The construction of Beijing
as an Olympic City

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'Beijing Olympic Bid Succeeded!'
Special issue of *People's Daily*
released immediately after the
IOC's decision was announced,
13 July 2001.

People celebrating Beijing's
victory at Tiananmen Square.
(Both photos by the author.)

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Contents

Abbreviations

Bobico   Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee
CCP   Chinese Communist Party
CD   China Daily
CF   Beijing's 2008 Olympic Games Candidature File
FEER   Far Eastern Economic Review
FT   Financial Times
IOC   International Olympic Committee
NBGO New Beijing Great Olympics (Official web site)
PD   People's Daily
PRC   People's Republic of China
SCMP South China Morning Post

Preface

Almost three years have gone by since I started studying for the degree that has resulted in this thesis. I owe thanks to many people, both for their invaluable help related to the research process and for making these years so personally rewarding.

My interest in China was developed through discussions with June Chan, whose thoughts are always inspiring, whether communicated from the top bunk bed when we were roommates, or mailed from Hong Kong. China is as intimidating as it is alluring. Without the encouragement from Elin Sæther, I would never have embarked on this project, and I am very grateful for her support and comments throughout the research process.

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Finally, I want to thank Jørgen Carling for contributing to this thesis with his analytical and aesthetic skills, for visiting me in Beijing and sharing my excitement over exploring the city by foot and bike, and for being part of my life during these years.

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Heidi Østbø Haugen

❶ | Introduction

'Beijing succeeded!' (*Beijing chenggong le!*). Hundreds of thousands of excited people gathered at Tiananmen Square 13. July 2001 heard Jiang Zemin announce that Beijing was selected to host the 2008 Olympic Games. Millions of others heard the announcement through TV and radio broadcasts in China and the rest of the world.

The right to host the Olympic Games was by no means easily won. Eight years earlier, China suffered a humiliating defeat when its bid to become the venue of the 2000 Olympics was turned down. The competition to host the Games has been fierce since the financial success of the Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games in 1984. Organizing the Olympics is now be seen as an effective instrument for reaching economic and political goals, such as spurring economic growth, attracting government grants, creating a favorable image of the host city nationally and internationally, and increasing the legitimacy of the government hosting the games (Hiller 2000, Law 1994, Loftman & Nevin 1996, Whitelegg 2000). Several places are willing to provide high-quality infrastructure for the Games — stadiums, transportation services, housing for athletes and International Olympic Committee (IOC) officials, and media facilities. The IOC, which selects the Olympic host city, has no absolute criteria for distinguishing among qualified candidate cities. When there are small differences in what bid cities offer in terms of infrastructure, symbolic differences between the candidates become more important. Thus, each city must find arguments that go beyond organizational capacity to distinguish its bid from other candidatures. Presenting a city as a suitable Olympic host involves defining which qualities an 'Olympic city' should possess, as well as arguing that the candidate city embodies these qualities. In practice, these two processes are inseparable — when a bid city's character and qualities are presented, they are implicitly or explicitly described as Olympic.

This thesis is about how Beijing succeeded in presenting itself as an Olympic city. I will approach this topic through discourse analysis. There has been a growing interest in the role of discourses in social processes in urban geography, as in other social science fields. This development is not uncontroversial, however, and considerable effort has been spent both on criticizing and on defending discourse analysis. In 1996, an article published in *Urban Studies* pre-

sented a number of criticisms against 'the interpretative turn' (Imrie *et al.* 1996). Analysis performed within the interpretative tradition was claimed to be introspective, to have lost its critical focus connected to poverty and inequality, to neglect structural relations of power, and to be anti-realist. A response to such criticism came in 1999 in the form of a special issue of *Urban Studies* entitled 'Discourse and urban change'. By focusing on substantive concerns and providing a discussion of how discourse analysis can have an impact on urban politics, the issue aimed at demonstrating the relevance and value of exploring urban issues from the perspective of discourse analysis (Hastings 1999, Jacobs 1999).

Although the assigning of particular meanings to a place has become an important part of the Olympic bid process, few social science studies of the Olympic Games have focused on this topic. Discourse analysis, which concerns the processes through which meanings are constructed and maintained, can therefore provide a valuable addition to existing research on the Olympic Games as a social phenomenon. At the same time, the Olympic Games make an interesting topic for discourse analytical research because of the Games' enormous social, economic and environmental impact. How a city is presented as 'Olympic' not only influences whether it gets the rights to host the Olympic Games, but also the way in which the Games are organized, and consequently their consequences for different groups of people.

My research question is: *How is Beijing constructed as an Olympic city in material produced for a foreign audience about Beijing's Olympic bid?* As this question indicates, the primary focus in my thesis is on the question of *how,* rather than a question of *why*. I will investigate *how* meanings are attached to the 'Olympic city' and the city of Beijing in Beijing's Olympic bid material in the period leading up to the IOC's selection of the 2008 Olympic host city. Which claims were made, and how were these warranted? Which assumptions was the bid material founded on, and which effects did these have on the presentations of Beijing as an Olympic city? I will not go into questions of which role different actors played in the decision-making processes, or who will gain and lose in this process. Nor will I comment on the relationship between how Beijing presents itself and the specific projects they are undertaking to prepare for the Games.

I have analyzed the construction of Beijing as an Olympic city from two angles. The first chapter of analysis provides a discussion of the characteristics which the bid material draw attention to when arguing that Beijing is an Olympic city. I explore how these features are made relevant to the Olympic bid, and how Beijing is represented with respect to them. In the second part, I explore how the construction of Beijing as an Olympic city is founded on certain understandings of the concepts of time and spatial scales. The meanings assigned to a place, and the ways the notions of time and spatial scales are understood, are fundamental to how people understand the world and their place within it. Constructing Beijing as an Olympic city

is as much about presenting and naturalizing certain views of the world as it is about presenting specific arguments. By describing parts of these worldviews and some of the assumptions they are founded on, I aim at de-naturalizing them, and thereby making them more contestable.

CONTEXTUALIZING BEIJING'S OLYMPIC BID

The economic resources and political prestige invested in Beijing's Olympic bid are exceptional in scope. However, the bid also represents a continuation of several national and international economic and political development trends. Hosting Olympic Games is one means through which a city can enhance its position vis-à-vis other cities. Beijing's bid for the Olympics can therefore be put in connection with the intensification of inter-urban competition which has taken place in Pacific Asia. The bid can also be related to changes in the focus of Chinese development policies. Organizing the Olympic Games is an emblematic example of a post-industrial activity, and it is made in a part of China which has been assigned a leading role in China's modernization process. Finally, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) searches for new sources of legitimacy in the post-Mao era, and the Olympic Games may provide this. Below, I discuss these trends to place Beijing's Olympic bid within a wider perspective, and provide a context for my analysis.

INCREASED INTER-URBAN COMPETITION IN PACIFIC ASIA

Asian cities are increasingly strategically oriented beyond the national space (Jessop 1999). Intercity competition to attain status as main points of organization of global and regional economic activity has increased in Pacific Asia over the past decades, and intensified following the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Douglass 1998). As transportation costs have decreased, production has been reorganized, and capital has become more footloose, created assets have become more important to the prosperity of cities than their natural resources and past industrial history. The processes of urbanization and economic globalization are mutually reinforcing. Global capital increasingly shapes the landscape and economic activities in cities. On the other hand, the infrastructure offered by key cities is necessary to organize economic activities globally (Sassen 1994). Asian governments often have motivation broader than creating economic growth for promoting a remaking of key metropolitan regions into 'world cities'. These include regime maintenance based on legitimization through internationalization, achieving First World status, and shifting from cultural periphery to becoming creator of cultural symbols (Douglass 2000, Kelly 1997).

A wide range of strategies is employed to restructure urban space in order to build global or regional advantage. Several Asian urban centers in Asia have set up 'technology parks' to attract and retain technology-oriented businesses (Jessop & Sum 2000). There is a growing interest in international urban networking and in establishing public-private partnerships. The measures Asian cities have adopted to compete for investment range from provision of transport infrastructure and a diverse labor force, to establishing and developing business parks, world-class hospitals and universities, and conference centers. An increasing amount of resources is spent on attracting tourists and urban mega-projects and events with high symbolic value, such as the World Expositions, the Miss World final, the Asian Games, and the World Soccer Cup, in addition to the Olympic Games (Oakes 1999, Olds 1995).

CHANGES IN THE FOCUS OF CHINESE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

After China started opening up to the rest of the world and introducing economic reforms in 1978, the government appointed some coastal regions and 'keypoint cities' a flagship role in the new economic development (Yeung 2000:132). The rationale behind this policy is that uneven development is conducive to economic growth. It is argued that when some regions are given the opportunity to develop first, development and prosperity eventually diffuse to poorer regions (Zhao & Tong 2000). China's capital city Beijing is one of the areas which has received large investments to enable it to fulfill its role as a national model for development and China's window to the rest of the world. The focus on the development of selected areas has contributed to the great geographical disparities in wealth, which the Chinese government recently has introduced campaigns to counteract, such as the 'Go West'-campaign (*'xibu kaifang'*).

The increased efforts to promote economic development in the coastal areas were accompanied by a shift in the sectoral focus of the development policies. The economic importance of the tertiary sector has increased relative to that of other sectors in Beijing. Manufacturing now constitutes 35 per cent of Beijing's gross domestic product, whereas typical post-industrial activities such as tourism and finance/insurance, account for 15 and 10 per cent respectively (Chau *et al.* 1999). Government policies have promoted and facilitated the expansion of tertiary sector economic activities (Douglass 1998). As inter-urban competition in Pacific Asia has intensified, efforts are made in Chinese cities to improve their images in order to attract people and capital. The Pudong Development Area in Shanghai and the Disney theme park, which Hong Kong won the right to build after a sharp competition with Shanghai, are example of urban mega-projects related to the expansion of the tertiary sector in Chinese cities (Olds 1995, SCMP 08.02.00; 17.11.00).

THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE OF ATTAINING LEGITIMACY AND MAINTAINING SOCIAL STABILITY

Under Mao, China's development model and a national ideology represented an ideological alternative to Capitalism, both to the rest of the world and to its own citizens. After Mao's death and the reorientation of the national development strategy towards a 'socialism with Chinese characteristics', such an alternative is no longer offered. The legitimacy of the Chinese government today rests largely on its ability to create economic growth. Chinese leaders have attempted to fill the ideological vacuum in the post-Mao era by reviving Chinese nationalist spirit, and thereby strengthen the CCP's position (Ko 2001). The Olympic Games is a means both to achieve economic growth and to enhance a form of nationalism which does not entail hostility to foreigners. Such nationalism is politically useful because it promotes national cohesion without threatening the economic growth that depends on foreign investment.

During the past year, Western media has suggested that the Chinese government spends heavily on non-productive projects in the big cities in order to keep the unemployment low and thereby prevent social unrest (Kynge 2002). With the intention of retaining power, the Chinese government promotes this form of economic growth knowing that it is unsustainable (FEER 07.11.02). The Olympic Games represent an unparalleled investment in infrastructure in Beijing, much of which cannot be put to productive use after the Games. The Olympics may represent a welcome opportunity to over-spend on infrastructure in order to preserve social stability.

OUTLINE

The research question of this thesis places it within two bodies of academic literature: research on the Olympic Games, and studies of place and meaning. The next chapter presents and discusses these research fields. In chapter 3, I first give a presentation of discourse analysis as methodology. The second part of chapter 3 concerns the way I have carried out my research and methodological issues related to approaching Beijing's Olympic bid through discourse analysis. The analysis of how Beijing is constructed as an Olympic city is presented in chapter 4 and 5. The first of these chapters gives an outline of the main themes presented in Beijing's Olympic bid material, and the explicit arguments made for granting Beijing the right to host the 2008 Games. Chapter 5 presents an analysis of how a certain worldview was created and naturalized through the way the bid material gave meanings to the concepts of time and spatial scales. The final chapter recapitulates some of the main analytical points made in this thesis, and relates these to previous research on the Olympic Games.

❷ | Perspectives on the Olympics and the meanings of places

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First, I review of how the topic of the Olympic Games has been approached in previous studies. An extensive amount of research has been carried out on issues related to the Olympic Games in a variety of academic fields, ranging from medicine and engineering to media studies and architecture. I will concentrate on research on the Olympic Games undertaken with a social science perspective. The discussion is organized according to the topical focuses of these studies and the theoretical approaches they take to the Olympic Games. Through this discussion, I want to relate my analysis to the existing body of literature about the Olympic Games as a social phenomenon. A second purpose of reviewing of Olympic literature has been to acquire more information about the context in which Olympic bids are put forward. Such information is valuable to discourse analysis, which involves analyzing texts in relation to social context.

The second part of this chapter presents constructivist approaches to studies of place and meaning. This is the approach I will use in this thesis, and I will use many of the analytical points I bring up in the discussion of these studies in my analysis. This chapter ends in a discussion of similarities and differences between the perspectives employed in previous research on the Olympic Games and a constructivist approach to the topic.

PERSPECTIVES EMPLOYED IN RESEARCH ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Hosting the Olympic Games requires large transformation of the physical landscape, the participation of thousands of local workers and volunteers, institutional re-arrangements, and major financial investments. For a short period of time, the city receives massive international attention, and its internal and external images are altered or confirmed. The magnitude and diversity of the social consequences of hosting the Olympics have made them the topic of many studies. This research has by and large focused on three dimensions of the Games: the international relations dimension, the economic dimension and the experiential dimension.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DIMENSION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The Olympic Games have been the subject of several international controversies, such as Cold War tensions, disputes over the formal status of former East Block countries in the international system, debates about how apartheid South Africa should be treated by other nations, and the conflict between North- and South Korea. The IOC has often been a party in these controversies, or actively attempted to influence their development. Some studies of the international relations dimension of the Olympic Games have focused on the role of the IOC as an actor in international relations, while others have concentrated on how national governments have used sports politically (Taylor 1988). The discussion below focuses on three ways in which the Olympic Games influence international relations. First, questions over participation in the Olympic Games and national representation in the IOC may be the subject of disputes and negotiations between countries. Secondly, host nations may see the Olympic Games as an opportunity to alter their image and position internationally. Third, the Games have been used by their host countries to demonstrate to the world the superiority of a certain political ideology.

The Olympic Games and tension and rapprochement *in international relations*

There have been several bilateral conflicts over how countries should be represented in the Olympic Games and the IOC. An example of such a conflict is the dispute between the governments in Beijing and Taipei over their representation in the Olympic Movement. The PRC's government claims to be the sole representative of the Chinese people, while Taipei works to make Taiwan an independent member of international institutions. Participation in the Olympic Games and representation in the IOC is based on nationality, and IOC rules state that a country only can be represented by one national committee. When the IOC recognized the sports federations of both Taiwan and the PRC in 1954, they therefore *de facto* acknowledged Taiwan as an independent country (Wu 1995). The PRC consequently withdrew from the IOC, and for more than two decades mainland China was not represented in the Olympics. Unprecedented political concessions from both Taipei and Beijing then made it possible for mainland China to re-enter the IOC under the name the 'Chinese Olympic Committee' while Taiwan still was represented separately as the 'Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee', but without being allowed to use their national flag and anthem (Killanin 1983).

The IOC interprets their success in resolving conflicts such as the above as evidence of Olympism's capacity to build peace, and the utility of the Olympic Games' as a tool of *realpolitik* (Wu 1995). Others have questioned whether negotiations related to sports have any sub-

stantial and lasting influence over how the general relations between national governments develop (Kyrolainen & Varis 1981).

Improving a nation's image through hosting the Olympic Games

The official hosts of the Olympic Games are cities, not nations. Nevertheless, countries have used the Olympics as an opportunity to improve their image internationally. The Olympic Games in Seoul, South Korea, in 1988 is a recent example of successful usage of the Olympics as a vehicle to transform a country's international image. The bid for the Games was made by a military government in want for international legitimacy. Through the Games, South Korea presented itself as an advanced nation, culturally distinct from Japan and China. Because they were hosted in the South Korean capital, the symbolic power of the Games was especially strong. The positive image South Korea acquired in the preparations for and during the Olympics was used in the propaganda battle against North Korea. The Seoul Olympics was also an opportunity for altering the negative image South Korea had in Communist Eastern Europe, and this is said to have been conducive to the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Soviet block nations (Larson & Park 1993).

Although the Olympics can be used by national governments to project a positive image of the ruling elite and the country, those in power are never fully in control over the images of a nation that are displayed internationally. Opposition groups may use the international attention brought by the Olympics as an opportunity to put pressure on the national government. Before and during the Seoul Olympic Games, for example, opposition politicians, the church, students, and labor unions took advantage of the Olympic Games to further their interests in the political struggle that took place in South Korea (Lee 1988, Larson & Park 1993).

Displaying the superiority of national ideology through hosting the Olympic Games

The Olympic Games have been used to display the superiority of a certain ideology internationally. The Games in Berlin 1936 were the first Olympics to be arranged by state authorities. They were also the first to include elements which today are taken for granted as parts of the Olympic Games, such as the Olympic torch relay and a spectacular opening ceremony (Byrne 1987). The significance of the Berlin Olympics was extended far beyond sports, and presented as a proof of the superior performance of the Nazi ideology in general (Byrne 1987). During the Games' opening ceremony, German officials announced that Germany had become the civilizational center of the world, just as Greece had been during antiquity. Similarly, the Olympic Games in

Moscow 1980 were an attempt to show the success of state Marxism to the western world, and the Games in Los Angeles 1984 were a celebration of American capitalism (Hall 1992).

The Olympic Games are a useful tool for promoting political ideologies much because of their perceived neutrality and universality. The Olympics are claimed to be about games and sports rather than politics, and Olympism is assertedly *beyond* ideology (Killanin 1983, Hoberman 1995). When national ideology – whether Fascism, Communism or Capitalism – is tied to Olympism, which presumably has universal value, the gap between nationalism and universalism is bridged (Hoberman 1995). However, the linking of national ideology with Olympic universalism may also cause international disputes. Governments which have perceived Olympic host nations to promote an ideology they disagree with have boycotted the Games in protest. This is a threat to the IOC's legitimacy and finances, and the organization has become aware of the importance of keeping strict control over the symbolic aspects of the Olympics. At times, this has led to disputes between the IOC and the Olympic host nations. The latest example is the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics. President Bush wanted to use the opening ceremony as an occasion to commemorate the victims of the September 11 terrorist attack. When the IOC objected to what they perceived as a display of American nationalism, Bush responded that the American ideals are *universal* ideals: 'All people appreciate the discipline that produces excellence, the courage that overcomes difficult odds and the character that creates champions' (US Embassy 2002). The incidence shows the potential of the Olympics as a means to advertise national ideology as global.

THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

There are substantial methodological problems connected with measuring the economic impact of the Olympic Games, and studies which have attempted to do so show very disparate results (Hall 1992). Several of these studies have taken a narrow, econometric approach[1] (Roche 2000). The IOC has been criticized for encouraging unsound economic policies, such as the building of huge stadiums which become financial burdens after the Games. Consequently, they have recently taken initiatives to develop cost-benefit analysis which they claim can help prevent host cities from having unrealistic expectations about the financial benefits from the Games (IOC Conference on the social legacies of the Olympic Games, November 2002). Previous attempts to make such calculations have been criticized for not including many of the indirect costs of the Games. An example of one such factor is the extensive use of volunteers' labor,

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[1] A common way to conduct such studies is to calculate the multiplier effects of the additional income from exogenous input of resources in connection with the Games, and use the result to compare the costs and the benefits of hosting the Olympics (Roche 2000).

which may displace the volunteers from regular jobs of great social value, and have a negative impact on unionized labor (Lenskyj 2002). Nevertheless, the Games' presumed positive effect on economic development is what most bid cities cite as a main motivation for hosting the Olympics (Hiller 1998). This aspect of the Olympic Games has been approached from the perspectives of place marketing literature and literature about urban entrepreneurial strategies.

The Olympic Games in place marketing literature

Place marketing literature takes as its starting point that it is imperative for places to attract globally mobile resources in order to survive and prosper. On this basis, the literature has outlined how places can improve their competitiveness. The Olympic Games and other hallmark events[2] are portrayed as means to give places unique advantages in the global competition, and to enhance their position in the post-industrial economy. The literature provides a link between theories of global restructuring and the concrete actions of practitioners, such as bidding for the Olympic Games. Recently, such a perspective on urban economic development has gained influence among urban professionals and policy makers, in Asia as well as in the West (Jessop 1997). For example, Citynet — a network of local authorities of seventy Asian cities — states as its goal the privatization of public services and an 'acknowledgement of the effects of economic liberalization and globalization at local level and the needs for optimal benefits from these processes' (Citynet 2002). To cater to the interest of Asian policy makers, an Asian edition was published of 'Marketing Places', the most widely read textbook in place marketing, was published by a team of marketing- and communication analysts in 2002 (Kotler *et al.* 1993; 2002).

Beijing's successful bid for the Games is listed first in the presentation of successful examples of strategic place marketing in Asia presented in 'Marketing Asian Places' (Kotler *et al.* 2002). The book presents the Olympic games as essentially an economic event, and takes for granted that successfully staged Olympic Games bring economic prosperity. It also cites a report from the consultancy firm Goldman and Sachs which claimed that China's GDP would grow by an extra 0.3% annually if the 2008 Games were awarded to Beijing without mentioning that the veracity of these results have been questioned (Kamp 2001)

Global competition is described as a game in which all places can succeed if they do the right things in the place marketing literature: 'To win, places must respond to change rather than resist it; adapt to market forces rather than ignore them. [...] A place's condition is never

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[2] Hallmark events, also called 'mega-events', 'festivals' and 'spectacles', are large scale events that have some kind of social or cultural content and are of limited duration. The biggest international hallmark events are the world soccer cup, the world expositions (Expos) and the Olympic Games.

hopeless; all places have some actual or potential resources to exploit' (Kotler *et al.* 2002:408-409). The contest for the Olympics is also presented as open process in which the result depends on how good a city's marketing program is. Thus both Athen's failure to win the bid for the 1996 Games, Beijing's loss of its bid for the Games in 2000, and Beijing's success of its last bid were attributed to the quality of their place marketing (Kotler *et al.* 1993; 2002). In short, primacy is given to economic concerns, and the world is described as a meritocracy free of structural barriers.

The Olympic Games and urban entrepreneurialism

While 'Marketing Places' takes a nominally rational economistic approach to the Olympic Games, scholars in urban studies often consider the way the Olympic Games are related to larger political and economic contexts. Several of these studies combine a functionalist analysis[3] with political instrumentalism, and explore the importance of personal initiative, conflict and coalitions among members of the urban elite.

A number of studies have been done on bidding for and hosting the Olympic Games as an urban entrepreneurial strategy (e.g. Cochrane *et al.* 1996, Hebbert & Deas 2000, Hill 1994, Hiller 2000, Law 1994, Qilley 1999, Waitt 1999). The notion of 'urban entrepreneurialism' was created to capture the shifts in urban governance that took place in response to wider transformations in the global economy from the 1970s. (Hall & Hubbard 1998). Such policies involve running cities in a more businesslike manner, and setting up partnerships between the government and local businesses. Urban governments which pursue entrepreneurial strategies redefine their primary role from being a provider of welfare services to pursuing proactive strategies to secure competitive advantages over other places (Jessop 1997).

The interest in bidding for the Olympic Games as part of an entrepreneurial strategy has increased after the economic success of the 1984 Games in Los Angeles boosted the image of the Olympics as an engine for economic development (Ward 1998). Bidding for the Olympics has itself become a promotional act through which cities narrate and market their cities as entrepreneurial (Jessop & Sum 2000). A prolonged choice process for the Olympic host city can give publicity advantages also for the unsuccessful bid cities, and the bid may prepare the ground for new private-public partnerships and future entrepreneurial initiatives. Thus, a failed bid for the Olympics is not necessarily a failure as an entrepreneurial strategy. Most Olympic bids in the past two decades have been prepared by partnerships of private and public actors. These partnerships have had a *self*-image as growth-coalitions that promote private sector-driven

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[3] An approach to the world as a set of interdependent systems, in which the different parts are seen in relation to the role they play in maintaining the integrity of the system (Gregory 2000).

economic development, although grants from the central government often have played a central role in the bid process (Waitt 1999, Ward 1998).

There are variations in how, if at all, cities engage in entrepreneurial activities. So far, most studies of the Olympic Games as an entrepreneurial strategy have focused on the experiences of Western cities. Two bids that have received much academic attention were Manchester's bids for the 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games (Hiller 2000, Wilson 1996). Although these were presented by their organizers as a private sector-led effort, most of the money spent on the bid was in fact public, as was most of the investment it attracted. However, the talk about private-sector led growth was crucial to Manchester's success in using the bid to attract public grants from the conservative national government (Law 1994, Cochrane *et al.* 1996). The studies of Manchester's Olympic bids illustrate the importance of place-specific conditions, such as the personal ambitions of local political and business leaders and national level politics, to how Olympic bids are put forward. Yet, several studies make general claims based on the experience of cities such as Barcelona and Manchester (e.g. Rubalcaba-Bermejo & Cuadrado-Roura 1995:379, Law 1994:230). As the number of cities non-Western countries bidding for the Olympics is increasing, studies of the Olympic Games as an entrepreneurial strategy could usefully be supplemented with research from other parts of the world.

THE EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSION OF THE OLYMPICS

Hallmark events such as the Olympic Games offer people an extra-ordinary experience that breaks with the routine of everyday life. The two approaches to the experiential dimension of the Olympic Games outlined below differ in their evaluative judgment of the event, and in the room they allow for individual choice and negotiation of the Olympic experience.

The Olympic Games as false consciousness and 'simulacrum'

The notion of 'the society of the spectacle' was coined by the radical thinker Guy Debord, and made known through his book by the same name (Debord 1994, orig. 1967). 'The society of the spectacle' was inspired by Lefebvre's theories about the production of space and how the dominant social order is inscribed in conceptions of space (Gregory 1994). The political-economic system colonizes everyday life through architecture and planning, surveillance, and spectacles (Lefebvre 2001). The role of spectacle in this process is Debord's focus. His main argument is that under capitalism, capital is accumulated until it becomes an image: the spectacle. The spectacle conceals the class division on which the capitalist mode of production is based, and causes people to passively accept exploitation: 'The spectacle subjects living human

beings to its will to the extent that the economy has brought them under its sway' (Debord 1994:16). As the capitalist production system disseminates, so does the spectacularization that hides the contradictions of this system. The independence and unique qualities of places are thereby erased, and the world becomes a homogenized space.

The theory of the spectacular society became a touchstone for much subsequent work on hallmark events (Boyer 1992). Empirical investigations have challenged the contention that a deluded public uncritically adopt the hegemonic values when presented with spectacles (Ley & Olds 1988, Fensham 1994). These studies have asserted that while events such as the World Expositions and the Olympic Games can be used as tools by the elite to direct public attention in certain directions, their meanings are also subjected to negotiation and contestation by the public.

Debord retains a possibility for political intervention through revealing the social relations behind the images. Some post-modernists, on the other hand, argue that we have entered an era of infinite 'simulacrum', in which there is no underlying core to be revealed. Models are generated without origin or reality, and copies endlessly refer back to other copies. Spectacles become models for urban development devoid of civic values, and cities become 'variations on a theme park' (Sorkin 1992). This argument has been applied to the Olympic Games by researchers claiming that the images of the Olympic cities and images of the athletes' bodies are conflated as images of the Olympics are mediated by television and computers (Shurmer-Smith & Hannam 1994).

The Olympic Games as a creative cultural performance

As opposed to the critical view of the Olympics outlined above, some studies have portrayed the Olympic Games as first and foremost a cultural performance, which emerges from, and is assigned meaning to by, the general public (MacAloon 1984). The Games are presented as an occasion on which societies reflect upon themselves, dramatize their collective myths, and eventually change in some ways. The creative potential in the Games lies in the opportunity they create for spontaneous sociability, and a sense of equality among different members of a society, and in the heightened emotional or spiritual experience they provide. The anthropological concept of 'communitas' has been used to describe occasions where the usual hierarchical order of society and barriers between individuals temporarily give way to a sense of communion between equals (Byrne 1987). In the space of communitas, people remove the masks of the ordinary social world and become 'authentic individuals' — free from the restraints of social obligations. Opportunities are opened for voicing utopian ideals and hopes for a better future, and devising alternative paradigms of socio-cultural structure.

A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO PLACE AND MEANING

In this second part of the theory discussion, focus is put on how issues of place and meaning are studies from a constructivist perspective. This perspective is founded on the idea that truth is specific to the social context it is produced within, and the result of superior power rather than of superior understanding (Wilson 1998). Knowledge is produced through social processes which take place within specific contexts, not through the discovery of a pre-existent reality (Barnes 2000). In the following, I will consider how issues of place and meaning can be studied through a constructivist approach.

PLACES ARE CONSTRUCTED RELATIONALLY

A main point in constructivist research is that identities are constructed relationally. We identify ourselves against an 'Other', who is what we are not. The processes of assigning identities to ourselves and to others are therefore inextricably linked. The relational nature of identity creation is an important concern in Edward Saïd's 'Orientalism', in which he outlines how 'the Orient', or the East, is defined in relation to and opposition to the West (Saïd 1995, orig. 1978). Through the works of Western political theorists, anthropologists, artists, colonial administrators and philosophers, the Orient is described as timeless, feminine, despotic, savage and irrational. Conversely, the Occident is presented as modern, masculine, democratic, civilized and rational. The processes of place construction through binary oppositions — not the degree of correspondence of this construction with the 'real' places — is the object of constructivist research.

Analysis of the relational construction of places is informed by Jacques Derrida's concept on 'différance'. This concept implies that definitions do not rest on the entity that is defined, but on the positive and negative references made to other definitions (Rosenau 1992). The perceived essence or identity of a place can only be constructed vis-à-vis a different and deferred Other, and the attribution of meaning is therefore endlessly deferred. This view bears two important implications. First, an inter-textual analysis is required, as the postulations of differences and similarities take place across different bodies of texts and genres. Secondly, while pairs of opposites may be widely circulated and accepted as legitimate ways to categorize places, meanings are never entirely fixed (Doty 1996). This is what makes deconstruction, i.e. undermining the binary oppositions by revealing their underlying assumptions and contradictions, possible (Barnes 2000).

Research on how regions and places are constructed through binary oppositions has now been undertaken in many parts of the world. Many of these studies use Saïd's work as a point

of reference, but they do not necessarily bring up issues of colonialism or imperialism, and they have been carried out at different geographical scales. [4] Analysis of Vancouver's planning discourse, for example, examines different constructions of the city of Vancouver and how these visions form urban planning practices (Mitchell 1996, Lees & Demeritt 1998). Two images of Vancouver are identified — a 'Sin city'-motif of urban decay and a 'Sim city'-image of a livable and sustainable city. The 'Sin city' is described with reference to US inner city areas plagued by crime, environmental degradation and excessive individualism, whereas the 'Sim city' appeals to an image of the Canadian society as community-oriented, socially progressive and ethnically diverse.

THE POWER IN CONSTRUCTING PLACES

The construction of places is inextricably linked to issues of power and to material practices. This relationship between knowledge and power is the subject of the work of Michel Foucault, who argues that power has a productive nature — power produces knowledge, and by making something into an object of knowledge, one exerts power over it (Sandmo 1999). This has been drawn upon in research on constructions of places, such as in Saïd's 'Orientalism' (1995). The Orientalist construction of the East is argued to have made colonial rule possible and desirable. Orientalism is therefore neither a mere idea, nor simply a creation to rationalize colonialism and imperialism: 'Never has there been a non-material form of Orientalism, much less something so innocent as an "idea" of the Orient' (Saïd 1995:23). Constructing the Orient and ruling over it are therefore flipsides of the same coin.

Subsequent work on the relationship between the construction of places and the exercise of power has been influenced by two points of criticism raised against Saïd's 'Orientalism'. First, the Orientalist system of power-knowledge was more heterogeneous than Saïd depicted it, and the European and American writings on the Orient did not contain one, singular essence (Gare 1995). Secondly, Saïd is criticized for incorrectly assuming that the power over representations of the Orient lies entirely with the colonizer. The colonized are presented as passively accepting that the Orient is an inferior mirror image of the West (Gregory 1994). Diminishing and devaluing of the voices of opposition against Orientalism is argued to serve a conservative rather than a progressive purpose.

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[4] See for example analyses of the construction of world continents (Lewis & Wigen 1997), the Asia-Pacific (Wilson 2000), the Philippines (Doty 1996, Kelly 1997), Singapore (Chang 1997, Chang & Yeoh 1998), South Africa (Tuathail 1992, Durrheim & Dixon 2001), Turkey (Colignon 2003), and Europe and North America (Cassen 1995, Chen 1995, Song 2000).

The notion of 'floating signifiers' has been employed capture some of the variations in sources and usages of place identities (Doty 1996). This notion opens for different ascription of meanings to certain term or action depending on the context it occurs within (Neumann 2001). Ironically, the arguments made with reference to Saïd's 'Orientalism' in China are an example of such a re-appropriation of meaning. The Chinese debate about China's identity in the 1990 was to a large extent was cast in terms of binary oppositions between East and West. 'Orientalism' was used to restore a Chinese discourse of Western hegemonic imperialism, and interpreted in ways which supported reactionary nationalist rather than progressive forces within Chinese domestic politics (Zhang 1998). In other words, 'Orientalism', which was written with the intention of challenging the dominant powers in the West, was employed to consolidate the dominance of certain groups in China.

An example of a re-appropriation of the Orientalist discourse is the discussion of 'Asian values'. The economic success of the Asian 'dragons' and 'tigers' in the global economy in the 1980s and 1990s was explained by an Oriental culture characterized by efficiency and discipline (Ang 2001). 'Asian values' is to a large degree founded on stereotyped, Orientalist images of Asia originating in the West — that Asians privilege the communal good over the individual, measure people's worth in terms of how much they contribute to the society, are family- and consensus-oriented, etc. (Cassen 1995). Because of Asia's economic success, the 'otherness' of Asians could no longer simply be dismissed as 'backward', and by literature such as Samuel Huntington's 'The clash of civilizations' it was even depicted as a threat to Western powers (Ang 2001). Within Asia, Singaporean and Malaysian leaders began to employ the concept of 'Asian values' when defending the repression of unruly citizens, and human rights violations (Cassen 1995).

Analysis of Chinese constructions of the West has specifically attended to the ways in which constructions of places are diverse in their sources and can be appropriated for different political ends (Chen 1995). In Chinese 'official Occidentalism', the government essentializes the West in ways which serve to justify the restrictions of personal and political freedoms in China. In 'anti-official Occidentalism', on the other hand, the Western 'Other' is used as a metaphor for political liberation from domestic ideological oppression. The official and the anti-official constructions of the Occident are different, but overlapping. They are influenced by previous Chinese constructions of the Western Other, as well as by the Western construction of Asia and China (Chen 1995).

The studies of Vancouver referred to earlier discussed how the constructions of places at a national scale (the US/Canada) were used as points of reference in the debate about Vancouver's development. Commercial actors and the government defended the redevelopment of

Granville Street in downtown Vancouver by presenting it as becoming Americanized, by which they meant plagued by crime and sexual immorality. The anti-gentrification movement employed another images of the United States in their rhetoric, and argued that the redevelopment of the downtown would produce American-style inner-city destitution, as opposed to Canadian-style egalitarian city (Mitchell 1996, Lees & Demeritt 1998). Urban planning and policy interventions are understood and advanced through the representations of the city (Wilson 1998). Thus, there is power in the ways the images of the United States and Canada are constructed and related to Vancouver's present and future.

In my analysis, I will show how the bid material draws on traditional Orientalist-images, 'Asian values'-images, and different depictions of the West when constructing Beijing as an Olympic city. Present and future Beijing is constructed with reference to constructions of places at a higher geographical scale — the Orient and the Occident. Four points can be made about power and the construction of places from the above discussion of Orientalism, Asian values, Chinese Occidentalism and Vancouver as Sin city/Sim city. First, relations of oppression and resistance exist within, as well as between, places, and how places are constructed affect people differently. Secondly, the exercise of consent and coercion involves the production of identities, including place identities, and is carried out on the basis of previously constructed identities. Identities and social relations are not given previous to the exercise of power, but is part of what is at stake in it. Third, the constructions of places are plural, and divided in their sources as well as in their effects (Slater 1999). These constructions are (potential) terrains of contestation, never hegemonic or fixed. Different agents resist and redefine parts of dominant constructions of places for their own purposes, and thereby refigure power relations. Finally, when a construction is moved from one social context to another, it may take on new meanings and become inscribed in new personal and political projects. Texts must therefore always be analysed in relation to the social practices which they are part of.

TIME AND SPACE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACES

The construction of places is related to the construction of space and time. Places are positioned within space and time, and constructing places involves constructing certain understandings of space and time.

Throughout much of the Western cultural history, space and time were regarded as belonging to the *a priori* realm of consciousness, separated from the empirical sphere. Building on an Aristotelian tradition, Kant claimed time and space to be 'forms of intuition' through which human beings experience the world (Lefebvre 1991). Criticism against the Kantian notions of

time and space has been raised both on empirical and theoretical grounds. The empirically founded criticism is based on studies of how time and space vary between societies and develop historically. An essay-collection entitled 'Time and space in Chinese culture', for example, explores the notions of time and space that have prevailed in China at different times, and contrasts these with European notions (Huang & Zürcher 1995). These variations indicate that understandings of time and space are influenced by the social contexts they develop within, rather than existing as *a priori* forms of intuition.

Theoretical discussions about time and space within the social sciences have been influenced by Henri Lefebvre's contention that space is socially produced (Lefebvre 1991). Like Foucault, Lefebvre links power and knowledge, stating that certain knowledges of space are means through which the ruling class temporarily maintains its hegemony (Lefebvre 1991:11). Both the material organization of space, and the way in which it is represented and experienced, are connected to the prevailing modes of economic production. The idea of time-space relations as constitutive features of the social system are further developed through, for example, David Harvey's concept of 'time-space compression' and Anthony Giddens' notion of 'time-space distanciation' (Harvey 1989, Lash & Urry 1992). Lefebvre, Harvey and Giddens point out the need to analyze time and space together, without privileging either term, and to see material and symbolic space as interconnected (Gregory 2000).

Studies have explored issues such as how the temporal narratives of power interface with spatialities of power, how a place is defined through representations of histories and futures, and how groups employ different conceptions of geographical scales to promote different images of the future of a place (Radcliffe 1999, Kwok *et al.* 1999, Kelly 1997). Colonialism is an example of the interconnectedness between the constructions of place, time and space. Producing knowledge about time and space was part of the philosophical and imaginative processes at work which make the colonization of space desirable and possible. The space beyond the boundaries of the West was conceived of as rich and fecund, but untamed, and in the need for being cultivated and guarded. The Orient was constructed as timeless, as a space which has 'not been subject to the ordinary process of history' (Saïd 1995:230), as opposed to a West progressing through 'orderly march from past to modern times '(Saïd 1995:303). Europe has made sense of itself through a geography and a history which dramatize 'the distance and difference between what is close and what is far away' (Saïd 1995:55).

GEOGRAPHICAL SCALES AS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Certain representations of different geographical scales were important to how Beijing depicted itself as an Olympic city. Two developments have contributed to making the notion of geographical scale a focus of theorization. The 1970s and 1980s were times of intensive geographical restructuring. Production was reorganized across space, the nation state was 'hollowed out', and decision-making power was transferred to supra-national political organizations, and local governments (Stokke 1998). These changes forced researchers to rethink the scalar categories they had previously used to analyze social phenomena, and thus created a need to give theoretical attention to the concept of scale. Secondly, scalar issues were brought in as a topic in the social sciences was the rise of Marxist theory in the 1980s. Researchers concerned with spatial differences produced under the capitalist system explored issues of scale within the frameworks of regulation theory, theory of uneven development and neo-Gramscian state theory (Brenner 2000). Studying scale involves examining the concrete ways in which the spatial extents of specific social claims, activities, or behaviour are constructed through linguistic and material practices. As scale has come to be seen as a way of framing conceptions of reality, research undertaken from a constructivist perspective has increasingly supplemented structuralist studies of scalar relations (Coe & Kelly 2002, Delaney & Leitner 1997, Gibson-Graham 1996, Kelly 1997; 1999, Swyngedouw 1997).

Lefebvre's notion of space as a social product implies that the traditional notion of geographical scales as ontologically given hierarchies of bounded spaces must be rejected (Lefebvre 1991). Instead of perceiving geographical scale as natural or given, researchers began to treat it as the outcome of spatially and historically specific social processes. This has several implications for how research is carried out.

First, research focus must be put on the concrete ways in which meanings are assigned to different scales, and these creations of meanings are related to material practices. Second, no scale can be taken as a self-evident level for explanation as scale is a way of organizing and understanding the social reality, rather than an essential quality of that reality (Jones 1997).

Third, the framings of scales, like all social processes, are related to power issues. Assigning scales to social phenomena is done within socio-spatial power relations, which are reinforced or transformed in the process. On the one hand, scale is what is at stake in social struggle for power. On the other hand, it is the backdrop against which such struggles take place. Power can be gained by organizing across space, and approaching a scale that is relatively open when another is relatively closed. When a group is faced with limited ability to act at one spatial scale, they can choose to work at a different scale where they have more opportunities to get

their claims through (Smith 2000). Kelly's (1997) study in the Philippines, for instance, traces how workers' rights-policies are legitimated through a discourse of globalization, and how groups opposed these policies by challenging the scalar discourse they were based on. It follows from the constructions of scales being related to power that scales are contested and always in the process of being reworked and reformed (Jones 1997).

COMPLEMENTARY OR CONTRADICTORY PERSPECTIVES?

Arguing the superiority of a relativist standpoint would be self-contradictory. It is therefore untenable to maintain that social constructivism is *the best* approach to the Olympic Games. It is also impossible to reconcile the approaches previously used in Olympic research and with a constructivist perspective with goal is to find *a single best way* to understand the Olympics as a social phenomenon because their epistemological foundations differ. Yet, research undertaken with a constructivist perspective can benefit from being informed by other kinds of research on the Olympic Games.

The studies of the international relations dimension of the Olympic Games point out that nations are is on display during the Olympic Games. The studies address the intentional manipulation of images that takes place in connection with the Olympics in order to gain international recognition, and the institutional arrangements within which these images are forwarded. Studies of the Olympics as an entrepreneurial strategy have shown that the Games can be used instrumentally for economic purposes. The city's presentation of the Olympic project is crucial its ability to use the Games as a means to get grants and to build an image which helps it attract investment and visitors. Points brought up in studies of the international relations-perspective and the economic perspective of the Olympics which analyze the intentional creation of place images can inform constructivist research. However, constructivist research will keep a broader focus than just on the *intentional* assigning of meanings to places. Moreover, while Olympic research largely has concentrated on actors and their intentions, the focus of constructivist analysis is *how* certain images are constructed, not *why* or *by whom*.

When commenting on the experiential dimension of spectacles, Debord stressed that culture and politics are inseparable, and that power is exercised through representation. While constructivists share this view, they refute that there is a universal cause — whether Capitalism or something else — driving representations. The Marxist idea of 'false consciousness' is also rejected in social constructivist research, which maintains that all truths and facts are specific to discourses. While Debord claim that representations stage or colonize social life, they *are* social life according to a constructivist view. The writings on the Olympic Games as a creative cul-

tural performance maintain that the meanings generated in connection with the Olympic Games come from various sources. Similarly, constructivist research is founded on the belief that no single group has absolute power over how a phenomenon is represented. However, the notion of authenticity and the absence of power as an issue in the research of the Olympics as performance conflict with a constructivist perspective.

The research done with political, economic and experiential perspectives on the Olympic Games argue and demonstrate in different ways that the Olympics is an event of great social significance. In chapter 3, I propose fruitfulness as a criterion for evaluation of constructivist research. Research carried out with other approaches can point how specific discourses carry particular social consequences or are institutionally embedded in certain ways, and can help defining a fruitful focus for a discourse analytical research project. Next, I will discuss how I approach Beijing's Olympic bid through discourse analysis.

❸ | Approaching Olympic Beijing as a social construction

This chapter provides a tree-part discussion of different aspects related to the approach I will take to Beijing's Olympic bid in this thesis. I start with a general discussion of discourse analysis as methodology. After presenting a possible epistemological starting point from which discourse analysis can be carried out, I give an account of how I understand the concepts of discourse, intertextuality and embeddedness, why and how fieldwork and discourse analysis can be combined, by which criteria the analysis can be evaluated. The second part of this chapter is a description of how I carried out my fieldwork and conducted interviews, and describes the sources from which I selected the texts I analyze in this thesis. Finally, I present a model of three frames of reference for social scientific discourse analysis. I use this model to structure a discussion of how I selected, managed and analyzed the texts, how the texts were produced, distributed and consumed, and how the IOC was part of the social context within which Beijing was constructed as an Olympic city.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS METHODOLOGY

Finding a ground from which to argue the superiority of a constructivist approach is impossible. Yet, discourse analysis must be carried out based on certain assumptions about how knowledge can be acquired. The philosopher and novelist Albert Camus' writings on knowledge can serve as an epistemological starting point for discourse analysis. The Greek myth of Sisyphus provides a starting point for Camus' discussion of the impossibility of acquiring certain and unified knowledge about the world (2000, orig. 1942). The gods punish Sisyphus, the king of Corinth, for his misdeeds by making him eternally roll a stone up a mountain. Every time he reaches the top, the stone is bound to fall back down. Camus compares Sisyphus' endless and futile work with the human strive for certain knowledge about the world. He describes the relationship between man who strives for clear and definite knowledge, and the world which does not offer the possibility for such knowledge, as absurd. To express the limited possibilities for knowledge, Camus draws on Aristotle's argument of thought reflecting itself as necessarily creating contradictions: 'This world I can touch, and likewise judge that it

exists. There ends all my knowledge, and the rest is construction. For if I try to seize this self of which I feel sure, if I try to define and summarize it, it is nothing but water slipping through my fingers' (Camus 2000:24).

The main question raised in *The Myth of Sisyphus* is which consequences should be drawn from the awareness of this absurd relationship between a human being who craves knowledge and a world that cannot offer this. The only answer offered is that one must continue to struggle for knowledge while being conscious of the futile nature of this activity, like Sisyphus who keeps rolling his stone. Similar arguments have been made concerning the ambitions for discourse analytical research. A person is always internal to a world of signifying practices and objects, and therefore unable to conceptualize the world from an extra-discursive perspective (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). The knowledge produced through discourse analytical research will therefore always be uncertain and contestable. This does not mean that knowledge produced through discourse analysis is without social consequence. Although this knowledge is never irrefutable and final, people may feel that it helps them understand the world here and now. We act according to how we know the world, and through changing this knowledge, discourse analysis may alter the ways we act and is therefore an activity of potentially great consequence. Discourse theory proposes a method for carrying out social research without denying the uncertain, contingent and temporary nature of the knowledge produced. In the following I give an overview of discourse analysis as methodology.

WHAT IS DISCOURSE?

Discourses are collections of interconnected ideas and concepts which give meaning to the physical and social world. They are produced, reproduced and transformed through action, including, but not confined to, speech and writing. Michel Foucault, whose work has been an important point of reference in discourse analysis, has defined discourses as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, quoted in Doty 1996:19). Our knowledge about the world is produced through discourse, thus discourses 'form the objects of which they speak'. The word 'systematically' indicates that the signifying elements available in a discursive field tend to be articulated together in certain ways (Howarth *et al.* 2000). Put differently, there is a remarkable repetitiveness to what is said and how it is said about a topic. The unity of a discourse consists in this regularity in the representation in different texts, not in the unity of the object these texts refer to. 'Practices' refers to speech and writing, as well as other acts. All practices have a discursive aspect because they entail meaning and because meanings shape and influence what we do (Præsttun 2001).

Discourses fix meaning by excluding alternative meanings. While such fixation narrows down the ranges of meanings uttered through text, it is also a necessary precondition for communication and the production of knowledge (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This assertion is founded on the notion of 'différance' discussed in chapter 2. Discourses are viewed as systems of differences, in which each sign (for example a word or an expression) derives its meaning from how it is related to other signs. However, meaning is never but partially fixed and the space for textual innovation and play is boundless. The relations between signs are constantly in flux, as signs can be combined is a virtually infinite number of ways (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

The ways particular meanings and identities are partially fixed and regarded as true is related to power issues. The relationship between power and language is recursive rather than unidirectional. Writing and speaking are forms of social practice. Such discursive events are not only shaped by the social processes and relationships they take place within, but also shape these by the way they create meaning (Hastings 1999). Discourse analysis within the social sciences does not focus on language alone, but also on the institutional embeddedness of discourse and the social practices to which texts are inextricably linked (Doty 1996). The consequences of fixing meanings in certain ways vary greatly. For example, the discourse of apartheid had more serious effects than the discourse of the superiority of a certain soccer club. There are therefore different degrees of interests are at stake in the production and maintenance of discourse (Neumann 2001).

Discourses are not naturally delimited, and researchers must delimit them strategically for the purpose of their study. The chosen scope of the research topic influences the degree of detail and the depth of the analysis. Through the definition of the research focus, the world is made to appear in a certain way. However, there are some regularities in the ways in which relations between different discursive elements are presented, and some representations are to a greater extent materially and institutionally embedded than others. Background knowledge of the field of research therefore helps in choosing and delimiting the discourses for analysis.

In this thesis, I will treat the texts about Beijing's Olympic bid published in the Chinese English-language press and by the Beijing Olympic Bid Committee (Bobico) *as one discourse*. The similar force of the texts is the main reason for this definition of research focus. The texts have in common that they present Beijing as a suitable candidate for the Olympic games, i.e. an Olympic city. As will be discussed later, the sources from which I obtained the texts are all in different ways closely associated with the Chinese government. As all discourses, the discourse of Beijing as an Olympic city contains internal variations and contradictions which will be discussed in the analysis.

| SENDER | —Encoding→ | TEXT | —Decoding→ | RECEIVER |

Figure 1. Transmission model of communication

Source: Pickles 1992:195

INTERTEXTUALITY

Texts are not made sense of in isolation, but through the way they reactualize other texts. Statements are understood in relation or opposition to other groups of utterances (Mills 1997). The notion of 'intertextuality', coined the literary theorist Julia Kristeva, points to the consequential and conditional nature of texts — 'history is inserted into text, and text is inserted into history' (Fairclough 1992:102, quoting Kristeva). 'Inserting history into text' refers to the way texts are produced and interpreted in the light of previously written texts. 'Text is inserted into history' means that when texts re-accentuate and rework past texts, they contribute to wider processes of change and influence the basis on which subsequent texts are made. Texts therefore have a productive potential — they can transform prior texts by giving them a new context, and restructure existing conventions and worldviews (Fairclough 1992).

The concept of intertextuality implies that a text must be studied in relation to the previous and synchronic texts from which it draws its discursive resources. External references are given equal weighting to internal ones, and the idea of a text as a discrete and bounded entity is abandoned. This calls into question the usefulness of a transmission model of communication, which depicts communication as a linear act of transporting meaning from one person to another (Figure 1).

The transmission model abstracts the text, and the processes of text production and interpretation, from their broader textual and social contexts. The model is therefore incommensurable with discourse analysis, which treats meanings as actively constructed by the makers and receivers of a text within a certain social, textual and situational context.

The importance of the intertextual context to how a text is understood can be illustrated with the following article taken from China Daily, an Chinese English-language newspaper:

> Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue yesterday refuted the British Parliament's criticism of China's human rights situation and its attempts to use human rights to upset China's bid for the 2008 Olympic games. [...] 'Any action that discriminates or obstructs Beijing's bid to hold the Olympic games is not compatible with the Olympic spirit and will go nowhere' [Zhang said].
>
> (CD 01.12.00)

The texts may be interpreted in light of texts arguing that the Olympic Games and political issues are unrelated, discussions of Western imperialism, Chinese interpretations of why Beijing lost its bid for the 2000 Olympic Games, or descriptions of human rights abuses in China. The way the article is understood depends on the context it is read in light of. Chinese human rights activists may interpret the text as a warning, knowing that the Chinese government has communicated what they see as unacceptable behavior through newspapers before, and that people have been arrested for urging the IOC to use Beijing's bid to put pressure on the Chinese government in human rights issues (SCMP 19.01.01). Other Chinese readers, weary of how foreign criticism may have contributed to China's loss of the 2000 Olympic bid, may see the article as a report of yet another attempt by Western governments to 'contain China'. Some Western readers may dismiss the article entirely as propaganda which proves how oppressed the Chinese are.

Just as there is a tendency for certain elements to be articulated together in a discourse, there is often some repetitiveness in the making of intertextual connection. To explain why some intertextual connections and not others repeatedly are made, the theory of intertextuality must be combined with a theory of power (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999).

The implication of the concept of intertextuality for my analysis is that the texts cannot be analyzed in isolation. I will explore how statements about Beijing as an Olympic city are made in relation or opposition to other groups of utterances. The discourse about Beijing as an Olympic city interconnects with other discourses, both Chinese and non-Chinese. Therefore, the discourse of Beijing as an Olympic city cannot be considered exclusively Chinese in either origin or content.

DISCOURSES ARE MATERIALLY AND INSTITUTIONALLY EMBEDDED

Discourses are not free-floating constructions, but materially and institutionally embedded. Discourse analysis is a method for analyzing the linguistic and the material together (Neumann 2000). Material and institutional embeddedness also give actors different opportunities to influence on a discourse. Entry into discourse is linked to issues of authority and legitimacy. Some people are entitled to speak in fora which others have limited access to, and authority and legitimacy is assigned to people's opinions depending on their social position.

In chapter 2, I discussed the interconnectedness between linguistic and material practices with reference to ways the Orientalist representations of the Orient and colonial practices were mutually constituted (Saïd 1995). The discourse of Olympism provides another example of the interconnectedness between the textual, the material and the institutional. Most people would agree to the Olympic ideals did not exist prior to human beings, but are the result of certain people's creativity and imagination. Yet, billions of people are interested in the results of Olympic competitions, the intellectual property rights to the Olympic symbol are worth enormous amounts of money, the International Olympic Committee is an internationally influential institution, and cities alter their physical environment dramatically in order to host the Olympic Games. The Olympic Charter and other documents outlining what Olympism is must be analyzed in relation to this material and institutional context (IOC 2002a). Discourse are resistant to change because of their embeddedness. It is possible to imagine a world in which the Olympics did not exist, yet the Olympics cannot disappear overnight simply by being 'unthought' because of their material and institutional embeddedness.

FIELDWORK AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

A central claim within discourse theory is that the knowledges discourses provide always are partial and situated (Gregory 2000). This assertion builds upon the work of feminists and post-colonial theorists, who have argued that all knowledges are products of the specific social and historical conditions and power constellations they are made within (Saïd 1995, Haraway 1996). The concept of 'situated knowledges' is founded on such critique raised against the positivist project of 'grand theory'-building. Researchers who claim to be objective cover up the fact that they protect certain interests by preserving a certain kinds of knowledge. Instead, researchers should recognize that all knowledge is embodied and partial (Haraway 1996).

The concept of situated knowledge has consequences for how discourse analytical research should be carried out and evaluated. Researchers must recognize the contestable and incomplete nature of their analysis, and keep it open for critical engagement. The analysts should reflect on and communicate how their own knowledge is situated. However, no one can claim to fully situate his or her own knowledge. The self and the context are not transparently understandable to the researcher, and demanding that they are would involve making a claim to analytical certainty, which is precisely what feminists have criticized in advocating the concept of 'situated knowledges' (Rose 1997:318).

Fieldwork has a place in discourse analytical research because it is a way to re-situate one's knowledge. When conducting discourse analysis, one uses the competence one has acquired

through all kinds of social interaction, but does so more systematically and consciously than in everyday situations (Fairclough 1995). Our worldviews and understandings are necessarily partial and parochial. Some of the limits of our visions and interpretations can be exposed through traveling, obtaining different experiences, and engaging in conversation with others.

The texts I analyze are produced within a society which is very different from my own. Conducting fieldwork helped me work towards the goal of situating my own knowledge, and gave me the opportunity to encounter interpretations informed by other kinds of knowledges. Obviously, I am still oblivious to many of the ways in which Chinese readers understand the texts. My interpretations of the texts are influenced by the fact that my worldview is quite similar to those of many of the intended readers of the texts (i.e. Westerners), and relatively different from that of the text producers.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

As indicated by the discussion above of the possibilities for obtaining definite knowledge, the positivist notion of 'reliability' is rejected as a standard for evaluating the quality of discourse analytical research. This raises questions of how the quality of such studies should be assessed. Discussions have taken place within the social sciences in general about the shortfalls of the positivist criteria for evaluation of social research, and alternative strategies for evaluation have been formulated (see Seale 1999 for a summary of these debates). The criteria for evaluation of discourse analytical research presented below are informed by these debates.

The etymological root of 'validity' — 'valere', the Latin word for strong (Collins Dictionary 1991) — is useful as a starting point for the discussion about quality assessment in discourse analysis. What constitutes strong discourse analytical research cannot be formulated as a set of rules. Yet the criteria for evaluation must be specific enough to provide guidance in concrete research. The philosophical problem of finding a reliable foundation for knowledge is kept open in discourse analysis. These quality criteria must remain unsettled and continually debated. The criteria outlined below gives a possible yardstick for evaluating discourse analytical research, while not denying that the truth and falsity of all research is relative to the logic of the theories used (based on Howarth *et al.* 1997, Rubin & Rubin 1995, Seale 1999, Taylor 2001, Tonkiss 1998, Wood & Kroger 2000):

Pursue transparency.   This relates to the reader's opportunities to assess the study's biases, strengths and weaknesses. Transparency gives the research more credibility and gives the reader an opportunity to judge how the interpretations in the study can be applied in areas other than those discussed. Pursuing transparency involves making the texts and transcripts of

interviews that are analyzed available, and keeping a record of how the data is collected, organized, and selected for further analysis. To make a study transparent, one must also as far as possible be open about the sources and the theoretical perspectives informing the analysis.

Adopt a reflexive approach.   The aim of adopting a reflexive approach is to discuss how the researcher's position has bearing on the results, not to eliminate the influence of the researcher. The researcher must reflect on how her knowledge is positioned and how this affects how the research project is defined and the resulting analysis (Tonkiss 1998). This involves critically examining how one's assumptions, theoretical perspectives, the way data is collected and selected, and how the presence in the fieldwork situation influences the research. This information should as far as possible be communicated to the reader.

Explore inconsistencies, search for alternative interpretations, and revise claims. Discourse analysis involves making claims about regularities in what is said about a topic, and discussing reasons for, and implications of, the repetition of certain claims. When interpretations are made and patterns described, one must look for indications that one's original interpretation are wrong, and search for cases that deviate from one's expectations. Inconsistencies and diversity should be included in the analysis. Previously published work can help the researcher notice new features and alternative interpretations. Another way of opening one's analysis for revision and bringing in new perspectives, is to give it to members of the discursive community to read and comment upon.

Argue clearly and cohesively.   Strong research consists of internally consistent and well-argued interpretations. This gives the reader a clear picture of how and why certain claims put forward and conclusions are drawn.

Aim at fruitfulness.   While discourse analysts do not believe in cumulative knowledge about the social world, all discourse analytical studies are not equally interesting and worthwhile. By deconstructing worldviews, discourse analysts aim at displaying their arbitrariness and dependence on certain assumptions, and thereby open them to contestation. This can affect how people act. For example, the type of remedies introduced against poverty in a rural area depends on whether one regards the distress as a result of a harsh climate, laziness of the farmers, or over-dependence on exports. Discourse analytical work can be fruitful through yielding a sense of insight, directing attention to features usually unnoticed, putting a topic in a new perspective, creating links between topics previously seen as unrelated, raising new questions, or providing new arguments to support existing knowledge. Knowledge of previously published work and interpretations made by others of the topics one is researching make studies more fruitful.

Be ethically conscious.   Discourse analysts have the same ethical obligations as other researchers. Care should be taken to not cause harm to those being studied, and the researcher should be open about the intended use of the information given and state that participation is voluntary. The practical implications of agreeing to these principles, however, are often unclear, especially when doing fieldwork in a different culture. 'Harm' can be understood in many different ways. The researcher does not always know what will cause harm, and those unfamiliar with Western research traditions cannot understand the full implications of their participation.

I have aimed at being guided by the above criteria during the research process, and I suggest that the performance and presentation of my research is evaluated according to them. The principles are set up as aims to struggle towards rather than qualities to be fully achieved, as the research always can be made more transparent and clearly presented, the researcher can be more conscious about how her work is influenced by her position, etc. What I found the most difficult during the research process was to make proper ethical judgments. During my fieldwork in Beijing I experienced my double status as a student on fieldwork and a language student as problematic, especially because most people identified me with the latter. I discussed many aspects of the Chinese society, including the Olympics, with people I met, many of whom were not informed about my research project. When I got to know people and spent more time talking with them, I made sure to inform them about my research project and that I might use what they said in the project. People I interviewed were of course also told how I intended to use the interviews. None of the interviewees were promised anonymity because they may be identifiable by their positions, which I refer to in the analysis. Some of them said on their own initiative that they did not mind being referred to by name. However, they have had no control over how I have ended up using their information. For the sake of keeping the interviewees anonymous as far as it is possible, I have also chosen not to make the interview transcripts available, although this would contributed to greater transparency in my analysis. A closer discussion of the concrete ways in which I collected and organized the material for analysis follows in the next section.

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEWS AND TEXTS

 I conducted fieldwork in Beijing between June 2001 and February 2002 while I was a student of Chinese at Beijing Normal University. The aim of the fieldwork was to collect texts for analysis and learn more about the immediate context around their production and the broader

social context within which the Olympic bid was made. I kept a broad focus when exploring the social context within which the bid was made, and made an effort to speak to people from a variety of backgrounds about the bid, to touch upon a diverse range of topics, and to attend different types of events related to the bid as part of my fieldwork.

The texts I analyzed were drawn mainly from the following sources (the abbreviations used for these sources and the numbers of articles collected from them are given in brackets):

- **People's Daily, English Internet edition** (PD). People's Daily is the main information channel of the Chinese Communist Party. It contains many types of news, but focuses especially on dispatching policy information and resolutions of the Chinese government. The website of People's Daily has published news in English since 1998. These include translations of the major news releases of the Chinese edition, as well as translations of government resolutions and policy papers. (40 articles).

- **China Daily, Internet and paper editions** (CD). *China Daily* is China's main daily English-language newspaper. It follows the *People's Daily* closely in its editorial policy. (72 electronic articles, around 30 articles from the paper edition).

- **Xinhua News Agency, English Internet edition.** *Xinhua* is China's state news agency, and the largest information and newsgathering and release centre in the country. Some of the articles published in English are translated, others are written in English originally by Xinhua's journalists. (30 articles).

- **The Beijing Olympic Bid Committee (Bobico) website.** The website was created to promote Beijing's bid in China and abroad. IOC regulations, which prohibit most types of international advertising of the bid, made the website an important information channel for Bobico. In addition to texts written by their own staff, the website published articles that originally were posted by Xinhua, China Daily or other news sources. (89 articles).

- **Information and promotional material produced and distributed by Bobico.** Bobico produced a variety of brochures and other material to promote its bid. Much of this was distributed to journalists, people connected with the Olympic movement and others through Bobico's headquarter at the Xinqiao Hotel, from where I collected some of it.

- **Beijing's Candidature File to the IOC** (CF). The Candidature File is a presentation of Beijing's bid distributed to all IOC members. It has become one of the most important opportunities for candidates to present their bids after individual visits to candidate cities were banned. This 600-page document is written according to a manual provided by the IOC, and covers a variety of aspects related to the Olympic bid.

- **Transcripts from Beijing's presentation at the IOC session in Moscow, July 12, 2001.**
  IOC members attended this presentation of Beijing's candidature on the day before they se-
  lected the Olympic host city. The transcripts are made from a video recording of the session
  kept at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.

I also collected nearly one hundred articles about the Olympic bid process from the Hong
Kong newspaper South China Morning Post (SCMP). The journalistic style of South China
Morning Post is closer to that of European newspapers than that of mainland Chinese news-
papers, but the newspaper also published letters from mainland Chinese government officials
concerning the bid. SCMP monitored the coverage of Beijing's Olympic bid both in the Chinese
and the Western press, which helped me follow the debates surrounding the bid.

In order to pursue transparency, I have included a list of the texts on which my analysis is
based, and indicated which of them are available on the Internet (as of May 2003) in the ap-
pendix. Copies of five of the articles in full-text are also included in order to give the reader a
better idea of Chinese newspaper articles as a genre. The material I analyze in this thesis is
written in English, and primarily published for a foreign audience. When I use expressions
such as 'Chinese newspaper articles' in my analysis, I refer to the articles I have analyzed, and
claims I make are not applicable to texts from Chinese-language newspapers. I will use 'the bid
material' as a shorthand expression for all of the material I have analyzed, produced both by
Bobico and Chinese media institutions.

During my fieldwork, I conducted interviews with the following people:

- Two representatives from the Beijing Olympic Bid Committee (Bobico)
- Two journalists who covered the Olympic bid in Chinese English-language newspapers
- Two researchers involved in environmental work connected with the Olympic bid
- Two researchers who worked with issues of environmental awareness in China
- A foreigner working on human rights issues in China

All the interviews were carried out in English, except those with the representatives from Bo-
bico, which were undertaken in Chinese by a Chinese assistant while I was present. I made a
summary of the first of these with the help of the assistant. The other interview with a Bobico
representative was recorded, and transcribed in Chinese by an assistant. When I use direct
quotations from this interview in the analysis, I refer to my own translation of this transcrip-
tion. I recorded and transcribed the interviews with the journalists in full, while I only took
notes from the remaining interviews.

I discussed the differences in language and content of Chinese and Western newspaper articles with two Chinese students and a Chinese journalist with whom I did not conduct structured interviews. The articles about the Olympic bid were used as starting points for these discussions. This helped me understand the context around the production of the texts, and gave me more information about how they are interpreted by a Chinese audience. Equally important, I was prompted to explain my own interpretations during these discussions, which made me more conscious of how my own knowledge is situated and helped me to adapt a more reflexive approach.

The fieldwork gave me an opportunity to discuss the Olympic bid with Chinese people through everyday situations. Such discussions were easy to initiate because many people were interested in the topics and assumed me to be interested as well. During my stay, I talked to people with a wide range of opinions about Beijing's Olympic bid, from extremely enthusiastic supporters, to people who passionately opposed the bid, or were indifferent to the project because they felt that it would not change their own situation. These discussions, although constrained by my limited knowledge of Chinese, gave me some idea of the diversity of opinions that exist about the Games among people in Beijing. I also attended several Olympic-related events during my stay in Beijing, such as the gathering on Tiananmen Square when the announcement of the 2008 host city was made, a conference at the German Chamber of Commerce for potential contractors for Olympic projects, and an Olympic sculpture exhibition. I also visited the Beijing Olympic Bid Committee's headquarter at Xinqiao Hotel, which was taken over by the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games after they won the bid.

The Olympic movement had great influence over how Beijing was presented as an Olympic city. To learn more about this part of the social context Beijing's Olympic bid was put forward within, I attended an IOC conference about the social legacies of the Olympic Games at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, November 2002. The conference was also an opportunity to discuss the Olympic Games with others who were interested in the topic from a social science perspective, gather material for analysis, and speak with the representatives from the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games who were attending the conference.

THREE FRAMES OF REFERENCE FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is a method for studying texts and social context together. Norman Fairclough identifies two pitfalls social scientific discourse analysis should avoid falling into. The first is that of exaggerating the extent to which people are manipulated by power and constrained by structures. Foucault has been criticized for making this error by not paying enough
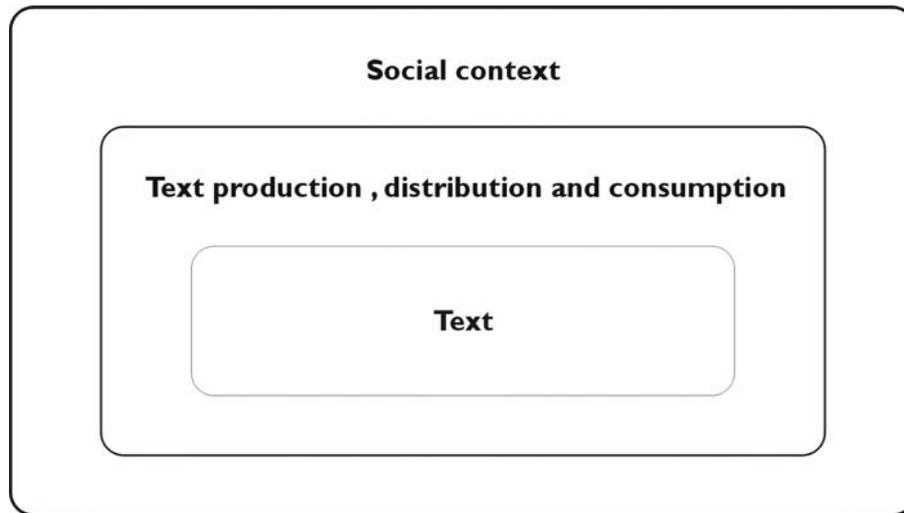
Figure 2. Three frames of reference for social scientific discourse analysis.
Based on Fairclough 1995:73.

attention to diversity in the discourse, resistance and discursive change. Fairclough attributes this problem to the absence of concrete analysis of practice, i.e. real instances of spoken and written text, in Foucault's work (Fairclough 1992). A second danger is to analyze texts and intertextuality divorced from the rest of the social world. To capture the dialectic relationship between texts and other elements of social practice, Fairclough proposes that social scientific discourse analysis should be undertaken with three frames of reference (Figure 2).

To carry out social scientific discourse analysis, the researcher must draw on different analytical traditions — linguistic and literary theory in analyzing the texts, microsociological analysis of how individuals act on the background of and negotiate shared commonsense procedures when concentrating on the middle level in the diagram, and a macrosociological theory in the discussion of the social context. Although the researcher should acknowledge the significance of all the three dimensions in the model, and their interrelatedness and overlapping nature, it is often unachievable or undesirable to go equally in depth about all three dimensions. The researcher's qualifications, the aim of the research project, and the access to information influence how the research focus is defined (Fairclough 1995). In the rest of this chapter, I use the above model to structure my discussion of some general features of the discourse of Beijing as an Olympic city, and how I approach this discourse.

TEXTUAL FEATURES

Below, I present how I selected and organized the texts for analysis, and the concepts I used when working with the texts.

Selection of texts for analysis

The texts I selected for analysis were produced between the August 2000 and July 13. 2001, when Beijing was chosen as the 2008 Olympic host city. Newspaper articles about the bid were published throughout this period, and particularly around the times when Beijing handed in the Olympic Candidature File to the IOC (mid-January 2001), the IOC evaluation commission visited Beijing (late February 2001), and shortly before the Olympic host city was selected. The amount of material published on the Olympic bid, both in the Chinese media and by Bobico, was enormous. Collecting all such texts was therefore unfeasible. Instead, I aimed at collecting material from a range of different sources and times. In my analysis, I gave special attention to Beijing's Olympic Candidature File and Beijing's presentation at the IOC assembly at which the Olympic host city was selected, which both were central in the process of selecting the Olympic host city. The newspaper articles written by the journalists I interviewed were also subjected to particular close readings because I had the opportunity to discuss them with their authors.

Data management

My dataset is large and heterogeneous. It consists of more than 350 documents, including interview transcriptions, material from Bobico, Chinese newspaper articles, and articles from the foreign press. I used *NVivo*, a computer program for qualitative research, to manage this material. Computer-assisted analysis in general has been critisized for being incompatible with discourse analytical research (Seale 1999, Wood & Kroger 2000). When the software is used for textual management and simple searches, however, much of this critique is misplaced (Kelle 1997).

I systematized my data by coding it according to several different principles, such as topics (eg. 'Chineseness' or 'development'), on *in vivo* expressions (eg. 'fair play' and 'modern'), or on style of writing or speaking (eg. ambiguous marking of quotations, and hesitation). I changed and added to these codes as my analysis took new turns. I also used *NVivo* to retrieve passages where certain expressions occurred. The speed at which I could retrieve texts by using a computer program made it easier to check and revise my interpretations. The electronic texts were supplemented with paper printouts for intensive analysis.

Concepts used in working with the texts

The table below contains 'sensitizing concepts' which I used in my analysis of the texts. They enabled me to look at the texts in new ways, and pointed to reasons why the texts came across to me in certain ways, for example as 'strange' or convincing. Identifying different linguistic qualities of the text is not a goal in itself. In order to be useful to the analysis, such identifica-

tion must always be accompanied by the question 'with what effect?'. For example, the use of a passive verb form can serve to hide who undertakes the action (e.g. 'he was killed in the riots' vs. 'the policeman killed him'), silences can prevent the reader from getting certain associations when reading the text (e.g. leaving out information about the personal characteristics of civilians killed in a bomb raid makes the reader less likely to identify with the victims), and the lexical choice affects how an event is understood (e.g. 'terrorist' vs. 'freedom-fighter'). The number of features I investigated varied greatly between texts, and some concepts were more central to my analysis than others.

The two last sections in the table concern coherence. A text that does not work is *incohesive*, just as a sentence that does not work is ungrammatical (Salkie 1995). Internal coherence concerns what ties the text together to make it come across as whole, not a random collection of words and sentences. External coherence is about whether the text is perceived to fit with 'how the world really is', in other words whether it is regarded as true. Coherence is not an inherent feature of texts, but assigned to them (or not assigned to them) by drawing on previous knowledge and expectations in the process of interpretation. A useful question to ask during the analysis is therefore 'why does this text (not) make sense to me?'. Answering this question involves identifying connections between the sequential parts of the text, and between parts of the text and the social world, including other texts.

Table 1. Sensitizing concepts used in text analysis.

Wording	**Themes**
Lexical choice	Macropopositions
Key words	Foregrounded and backgrounded themes
Vague formulations	Binary oppositions
Allusions	Actors and social identities presented in the text
Idioms, metaphors, clichés	
	Internal coherence
Structure, sentence level	Lexical repetition
Transitivity	Synonyms and antonyms
Marking of quotations	Superordinates and hyponyms
Word order	Ellipsis
	Connectives
Structure, text level	
Genre, change of genre	**External coherence**
Voicing	What knowledge is the reader presupposed to have?
Assertions and presuppositions	Which is the ideal subject position of the reader?
Consistencies	References to other texts
Contradictions	
Backgrounding and foregrounding	
Silences	
Headlines	
Narrative structure/order of presentation	

Based on Salkie 1995, Fairclough 1992;1995, Scollon & Scollon 1997, and Seale 1998.

The concept of coherence can be illustrated with the following example: In the bid period for the Olympics, Chinese newspaper articles claimed that whichever candidate city the IOC chooses, it would 'be a very natural choice' (Xinhua 28.12.00). To read these articles coherently, one would have to assume that natural criteria for selecting between Olympic candidate cities exist. The inferential work needed to read a text coherently, in other words the filling in of necessary background information, can be done automatically (the reader takes for granted that there are natural criteria for selecting a host city, as is implied by the text), or consciously (the reader identifies the implicit assumption about natural criteria which is found in the text, and agrees with this assumption upon reflection). Alternatively, the reader may refuse to go with the assumptions made in the text, and find it conflicting with 'the real world' incoherent. If a text is read as coherent, certain knowledge about the world is (re)produced (Fairlough 1992).

THE PROCESSES OF TEXT PRODUCTION, CIRCULATION AND CONSUMPTION

Below, I discuss the processes of text production, circulation and consumption with respect to the material produced in connection with Beijing's Olympic bid. I begin by describing some of the diverse sources of direct and indirect influences in the process of text production.

Text production: The texts from Chinese newspapers and Xinhua news agency

The texts I analyse from Chinese English-language media are produced under the influence of different, and at times contradictory, sets of journalistic conventions. At the National Forum for Propaganda and Ideological Work in 1994, Jiang Zemin assigned to the Chinese press four major tasks: 'arming people with scientific theory; guiding people with correct opinion; educating people in high moral standards; and using outstanding works to inspire people' (Jiang 1997, quoted in Li 1998). A Chinese introductory textbook in journalism presented these four points as the functions of the news industry in China, but added 'being profitable' as a fifth function (Li 2001). Since the redirection of China's development policy in favor of modernization through market-oriented means in the late 1970s, Chinese newspapers have increasingly been required to be profitable (Polumbaum 1994). China's mass media must therefore increasingly cater to the interests of the general public (Lynch 1999). The intertwining of the Party logic with market logic has resulted in a journalistic style which been labeled 'popular journalism with Chinese characteristics' (Li 1998).

The degree to which the Chinese government exerts control over editorial affairs depends on the types of topics covered as well as the type of newspaper. National newspapers are generally more restricted than papers at provincial and especially sub-provincial level (Lynch

1999). People's Daily, Xinhua and China Daily — the sources from which I have drawn the newspaper articles I analyze — are especially important to the Chinese Communist Party and the Government. They have are therefore under relatively tight control, and have largely been shielded from the demand to make a profit. However, even these news sources have become more market-oriented than before, and are influenced by the reporting style of more commercially oriented media (Lynch 1999, Li 1998).

China's open door policy and the development of communication technology has exposed a greater audience in China to foreign ideas about journalism. The journalists who write in English for the national media have been especially subjected to these ideas through the training they have received by Western journalists to help them adjust their writing style to suit a foreign audience. Western journalists claim to be guided by the principle of objectivity. The official attitudes of the Chinese government towards objectivity as a guiding principle for journalism have varied over time. The Central Propaganda Department of the CCP criticized People's Daily in 1948 for displaying an 'objective tendency not to be allowed in our propaganda work' (Li 1994:228). During the liberalization period in the late 1980s, on the other hand, top Party cadres stressed the informational and watchdog role of the press. The news industry became more regularized and re-assigned a Party mouthpiece role after the Tiananmen crisis in June 1989 (Polumbaum 1994). Both a representative from the Chinese Propaganda Department and the journalists I interviewed cited independence and objectivity as important journalistic ideals[5] (interviews January 2002).

Some of the articles about Beijing's Olympic bid contain stylistically inconsistent elements, which indicates that they may have been written under different sets of conventions for writing. An example is Xinhua's 'Sport Yearender' 2000. The article, which is about Beijing's efforts to become the host of the 2008 Olympics, generally writes about the bid in very positive and uncritical ways. However, a critical commentary by a foreign researcher who suggests that the changes made for the Olympic bid may not last is also included. Before the commentary is presented, it is summarized as if the researcher believed the changes *would* last. The researcher's concern is also denounced as 'unnecessary':

> Though the Olympics drive has being greatly propelled the city's all-around development, some Beijing-based foreigners doubt that all the efforts would disappear if Beijing loses the bid again. 'I wonder if the measures are just for the time of the Olympics bid, or it would be the real effort to make sure they don't go back to the old way,' said Pam Wadeson from Australia, who works as an expert

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[5] I would argue, however, that these ideals only to a limited degree got expressed in differences in writing style and content of Bobico material and newspaper articles. Many of the articles written by journalists from Xinhua, People's Daily or China Daily were judged suitable for publicity purposes in their original form, and re-published on Bobico's website.

in the Beijing-based Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Her concern seems to be unnecessary as the municipal government has stressed on many occasions that their colossal investment in the infrastructure are far more than just for the Olympic bid.

(Xinhua 28.12.00, grammatical mistakes in original)

The journalist who wrote the article said that he chose to include the critical commentary because he had a duty to 'write the ideas whether negative or positive' because of his 'consciousness or the ethical rules of the reporter'. But he also described his role as a journalist in a way which is consistent with the 'correct guidance'-role[6] that news reporting is assigned in China: 'Because Xinhua news agency also is the official news agency, I think Bobico believes in us. Everything we do is to make the Beijing's bid more appealing. We share something, we both want to make Beijing's bid successful. Therefore, when we report, we need to know what should be reported and what should not be reported' (interview January 2002). The contradiction in the article may be a result of the dilemma the two sets of conventions puts the journalist in. This can be a reason why the above article on the one hand includes a critical commentary, but on the other hand contradicts the statement already before it is presented.

The journalists I interviewed all said that journalism differed from Bobico's publicity work because a journalist had a duty to be objective. One said that this could create a conflict between himself and Bobico, in which he had been told that 'such things are a little inappropriate [to include in your article], I think you'd better omit it or just put it outside' (interview January 2002). When asked to give an example of such a case, however, he said that Bobico had actually never needed to correct him because he would anticipate such comments, and changed the articles by himself. Another journalist said the Bobico once did suggest to him to change an article which they found to be too negative. He altered it, but stressed that the change was also something he *personally* wanted: 'I complied because from the bottom of my heart, I don't want my stories to be… to let somebody to put their finger on the bid. So I just revised my plan, and they [Bobico] accepted it. You know, the right for me is to write the things I want to mention' (interview January 2002).

The reporters cited personal wishes to counter the disapproving reports presented about China abroad as reasons to avoid reporting negatively about Beijing's bid. In most cases, the choices the journalists made with reference to patriotism coincided with being loyal to the Chinese government and Bobico. When Bobico planned to host the Olympic beach volleyball games on Tiananmen Square, however, a journalist said that he and his colleagues got into a conflict with Bobico (interview January 2002). The journalists found it very inappropriate for

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[6] Providing 'correct guidance' requires a selective, tendentious approach to reporting, stressing positive opinions and restricting the reporting of erroneous opinions (Li 1998).

the government to let people in swimsuits play on a place which embodied the Chinese nation's dignity, and they put pressure on Bobico to release more information about the plans[7].

Institutional relations put some pressure on the journalists to be loyal to Bobico. For example, the Chinese journalists depend on Bobico to acquire material for their articles, and they therefore benefit from keeping on good terms with the organization. Control over what is written is also exerted through the selection of journalists who were to cover the Olympic bid. Both the journalist from Xinhua and the one from China Daily saw it as an honor to be selected to cover Beijing's Olympic bid. This can lead to a wish to prove that one deserves the trust one has been shown. The interviews with journalists suggested that informal and indirect forms of influence affected the presentation of Beijing's Olympic bid in Chinese English-language newspapers much more than direct government control and censorship. Only in special cases did they say they gave the Bobico their articles for review before they were printed. A representative from the Chinese Propaganda Department, on the other hand, denied altogether that Bobico should be giving journalists directions (interview January 2002).

Theorists have draw on the image of the Panopticon[8] to explain how direct coercion in many cases is redundant. In the Panopticon, the ever-present *possibility* of being under surveillance causes the inmates to discipline themselves (Hagelund 1998). Applying the argument to the case of Chinese journalism, the possibility of censorship may make the journalists write within the boundaries of what is considered acceptable by the authorities. These norms condition how an author thinks and writes, as well as being applied through censorship to a text after it has been made. A poet writing in Poland in the 1950s gave the following description of how social norms for writing conditioned his thoughts: 'I can't write as I would like to. […] I get halfway through a phrase, and I already subject it to Marxist criticism. I imagine what X or Y will say about it, and I change the ending'[9] (Milosz 1990:14-15).

The above discussion shows that the texts are made under a diverse set of influences working in different ways. The journalists I interviewed seemed to navigate between three subject

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[7] This is an example of an event which was interpreted very differently in China and abroad. The foreign press portrayed the volleyball plans as an attempt to cover up the 1989 student massacre, and described it as an initiative which 'strike many human rights campaigners as grotesque' (*Financial Times* 2000). A representative from Bobico said that they were under strong pressured from the International Volleyball Federation, which wanted a prestigious site to promote its sport, to making Tiananmen a competition site. Bobico was uncomfortable with the plans for the same reason as the Chinese journalists, but made them anyway because they felt they had little choice, according to the Bobico representative (interview January 2002). The decision was later revised.

[8] The Panopticon is an architectural figure of a prison in which the prisoners at any time can be subject to scrutiny by an unseen observer, who is placed at a privileged, central location. The prisoner can never know when they are being surveyed, and this uncertainty is a crucial instrument of discipline. The surveillance is therefore permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action.

[9] The difference in degree of self-censorship exercised under totalitarian regimes and democratic market economies should not be exaggerated, however. In the latter systems, articles must have some commercial value for the newspaper to survive. The need to cater to the readers interests influences the journalists' conscious and unconscious choices of topics and writing style.

positions, which at times were conflicting. The first position is that of traditional Chinese news workers, whose tasks are to be loyal to the government and correctly guide the readers. Secondly, they have an identity as inquisitive, independent journalists. Third, they described themselves as making certain choices as patriotic Chinese citizens. The co-existence of these subject positions may lead to conflicts, such as the journalists experienced when deciding whether to include negative comments about Beijing's bid. The conflict was temporarily resolved as the journalists positioned themselves as patriotic Chinese who *personally* wanted to avoid negative reporting.

Text production: material from the Beijing Olympic bid committee

The material produced by Bobico which was most important to the Olympic bid process were the Olympic Candidature File, Bobico's website, and the speech the bid committee gave at the IOC session in Moscow July 2001. These texts differ from the newspaper articles in the way they were produced.

A large number of people were involved in writing the Candidature File, and different institutional bodies were in charge of writing various parts of the document. In addition to foreign and Chinese consultants, people from Beijing city administration or state institutions, or in some way connected with the Olympic Movement worked on the Candidature File (interview January 2002). Each section of the Candidature File went through several rounds of discussions and drafting before it was completed. A Bobico representative in charge of producing one of the sections, said they started by studying the IOC guidelines, as well as the Candidature Files made by Beijing in connection with its 2000 Olympic bid and by other successful and unsuccessful bid cities. The text was put out for review and discussions, and re-drafted altogether around 12 times, not including the translation process into English (interview January 2002). An interview with a Bobico-member indicates that the institutional arrangements the Candidature File was produced under were less straightforward than the organizational chart presented in the Candidature File implies:

> I was the head of China Propaganda Department Sports section, the section chief of China Olympic Committee news committee and a leading cadre of China sport correspondents' association. The Chinese system, in fact, is 'one organization, two names'. That means that the same people work in China general sports department and China Olympic committee. I do domestic work under the name of the Chinese Propaganda Department's Sports Section. We use that name because it is subordinated a government body. But towards foreigners we present ourselves as China Olympic Committee's News Department. Actually, the work is very much the same.

> (Interview January 2002)

Foreign influence is exerted on Beijing's presentation of its candidature through official guidelines and other statements from the IOC, which indicate what the organization expects from a candidate city. Beijing's bid material was partly modeled upon other cities' Candidature Files, and also influenced by foreign media. Bobico hired international consultants to monitor how Beijing's bid was covered abroad and give tactical advice based on these reports (interview January 2002). Foreign consultants were involved directly in the making of Beijing's bid material. Two international public relations firms — Bell Pottinger and Weber Shandwick — were hired by Bobico to help with the presentation of the candidature[10]. The exact nature of the advice of foreign consultants, and the extent to which they formed Beijing's presentation, is difficult to determine. The firms are committed to keep their involvement confidential, and the information I got when asking people differed. An announcement of a lecture by Weber Shandwick's vice president claimed the work of public relations firms to be important to Beijing's success (CPRS Calgary 2001), and American media reported that it was foreign consultants who told Beijing to stress the regime's reformist mindset (American Foreign Policy Council 2001). The Bobico representative I interviewed, on the other hand, claimed that they received advice mostly on forms of presentation, rather than its content (interview January 2002). By distinguishing between form and content, the representative could claim that no substantive changes had been made without undercutting the value of the consultants' work.

The above discussions demonstrate the complexity of issues related to authorship. The bid material, whether from the Chinese media or Bobico, is produced under a wide range of influences, and diverse types of actors have taken part in its production in different ways. This complexity makes discourse analysis a suitable methodology for approaching these texts.

The circulation and target audience of the texts

The newspaper articles I have analyzed have an ambiguous target group. They are written in English, and made accessible to an international audience through the Internet. China Daily is also distributed in Chinese hotels and other places foreigners visit. Xinhua is a news agency, and has foreign journalists, as well as Internet users who access the articles directly, as their target groups. The accessibility of these news sources also makes them popular among Chinese who want to practice their English, especially university students. China Daily is sold by most newsstands in Beijing at a fraction of the price of the far less accessible and more critical South China Morning Post.

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[10] Both firms have experience in working with controversial issues. The former ran the campaign to free the former Chilean dictator Pinochet when he was detained in Britain, and the latter worked for the Clinton administration during the Monica Lewinsky scandal (Page 2001, CPRS Calgary 2001).

The website of Bobico is also directed both at people in China and a foreign audience, as well as overseas Chinese. The Candidature File, on the other hand, was distributed mainly to IOC members, and made publicly accessible on the Internet only after Beijing was selected to host the Games. The audience who were physically present at Beijing's presentation of its candidature at the IOC session in Moscow July 12, 2001 consisted mainly of representatives from the Olympic movement and the international press, but the session was broadcasted throughout the world.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The processes of text production, distribution and consumption are social, and discourse analysis must refer to the particular economic, political and institutional settings these processes are situated within. In chapter 1, I discussed the increased inter-urban competition in Pacific Asia, shifts in the geographical and sectoral focus of Chinese development policies, and the Chinese Communist Party's struggle to maintain its legitimacy. Here, I present the International Olympic Committee, which is an institution which has affected Beijing's Olympic bid particularly strongly.

The International Olympic Committee

The International Olympic Committee selects the host city of the Olympic Games, and thereby decides the ultimate success or failure of a city's bid. It therefore represents a great source of influence over Beijing's presentation of its bid for the Olympic Games. Members of the IOC are not accountable to their national governments or any other institutions. They are representatives *to* rather than *of* their home nations. Control over the terms on which cities apply for the Olympic games therefore rests with the IOC alone. These terms are formalized through documents such as the *Olympic Charter*, the *Manual for Candidate Cities for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad*, and the *Candidature Acceptance Procedures* (IOC 2002a; 2000b). These documents state the themes the candidates must comment on in their Candidature File, and signal to the bid cities what the IOC pays attention to when they select the host city. The IOC also regulates *where* candidate cities can promote their bid by allowing all forms of domestic promotion, but banning international marketing except through material handed to the IOC, the Internet and editorial articles. In addition to these formal regulations, IOC sends out signals of what they want from a candidate city through speeches, conferences and meetings. These may later be formalized, and included in the regulations for bid cities. The environment, for example, was

central in IOC rhetoric for several years before it was included in the Olympic Charter in 1996, and later in the Manual for Candidate Cities.

The strong competition to host the Olympic Games influences how IOC documents are interpreted and acted upon. For example, it has become common to start Olympic infrastructure projects already during the bid period to prove that the city is capable of, and seriously devoted to, hosting the Olympic Games. This shows the great leverage power the IOC has acquired as a result of the heavy competition to host the Games.

The Olympic Games have been arranged under international circumstances which have varied greatly, and the IOC has proved to be extremely adaptive to shifting political conditions. The Olympic movement was proudly compared to a chameleon because of its ability to adjust to any environment by the founder of the modern Olympic Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Klausen 2002). The IOC has retained its great international influence by adjusting to shifting ideological currents, and responding creatively to criticism against the Olympics raised in the international press. During the Cold War, the IOC stressed the separation of sports and politics, while the 'Games not politics'-rhetoric has lost much of its importance after the international ideological gap of the Cold War was dismantled. In the past years, IOC corruption scandals have received great international media coverage and greatly damaged the IOC's reputation. In the wake of these accusations, the IOC changed its candidature acceptance procedures, and placed more emphasis on humanitarian values such as care for the environment and development aid.

In this chapter, three frames of reference for discourse analysis — text, processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and social context — have structured a general discussion of Beijing's Olympic bid. During my fieldwork and the process of analysis, I have worked concurrently text analysis and relating these texts to the social context through fieldwork and secondary literature. The different frames of reference will be important in the following chapters of analysis. However, the analysis will be structured by topic rather than according to the boxes in the model.

❹ The ideal Olympic city and Beijing

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the arguments through which the bid material declared Beijing to be an Olympic city. In the textual material I had selected for analysis, i.e. texts concerning about the Olympic bid published by Bobico and the Chinese English-language press, I identified recurring expressions, topics and arguments. The themes that featured most prominently in these texts organize this chapter of analysis.

As mentioned previously, Olympic bid cities must find arguments that go beyond organizational capacity in order to convince the IOC that their candidature is the best. Equally important to what a bid city has to offer is its ability to argue that these qualities are *relevant* to its Olympic bid. Meanings are therefore ascribed to *two* places through Beijing's Olympic bid material: the ideal place 'the Olympic city' and the city of Beijing. Figure 3 visualizes this argument, and presents central themes in Beijing's bid material which all go beyond organizational capacity. The *left side* of the figure lists the features that the ideal Olympic city is assumed or claimed to possess. If these characteristics are broadly accepted as features of an Olympic city, there is little need for Beijing to argue their relevance. Some of the characteristics may be more contested, however, in which case Beijing must back up the claim that these are features of an Olympic city with explicit arguments. The figure's *right side* represents the city of Beijing. The bid material must argue that Beijing embodies the same qualities as the ideal Olympic city is presented to possess. This depiction may also be contested, as some may claim that the description given of Beijing in the bid material does not match the real conditions in the city. In other words, a theme may be contested either on the grounds of its relevance, or on the grounds of the actual conditions in the city of Beijing. The *boxes* to the very left and the very right in the figure illustrate that the discourse of Beijing as an Olympic city is materially and institutionally embedded.

The predominant themes in Beijing's bid material were 'Third World identity', 'Oriental identity', 'technology', 'the environment', 'popular support', 'fair play', and 'human rights'. This chapter provides a discussion of how these themes were claimed to be relevant to whether a city possesses Olympic qualities, and how Beijing is presented with respect to these themes.
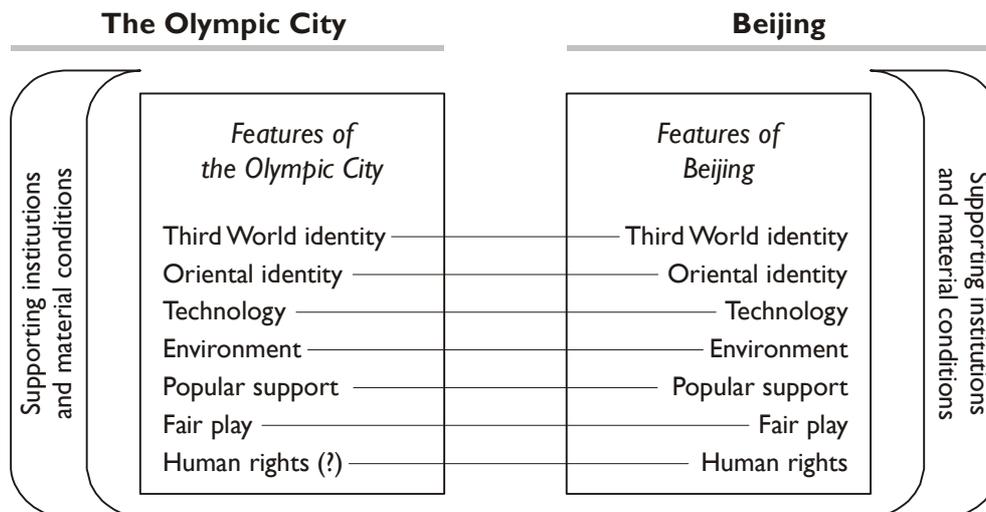
Figure 3. A schematic representation of the ideal Olympic city and the city of Beijing, based on Beijing's Olympic bid material.

There were varying degrees of disagreement over the relevance of the above themes. The significance of some topics was taken for granted in Beijing's bid material. For example, articles about topics such as technological progress and environmental protection with no explicit reference to the Olympic Games were published at the Beijing Olympic Bid Committee's website. To make such a presentation without giving an impression of incoherence or provoking disagreement is only possible if there is little conflict over the relevance of these themes. The environment is an example of a theme which was assumed to be part of Olympism both by the IOC and other host city, and which Beijing through presumption presented as relevant to its Olympic bid. A claim which is communicated through presupposition becomes naturalized if these presuppositions remain unchallenged. Thus, there is power in presenting something as self-evident.

THIRD WORLD IDENTITY

Beijing's status as a Third World city is rarely the main topic in the texts of the Olympic bid material, but is mentioned on many occasions and in different contexts. China's status as an underdeveloped country is virtually undisputed by the rest of the world, and none of the texts I analysed elaborated on what makes Beijing a Third World city. However, the status as underdeveloped must be made significant to whether a city possesses Olympic qualities in order

to be used in convincing the world that Beijing is as an Olympic city. In Beijing's bid material, being a Third World city is argued to be relevant to the Olympic bid in three main ways.

First, the bid material claims that by giving the Games to Beijing, the Olympic ideals are spread to the developing world. If Beijing is given the right to host the Games, it will show that 'the developing countries are capable of entering the community of nations in the pursuit of peace and brotherhood' (NBGO 18.06.01). In other words, the symbolic effect of the Games extends to the whole Third world.

A second way underdevelopment and Olympism are linked, is by portraying China and Beijing in the same ways as good sportsmen and Olympians: struggling for improvement, not giving up when facing difficulties, and emphasizing fair play and equal opportunities. Beijing faces much hardship because of its underdevelopment. However, the city does not give up when faced with difficulties, but continues believing in progress and struggling to obtain it. An Olympic bid brochure claims that China's food shortage in 1959 affected even top leaders like Mao Zedong. China not only managed to overcome this immense challenge, but also shared her scarce resources with other developing countries in order to help them develop (Bobico 2001). China's status as a developing country and solidarity with other Third World countries has been part of Chinese official rhetoric since the founding of the People's Republic (Snow 1994). Beijing's claim to support other developing countries in their efforts to improve is contrasted with the condescending attitude of Toronto, a competitor to host the 2008 Olympics. Before Toronto's mayor Mel Lastman went on a goodwill-trip to win the support of African IOC-members, he was quoted in Canadian newspapers saying 'why the hell do I want to go to a place like Mombasa? […] I just see myself in a pot of boiling water with all these natives dancing around me'. China Daily printed this quotation, and their article was re-posted at Bobico's website (NBGO 22.06.01). This display of another bid city's contempt for underdeveloped nations was one of very few instances of negative writing about the other candidatures in Beijing's Olympic bid material.

A final reason why Beijing's status as underdeveloped is argued to be relevant is that it gives the city a great *potential* for development. During the past decade, the IOC has put more emphasis on humanitarian initiatives such as the Olympic Aid and the Olympic Truce Foundation. Beijing's bid material argues that it is 'common sense' that the Olympic Games will help the city realize its development potential (Xinhua 28.12.00). Thus the IOC can put their humanitarian ideals into practice by giving more than 1 billion people in China a chance to improve their living conditions through hosting the Olympics.

Beijing must strike a fine balance when using its status as underdeveloped to promote its Olympic bid. The Third World-argument can easily be turned against them by opponents who

wish to raise doubt about whether the city is capable of hosting the Olympic Games properly. The argument is more frequently brought up in some contexts than in others. For example, underdevelopment is often mentioned in discussions of Beijing's cultural uniqueness and the Olympic ideals, while it is seldom brought up in texts concerning Beijing's organizational capacity.

Some researchers have claimed that the Chinese government seldom emphasizes its Third World-identity today because it is not seen as conducive to achieving wealth and power in the present global system (Dittner & Kim 1993). The central place Beijing's status as a Third World-city is given in the bid process for the 2008 Olympics, however, is an example of how the context is important to how place identities are constructed, and that a certain identity may be conducive to obtaining some goals, and not others.

ORIENTAL IDENTITY

Beijing's Olympic bid material depicts Beijing as an Oriental city. The terms 'Asia', 'the East' and 'the Orient' are used interchangeably to describe an area in which some essential qualities are shared. This identity is portrayed using elements both from the traditional Orientalist discourse and the 'Asian values'-discourse (Saïd 1995, Ang 2001). Eastern cultures are depicted as founded in tradition and history, as opposed to a modern, developed West. Ancient history and the Oriental are associated in the bid material. This makes Beijing attractive, a journalist claimed: 'Beijing [is] more appealing to others because we have such a long history; we have something you have never seen, something very native, something very Oriental' (interview January 2002). The image of the Oriental culture as rooted in the past is reinforced by the bid material's frequent references, both through text and pictures, to historical buildings and monuments. The Chinese people is depicted as different from, but not inferior to, Westerners, and committed to ideals such as hard work and the promotion of a common good and a harmonious social order. Such descriptions are often presented in the form of quotations from Westerners. The opera singer José Carreras, for example, was in connection with a concert he held in the Forbidden City to promote Beijing's Olympic bid quoted saying that 'China has a very good tradition such as the respect to the old people. I think it is where the West could learn from you' (CD 14.06.01).

The Oriental identity is argued to be relevant to being a suitable Olympic host city in several ways. First, Asia is described as an area which still needs to internalize the Olympic ideals (CD 18.06.01). The argument is parallel to that used about Beijing's Third World status: the Olympic Games should be hosted in an Oriental city to further popularize Olympism. In argu-

ing that sports are still underdeveloped in Asia, Beijing reproduces claims that were put forward by the IOC long before Beijing first presented a bid for the Olympic Games. An article published in 'Olympic Review' in 1985, for example, asserted that the poor performance of Asians in the Olympic Games was lamentable. The article used expressions such as an 'Asian stage of development', and claimed that the attitudinal characteristics of Asians make them less competitively minded (Clement 1985).

Second, Beijing promises that the 2008 Olympic Games will bring the East and West together, and thereby making these Games exceptional and 'remembered forever' (CD 02.01.01). A quotation of Beijing's Mayor Liu Qi summarizes this argument: 'A chance for Beijing to host the Games would provide a closer link between the Eastern and Western worlds, bring fresh blood to the Olympic Movement and a true meaning of universality — which the Olympics represents' (CD 02.01.01). Among the initiatives to unite the East and West were a Western opera concert by the 'three great tenors' in Beijing's Forbidden City (CD 14.06.01), suggestions to have Mayor Liu construct a steel bridge to symbolize the East meeting the West (CD 19.02.01), and plans to run the Olympic torch relay along the ancient Silk Road — a proclaimed symbol of cultural exchanges between the East and West (CD 10.07.01). Former IOC president Samaranch, who favored Beijing's candidature both in 1993 and 2001, was important in bringing the Olympic Games' civilizing mission in Asia to the fore, and in promoting an image of the IOC as an engine for peace. Samaranch claimed that the 1988 Games had furthered the values of democracy and freedom of speech in South Korea, and argued that giving the Olympics to Beijing would have the same effects in China (Booth & Tatz 1993).

Beijing also argued that their Oriental culture would make the Games more original and interesting for the audience. The bid material refers to the three pillars the Olympic Movement, of which culture is one, and the Olympic principle of blending sports and culture (CD 19.02.01). Beijing's Oriental heritage, it is argued, gives the city a strong and rich culture, which can make the 2008 Olympics unique (CD 19.02.01).

A final argument presented by Beijing is that the Oriental culture can enrich the Olympic Movement in general, as well as the 2008 Games. The Sinisized form of Olympism is described as destined to become incorporated into the universal Olympism, thus making Olympism even more global and metropolitan. This argument is founded in the belief in cultural progress embraced by the IOC and found in Chinese development thinking in general (Schwartz 1994). Because the Olympic ideology was developed on a Western philosophical and cultural foundation, it can be enriched by absorbing the best of Eastern cultures. These arguments are encapsulated by a remark made by a Bobico representative: 'At a certain stage in the development of a culture [the Olympic culture], one must absorb good aspects of other cultures in order to obtain additional perfection. Because Western philosophy that has

obtain additional perfection. Because Western philosophy that has contributed in the past, I think Eastern culture has much to contribute with now' (interview January 2002).

In conclusion, China and Beijing engaged in a process of 'self-Orientalization' in the Olympic bid process, and used their 'otherness' as a means to win the bid for the 2008 Olympics. The Orientalist discourse, which has been used by Western powers to justify imperialism and the marginalization of Asian countries in international relations, was re-appropriated by Beijing to serve its own agenda. This process is an example of how discourses produced within one context can be used for new political ends by being appropriated into new contexts. The bid material also exemplifies how the construction of places at one geographical scale (Orient/Occident) can be employed at another scale (the urban) as a means to reach well-defined goals.

Technology

'High-tech Olympics' was one of three main themes presented for Beijing's Olympic bid. The Candidature File, the Bobico website and newspaper articles all comment extensively on the topic of technology. These comments are characterized by a technological optimism that I also found in IOC material and in Chinese English-language articles and policy documents which were not related to the Olympic Games.

The Olympic city as a high-tech city

Beijing's bid material takes for granted the relevance of China's technological abilities and progress to the Olympic bid. The Bobico website posted general articles about technology which did not mention the Olympics (see for example NBGO 17.01.01, NBGO 07.01.01). To find this presentation sensible, one must presume that an Olympic city is technologically advanced. The comments on high technology solutions in the Olympic bid material are not confined to issues such as stadium construction, transportation and media-networks, but include references to progress in fields such as genetics and geology (NBGO 20.06.01, Xinhua 30.07.01). The bid material emphasizes that the commitment to technological advancement is shared by Beijing and IOC: 'A special exhibition kicked off yesterday at the China Millennium Monument in Beijing to hammer home[11] the critical role science and technology have played in the Olympic Movement' (CD 17.05.01). The quotation describes Beijing as a tool for the Olympic movement to spread its message.

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[11] 'Kicked off' and 'hammer home' are typical examples of colloquial expressions which are often found in Chinese English-language newspapers, and make the articles appear 'strange' to a Western audience because it breaks with our expectations of the genre.

When focusing on high technology, Beijing's bid material reproduces views which are well-established within the Olympic movement. The Olympic movement has since its inception ascribed a civilizing mission to sports and maintained it to be a driving force behind social and technological advancement. 'Oh Sport, you are Progress', the first IOC president Pierre de Coubertin wrote in 1909 (Coubertin 2002). The first Olympic Games were held in connection with the World Fairs (Expos), events designed to exhibit technological advancement and imperialist achievements of the host countries (Roche 2000). The Games are still seen as an engine for progress. The Olympic Charter states that: 'The goal of Olympism is to place everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man' (IOC 2002), and bid- and host cities are encouraged by the IOC to introduce pioneering technological solutions in connection with the Olympic Games.

BEIJING AS A HIGH-TECH CITY

While the bid material *presupposes* that the ideal Olympic city is technologically advanced, it *explicitly argues* that Beijing is a city which fits with this description. Beijing's Olympic Candidature File states that the 'The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games will symbolize and spur on the city's commitment to technological advancement' (CF 2001:5). Newspaper articles about the Olympics recount Beijing's technological achievements. The articles make references to experts who assign credibility to the statements about technological advancements in Beijing: 'Up to 20 members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) and the Chinese Academy of Engineering (CAE) expressed their optimism on June 18 that Beijing is able to stage a "scientific Games" equipped with the state-of-the-art technology' (NBGO 20.06.01)

While some articles refer to the application of 'state of the art'-technology in Beijing, other articles mention that Beijing still lags behind in certain areas due to its status as a developing country. This status creates a room for improvement, which generates a great potential for realizing the aims of Olympism if the Games are hosted in Beijing. The bid material indicates that technological improvements will take place at a faster rate if Beijing hosts the Olympics:

> As the [IOC] Evaluation Commission stated in the conclusion to the report, a Beijing Games will 'leave a unique legacy to China and to sport' […] We expect the Games will foster changes in all quarters of Chinese life. They already are. From environmental protection to the adoption of new technologies. The velocity of these changes will surely accelerate should we host the Games.
>
> (NBGO 15.05.01)

An underlying assumption in much of the bid material is that many of Beijing's current problems, such as governmental inefficiency and environmental degradation, can be fixed with

technological solutions. The bid material suggests that the situation in which Beijing lags behind other cities will be changed by technological progress: 'It is hoped that the advancement of science and technology will help Beijing to catch up with other modern cities in the world in traffic control and environmental protection so as to lay a solid foundation for the overall development of the city' (PD 02.05.01).

The presentation of Beijing as a high-tech city in the Olympic bid material is similar to the general discourse about technology and development in China. China's Report on National Social and Economic Development Year 2000, for example, focuses on the excellence of Chinese science, and depicts future wealth as dependent on technological progress. It portrays China as superior in prestigious technological fields, such as space technology, genetical engineering, information technology, and robot technology. At the same time, important social problems are described as a result of insufficient technology. A rise in Chinese living standards, for example, is depicted as dependent on further technological progress, and not on measures such as better redistributional policies. Because the technology continuously improves, China's problems will be solved with time.

The environment

In November 2000, Financial Times wrote that one of the largest impediments to Beijing's Olympic bid was the city's pollution problem (FT 13.11.00). At the IOC conference on the legacies of the Olympic Games two years later, environmental concerns were repeatedly cited as a major reason for granting Beijing the right to host the Olympics. How were environmental concerns turned from a weakness to an advantage in Beijing's Olympic bid process?

The ideal Olympic city and the environment

The relevance of environmental issues to the Olympic bid is taken for granted in Beijing's bid material for the 2008 Olympics. The texts can be written based on such assumptions without seeming incoherent because a connection between the environment and Olympism has already been established and accepted. The environment was not given much attention in Beijing's bid for the 2000 Olympic Games. In the time period between the bids, the international context Beijing was working within changed considerably.

Environmental concerns acquired a central place on the international political agenda towards the end of the 1980s (Toke 2001). The environmental impact of building infrastructure for the Olympic Games is huge, and the environmental problems related to the Olympics posed a threat to IOC legitimacy when they began to receive international attention in the early

1990s (Lesjø 2000). In 1989, the IOC accepted an invitation for a meeting from the grass-root campaign 'Project Environmental Olympics' during their inspection of the preparation for the 1994 Olympics in Lillehammer. Consequently, environmentalists were included in the Lillehammer Olympic Organization Committee planning processes, and the concept of the 'Green Winter Games' was born. Yet, in the early 1990s the IOC discourse on the environment was still mostly concerned with the potential environmental liability Olympic bidders may be to the IOC (Myrholt 1992). As a reaction to the increasing pressure to respond to questions relating to the impact of the Olympic Games on the environment, the environment made into a 'third dimension' of Olympism, added to sport and culture. Although this to a large extent was a result of external pressure, IOC policy statements suggested that the organization led in the development of environmental protection (Cantelon & Letters 2000). Bid cities are now required to include a chapter on the environment in their Candidature File.

BEIJING AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Through its bid material, Beijing presented itself as a tool for the Olympic movement to reach its environmental goals. The Candidature File states that 'An enduring goal of Beijing Organizing Committee for the XXIX Olympic Games will be to popularize the notion that the environment is the third pillar of Olympism and that sport can be a powerful force in raising awareness about sustainable development at local and global levels' (CF 2001:59). In the same way as the IOC presents itself as a forerunner of environmental protection internationally, Bobico is presented as an agency that pushes for an integration of environmental protection in Chinese politics, by making recommendations for environmental improvement that the government accepts (CF 2001:55). The Olympic goal of environmental protection is claimed to inspire people as well as the government. Beijing's Olympic bid has brought about a heightened awareness of environmental protection among Beijing's residents, and the active participation of these people is said to be a crucial part of the 'Green Olympics' (NBGO 19.06.01). The people and the government know that a good environment increases Beijing's chances of hosting the Games, and their support for the Games will translate into commitment to environmental improvement.

Beijing's Olympic bid is also claimed to be a source of environmental improvement because investment in environmental projects will be part of the preparations for the Games. The environmental situation is linked to economic development and modernization, and the progress Beijing and China experience through the Olympic Games will result in improvement in the environmental situation. The Candidature File states that:

> Beijing and China recognize that a far-reaching, creative and comprehensive response to challenges posed by the environment is an essential yardstick of progress for a modern society at the beginning of the 21st century. The Beijing 2008 Olympic games will symbolize and spur on the city's commitment to technological advancement and environmental protection for the future benefit of the Chinese people.
>
> (CF 2001:5)

Tree-planting is an example of a concrete act to protect the environment which is presented as part of the preparation for the Olympic Games. Trees have been planted for decades in the areas surrounding Beijing to protect the city from sandstorms and prevent desertification, and the activity in itself can therefore hardly be claimed to be a result of the Olympic bid. However, the bid material takes the tree-planting out of an everyday context and re-contextualizes it by giving it some special features. There are reports of gatherings arranged by the Bobico at which exactly 2008 trees were planted to express support for the Olympic bid. Other articles portray top Chinese Party cadres planting trees in the Olympic park (PD 03.04.01, PD 02.04.01). The most spectacular and symbolically laden tree-planting event appeared in the June 2001 edition of 'China Today'. The article featured Chinese newly-wed couples who planted trees for the Olympic bid, and was illustrated by a picture of shoveling brides in Western-style wedding gowns beside a tree decorated with a red rose and an Olympic flag.

Beijing's claim to commitment to the environmental cause was questioned in foreign media. Sarcastic comments were made both in foreign newspapers and by Beijing's competitor Toronto when Beijing painted the grass green before the IOC inspection. The critique was picked up in the Chinese press, which refuted it by making references to similar practices elsewhere. People's Daily, for example, wrote that 'The greening liquids we used to beautify the city were imported from the United States and have been given a green light by the U.S. Environment Protection Center. […] The employment of a green-increasing liquid to brighten up the city is not the creation or invention of Beijing' (PD 22.02.01). This quotation implies that it is inconsistent to criticize Beijing and no-one else for painting the grass, and that any harmful effects of the paint would be the responsibility of the USA.

The bid material referred to environmental NGOs and 'environmental experts' when refuting foreign criticism against Beijing's environmental efforts. Those called upon were often foreigners or people who have attained credibility abroad, such as Liao Sheri, the winner of the Sophie Environmental Prize[12]. Some of the expressions of support came in the form of articles written by the foreigners, which at times were commissioned by the Chinese newspapers. A foreigner working with the Beijing Organizing Committee for the XXIX Olympic Games on

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[12] An international environmental award set up by Jostein Gaarder, author of the best-selling novel *Sophie's World*.

environmental issues, for example, was on several occasions asked to write in Chinese news-papers about environmental progress in China (interview December 2001). Two days before Beijing won the right to host the Games, an article was printed in China Daily signed by Marc Brody, president of the 'US-China Environmental Fund', which recapitulated many of the en-vironmental arguments used throughout Beijing's bid campaign:

> Sadly, many in the international community, especially in the United States, have chosen to either ignore this environmental progress or to condemn rather than co-operate with China on a range of environmental challenges. Furthermore, many critics often fail to credit the origin of China's environ-mental progress: a strong commitment from the Chinese leadership to prioritise environmental protec-tion. Nowhere is this commitment more evident than Beijing's bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games.

> (CD 11.07.01)

The refutation of the international critique against Beijing's bid and the credit given to the Chi-nese leadership are given more credibility because the article is written by an American.

DISCUSSION

Beijing reproduced and further strengthened the IOC's representation of the environment as connected with Olympism. It could do so without compromising its chances of hosting the Olympic Games by re-interpreting what this connection consisted in. Initially, the IOC material and the international media focused on absolute pollution levels, and the quality of the natural environment and the methods of environmental protection. In the first evaluation report is-sued by the IOC Candidature Acceptance Group in August 2000, Beijing received the lowest score out of the five remaining candidates for the Olympic Games on the environment-variable. However, the city managed to move the focus from absolute levels to the environ-mental *improvements* that would be made in connection with the Olympics. Whereas Beijing's poor air quality initially was presented in Western media as an impediment to its bid, Beijing argued that these problems represented a large potential for improvement, a potential which could be realized through the Olympics. This redefinition of the link between the environment and Olympism has in turn influenced the IOC's environmental discourse. At an IOC confer-ence in 2002, the Beijing Olympics were repeatedly cited as a prime example of 'green Olympic Games', and the focus at the conference was more on the improvement the Olympic Games could bring about than on absolute levels (IOC Conference on the social legacies of the Olym-pic Games, November 2002).

The view of the relationship between the environment, the economy, and state intervention that is expressed both in Beijing's material and the Olympic Movement can be labeled 'ecologi-

cal modernist'. Key features of the ecological modernization stance are confidence in the mutual benefits of economic development and environmental protection, and a stress on the role of market dynamics, innovators, and entrepreneurs in ecological reform (Toke 2001). The IOC requires bid cities achieve excellence in environmental protection 'by the introduction of economic, scientific and technical innovations, and by the establishment of appropriate relations with other organizations, the private sector and public authorities' (IOC 2001a). The bid material reproduces such a view by focusing largely on technological and organizational improvement and innovation when commenting on the environmental legacies of the Beijing Olympics.

POPULAR SUPPORT

'People's Olympics' was one of three themes presented for Beijing's Olympic bid. The bid material provides many accounts of the great Chinese popular support for the Olympic ideals in general, and Beijing's Olympic bid in particular.

POPULAR SUPPORT AND THE IDEAL OLYMPIC CITY

The relevance of popular support for the Olympic Games to whether a city is of Olympic quality, like the relevance of the environment, is taken for granted in Beijing's bid material. Like the IOC, Beijing presents the ideal Olympic city to be one in which the Olympic ideals are both popular and popularized.

The level of popular support for hosting the Olympics is one of the criteria the IOC uses for evaluating Olympic candidatures. In connection with the recent bids, the IOC has hired independent consultants to conduct opinion polls in short-listed candidate cities about the project of hosting the Olympic Games (IOC 2000b). Two developments have given the IOC good reasons for being more concerned about the popular support for the Olympics in bid cities. First, the negative attention the organization received in connection with the corruption scandals in the 1990s has caused a greater need to gain legitimacy by proving that the Olympic Games were supported by the public in general, rather than being the project of an elitist group of IOC members. Secondly, citizens' organizations opposed to hosting the Olympics due to their costs, their 'white elephant' legacies, and lack of attention to social issues have become better organized, and are a potential source of negative publicity for the Olympic Movement. The Toronto-based group 'Bread not circuses' is an example of such citizens' organizations. The public opposition against hosting the Olympics in Toronto has been claimed to be one factor causing the city to lose its bid for the 1996 Olympic Games (Hiller 2000).

The IOC has declared the Olympic Games to belong to humanity. When records are set, humanity — as much as the individual athlete — is depicted as exceeding its own limits. Although the Olympic ideals are depicted as universal and eternal, there is a need to spread awareness of their existence by popularizing Olympism. The concluding note at an IOC conference about sport and education states that spreading the Olympic values is the very purpose of holding the Olympic Games:

> The founder of the IOC, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, revived the Olympic Games of Antiquity to spread the sporting ideal and Olympic values, which were a new vision of youth education. He sought in sport a means of developing a new type of person, healthy in body and mind, sociable and free. Aware of the importance of education associated with culture in developing awareness of the unity and richness of humanity, the IOC endeavours to convey this concept to all members of the Olympic Movement in order to increase awareness among young people, athletes, media and the public in general.
>
> (IOC 2002b)

Beijing organizing 'People's Olympics'

The bid material portrays Beijing as a city in which the Olympic ideals popular, and which is committed to further popularizing them. The opinion poll commissioned by the IOC showed that 96 percent of the people in Beijing were positive to the Olympic bid. This poll is often referred to in texts that argue that the Beijing Olympics will be the people's Olympics. The statistical information is complemented with reports about the great diversity in kinds of people backing the bid. Personal interviews with supporters and stories about officially or spontaneous arranged demonstrations and actions to support the Olympic bid are example of how the popular support is presented in newspaper articles. The extensive popular support for Beijing's Olympic bid is described as motivated by the Chinese people's love for sport and respect for the Olympic ideals, as well as their wish to obtain social goals such as accelerating urban construction projects and environmental protection, making Beijing an 'international city', and contributing to the cause of peace, friendship and progress of mankind (SCMP 21.05.01; Xinhua 21.02.01).

The plans outlined in the bid material for spreading the Olympic ideals among people are large in scope as well as scale. They range from educational programs, knowledge contests and sports events to trade and science fairs. The Beijing Olympic education program is targeted at the 400 million Chinese youths and teenagers. The Chinese government also promised that courses about Olympism would be made compulsory at all educational levels (CF 2001).

Several of the accounts of popular support give portraits of people whose actions and attitudes are worth admiring and copying. Such actions include studying English, practicing sports at an amateur level and working to improve the urban environment in order to promote Beijing's Olympic bid. The story on Bobico's website about housewife Zhao, for example, describes how ordinary citizens can promote the 'Green Olympics' by saving water:

> Zhao Shumin, a 60-year-old housewife, said she never lets the water used washing rice and vegetables go to waste. 'I save the water for flushing the toilet,' Zhao said. 'I never let our taps drip because every drop of water counts.' Zhao numbers among the increasing number of Beijingers who are becoming more aware that saving water is the responsibility of every resident.

> (NBGO 19.06.01)

The story of Zhao tells the reader how a citizen who has adopted the Olympic ideals and wishes the Olympics to come to Beijing should act. These stories are part of a well-established tradition of political communication through the use of 'model citizens'. The Chinese government has used personal models as devices for promote their policies. People are requested to learn by imitating these models, and measure their achievements and shortcomings vis-à-vis the model citizens (Bøckman 1998).

Some of the reports about popular support for the Olympic bid seemed to me to be exaggerated or unrealistic. An example is an article which described old people who exercised in order to live long enough to see the Olympics in Beijing, and a blind man whose great sorrow was that he could not see the Games with his own eyes (CD 20.02.01a). There were also stories about people in Tibet and Xinjiang who supported the games because they would 'improve the physique of the people in these economically less-developed regions' (CD 07.03.01), and babies roller-skating to support the Olympics by showing a healthy image of Chinese babies abroad (PD 20.05.01). Chinese students with whom I discussed these stories told me that I missed the point if I focused on whether these people actually existed and had been interviewed. The message of the stories was that people were enthusiastic about the Olympics, and that one should act in certain ways to show ones support. 'If people understand this message through reading about people's actions, why does it matter whether the stories are based on real people?', two students asked me. One of them said that when she was younger, she had told her father that she did not believe in some of the stories about model citizens because 'no person can be *that* good'. Her father replied that it was up to the CCP to decide whether the model citizens existed as real people (interview December 2001). This implies that descriptions of model citizen-behavior is something one must relate to as 'hard facts' by the virtue of the political message they convey, not the individuals they represent.

The journalists I interviewed, who were all young, described some of the articles mentioned above as 'old-fashioned Chinese journalism' because of the exaggerated and unrealistic picture they gave of reality (interviews, December 2001 and January 2002). They identified with an ideal of objectivity and balance which they perceived those articles to lack. However, like the students, they said that such stories of popular support were published to convey a certain message, and that it mattered less whether the descriptions were down-to earth. The article about the old people who lived to see the Olympics, for example, was described by a journalist as 'very traditional Chinese propaganda'. Although he claimed that he would not write such an article himself, he could understand why it was published:

> I will make the story look more balanced. Make sense… I don't want to use this kind of quote directly. I understand why the editor in chief, who reads the articles before they are published, did not put questions: Because at that time China Daily was just representing many people who wished Beijing would win the bid. This shows that Beijing people care about this very much. It will move someone who reads the story.

(Interview January 2001)

Western readers are generally less accustomed to the use of models as teaching devices, and are therefore more likely to find some stories of popular support 'strange' and implausible.

The Chinese model citizens resemble in some ways the 'heroes' that are described in IOC material. The IOC website, for example, presents profiles of 250 'Olympic heroes' in a way which encourages people to learn from example rather than argumentation. The biographies are introduced with these words: 'Athletes. Their performance and courage symbolize the Olympic Spirit. The myth of the hero always emerges from profound emotional experiences. Each Olympian bears a message of sharing, respect and resolve' (IOC 2003). This introduction indicates that messages of universal value can be extracted from the biographies of the individual athletes. Many descriptions of volunteerism in connection with previous Olympic Games also show similarities with the stories of popular support in Beijing's bid material. In the case of the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics, for example, Norwegian newspapers and television described how people sacrificed their work to be volunteers for the Games, the ways whole families were involved in helping arrange the Olympics, and the extreme temperature and other hardship the volunteers endured to take part in organizing the Games, in short, how these individuals made extraordinary efforts to make the Lillehammer Olympics successful.

FAIR PLAY

'A champion is more than a winner. A champion is someone who respects the rules, rejects doping, and competes in the spirit of fair play'. These were the words with which IOC President Jaque Rogge opened the Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City in 2002. The concept of fair play implies that the Games are regulated by rules that are made clear in advance, and that the outcome of the competition is uncertain. The contestants enter the Games as equals, and become differentiated through their performance. At the end of the competition they are hierarchically arranged, either into winners and losers, or by rank.

THE IOC AND FAIR PLAY

Because the Olympic Games themselves would lose their meaning if the rules of fair play were openly broken, the IOC faced a major crisis of legitimacy when the organization was charged with 'playing foully'. The first charge against the IOC for not playing fair to receive broad attention was raised in 1992 by two journalists who described corrupt practices within the IOC in their book 'The Lords of the Rings' (Simson & Jennings 1992). Several instances of bribery and nepotism in the selections of the Olympic host cities have been uncovered since then. In order to prevent such accusations and bad publicity, the IOC changed the process of selecting Olympic host cities in 1999 to make it more formalized and transparent. Candidate cities are now depicted to compete at a level field at which the best contender wins. New rules prohibit IOC members from receiving gifts from candidate cities, and the cities are asked to provide information in candidature files written according to a set of guidelines which ensure that they can be 'easily and objectively analyzed and compared' (IOC 2000b).

Beijing describes the competition to host the Olympic Games in the same terms as the IOC does. The bid material asserts that the IOC can and should leave all politics out when they make their choice of venue (CD 15.05.01). All candidate cities are said to have equal chances to win (NBGO 12.07.01a). Beijing's mayor describes the bidding to be 'as fair as the track and field events themselves'. He claims that the Olympic bids give cities a chance to compete and to learn from each other like the athletes do in the field (CD 02.01.01). In the same way as an athlete should show respect for the rules of the sport, the candidate cities should play fairly as they compete for the Games:

'Every candidate city should try its endeavours to win the right of hosting the Games,' He [name of Chinese IOC member] said. 'It reflects the Olympic spirit of being "higher, faster and stronger"'. But they are supposed to show enough respect to each other and tread the line along the principal of fair play. The cities should follow strictly the spirit of the Olympic movement in promoting themselves,' He continued.

(Xinhua 01.01.01)

Beijing's Candidature File's many tables and graphs give an impression of objectivity and comparability, and underscore the IOC's claim that the Olympic host city is selected through a transparent process. Some of these tables, however, are presented in a form that gives them little value as basis for analysis or comparison[13]. The organizational chart of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee gives the impression of the committee as a bounded and self-contained organization. The interview with a Bobico representative referred to in chapter 3, however, suggested the chart did not represent the actual institutional relations people worked within.

BEIJING AND FAIR PLAY

Beijing's bid material repeatedly states Beijing's commitment to fair play. The bid material stresses the importance of presenting the 'true conditions and capabilities of Beijing' (CD 20.02.01b). The Bobico is reported to stand fully behind every promise made during the bid campaign, and not being tempted to make unrealistic commitments in order to obtain support (NBGO 18.01.01). After allegations from other candidate cities that Beijing was putting on a false face to impress the IOC inspectors, Chinese newspapers reported that no traffic was controlled and all factories kept running when during the IOC evaluation committee visit (CD 23.02.01).

In addition to releasing articles which argued that Beijing was playing fair, the concept of fair play is used in the bid material to discredit opposition against Beijing's bid. People who bring up issues such as the Chinese government's treatment of Falun Gong followers, human rights, democracy and the situation in Tibet in connection with the bid are accused of breaking the rules of fair play, and thereby going against the spirit of the Olympic Games. Criticism from abroad is presented as unfounded, and merely excuses for discriminating against China: '[The US House of Representatives' statement opposing China's bid] is a blatant contradiction of the Olympic principles, said Sun [Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman]. He added it will

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[13] For example, page 29 in the Candidature File contains tables that the proportion of Beijing's GDP attributable to different sectors. The total in these table adds up to less than 90%, and it is hard to determine whether the source of this is due to an omitted 'other'-category or inaccuracy in the figures included. According to the Bobico members I spoke with, the IOC never commented on this mistake (interviews January 2002).

inevitably meet with opposition from fair-minded people throughout the world '(CD 10.01.01). The presentation uses the narrative technique of dividing the world into between 'friends' and 'antagonists'. The storyline created through these articles has only one logical outcome: that the few and unscrupulous antagonists are defeated by the numerous people fighting a just cause. The IOC is placed on the side of the 'friends'. It is described as treating Beijing in an 'objective and fair' way and fighting on Beijing's side against those who stain the Olympic bid process by bringing in 'political factors' (NBGO 17.05.01).

HUMAN RIGHTS

While human rights dominated the Western media coverage of Beijing's Olympic bid, the topic occupied little space in Beijing's Olympic bid material. The commentaries that were made on human rights in the Chinese English-language newspapers generally came as response to criticism raised in the foreign press. The Chinese were especially sensitive to critique from abroad because such critique is perceived by many to have caused the loss of Beijing's bid for the 2000 Games (Sun 2002). The arguments presented in the bid material about human rights went along three lines: that human rights are irrelevant to the bid, that hosting the Olympics is a human right, and that the Olympics will bring about human rights improvement in Beijing. The last argument relates to Beijing's qualities. The first two concern the ideal Olympic city, and stand in direct contradiction to each other. One of them implies that human rights and Olympism are totally unrelated, while the second one claims that Beijing should be given the opportunity to host the Olympic Games because human rights and Olympism *are* related.

'HUMAN RIGHTS ARE IRRELEVANT'

As a response to the human rights critique raised abroad, several of the Chinese newspaper articles argued that China's human rights situation was irrelevant to Beijing's Olympic bid. A rhetorical device that was central in these arguments was to undermine the authority of Beijing's challengers. The arguments of the opponents were refuted through discrediting those who put them forward. Both the British Parliament and the US House of Representatives argued that China's poor human rights record should count against Beijing's Olympic bid. Chinese newspapers discredited the foreign politicians by questioning their competence and motives:

> Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue yesterday refuted the British Parliament's criticism of China's human rights situation and its attempts to use human rights to upset China's bid for the 2008 Olympic Games. "The accusations are utterly unacceptable," said Zhang. "China has made lasting and unremitting efforts to improve its human rights record and great achievements have been

have been made. Anybody without prejudice recognizes that the condition of human rights has never been better in China."

(CD 01.12.00)

Likewise, American critics are charged with not following the Olympic principles, creating a farce, and being injudicious. 'China's foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said last Thursday that the move by the US legislators showed a blatant contempt of and challenge to Olympic principles. "This farce will, inevitably, be spurned by everybody in the sports community who upholds justice," he said' (CD 29.03.01). The articles do not recount the criticism raised by the American and British politicians. The readers are therefore not given the opportunity to check the characterization the articles give. In other articles, accusations of carrying ulterior motives are made even more bluntly: '"The campaign linking the human rights issue with Beijing's bid is merely propaganda put forth by political enemies to taint Beijing's image," He [IOC member] said' (CD 18.06.01). The bid material is not unique in claiming that human rights are used as a red herring. When trade policy has been linked to human rights issues, for example, the US and other Western countries are said to use human rights as a pretext to contain China[14] (Zheng 1999).

When insisting that human rights and the Olympics are unrelated, the Chinese articles about the Olympic bid and human rights draw on the argument that sports and politics are separate issues because sport is supra-political (Booth & Tatz 1994). IOC leaders before Samaranch insisted on an absolute separation between sports and politics (MacAloon 1997). Samaranch admitted that the IOC practices politics, but claimed that it did so in order to protect the humanist ideals of sport, i.e. that politics could be used in the service of sports, not the other way around (Booth & Tatz 1994). This implies that China's human right critics should not use the Olympic Games as a means to further their cause.

The process leading up to the selection of the 2000 Olympics host city indicates that accusation of concealed intentions behind human rights criticism are not entirely unfounded. The head of Sidney's bid committee, Rod McGeoch, planned to secretly fund a British human rights group to research and publish a book on human rights abuses in China as part of a public relations campaign. The New South Wales government discovered the scheme and prevented it from being carried out, but the Australian press wrote about it some years later (Lenskyj 2002).

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[14] This is not to say that the Chinese government in general rejects the idea of human rights. China has signed and ratified international human rights conventions, top Chinese universities have engaged in teaching cooperation with human rights centers in Western countries, and human rights centers have been established in China (Svensson 2000).

'HOSTING THE OLYMPICS IS OUR HUMAN RIGHT'

Parts of the bid material turn the accusations that were put forward by human rights activists around by saying that Beijing *promotes* human rights through its Olympic bid. A language commonly associated with human rights is used to describe Olympism. Beijing and China are presented as defenders of the humanist values of Olympism because they work to promote the Olympic ideals:

> [By speaking against Beijing's Olympic bid, the US senate has] not only interfered in China's internal affairs, but also meddled in the right of the IOC. Their proposal has violated the spirit initiated by the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games spirit forbids any discrimination against a certain country or individual in the name of race, religion, politics, sex or any other pretext. US Congress, under the signboard of human rights, obstructed Beijing's bid for the Olympic Games and China's effort to make contribution to the international Olympic Games and the peace and development of the world.
>
> (PD 11.04.01)

In the above text, the authority of the human rights ideals is projected onto Beijing and China through the choice of words to describe Olympism. Anotehr article claims that hosting the Olympics is a human right the Chinese people should enjoy:

> The Beijing Olympic Bid Committee said on Wednesday that they strived for the right to host the 2008 Games is the very example of respecting human rights in China. 'To bid for the Olympic Games is the aspiration of the 1.3 billion Chinese people. They have the right,' Liu Jinming, Beijing vice mayor and executive vice president of the bid committee, told a news conference.
>
> (PD 01.09.00, grammatical mistake in original)

The claim made by Beijing that hosting the Olympic Games is a human right finds support in the reference to human rights in the Olympic Charter: 'The practice of sports is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practising sports in accordance with his or her needs' (IOC 2002a). This statement gives Beijing's claims legitimacy and credibility which cannot be derived from the United Nations Human Rights-treaties, which do not mention sport.

The article quoted above uses the concept of 'human rights' as if it were clear-cut and indisputable; China has the right, and the US ought to recognize their right. However, the text is not consistent in its claims about human rights. On the one hand it calls for the opponents of the Olympic bid to accept absolute human rights standards, on the other hand it argues for a relativist view of human rights: 'The differences between China and Western countries come from the fact that we all have our own understanding of the human rights'. The Chinese human rights policy today generally contains a mixture of both relativist claims and a willingness to criticize other countries, especially the United States, for their human right records (Svensson 2000).

'GIVE THE GAMES TO BEIJING TO IMPROVE CHINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS-SITUATION'

While some Chinese texts about Beijing's bid claim human rights to be unrelated to Olympism, connections are made between human rights issues and the Olympic Games on other occasions. In line with Marxist theory, China's human rights situation is described as linked to its stage in economic development. At the IOC session in Moscow where Bobico presented Beijing's bid, Mayor Liu Qi asserted that the Olympic Games would further develop China's human rights cause: 'The official [Liu], however, did not shy away from what China need to improve in human rights protection. "On the other side, China is a developing country and it is certain that we still have some improvements to make. But many reforms which are being carried out in all fields are all aimed to give more rights to ordinary people"' (PD 01.09.00). The argument is that the Olympic Games will promote economic development, and thus improve the human rights situation. This argument is assigned authority by references to foreign sources which reason along the same lines. News sources such as Reuters, Financial Times, and Los Angeles Times, as well as foreign Olympic champions, are reported to claim that the Olympic Games will drive China to move faster to a more open society (NBGO 12.07.01b).

The argument that hosting the Olympic Games will improve the human rights situation in China, appeals to the liberalist side in the American debate between liberalists and realists over how China should be treated (Zheng 1999). As opposed to the realists, who maintain that China's nationalism is a threat and that Chinese power must be balanced, the liberalists claim that the continued economic development and international integration of China eventually will lead to democratization and increased Chinese respect for human rights.

DISCUSSION

The texts regarding human rights and Beijing's Olympic bid are marked by inconsistencies and the co-occurrence of contradictory elements. Human rights are sometimes presented as universal, sometimes as culturally specific. In some contexts they are taken as relevant to the bid, in other contexts they are argued to be irrelevant. Some articles fervently contend that human rights are values imposed on China by the West, while they simultaneously advocate for the adoption of Olympism – another foreign set of values. Inconsistencies in argument exist within articles as well as between them, as shown by the following quotation: 'Answering whether the issue of human rights will hinder Beijing's chance of hosting the Games, [Beijing's Mayor] Liu said that the bid for the 2008 Olympics is a sporting issue totally unrelated with a political matter, and what is more, China has made great advance in improving human rights' (NBGO 15.06.01).

Contradictory elements do not only characterizes the writings on human rights and the Olympic bid, but also the Chinese human rights discourse in general. As China is becoming more integrated into the international community politically and economically, it is compelled to engage in the international human rights dialogue. When doing so, the Chinese are increasingly using a language and lines of arguments that are accepted by Westerners. Yet, traditional Chinese arguments, such as national sovereignty and the importance of social over political rights for less developed countries have not lost their significance (Malin Oud, Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights, interview January 2002).

This chapter has shown how Beijing was constructed as an Olympic city through the themes of Third World identity, Oriental identity, technology, environment, popular support, fair play, and human rights. This construction was challenged on two grounds. First, parts of the bid material's presentation of the ideal Olympic city were disputed. Some themes that were central in Beijing's presentation, such as its status as underdeveloped, were claimed by others to be irrelevant to the Olympic bid. With respect to other topics, such as human rights and the environment, there was a dispute over *how* they were relevant to the Olympic bid. Secondly, the way the bid material presented the city of Beijing was disputed. For example, questions were raised about whether Beijing really was committed to environmental improvement, and whether they in fact acted as fair players.

❺ | Dimensions of a worldview

The previous chapter discussed more or less well-defined arguments used to construct Beijing as an Olympic city. In this chapter, the focus is put on two notions which underlie this construction — the notions of time and space. We approach and make sense of the world *through* the concepts of time and space, as well as having knowledge about what time and space *are*. Our understandings of time and space are parts of our worldview, and these understandings therefore often have a taken-for-granted rather than being objects of critical reflection.

Beijing's Olympic bid was presented through existing discourses about time and space. These discourses placed the Olympic bid within a wider course of development, and the bid material thereby *derived meaning* from existing notions of time and space. The Olympic bid also became part of the processes of *attaching* meaning to these notions by reproducing and reworking them. In the following, I first explore how the notions of time itself, the past, the present and the future are constructed in Beijing's Olympic bid material. I then present the part of the analysis which is related to space, in which I examine how the geographical scales of the local, urban, the national, and the global are constructed through the bid material.

TIME

Time is a central concept in the presentation of Beijing's Olympic bid. Much of the bid material, including Beijing's Candidature File, is organized around this concept. From the opening line of the Candidature File, Beijing's Olympic bid is placed within a temporal framework: 'Beijing, with its ancient past, dynamic present and exciting future, has the honor to present its second bid to host the Olympic Games'. The Candidature File also concludes with a temporal reference: 'It is our sincere belief that the time is right for Beijing to celebrate the Olympic Games'.

The bid material displays a teleological understanding of history. The passage of time is depicted as an unbroken process of progress — a unidirectional movement from worse to better, and from lower to higher levels of development. The process of modernization is presented as bound to take place, although its pace is variable. Hosting the Olympic Games is presented as one factor that can influence on this pace: 'Chinese economists have said that Beijing's success-

ful bid to host the 2008 Olympics will help the city achieve modernization ahead of schedule' (Xinhua 30.07.01).

Since conditions are presented as necessarily improving with time, the adjective 'new' is used as an intrinsically positive characterization. Such usage is found in Beijing's main bid slogan — 'New Beijing Great Olympics' — and is even more evident in the Chinese version of the slogan — 'New Beijing New Olympics' (*Xin Beijing Xin Aoyun*). The motto of promotional program for the Olympic bid — 'New Century, New Culture and New Technology' — is another example of using the adjective 'new' to indicate a desirable quality (Xinhua 22.12.00). This motto is also an example of how the bid material links material and civilizational improvement, and presents the two as taking place concurrently. The expressions 'development' and 'modernization' are employed to describe both material and cultural changes for the better, and no essential distinction is made between the two. An excerpt from China's Report on National Economic and Social Development Plans 2000 is an example which illustrates the description of material and civilizational progress as parts of the same development process:

> Radio coverage reached 92.1% of the population and TV coverage, 93.4%. The target for controlling natural population growth was reached. Major advances were made in reform of the drug and health management system. Socialist spiritual civilization and democracy and the legal system further improved. At the XXVII Olympic Games [year 2000], Chinese athletes scored their best achievements since China began participating in the Games, greatly stirring the patriotic feelings of the people all over the country and stimulating them to unite and work hard.
>
> (Xinhua 18.03.01)

According to the report, the expansion of patriotism — a cultural development — inspires people to work hard for a common national goal, and therefore promotes economic development.

What drives the process of progress forward? The bid material portrays development as having two key movers: technology and the Chinese people. The technological optimism displayed in the bid material has been discussed in chapter 4. Technological progress combines with the Chinese people's infatiguable strife for a better future to make progress inevitable (e.g. NBGO 10.07.01). To keep up the pace of progress, people must 'unite their strength and combine their wisdom in the Olympic campaign' (Xinhua 11.01.01). It is presented as crucial that the CCP guides this popular effort. Newspaper articles convey messages from CCP officials about the different roles different groups of people are expected to play in the Olympic bid campaign and Beijing's modernization drive (Xinhua 11.01.01, PD 20.01.01). The Olympic bid material is not unique in putting responsibility for China's progress on the Chinese people. For example, a patriotic education program was launched in 1994 to make students understand

where China was strong and where it lagged behind in order to enhance their sense of responsibility and historical mission (Zhao 1994).

The impression of continuous progress conveyed by the bid material requires something constant which can undergo such a development. A sense of continuity is created within the texts' depiction change, as the change is happening to a timeless and unitary subject which essentially stays the same — the Chinese nation. One of the symbols used for this constant subject is the Great Wall. In Beijing's presentation video made for the IOC conference at which the Olympic host city was elected, the Great Wall ties China's past and present together. Images of the Great Wall are shown, accompanied by a voice-over which suggests that the past and present are in harmony: 'The Great Wall. A monument to the survival of a vibrant culture that has been able to combine the greatness of the past with ever-changing economic, social and technological advances of the present' (IOC 2001b). The video was directed by Zhang Yimou, whose other movies include 'Red Sorghum' and 'Raise the Red Lantern'. Bobico's choice of director indicates that they wanted to focus on the subjectivity of the Chinese nation. Most of Zhang's previous movies have had a nationalistic content, not in the sense that they articulate a national agenda in political terms, but because they have been means for collective Chinese cultural self-assertion (Zhang 1997). The Chinese nation's commitment to sportsmanship is also presented as something which has existed forever, but has taken on a more advanced expression as time has passed. Two days before the IOC decided on the Olympic host city, China Daily printed an article which traced the practice of sports in China back to the Xia dynasty 4000 years ago (CD 10.07.01). The dream to host the Olympic Games in Beijing is claimed to be as old as the modern Olympic Games themselves (NBGO 10.07.01).

A sense of inevitability and purpose is conveyed through Beijing's bid material depiction of time. As noted in chapter 1, nationalism has become a means to strengthen CCP's legitimacy and provide people with a sense of purpose and meaning which once was given by Maoist communism. Stress on the historical continuity of the Chinese nation, as well as on the need to develop and strengthen China, has been important features of the post-communist nationalism (Unger 1996). The way the bid material provides meaning and direction to the passage of time is an example of how nationalism can turn 'chance into destiny' and 'contingency into purpose' (Anderson 1991:12). Both Beijing's Olympic bid material and texts produced by the Olympic movement are marked by a certain ambiguity towards the project of modernization, however. While the texts convey a sense of inevitable progress, they also endorse myths of some original states that ought to be revived.

'ANCIENT PAST'

The bid material often describes the key to future accomplishments to be found in *distant* historical periods. Progress in such fields as environmental protection is traced back to ancient Chinese philosophy and scientific discoveries (CF 2001:49). The references to the eminence of the ancient Chinese civilization arguably contradict the depiction constant progress. However, the bid material does not present China's ancient history as an earlier stage in the present development process, but as a legendary period which shows the potential of greatness in the present Chinese nation. The future holds a promise for realizing this potential, and is thus as mythical as the past.

Ideals of historical preservation and faith in a glorious past combined with images of a great future, termed 'restoration nationalism', became central in the Chinese official discourse in the 1990s (Ko 2001). China's economic success was explained with reference to China's earlier experience with commerce and trade (Zürndorfer 1997). The Chinese government's depiction of traditional 'Asian values' and Confucianism as conducive to economic development represented a break with ideas that were dominant during the second half of the 1980s, when socio-economic problems commonly were blamed on remnants of traditional Chinese culture and mentality (Wang 1996).

While the references to China's history are frequent in the bid material, the topic is often just mentioned incidentally and in subsidiary clauses, such as in the following quotation: 'Beijing with a 3000-year-old history has invested heavily to upgrade the city's traffic network. Among the numerous projects planned or already started are two subway lines and a new ring road '(Xinhua 28.12.00). The article includes no other references to history. A coherent reading of the text must build on an assumption of some connection between building new infrastructure and having a long history. Unlike me, the Chinese students and journalists whom I showed the article to did not perceive the reference to history as misplaced. Which background information did they draw on to read the text coherently? A journalist said that references to history often were made simply out of habit, and that Chinese readers probably would not take note of them because they conceive it as a formality of writing than a piece of information (interview January 2002). Another journalist said that the long history demonstrated China's power: '[The Chinese] have a history of over 3000 years. This point can show that I am powerful. […] For the main part, I guess why they mention the history so much is that it demonstrates their power' (interview January 2002). The article can be read coherently if one equates having a long history with being strong, because the strength makes China more capable of building good infrastructure. The assumption of a relationship between a long history and national

strength has been attempted explained in international relations-literature about China, which suggests that a long, common history is a symbol of Chinese unity. A strong, centralized state is a precondition for China to be strong in the nation-state system, and a long history is therefore a marker of strength (Zheng 1999).

A long history, as well being associated with strength and power, is argued to give Beijing a distinct and unique character which can enrich the Olympic Games. This argument is related to the Oriental identity-argument outlined in chapter 4. The city's historical sites are said to provide an excellent frame for the competitions, the opening- and closing ceremonies, and Olympic promotional activities. Beijing's long history will not only make the Games interesting while they are going on, but also contribute to the development of the Olympic culture:

> China's ancient and colourful culture will surely enrich Olympic culture if Beijing hosts the 2008 Summer Games. […] Fireworks, which were invented by the Chinese, will decorate the night sky. With a 3,000-year long history, Beijing promises to provide a truly remarkable spectacle if it hosts the 2008 Olympic Games, said Beijing Mayor Liu Qi in a recent interview.
>
> (CD 10.07.01)

The bid material points out that Beijing's history is traced back longer than that of any previous Olympic host city. Together with China's unique population size, the long history will make the 2008 Olympic Games unique (NBGO 12.07.01).

When Beijing refers to the past as a mythical, distant period, it reproduces images previously presented by the IOC and former Olympic host cities. Several Olympic Games have been presented as an opportunity to reclaim an authentic, original state. Lillehammer was declared as 'the cradle of skiing', Athens emphasized that the Olympic Games originated in the city, and Paris pointed out that it was the venue of the first modern Olympic games. The performances at the opening ceremonies are often built up around references to some essential and original qualities by the way they are cast in dichotomies such as good/evil and peace/war. The plots of many ceremonies contain conflicts which are set in a mythical past, era ('once upon a time') and outside geography. The stories they tell are clichés detached from the ambiguities and dilemmas of ordinary life. Only by being so can they place everybody in the audience on the side of 'the good', and only by referring to an immemorial past can history be incontestable and universal.

A depiction of the past as much simpler and more harmonious, than the present can also be found in IOC material. The Olympic Games themselves are depicted as a revival of past greatness and virtue. The founder of the modern Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, contrasts the anxiety of modern life with the happiness of the past, and claims sport to bring people back to

their origin: 'O Sport, pleasure of the Gods, essence of life, you appeared suddenly in the midst of the gray clearing which writhes with the drudgery of modern existence, like the radiant messenger of a past age, when mankind still smiled (Coubertin 2002 [orig. 1912]). Such images of a mythological past are drawn upon when the IOC explains its actions and mission. For example, the establishment of the so-called Olympic Truce Foundation in 2000 was referred to as the revival of an ancient Greek tradition. In short, the IOC material and Beijing's Olympic bid material share much of the same melancholic sense of loss combined with a faith in progress.

The presentation of Beijing's ancient history is by and large the same across the Olympic bid material. The presentation of China's recent history, on the other hand, is less unitary and at times contradictory. Political changes in China have often been accompanied by alterations of the presentation of the past, as politicians consciously have 'used the past to serve the present'. Ideological changes may lead to inconsistencies in how the history is presented. In the bid material, China is on the one hand is presented as a country whose development in recent times has been hampered by unjust foreign treatment, while on the other hand being portrayed as a country which has progressed through openness and co-operation with the rest of the world. When Beijing lost its bid for the 2000 Olympics, the defeat was presented in the Chinese press as the last of many historical humiliations brought upon China by the West (Xu 1998). For the 2008 bid, some Chinese articles about foreign opposition against Beijing's bid suggested that such an interpretation would be appropriate if Beijing lost again. However, most of the bid material presented the Olympic selection process as fair, open and one in which the best candidate city wins. Both the journalists and the Bobico representatives I interviewed insisted that they would not blame a loss on the international community, but work to improve Beijing further (interviews January 2002).

Any one text or statement that depicts China *both* as a continued victim of historical injustices, and as an internationally respected country which is given good opportunities to prosper within the international system, may seem inconsistent. A quotation from a journalist indicates that he felt a need to choose between the two ways of portraying China's past. He began his argument by presenting the 'historical suffering'-image of China's past, but changed his mind. Before he continued by explaining how China has progressed through openness, he asked me to ignore the first part of the answer: 'New Beijing… You know, we have experienced, we have suffered the… No, no, no. We had the first bid, alright? In 1993. So now after seven years we have achieved a lot. […] You can say the people become more internationally minded, become more open-minded' (interview January 2002). In this case, there was an obvious conflict between the two interpretations of history. As long as the text producer or the reader does not perceive there to be such a conflict, however, the coexistence of the two ways of representing China's

recent past in the bid material may not undermine the credibility of the texts. On the contrary, the ambiguity concerning the representation of the past can be a resource, because it allows authors to draw upon different explanations depending on the argument they want to make.

In summary, the bid material presents the distant past as holding a promise of greatness, and the recent past as being a time of hardship, the cause of which is sometimes placed on foreign hostility. The promise of the distant past is evoked in calls for a break with the underdevelopment of the recent past. The present time is a period in which Beijing and China must mobilize their strength to realize their unfulfilled potential. This is the topic of the next section.

'Dynamic present'

The present time is represented as a period of transition, marked by fast economic, technological, and environmental progress. When the IOC evaluation committee visited Beijing, Beijing's mayor expressed hope that the committee members would see the *potential* in Beijing as well as its current achievements:

> Liu said he would like them to see the real Beijing, ancient and modern, imperfect but with unlimited development potential. Liu admitted that Beijing, a developing city in a developing country, cannot match Paris or Toronto in infrastructure at present. But he believes that the fastest developing city in the world will be comparable to some of the best cities in the world by the year 2008.
>
> (CD 07.02.01)

The bid material's depiction of China as an underdeveloped country is integral to the presentation of the present time as dynamic, as it is China's 'boundless potential for development' that makes its fast progress today possible (CD 22.10.00).

Obtaining 'world class' is the aim of Beijing's 'dynamic present'. For this goal, people must 'unite their strength and combine their wisdom' (Xinhua 11.01.01). One way to do this is to learn English, and many articles recount how people make an effort to learn English to contribute to Beijing's modernization: 'From government employees to housewives, Beijingers feel proud to be able to speak in English, which they consider important in building Beijing into an international metropolis' (Xinhua 06.12.00). The focus on the importance of obtaining 'world class' is not unique to the bid material, but can be found in the Chinese official discourse in general. Former president Jiang Zemin described the present time as 'a stage in which we will gradually narrow the gap between our level of development and the advanced world standard and bring about a great rejuvenation on the basis of socialism' (Moore 1999:89).

People both in less developed countries and Western world are presented as supportive of Beijing's present fast development. The former hope that China's progress and the positive

effects of the Olympic will spill over to them, while the latter are portrayed as impressed with the city's 'rocket speed' development (NBGO 06.06.01, CD 25.05.01).

The 'dynamic present' described in the bid material is a stage of in-between-ness, between being underdeveloped and being a modern 'world city'. Hosting the Olympics can mark the end of this state. As well as adding momentum to Beijing's modernization process, the Olympic Games are portrayed as a ceremony which *symbolizes* the change in Beijing. The Olympic Games can be described as a *rite de passage* — a dramatized event to mark the transition from one state to another. The term was originally used in anthropology about ceremonies through which a person acquired a new status, and the social order simultaneously was reconfirmed (Eriksen 1993).

The concept of *rite de passage* captures two aspects of how the present time is depicted in the Beijing's Olympic bid material. First, the bid material claims that time now is due for the world to recognize that Beijing and China have changed. The Olympics would mark China's change from being an outsider to the international community to becoming an insider, and from being underdeveloped to becoming modern (CF 2001). Secondly, the Olympic Games reconfirm the structure within which Beijing's transition is made. While Mao aspired to make China an alternative model for development and overthrow the existing world system, his successors sought to restore China to its historical greatness *within* the existing international economic and political order (Moore 1999). As discussed in chapter 2, the Olympics can be used as a shop-window for alternatives to Capitalism, such as the Olympic Games in Moscow in 1980 were. Beijing's Olympic bid material, on the other hand, displays an ambition to promote the country's position without changing the international system. It portrays a China that opens its markets, invites foreign investors, reforms its legal and political system, and is eager to learn from foreign experts in order to become recognized by the major world powers and take her rightful place in the world system. In other words, the discourse of the virtues of the market economic system and economic openness, which presently is dominant both in China and the West, is reproduced in bid material.

'EXCITING FUTURE'

The 'dynamic present' is claimed to end up in an 'exciting future'. The vision for the future presented in Beijing's Olympic bid material has much in common with Western modernization theory (Smekal 1990). This includes faith in the benefits of trade, the inevitability of economic development, scientific progress, and a rational management of society. The same belief in modernization characterizes Olympic movement, as discussed in chapter 4. The newspaper

articles' description of Beijing's future as exciting and promising is consistent with the role the Chinese state has assigned to the media of installing an optimistic view of the future (Li 1998).

Like the dynamism of the present, the promise of the future is linked to technological solutions and good performance within the capitalist economic system. China entered the WTO shortly after Beijing won the rights to host the Olympics, and newspaper articles about the Olympic bid often associate future prosperity with the WTO entry in particular and increased trade with the rest of the world in general (CD 19.02.01). The economic openness must be combined with good guidance from the government if Beijing is to earn a future place among the world's most influential cities (PD 20.01.01).

The Olympic infrastructure projects are presented as flagship developments which will spearhead China's entry into a more prosperous future, and serve as models for the modernization process elsewhere: 'The development of the Olympic Village will become a model for Beijing, China and the rest of the world in environmentally sustainable urban development and communication technology, […] a model of a 21st century residential suburb' (CF 2001:349). The bid material assumes the development created by hosting the Olympics to diffuse. It states that investments in Olympic infrastructure will yield future benefits in all of China, but does not specify *how* this process will take place. As discussed in chapter 1, Chinese policies have recently favored uneven development because it is believed that the areas that are selected to be developed first will serve as models for other places and generate prosperity that 'trickles down'.

GEOGRAPHICAL SCALES

Geographical scales are constructed through presupposition rather than explicit arguments in Beijing's Olympic bid material. The material assumes certain scalar levels to contain certain events and qualities. The different scalar levels, like the time periods, are defined in relation to each other, and changes in the depiction of any one scalar level would therefore often entail changes in how other levels are represented. In the following, I will analyze the bid material's construction of four scalar levels — the individual, urban, national, and global scales. All of these scales were mentioned when Bobico outlined why they had great confidence in a successful bid:

> The confidence is based on following reasons. Firstly due to all-out support from across the nation. The results of a poll conducted by the IOC show that over 95 per cent of Beijing citizens support the bid. That is the highest number of the five candidate cities. 'The Beijing Games will be the people's Games,' Wang [secretary-general of Bobico] said. Secondly, Beijing has won strong governmental support which will help to ensure the Games are a success. Thirdly, the 10 per cent GDP increase over the past decade and the dramatic improvement in infrastructure and the environment will en-

able Beijing to hold a sporting event like the Olympics. And lastly an encouraging report published in May by the IOC Evaluation Commission says Beijing is able to host an excellent Game and the Beijing Games will leave a legacy to China and to sport.

(CD 13.07.01)

The account indicates what belongs at which scale. The desire to host the Olympic Games, and the benefits from the games, are presented to be located at the *individual* scale. The unit that bids for the Olympics is presented to be Beijing as a *city*. Beijing, however, needs support from the *national* government to successfully host the games. Finally, the *international* community, represented by the IOC, must recognize Beijing as a good host of the Olympic Games.

I begin the analysis by presenting how the personal scale was used in the arguments presented for giving the games to Beijing, and in countering critique against Beijing's bid. The bid material will be discussed as if it always made a clear distinction between the different scales. When the texts contain arguments that specifically refer to scale, such distinctions are upheld, whereas in several different scales are conflated. The terms 'Beijing' and 'China', for example, are at times used interchangeably and commented upon as if they were one entity.

THE INDIVIDUAL SCALE

As has been discussed in chapter 4, ordinary people's enthusiasm about Beijing's Olympic bid is a prominent topic in Beijing's bid material, and putting emphasis on popular backing for the bid can help a bid city gain IOC support. Presenting the Olympics as the desire of Chinese individuals is also a useful strategic resource because claims made about individuals often are more difficult to refute than general claims. A Chinese journalist gave the following reason for the China Daily's reports about the support from individuals, especially people from Tibet and Xinjiang: 'The China Daily wants to let you know that there are people there supporting the games. This is the fact, only the fact. That is enough; they don't care if there is someone who will oppose the games' (interview January 2002). The individual scale allows the newspaper articles to give an impression of widespread support for the Olympic bid, while they avoid touching upon the problems of separatism in Tibet and Xinjiang and commenting on the concrete ways the different provinces will be affected by the Olympics — especially their high costs. That Beijing is an Olympic city can thereby be presented as an uncontroversial issue. The devotion expressed through accounts of the support from individuals sometimes so strong it almost takes on a religious character, such as in the following report about four farmers from Shanxi:

> Four farmers rode donkeys from the hometown in Shanxi province in Northwest China to Bobico
> headquarters in Beijing to express their support for Beijing to bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games.
> The four farmers could have taken a train or bus, but instead, they decided to make their pilgrimage
> by riding a donkey all the way to Xinqiao Hotel where Bobico's headquarters is located.

(NBGO 18.01.01b)

Focusing on the Olympics as a desire of the people is also rhetorically useful in countering foreign criticism against Beijing's Olympic bid. Such criticism, while mostly directed at Chinese national level politics, is often portrayed in the bid material as hostility towards the Chinese as individuals. Attention is thereby diverted away from the critique of China's political regime. The concept of 'human rights' is used to connect the critique against the bid to the individual scale. Getting a chance to host the Olympics is presented as every person's right, as well as being part of Chinese people's self-realization: 'As is stressed by both the Olympic Movement and human rights, everybody has the right to participate in what they are concerned about. Now the Chinese have an aspiration to hold the Games in China and this is just their human right' (Xinhua 31.08.00). Critique directed at China at the national scale was deferred to the individual scale in the Chinese media for example in connection with the US senate's threat to pass a resolution opposing Beijing's bid. This opposition was presented as an attack on '1.25 billion Chinese people' and '12 million Beijingers' and a 'challenge to the universally recognized human right principle' (letter from China's ambassador to the US, reprinted in PD 11.04.01).

The Chinese description of the Olympic bid as a wish coming from the people was noticed outside China. Foreign newspapers reported that some of China's human rights critics were afraid of that the Chinese people would think the aimed at harming them rather than the government. For example, Joseph Biden, the head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, objected to the resolution against Beijing's Olympic bid because it 'would be a slap in the face for the Chinese people' (SCMP 12.07.01). The amount of foreign criticism against the bid thus may have been curbed by Chinese media's portrayal of foreign critique as directed at the Chinese people.

THE URBAN SCALE

The bid material focuses strongly on the changes the Olympic Games will bring about in the city of Beijing. Central in this process is a strengthening of Beijing's global ties and a transformation of the city into 'an international city'. In discussions of Beijing's development, the newspaper articles bring up topics such as good living environments, science parks, research centres, and a rich and internationally oriented cultural life, rather than issues of welfare sys-

tems and income equality, for example. These features are the same as those emphasized in entrepreneurial strategies for urban development, as discussed in chapter 2.

An urban-level focus on the Olympic bid is kept in the parts of the bid material that concentrate on the impact of the Olympics on urban development. Other texts explicitly place the bid at the urban scale. When asked about the differences between the bids for the 2000 Olympic Games and the 2008 Games, the executive vice-president of Bobico answered that 'this time, it is Beijing bidding, not the country bidding' (Lawrence 2000). The mottoes of the two bids also signify a change in scalar focus. The slogan for the first bid — 'A more open China awaits the 2000 Games' — was centered on the national, while the motto of the 2008 bid — 'New Beijing Great Olympics' — is centered on the city of Beijing. Bobico could draw on IOC material when arguing that the bid should be interpreted as an urban event, as the Olympic Charter declares that cities, not countries, bid for and hosts the Olympic Games (IOC 2002a). The Charter can be referred to when claiming that the foreign criticism against the bid on grounds of Chinese national level politics is directed at the wrong geographical scale, and therefore invalid.

The focus on urban development effects of the bid gave Bobico an opportunity to downplay the gravity of a potential loss. A journalist who had contact with Bobico throughout the bid period said that they certainly were 'afraid of losing the bid, but they pretended — or they said — that they were not afraid because running the bid will help the development of the city' (interview January 2002). A Bobico representative said she thought people, while 'calmly and wholeheartedly' supporting the bid, also would have accepted a loss gracefully because they would appreciate the benefits brought to Beijing by the bid process:

> If the bid were unsuccessful, it would nevertheless increase Beijing's 'celebrity rating', make even more people understand Beijing, improve Beijing's image abroad, increase the interest in investing here, enrich Beijing's cultural life… The bid had many advantages for the development of Beijing, for the daily building of culture and civilization, and for improving 'hardware', such as the environment and recreational areas.
>
> (Interview January 2002)

Beijing's loss of its bid for the 2000 Olympics resulted in anti-foreign nationalism. The United States in particular was blamed for what was perceived as *China's* loss, because the American House of Representatives had adopted a resolution against Beijing's Olympic bid (Xu 1998). People engaged in anti-foreign demonstrations, and Western countries were accused of attempting to keep China underdeveloped (Zheng 1999). The anti-foreign sentiments constituted a threat to the current national development strategy, and ultimately to the ruling regime, which derived legitimacy from China's economic growth (Renwick & Cao 1999). There is also a danger that anti-foreign demonstrations turn against the Chinese government itself for dis-

playing a submissive attitude towards foreigners. After the loss in 1993, the government ended up banning anti-US demonstrations and organizing official campaigns to constrain popular nationalism in order to prevent such damage (Xu 1998, Zheng 1999). A focus on the urban scale in the 2008 Olympic bid, rather than on the national scale, could prevent a potential loss from fuelling popular nationalism.

THE NATIONAL SCALE

While putting the emphasis on the urban level is an advantage in some contexts, foregrounding the national commitment to hosting Olympic Games is advantageous in other situations. National moral and financial support is presented as essential for Beijing to be an Olympic city. The 2008 Olympic bid is made at a time when the role of private companies and foreign investment capital to an increasing degree are presented as engines for development in China, a role which previously was occupied by the state (Oakes 1999). The bid material puts much of the driving force behind progress back on the national scale by depicting the national government as crucial to Beijing's success in becoming an Olympic host city.

The backing from the central government was given a prominent place in Beijing's Candidature File. Letters of support from China's president Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji were put in the front of the book, and precede the letters written by the mayor of Beijing and the president of the Chinese Olympic Committee. Both President Jiang and Premier Zhu stressed that Beijing's success depends on support form the central government and the Chinese people (CF 2001). Moral support for the bid from central government officials features as prominently in the bid material as the financial support provided by the national level. Reports of CCP leaders' support cover topics ranging from meetings with IOC members and the leaders of foreign countries, to their engagement in grass-root activities such as the Olympic tree planting mentioned in chapter 4 (PD 02.04.01).

When the IOC made an evaluation report about the five short-listed candidate cities for the 2008 Olympic Games, the strong support from the national government was highlighted as one of Beijing's strengths. The IOC demands large investment and financial guarantees from the candidate cities, which normally requires heavy national involvement. Osaka, one of Beijing's contenders, was effectively excluded from the race because of the weak involvement from the national government (IOC 2001c). The IOC's commendation of the Chinese central government's involvement in the Olympic bid process was picked up by Chinese newspapers (CD 22.02.01). Such reports show that the Chinese central government is strong and able to make the right choices, which may give the CCP legitimacy which extends beyond the Olympic bid.

The modern Olympic Games were initiated a century ago, when nation-state consciousness was on the rise in Europe (Roche 2000). The Games provide an opportunity for displaying national identity vis-à-vis other nations, and thereby for consolidating this identity. The Olympic Games' ability to incite patriotism is highlighted as a positive quality in Chinese newspapers (Xinhua 18.03.01). The bid material furthers an official patriotic ideology in which aspirations for national greatness and an internationally open-minded optimism are central features (Unger 1996). As opposed to the anti-foreign popular nationalism discussed above, patriotism is not a threat to the legitimacy of the central government. The patriotism includes a vision of Chinese national unity, which is promoted in the bid material through a selective representation of multicultural diversity. When writing about minority cultures, the emphasis is put on art and cultural performances rather than on differences in systems of meanings and values, and the diversity represented is thus non-threatening to Chinese national unity.

Beijing was not the first Olympic candidate city to use ethnic diversity as part of its Olympic bid campaign. In its bid for the 1996 Olympics, Melbourne discovered that the IOC 'loved the aboriginal angle', and consequently gave great attention to the issue (Lenskyj 2002:78). In the case of Australia too, the diversity the Olympic organizers attempted to display was one without conflict. It was not looked well upon when some Australian aboriginals highlighted past and ongoing conflicts with the Australian national government in connection with Sidney's Olympic Games, and thereby challenges the image of national unity (Lenskyj 2002).

THE GLOBAL SCALE

The IOC claims to be the representative of a global community which is united by the Olympic ideals. As stated by former IOC president Samaranch, 'The Olympic Games belong not to the IOC, but to humanity. The Olympic Games are the whole world's dream and the IOC's role is to perpetuate that dream' (IOC 2002). The Olympic Charter declares that sport should be used for the improvement of the human condition generally, and that the Olympism covers all five continents (IOC 2001). IOC representatives have said that more countries, given that they had sufficient organizational capacity, should get the opportunity to host the Olympics (IOC Conference on the social legacies of the Olympic Games, November 2002). For a long time, the IOC has also expressed a wish to reach more people, and specifically mentioned the 'human anthills' of Asia in its official publication *Olympic Review* (Clement 1985).

Beijing's bid material re-affirms the Olympic movement's globalist claims, and uses them to argue that Beijing is a suitable host city of the 2008 Olympic Games. The bid material argues that reaching a large number of people and countries gives the Olympic movement a more

global character. China has 1.3 billion inhabitants, and has not hosted the Olympic Games before. Making Beijing the 2008 Olympic host city would be a 'natural choice', and in line with the founder of the modern Olympic Games Pierre de Coubertin's vision for Olympism, Bobico argues (NBGO 01.05.01; 01.02.01).

The Olympic Movement can also achieve a more global character by reaching places which are *qualitatively* different from those which have already adopted the Olympic ideals. The bid material depicts the world as divided into parts which are essentially dissimilar, in which Olympism has spread into one part, but still has an unrealized potential in the other. Two such divisions are between developed and developing countries, and the Western and the Eastern world. Beijing gained a strategic resource by combining its professed identity as underdeveloped and Oriental with the Olympic movement's proclaimed ambitions for a global reach. The differences between the Eastern and the Western world and between the Third World and the developed countries are *created in order to be transcended*. If Beijing hosts the Olympic Games, Olympism is globalized, and difference is turned into sameness: Beijing is developed, and the Eastern world adopts the Olympic values which the West already has endorsed.

The Olympic Movement's self-depiction depends on the existence of places which can be changed by Olympism. The IOC presents Olympism as a driving force for modernization and a universalistic humanism. Such a concept of Olympism must refer to something which is still non-modern, but has the potential to be modernized (Roche 2000). Beijing's bid material positions Beijing as such a place, and thereby reconfirms the Olympic Movement's claim to be a universal force for modernization. Beijing is by no means alone in using the IOC's vision for global reach rhetorically in its Olympic bid material. Like Beijing, Cape Town emphasized its underdeveloped status when applying for the 2004 Olympics (Hiller 2000). Istanbul — Beijing's contender for the 2008 Games — argued in comparable ways by saying that they could bring Olympism to the Islamic world, in which the Games have never been hosted.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TIME AND SPACE

Organizing the Olympic Games poses a huge economic challenge even in developed countries, and the legitimacy of such projects has been questioned both during the bidding stage and in the preparations for the games in cities throughout the world (Lenskyj 2002). In developing countries like China, how can the project of hosting the Olympic Games, with its enormous costs and unpredictable benefits, be justified? More important to this justification than concrete arguments comparing the costs and benefits of the Olympic, is the sense of *imperative* conveyed through the texts. The constructions of certain understandings of time and space, and the way

these are intertwined, are integral to the sense of necessity and purpose conveyed through the bid material.

The future is associated with the global spatial scale by the way the bid material gives prominence to the goal of becoming an 'international city'. The economy and civilization undergo a parallel development towards this goal, a development which follows a 'modernization timetable' (Xinhua 30.07.01). The need to achieve international respect is a recurring theme, and Beijing's and China's achievements are measured with respect to an international hierarchy based on cities' and countries' levels of development. Several texts combine an emphasis on economic success with a social-Darwinist view of international relations. A *Beijing 2008 Information Bulletin*, for example, portrays the international environment as hostile, but one in which China nevertheless grew powerful by means of its own strength (Bobico 2001). Those countries which perform poorly economically and fail to reach higher levels of development, are presented as easy preys of imperialism and defenseless against unfair treatment. When China was poor, she was marginalized in the international system, whereas the economically strong China of today incites respect from other countries (Bobico 2001). Such descriptions add urgency to the project of economic development.

The portrayal of time and space in the bid material displays similarities with an image of Chinese development which has been termed 'global nationalism'. This has involved an recollection of indignities in the recent past, as well as the greatness of the distant past. Globalization is depicted as a national challenge through which past greatness is to be re-established (Moore 1999). Hosting the Olympics is presented as a way to obtain this goal.

The Olympic bid material presents Beijing's past and future not as abstract states, but through current spatial referents. Beijing's imagined future condition is modeled on Western cities. Beijing's transport system and central business district, for example, are envisioned to be like those of present-day New York, Paris and London (SCMP 26.12.00). The city is said to be 'as dynamic as New York, charming as Paris, sprawling as London, modern as Tokyo' (NBGO 03.01.01). Beijing's past is given a geographical referent in other developing countries, especially African ones. China is depicted as a country which *always* will be more developed than other developing countries (NBGO June 2001a). China once was where other developing countries are now, and, conversely, other developing countries will in the future get to where China is at present. In short, the world depicted to have a given temporal and spatial order, and order within which it is natural for Beijing to host the Olympic Games.

⑥ Discussion and conclusions

In my analysis, I have shown how Beijing is constructed as an Olympic city through a system of similarities and differences. The bid material presented the concepts of 'Olympism', 'modernity', 'universality/globality', 'new', and 'the West' as being equivalent in certain respects. 'Olympism' was described as a driving force behind modernity, as a universal and global value, and as associated with the new (and thus superior) and the Western world. The meanings of these concepts are also determined by their oppositions — 'modernity' is defined in relation to the 'underdevelopment', 'the new' is described in relation to 'the old', and the universalism of the Olympic ideals are opposed to the particular features of Beijing and the Orient.

On the one hand, my analysis has focused on regularity, completeness and structure. I have described the worldview presented through the Olympic bid material, and traced some of its elements to other discourses. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that the bid material contains many ambiguities. While dichotomies such as modernity/underdevelopment and Western/Oriental are upheld throughout the bid material, Beijing's is described as having various positions with respect to these qualities. This ambiguity is a resource rather than a weakness, as different identities can be stressed in different contexts depending on the goals one wants to pursue. Below, I reiterate some of the points that were brought up in my analysis in relation to the two bodies of literature I discussed in chapter 2.

PREVIOUS OLYMPIC RESEARCH RECONSIDERED

Achieving 'world class' status is presented as the aim of Beijing's Olympic bid and the city's development in general. As the discussion of previous Olympic research in chapter 2 shows, place marketing literature takes for granted that places need to give primacy to enhancing their position in the global struggle for mobile resources. Arguments referring to 'world class' have also been important in justifying policies informed by entrepreneurial goals rather than welfare goals, including bids for the Olympic Games (Waitt 1999). The arguments are variations over the theme of Margareth Thatcher's catchphrase 'TINA — There Is No Alternative' (Merrifield 1993). Bidding for the Olympics is seen as a game cities *have to* play because jobs and prosperity no longer are ensured by heavy industry and manufacturing, and funds for welfare services are dwindling (Cochrane *et al.* 2002). The rhetorics of a need to create a 'world class

city' is used to create local and national enthusiasm for hosting the Olympics, and serves both to defend the expenses of the Olympic bids in times of welfare cutbacks and to raise grants from national level governments (Wamsley 2002).

Beijing's Olympic bid shares with the Olympic bids put forward as part of entrepreneurial strategies in Western cities a focus on obtaining 'world class'. However, a comparison of Beijing's bid material with the literature about the economic dimension of the Olympic Games bid discussed in chapter 2 reveals great differences in the way they employ this concept. In literature about entrepreneurial strategies, working to achieve 'world class' is depicted as a way of adjusting to a situation in which traditional sources of welfare and financial security have disappeared. In Beijing's bid material on the other hand, making Beijing into a 'world class city' and succeeding economically is depicted a means to restore Chinese national greatness and gain international respect. The material portrays the level of respect in the international community as directly linked to the level of economic development — Beijing was looked down upon in the recent past for being underdeveloped, and the world disrespects African nations today for the same reason. The Olympic Games are presented as an opportunity to further China's modernization process, and thereby to become a respected member of the international community and display the virtues of Chinese civilization abroad. So far, most studies have focused either on the international relations dimension of the Olympic Games or on the Games as an urban economic strategy. The above discussion demonstrates the need to consider these two dimensions *together* in the case of Beijing's Olympic bid.

The so-called global nationalism promoted through the Olympic bid has effects which reach far into people's lives in Beijing. The urban landscape is radically changed, Olympic themes are introduced in the school curriculum, and the year 2008 is established as a historical reference point. The literature on the experiential dimension of the Olympic Games points to questions on the hegemonic nature of official representations of Beijing's Olympic bid, and how these representations are subjected to individual, spontaneous re-interpretations. How people in China experience and react to the Games ultimately affects their effectiveness as an instrument for the government to use them to attract international investments and to create a favorable image of China abroad. Analyzing the experiential dimension of Beijing's Olympic bid is beyond the scope of this thesis as it would require an exploration of how the official discourse of Beijing as an Olympic city is consumed.

Discourse analysis can supplement existing social scientific research on the Olympic Games, not by finding new answers to the questions posed by the existing literature, but by asking new questions. Much of the research on the international relations dimension and the economic dimension of the Olympic Games has focused on questions of *who* is doing what, with which *intentions* and which *outcomes*. In this thesis, on the other hand, the attention is directed

at *how* a certain image of Beijing and Olympism is constructed, and how this construction is related to the context within which it is made. The aim of this thesis is to present alternatives to existing representations, and through this change the perspective through which the reader sees the world.

STUDYING PLACE AND MEANING THROUGH AN OLYMPIC BID

Olympic bids are distinct and clearly directed processes through which meanings are assigned to places. The limited duration of the bid period, the large amount of textual material produced specifically for the purpose of the bid, the relatively well-defined goal of Olympic bid campaigns, and the way these campaigns are specifically directed at an international audience are all features which make the process of assigning meaning to places through Olympic bids different from most other processes of place construction. These features, and the great practical implications of the outcome of Olympic bid campaigns, arguably make Olympic bids interesting cases for studying the processes of assigning meanings to places.

All places are constructed under a range of influences. In constructions of 'Olympic cities' through Olympic bids, the IOC can be singled out as a particularly strong source of influence. In the case of Beijing's Olympic bid, the city was constructed as 'Olympic' within the context of the two strongly modernist ideologies of the Chinese government and the Olympic movement. A modernist view of development was reproduced through the system of similarities and differences in the bid material. In some context, Beijing and the Olympic movement are positioned in similar ways with respect to the process of modernization. For example, both Olympism and the Chinese nation are depicted as essentially stable entities which offer continuity within the permanence of change. Images of permanence and change are drawn upon to describe the Olympic Movement and Beijing as simultaneously modern and deeply historical. In other contexts, the Olympic Movement and Beijing are assigned complementary functions. As mentioned in chapter 5, the oppositions which structure the bid material are rhetorically useful because they have the potential to be transcended. Through the bid material, Beijing is made into an object that needs to be changed, and presents the Olympic movement as a force for such change. The bid material thereby reinforces the Olympic movement's image as an engine for modernization and progress while making the case for giving Beijing the right to host the Olympic Games.

IMPLICATIONS

The Olympic bid material assigns purpose and inevitability to Beijing's development. Hosting the Olympics is presented as the natural step for Beijing to make at this stage in its development, rather than a political choice which entails advantages and disadvantages which will be

unevenly distributed, geographically and socially. Such a presentation marginalizes critics of the Beijing's Olympic bid by making them appear to either be against Beijing's and China's progress, or to be trying to go against the natural development. A comparison of the costs versus the benefits of the Games also makes little sense if hosting the Olympic Games is an imperative. Therefore, if one accepts the view that hosting the Games is a necessity, one is less likely to question priorities made in connection with the Olympic bid.

The presentation of some themes as naturally connected with Olympism obscures the fact that the themes on which the bid material focuses is a result of *choices*. These choices are made within a national and international context that entails pressures and interests pulling in different directions. The Beijing Olympic Bid Committee and the journalists drew creatively both on Western and Chinese existing discourses, which were reinforced, remolded or rejected as they were written into Beijing's bid material. Environmental protection has become an important part of IOC rhetoric, as opposed to the social impact of the Games. This influenced how Beijing made the environment central in its Olympic bid process (Bobico representative, interview January 2002), and it made the lack of references to the social impact of the Olympic construction projects in Beijing's bid material less conspicuous. The image given by Western media of the international community as pressuring for social progress, and Beijing as conceding to or resisting such pressure, is therefore highly inappropriate.

Through this thesis, I have attempted to denaturalize the construction of Beijing as an Olympic city, and thereby open it to challenge. Descriptions of the Olympic Movement as a universally progressive force, and the rhetoric of a need to use the Olympics as a means to build Beijing into an international city and restore Chinese greatness, were central in the material about Beijing's Olympic bid produced for a foreign audience. The focus on imperatives and abstract purposes constrain a debate about why and how Beijing should organize the Olympic Games. An open and inclusive discussion about the Beijing Olympics requires shifting the focus more towards the opportunity costs associated with Olympic-related projects and the concrete effects of these projects. Such a debate, however, would entail a challenge to the images of the Chinese government and the Olympic Movement as promoters of universally desirable progress, and the indisputable representatives of the Chinese people and humanity, respectively.

Epilogue

Few days before I left Beijing in February 2002, I went to a punk rock concert at the *Rhine Club*. In one of the songs, 'Who's gonna pay for 2008?' (*2008 nian, shei lai mai dan?*) was shouted over and over again. A crowd of Chinese punks jumped around, laughing and seemingly mocking the Beijing Olympics. I was taken by a feeling of not understanding what went on around me or what people were thinking, and given a due reminder of how small a part of Beijing's

Olympic bid I would be able to discuss in this thesis. It remains to be seen who is going to pay for the 2008 Olympics, and how their gains will be distributed. What is certain is that great changes will take place in Beijing and China in the coming years related to their preparations for the Olympic Games.

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Appendix 1

Inventory of source material

The list below contains the articles which together provided the basis for my analysis. Some, but not all, are quoted from in my analysis. The square brackets after the names of the news sources contain the abbreviations used in the text. The brackets placed after the publishing date of the articles contain the name of the journalist, if known, and/or information about other places at which the articles have been published. If more than one article was published by a single source, I have placed the article that is referred to in the text first. Where necessary, I have distinguished the articles from each other by means of letters placed after their publication date. Articles marked with a star (★) were available online as of May 2003, and can be located by searching for the exact title through an Internet search engine. All articles are available from the author.

China Daily (CD)

Foreign Ministry rebuts human rights criticism ★ .... 01.12.00 (Shao Z.W.)
China's Deng and other four elected into IOC Athletes' Commission 04.12.00
Beijing has confidence in 2008 bid ★ 22.10.00
Green space helps city's Olympic bid ★ 23.10.00
Green Projects to Lure Foreigners ★ 21.11.00
Scholars Support Beijing's Bid ★ 22.11.00
Beijing pondering co-hosting 2008 Olympic Games with Taiwan ★ .... 26.11.00 (Li Du)
Tens of Thousands Sign in Support of Beijing ★ 25.12.00
Beijing to Focus on Infrastructure, Environment ★ 25.12.00
Beijing continues bidding effort for ★ .... 01.05.01 (Yu Yilei)
Chinese people are backing Beijing's bid … ★ 10.01.01
City pledges 'unprecedented' Games ★ .... 02.01.01 (Yu Yilei, PD)
Beijing Promises Unique Olympic Games ★ 07.02.01
Falun Gong Should Not Affect Olympic ★ 08.02.01
Australian Sports Artist Paints Beijing ★ 08.02.01
Where's The 'New' in 'New Beijing Great Olympics' 08.02.01
Beijing Legislature Passes Bill to support 11.02.01
Majority of Bid Budget Comes from Donations ★ 12.02.01
Public Back Beijing's Olympic bid ★ .... 16.02.01 (PD)
Beijing Children Teach Parents to speak Olympic lingo ★ 17.02.01
Beijing Wages Environmental Campaign ★ .... 17.02.01 (NBGO)
Olympic Bidding: Beijing mayor pledges best Games ever ★ 19.02.01
Gallup Poll: 94.9 percent of Beijing residents back Olympic bid ★ .... 20.02.01 [a] (PD)
Beijing declares five-point bidding Package ★ .... 20.02.01 [b]
Beijing able to host Olympic Games: FM Spokesman ★ .... 20.02.01 (PD)

First batch of IOC Evaluation Commission Arrive in Beijing ★ .... 20.02.01 (PD)
Reedie impressed with Beijing's Bid Report ★ .... 20.02.01 (PD)
Inspection team arrives in Beijing ★ .... 21.02.01 (Yu Yilei)
IOC inspectors assess key issues in Beijing's 2008 bid ★ .... 22.02.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Effective policies boost Beijing's bid ★ .... 22.02.01 (Hu Qihua)
Beijing Olympic bid officials Reiterate Environmental Cause ★ .... 22.02.01 (Xinhua)
IOC team inspects facilities, venues and … ★ .... 23.02.01 (PD))
Beijing bid official: no traffic controlled ★ .... 23.02.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Bid committee optimistic ★ .... 26.02.01 (Yu Yilei)
US urged to stop interfering in China's internal affairs using Taiwan… ★ .... 26.04.01 (PD)
China issues article on US human Rights Conditions ★ .... 27.02.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Tibetan, Xinjiang NPC deputies Support Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ .... 07.03.01 (Xinhua, PD)
CPPCC members voice full support for Beijing's …★ .... 08.03.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Olympic scandal files released 23.03.01
City to strengthen three green belts ★ .... 28.03.01 (Liu Li)
Chinese delegate calls for more Importance on Right … ★ .... 28.03.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Olympic Games should be depoliticized ★ .... 29.03.01 (Yu Yilei, PD)
Beijing to spare one week for science 05.04.01
Text of China's letter to US over Olympics ★ 10.04.01
Beijing hails 'very good day' after evaluation report 15.05.01
IOC Evaluation Commission's conclusion .... 15.05.01 (Xinhua)
Beijing, Paris and Toronto rated 'excellent' ★ 16.05.01
Imminent Reactions from 5 Bidders 16.05.01
Summer Games go modern 17.05.01
Taiwan supports Beijing's 2008 effort ★ 17.05.01
Olympic Bid to Improve City's Urban Conditions ★ 17.05.01
Beijing is more than the frontrunner... 17.05.01 (Agencies)
Source: IOC report 'carefully' weigh ★ .... 17.05.01 (Agencies)
FM Spokesman: IOC appreciates Beijing Olympic Games Bid Efforts ★ .... 17.05.01 (Xinhua)
Taiwan ethnic artists back Beijing's Olympic bid ★ 18.05.01
NGOs back Beijing's Olympic bid ★ .... 23.05.01 (PD)
Taiwan supports Beijing's 2008 bid ★ 24.05.01
Olympic bid gains support overseas ★ 25.05.01
Reuter Poll: Beijing will win 2008 Games ★ 27.05.01
Jan-Ove Waldner helps Beijing's bid ★ 04.06.01
2008 Olympics hopefuls woo African votes ★ 08.06.01
Transnational construction company Supports Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ .... 08.06.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Overseas Banks in Beijing Support Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ 12.06.01
Postcards issued in support of Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ .... 12.06.01 (Xinhua, PD)
Beijing betting on Three Tenors Concert to Boost its Olympic Bid ★ .... 14.06.01 (PD)
Toronto planning big party, win or loose ★ .... 14.06.01 (Agencies)
Officials: 2008 could be a win-win ★ 18.06.01
President praises tenors of the time .... 25.06.01 (Xinhua)
Osaka refuses to throw in the towel.. 26.06.01 (Agencies)
Sporting history rooted in China, ... 10.07.01
Beijing to fulfil dreams of billions .... 10.07.01 (Wang Ying)
City aims at lively, cultural 2008 Olympics ★ 10.07.01
Green Games, Green China... 11.07.01 (Marc Brody)
Beijing: a picture of confidence ★ 13.07.01

The Beijing 2008 Olympic Bid Committee's website (NBGO)

District Goes Green to Win Bid ★ .... 10.08.00 (PD)
Beijing Air Quality Improves ★ 29.11.00
IOC Member Speaks on Candidate Cities' Presentation ★ .... 28.12.00 (PD)
Beijing High-Tech Projects Attract Overseas investment.. 02.01.01
DPRK Supports Beijing in Bid Race 02.01.01
IOC Allows Internet Journalists to Cover Salt Lake Games... 02.01.01
Bilingual Sign Set up at Bus Stops.. 02.01.01

Overseas Chinese Back Beijing's Olympic bid ★ 02.01.01
Poll: 94.9 Percent of Beijing Residents back Olympic bid ★ .... 02.01.01 (Xinhua)
Beijing Through Foreign Eyes 03.01.01
Beijing Opera Hit the Streets of Beijing.. 03.01.01
Beijing Residents Welcome New Year at millenium moment............................ 03.01.01
Beijing's Traffic Improves 03.01.01
President of Taekwondo Federation Wishes Beijing success… 03.01.01
Students from China, South Korea and Japan enter Guinnes… 03.01.01
Beijing Continues Steady Economic Growth.. 05.01.01
International Expo China 2001 to be held in Beijing 05.01.01
Beijing Enjoys National Support for Its Olympic Bid ★ 05.01.01
Chinese and Foreign Children Paint Olympic picture.. 05.01.01
Beijing Government Goes On-line... 07.01.01
Beijing to Preserve Hutong with Renovation ★ 07.01.01
Beijing Workers' Stadium to Set Up 08.01.01
Flower Arrangement For Beijing's Olympic logo ★ 08.01.01
Millennium Flame Lit for Beijing's Olympic bid.. 08.01.01
Snow Descends on Beijing.. 08.01.01
Beijing Plans to Set up 25 Cultural Relics protection zones 09.01.01
Chinese Environment News: Weekly Highlights... 09.01.01
Foreign Government Loan to Help Beijing.. 09.01.01
Southeast Province Boosts Olympic Sports... 09.01.01
Trees to Cover Beijing's Western Mountain ★ 09.01.01
Candidature Files Completed... 10.01.01
Environmental Protection Hotline Debuts in China ★ 10.01.01
Samaranch Bestows Olympic Order.. 10.01.01
Fan Zhiyi Gives Palace Boss Smith A Taste for Cup Glory ★ 10.01.01
Beijing Granted Best Architecture Design Award ★ 11.01.01
Chinese IT Giant Sponsors Beijing... 11.01.01
Beijing to Set Up E-Government to Realize On-line Office Work ★ 11.01.01
Olympic Wall 11.01.01
Beijing Sees Record Number of Tourists ★ 11.01.01
Beijing getting green make-over 12.01.01
Candidature Files Sent to IOC Headquarter... 12.01.01
Fair prices in store for Metro 12.01.01
Japanese Company Sponsor Gala 12.01.01
Motorcycle team takes lead.. 12.01.01
Olympic Champion Wang Nan Eases into Grand Finals Second…★ .... 12.01.01 (PD)
Beijing Picks More Good Will Envoys for Olympic Bid ★ .... 15.01.01 (CD)
Chinese Martial Arts to Go onto World... 15.01.01
Equestrian Sport Boosted in China.. 15.01.01
Farmers Take Fashion to Learn English... 15.01.01
Children Boosts Beijing's Bid.. 15.01.01
China's Anti-Doping Center Passed the IOC's 12th Annual Review ★.......... 15.01.01
Zhang Beats Olympic Champion to Win Pro Tour Table Tennis ★ .... 15.01.01 (PD)
Beijing Airport Expands Radar Net ★ .... 17.01.01 (CD)
Beijing's Best Architecture Awarded 17.01.01
Hong Kong Chinese Enterprises Association... 17.01.01
BOBICO Submits Candidature Files to IOC 17.01.01
Beijing not Making Unrealistic Commitment .... 18.01.01 [a]
Farmers Ride Donkeys All The Way To Xinqiao Hotel...................................... 18.01.01 [b]
Internet Regulations to be Updated 18.01.01
A Year of Glory for Chinese Weightlifting.. 19.01.01
Chinese soldiers clear ice and snow... 19.01.01
IOC Receives Books from All Candidate cities... 19.01.01
Beijing commemorates 138th anniversary 01.02.01
Lottery Boosts Residents' Enthusiasm for sports ★ .... 01.02.01 (PD)
New Beijing benefits from Pursuing Great Olympics ★ .... 01.05.01 (PD)
Statement of the Beijing 2008 Games Bid Commission…................................. 15.05.01
Beijing Games, an Olympic triumph .... 17.05.01 (CD)

Beijing commits resources to the developing world ★ 06.06.01
Former Thai Deputy PM Endorses Beijing's 2008 Olympic Bid. ★ 07.06.01
Time to give Beijing chance to host Olympic Games ★ ....15.06.01 (Xinhua)
Special Olympic president backs Beijing's Olympic bid ★.................................18.06.01 (Xinhua, PD)
2008 bid brightens city's `green' drive..19.06.01 (China Daily)
Beijing to go greener over next five years ★ ....19.06.01 (China Daily)
Scientists Backing Beijing's 2008 Bid ★ 20.06.01
Taiwan Joins Beijing in Bidding for 2008 Olympics ★ 20.06.01
China Daily: Three Tenors to lend voice to Beijing ★ ....21.06.01 (Xinhua)
Beijing to Invest 24 Billion Yuan Solving Water Shortage ★...22.06.01
Mayor's comments put Toronto bid ....22.06.01 (CD)
Washington Post: US stays neutral on Beijing's Olympics Bid ★.........................25.06.01 (PD)
Beyond Beijing in 2008 ★ ....30.06.01 (CD, PD)
Beijing to show strength and confidence to the World ★ ....08.07.01 (PD)
The race for the 2008 Games ★...09.07.01 (PD)
Beijing's Olympic bid wins nationwide support ★ ....10.07.01 (CD, PD)
How they will decide ....11.07.01 (Agencies)
Vote-guessing continues with Beijing as frontrunner ★......................................11.07.01 (Agencies)
Olympic Vote Countdown: Can Beijing Fulfil a Dream of Billions? ★ ....11.07.01 (Reuters, PD)
Candidate cities for 2008 Olympic Games join war of publicity ★...................12.07.01 [a] (Agencies)
Athens Bid Official: Different cultures enrich the great Games ★........................12.07.01 [b] (CD)
Journalists to write whatever they like if Beijing holds 2008 Games ★ ....12.07.01 (CD)
Chinese athletes long for Olympics in Beijing ★..12.07.01 (Xinhua)
Beijing: A city of expectation and confidence ★...13.07.01 (CD: Yu Yilei)

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Olympic Bid Drives Environmental Improvement in Beijing ★...12.11.00
Tibetan People Wish for a Success in Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ 18.01.01
Premier Urges Beijing to Rev Up Development ★ 20.01.01
Beijing Olympic Bid Committee Goes for the "Green" ★ 15.02.01
Beijing Olympic Campaigners: Greening Liquid Does No Harm ★...................................22.02.01
Bustling Wangfujing Ave. Witnesses Another Public Campaign...★...................................22.02.01
President Jiang Meets with IOC Evaluation Commission ★...22.02.01
Olympic Bid Officials Reiterate Environmental Cause ★ 23.02.01
Beijing Olympic Bid Very Positive, Says Bubka ★ 25.02.01
Beijing Calls for Support from Across Taiwan Straits for Olympic Bid ★ 26.02.01
All Out in Support of Beijing's 2008 Olympic Bid ★ 20.03.01
Top Chinese Leaders Plant Trees on "Olympic Green". ★...02.04.01
Mini-forest to Blossom for Olympics ★ 03.04.01
CBD Crucial for Beijing : Official ★..08.04.01
Nation Urges Rights Talks ★..10.04.01 (China Daily)
US Obstructing Beijing's Olympic Bid Is Challenge to Human Rights... ★ ....11.04.01 (Du Minghua)
Report: US Sents Drug Cheaters to Olympic Games ★ 11.04.01
Beijing, Strong Candidate to Host Olympiad: Samaranch ★ 12.04.01
Plane Collision Will Not Influence Beijing's Olympic Bid: IOC...★ ....12.04.01 (Du Minghua)
US's Apology Demonstrates Justice Is Invincible: Nouvelles D'europe ★........................13.04.01
Former Australian Prime Minister Calls for Just Report on China by...★......................13.04.01 (Du Minghua)
China Offers 400 Million Dollars in Loans to Cuba ★ 14.04.01
Chinese, Cuban Presidents Discuss Bilateral Ties ★..14.04.01

FISU Chief: Games in Beijing to Help Olympics to Asia ★ 16.04.01
Chinese Policemen to Swim across Qiongzhou Straits ★ 24.04.01
Xie Jun Donated RMB 100 000 to BOBICO ★ 28.04.01
Beijing Offers a Technologically Advanced Olympiad ★ 02.05.01
Sino-US Great Wall Trekking to Support Beijing's Olympics Bid ★ 10.05.01
Long-distance Race in Support of Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ 14.05.01
China in Good Stead to Hold 2008 Olympic Games ★ 15.05.01
Possible for China's Mainland and Taiwan Province to Co-sponsor 2008 Olympics ★ 15.05.01
Beijing's Bid Evaluated as High Quality ★ 15.05.01
Top Tenors to Back up Olympic Bid ★ 15.05.01
IOC Release Evaluation Report for Candidate Cities for 2008… ★ 16.05.01
Construction of Major Roads Helps Shorten Travel Time within Beijing ★ 17.05.01
Baby Roller-skaters Back Beijing's Olympics Bid ★ 20.05.01
Chinese Official Dismisses US Lawmakers' Opposition to Beijing Bid ★ 21.05.01
Newspaper Supports Beijing's Bid for 2008 Olympics ★ 21.05.01
HK Hosts Reception in Support of Beijing for 2008 Olympics ★ 23.05.01
HK, Macao and Taiwan Personages Invited to Join BOBICO… ★ 23.05.01

Xinhua

New Couples' Wishes 02.01.00
Human Rights Issue no Excuse against Olympic Bid ★ .... 31.08.00 (PD)
Beijing Gives Pep Talk for 2008 Olympics bid ★ 01.11.00
Australian Official Hails Beijing as 'Exciting city' 09.11.00
Beijing Has Economic Strength to Host Olympic Games ★ .... 09.11.00 (PD)
Environmentalist shows public enthusiasm in "Green Beijing" ★ 12.11.00
Beijingers enthusiastic about learning English ★ .... 06.12.00 (PD)
Beijing spends heavily on infrastructure ★ .... 06.12.00 (PD)
IOC to review presentation of 2008 Olympic Bidders ★ 11.12.00
Delegation of Beijing 2008 Olympic 16.12.00
Buenos Aires Supports Beijing's Bid for 2008 Olympics ★ 19.12.00
Beijing to Improve Public Safety ★ .... 20.12.00 (PD)
Countdown Clock Set Up to Support 22.12.00
Beijing Approved by All 28 Olympic Sports Federations ★ 25.12.00
Sports Yearender: New Beijing Benefits.. 28.12.00
Children Paint in support of Olympic.. 29.12.00
OC Member Calls for Fair Play in Olympic bidding 01.01.01
Beijing Mayor Meets Murdoch ★ .... 04.01.01 (PD)
Beijing Shifts Fiscal Focus ★ 05.01.01
Beijing rounds off bidding report for 2008 Olympics ★ 11.01.01
Volunteer Teachers to Advance English ★ 21.01.01
Weather Conditions in Beijing Expected to Be Better in 2008 ★ 22.01.01
Best Smiles for Beijing's Olympic Bid ★ .... 19.02.01 (PD)
Beijing to Invest 43 Billion Yuan in Major Projects ★ 21.02.01
Report on national economic social development ★ 18.03.01
Beijing Confident of A Good Games if selected ★ 21.05.01
Beijing Keeps Its Word in Game Preparations ★ 21.05.01
Chinese stars to be on stamps to Support Olympic Bid ★ .... 04.06.01 (PD)
Myanmar-Chinese support Beijing's Olympic Bid. ★ .... 28.06.01 (PD)
Beijing's Success in Olympic Bidding 18.07.01
Chinese Tourism Expects a Boost from Olympics ★ 18.07.01
Olympic Games to Rev Up Beijing's Modernization Drive ★ 30.07.01

South China Morning Post (SCMP)[15]

Disney firm jumped the gun by a month.	08.02.00
'Friend' hits out at human rights…	12.02.00 (Jake Lloyd-Smith)
Clean-up projects bring big benefits	23.02.00 (Michael Ma)
Beijing makes cut for 2008 Games	29.08.00 (Agencies)
Failed Asian Games bid cost taxpayers $15m, Legco told	17.11.00
Games bid one for the roads	26.12.00 (Li Xin)
Activists urge Olympic body to press	02.01.01
Police detain four over Olympics…	15.01.01 (Reuters)
The mystic hurdle between Beijing…	17.01.01
119 dissidents appeal for prisoner…	17.01.01
1989 activist 'released to boost Games'	19.01.01 (Reuters)
UN chief welcomes push to ratify human rights…	23.01.01 (P.K. Chan)
2008 Games bid to confront hurdles	31.01.01, (Mark O'Neill)
$11b fund for venues to give sporting…	03.02.01 (Julia Han)
Olympics will bring higher standard	05.02.01 (Julia Han)
Beijing rolls out red carpet for Olympic…	21.02.01
Beijing, vying for 2008 Olympics…	21.02.01
Mayor launches Olympic charm…	21.02.01 (Reuters)
Thick fog covers Beijing on second…	22.02.01
Sport heroes turn out to woo visitor	23.02.01 (Agencies)
IOC upbeat about Beijing bid	23.02.01 (Mark O'Neill)
A sporting chance at the markets	23.02.01 (Mark O'Neill)
Drive to beautify area round capital	23.02.01 (Mark O'Neill)
Roads, rail 'to be ready before…	23.02.01 (M. Jen-Sui)
Beijing's head start	26.02.01 (G. Korporaal)
China hits back after rights record	27.02.01
Beijing launches counter attacks against…	27.02.01 (Reuters)
US rights report attacks China	27.02.01 (Greg Torode)
Beijing ratifies UN human rights treaty	01.03.01
Mainland will be modern by 2050	01.03.01 (Julia Han)
Tiananmen dissident released early	05.03.01
Lawmakers fighting Olympic bid 'prejudiced'	23.03.01 (Reuters)
Republicans take hard line towards…	03.04.01
Weakness over jet crash 'could…	03.04.01 (V.P.K. Chan)
HK lawmaker in plea on Olympics	09.04.01
Olympics set to bring gold	25.04.01
Tough race ahead for Beijing's…	07.05.01 (Mark O'Neill)
Game of politics	17.05.01
Beijing mayor says IOC report objective and fair	17.05.01 (Xinhua)
Huge boost for Olympic bid	18.05.01
Beijing-Taiwan Olympic games unlikely	18.05.01 (AP)
Beijing rejoices at IOC report	18.05.01 (Reuters)
Beijing bids until final hours to…	21.05.01
Property set to win gold on winning	21.05.01
Cross-strait Games bid up and running	21.05.01 (Reuters)
German official says Beijing would…	04.06.01
Let the works begin	04.06.01 (Li Xin)
Big deals ride on a winning bid	10.06.01 (AP)
Reject Beijing bid, IOC warned…	15.06.01 (AP)
China rejoices at IOC report	17.06.01 (Reuters)
Beijing Enterprises considers…	22.06.01 (Afx-Asia)
Don't stop Olympics bid, says US act	22.06.01 (Agencies)
Olympic bid protest	22.06.01 (Reuters)
US tipped to remain neutral over Olympic…	26.06.01 (AP)
Freeman backs Beijing because of…	26.06.01 (Reuters)

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[15] All South China Morning Post articles can be purchased online from http://archive.scmp.com/search.php. Names refer to first author only, 'A' is short for 'Agencies'.

Appendix 2

Sample articles

Sports Yearender: New Beijing Benefits from Pursuing Great Olympics

Xinhua 28.12.00

"New Beijing, Great Olympics", the official motto for Beijing's bid for hosting the 2008 Olympic Games, is not only what the Chinese media preach, but also what the Chinese capital actually aims at and approaches.

Beijing, along with Paris, Istanbul, Osaka and Toronto, has been shortlisted earlier this year by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as official candidate cities for the 2008 Olympic Games.

Beijing has worked out and started to implement ambitious plans to make itself a more open, socially advanced and environmentally friendly metropolis.

A total sum of about 100 billion yuan RMB (12 billion U.S. dollars) will have been invested in the face-lift of the city with a population of 13 million, for the Games.

Beijing with a 300-year-old history has invested heavily to upgrade the city's traffic network. Among the numerous projects planned or already started are two subway lines and a new ring road. Most of the major Olympic venues planned for the 2008 event are to be by the northern section of the city's fourth ring road due to open to traffic in mid-2001.

While modernizing the "hardware", Beijing is racing against time to catch up with the world's high-tech trend, planning a three-year development program worth of 1.5 billion yuan RMB (180 million U.S. dollars) for the Zhongguancun area in northwestern Beijing, China's "Silicon Valley".

Beijing, which had launched a digitalization project, promises to apply state-of-the-art technologies if it is authorized to stage the 2008 Olympic Games.

"The Games will be characterized by strong high-tech presence," said Liu Jinmin, vice president of Beijing's 2008 Olympic Games Bid Committee (BOGBC).

The bid has now been recognized and accepted not just the business of the bid committee or the local government, it's a dream to come true for all Beijing residents as well the whole of Chinese people.

"We receive phone calls from across the country almost everyday. They throw their support in various ways," said Liu.

"I fully support Beijing's bid for the 2008 Olympic Games," a resident in Taipei wrote in an e-mail sent to the BOGBC.

"I'm confident that Beijing will succeed in the Olympic bid and I long for the peaceful reunification of our country. Nothing would be more difficult if we Chinese could win 28 Olympic gold medals (in this year's Sydney Games). Don't let us down. We shall cheer on for Beijing," the e-mail read.

Through cooperation with about 20 non-government environmental groups, a large number of shops, schools and communities throughout the city joined the campaign for staging a "Green Olympics".

Recycled paper, clean fuel, sorted rubbish, along with water- saving and energy-efficient facilities have all become part of the unprecedented environmental drive.

Another NGO environmental group Global Village has launched " Green Angels Project" which involves the environmental commitment of a total of 830,000 students of elementary schools.

"830,000 students mean the same number of families will join the environmental protection. It is a rare sight in other countries," said Liao Xiaoyi, head of the organization.

In explaining the public enthusiasm in the Olympic bid, Wang Wei, general secretary of BOGBC, said that the local residents are fully

aware that they are sure to benefit from the bid and the hosting of the high-profile event.

"It is a common sense for any Beijing resident that the Olympic Games will bring a better life," Wang said.

Though the Olympics drive has being greatly propelled the city' s all-around development, some Beijing-based foreigners doubt that all the efforts would disappear if Beijing loses the bid again.

"I wonder if the measures are just for the time of the Olympics bid, or it would be the real effort to make sure they don't go back to the old way," said Pam Wadeson from Australia, who works as an expert in the Beijing-based Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Her concern seems to be unnecessary as the municipal government has stressed on many occasions that their colossal investment in the infrastructure are far more than just for the Olympic bid.

"The bid for the Olympics plays a role of some catalyst or booster, which makes or accelerates our proposals into a reality," said Wang.

Yu Xiaoxuan, deputy director of the Beijing Environment Protection Bureau, made a similar pledge. "Whatever the bid results, we will got ahead without any hesitation for the environmental protection projects," Yu said.

Beijing, generally regarded as a front-runner in the bidding race, has won positive comments from international community.

During his one-day visit to Beijing, Bob Carr, Premier of Australia's New South Wales state that hosted the 2000 Olympic Games, said the Chinese capital was in good shape. "Beijing looks like an Olympic host city to me," he commented at the end of his visit.

Representatives of the international sports federations assigned to inspect the Olympic candidate cities for their planned or on-going preparations for possible hosting of the Olympic Games, have also been impressed by Beijing's bid.

"The preparations are very well under control, and I must tell you, the plan is full of imagination," said Istvan Gyulai, the general secretary of the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF). "I think this is a very, very strong candidate city," he added.

When asked if the kind comments by federation officials is something like "throwing the words of flowers", Iubomir Kotleba, the sporting director of the International Basketball Federation, said that he himself has no necessity of do such a flattery job.

"I think whatever the IOC will decide, it will be a very natural choice, due to your population, your technological programs and the weight of China in the world," said Kotleba.

"I don't think if there are any other problems, these should be mentioned first and foremost, because the positives here are much bigger than the negatives," he added.

The IOC's Evaluation Commission will send a delegation to Beijing for on-the-spot inspection and the IOC will meet in July in Moscow to make the final decision on the host city.

Where's The "New" in "New Beijing" and "Great Olympics?"

China Daily 08.02.01

What is different since Beijing last vied to win the bid to host the Olympic Games in 1993? BOBICO's vice-executive president Liu Jingmin told foreign reporters in Beijing that much has changed since Beijing's lost the bid to Sydney some eight years ago.

Liu said that during this time, economic reforms in China have continued unabated with the country becoming more and more international. Like other large cities in China, the capital city has witnessed enormous changes. The construction and development of sporting stadiums as well as other infrastructure projects is a obvious and visible example of such changes.

Liu said that international support was integral to Beijing's Olympic Bid. The success of the Olympic Games in Sydney last year has provided Beijing with invaluable ideas and suggestions to hold the Olympic Games. American and Australian public relations companies are playing a big role in helping China promote their bid to host the Games. The famous Australian painter Charles Billich is currently in Beijing as BOBICO's "sport artists" and his preparing a huge painting that will hang outside the Beijing Hotel to greet IOC members when the arrive in the capital on February 21.

Beijing Games, an Olympic triumph

NBGO 17.05.01 (China Daily)

Even if there is yet no way to tell who will win the Games, Beijing is greatly encouraged by the objective and fair conclusions made by the International Olympic Committee's Evaluation Commission report on Tuesday.

The key report declared Beijing, Paris and Toronto the clear front runners in the race to host the 2008 Olympic Games, starting the final sprint to Moscow in July when the final decision will be made.

"It is the commission's belief that a Beijing Games would leave a unique legacy in China and the commission is confident that Beijing could organize an excellent Games," stated the report.

Such an upbeat evaluation will surely encourage China to move towards a successful Olympic bid.

As a venue, Beijing has plenty to recommend itself.

Out of the five candidate cities, only Beijing has a government-driven bid which effectively represents the common aspiration of the 1.3 billion Chinese people, one-fifth of the world's population.

The International Olympic Committee's poll showed 96 per cent public support in Beijing and other Chinese cities, the highest figure among the five candidate cities.

After all, the successful staging of such a grand event like Olympic Games will have to rely on mass participation as well as the combined efforts of the governments at all levels.

It is also true that any city hosting Olympic Games has to make a significant investment in sporting facilities and related infrastructure.

The all-out support, by both the central government and the municipal government, has undoubtedly strengthened Beijing's bid.

The 28 gold medals China won at the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000 bear testimony to the rising sporting power of China.

The lasting memories of the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing and high remarks from international officials on the city's first-class preparation for the upcoming 2001 Summer Universiade demonstrate not only Beijing's organizational skills but also its resolution to keep its promises.

These are some of Beijing's assets and they will help assure the marriage of the Chinese civilization and the Olympic Games in 2008 in an unprecedented triumph for the Olympic Movement.

Moreover, the latest indication of a possible chance for Taiwan to join in hosting the Games under the one-China principle, signals a great boost for the Olympic spirit.

Time to give Beijing chance to host Olympic Games: Mayor

NBGO 15.06.01 (Xinhua)

Beijing has the ability to host an excellent Olympic Games, and it is also time to give the world's biggest developing nation a chance to host an Olympics, Beijing's mayor Liu Qi said when attending the Association of National Committees of Africa (ANOCA) which concluded in Mombasa on Thursday.

Liu and representatives from Paris, Osaka, Istanbul and Toronto, candidate cities for the 2008 Olympics, attended ANOCA meeting in this port city of Kenya as special guests.

Liu told journalists at the Whitesands Hotel that the reports by some western news media which said that Beijing lacks sports facilities to host Olympic Games is only a misunderstand-

ing.

Beijing needs 37 sports venues to host the 2008 Olympic Games, and 12 of them have already been there, he said, adding that these facilities have been upgraded for the 21st World University Games set for August in Beijing. The Universiade are expected to attract more than 6,500 athletes from 160 countries and regions worldwide.

"We have promised to the Organizing Committee of Universiade that Beijing will turn the event into one of the best in history, and such confidence is based on these well-built facilities," he said.

Beijing will build 23 more sports facilities,

but only eight of them will be specially built for the Olympic Games, with the rest to be constructed irrespective of the result of Beijing's Olympic bid.

Some 15 billion US dollars are spent on infrastructure construction in the Chinese capital city every year.

"It is really a small sum for Beijing to spend 1.2 billion US dollars needed for building Olympic facilities over a period of seven years," he said.

Answering whether the issue of human rights will hinder Beijing 's chance of hosting the Games, Liu said that the bid for the 2008 Olympics is a sporting issue totally unrelated with a political matter, and what is more, China has made great advance in improving human rights.

"The campaign linking the human rights issue with Beijing's bid is merely a propaganda to taint Beijing's image," he said.

In his presentation to the ANOCA assembly, Liu said that Beijing has put forward the concept of "New Beijing, Great Olympics", aiming to turn the 2008 event into one that will help improve environment, raise people's living standard and promote cultural exchanges.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) evaluation report on the five candidate cities for the Games says that to hold the event in Beijing will leave a unique legacy to China and its sports. "We are willing to share the legacy with the whole world," Liu said, adding

that if Beijing wins the Games, it will set up an Olympic foundation to promote the exchanges among athletes of all countries and further advance the sports sector in developing countries.

Beijing's strong wish to host the 2008 Olympics and its concrete preparation efforts have won praise from many ANOCA members.

E. Zambi, secretary general of the Tanzanian Olympic Committee, said that he has learned from IOC documents and other sources that Beijing has devoted great efforts to prepare for the Olympics.

"It is high time for the Olympics to be held in Beijing, as enough evidence has shown the city has the determination and ability to host a good Olympics" he said.

His words was echoed by Angola Olympic Committee President Rogerio Nunes da Silva, who said that Beijing has improved a lot in almost every aspect since it lost the bid by a narrow margin to Sydney for the 2000 Games.

There have been too many negative reports on China by western media, and to give Beijing the chance to host an Olympics will enable the world to see what is really happening in the country, he said.

What is more important is that China is a developing country, and Beijing hosting the Games will help narrow the gap between rich and poor countries in the world, he added.

Beijing: A city of expectation and confidence

NBGO 13.07.01 (China Daily)

Give Beijing a chance and we will show you how much more we can contribute to the Olympic Movement."

Tu Mingde, secretary-general of Chinese National Olympic Committee, pledged while posing for crush of photographers with his colleagues from the Beijing bid committee after a press conference Thursday.

The five candidate cities faced the media in turn holding separate press conferences, the last IOC authorized media occasion for candidate cites before this evening's vote. The press hall packed out when the Beijing delegation, who presented fourth behind Osaka, Paris and Toronto, stepped into the hall.

After a short film showing an ancient and a

well-developed modern Beijing, Wang Wei, secretary-general of the Beijing bid committee started on his speech to convince the world that Beijing is the best choice to host the Games.

"If Beijing is awarded the 2008 Olympic Games, it will make history because it will be the first time the Olympics has landed in a country with a population of 1.3 billion and a history of over 3,000-years," said Wang.

With only 30 hours to go before eagerly awaited moment, Wang said Beijing is ready for the vote.

"We are fully-prepared and confident," claimed Wang.He said the confidence is based on following reasons.

Firstly due to all-out support from across the nation. The results of a poll conducted by the IOC show that over 95 per cent of Beijing citizens support the bid. That is the highest number of the five candidate cities. "The Beijing Games will be the people's Games," Wang said.

Secondly, Beijing has won strong governmental support which will help to ensure the Games are a success.

Thirdly, the 10 per cent GDP increase over the past decade and the dramatic improvement in infrastructure and the environment will enable Beijing to hold a sporting event like the Olympics.

And lastly an encouraging report published in May by the IOC Evaluation Commission says Beijing is able to host an excellent Games and the Beijing Games will leave a legacy to China and to sport.

"Please come to Beijing and you will see what Beijing is and what China is," said Deng Yaping, a four-time Olympic table tennis champion.

"With open arms, we welcome friends from all over the world," concluded Tu.

In separate press conferences given by the four other candidate cities, all the representatives expressed confidence in winning the bid.

Toronto highlighted their bid by emphasizing their concept of "by athletes and for athletes" while Paris stressed the integration of culture with the Olympic spirit, calling listeners' attention to the ideal of Le Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French man and one of the founders of the Modern Olympics.

Osaka and Istanbul both said they accepted the report by the IOC Evaluation Commission, which seems to put the two cities in an unfavourable position, though they argued that miscommunication is probably to blame for the report. They will now make presentations directly to IOC members. Both cities said they will be able to convince voters and eventually win the bid.