish audience in the capital was well informed of the games. (Letter from J. Lilliehöök at the Finnish consulate to the Advertising Committee, in the autumn of 1912)

At the end of March 1912 also the German Advertising Committee proposed that a shortened version of the brochure be printed due to the great interest. The cost of an edition of 30000 was estimated to 1695:-. The Economy Section approved the proposition, but the Organising Committee still chose to limit the edition to 15000.

Spreading the advertising materials

How were the advertising materials spread across the world? Customs and stamp duties in certain countries, local boycotts (of the poster), technical problems with the translation, and a limited budget for the physical distribution were some of the challenges the Advertising Committee faced. The necessity of advertising abroad was discussed already in December 1910, when the Advertising and Information Committee established that "billposting is efficient but in most cases costs a lot of money" but that "it must however under any circumstances be used." By mobilising a great number of, often voluntary, contacts the information about the games was spread to organisations and the public in Sweden and

abroad. Middlemen seeing possibilities to be helped in their own marketing (tourist and travel agencies for example) also offered their support. For the long distance transports a number of very important sponsors were acquired in shipping companies and steamship companies, which offered free freight of packages to foreign ports.³

The efforts of travel agents and transport companies to associate themselves with, and piggyback on the Olympic Games can be seen as a version of contemporary “co-branding” (e.g. Farrelly, Quester, & Greysen 2005). Most of these efforts presented benefits to both parties; e.g. travel and ticket to the games became a combined offer benefitting both parties. In some cases one party unlawfully sought to exploit the other, a scenario known as “ambush marketing” in contemporary lingo. 100 years later, this represents one of the major problems that the organizers of the London Olympics are trying to counteract.⁴

The physical handling of the advertising materials required moving the business from the General Secretariat to more spacious premises at Freys Express, where an Olympics office was set up. Between September 1911 and June 1912 over 31000 post packages containing advertising materials were sent from that office. In total, 88350 large posters, over 30000 small posters, 4.7 million poster stamps, and 245000 advertising brochures were sent to all over the world. Moreover, rules and programmes, tourist information, a “Memory book of Stockholm”, plans over the marathon course, information on trials and information for stewards were sent. The distribution of these materials was essential in the work to inform about the games, and its foundation was the Advertising Committee’s collaborations with a very great number of various middlemen.

Distribution of advertising in Sweden

The Advertising Committee’s tight budget involved obvious limitations in how information about the games could be distributed. Thanks to a massive use of middlemen spreading information about the Olympics was still successful within Sweden. An extensive network of

³ Among these were AB Svenska Ostasiatiska C:o (to China, Japan), Svenska Levant-Line (Mediterranean ports), Thos. Wilson Sons & Co (London-Hull, Hull-North America), Stockholms Rederi AB Svea (Germany, Holland, Russia), Rederi AB Nordstjernan (South America), Finska Angfartygs AB (Finland and Russia), Ångfartygs AB Bore (Finland), Scandinavian-American Line (Copenhagen-New York), and AB Sandström, Stranne & Co. (Gothenburg-Cuba-Mexico).

⁴ On June 21, 2010, The Telegraph reported: “London 2012 Olympics: International Olympic Committee to clampdown on ambush marketing... The International Olympic Committee has said it is constantly on the look out for any ambush marketing tactics that may be adopted at the London 2012 Olympic Games.”

individuals, companies and organisations was mobilised as distribution channels for “direct advertising” for the Olympics. On several occasions from 1910 to the beginning/opening of the games in 1912 letters were sent to a great number of organisations in the purpose of informing and interesting the public, and mobilising active athletes for the various events. Behind the efforts high ambitions and expectations on those who would represent the country at the Games emerge.

The extent of the information campaign indicates a will to reach the entire population. At the same time, active athletes were to be informed via schools and educational organisations, clubs and sports facilities. The advertising work became a means to create national unity around the upcoming Olympics. Among the organisations contacted via mail for spreading of information about the Olympics were:

- The army and the navy
- Embassies and consulates
- Public libraries, reading rooms
- News agencies
- Adult education institutions
- Commercial schools and institutions
- Hotels, boarding houses, restaurants
- Sports grounds
- Railways
- Booksellers, stationers, music dealers
- Private, political, professional- & youth clubs
- Art- and music institutions
- Higher educational institutions
- Travel agencies, the tourist association’s representative
- Shipping companies, steamship companies
- Athletic outfitters, bath- and tennis establishments
- Technical institutions and schools
- Universities, colleges, higher institutions

Many of the organisations became important local marketers and served as nodes for spreading information to the public and to active athletes. An example is the great number of *booksellers* contacted, in total over 180 all over Sweden. These were important middlemen in two ways. Partly, they were essential contacts in spreading information about the Olympics, for example to local athletic associations. Partly they were in many cases essential contacts also for tourists, especially in places where no travel agencies or tourist associations were represented. This is where Swedish and foreign tourists came not just to inform themselves of local sights, but also for information on other tourist attractions, for example in the capital Stockholm. The booksellers often collaborated with the two major tourist associations and distributed their brochures and information materials. While the bookseller could provide information on the upcoming Olympics he could also inform about travels to the capital. The booksellers’ significance is reflected in the intensive correspondence between these and the

Advertising Committee during the winter and spring of 1912. Many booksellers send letters with inquires about more materials due to the great demand from tourists.

In the Stockholm area also a large number of local companies were mobilised. For example, in a mailing in the winter of 1912 one large poster and three small ones were sent to about 200 stores, 125 hair salons, 125 wine stores and to selected businessmen and private persons in Stockholm. Mailings were sent also to a great number of service companies in the area: restaurants and cafés, companies handling vending machines, hotels and boarding houses, etc. A picture emerges of a Stockholm where as good as every shop window and available wall has an Olympic poster.

Other strategically important middlemen in Sweden were the country's *railway companies* and the *shipping companies* and *steamship companies* trafficking Swedish ports. In these, the Advertising Committee saw a potential strategic positioning of the advertising. The railways, shipping companies and steamship companies had access to important centres for both Swedish and foreign travellers, and advertising there would mean exposure to a large number of passengers. The Advertising Committee sent special letters with inquiries to the railway companies in Sweden and to stations officers and stations managers at selected stations in the country, for example Trelleborg, with its important boat service to and from Sassnitz.

In the contacts with the railway companies, the Advertising Committee encountered certain rules and demands established by the National Railways Board for billposting among other things. For example, there could only be one (smaller) poster in each carriage. Despite these rules also advertising companies saw possibilities of exposure via railways and shipping companies. For example, Williams Affischerings Aktiebolag and its representative Hjalmar Troilius offered the Advertising Committee to perform advertising for the committee within the country. For 500 SEK the company offered to, during a period of three months, perform "...putting up posters in railway stations, advertising on the back of State railway tickets, advertising in Svenska Kommunikationer, advertising in all the country's newspapers through Svenska Tidningsagenturen..." The Advertising Committee, however, chose to try to influence these middlemen on their own, probably because of the limited budget, among other things through pointing out various synergies from an advertising cooperation. The railway companies, but above all the shipping companies and the steamship companies also became important middlemen for spreading information abroad.

International distribution of advertising via Swedish middlemen

Boats and terminals belonging to shipping companies with connection to Sweden and Scandinavia were important both for billposting and for further distribution of advertising materials. Via mailings to representatives for the Swedish and foreign companies it was seen to it that their passengers were informed about the games. For example, the Swedish representative for English Allen Line received a request to spread advertising materials and answered that he had sent on materials to the sister companies in Canada as well. These in turn sent requests for more materials "so that they could be used in sending letters from the Minneapolis Office which is the centre of the Scandinavia district in the USA..." Similar proposals came from the general agent for the American & Dominion lines, Sam Larsson in Gothenburg: "The only [additional] thing that possibly can be done to benefit the traffic to the games would be distributing programmes and printed matters to tourists and travellers who in great numbers usually change their money in my office..." The correspondence continued and Larsson suggested the advertising materials for the games should be complemented with "...the brochure 'Tours in Sweden' to handed out simultaneously, to the Swedes in America and the Americans..." Larsson also asked for more advertising materials.

[The A&D lines in England] wish a whole lot of English circulars and programmes as well as sign posters, which they intend to spread in America in order to attract the Americans' attention to the games in Stockholm, naturally in the purpose of selling many tickets from New York to Stockholm for the Lines... be sent as soon as possible on behalf of the Companies as they consider it is time to start spreading it... During the exhibit in Stockholm 1897 I believe I got around 5000 for America... Through my Lines, I can spread tens of thousands of advertisements and know that 1897 the American Line did a great amount of work in America in order to attract people to the Stockholm exhibition and that thousands of Americans then came through these advertisements...

In the letter the importance of right *timing* in the advertising is indicated. This recurs in several letters from voluntary advertising collaborators. In a letter to Kristian Hellström on 18/3 1912 Erik Sjöstedt in France points out: "... it is my opinion that this advertising should not be introduced until may, for otherwise it will be too early and will be forgotten..." The part about the advertising's design suggested that the Advertising Committee was aware of the importance of timing and worried that the delay of the poster and the brochure would have a negative impact on the advertising.

To some extent it can be said that what was lost in time was made up for in volume. The number of shipping companies mobilised increased, as did the letters with ideas on synergies

in the marketing. For example, the representative of the Cunard and Allen Lines, Axel Lagergren, called attention to the great distribution which could be done through their ships “... calling at Quebec-Montreal, Halifax, St. John, Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and various South American and Mediterranean ports...”

Many Swedes also served as middlemen for continued distribution to foreign countries. In the archival material there are several notes on people who have visited the secretariat asking for advertising materials. Especially important were the individuals assigned the task of representing remote countries in Sweden, often located in Stockholm. Important were also a number of locally situated contacts in Sweden, representing big countries but not officially connected to the embassies.⁵ These individuals with their networks among Swedes and Swedish organisations in and outside the country played an important part in the continued spreading of information. Then there was the extensive correspondence and distribution of advertising materials to the major foreign legations in Stockholm.⁶ Many foreign legations also asked for more materials, for example an official at the Argentinean consulate who wants to spread information “... to my friends in Germany and England”. These middlemen in Sweden became essential in something that we would call “word-of-mouth”, “buzz” or “viral marketing” today, i.e. an attempt to use interpersonal relations to spread an at least partially commercial message (Kirby and Marsden 2006). Despite the lack of internet, facebook and e-mail, the social networks served an important purpose in spreading information about the Olympics from these contacts in Sweden and out into the world.

On the list of important Swedish middlemen are also a very large number of businessmen and companies. (The correspondence suggests that the businesswomen were few, except in certain trading and service related business.) Many of these were proactive, i.e. they sent requests to the Advertising Committee for advertising materials to spread on to business contacts, colleagues, customers and suppliers both in Sweden and abroad. A typical example is a letter from Razo Fabrikerna in Stockholm:

⁵ “The Foreign Powers’ Consulates in Sweden” which were corresponded with were: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, Monaco, Panama, Persia, Portugal, San Domingos, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Spain, Romania, Switzerland and Serbia.

⁶ The legations in Stockholm for: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, England, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, the Siamese legation, Spain, Turkey, Germany, USA, Denmark, and Norway.

Hereby we most respectfully permit ourselves to ask, whether we on our cartons and packing boxes may place the mark of the Olympic Games. As our make is exported everywhere, it will surely make great advertising for the Games.

Director Gustaf Berg at Aktiebolaget Lux exemplifies the international social networks which are mobilised and through which information about the games is spread. During his business trips in the US Berg had gotten into contact with consul A.E. Johnson, who was also the director of the Scandinavian-American Line, who had requested the committee's advertising materials:

...Naturally, Consul Johnson takes great interest in conveying as many passengers as possible with their Line and will, I presume, probably do a lot of advertising himself, but it seems to me that it would be beneficial for You to accept Consul Johnson's offer...

Many Swedish export and import companies sent advertising about the games to their business contacts abroad, for example Nordiska Kompaniet, AB Separator and Lux, which was much appreciated by the Advertising Committee. Of great help in the distribution were also the export associations, which made important channels to businessmen and companies. Sveriges Allmänna Exportförening kept advertising materials in stock and distributed them to Swedish commerce scholars as well as other counterparts abroad.

The distribution of advertising materials via middlemen abroad

In planning the advertising work the idea of "the importance of effective and systematic advertising work in foreign countries" recurred. Already in the first newsletters sent out in November 1910 an attempt was made to map out the foreign middlemen which could be mobilised for the advertising work, above all consulates, expatriate Swedes (especially Swedes in the United States), Swedish clubs, Swedish magazines and the foreign press. However, the most important middlemen abroad were the Swedish consulates. The limited budget called for an effective organisation and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was contacted early on for investigating the possibility to use the consulates. The economic issues observed during the summer of 1911 later strengthened the consulates' significance. The result was that the consulates and Swedish legations were designated central nodes for spreading information internationally. Moreover, to enable spreading information to as many as possible, the Organising Committee asked the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for help with obtaining exemption from duty for the advertising items.

As mentioned earlier, six local advertising committees (London, Berlin, Paris, Marseille, Helsinki, Holland) were formed, and the consulates played an important part here as well. The Dutch committee included the consuls in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam as well as the woman president for Svensk-Nederländska Föreningen (The Swedish-Dutch Association), Thérèse Boon. In other countries designated staff, usually at the consulate, attended to the work. In larger countries with several consulates one responsible consulate was appointed – for example the New York consulate for spreading information in the US and Canada. The matter of exemption from duty was most easily handled by sending the materials from Sweden to a consulate for further distribution from there. Part of the preparatory work was also sending inquiries to the American consulates about whom the advertising materials should be sent to:

... railway stations, hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, clubs, tourist-offices, steamship agents and forwarding agencies, banks, companies and commercial firms, athletic outfitters, bath- and tennis establishments, booksellers and stationers, doctors, solicitors and other professional men, schools, private persons etc. ...

In September 1911 newsletters were sent to 254 Swedish consulates in English and to 240 consuls in Swedish. The letters informed about what preparations were being made in Stockholm for the advertising work and which materials were being developed: photographs, tourist literature, advertising postcards, advertising poster, postage stamp and advertising brochure. The consulates were “pepped up” and prepared, and their central role in the advertising was explained (see quote above). Foreign consulates in Stockholm were also contacted in the preparatory work for the advertising, for example the American General Consulate that was asked to help in the work to “achieve effective advertising.” Help with completing the lists over news agencies, press cutting offices, daily and illustrated magazines, sports papers, and Swedish clubs in the United States. As a continuation of the letters to consulates and legations, a great number of letters to individual expatriate Swedes, Swedish magazines (69 in 18 countries), Swedish clubs (251 in 18 countries), and foreign correspondents for the major Swedish newspapers, were sent in October 1911.

During the autumn of 1911 the Organising Committee also contacted Swedish and foreign shipping companies and travel organizers, among others Broströms and Nyman & Schultz, to procure carriage freight paid for the upcoming advertising mailings. Then, during January, February and March 1912 the circular letters were followed by mailings of posters, stamps and brochures. First to all the Swedish consulates, and then to expatriate Swedes,

businessmen, hotels and travel agencies, Swedish and Scandinavian magazines abroad, foreign correspondents for Swedish magazines, the foreign representatives of the tourist association, etc. In response, the Advertising Committee received a large number of requests for more materials. Already in January 1912 letters came saying that more materials had to be sent as soon as possible in order to be of any use. The tone in some letters was in fact a bit dejected, for example from Scandinavia Travel Bureau in New York, which regretted that “only ten brochures have been received – like a drop in a bucket of water” as there were over 3000 agents all across the country through which they wanted to distribute the advertising materials. The requests for more advertising materials from foreign countries continued to stream in during the spring, also via Swedish companies which passed on requests from foreign partners. The Scandinavian tourist agencies in the United States also contacted the Advertising Committee for materials and information about the games. Mobilising people with connection to Sweden had paid off. Many were willing to spread the message about the upcoming Games in Stockholm.

The distribution via the consulates was completed with direct mailings and various forms of co-operations. Posters were sent to over 2200 hotels in 30 countries. In January 1912 programmes for the Olympics and advertising materials were also sent to 812 tourist offices in 38 countries. The same month it was decided to do joint advertising with the Swedish Tourist Traffic Association in “the London underground railways” to further “increase the number visiting foreigners.” In exchange for £25 each “two posters would be put up at every station, one with advertising for Sweden as a tourist destination and one Olympic poster.” The local advertising committee in London considered the billposting to be “very desirable from an advertising perspective” and supported the proposal along with the Economic Section. During the spring of 1912 the Organising Committee also sent requests to and received offers/estimates of advertising from several Belgian and French billboard companies with local poster monopolies in various cities. Despite the fact that many offers are heavily discounted the committee declines most of them with reference to their limited budget. In Paris, however, a firm was hired for putting up posters in stations and major boulevards.⁷

⁷ The foreign correspondent for Stockholms Dagblad in France noted in a letter dated March 10 1912: ”.... concerning the widely discussed posting of the large poster on the walls of Paris, it should be noted, that this costs considerable sums, in part due to the stamp tax on advertising, but particularly due to the high rents on advertising space. It is easy to demand posting on walls, in hotels and railroads, but easily forgotten at home, that all such advertising in France (which is performed by specialized firms) is a matter of money.”

Distribution abroad was also made easier by the agreements made with government-owned and private railway companies in Europe, for example in Germany, Belgium, Holland, France and England. Of the over 30000 mini-posters sent out from Stockholm most went to these railway companies, which saw a possibility to raise awareness of their own companies. In letters from the Swedish representative of a Dutch train company, it is described that “the Dutch state railways would be prepared to have our posters put up in all stations, however only provided that we in turn have the company’s prospectus expounded and that a couple of its posters are conspicuously placed either outside or in a generally frequented room in the stadium.” In Berlin an agreement with a major bookseller and newsstand chain was managed, which made it possible to distribute 5000 copies of the smaller poster throughout the city.

How the advertising for the Games was received

The Advertising Committee worried that the advertising materials’ delay would have a negative impact on the spreading of information. But the problems they faced were not only connected to the time available. The official account once again:

[T]he result being that the poster somewhat failed in its object in certain districts, as in some cases a disinclination was shown to exhibit it, this adding very considerably to the difficulty of properly and thoroughly advertising the Games. (Bergvall 1913: 266)

It did not take many weeks after the first posters were sent out until the Organising Committee started getting signals that the poster was not received in the best possible way. On 27/2 Colonel Balck informed that “the poster of the Olympic Games in several places abroad has been made a subject of criticism and that permission for putting it up in hotels and similar places has not been granted in several cases, which would be likely to make the advertising work harder.” Because this was second-hand information it was decided to let the matter rest. On 4/3 director Burman gave a personal report to the executive committee based on observations he had made during a trip through Europe. In Berlin the poster had been put up in the Swedish travel agency as well as in the hotel, while Cook’s travel agencies in Paris and Nice had not “bothered” to put it up. Another travel agency in Paris “had no knowledge about the games” but had “four different Norwegian advertising brochures.” In Burman’s account there was nothing that suggested that the poster in itself was a problem. Two weeks later, however, the committee received concrete information on just that.

The day before yesterday it was finally in the entire Holland press about the confiscation of one of the Olympic Games’ advertising posters. It is said to have happened in Oeffelt, a small place in

Holland. The poster was hanging in the waiting room and the Mayor considered it most indecent. This confiscation of the poster should be great advertising for the Games, because it is publicly spoken of in the country. The Olympic Committee ought to send Mr. Mayor in Oeffelt thanks. Here in Holland the new law of morality is much laughed at, so the press does not let any opportunities they get to make fun of it go by. (Excerpt from letter Therése Boon to the Organising Committee for the Stockholm Olympics, dated 17/3 1912).

Similar signals about the poster's unsuitability come from other countries during the spring. In April, A. Von Strussenfelt writes "I regret to inform you that on the French in general, at least in this part of the country, the poster makes the impression of being 'indecent.' Several have for this reason absolutely refused to put it up." In China the poster was altogether prohibited as it was considered "offensive to Chinese ideas of decency."

Is any advertising good advertising? The letter from Therése Boon highlights a classic issue in marketing (Levy 2006). If the objective of billposting was to raise awareness of the games, which is arguably a central objective in contemporary advertising (Pieters and Wedel 2002), it is quite possible that the controversies the poster caused contributed positively. At the same time we can establish that the result in some places was that the poster was never put up, which hardly could be said to create attention. There is no exact information about how widely spread the discontent with the poster was. What we can establish is that the Organising Committee in the Dutch case seems to have succeeded in something that has received a great deal of attention as a potentially successful strategy in modern marketing literature: benefitting from contemporary cultural tensions (Holt and Cameron 2010). The motif of the poster seems to have connected with a current tension in the Dutch society concerning what should be regarded as indecent.

Advertising and PR

Even though budget limitations put a stop to large-scale advertising campaigns for the games, ways to use the press in the advertising work were still found.

Advertising in the press

Despite the fact that the main channel for spreading information was the network of middlemen described in the previous passage, the mass media was also used. Already in the spring of 1911 there were advertisements in Svenska Utlandstidningen with the headline "Appeal to Swedes in foreign countries!" stressing the importance of the upcoming games for

Sweden as a sports and tourist nation and from a business point of view. During the autumn, more adverts were placed. The purpose was simple: mobilise as many as possible with connection to Sweden to promote the games. In February 1912 an appeal was made also in the magazine Svensk Export:

To the Swedish businessmen! Considering the utmost importance of an effective and systematically arranged advertising work in foreign countries for the upcoming Olympic Games do we hereby urge the businessmen travelling to foreign countries to support us in this respect through bringing and - possibly in collaboration with the Swedish consulates, which have taken over the main distribution for the cities respectively - appropriately distributing the programme of the Games and brochures, published in the Swedish, English, French and German languages, as well as the Poster Stamp and particularly the Advertising Poster, which have later been printed in 16 languages.

The only foreign newspaper which had advertisements for the games was the continental edition of the Daily Mail. Firstly, it was agreed that the games should be mentioned in the Swedish Tourist Traffic Association's adverts in the paper during the summer of 1911. Secondly, an advert for the games occurred 15 times during the autumn of 1911 and the spring of 1912 (see Figure 4). Part of these deals were also a promise that the paper would regularly publish shorter items on the Olympic Games



Figure 4. Advertisement for the Olympic Games in the Daily Mail during the autumn of 1911 and the spring of 1912.

The modest advertising in the daily press was completed with free adverts placed in a number of publications aimed at foreign tourists. Most important were the Tourist Traffic Association's guidebooks in English, German, French and Russian, which were printed in more than 500000 copies in total during 1911 and 1912. Free advertising in Tulebolagen's tourist guide "Holidays in Sweden" was also achieved. In both cases the Organising Committee also received several thousand copies for their own distribution (and thus advertising for the publishers).

Another attempt at advertising via the press was made in France, where Erik Sjöstedt during

the spring of 1912 negotiated with Club Alpin and Touring Club about distributing show cards for the games with their magazines. However, these efforts do not seem to have resulted in any advertisements.

PR via press and publications

In the countries hosting Olympic Games the own media usually takes great interest in following how the media in other countries describe and analyse the games. Stockholm 1912 was not an exception. The Swedish press regularly informed the readers of how foreign magazines reported on the games, particularly the many positive accounts which appeared at regular intervals in foreign papers. During 1911 and 1912 both Swedish and foreign press wrote a great number of articles about the games. Proof of this are for example the press cuttings, which the Organising Committee subscribed to in order to follow what was written about the games. In the official account it is said that the amount of press cuttings spoke for themselves about how successful the spreading of information had been: in total the clippings filled 325 volumes of 100 pages each. Furthermore, few foreign papers had missed to describe the Stockholm Games in one or more articles.

The plans for advertising activities from December 1910 included two activities directed at the press: “the arranging of a prize competition in a major English newspaper” (for tickets) and “journal advertising.” The daily papers in Sweden, the foreign press, the sports press and other types of publications also became important PR-channels worked upon in order to spread information about the games. During the autumn of 1910 the general consulates in Sweden were asked to supply the Advertising Committee with lists over news agencies, press cutting offices, daily and illustrated magazines, and sports papers.

The first real contact with the foreign press was taken in September 1911 when the complete general programme was sent out to: 1608 daily papers and illustrated magazines in 41 countries; 402 sports papers in 37 countries; 145 news agencies in 32 countries; 37 press illustration agencies in 17 countries; 69 Swedish papers abroad in 6 countries. In February 1912 all the papers were contacted once again, this time with the finished advertising brochure. At regular intervals information intended for publishing was sent out. It could be about the rules for various sports, sports photos from the various Olympic events, the Swedish Olympic organisation’s current work, printed advertising materials, poster stamps, photos of the poster, the prize diploma, the commemorative medals, photos of the new Stadium and

other locations where events were going to take place, and pictures from Stockholm taken by the king's court photographer Oscar Halldin.

The Stockholm Games in the foreign press

Many of these photos and illustrations were published, often attracting wide coverage in foreign press. The daily press and the sports papers were worked upon particularly intensely in the countries which had local advertising committees. An example is *Le Temps* in Paris (under the editorship of Erik Sjöstedt who belonged to the local French advertising committee), which during the spring of 1912 had a special issue on Sweden, which was printed in over 60 000 copies. The issue contained portraits of the royal family, short illustrated articles on Swedish politics, Swedish industries and Swedish economy, combined with illustrated items about the upcoming Olympic Games. In Finland the translated brochure was distributed in 15 000 copies as a supplement to *Helsingin Sanomat*.

Similarly, a special Sweden issue with information about the games was developed in collaboration with the German magazine "Welt auf Reisen." A great support were also the Swedish papers in the United States, which the Advertising Committee had prepared carefully with letters already in October 1911: "... to make the Games the subject of as many articles as possible in the columns of your paper." In March 1912 these papers were contacted once more, now with the request to mobilise Swedish-American athletes in the US, get them to train and also to represent Sweden in the upcoming games.

The immediate correspondence between the Advertising Committee and the editorial offices at foreign papers increased during the spring, for example in connection with the mailing of the advertising brochure. The editorial offices at many of the Swedish-American and American papers sent laudatory words to the Advertising Committee:

... When it comes to advertising I think that You at home in Sweden need not stand back for the Americans. (from the paper *Svenska Nordvästern Spokane*, Washington, 31/5 1912)

... As a general rule I may say that the press here is quite favourably disposed and obliging and many articles of for Sweden advantageous contents have been included in several newspapers... (from Boston, Mass.)

The posters have been a roaring trade... (Birger Lindh, *Svenska Kuriren* in Chicago)

Your pamphlet with reference to the Olympic Games received and I wish to congratulate your committee on its magnificent work. Everything that your association has done seems to surpass anything that has ever been done in previous Olympiads. I wish you success. (The Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia 31/3 1912)

The correspondence with foreign papers indicates that the brochure was a success:

The careful regard for details shown by Kristian Hellström, secretary of the Swedish Olympic Committee, is reassuring to all who are interested in the games. His letters to James E. Sullivan, secretary of the AAU show the most painstaking considerations and planning... (Journal Boston, 29/2 1912)

The foreign press took great interest in the purely athletic aspects, as in the rules and regulations. It was considered an important opportunity to mobilise their own potential participants for the games:

All eyes are on Stockholm: In every quarter of America great interest is taken. At no period in time in the history of track and field in the United States has there been so much excitement shown as at the present time. In every quarter of the country where there is practice of track and field sport has been established has there been nothing but talks of the Olympic struggle next summer, and nearly every man with pretensions to first class has already begun to train for the tryouts. (artikel i tidning i Omaha, 18/2 1912)

The positive PR the games received in foreign papers was usually connected to much praise about how the rules in the various events were handled. It was described how the organisation handled differences between countries and how rules were explained and analysed, as well as how decisions on new rules were made.

In Swedish papers it was also noted in positive words about the advertising work that was being done in throughout the world. In very positive tones, an item on “the advertising work abroad for the Olympic Games” described the marketing work being done by athletes and consulates in Russia. Similarly, one article described the Austrian contentment with the Swedish preparations for the games. Austrians visiting in Sweden before the games were also reported to have seen the colourful poster all the way from Vienna to Stockholm. And in the Austrian paper Morgen the upcoming games, Swedish athletes and the Swedish Olympic committee’s work were described:

Only a few nations are in the position to, for the accomplishment of such a giant task as the Olympic Games, draw up such an ensemble of experienced and capable sportsmen. And if this time the Olympic Games give the sporting life in the entire world a strong incentive, then Sweden and its Olympic committee can indeed take great credit therein.

on February 17 1912 Göteborgsposten reported under the heading “Beautiful words on the work of the Olympic organization committee” on a positive article in the Danish paper Riget. The Danish article emphasized particularly that ”the Swedes deserve much praise for their preparatory work” and that ”the rules for most of the games are so well worked out that they all with some modification could serve as standard rules”.

The articles in the foreign press increased in number right before and during the games, but continued after the games as well, as expressed in Thérèse Boon’s letter to the committee on October 26 1912:

... The representatives for the Dutch press have also in their correspondence from the Olympic Games especially pointed out how excellent the organisation of it all was at all occasions, and how just the Swedish jury was. The praise for Sweden, its people, nature, industries, art, sports etc. at the time of the Olympic Games has not been without effect in Holland. Within sports circles conferences were held and in newspapers articles were written, in which Sweden was pointed out as a model for the sport, (.....) The praise for our beautiful language gave cause for many to enrol in the Swedish-Netherlands Association for lessons in Swedish, and all of this has delighted us Swedes in Holland indescribably.

Organising press contacts and handling the press on site

During the autumn of 1911 the need to deal with the Swedish and foreign press which was expected to come to Stockholm and report from the games was discussed. A special Press Committee was formed and given responsibility for the contacts with Swedish and foreign press before and during the games. The committee constituted of a chairman and ten members, of which five were appointed by the Publicist club and represented major Swedish newspapers.

The Press Committee was immediately put in charge of many small and great issues. It concerned decisions on the number of press seats at the Stadium, the number of press tickets, the issuing of press badges, decisions on the drawing of direct telegraph and telephone lines to the press stand at the Stadium, how the press on the spot should be gathered at editorial sites, send out official invitations to the major news agencies in Europe, how Swedish daily and sports press should be informed regularly before the games, and other things. To that came also the question of how to deal with the daily information that had to be spread during the games about results etc. The result of the latter discussion was the decision to publish an “Olympic News” in 30 copies from June 17 to July 25 in both Swedish and English. This would be completed during the games with Dagens Nyheter’s publication of a similar so-

called “Stadium-edition” in English. Some activities directed at the press had to be abandoned due to lack of resources, for example the plans to arrange travels throughout the country for foreign press.

The difficulty of controlling what is written and spread through the press

Everything that was written about the games in the foreign press was not positive. A rumour spread in several foreign daily papers during the spring of 1912 that there were problems with accommodation in Stockholm. At the end of January, consul-general Daniel Danielsson in London reports about information in English press about limited accommodation in Stockholm. The cause is said to be that the German Olympic administration had gone to Stockholm to reconnoitre and found only 60 rooms for their 160 participants. To get around this problem plans were now openly being made to hire a steamship to accommodate the German team. Surrounding this story a rumour arose about sky-high housing costs and a shortage of rooms, which during the spring spread in several European countries (Finland, Norway, Denmark and Holland among others) and circulated in American press. The Advertising Committee tried to counteract the rumours via the consulates and the local advertising committees and through sending a clarification via the Swedish news agency. In his reflection over the advertising work in Finland J. Lilliehöök establishes:

Above all any incorrect items on a shortage of accommodation and high prices must carefully be prevented: a single such item does nearly irreparable damage, for it spreads very swiftly and the audience is predisposed to believe it but overlooks the disclaimer, if one comes. (Letter on 10/7 1913)

Other marketing activities

During the spring of 1911 the Organising Committee discussed various auxiliary activities for the games. It concerned the sales of a variety of souvenirs, restaurant and entertainment activities, prize competitions, photo and film activities and the compilation of various memory books. Another marketing related activity, which caused much discussion, was fixing the prices on tickets and different forms of subscriptions and series tickets, and free tickets.

In October 1911 the Organising Committee came to an agreement with Granbergs Konstindustri AB about production and selling of official “view post cards.” The company Östberg & Lenhardtsons AB was given the rights of reproduction of the poster and the poster

stamp, medals and marks, stadium pictures and metal souvenirs, "... and the sales thereof within the Stadium." In planning the merchandising and for information etc, plans and rights to sales stands on Valhallavägen were developed. Åhlén & Åkerlund in Gothenburg got rights to printing and selling memory books from the games. In this connection, rights to photography and cinematography were thoroughly discussed. Complications concerning photography rights during the games arose, and complaints about the limitations came from foreign papers. There were also uncertainties regarding photos in memory books. The whole photo issue was later left to the Economy Section. When it came to film rights it was suggested during the planning that these should be advertised in foreign papers. An agreement was made with Svensk-Amerikanska Filmkompaniet, but it was also discussed that the Organising Committee should own the rights and later leave the film work to a Swedish film syndicate. Deciding on this in good time was considered important in order to give the filmmakers time to get into all the different sports. However, the film adventure was on the point of failing completely since the film company cancelled the payments before any films had been received. In 1913, the Organising Committee was forced to buy off the footage they were entitled to according to the contract.

Like the Organising Committee, many private operators in Sweden and abroad saw business opportunities in various *merchandising*. The closer the games got the more obvious the competition from unauthorised suppliers of souvenirs became. In January 1912 the Organising Committee established that "lots of metal objects, bearing the name of the Olympic Games, are daily imported from abroad" and because of this demanded information from the Customs Department on how this flow could be stopped. Above we noted that the organizers of the London Olympics actively seek to handle this problem. The problem is not only one of guarding the economic interests of the organizers, but equally one of protecting the official sponsors. What appears to have been an unexpected, minor side effect in 1912 has become a major issue 100 years later. Considerable effort is now spent on counteracting brand infringements before and during Olympic games (as well as other types of events).

Another important marketing activity was how visitors and actives were taken care of on the side of the Olympic sports programme. The Organising Committee discussed different possibilities to enlarge and strengthen the visitors' experiences from the games and Stockholm. In October 1911 it was decided to set up a special Entertainment Committee, with representatives from suitable institutions in Stockholm. During the planning many

suggestions on activities were discussed: opera and theatrical performances, cinema shows of the Olympic events of the day, excursions in Mälaren and Saltsjön, popular festivals and open-air theatres for example at Skansen, flower parade in connection with rider's festival, display by Svenska Folkdansens Vänner at the Opera and the Stadium, procession of singers through the city concluding at the Stadium, air displays arranged by Aeronautiska Sällskapet, arranging various visits to museums, and showing sights of Stockholm with trained guides with good knowledge of languages. Among others the theatre manager Tor Hedberg was contacted in order to arrange open-air theatre performances at Skansen. The Organising Committee insisted on "... the necessity of an effective arrangement of all issues concerning the foreigners' amusement and pointed out how the restaurants in the capitals hardly sufficed other than for the Stockholm people." An amusement park with licence to serve wine was placed at Värtavägen and an agreement was concluded with Restaurant-keeper Carl Löfvander about changing Tennispaviljongen into a restaurant during the games.

What was marketed?

What was it really that the Advertising Committee and other actors involved in Sweden marketed? Was it something besides the actual games? It was obvious that the advertising for the games had had an effect. The Stockholm games were the first games with participants from all five continents and many said that the games thereby became a worldwide event for the first time. 27 nations and over 2500 participants came to Stockholm, which can be compared to the 260 participants from 14 countries who participated in Athens 16 years earlier. The organisation of the games thereby strengthened the image of Sweden as a good arranger of major events. It was also apparent that great attention for the event had successfully been created in Sweden, among athletes and the public. The Swedish team was the largest with almost 500 people and the Swedes did very well.

Besides marketing the games themselves interest for the various events, athletes, the rules of the events and for the so-called Olympic spirit. Another indirect consequence was increased interest and an altered view of sports among Swedish politicians. Primarily the Stockholm games were financed via the sports lottery, but after the success at the games the Swedish Parliament became significantly friendlier towards sports. When the parliament gathered in 1913 the first annual government grant for sports was approved (100 000 SEK) and ever since Swedish sport has enjoyed government grants. The advertising for the games can therefore be said to have acted as advertising for Swedish sports on the whole.

The work put into gathering, compiling and developing the rules for the different sports became a very important part in the information and communication work and attracted much attention. The rules during the games were to everyone's content. The arrangers had worked hard to construct modern rules. It would turn out at coming international congresses that this work had paid off; to a great extent the Stockholm organisation's rules were approved by the different special federations.

The world press was also interested in the games. The Stockholm games attracted a great number of journalists: 445 journalists were accredited of which 229 were foreign. Besides attracting attention to the various events these journalists highlighted individual athletes and sporting occurrences. The American James Thorpe became the most well known athlete at the games. After easy victories in both pentathlon and decathlon King Gustaf V called him "the greatest athlete in the world" at the distribution of prizes. After the successes in Stockholm the Indian Thorpe became something of a national hero in the United States. In 1913 he was stripped of his Olympic gold medals for violation of the amateur rules. In connection with the marathon great attention was paid to a tragic event: the Portuguese Francisco Lazaro collapsed due to dehydration and died at Serafimersjukhuset the following day. However, the most talked about event during the marathon was "the Japanese who disappeared." Shizo Kanakuri interrupted the race close to Tureberg where he rested in a garden and let his hosts serve him refreshments. The leaders of the competition never found out that he interrupted and only 55 later could Kanakuri finish the race and come in at the Olympic Stadium during a visit in Stockholm.

In conclusion, the purpose of the Stockholm games was also to market Sweden as a tourist country. At least that was something that occurred often in the arguments about advertising, especially in the attempts to mobilise volunteers in the advertising work. We have established that the marketing of the games, of Sweden as a tourist country, of specific sights in Sweden, of Swedish culture, and of Swedish and foreign travel and transportation companies mingled and that this created certain synergies. The tourist aspect of the games was important, even if tourism during and immediately after the games was not overwhelming. Despite some disappointment in the number of tourists visiting during the games, it was expected that the advertising would have effect in the years following the games.

The travel agencies are of the opinion, that the immense advertising done in and for and through the Olympic Games last year for Sweden all over the world, does not take effect until this year. Regarding the stream of visitors, last summer was a great disappointment to many. However, as you will recall, the experienced tourist guides already in advance warned for too high expectations. Experience has shown that the real tourist avoids countries and places where exhibitions and similar price raising events are taking place. He does not avoid them solely because of the extra costs, but also because he wants to see and study country and people as they normally appear. However, the immense advertising has surely not been a waste of effort. It has attracted attention to our country's existence among millions of tourists, who may never before have given us a thought. (SvD, 12/4 1913)

To some extent, the same applied also to Swedish companies, above all the major Swedish export companies, which could profit by being associated with the Stockholm games. The ability to use the Olympic effect economically was both local in Stockholm and more general.

How were the Stockholm Olympics marketed?

As noted by way of introduction, the Stockholm Olympics were not marketed; there is nothing that suggests a coherent understanding of the activities we have described as “marketing.” But what was done still stands out as surprisingly modern, with many examples of contemporary marketing practices. Marketing something like the Olympic Games is of course in many ways different from marketing a new dairy product or a new service. Today, we speak of “event marketing”, i.e. marketing of and/or through different types of arrangements.

Today, “event marketers” are expected to dedicate themselves to various image-enhancing activities (Smith 2005); to via press and press contacts create greater interest in the city, region or country where the event is going to take place. In organising the Stockholm Olympics, this was an essential activity for the Advertising Committee. To create a strong brand and give the games, Stockholm and Sweden a clear, positive image it was considered important to supply Swedish and foreign press with information regularly throughout the entire preparation process. At the same time, we saw how difficult it was to control these processes. The rumour about accommodation problems in Stockholm in the foreign press proved to be very hard to stop once it began spreading between foreign papers. Just like we would expect from arrangers today certain attempts at “crisis management” were made through denying the information in direct communication with the press (Coombs 1999).

In the marketing of the games we saw several examples of so-called “co-branding,” i.e. that

the advertising for the games was connected with advertising for other offers (Chalip and Costa 2006), for example advertising for Sweden as a tourist country in general (joint advertising with the Tourist Association), and advertising for travels to Stockholm (advertisements in the travel organisers' publications). The companies' use of the so-called poster stamp on their business mailings is another example. The phenomenon is of course based on the idea that joint communication can have a positive effect for both parties. In the advertising work we also saw examples of trying to make other parties see the "leverage" of the games (O'Brien 2006), for example the argument that the advertising for the games was of such great use to the City of Stockholm that the city should cover the expected loss.

The Olympic organisation also devoted much time to activities with the purpose of creating strong "experiences" for the audience and participants, experiences which would generate lasting memories and "heritage" from the Stockholm Olympics 1912. In "event marketing", the importance in creating a lasting heritage from the event is often pointed out (Ritchie 2000). The Organising Committee worked hard with developing souvenirs and memorabilia of different kinds, so-called "merchandising." The purpose of these objects and of all the auxiliary events organised in connection with the games seems to have been enhancing "the experience" of the games (so-called "experience marketing", Pine and Gilmore 1998). The heritage from the games, including the picture of "the sunshine Olympics," was not only a result of the fortunate weather. To the highest degree, the arrangers' efforts contributed to the experiences, which built this positive picture not only of the games but also of Stockholm as a destination and of Sweden as a tourist country.

The picture of the marketing of the Stockholm Olympics that we have described also gives reason for some reflections regarding marketing as a contemporary phenomenon. A first such insight is how marketers can use current values as a "sounding board" for their messages. Here, we are thinking about how both the Swedish population and the expatriate Swedes were successfully mobilised through striking a note of national unity. That the national and the Nordic was important was clear for example in the demand that the face of the prominent figure in the official poster should show a "Nordic type." The Swedish-Norwegian union's dissolution may of course have contributed to a good soil for the national rhetoric, something that was suggested by the observation that a French travel agency actually had "four Norwegian advertising brochures."

A second insight is about the energy that was devoted to the distribution of the advertising. In today's communications society it is easy to take such distribution for granted; almost everyone has the opportunity to inform themselves, but that does not mean that they do it. The importance of recruiting good spokespersons has been noted previously, for example in research on innovations (Akrich, Callon, and Latour 2002), and lately marketers have used "buzzadors," i.e. users who recommend products to acquaintances against compensation (see for example <http://www.buzzadors.com/>). In marketing the Stockholm Olympics the scarce resources forced a direct contact with a very large number of potential spokespersons. Even though all receivers did not take initiatives to spread the message many did. The result was a spread through personal contacts rather than anonymous media. The weakness in such a strategy is of course that it can result in the message being spread in relatively limited circles.

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