

# OLYMPIC

## STUDIES READER Vol. 2

A Multidisciplinary and Multicultural  
Research Guide

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BEIJING, CHINA

北京体育大学——中国，北京

RIO DE JANEIRO STATE UNIVERSITY  
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# 奥林匹克研究读本·第二卷

综合学科和多元文化研究指南

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这本《奥林匹克研究读本》是在国际奥委会尤其是其信息管理部和奥林匹克研究中心的大力支持下，由北京体育大学和里约热内卢州立大学合作完成的。本书纸质、CD 和其他媒体形式的出版和发行均为免费。同时也提供免费的网络下载。除商业目的外，允许复印该书或其中论文，但请务必注明作者和原始出处。版权所有。

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Olympic Studies Reader 奥林匹克研究读本

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4. Culture - Methodology.

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## Preface

Chi Jian, Professor, Ph.D.  
President of Beijing Sport University

The Olympic Movement is an extraordinary social and cultural phenomenon in world history. It purposely uses sports to cultivate youth by blending sport with culture and education, therefore, promoting the sound development of human beings, harmonious relationships with others and with the natural environment. The Olympic Movement has far-reaching impact on the fields of economy, politics, culture and education and has become a great symbol of social progress, friendship and solidarity.

As the world entered a new millennium, we have witnessed various profound changes occurring inside and outside the world sport system, which have proposed a series of challenges to the Olympic Movement. Is the Olympic Movement able to adapt itself to the changed social conditions and continuously plays its extraordinary roles to benefit human beings? How will it develop in the future? The whole world is waiting for answers. Under the leadership of Thomas Bach, the new President of the IOC, *Olympic Agenda 2020* was launched at the end of 2014. This document is full of innovations and suggestions for reforms as it is regarded as a roadmap to guide the Olympic Movement. The new developmental trend of the Olympic

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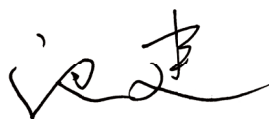
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北京体育大学校长

奥林匹克运动是人类文明史上十分罕见的社会现象。它以体育为基本手段，与教育、文化融为一体，促进人自身，人与社会，人与自然的和谐发展，从而在经济、政治、文化和教育等领域产生广泛而深远的影响，成为人类社会进步、友谊和团结的象征。

进入新千年以来，世界体育发展的内外环境均发生极其深刻的变化，对奥林匹克运动提出了一系列极具挑战的问题。奥林匹克运动能否适应变化了的社会条件，继续为人类的福祉发挥其不同寻常的作用？奥林匹克运动将如何发展？全世界都在等待回答。在国际奥委会新任主席托马斯·巴赫的领导下，《奥林匹克议程2020》于2014年底发布，这一极具改革和创新精神的文件，被视为指引奥运未来发展的路线图。奥林匹克运动发展的新

趋势，引发了世界范围学者们的各种兴趣。奥林匹克研究，不仅可以使我们深入地认识体育和世界，也可以更好地认识我们自己。

北京体育大学与巴西里约热内卢州立大学的奥林匹克学者们多年来精诚合作，六年前就合作出版了《奥林匹克读本》卷一。今天他们已做出新的努力，于是我们有了也关注奥运一些新发展的卷二。对此，我向他们表示祝贺。我不仅要感谢世界各地的作者们分享他们的真知卓见，还要感谢国际奥委会对这一项目的支持。北京体育大学期待与各国学者密切合作，以更多的奥林匹克研究成果迎接 2016 年里约奥运会和 2022 年北京冬奥会。



Movement has aroused various interests of scholars in the world. Olympic Studies let us not only understand deeper about sports and the world but also know better about ourselves.

Olympic scholars of Beijing Sport University and Rio de Janeiro State University (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro - UERJ) had closely cooperated over the years and worked out *Olympic Studies Reader Volume I* in both English and Chinese versions six years ago. Now they have recently made another great effort on *Volume II*, which also focuses on the new development of the Olympic Movement. I would like to congratulate the co-editors for their new achievement and to express my sincere thanks not only to the authors from various parts of the world for their thoughtful ideas but also to the International Olympic Committee for its support to the project. Beijing Sport University is looking forward to working with scholars around the world to celebrate the 2016 Rio Summer Olympic Games and the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games.

## Preface

Rio de Janeiro  
Ruy Garcia Marques, M.D., Ph.D.  
President of Rio de Janeiro State University

On the launching of this book, I would like to congratulate its editors, from both China and Brazil, for having put together authors of various countries with the theme of Olympic Studies, which by definition implies multicultural and interdisciplinary themes. It is essential to emphasize the cooperation between Beijing Sport University and Rio de Janeiro State University (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro - UERJ), which has made this work possible.

In terms of elaboration of contents, it is crucial to mention the use of the English language as the means of adherence of authors as well as the use of the Chinese language as a growing means of scientific and technological communication. I would also like to highlight UERJ's Post-Graduation Program in Science of Sport and Exercise, under the coordination of Professor Nadia Lima, for the participation as the operational platform for the Brazilian editors, professors Lamartine DaCosta and Ana Miragaya, both from the Olympic Studies Research Group of this university.

## 序

鲁伊·加西亚·马尔克斯  
医学博士，哲学博士  
里约热内卢州立大学校长

在本书推出之际，我要祝贺来自中国和巴西的编辑们，是他们将各国奥林匹克研究学者在多元文化和跨学科的主题统领下，汇聚在一起。需要强调的是北京体育大学和里约热内卢州立大学之间的合作，使这项工作成为可能。

特别需要提及的是，本书以英语将不同作者联系在一起，以中文扩展了科技交流手段的应用。我还想指出，里约热内卢州立大学的体育和运动科学研究生计划，在纳迪亚利马教授的协调下，为巴西编者，也是本校奥林匹克研究团队的拉马丁·达科斯塔教授和安娜·米拉加娅教授的参与，提供了工作平台。

基于编著此书的目的，里约热内卢州立大学认同纳入本书的研究成果旨在促使奥林匹克体育的创新，以此呼应国际奥委

会最近通过的《奥林匹克议程 2020》，同时延续对在过去 120 年形成的奥运会特性的认同。创新未来，保持传统，正是里约热内卢州立大学对里约 2016 奥运会及其后续时代的建议。

因此，我们确信，这本书为巴西与中国在科学技术领域的合作，为推进两国在 2016 年夏季奥运会遗产和北京 2022 年冬季奥运会未来遗产之间的对话，提供了又一次宝贵的机会。我们希望，这一著作使基于两校合作的体育知识进一步国际化。

Taking into consideration the objectives that have guided this work, UERJ identifies itself with the studies here presented aiming at innovations in the Olympic sport, replying not only to the call of the International Olympic Committee by means of its recent *Olympic Agenda 2020*, but also to the identity of the Olympic Games constructed during the past 120 years. The creation of the future keeping the traditions of the past coincides with UERJ's proposal for 2016-year of the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro – and subsequent years.

Accordingly, we are certain that this book represents another privileged opportunity for the ties that unite Brazil and China in science and technology as well as an advancement in the dialogue between both countries dealing with the current legacies of the 2016 Summer Olympic Games and the future legacies of the 2022 Winter Olympic Games in Beijing. We hope that this work promotes a larger internationalization of knowledge about sport from the cooperation between both universities.

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**UPDATES OF OLYMPIC  
AGENDA 2020**

**《奥林匹克议程 2020》跟进研究**



# FUTURE MEGA-EVENT CITIES WITH OLYMPIC LEGACIES

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This position paper aims to overview the changing urban order that global cities have been going through worldwide. These recent changes have extensively become the context for the development of Olympic mega-events until 2020, when the Tokyo Olympiad will be held. Moreover, the “*Agenda 2020*” of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is bringing new approaches to the Olympic Games bidding process for the selection of Olympic host cities (IOC, 2014) related to themes such as legacy and sustainability.

Those IOC recent innovative claims may be initially drawn from the fact that the three finalist candidate cities to host the 2020 Olympic Games – namely Madrid, Tokyo and Istanbul – have appeared as typical examples of global cities. However, the previous selection of Rio de Janeiro – another conurbation, when seen jointly with Sao Paulo in

## 未来大型体育赛事承办 城市的奥运遗产

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安娜·米拉加亚  
埃斯塔西奥德萨大学

本论文旨在综观全球范围内经历的城市秩序的变迁。这些新变化已经成为影响 2020 年东京奥运会之前奥运会——这一大型体育赛事发展的背景。此外，国际奥委会的《2020 议程》提出了选择举办城市的新的奥运会申办程序（国际奥委会，2014），这些新举措与遗产和可持续发展的主题密切相关。

国际奥委会最近提出的创新主张可能源于最终入围 2020 年奥运会申办的三个候选城市，即马德里、东京和伊斯坦布尔的状况。它们是典型的全球性城市。然而，先前 2016 年选择里约热内卢申办时，同一地区的卫星城圣保罗也加入进来，似乎预示着未来的奥运会会更为宽容地接受

同一国家两个或两个以上的城市作为奥运会的“区域”举办地（达科斯塔，2013 年）。

这种现象也可作为概念性原理工具的分析对象。就此而言，全球性城市是那些“由多地组成的日趋结合、相互依存的国际网络状的”城市聚集体（布伦纳和凯尔，2006 年）。该作者还将全球城市界定为“在大型区域经济或城市区居主导地位的当地中心”。此外，这些基本理论观点，由于信息技术导向的功能及超越其人口或规模的国际交流，如文化、金融、旅游等，变得更为切题。

事实上，全球城市是全球范围城市人口不断膨胀的最终产物，目前城市人口占世界人口的 80% 以上。国际奥委会在其奥运会申办程序中尚未考虑到这一世界性的趋势。然而，面对《2020 议程》所隐含的可持续发展新语境，对照“遗产”含义可能发生的变化，我们在此提出将这一趋势作为标杆学习试验（通过可比较的观察和指标，分享知识）的

the same region – for the 2016 Olympics suggests a future broad acceptance of two or more cities of the same country as “regional” host sites for the Olympic Games (DaCosta, 2013).

Such evidence might also be analyzed by means of conceptual foundations. In this regard, global cities are those urban concentrations with “an internationalized network of local places that are now increasingly bound together and interdependent” (Brenner & Keil, 2006). The same authors define a global city as “a dominant local center within large-scale regional economies or urban fields” (Ibid p. 11). Furthermore, those fundamental points become more relevant by their Information-Technology-oriented functions and international exchanges - cultural, financial, touristic etc. - than their population or size.

Indeed, global cities are end-products of the increasing expansion of the urban population worldwide, now reaching more than 80% around the world (Ibid pp. 4-5). This planetary tendency has not yet been considered by the IOC in its bidding procedures, but it is here proposed as a main reference for a benchlearning trial (sharing knowledge through comparative observations and indicators) compared with possible changes for the meaning of “legacy”, facing the new sustainable contexts implied by the Agenda 2020.

Thus far, this study progresses from today's worldwide megacity trends to the rise of sustainability as a counterfactual component of this identified mainstream, having Rio de Janeiro and its neighboring cities as background to test these identified oppositions. The final expected result of this theoretical exercise is a discussion of the new approaches to the Olympic Games' legacy as sustainable development (economic, social and environmental in mutual balanced relationships).

## TRENDS OF OLYMPIC MEGACITIES

To begin this comparative experience, it is important to consider the initial group of the five 2020 candidate cities, London as the 2012 site of the Olympic Games and Rio de Janeiro, now preparing to host the 2016 Games. This will serve as a hypothesis for this study.

Actually, having the Global Cities Index developed by A. T. Kearney Consulting (2012) as an indicator for benchmarking, London stands on the 2nd position among the 66 leading and emerging global cities, an amount that reflects all-encompassing tendencies of the intense urbanization of the five continents. The Index also ranks Rio de Janeiro at the 53rd position, but if it is associated with Sao Paulo, making up a broadly recognized mega

主要参考依据。

到目前为止，这项研究讨论的特大城市的发展已成当今世界的主流，继而论及可持续发展观念的崛起，成为这一主流中违反现实的组成部分。本研究以里约热内卢及其周边城市为背景，检验人们确认的这些对立。希望通过这一理论探讨，最终引发人们以新的方式，从可持续发展的角度来讨论奥运遗产（经济、社会 and 环境的相互平衡关系）。

## 奥林匹克超大城市的趋势

实施这项比较研究，重要的是考虑 2020 奥运会的 5 个候选城市，其中伦敦是 2012 奥运会举办城市，里约热内卢正在筹办 2016 年的奥运会。以此为本研究立论的依据。

实际上，将科尔尼咨询公司发布的 2012 年“全球性城市指数”作为一个标杆学习的指示器，伦敦在 66 个世界领先和新兴的全球性城市中排名第二，这些城市反映出了五大洲全面的、日益加强的城市化趋势。里约热内卢

在这一指数排名中位列第 53，但如果从里约热内卢与圣保罗组成的一个已被广泛认可的、大的区域的角度看，“里约+圣保罗”的排名可以上升至第 33 位。在这个排名中，东京位列第 4，马德里第 18，伊斯坦布尔从 2010 年的第 41 升至现在的第 37。总之，为了发现差距、不断超越，除了 2020 年奥运会的候选城市外，奥运城市伦敦和里约热内卢都设想它们正在保持或提升在全球性城市中的位置。

无论哪个候选城市被选定举办 2020 年奥运会，其筹办时间跨度都覆盖本研究设计的 15 年比较期，从 2005 年伦敦申办成功到 2020 年东京奥运会开幕。从方法论上讲，这一比较略长于国际奥委会提出的“奥运会影响（OGI）”研究，该研究收集和分析各主办城市最多长达 12 年中不同阶段的数据。尽管“奥运会影响（OGI）”研究包括诸多变量（2012 年伦敦奥运会有 120 项指标之多），但其仅局限于一个举办城市。而基于全球性城市的标杆学习因其涉及一个以上城

region, Rio+Sao Paulo could go up to the 33rd position. In this list, Tokyo takes 4th position and Madrid the 18th whilst Istanbul is now 37th after being 41st in 2010. In all, for the benchlearning purposes, the Olympic cities London and Rio de Janeiro, in addition to the candidate cities to the 2020 Olympic Games, are hypothetically keeping their status or searching a better position among global cities.

Whichever candidate city is selected for the 2020 Games, the time span covered by the proposed comparative elaboration is 15 years, beginning with London selected in 2005 and reaching the opening of the 2020 Tokyo Games. Methodologically speaking this comparison slightly surpasses the timeline of the Olympic Games Impact (OGI) study set forth by the IOC to follow up to 12 years (maximum) of different phases of data collection and analysis from each host city. Although the OGI study is composed of a diversity of variables (120 indicators for the 2012 London Games), its attainability includes only one Olympic site while the global city-based benchlearning may turn to be valid because of its proposed longitudinal meaning when involving more than one city or several regional urban aggregations.

A significant remark about the benchlearning approach is that these five global cities, which have participated in the bidding and selecting process of the IOC since 2005



(London, Rio de Janeiro, Madrid, Tokyo and Istanbul), are far from a coincidental aggregation. IOC choices also reveal a tendency largely seen in the present days: typical urban agglomerations seem to be seeking planetary influences. Actually, the 21st century is now being recognized as the era in which cities prevail over countries. Global cities appear to be in the forefront of this recent and unprecedented worldwide changing pattern (Brenner & Keil, 2006, pp. 3-14).

The initial benchlearning assessment of Olympic host cities suggests that the selection of the host city for the 2020 Olympic Games, which took place in 2013, became an ad hoc comparison among global cities as the IOC bidding process kept in its standards two selective phases with five candidate cities. At the same time, the non-finalist cities, Doha (Qatar) and Baku (Azerbaijan), became outsiders in the A. T. Kearney Index list, but they were natural candidates for upgrades. After all, the candidate cities without global status would potentially be able to set targets for improvements as a consequence of the bidding.

This interpretation is consonant with previous research by Tolzmann (2014), who used another methodological path. Tolzmann suggests that “position and connectivity within global networks have ‘political’ ramifications that

市，或几个城市聚集体的长期意义，而具有研究有效性。

标杆学习研究方法的一个显著特点是，这五个自 2005 年以来参与了国际奥委会招标和选择的全过程中的全球性城市（伦敦、里约热内卢、马德里、东京和伊斯坦布尔），远非偶然性机缘巧合的聚落。国际奥委会的选择其实也在一定程度上显示出其当今的倾向：以典型的城市聚落寻求行星效应。事实上，现在人们正在认识到 21 世纪是城市优先于国家的时代。全球性城市似乎正处于新近发生的，也是前所未有的这一全球格局变化的前沿（Brenner & Keil, 2006 年，p.3-14）。

最初的对奥运会举办城市的标杆学习评估表明，2013 年对 2020 年奥运会举办城市的选定，是为全球性城市特设的一场较量，国际奥委会在对 5 个候选城市两轮的评估中都坚持了这一标准。而未进入申办最后阶段的城市多哈（卡塔尔）和巴库（阿塞拜疆）都在科尔尼的全球性城市排名榜之外，但它们天然具有进

榜的潜力。毕竟，不具备全球性身份的候选城市很可能以申办为契机制定发展和提升的目标。

这种解释与 Tolzmann 以另一种方式做过的研究（2014 年）是一致的。Tolzmann 认为，“在全球网络中的位置及关联度对举办城市的选择具有产生影响的‘政治’后果”，这也为近几十年来奥运申办所证实。该作者认为奥运举办城市选择背后的逻辑主要是“其地点与差异对今天的‘全球’保持其至关重要性”。

这些证据意味着，国际奥委会对主办城市选择的要求，可能与全球性城市的特点是重合的，只是因为这两种情况所参考和描述大多与城市的发展程度有关。在这一巧合中可发现一个特定的条件就是有关气候变化的影响和风险管理，其在本质上与可持续发展相关，这是当今国际奥委会在其有关环保意识和保护的评估中提出的要求。就将举办 2016 年奥运会的里约热内卢而言，是非常有针对性的和独特的。环境管理被视为一个引人注目的特

impact host selection” as referred to Olympic Games bidding from recent decades. To this author, the logic behind the choice of an Olympic host city is mostly concerned with “how place and difference remain crucial to today's ‘global’”.

These evidences imply that the IOC requirements for the selection of host cities might be overlapping with global cities’ characteristics simply because most references and descriptions of either situation are related to urban development advancement. A specific condition which can be found in this coincidence is related to climate change impact and risk management, which are inherently associated with sustainability, a present day requirement issued by the IOC in its bidding evaluation related to environmental awareness and protection. The case of Rio de Janeiro, which will host the 2016 Olympic Games, is very peculiar and unique. Environmental management can be considered as a distinguishing trait that might be assumed as leverage support for either global city improvement or local sustainability concerns.

## THE GLOBAL CITY BEHIND THE 2016 OLYMPIC GAMES

In terms of research of possibilities raised by the herewith benchmarking London-Rio-Madrid-Tokyo-Istanbul, the project SAM RIO, developed by DaCosta and associates in 2011, may enhance the identification of the link between global cities and sustainable governance. As an independent investigation, the SAM RIO study aimed to ameliorate local decision making for the 2016 Olympics and beyond. The acronym SAM RIO stands for the close and synergetic relationship between the city of Sao Paulo (SA) – the largest financial and industrial center in Brazil and in Latin America – and the southern region of the neighboring State of Minas Gerais (M) in addition to the State of Rio de Janeiro (RIO), which together form a string of urban clusters (mid-sized cities and towns) linked to each other by existing or planned transportation corridors (highways, railroads, air shuttle, high speed train, etc.) that include the 2016 Olympic Games site in addition to the 2014 FIFA World Cup post-event legacies in SA and in RIO.

The SAM RIO region has 46.8 million inhabitants and houses two diversified large industrial and technological corridors linking several towns and cities parallel to three mountain corridors covered with forests, where frequent

质，人们认为其对促进全球性城市的改善，或当地可持续性发展具有促进作用。

### 2016 年奥运会背后的全球城市

依据伦敦 - 里约 - 马德里 - 东京 - 伊斯坦布尔标杆学习的可能性研究，2011 年达科斯塔等提出的 SAM RIO 计划可能让人们进一步认识到全球性城市与可持续治理之间的联系。作为一项独立调查，SAM RIO 研究旨在提升当地 2016 年奥运会及其后的决策水平。SAM RIO 这一缩写代表了巴西以至拉丁美洲最大的金融和工业中心圣保罗（SA）和邻州米纳斯吉拉斯的南部地区（M）及里约热内卢州（RIO）之间的密切关联与协作的关系，这些城市共同形成了一个城市群（中等城市和城镇），它们由已有的或计划建设中的交通走廊（高速公路、铁路、空中航线、高铁等）相连，包含了 2016 年奥运会赛场以及 2014 年世界杯足球赛在圣保罗和里约留下的遗产。

SAM RIO 地区居住着 4680 万人口，两大风格迥异的工业和技术走廊将并行于森林覆盖的 3 个山间通道的若干个城镇联接起来。这里环境灾害频发（洪水和山体滑坡）。在城市地区，可观察到平均温度在逐渐上升。绿地、住宅区（穷人的和富人的）、以工业和服务业为主的工作场所的组合，意味着除了要控制社会的负面影响，还要应付环境治理的挑战，将气候变化与可持续发展的要求结合起来。

就可持续性而言，SAM RIO 研究项目分析了里约热内卢适应气候制约的多种方案，以在区域内满足 2016 年奥运会社会环境遗产的潜势。这一研究立足于，地方导向的大型活动的界定，在识别和量化气候变化的极端风险时具有方法上的困难。于是，提出将更广泛的 SAM RIO 地理区域作为全球城市，从而使得对环境风险的监控和管理成为可能。

这一思路形成于将生态平衡因素（天然林和环保领域）纳入人口的分布、就业及科技发展

environmental damages (floods and landslides) happen. A gradual increase in the average temperature in urban areas has also been observed. This combination of green areas, residential communities (poor and rich), industrial and services-dominated workplaces implies the challenge of having environmental governance combining climate changes with sustainability requirements besides control of negative impacts.

For sustainability concerns, the SAM RIO research project analyzed alternatives for the adaptation of Rio de Janeiro to climate constraints in order to meet potential 2016 Games socio-environmental legacies within regional reach. Behind this research perspective stands the delimitation of local-oriented mega-events that have methodological difficulties in the identification and quantification of extreme risks of climate change. As a result, this wider geographical area, SAM RIO, was proposed as a global city so that it would be possible to monitor and manage environmental risks.

This line of thought took shape as ecological balance factors (natural forests and environmental protection areas) were being considered together with population distribution, employment and science & technology opportunities. Using the Geographic Information System

– GIS (geographical spatial data provided by satellites) method, a new information basis for SAM RIO region was developed, including the identification of an extension area of 700km around this global city, corresponding to the 2016 Olympic Games area of influence.

Within this range, sustainable and risk control management would meet SAM RIO's needs with more efficiency and relevance, and, above all, it would include today's delimited areas of the 2016 Olympiad in addition to the 2014 FIFA World Cup legacies (stadia and urban changes). The importance of these propositions can also be appraised as the main Brazilian nuclear power plants are located 157km away from the 2016 Rio sites, in the city of Angra dos Reis. This location had been chosen by the federal government due to its proximity to the three main loading centers of the Brazilian Electricity System: Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais. It is nevertheless essential to mention that this area is also prone to common environmental risks, especially floods and landslides. Furthermore, SAM RIO's local rivers have been running dry and this shortage of water, maybe caused by global warming, has become relevant to the SAM RIO delimited area. These recent local characteristics just described would then require the need of a sustainable and anti-risk governance of SAM RIO, still a non-official conurbation.

的统筹思考。应用地理信息系统 -GIS (卫星提供的地理空间数据) 方法, 开发出了一个新的 SAM RIO 地区的信息基础, 包括确定这个全球性城市周边 700 公里的延伸区域, 相当于 2016 年奥运会影响力覆盖的区域。

在这一范围内的可持续和风险管控, 可更为切题而有效地满足 SAM RIO 地区的需要。尤其是, 它包括了当下界定的 2016 年奥运会区域及 2014 年足球世界杯的遗产 (体育场和城市的变化)。这些观点的重要意义还在于, 巴西主要的核电站位于安格拉杜斯雷斯市, 距 2016 年里约主赛场 157 公里。联邦政府将其定位于此, 是由于它靠近巴西电力系统的三个主要负荷中心: 里约热内卢、圣保罗和米纳斯吉拉斯。更重要的是, 这一区域也容易面临共同的环境风险, 尤其是易发洪水和山体滑坡。此外, 可能因为全球气候变暖导致的水的短缺, SAM RIO 的河流正在干涸, 已经成为当地的划界区。上面描述的这些最新的地方特色使

SAM RIO 这一非官方大都市在可持续发展和抗风险的治理具有必要性。

研究的初步结论表明，SAM RIO 的城市聚落形态包括纳入职业进程的绿地项目的土地规划，还包括交通走廊：现有的以及即将投入使用的。2016 年奥运会，事实上是这一发展过程的组成部分，尽管至今尚未正式确定这一城市的改造过程。同样，圣保罗和里约热内卢的地方政府也从未在自己管理的城市范围内确定这一过程。

最终，SAM RIO 研究项目展示了一个关于全球性城市与奥林匹克举办城市间密切联系的观测。其相互影响的主要组织支持，源于具有可持续性导向的管理。

### 奥林匹克全球性城市和可持续管理

SAM RIO 研究关注到的另一个重要问题是当今国际奥委会遴选奥运会举办城市的模式。国际奥委会在确定奥运会地点时考

Preliminary conclusions have suggested that the aggregation pattern of SAM RIO comprehends the settlement of land by greenfield projects within an occupational process which also includes transportation corridors: the ones already being used and the ones already planned to be put into use in the future. The 2016 Olympic Games project was de facto part of this development process despite the fact that it has not so far officially assumed this urban changing process. Likewise local governments of Sao Paulo and Rio have never done the same within their urban interventions.

Ultimately, the SAM RIO research project showcased the observation of close relationships of global cities with Olympic cities having sustainable oriented management as the main organizational support for their mutual influences.

## OLYMPIC GLOBAL CITIES AND SUSTAINABLE MANAGEMENT

Another important issue brought into light by the SAM RIO study focuses on today's model used by the IOC to choose the host city to the Games. The IOC considers the "city" and not the "region" for the location of the Olympic Games. Nevertheless, the global city status of present and future candidate cities would theoretically



change the tradition of “Olympic Cities” started by Pierre de Coubertin in the late 19th century, especially with the approval of the *Agenda 2020*. Moreover, the OGI study already incorporates many variables that need regional measurements. Then the IOC has been indirectly promoting a de facto system of evaluation of the Olympic Games with both local and regional validation, as exemplified by the ongoing OGI study for the 2016 Rio Olympics (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – COPPE, 2013).

Besides Rio de Janeiro, the other aforementioned four global cities (London, Tokyo, Madrid and Istanbul) have surely exhibited their proposals and outcomes combining sustainability - mostly locally inserted - with climate changes, generally typified by regional meanings. The 2012 London Olympics, for example, had its environmental promises submitted to a post-Games evaluation in 2013 promoted by the World Wide Fund for Nature – WWF, employing a benchmarking method which included both sustainability and climate factors (WWF, 2013).

Also the combination Climate Changes – Sustainability had surged in the proposals from the three finalist cities of the 2020 bidding process, as seem in the IOC Report of the 2020 Evaluation Commission (2013). In this regard, Istanbul representatives have forwarded that “the

虑的是“城市”而不是“地区”。然而，现在和将来候选城市的全球性特征会在理论上改变 19 世纪末以来顾拜旦提出的“奥运城市”的传统，尤其是在《奥林匹克 2020 议程》通过之后。此外，“奥运会影响 (OGI)”研究已经包含了诸多需要区域性测量的变量。于是，国际奥委会实际上间接地促使奥运会的评价体系既考虑对当地，也考虑对相关地区的效果。正在进行的 2016 年里约奥运会的影响研究，就是反映这种状况的一例（里约热内卢联邦大学 - 工程研究生院，2013）。

除了里约热内卢，上面提到的其他 4 个全球城市（伦敦、东京、马德里和伊斯坦布尔）也确定无疑地显示出它们举办方案及结果也多从当地的角度，将可持续发展与典型的地区意义的气候变化相结合。例如，2012 年的伦敦奥运会将其对环境的承诺，提交给 2013 年由世界自然基金会推行的后奥运会评估，采用标杆评估法，既包括可持续发展，也包括气候因素（世

界自然基金会，2013 年）。

另外，将气候变化与可持续发展结合，已大量出现在 2020 年奥运会申办的 3 个入围城市的申办报告和国际奥委会 2020 评估委员会的报告中（2013）。在这方面，伊斯坦布尔的代表提出“更为广泛的可持续发展主题，需要通过全面的整体方案加以解决，要超越环保的举措，扩展到体育的易用性、社会包容、健康的生活方式和遗产计划”（p.27）。

国际奥委会报告进一步明确：“东京 2020 奥运会旨在将环境和可持续发展置于优先位置，在东京都政府（TMG）近年来在环境质量取得改善的领先标准基础上，显著拓宽这一领域的遗产”（p.57）。“日本位于地震区，日本当局在建筑标准方面已经采用有力措施。2011 年的大地震和海啸之后，相关专家进行了大量研究和仿真，对东京湾区未来的风险进行评估”（p.59）。

broader sustainability theme would be addressed through a comprehensive and holistic programme, extending beyond environmental initiatives to cover accessibility, social inclusion, healthy lifestyles and legacy programmes” (page 27).

The IOC Report additionally clarifies that “Tokyo 2020 aims to place a high priority on environment and sustainability, to build on the advanced standards of environmental quality improvements achieved by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) in recent years, and to promote significant wider legacies in this field” (page 57). “Japan is situated in an earthquake zone and robust measures have been adopted by the Japanese authorities in terms of construction standards. Following the 2011 earthquake and tsunami, numerous studies and simulations have been undertaken by relevant experts to evaluate future risks to the Tokyo Bay area” (page 59).



The commitments presented by Madrid equally confirm a theoretical convergence with Istanbul and Tokyo: “In accordance with Spanish and EU legislation each of the new venues would be subject to Environmental Impact Assessments (...) The Village would be developed on a site which forms part of a wider environmental regeneration program in the eastern part of Madrid. Planning involves the provision of substantial green space with the aim of creating an exemplary sustainable landscaping and climate mitigation project. The Games would also promote enhancement of the Madrid greenbelt and biodiversity corridors” (page 88).

In short, on one hand, today’s global cities represent now the ultimate effect of the changing urban order worldwide, looking forward to efficient local or regional achievements at different stages of governance oversight and development. On the other hand, global cities have been reflecting the high priority given to sustainability issues in local and regional governance. In this context, sport mega-events – Olympic Games included - are likely to prompt synergetic best practices into cities’ management whether for global or local concerns.

马德里做出的承诺，同样确认了与伊斯坦布尔和东京一样的理论共同性：“按照西班牙和欧盟法律，每个新建场馆要接受环境影响的评估……奥运村将在马德里东部作为一个宏大的环保再生计划的组成部分来兴建。规划包括提供可持续的绿地，以创建一个示范性的、可持续的景观和减缓气候变化的项目。奥运会还将促进马德里绿地带和生物多样性走廊的完善。”（p.88）

总之，一方面，今天的全球性城市代表着世界范围城市秩序变化的最终结果，期待着在治理监督和发展的不同阶段在地方或区域层面取得有效的成果。另一方面，全球性城市反映了在地方和区域治理中要优先处理可持续发展各种问题。在此背景下，包括奥运会在内的大型体育赛事，无论是在全球，还是地方层面上，可能都是促进城市管理协同的一个最佳实践方式。

## 对遗产的理解: 不仅仅是交付

大型城市研究领域的领军人物 Saskia Sassen 也综合性地研究了全球性城市在 21 世纪城市和可持续治理变迁中的核心作用。Sassen & Dotan (2011) 评论道, 城市与其环境有多种多样的联系, 其中大部分是消极的, 城市对环境的索取远超过对环境的回馈。因此, 为补偿消极干预, 使城市具有可激活城市化设施发展的管理功能至关重要。

Sassen (2012) 最近在其解决问题的主张中提出非常具体的观点: “城市是实施一系列环境友好的政策的关键尺度, 是为不同社会经济阶层争取生活环境质量的场所。城市可在解决空气、噪音、水质污染方面施以援手, 即使相关政策最初只源于国家或地区层面。”

这一论述与本文前述的可持续发展的主张是一致的, 为人们理解通常被认为是大型体育赛事存在理由的遗产建立了必要的基础。当然, 遗产是当今奥运会举

## UNDERSTANDING LEGACY BEYOND ITS DELIVERY

The central role of global cities in the present stage of the 21st century's urban and sustainable governance changes is also synthetically reported by Saskia Sassen, a leading researcher of megacities themes. Sassen & Dotan (2011) have remarked that cities have multiple articulations with their environments, most of them negative in the sense that they take more than they can replace. Therefore, to redress negative interventions, it is important to have a management function able to activate the development of urbanized settings.

Sassen (2012) more recently has become point-specific in her assertions for solutions: “The city is a key scale for implementing a broad range of environmentally sound policies and a site for struggles over the environmental quality of life for different socioeconomic classes. Cities can help address air, noise, and water pollution, even when the policies involved may originate at the national or regional level.”

This statement is consistent with previous sustainable positions described in this paper, establishing the necessary groundwork for the appreciation of legacy, commonly considered as the *raison d'être* of sport mega-events. Surely,

legacy is the matter of the fact of today's Olympic Games host city, a governance direction that would naturally embody the changing urban order as well as local and regional environmental ongoing alterations.

Putting the focus on these changes and opening up the issue of particular understanding of Olympic legacy, we may initially draw upon the need of the IOC and national sport bodies to justify their interventions in host cities. This governance background must be understood as a legitimacy act, blending management with politics. Although the IOC has historically avoided the expression "politics" in its negotiations with local and national governments, legitimacy has become a basic condition for sharing governance with host cities.

Early contributions for the understanding of legitimacy – like those exposed by Max Weber at the beginning of the 20th century – had focused on the popular or governmental acceptance or recognition toward some proposal or value, let alone coercion. Of course, legitimacy is distinct from legality, a premise that somewhat gave validation to IOC participation in local interventions during the Olympic Games' bid and implementation. In brief, contemporary processes of consent and mutual understanding as promoted by the IOC have found their embodiment in the logic of

办城市面临的实际问题，治理方向自然会体现变化着的城市秩序及地方和区域环境的持续改变。

当我们着眼于这些变化，并针对对奥运遗产问题做出专门的阐释时，我们可能首先要借鉴国际奥委会和国家体育机构有必要证明其对主办城市干预的正当性。这种治理背景必须被理解为将管理与政治结合的一种正当行为。尽管国际奥委会历来在与地方和国家政府的谈判中避免使用“政治”一词，但正当性已经成为国际奥委会与主办城市分享治理的一个基本条件。

对正当性解释的早期观点，正如 Max Weber 在 20 世纪初所揭示的，侧重于社会流行的或政府对某些建议或价值的接受或承认，并非是强制的。当然，正当性与合法性截然不同，是在一定程度上认可国际奥委会在奥运申办和举办过程中参与对地方的干预的前提。简而言之，国际奥委会时下达成共识和相互了解的过程，具有正当性的逻辑。这个过程止于遗产的介入，作为一种手

段，甚至作为正当性的替代物，在实际谈判和承诺中发挥作用。

本文转述这一论点，是基于这一事实，出现在国际奥委会主要文件，包括《奥林匹克宪章》中的“遗产”一语，在过去的几十年中是基于短期（7年）基础上的交付过程，而缺乏有效的理论和法律依据。一直在要求申办城市明确指出如果其获得举办权，在奥运会后将留下什么。双方对此并没有一致的科学的或技术的概念。

此外，Cesar Torres（2011）详述了关于遗产的松散概念观点的背景：“遗产讨论的时兴，促使国际奥委会与巴塞罗那自治大学在2002年举办了主题为‘奥运会的遗产：1984—2000’的研讨会，试图更好地理解这一现象，并最终更有效确保奥运遗产为人称道。从那时起，奥运遗产引起越来越多的学者、体育管理者和国际顾问们的关注。”

legitimacy. And this process ended up with the insertion of legacy as a means and even as a substitute for legitimacy in practical negotiations and commitments.

This thesis is now here forwarded due to the fact that the term ‘legacy’ made appearance in IOC major documents – Olympic Charter included - as a delivery procedure on a short-term basis (seven years), without effective theoretical or legal justifications along the past few decades. Since then bidding cities have been asked to specify what they would leave behind if they were awarded to host the Olympic Games without a consensual conception in scientific or technical terms.

Again, the context of the thesis of loosely conception of legacy is detailed by Cesar Torres (2011): “The prevalence of legacy discourse prompted the IOC and the Autonomous University of Barcelona to organize a symposium in 2002 entitled ‘The Legacy of the Olympic Games: 1984–2000’ to better understand the phenomenon and ultimately to more effectively ensure commendable Olympic legacies. Since then, Olympic legacy has increasingly attracted the attention of scholars, sport administrators, and international consultants.”

Another version for the creation of the so-called “legacy discourse” had been put into circulation by MacAloon (2008), to whom the projection of the Olympic Games as a brand failed despite the support of the powerful marketing sector of the IOC. Instead, the legacy justification for the IOC accomplishments was widely accepted, and even with enthusiastic adherence throughout the entire Olympic system, even though this practical success has never found theoretical coherence and a stable definition, as later emphasized by Chappelet (2012). To this prominent Olympic scholar, after finding several typologies in scientific literature, “legacy is a multi-faceted and far reaching concept”. Such conclusion would explain the overlapping of definitions and the contradictory meanings mostly ascertained in scoping studies focusing on legacy since the beginning of the 2000s.

However, the rationale of long-term management of a legacy for the governance of a city in terms of sustainability has come out in a recent contribution of Holger Preuss’s academic production. To Preuss (2013), sport mega-events transformation is dependent upon environmental-related location factors (transport, labor supply, market, power supply, etc.). This transformation may be systematically evaluated with a legacy framework formatted as a cube with three dimensions: structure, branch and site, which can

关于“遗产讨论”出现的另一个广为流传的版本来自 MacAloon (2008 年)。他认为, 尽管有国际奥委会强大的营销部门的支持, 奥运会作为一个品牌的推广是失败的。相反, 关于遗产成为国际奥委会辉煌业绩的理由却已广为人们所接受, 甚至为整个奥林匹克系统所热情地坚持, 尽管在这种成功的实践中, 人们没有发现理论的连贯性和稳定的定义, 正如后来 Chappelet (2012) 所强调指出的。这位著名的奥林匹克学者, 在检视了几个类型学的科学文献之后, 指出“遗产是多方面的、深远的概念”。这一结论可以解释自 21 世纪初以来, 何以聚焦于奥运遗产定义的研究中充满了定义的重复及含义的冲突。

然而, 着眼于城市可持续治理, 最近 Holger Preuss 对奥运遗产的长效管理原理做出了新的学术贡献。Preuss (2013 年) 认为, 大型体育赛事的转型取决于环境相关的区位因素 (交通、劳动力供给、市场、能源供应等)。这

种转型可通过结构、分支和场所三维立体的遗产框架进行系统的评估。它可以探究并跟踪赛事的遗产。

同样，依照 Preuss 的理论（2013），结构的维度可界定如下：“每项赛事都需要自己特定的结构，各城市所拥有的结构却各有不同。因此，环境对赛事的影响在各奥运会举办城市也各有不同。‘结构’一词是指在奥运会的筹办和举办中产生的或对其具有影响的环境中的任何事物，它可以是有形的（如基础设施），也可以是无形的（如情绪）。”除了这一解释外，同一文献例举了遗产结构的大部分共同组分：“基础设施”“知识”“网络”“政策”和“文化”。

反过来，维度的“分支”包括多种界定的知识领域，这些领域可嵌入各种遗产，如“环境”“体育”“健康”“政治”等。最后，作为第三维的场所，是变化发生的空间，只关注“赛事之后，该赛事的某些结构会消失，但大部分结构或长或短会继续

detect and track the legacy of an event.

Still according with Preuss (2013), the dimension of structure has a definition as follows: “Each event requires its own particular structure and cities differ in the structures they have available. The environmental impact of an event will therefore be different for each host. The wording ‘structure’ is used to refer to anything in an environment that is affected or produced by preparing and staging an event, whether tangible (e.g. infrastructure) or intangible (e.g. emotions).” In addition to this explanation the same source exemplifies most common components of the legacy’s structure: ‘infrastructure’, ‘knowledge’, ‘networks’, ‘policy’ and ‘culture’.

In turn, the dimension ‘branch’ encompasses delimited knowledge areas that legacies can be inserted as ‘environment’, ‘sport’, ‘health’, ‘politics’ etc. Finally, the site as the third dimension is the space where changes take place just considering that “after the event, some of the event structure will vanish, though most of it will continue to exist, whether briefly or for a longer period. These change the ‘location factors’ and transform a city to a better place for living, tourism or industry. For example the change of location factors (dimension structure) related to environment (dimension branch) may increase the quality



of life (dimension site)” (Preuss, 2013). Therefore, the legacy cube is a framework for identification of patterns and process in ex ante and ex post conditions which may appropriately enable researchers and managers to focus on sustainability for long-term governance of mega-events legacies.

## CONCLUSIONS

The delivery-based legacy which legitimates the IOC management system and which had been identified in this study is not coherent with the expectations raised by the *Agenda 2020*. In fact, there is a historical limitation for the full implementation of sustainability projects by the IOC, as it had been previously described by DaCosta (2002). This past study exposed that the vicious cycle of over-commercialization which started in the 1990s has been reinforcing the gigantism of the Olympic Games, creating a chain of events mostly dependent on the four-year span referred to each Olympiad.

Unsurprisingly this option for a four-year cycle cannot be completely adjusted to sustainability feedback, usually concerned with a longer period of time, on account of Sassen’s macro vision of mega-urban regions or of Preuss’s micro vision of sport mega-events management. From both

续存在。它们改变‘区位因素’并促进城市向更适宜生活、旅游或产业的状态转化。例如，与环境（分支维度）相关的区位因素（结构维度）的变化会提升生活的质量（场所维度）”（Preuss, 2013）。因此，遗产立体结构可用于鉴别赛事前后条件下的形态和过程的框架，从而可有效地使研究者和管理者聚焦于大型活动遗产长期治理的可持续性上。

## 结 论

基于交付的奥运遗产使国际奥委会管理体系具有正当性，但本研究表明它并不符合《奥林匹克 2020 议程》提出的未来发展预期。事实上，就像 DaCosta（2002）先前的研究所述，国际奥委会规划的可持续发展在全面实施时有其历史局限性。该研究表明，自 20 世纪 90 年代以来出现的过度商业化的恶性循环使奥运会的“巨人症”愈加严重，一系列体育赛事多以 4 年一届的奥运周期马首是瞻。

不出所料，依照 Sassen 的巨型城市区域的宏观愿景，或 Preuss 的大型体育赛事管理的微观视野，这种 4 年一个周期的选择无法完全依照可持续的反馈进行调整，因为这种反馈通常基于更长的时段。依据他们两人的观点，“过程”观念内在地与包括遗产在内的各种干预产生联系，这与交付通常所要求的恰恰相反。

本文最终提出，遗产交付作为可持续发展过程的一个特例，不能完全兑现 Sassen and Preuss 研究所说的承诺。Sassen 着眼于特大城市的概貌，选择并强调人为干预的积极影响；Preuss 则将干预解析为不同维度的组件，以便清晰地识别、规划和管理。

Sassen 主张，采取行动的重点是考虑特大城市的整体管理；而 Preuss 则旨在认识干预与体育大型赛事的可行性和有效性所产生的负面影响，最终体现为遗产。这两种观点是互补的。本研究要说明的是，如果是基于管理的过

viewpoints, the idea of ‘process’ is inherently connected to interventions - legacy included - as opposed to the usual requirement of delivery.

Legacy delivery is here finally proposed as a distinctive occurrence of a sustainable process of development, not a fully carry-out commitment as considered by Sassen’s and Preuss’s approaches. While Sassen has an overview of megacities, selecting and emphasizing positive impacts from human interventions, Preuss breaks down the interventions in components with different dimensions for better identification, planning and management.

To Sassen the main focus of taking actions is to account for the overall management of a megacity, while Preuss aims to acknowledge interventions and negative impacts on behalf of feasibility and validity of sport mega-events, ultimately represented by legacies. Both views complement each other. The meaning in this case is that sport legacy may be shared by future mega-event cities if a management-based process and an equal outcome of both ex-ante and ex-post research or planning elaborations are offered.

These final remarks make evident the need of a sustainable-based understanding of Olympic legacy to



which an often-mentioned past definition proposed by Holger Preuss (2007, p. 211) may represent a basis for updates: “Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself.”

However, on account of the thesis that emphasizes process instead of delivery, a more sustainable version of approaching an Olympic legacy may be here proposed by the following alternative statement: Irrespective to its tangible delivery or intangible effects in terms of time or space, sport legacy is a planned and long-term process of interventions aiming to develop a sustainable overall environment for the host local or regional supportive cities of the event.

In conclusion, this new definition is suggestively forwarded in order to follow the decrease of importance of the legitimacy-driven legacy as sustainable cities spring up and develop to maturity. Also, conception and fact-finding of future legacies may mostly be a result of post-hoc interpretations from either research work or planning, meeting the needs proposed by *Agenda 2020* towards a good governance of Olympic mega-events.

程，而且赛前和赛后的结果都有同等的研究或精心规划，体育遗产是可以为未来大型赛事的城市分享的。

这些结语表明，有必要从可持续发展的角度去认识奥运遗产。我们经常提到的 Holger Preuss (2007, p.211) 的定义可能为这种认识的更新提供了基础：“无论其产生的时空如何，遗产既是计划的，又是无计划的；既是积极的，又是消极的；既是有形的，也是无形的，它们因体育赛事而被创造出来，其影响却远远超越了体育赛事本身。”

然而，由于这一观点强调过程而非交付，我们在此以一种替代说法来表述处理奥运会遗产的更为可持续的愿景：无论时空上其是有形的交付，还是无形的影响，体育遗产是一个有计划的长期干预过程，旨在为举办城市或区域协办城市构建一个可持续发展的整体环境。

总之，随着寻求可持续发展的城市不断涌现并日趋成熟，正当性驱动遗产的重要性在下降，

于是联想到这个新的定义。此外，未来的奥运遗产概念和实情调查，可能更多的是通过研究或规划得出的后验结果，检验其是否契合《奥林匹克 2020 议程》的要求，实现奥林匹克大型赛事的善治。

（赵卓译）

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# OLYMPIC AGENDA 2020: SEEKING A NEW BALANCE BETWEEN IDEAL AND REAL

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In December 2014, the 127th Session of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), an extraordinary session, unanimously adopted all of the 40 recommendations of *Olympic Agenda 2020*. It was the first very significant move of the IOC since Thomas Bach took over the presidency from his predecessor Jacques Rogge.

Although the last editions of the Olympic Games were successful and the Olympic Movement has been enjoying financial stability, the need for reforms had been anticipated due to the number of challenges the international society is facing today in all continents, with a diversity of individuals, new technologies and environmental issues. Reforms would then be necessary to adjust the direction of the Olympic Movement toward the future. As 1,200 ideas were produced from the 43,500 suggestions received by the IOC from a broad range of organizations and individuals,

## 《奥林匹克 2020 议程》: 寻求理想与现实之间新的 平衡

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在 2014 年 12 月，国际奥委会召开了第 127 次非常全会，一致通过了《奥林匹克 2020 议程》提出的全部 40 项改革建议。这是巴赫接替罗格担任国际奥委会第九任主席后实施的一项重大改革。

尽管奥运会至今依然十分成功，尽管奥林匹克运动依然享有稳定的经济基础，国际奥委会面临的各种挑战已经使它认识到改革的必要性，需要通过改革来调整奥林匹克运动未来发展方向。国际奥委会接到诸多社会组织和个人发来的 270 个信件和 43500 封电子邮件，从中选出的 1200 个具体建议，专门成立了 14 个工作小组，经过近一年认真研究，最终制定了这一改革的基本方案。

国际奥委会将《奥林匹克 2020 议程》视为一个转折点，

托马斯·巴赫套用莎士比亚的句式，提出“改变，还是被改变？这是一个问题。”这一具有决定意义的举措是对这一问题的回答，以确保国际奥委会“成为变革的领导者，而不是改革的对象”。

一切改革总是出现在旧框架与旧方式无法对问题进行妥善处理之时，具有明确的问题指向性。改革的深刻程度取决于问题的严重程度。显然，今天奥林匹克运动面对的问题是严重的，因其触及奥运的基础，涉及奥林匹克运动的基本框架。

从某种意义上讲，《奥林匹克 2020 议程》是萨马兰奇改革的历史延伸。15 年前，国际奥委会第七任主席萨马兰奇在盐湖城申办丑闻引发的巨大外部压力下启动了改革。当时，由国际奥委会 2000 改革委员会提出的所有 50 个项措施均为国际奥委会全会迅速通过，以应对当时的危机。当然，今天巴赫改革的背景完全不同于萨马兰奇改革，《奥林匹克 2020 议程》似乎是在没有外部直接威

the IOC set up 14 working groups to produce a single document with the essential reforms. This process took nearly a year.

The IOC regards *Olympic Agenda 2020* as a turning point. According to Thomas Bach, paraphrasing Shakespeare, “To change or to be changed, that is the question” can be a decisive move to ensure that the IOC should “be the leaders of change, not the object of change”.

All reforms are related to issues which could hardly be dealt with properly within the old approaches and framework. Reforms have to be deeper since the depth of the reform depends on the degree of the criticality of the problems. Obviously, the issues faced by the Olympic Movement have already gone down to some bases and reached the fundamental framework of the Olympic Movement, including the uniqueness of the Olympic Games.

In a sense, *Olympic Agenda 2020* is a historical extension of the reform started by Juan Antonio Samaranch, the seventh President of the IOC, 15 years ago, during the second half of his administration. Samaranch’s reform was carried out under great external pressure resulted from the Salt Lake City bid scandal. All of the 50 items proposed by

the IOC 2000 Reform Commission were overwhelmingly and quickly adopted to cope with the urgent crisis. Of course, the contexts of Bach's reform are quite different from Samaranch's reform, which may be termed as "tactical reform", for it was mainly on the level of crisis management in order to cope with the urgent situation and mounting public pressure at the time. Bach's reform may be termed as "strategic reform", for it aims at the very core of the issues that have bothered the Olympic Movement, trying to break through some outdated but still used frameworks.

It was then clearly proposed that *Olympic Agenda 2020* would try to set up a strategic roadmap for the future of the Olympic Movement. Strategic reform means that Bach directly attacked the problems and tried to root them out. As a matter of fact, "CHANGE" was the most frequently used word, as many as 32 times, in Bach's speech during the Opening Ceremony of the 127th IOC Session. The challenges are great as the IOC is opening new options ahead.

胁的条件下提出的，正如巴赫所言，“我们是成功的，而成功是变革的最好理由”。这样说可能是真实的，因为奥林匹克运动的确仍然是成功的，财政状况稳定，依然为世界所欢迎。但是，如果往深里看，人们会发现巴赫改革和萨马兰奇改革的对象基本相同，都聚焦于奥运会和国际奥委会。萨马兰奇改革可称为“战术改革”，因其主要在危机管理层次，以应付危机局面和公众压力。巴赫改革则可以称之为“战略改革”，因其直指困扰奥林匹克运动的问题的核心，试图突破虽已过时，但仍在使用的框架。

显然，《奥林匹克 2020 议程》要制定一个奥林匹克运动未来发展的战略路线图。战略改革，意味着巴赫试图直击问题要害，从根本上解决问题，而此前国际奥委会一直是间接地处理这些问题。于是，“改变”成为巴赫在国际奥委会会 127 全会开幕式致辞中使用最频繁的一个词，多达 32 次。然而，国际奥委会要另辟蹊径，面临巨大挑战。

## 1. 《奥林匹克 2020 议程》应对的关键问题

作为一个操作导向的路线图,《奥林匹克 2020 议程》提出范围颇广的 40 项建议,有的抽象,有的具体,似乎整体面貌欠清晰。巴赫提示道,它像一块七巧板,只有将各部分拼在一起,才能看清其整体轮廓和整体意义。

通览全部 40 项建议,我们不难看出,《奥林匹克 2020 议程》首先聚焦于奥运会。有 5 个工作小组在研究奥运会及其相关问题,如奥运会的申办、遗产、奥运项目、与奥运项目组织的合作及管理,提出 13 项与奥运会有关的改革建议,占全部 40 项建议的 32.5%。如果加上关于运动员的 4 项建议,因为运动员是奥运会的重要组成部分,关于奥运会的改革建议占《奥林匹克 2020 议程》的 42.5%。这意味着以奥运会为核心的奥林匹克运动将发生结构性的变化。

## 1. The key issues in *Olympic Agenda 2020*

As an operation-oriented roadmap, *Olympic Agenda 2020* proposed 40 recommendations covering a wide range of content. Some of them tend to be general while others are more specific. This map seems to lack a holistic picture, just like the jig-saw puzzle Bach referred to. Its entire profile and overall meaning will only be unravelled when all the pieces are put together.

Obviously, the Olympic Games are the main focus of *Olympic Agenda 2020*. There were five groups working on the Games and Games-related issues such as bidding, heritage, Olympic program, collaboration with Olympic sports organizations and management. Thirteen reform suggestions were proposed, which is 32.5% of the 40 recommendations. If the four recommendations about athletes are included, since athletes are the main part of the Games, the recommendations for the Olympic Games reach 42.5% of *Agenda 2020*. This means that the very core of the Olympic Movement will have their structures changed, including the Olympic Games.



As the second focal point is the IOC itself, eight groups worked on the IOC's roles, structure and organization and offered 14 recommendations, about 35% of the total.

As a result, 77.5% of the recommendations focus on the Olympic Games and on the IOC itself. It is understandable because the Olympic Movement will continue prosperously as long as the Olympic Games maintain great attraction to countries around the world and the IOC maintains its effective management.

Conversely, if the public, especially the young people, are not longer interested in the Olympics; if the Games are regarded as a big burden by host cities and if people are longer to think the IOC has the ability to handle Olympic affairs, the Olympic Movement would be doomed to failure. Unfortunately, however, these seem to be happening.

Therefore, *Olympic Agenda 2020* mainly focus on two crucial issues: (i) to keep the uniqueness of the Olympic Games while adapting them to the changing social contexts, and (ii) to keep the IOC's autonomy while letting it adapt to good governance so that control can be more transparent and closer to reality.

第二个关注点是国际奥委会自身，设立了 8 个小组对国际奥委会的职能、结构和组织进行研究，提出了 14 条建议，约占总数的 35%。

《奥林匹克 2020 议程》将奥运会和国际奥委会置于如此重要的地位，以至于 77.5% 的改革建议集中于此，是完全可以理解的。因为只要奥运会对世界各国保持其巨大的吸引力，只要国际奥委会管理有效，奥林匹克运动就长盛不衰。

相反，如果公众，尤其是青少年对奥运会失去兴趣，如果人们视奥运为举办城市的负担，如果人们不再认为国际奥委会有能力处理奥林匹克事务，奥林匹克运动便不会有前途。然而，不幸的是，这些似乎正在发生。

于是，《奥林匹克 2020 议程》主要聚焦于两个关键问题：①保持奥运会的独特性，同时让其适应变化了的社会环境；②保持国际奥委会的自治，同时让它适应善治的要求。

## 2. 奥运会改革：寻求奥运会的影响与主办城市“可持续发展”的新平衡

奥运会是奥林匹克运动的枢纽，它不仅为整个奥林匹克运动提供着巨大的资源，而且对奥林匹克组织的教育和诸多社会功能具有直接影响。

是什么使得奥运会不同于世界杯、世界锦标赛这样的世界单项比赛？答案是明显的，奥运会是多项运动的综合性比赛。然而，世界上多项运动的综合性比赛也有很多，如亚运会、泛美运动会、英联邦运动会、大运会等等，为什么奥运会能超凡脱俗，鹤立鸡群？原因同样明确，奥运会是世界众多体育明星参加的顶级赛事。于是，“综合赛事+顶级水平”，使得奥运会如此独特，在众多体育赛事中脱颖而出，具有唯一性。其“综合赛事+顶级水平”的性质，不仅吸引了巨量的观众，而且让财大气粗的赞助商，尤其是跨国公司趋之若鹜，从而确保了奥运源源不断的经济来源。

## 2. Olympic Games reform: seeking new balance for the Games' impacts and host city's sustainability

The Olympic Games are the hub of the Olympic Movement as they not only provide huge resources for the entire Olympic Movement, but also have direct impact on the educational and social role played by Olympic organizations.

What makes the Olympic Games different from any single sport tournament like world cups or world championships? The answer is clear: they are multisport games. But there are many multisport games in the world such as the Asian Games, Pan-American Games, Commonwealth Games, Universiade and so on. Why are the Olympics so eye-catching? The reason is clear too: they are at the top level games in which sport celebrities and famous athletes participate. The “multisport + top level” characteristics make Olympic Games so unique that they stand out in the sport world. As a top-level multisport event, the Games attract not only a wide range of international audiences but also a select group of wealthy sponsors, especially those transnational and multinational corporations, which secured the economic blood poured into.

In addition, The Games are not a simple aggregation of various sports in quantitative terms, but an integration of those sports in the same Olympic framework, which resulted in a collective effect called Olympic atmosphere. Each sport contributes to and benefits from the Olympic atmosphere and looks, or tries to look different. Suggestively, spectators and athletes all have different expectations from the same sport within the Olympic framework. Since the Olympic atmosphere is built up by multisport to generate holistic impacts, the Games have ideally to be concentrated in terms of time and space. For this reason, the IOC has always adhered to the principle of “One Olympics One City” in order to fully display the uniqueness of Olympics.

Nevertheless, the very nature of the Olympic Games brings two consequences. The first one is that the top multisport Games tend to demand a large amount of resources due to its very nature in order to keep their large scale and high level performances. That includes not only the organization of the Games but also the construction of sports facilities and related infrastructures to live up to the world's expectations and to keep up with their ideal. Before the middle of the 1970s, the municipal government of the host cities had to take the main responsibility to supply the necessary resources. However, the Games' demands

此外，奥运会不是各项运动在数量意义上的简单堆砌，而是在同一个奥运框架将这些运动整合在一起，从而产生凝聚效果，即“奥运氛围”。每一项运动既为营造“奥运氛围”做出贡献，又获益于“奥运氛围”，使之不同于寻常的体育比赛。在奥运框架内，观众和运动员对同样的运动项目也有着不同的期望。由于“奥运氛围”是基于综合性赛事产生的，是多种运动项目整合才能产生的整体影响，因此，奥运会需要浓缩于一定的时空范围。为此，国际奥委会始终坚持“一届奥运一个城市”的原则，以充分展示奥运会顶级综合赛事的唯一性。

然而，奥运会的这本质特点，即高度集中的顶级综合赛事，导致两个后果。其一，天然地需要大量资源。奥运会各项目比赛，需要依托一定数量和质量的体育场馆及相关基础设施，才能保证其既有规模，又有水平，即确保奥运会顶级综合赛事独特性。20世纪70年代中期以前，主办城

市是奥运会资源的主要提供者。随着奥运会对资源需求的迅速增加,这种资源提供方式难以为继,1976年奥运会给蒙特利尔市留下巨额债务,标志着这种资源供给旧模式的终结。

在20世纪80年代中期,国际奥委会启动了奥林匹克营销的筹资模式。奥运营销计划大获成功,致使奥运会的规模以前所未有的速度膨胀。1976年蒙特利尔奥运会共设198个小项,运动员6084名。到2012年伦敦奥运会,小项增至302,运动员人数猛增至10500名。今天,因奥运营销计划的成功实施,国际奥委会得以对奥运会组委会给以慷慨的财政支撑,举办这一庞大的奥运会似乎并无太大问题。难题在于,奥运会的膨胀推动了对相关设施支撑和服务需求的膨胀,如一流的体育场馆、良好的公路、机场、交通和通信、安全服务等一系列配套的基础设施和服务。

这就使得今天奥运会主办城市筹办的主要注意力集中于奥运会的支撑平台,而不是奥运会本

for resources had rapidly increased along the years and could no longer be met by the old model of cities being a main provider. The huge debt of the 1976 Montreal Games marked the end of the old model of resource supply.

The IOC started then a new fund raising model and initiated a marketing program in the mid-1980s. The Olympic marketing programs went so well that the Games expanded at an unprecedented pace. There were 198 events and 6,084 athletes at the 1976 Montreal Games. The numbers soared to 302 events and 10,500 athletes at the 2012 London Games. Today, to run the gigantic Games seems no big problem due to the success of the Olympic Marketing Program, which enabled the IOC to make generous financial contribution to the Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs). However, the more problematic issue is that the expansion of the Games also propels expansion of all supporting infrastructures and services related, such as first-class stadiums, fabulous swimming pools, roads, airports, transportation and communication, security service and so on.

Nowadays, the main concern of the host cities is with the preparation for the Games: the supporting items rather than the Games themselves are very well thought of so that they leverage their cities' development and fulfil diverse

expectations from IFs, media, sponsors and audiences around the world. When the Games are over, happening only once for most host cities, the facilities are often left behind like big white elephants, which will become a huge burden to host cities. These municipalities will have to face real life in order to pay bills, administer debts and manage tangible legacies. In order to avoid this situation, which has lately become more common, four of the six applicant cities for the 2022 Winter Olympics, including winter sport powers and very competitive candidates such as Stockholm (Sweden) and Oslo (Norway), dropped their bids, some of them after consulting the local population and receiving a “no” as the answer.

To keep the uniqueness of the Games and the interests of the international community, *Olympic Agenda 2020* has initiated a new approach to handle the Games’ bidding problems. Some of the recommendations change the bidding procedure turning it into an invitation for potential bidders, paying more attention to long-term legacies to the host cities and to sustainability. It even goes as far as to break the principle of “One City One Games”, allowing joint bids (either from several cities in one country or from several cities in two or more countries). All these initiatives would certainly relieve burdens of host cities, but at the same time they may raise some new questions such as what

身。对绝大多数举办城市来说，奥运会是一次性的，这一大型赛事结束后，这些设施，难以避免成为累赘，留给主办城市巨大的负担。这使得诸多城市望而却步，最近的证据就是 2022 年冬季奥运会的申办，6 个申办城市有 4 个最终放弃了申办，包括很有竞争力的冰雪运动强市，如瑞典的斯德哥尔摩和挪威的奥斯陆。

为保持奥运会的独特性和国际社会的利益，《奥林匹克 2020 议程》启动了新的方式来处理申办问题，改变了申办程序，对潜在的申办城市发出邀请，更多地关注奥运会对举办城市的长期遗产，甚至打破“一个城市一届奥运”的原则，允许联合申办（可以同一国家的几个城市，也可以是两个以上国家的几个城市）。这些措施无疑会减轻主办城市的负担，但同时可能会引发新的问题，如什么样的城市应当邀请？如何避免可能带来的不平等？如何对待那些虽有一定差距，但试图利用奥运会来促进自身发展的城市？更为重要的是，

这种分散化的方式，有可能对奥运会独特性产生负面影响。这种担心，早在 2003 年奥运会研究委员会提交给国际奥委会 115 次全会的报告中就有明确的陈述：

“尽管不少公众提出延长举办时间并在几个相邻的城市同时举办，委员会认为，时空统一的原则，或‘一个城市一届奥运’，应该维护，以确保奥运会是世界上最伟大的体育赛事，并确保运动员有同样的体验。”

随着越来越多的城市和国家参与举办奥运会，出现了多元化的新格局。国际奥委会应当寻求新的平衡，从而实现多样性的统一。《奥林匹克 2020 议程》以其提出的多项建议，发挥了十分重要的作用。其结果是，人们有可能看到奥林匹克运动在从理想向真实的语境挺进，尤其是在 21 世纪初着眼于可持续发展。显然，对可持续发展的选择会成为最终依据，为“一个城市一届奥运”的考虑带来灵活性。

kind of cities would be invited and how to avoid potential inequality to cities with a little gap to the criteria, but trying to use the Games to leverage their development. More important, however, are the possible negative effects on the uniqueness of the Games with this decentralization. The worry had already been expressed in the Report of the 115th IOC Session by the Olympic Games Study Commission in 2003:

“Although many members of the public mentioned the extension of the Games duration and staging the Games in several neighbouring host cities at the same time, the Commission believes that the principle of unity in space and time, or "One Games - One City", should be maintained in order to ensure that the Games remain the world's greatest sporting event and to guarantee that the athletes' experience remains intact”.

With the participation of more cities and more countries in hosting the Games, leading to more diversity, a new balance should be sought by the IOC so that unity in diversity should be aimed at. *Olympic Agenda 2020* then plays a crucial role as various recommendations are offered. As a result, it is possible to observe that the Olympic Movement seems to be moving from the ideal to the real context of the changes, especially focusing on sustainability, at the beginning of the 21st century. Surely,



sustained options will stand as final arguments in order to bring flexibility to the "One Games - One City" concerns.

The second consequence is the conflict that the IOC can get into with other sports organizations, especially those with marketing appeal. With the formation of the global sports market, more and more sports have entered the market and become profitable. There is an enormous diversity of sports events in all continents and as elite athletes participate in championships and events beyond their sports federations, conflicts with sports associations in terms of commercial interests could come up. As the IOC tries to ensure that the Olympic events keep at the top level with the very elite, it would inevitably get into conflict with IFs such as FIFA and professional leagues.

Again *Olympic Agenda 2020* offers recommendations in order to avoid conflicts with other sports entities by establishing dialogue and close cooperation with other sports events organizers and by forging relationships with professional leagues. As there is diversity, so there will be dialogue and unity in diversity.

第二个后果是导致国际奥委会与其他体育组织，尤其是那些市场前景良好的组织的冲突。随着全球竞技运动市场的形成，越来越多的运动项目组织进入市场，并开始具有盈利能力。精英运动员参加其项目联合会之外的赛事，如奥运会，会导致奥林匹克组织与项目协会在商业利益方面的冲突。国际奥委会要确保奥运赛事的顶级精英性质，不可避免地会与国际足联等这些国际单项体育联合会和职业体育联盟产生冲突。

《奥林匹克 2020 议程》对此也提出一些建议，试图通过其他体育赛事的组织者建立对话和合作机制，通过与职业联盟建立伙伴关系，来避免与其他体育组织的冲突。既然差异是存在的，那么就会有对话，有多样性的统一。

### 3. 国际奥委会的改革：寻求独立和依靠之间新的平衡

国际奥委会以独立的自治组织著称于世。它的组织模式是基于顾拜旦的奥林匹克理念和“亨利帆船赛”的组织结构构建的。这种模式的核心是逆向代表，自我选择。自治对国际奥委会极为重要，使其能够应对种种外部压力，在各种危机中生存下来。

需要指出的是，国际奥委会的自主是以业余体育运动为基础的。第二次世界大战结束后，随着奥林匹克运动的快速发展，奥运会的迅速扩张与资源稀缺的矛盾日益尖锐，导致国际奥委会在20世纪70年代陷入严重的经济危机。其结果是，国际奥委会在20世纪80年代推出奥运营销方案，并取得巨大的成功，从而为奥林匹克大家庭提供了巨大的资源，使国际奥委会有了雄厚的经济基础，并形成了国际奥委会与单项体育联合会和国家奥委会等组织的紧密的合作伙伴关系。

### 3. IOC reform: to seek a new balance between its independence and dependence.

The IOC is best known as an independent autonomy organization. Its organizational model is based on Coubertin's Olympic concept and organizational structure of the "Henry regatta". The essence of model is the self-selection of reverse delegation. Autonomy is very important to the IOC and enabling it to cope with various external pressures and to survive through various crises.

It is worth noting that the IOC's autonomy was set up on the basis of amateur sport. After World War II, with the rapid development of the Olympic Movement, the contrast between the expansion of the Olympics and the scarce resources available for them has become increasingly acute, leading the IOC to a serious crisis in the 1970s. As a result, the IOC launched efficiently its Olympic marketing program in the 1980s and made a great success, which provided enormous resources to the Olympic Family and set a solid economic foundation for the IOC, forming strong links between the IOC and its partners such as the International Sports Federations, the National Olympic Committees and others.

However, Olympic marketing has inevitably led the IOC into the economic field and facing with a series of



new problems with which amateur sports organizations are not familiar and can not solve them independently. Some of the problems were emerged in sport practice such as doping, match-fixing, illegal betting, and others related to the IOC itself for its inherent organizational defects such as corruption resulted from the blur of distinctions between management and supervision. The IOC has tried very hard to take control of the situation by conducting a series of adjustments in order to adapt to some new environment both inside and outside their organizations, as for instance, to establish the Court of Arbitration for Sport, the World Anti-Doping Agency and most importantly the IOC's Ethics Commission with especial focus on anti-corruption procedures. But the IOC's own efforts do not seem enough to deal with the problems, and the same is true to other international sports organizations like FIFA. It requires a close cooperation among all parties involved, including public authorities since some solutions depend on them.

Since 1990s the concept of good governance has become popular in various social sectors all over the world. The so-called good governance is a social management process to maximize the benefits to all parties involved through positive interactions among them. This concept is particularly important to the IOC and other international sports organizations in term to improve the organizational

然而，国际奥委会由于奥运营销，进入其此前不曾涉足的经济领域，遇到一系列业余体育组织所不熟悉，也无法独立解决的新问题。有的问题来自体育实践，如兴奋剂、假球、非法赌博；有的问题源于国际奥委会本身固有的组织缺陷，如由于对管理者监督不足导致的腐败。国际奥委会竭尽全力，试图控制局面，做出一系列的调整，以适应内外环境的变化，如建立体育仲裁法庭，世界反兴奋剂局，更为重要的是成立了旨在反腐的国际奥委会道德委员会。但事实证明，仅国际奥委会自身的这些努力并不足以解决问题，其他国际体育组织，如国际足联也是如此。这些问题的解决要求包括政府部门在内的有关各方的密切合作。

20 世纪 90 年代以来，善治的理念在世界各地的社会部门逐渐流行开来。所谓善治是相关各方良性互动，从而使公共利益最大化的社会管理过程。这一理念对国际奥委会和其他国际体育组织具有重要意义，有助于它们改

善组织状态。近年来，越来越多的国际体育组织开始以善治为目标的改革。然而，什么是善治的理想状态？国际奥委会如何在获得政府部门的协助以解决上述问题的同时，保持其独立性？这些问题尚无答案，而且可能会引发冲突。例如，2007年7月，欧盟委员会制定了其有史以来的首个关于其体育政策的“体育白皮书”，全面阐述其对体育运动的观点。但是，国际奥委会对此颇为失望，认为该文件“忽视了国际体育组织的管理能力。”

于是，国际奥委会与其他体育组织合作，推出了《奥林匹克和体育运动善治的基本通则（2008）》。但如何落实这些原则，国际奥委会和有关各方还有很长的路要走。在《奥林匹克2020议程》中，国际奥委会为自己的设定的目标是实现多元中的统一。在达此目标，关键在于要有一个制度化的机制，以一种适当的方式保持其独立性和依赖性。做到这点并非易事。《奥林匹克2020议程》的这40项建议

mode. In recent years, a growing number of international sports organizations have begun to turn to good governance to reform their organization operations. However, what is the ideal status of good governance? How is the IOC to maintain its independence while depending on public authorities' assistance to solve the problems that cannot be solved by itself? All such questions have insufficient answer for the moment and may raise some conflicts. For example, in July 2007, the European Commission worked out its first ever document on sport policies, *White Paper on Sport*, to deliver its comprehensive views on sport, but the IOC was disappointed at the document because it mentioned “ignoring in particular the regulatory competences of the International Federations”.

Contrariwise, the IOC cooperated with other sport organizations and worked out the "*Basic Universal Principles of Good Governance of the Olympic and Sports Movement*" (2008), but the IOC and all parties involved will have a long way to go to implement these principles. In *Agenda 2020*, the IOC set its own role trying to achieve the presupposed Unity in Diversity. The key to achieve that aim is to find the structural mechanism to keep its independence and dependence in a proper way. Moreover, the 40 recommendations of *Olympic Agenda 2020* indicate some new roads for the IOC to reach its objectives, which may

also be subject to change as the diversity of the international society tends to increase and dialogue tends to prevail.

## Conclusion

It must be confirmed that it is not easy to seek a new balance between the ideal world pursued by the Olympic Movement and the IOC, and the real changing world. Now it is hoped that the new equilibrium can actually be reached and maintained as the 40 recommendations of *Olympic Agenda 2020* are being implemented worldwide. The key is to maintain the uniqueness of the Olympic Games based on the balance of the Games' impacts and host city's sustainability; to maintain the IOC's autonomous status based the balance of its independence and dependence.

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为国际奥委会实现其目标提供新的途径，同时，由于国际社会的多样化，平等对话日趋重要，这些建议措施自身会有所变化。

## 结 语

在奥林匹克运动和国际奥委会寻求的理想世界与正在变化的真实世界之间保持一种新的平衡，是不容易的。《奥林匹克2020 议程》40 项建议在全球的实施，使人们看到实现和保持这种新平衡的希望。关键在于，以奥运会的影响与主办城市“可持续发展”的平衡为基础，保持奥运会的独特性；以国际奥委会的独立性和依赖性平衡为基础，保持其自治。



# TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

## 传统研究



# NATIONAL AND POST-NATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE OLYMPIC DESIGN: THE CASE OF THE ATHENS 2004 OLYMPIC GAMES

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We need to think ourselves beyond the nation. This ... is to suggest that the role of intellectual [and design] practices is to identify the current crisis of the nation and in identifying it to provide part of the apparatus of recognition for post-national social forms.

—Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*<sup>1</sup>

Following Arjun Appadurai's call, this paper will attempt to pinpoint the "crisis of the nation" as revealed in the representation of a "new Greece" at the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. Taking as a case study Santiago Calatrava's design of the Athens Olympic Stadium and its use during the opening and closing ceremonies of the Games, I will examine questions of selfhood, otherness,

## 奥林匹克设计中“国家”和“后国家”的发展动态——以 2004 年雅典奥运会为例

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我们应跳出国家的界限来反思我们自己。这就意味着，知识（和设计）实践的作用在于识别国家现存的危机，并在识别危机过程中，为“后国家”社会形态的认识提供一定的方法。

——阿尔让·阿帕杜拉，《消散的现代化》<sup>1</sup>

本文在阿尔让·阿帕杜拉的启发下，试图一针见血地指出 2004 年雅典奥运会呈现的“新希腊”所反映出的“国家危机”。以圣地亚哥·卡拉特拉瓦设计的雅典奥林匹克体育场及其在开闭幕式中的使用情况为个案，我将审视当代希腊的自我、他者和国家认同问题，据此提出我们应当

面对的另一类忠诚观。就像大多数现代奥运会一样，2004年雅典奥运会更多地被认为是国家事件而非公民事件。重塑国家认同是雅典奥运会组织者追求的目标之一，他们把奥运会看作是打造“新希腊”形象的绝佳机会。组织者的目标是彻底改变这个国家陷入的古代文明辉煌但现代技术落后的过时的形象，并使国际社会相信希腊在文化和经济领域的现代化和欧洲化。“新希腊”形象被认为能够刺激国内外的投资需求，并提升希腊的国际声望。

然而，奥运会的庞大规模和复杂多元必然导致形成举办方难以预料或控制的社会意义和意识形态。国家认同并不总是清晰的：当它出现分层、遭到争论或者被否定时将会发生什么呢？借鉴萨斯基亚·扎森论文中关于国际化城市中个人主观意识会松散的观点，我认为奥运会也潜藏着相似的身份认同的瓦解和再造，尽管这一过程发生在一个有限的基础之上且没有一定之规。扎森写道：

and national identity in contemporary Greece as a means of proposing that alternative types of allegiances must be envisaged. As has been the case with most modern Olympic Games, Athens 2004 was conceived as a national rather than a civic event. The redesign of national identity was a conscious goal of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games organizers, who saw the Olympics as an opportunity to brand the look of a “New Greece.” The aim of the organizers was to overhaul the country’s outdated image as a nation caught between a glorious antiquity and technological backwardness, as well as convince the international community of Greece’s modernity and Europeanization in both cultural and economic terms. The image of a “new Greece,” it was thought, would stimulate new foreign and domestic investments and increase the country’s prestige.

The very size and complexity of the Olympics, however, necessarily led to meanings and ideologies that the organizers could hardly predict or control. National identities are not always clear-cut: What happens when they are layered, disputed, or negated? Drawing upon Saskia Sassen’s thesis on the unbinding of subjectivities in the global city, I will claim that a similar unbinding and reworking of identities is latent in the Olympic Games, even though such operations occur on a limited basis and in



a non-prescriptive manner. Sassen writes:

“The global city is reconfigured as a partly denationalized space that enables a partial reinvention of citizenship. This reinvention takes the institution away from questions of nationality narrowly defined, and towards the enactment of a large array of particular interests.... I interpret this as a move towards citizenship practices that revolve around claiming rights to the city.... In global cities, these practices also contain the possibility of directly engaging strategic forms of power, a fact I interpret as significant in a context where power is increasingly privatized, globalized, and elusive.”<sup>3</sup>

Finally, as an antidote both to the employment of design in ethnic “branding” and the insurgence of nationalism witnessed increasingly in recent years, I will claim that both intellectuals and designers should strive for a serious and committed engagement with what constitutes the category of the “other,” as a means of questioning the myth of the nation-state and developing post-national forms of allegiance. Despite the fact that they are awarded to cities rather than nations, the Olympics function as arenas that celebrate national character, subsuming under it individual or other achievements. Competition usually is inseparable from such celebrations. Indeed, nations see the Olympics

“全球化城市一定程度上能重构非国有化的空间，部分地重塑公民身份。这种重塑的机制能消除固有狭隘的、民族性的诸多问题，并使一系列特定利益得以展现……我认为这是公民权利实践的一种进步，因为这些实践都是围绕着向城市争取权力而展开的……在全球化城市中，这些实践还包括公民获得直接参与各种战略性权力的可能性，我认为，这种可能性对当今权力日益私有化、国际化和模糊化的现状，具有重要意义。”

最终，解决民族“品牌”设计和日益增多的民族主义暴乱，我认为，一剂良方是知识分子和设计师应当尽力搞清楚到底“他者”由什么构成，以此来质疑单一民族的神话和“后国家”形式的忠诚。尽管奥运会的主办权授予的是城市而不是国家，奥林匹克作为赞美民族主义的舞台，将自己和他人的成就收归囊下。竞争常与庆典密不可分。的确，奥运会往往被一个国家看作是在国际舞台的聚光灯下展示自身实

力、与他国较量的机会。这种奥运会和国家主义之间的密切关系是经过历史检验得到充分证明的。现代奥林匹克运动组织（还有其他国际性的活动，如世界博览会）在 19 世纪得到复兴，这一时期恰恰是民族国家的形成时期。根据奥林匹克运动创始人顾拜旦男爵制定的章程，对国家的忠诚和热爱是奥运会的核心理念。除了传递人类友好和平的国际主义外，大部分奥运会都特别将注意力锁定在举办国国家本身。奥林匹克领域的理论研究者，如杰基·霍根，把奥运会看作是“国家话语建构的关键点”和“构建国家认同话语”的重要表现；<sup>4</sup> 斯图亚特·霍尔称其为“国家叙事”，那是“一组故事、图像、风光、场景、历史事件、国家象征和传统仪式，国家之所以成为国家的共同的经历、哀伤、胜利与灾难正由此呈现出来。”

当今大规模的人口迁移和全球化进程使单一民族国家占统治地位的政治模式受到挑战，从而

as opportunities to exhibit their achievements in the international spotlight, often in contest with one another. This strong relation between the Olympics and nationalism is historically grounded. The very institution of the modern Olympics (together with other international gatherings, such as world expositions) was reinvented in the nineteenth century, a period coinciding with the dawn of the nation-state. According to the constitution of the Olympic Games as defined by their founder, Pierre Frédy, Baron de Coubertin, national attachment is at the heart of the concept of the Games. Besides expressing human kindness and peaceful internationalism, most Olympic Games are anchored quite specifically to the nation that hosts them. Theorists of Olympic studies, such as Jackie Hogan, see the Olympic Games as “key sites in the discursive construction of nation” and as major representations that “constitute discourses of national identity”<sup>4</sup>—or what Stuart Hall has called the “narrative of nation”; that is, “a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols, and rituals which represent the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation.”

In recent times, massive demographic changes and globalization have challenged the relevance of the nation-state as a dominant political model, leading to the search

for new political forms that can better respond to such conditions. If national identity derives from belonging to a “people,” then according to Dierdre Curtin, a professor of European and international law at the University of Utrecht, the “post-national idea is premised precisely on the separation of politics and culture, of nationality and citizenship,” and presupposes that national (cultural) plurality can coexist alongside political unity. The post-national obtains even greater urgency in Europe today with the process of European integration and the overall crisis of identity occasioned by large numbers of non-European immigrants and residents, especially those who are non-Christian. Today, almost every country in Europe is experiencing a crisis of identity in light of its numerous newcomers. This situation has led to various forms of conflict ranging from cultural tension to incidents of hostility and violence between “insiders”—citizens—and “outsiders” or “newcomers.”<sup>5</sup> As an alternative to denying the processes of cultural heterogeneity and allowing ethnicity-based antagonisms to grow, geographer Ash Amin suggests that one option would be to “recognize the coming Europe of plural and hybrid cultures ... and seek to develop an imaginary of becoming European through engagement with the stranger in ways that imply no threat to tradition and cultural autonomy.”<sup>6</sup> The Olympic Games clearly are capable of illuminating these entangled

导致世界在寻求更好地应对这一形势的新的政治模式。如果国家认同源于对“国家公民群体”的归属意识，那么，乌得勒支大学欧洲与国家法教授迪尔德丽·科廷认为，“后国家概念的前提恰恰是政治和文化的分离，国籍和公民身份的分离”，并假设民族的（文化的）多元性可以与政治的统一性共存。随着欧洲一体化以及由大量的非欧洲移民和居民尤其是非基督教徒涌入欧洲而引起的认同危机，使欧洲目前更迫切地需求“后国家”的概念。现今，几乎每一个欧洲国家都正在经历由于大量外来人口引起的认同危机。认同危机已经导致了原有公民和外来人口之间的各种各样的冲突，从文化冲突到敌对和暴力事件。<sup>5</sup>除了抵制文化差异进程和放任种族主义间敌对情绪增长外，还有一种选择是，地理学家阿什·阿敏认为，认清正在来临的欧洲众多的和复杂的文化……试图探寻和构建一种外来人成为欧洲人的设想，通过某种方式承诺外来人不会威胁到他们的传统

和文化自治。<sup>6</sup>奥运会显然能解释这些错综复杂的关系网，因为它超越了某一个地区的政治，无论这个地区是主办国还是某一特定的参赛国。因为文化产品既植根于它们产生的社会中，也存在距离较远的社会中，体验并加以评判，奥运会则能够接受其观众和成员对文化产品的多元理解。公民参与奥运筹备工作，通过志愿精神和公开讨论，经常超出官方控制，强化了公民社会存在的前提，所以导致对国际奥委会计划的批判甚至抵抗。因此，恰恰由于奥运会强大的公众吸引力，它便成为了被媒体理论家丹尼尔·达扬称为文化“劫持”的竞技场。<sup>7</sup>奥林匹克正不断或迫于被大范围的“特工”所“劫持”，这些特工来自本国和国际市场、政府、名流、活动家和恐怖分子。结果是，奥运会在民族主义和去民族主义之间摇摆。

必须指出的一点是希腊人对公民身份信奉的是“民族的”而不是“公民的”模式，倾向于认为国家意识的核心是相信过去

networks that expand far beyond the politics of a given place, whether that place is the host nation or a specific participant country. As cultural artifacts embedded in the societies that produce them as well as in those distant societies that become their consumers or, potentially, their judges, the Games are open to the diverse interpretations of their audiences and constituents. Citizens' involvement in the Olympic preparations, through volunteerism and public debates, often extends beyond the control of the officials and strengthens the premises of civil society, leading to criticism of or even resistance to the plans of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Thus, the Olympic Games, precisely because of the major public attention they attract, become arenas open to what media theorist Daniel Dayan calls “hijacking.”<sup>7</sup> The Olympics are constantly being, or threatening to become, “hijacked” by a wide range of agents: local and global markets, governments, celebrities, activists, terrorists. As a result, the Games fluctuate between becoming nationalistic and, at the same time, denationalized.

It is important to point out that Greece follows the “ethnic” rather than the “civic” model of citizenship; privileging ideas of nationhood that are centered on the belief in an archaic past uninterruptedly embodied in the present. Within this view of nationhood as pure, continuous,

and insular, “otherness” is reluctantly accepted, since “ideal” citizens are primarily those who partake in the national culture through continuous blood relationships. This deeply imbued idea of modern Greece’s descent from antiquity has prevailed throughout the country’s recent history, and is a major hindrance to the function of a constitutional regime based on citizens’ equality. Minority identities, such as those of non-ethnic Greek and non-Greek Orthodox populations, continue to be marginalized and excluded from the national narrative. The following sections critically analyze two specific examples of design in the Athens 2004 Olympics. In the first case, by examining Calatrava’s design for the new Olympic Center under the rubric of Europeanization, I question Greece’s desire for “alterity” as a means of achieving “newness.” In the second, I discuss the use of the Calatrava stadium for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Athens Games, and question the nature of inclusion: Who constitutes the nation, and what alliances and constellations emerge out of this mental territory in both its historical and geographical definition?

的历史持续地体现在当代社会之中。这种纯粹的、连续的、孤立的国家意识使“他者”很难被接受，因为“理想”公民主要是指那些通过连续的血缘关系参与民族文化和创新的人。这种被不断灌输的现代希腊承袭古代希腊的认识，近年在希腊颇为盛行，严重阻碍了以公民平等为基础的宪政体制的运行。少数族群，如非希腊人、非希腊正教徒，继续被从国家叙事中边缘化甚至是排除在外。下面会从批判性的角度分析在2004年雅典奥运会的设计中出现的两个具体案例。在第一个案例中，通过分析卡拉特拉瓦设计的欧洲化的新的奥林匹克中心，我质疑希腊是否把追求“差异性”作为实现“新希腊”的一种手段。在第二个案例中，我对将卡拉特拉瓦体育场用作雅典奥运会开闭幕式主会场这一行为进行了探讨，并对包容的本质提出了置疑：谁组成了国家，同时从历史和地理的角度而言，从这一精神领地中涌现出来什么样的“联盟”和“群体”呢？

## 从希腊主义到欧洲主义：卡拉特拉瓦重新设计的奥林匹克中心所体现的自我与他者的分层

奥林匹克中心的设计十分重要，因为它是雅典 2004 奥运会的重要地标，设计权授予了西班牙设计师卡拉特拉瓦，他求学于瑞士，他的设计遍布欧洲著名的城市。邀请国际知名设计师设计国家标志性建筑，已经成为现今时代的一种国际惯例。在希腊的案例中，也许有人要问，由一位非希腊籍的设计师设计如此重要的建筑，是否暗示了希腊已经改变民族中心主义？卡拉特拉瓦的设计意于将现有的奥林匹克场馆群通过一系列的改造和新建达到“融合之美”。<sup>8</sup>最重要的是顶棚建设，后被称为“卡拉特拉瓦顶棚”，是现有场馆外的附加品，是奥林匹克公园的一大景观。<sup>9</sup>该设计从构思和形态上看，主要呈弓形，卡拉特拉瓦意于喻指运动员：“像运动员投掷标枪或者跳远”。<sup>10</sup>但希腊本地的批评者

## From Hellenism to Europeanism: Layers of Selfhood and Otherness Reflected by Santiago Calatrava's Redesign of the Olympic Center

It is significant that the design of the Olympic Athletic Center, the major landmark of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games, was awarded to the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava, who was educated in Switzerland and has furnished major European cities with his work. Inviting an internationally renowned architect to design a national landmark has become a norm in contemporary times. In the case of Greece, one might ask, does the engagement of a non-Greek architect to design a building of national significance indicate that Greece has moved away from an ethnocentric conception of selfhood? Calatrava's project was intended to “unite aesthetically”<sup>8</sup> the existing Olympic Athletic Complex through a series of building renovations and new constructions. The most important was the construction of a roof that became known as the “Calatrava roof,” which was an addition to the existing stadium, and the landscaping of the surrounding Olympic park.<sup>9</sup> The project, both in its plan and morphology, is dominated by the shape of an arch, which Calatrava explained as an athletic metaphor: “like the way an athlete throws the javelin, or a long jumper jumps.”<sup>10</sup> Following local criticism that the work was inappropriate within the landscape of Attica, however, Calatrava changed



his rhetoric, describing the work in terms of Greece's architectural legacy. He referenced the Acropolis of Athens and the Byzantine church Aghia Sophia to convince the public that his project was continuous with the Greek tradition. The way in which the choice of color for Calatrava's roof was explained to the public also is indicative of such intentions. Calatrava initially announced that the roof glass would be tinted blue in homage to the color of the Greek sky and sea. In subsequent interviews, Calatrava pushed his argument even further, interpreting his choice of colors as a direct reference to the Greek flag, thus providing his work with strong nationalistic nuances.<sup>11</sup> Yet despite these explanations, Calatrava's architectural language has almost always been based on arched forms, an approach that he applies worldwide, regardless of regional architectural languages. Calatrava's attempts to relate his architecture to Greek heritage and grand nationalist ideals are not uncommon. The need to feed the public such references is typical of nations based on romantic myths of purity and uniqueness. For example, Kenzo Tange's National Gymnasium for Tokyo's 1964 Olympics has been characterized as "a national shrine ... a modern equivalent of Ise,"<sup>12</sup> Japan's sacred shrine, whose status is analogous to that of the Parthenon in Greece. Despite Calatrava's explanations, the Greek public did not unanimously accept the building as its own. Many critics believed the scale

认为, 这项工程与阿提卡的景色不相和谐, 而后, 卡拉特拉瓦改变了他的解释, 说作品源于希腊的建筑遗产。他参考了雅典卫城和拜占庭式教堂埃格西亚·索菲亚两处建筑, 向观众力证他的设计是对希腊传统的传承。卡拉特拉瓦顶棚颜色的选择也向公众解释是出于此意。卡拉特拉瓦声称玻璃顶棚应着蓝色, 寓意向希腊的蓝天和大海致敬。在随后的采访中, 卡拉特拉瓦把他的意图描绘得更深刻, 颜色的选择源于希腊国旗, 表明了他的作品带有强烈的民族色彩。<sup>11</sup> 尽管他这样说明, 但卡拉特拉瓦的建筑风格总是基于弓形, 一种他用于全世界建筑的风格, 而忽视区域建筑风格。卡拉特拉瓦将他的设计与希腊遗产和伟大的民族理念相连的意图并不是十分罕见。那些对民族纯正性和唯一性充满浪漫神话的国家, 向观众传达这样的参考信息是国家一贯的风格。例如, 丹下健三为 1964 年东京奥运会设计的国家体育场被喻为“国家神殿……现代的伊势”,<sup>12</sup> 神殿

在日本的地位可与希腊的帕台农神殿比肩。尽管卡拉特拉瓦一再解释，希腊并不是全民一致接受这个建筑。许多批评家认为奥林匹克体育场顶棚的规模过大，与阿提卡的景观不成比例。比如，著名的电影导演尼克斯·孔杜洛斯认为卡拉特拉瓦的顶棚与雅典完全格格不入：

我们身边发生的一切不再属于我们。仿制的奥运会也不是我们的。卡拉特拉瓦和他植入阿提卡的庞然大物不是我们的。横跨我们天空中的另一个巨物〔一艘监视飞艇（作者的解释）〕也不是我们的。<sup>13</sup>

还有，这项设计的规模 and 成本反映出希腊对全球化规则的遵从：

如今，所有公共工程……遵循巨大化的趋势，在高科技和后现代美学的助力下，建设了多样的“金字塔形神塔”。这是全球化的产物，意在为金钱无与伦比的力量立碑。<sup>14</sup>

这些声音是大家因惧怕全球化将削弱希腊的独立性而进行广

of the Olympic stadium roof was inappropriate and out of proportion to the Attica landscape. The well-known film director Nikos Koundouros, for instance, described Calatrava's roof as completely extraneous to Athens:

Whatever happens around us is not ours. The forged Olympic Games are not ours either. Calatrava and the monster he planted in Attica land are alien. And the other monster [a surveillance zeppelin (author's explanation)] that wanders in our sky is also alien.<sup>13</sup>

For others, the scale and expenditure of the work reflected Greece's obedience to the rules of globalization:

Nowadays, all public works ... obey the rule of gigantization, constructing various ziggurats, with the help of high-technology and postmodern aesthetics. This is the building of globalization that aims at ... monumentalizing the unmatched magnitude of money.<sup>14</sup>

These voices were part of a broader discourse focused on fears that globalization would weaken Greek identity; and they were symptomatic of an increasing xenophobia that may be attributed to the growing influx of immigrants to the country since the early 1990s. But to what degree was Calatrava a foreigner to Greece? Is it true that his



building carried a Spanish stamp, as was declared by a local journalist<sup>15</sup>, or that his project was the result of an “alien” invasion in Athens? It is no coincidence that Calatrava was presented to the Greek public not as a stranger, but rather as a fellow Mediterranean; a strategy that established a secondary level of discourse that emphasized affiliations with the broader geographic region. Modern Greek citizens, despite their competition with Spain for tourism, have been indoctrinated with ideas of geocultural determinism for more than a century, and the belief that Greeks share a common Mediterranean temperament with Spain is quite well established. As Calatrava himself declared after the work was completed:

There was a prejudice that the Greeks couldn't get this done.... My attitude was that they're fellow-Mediterraneans so there wouldn't be a real problem.... So I told everyone we'd finish in time.<sup>16</sup>

泛的讨论的一部分；他们是仇外症候群体，可能源于1990年代开始大量移民涌入希腊。但是对于希腊人来说，卡拉特拉瓦到底在多大程度上是一个外来人呢？是不是像一名当地记者报道的那样<sup>15</sup>，他的设计带有西班牙的印记？或者他的设计是外国文化入侵希腊的产物？当卡拉特拉瓦出现在希腊民众的面前时，不是以陌生人的身份，而是以来自地中海的朋友的身份，这当然不是巧合；这是一种策略，制造次级舆论层，强调他们是在更广阔的地理区域中的同盟。现代希腊公民，尽管与西班牙争夺旅游业，但由于一个多世纪以来一直被灌输着地理文化决定论的思想，因此希腊人易于建立与西班牙同属地中海同盟的观念。正如卡拉特拉瓦本人在设计完成后所声明的：

认为希腊人不能完成此项设计的观点是带有偏见的……我认为他们是地中海居民，所以并不存在实质性的问题……所以我想告诉大家我们能够按时完成。<sup>16</sup>

考虑到 1992 年奥运会在巴塞罗那的成功举办，对西班牙人的邀请就不足为奇了。希腊奥运会的组织者曾多次提及，西班牙成为 2004 年雅典奥运会的榜样，归因于 1992 年奥运会后巴塞罗那市所具有的象征性和活力。以地中海同盟靠近希腊人，卡拉特拉瓦既以一名“希腊”的模范生出场，又以欧洲文化的行家的身份出现，他的设计既彰显了符号价值，又体现了技术的先进性。如果顶棚设计的想法证实了新希腊是对过去的传承，那么奥林匹克公园的设计则体现出欧洲化的特征，暗示了希腊公民渴盼的、理想的希腊的未来。奥林匹克公园被视为雅典居民和游客共同的公园——一个开放的、只有步行者能够进入的 100 公顷的空间，这里面有 2500 棵大树，8500 棵小树，160000 棵树丛。公园的特色与雅典传统公共场所风格不同，传统的风格缺乏绿植，这遭到了许多希腊人认为是退化与不文明的批评。最重要的是，除了栽培绿植，卡拉特拉瓦还希望在

The invitation to a Spaniard was not surprising given Barcelona's success in hosting the 1992 Olympics. Greek organizers mentioned several times that Barcelona served as the model for Athens 2004 because of the City's symbolic and physical rejuvenation after the 1992 Olympic Games. Presented as a modest student of "Greekness," linked to the Greeks though his Mediterranean affiliation but also as a connoisseur of European culture, Calatrava appeared as an architect whose work manifested both symbolic values and technical excellence. If the references to Greekness in the design of the roof confirmed New Greece's continuity with its past, the design of the surrounding Olympic park embodied Europeanization, hinting to the ideal future to which many Greek citizens aspire. The Olympic park was envisioned as a place for both Athens residents and visitors—an open, 100-hectare space accessible only to pedestrians, which included 2,500 new large trees, 8,500 smaller trees, and 160,000 bushes. The park is markedly different from the conventional public spaces of Athens, which typically lack greenery and are criticized by many Athenians as degrading and uncivil. Most important, beyond cultivating greenery, Calatrava also wished to nurture new public attitudes in the city:

In my opinion the Olympic Athletic Complex is a tool in Athens, a space for education and creation. And at

the same time it is a constant forum. It brings to the city a space of dialogue, which is very important not only for the Maroussi district [where the park is located] and the northern suburbs.<sup>17</sup>

For Calatrava, the park was symbolic of “universalism,” an ideal that he wished to see take root in the City of Athens beyond the end of the Olympics: Athens chose to show a work that is almost experimental, avant-garde and modern ... and through this choice ... the element of multiculturalism and universalism emerged, which is one of the most attractive elements of architecture. What I like very much is that this work has been made by Greeks, Italians, Spanish, Chinese people, Poles.<sup>18</sup>

To no surprise, Calatrava’s commission within the context of an overall political scheme was intended to foster Greece’s Europeanization process. Calatrava’s origin and identity as a European was instrumental. “Intended Europeanization” (in other words, modernization)<sup>19</sup> was an obvious priority for the Simitis (Pasok) administration, which was responsible for the major portion of the Olympic preparations and oversaw the successful inclusion of Greece in the European Monetary Union, or Eurozone, in 2001. In architectural and urban terms, this Greek idea of Europeanization combines rationalism and

城市中培育新的公民意识:

我认为奥林匹克场馆群对于雅典来说是一个工具，一个教育与创造的空间。同时，它还是一个永恒的辩论场。它带给城市一个能够对话的空间，无论对马罗斯地区（公园所在地）还是北部郊区都非常重要。<sup>17</sup>

对于卡拉特拉瓦，公园是“普世主义”的象征，在奥林匹克结束以后，他希望能看到普世主义生根于雅典：雅典选择向人们展示它的作品，集体验性、前卫性和现代化于一体……并且通过这个选择……多元文化主义和普世主义的要素得以融合，这是建筑中最具魅力的要素。我非常欣赏的是，这个设计由希腊人、意大利人、西班牙人、中国人和波兰人共同完成。<sup>18</sup>

并不惊奇的是，在整体政治体制背景下，卡拉特拉瓦的任务是要推进希腊欧洲一体化进程。卡拉特拉瓦作为一名土生土长的欧洲人起到了作用。“欧洲一体化意向”（换句话说，现代化）<sup>19</sup> 显而易见是西米蒂斯（泛

希腊社会主义运动党）政权首要任务，这届政府负责大部分奥林匹克筹备工作，而且在2001年，使希腊成功进入欧洲货币联盟，或成为欧元区。从建筑与城市的关系看，这种希腊欧洲一体化的理念，使理性主义和唯美主义相结合，以消除一些具有典型希腊特点的城市中的混乱。奥林匹克为雅典混乱的区域带来了审美的统一，建筑物中使用的先进技术，以及公园设计的理念——都标志着欧洲一体化。另一方面，本土植被的选择和以希腊建筑遗产为参考的建筑构架，体现了全新的希腊主义，融合在现代化的整体框架中。这里，陈旧的欧洲霸权理念和政治分歧友好地结合在新的欧洲经济联合体中（仅指市场角度），希腊在此体系中却没有为它的种族纯化做出让步。在旧的欧洲理念中，卡拉特拉瓦提及多元文化主义，如果不是欺骗，至少是存在矛盾的。如果多元文化主义是基于各文化平等的原则，那么卡拉特拉瓦对于普世主义的理解似乎是基于欧洲中心主

beautification in an attempt to counterbalance the disorder of the typical Greek city. The Olympics introduced to Athens the aesthetic unification of a disordered site, the advanced technology used in its buildings, and the very idea of a park—all marks of Europeanization. On the other hand, the choice of indigenous vegetation and the referential framework of Greek architectural heritage represented a renewed, branded version of particularism, embedded within the overall framework of modernization. Here, the old idea of European supremacy and political fragmentation peacefully coincides with the ideology of a new (in market terms only), economically unified Europe to which Greece belongs without compromising its ethnic purity. Calatrava's mention of multiculturalism is at the very least contradictory, if not misleading, within the old idea of Europe. If multiculturalism is based on the principle of equality among different cultures, Calatrava's interpretation of universalism seems to be based on a Euro-centered notion of universalism; tied to the Enlightenment notions of civilization and progress, and a belief in Europe's superiority over the rest of the world. Calatrava, in his various statements, seemed to be content with the involvement of individuals of many different nationalities in the construction of the Olympic works, yet participation among them was not equitable. The unique 10-cm-thick steel used for the Olympic stadium

roof was made in Germany; its large tubular members (3.6 meters in diameter), prior to final welding in Athens, were manufactured by the Italian company Cimolai; supervision of the overall construction was undertaken by various Greek contractors; and the actual laborers were immigrants of various ethnicities, mainly from the Middle East and the Balkans. This “multiculturalism,” then, implies certain geopolitical hierarchies and remains an unresolved issue in contemporary identity politics in both Greece and Europe. The Olympic project, in terms of both its symbolic value and its construction process, reconfirms majority tendencies in contemporary Europe that tend to be highly exclusive of the many non-European cultures that now exist in the region as a result of the intense cultural and demographic flows of the last twenty years.<sup>20</sup>

Although architectural historiography usually ends at the point that a building is offered to its clients, it is important to counter a building’s ambitions with the way in which it is actually used in its “afterlife,” both as a symbolic and a material artifact. The following section discusses the identity politics that emerged during the opening and closing ceremonies of the Athens 2004 Games at the Olympic Athletic Center.

义的普世主义；与启蒙运动时期的文明和进步的观念相连，认为欧洲与其他世界各地相比具有优越性。在卡拉特拉瓦多次的陈述中，似乎对于多民族参与奥林匹克工程感到满足，然而参与其中的人们却不平等。用来搭建奥林匹克体育场的顶棚的 10 厘米厚的特种钢由德国制造；巨大的管状构件（直径 3.6 米）由意大利奇莫莱公司制造，后在希腊完工焊缝；对总体建设的监管则由多家希腊承包商负责；劳动力主要是来自中东和巴尔干地区的移民者。这种“多元文化主义”，暗示了某种地理政治的等级，但希腊和欧洲的身份认同问题依然尚未解决。奥林匹克工程，依据其符号价值和建设过程，再次证明了当下欧洲大多人的倾向，对过去 20 年来由于人口迁移而流入欧洲的多种非欧洲文化的高度排斥。<sup>20</sup>

虽然建筑历史学通常认为一座建筑是为它的客户提供服务，但作为一件具有象征性和实物性的艺术品，实现其在后续使用中

的价值却也是重要的。下面讨论了 2004 雅典奥运会在奥林匹克中心举办的开闭幕式中所呈现出的政治认同。

### 季米特里·帕派约安努导演的 2004 雅典奥运会仪式中的民族起源与政治融合

正像历史呈现的，体育场宏伟壮丽，是国家用于宣传的理想建筑。据鲁本·加洛所说，早在 20 世纪早期，体育场就已经成为理想的建筑物，扮演着被瓦尔特·本杰明称为“美化政治”的角色。<sup>21</sup> 借用加洛的词汇，我们继以探讨卡拉特拉瓦奥林匹克体育场设计的“场馆性”<sup>22</sup> 效应——此效应在电视转播画面改进的混合机制下得以强化——并于 2014 年 8 月 13 日达到了顶峰。在 2004 雅典奥运会开幕式中，不仅是世界，所有的希腊公民一起见证了“新希腊”的理念在眼前实现。根据奥林匹克研究学者约翰麦克隆的观点，开幕式是“脱离日常生活的仪式，开启了一段

## Ethnic Origins and the Politics of Inclusion in Dimitris Papaioannou's Athens 2004 Olympic Ceremonies

As history has shown, a stadium, with its mammoth size and rhetoric of grandeur, is an ideal setting for national propaganda. According to Rubén Gallo, since the early-twentieth century, stadiums have become the perfect constructs for enacting what Walter Benjamin described as the “aestheticization of politics.”<sup>21</sup> Borrowing a term from Gallo, we can argue that the “stadiogenic”<sup>22</sup> effect of Calatrava's design for the Olympic stadium—reinforced by incorporated mechanisms for improving televised images—reached its zenith on August 13, 2004, during the opening ceremony of the Athens 2004 Games when not only the world, but also Greek citizens, witnessed the very idea of “new Greekness” materialize before their eyes.

According to Olympic Studies scholar John McAloon, opening ceremonies are “rites of separation from ‘ordinary life,’ initiating a period of public liminality.”<sup>23</sup>

For the Athens 2004 opening ceremony, following the directions of the Greek avant-garde choreographer Dimitris Papaioannou,<sup>24</sup> architect Lili Pezanou's design converted the stadium's arena into an artificial lake (a major construction work that required 2,162 cubic meters of



water) around which the spectacle unfolded. The opening ceremony marked a significant point of departure from the parochial spectacles of Greek folklore and military pageants to which modern Greeks are accustomed.<sup>25</sup> Despite Papaioannou and his team's<sup>26</sup> background in the alternative scene, the ceremonies, particularly the one that opened the Games, elaborated on themes reminiscent of the work of established— but at the same time slightly deviant— figures of postwar Greek art: composer Manos Hadjidakis and painter Yannis Tsarouhis. Papaioannou combined their work with cultural elements characteristic of the younger generation born in the 1960s. The director used an aesthetic language that fluctuated between minimalist austerity and sensuality (the last being in line with the mannerism of the old masters, Hadjidakis and Tsarouhis), at times celebrating Greek history and at others the bodily freedom one experiences in the water, which was the central motif of the show. Two key segments of the choreography were titled *Allegory* and *Clepsydra*.<sup>27</sup> *Allegory* began with a kinetic sculpture shaped as a female kentauros throwing a javelin, which triggered a 17-meter figure, styled after the head of a Cycladic idol, to emerge slowly from the lake. The head opened up in Russian-doll fashion to reveal a figure shaped after a sixth-century Kouros, and a fifth century one nested inside it. Each of these figures broke up into numerous abstract forms, which then became platforms for a series

时期的公众阈限。”<sup>23</sup>

对于雅典 2004 开幕式，在前卫的希腊导演季米特·帕派约安努的指导下，<sup>24</sup> 建筑师莉莉·派札努将体育场转变为一座人工湖（主要建设工作需要 2162 立方米水），在湖的四周展现各种场景。开幕式标志着的重要一点是，走出希腊民间传说的狭隘观和军事盛宴，走向现代希腊人所习惯的生活。<sup>25</sup> 帕派约安努和他的团队<sup>26</sup> 所采用的变换的背景，尽管使开幕式展示了引人联想的希腊的成就，尤其是揭开奥运序幕的场景——但同时有些偏离主题——即展现战后时期的希腊艺术大师们：作曲家马诺斯·哈达吉达克斯和画家亚尼斯·查罗奇斯。帕派约安努将大师们的作品与 20 世纪 60 年代出生的年轻一代的文化元素相结合。导演通过时而展现抽象派的质朴，时而展现抽象派的性感（符合哈达吉达克斯和查罗奇斯两位老艺术家的风格）的艺术风格，时而赞美希腊历史，时而用水中表演赞美身体自由，表达出整个表演的主

题。“预言和历史年轮”是表演编排中两个重要的篇章。<sup>27</sup>“预言”开始于女子肯塔洛斯投掷标枪的雕塑，投出的标枪激起了一个17米高的面部头像，斯科拉米克的头像慢慢从水中升起。接着头像以俄罗斯套娃形式被层层剥开，相继出现了6世纪库罗斯的裸体像和一个5世纪的雕像。每个雕像又分解为数目众多的抽象的碎片，然后以碎片为舞台表达宣扬普世主义的主题。最后，碎片掉落水中，变成了引人联想的群岛或船舶。

一个展现希腊艺术的更具细节的场景出现在“历史年轮”的章节中。一艘艘船只相继出现在舞台上，船上承载的是希腊艺术所经历的重要时期。展示的顺序是史前艺术、古代的、古典的、拜占庭的、土耳其的和最后出现的现代艺术。帕派约安努设计的场景，把表达的重点从政治转到美学领域；激发了广泛的赞美之情，从民族主义的骄傲到人类的普世主义。政治家们对奥林匹克体育场的公开评论，表达了对体

of projections on a universalist theme. Subsequently, the fragments fell into the water, transformed into entities reminiscent of islands or vessels.

A more detailed view of Greek art unfolded in the section entitled Clepsydra. A series of floats appeared on stage, loaded with tableaux-vivant representations of significant moments in Greek art. The sequence began with enactments of prehistoric art and continued with archaic, classical, Byzantine, Ottoman, and eventually modern art. Papaioannou created a spectacle that removed the emphasis from the political to the realm of aesthetics; evoking a wide range of emotions ranging from nationalist pride to universalist celebrations of humanity. The pride in technology and progress that was articulated by politicians in the discourse surrounding the Olympic stadium was, on August 13, transformed into a collective experience of awe. Papaioannou did not adopt a language that could be labeled as Greek: Greekness provided the content, not the form. But his use of technology and contemporary artistic strategies functioned synergistically with the content, and the ceremony indeed had the effect of “aestheticizing politics”; satisfying both those who looked for (achieved or intended) Europeanness, and those who sought (inherent) Greek uniqueness. This refreshed but otherwise textbook version of Greekness provided by Papaioannou, with



its consciously apolitical language, could not but rely on established perceptions of Greekness that he and his domestic viewers have inherited and shown little interest in disputing.

The transformation of the stadium's stage into a nocturnal waterscape recalled, in my interpretation, a double birth: that of cosmos and nation. The evocation of a universal, cosmic space was identified with Greece's prehistory and the birth of Greek civilization. This implied a double-sided union: a cultural continuity from prehistory to the present in the specific geographical area of Greece (an historical inaccuracy);<sup>28</sup> and a restatement of the belief that the birth of Greek civilization coincides with the birth of the world's civilization (a national myth). The pluralism suggested by the portraits of people of all racial backgrounds projected onto the statues' fragments opened up the subject of universalism, although soon afterwards, the symbolism returned to Greekness, thus collapsing the open, universal cosmos with the specific topos of Greece. This identification of the cosmic landscape with the specific topography of the Greek archipelagos continues a tradition that emphasizes the Aegean as the Greek landscape par excellence, and Greece as the navel of earth.

育场中体现的科技进步的骄傲之情，但在8月13日这天，却转变成大家的惊叹。帕派约安努没有采用标志性的希腊风格：希腊人呈现的是内容，而不是形式。但他对科技和当代艺术策略的使用，能够协助内容的呈现。开幕式的确起到了“美学政治”的作用；既满足了人们找寻欧洲特性的需求，也满足了寻求希腊独特性的需求。帕派约安努呈现的恢复活力的希腊人，不同于书中的版本，他用远离政治的风格，而依赖于他和希腊观众固有的无需争论的观念。

体育场的舞台转变成夜间水景，我认为其寓意是指宇宙和民族的诞生。世界和宇宙的唤醒，代表着希腊的史前史和希腊文明的诞生。这暗示了双层含义：从古至今，在希腊某个特定的区域里，文化具有连续性（一个历史的偏差）；<sup>28</sup> 希腊文明的产生伴随着世界文明产生的信念的重述（一个国家的神话）。多元论认为，尽管雕像碎片背景中出现的所有种族的肖像开启了普世主义的主

题，但不久之后，符号重新转回到希腊人，随着希腊地形的出现，宇宙倒塌。用希腊群岛的形态来辨识宇宙，继续表达了传统的观点，强调了爱琴海是希腊最美的景致，希腊是地球的中心。

因此，“寓言”的章节中从宇宙到地形变换的仪式，再次重申了众所周知的，至少是希腊观众所知晓的：现代希腊是古代希腊文明的后裔，根据希腊当下普遍的看法，希腊文明是欧洲文明的开端。“历史年轮”章节中相继出现的希腊艺术的展示重申了希腊文化从史前到现在的连续性。在开幕式中，我们看到了希腊文明浓缩为一片，自 20 世纪 30 年代以来一直享有特殊的地位：即爱琴海，大多数观众早已从旅游图片熟知。强调希腊的航海文化，把陆地尤其是山区的希腊居民轻描淡写为旁观者，即使山区才是希腊近代爱国主义的大本营。如此强调希腊的地中海文化，使希腊从巴尔干半岛分离的神话在脑海中重现，并认为西欧是希腊最终的纽带。正像历史学

Thus the segment Allegory, as a rite of passage from cosmos to topos, acritically reaffirmed what was already known, at least for the Greek audience: that modern Greece is the natural descendant of the ancient Greek civilization which, according to the perception prevalent in Greece today, represents the beginning of European civilization. The sequential representation of Greek art in the Clepsydra series restated the belief in Greece's continuity from prehistory to the present. In the opening ceremony we also witness the idea of Hellenism shrinking into a landscape that has been privileged since the 1930s: the Aegean Sea, which most audiences are familiar with through tourist iconography. By emphasizing the seafaring character of Greece, the mainland and particularly the mountainous areas of Greece are downplayed as the beholders of Greekness, even though in the pre-modern past it was precisely the mountain, with its associated notion of pastoralism, which was considered the stronghold of patriotism. Such an emphasis on the Mediterranean character of Greece also reproduces the mythology of Greece's separateness from its Balkan neighbors and assumes Western Europe as Greece's ultimate bond. As historian Christina Koulouri has described:

While we would expect that the national identity (of Greece), the Balkan identity and the European identity are organized in a scheme of concentric circles, ... this is not happening. The reason is that the cultural content and the cultural capital of Europe and the Balkans are defined in antithetical terms; therefore it is difficult for them to coexist as supplementary parts of the same sum. Greece therefore accepts its Balkan identity only within the framework of anti-Western positions.... Thus ... even though the relevant position of Greece within the Balkans has changed from the 1990s, Balkan identity keeps representing a weak identity that is not a subject of negotiation.<sup>29</sup>

Although, on an aesthetic level, the ceremony appropriated the vocabulary of the Euro-American vanguard (Papaioannou has stated numerous times that Robert Wilson is his model), the ceremony's content reproduced an insular view of Greece in which both internal and external otherness were concealed, obscuring the influences of numerous cultural encounters and cross-pollinations in ancient and recent Greek history. Historian Angelos Alefantis criticized the ahistorical and hyper-aestheticized emphasis on the water as one that concealed the cultural pluralism integral to Greece's history:

家克里斯蒂娜·考劳瑞所描写的:

我们预期国家认同(希腊)、巴尔干半岛的认同和欧洲的认同,以同心圆的方式推进……但这并不会发生。理由是欧洲和巴尔干半岛的文化内涵和文化资本被界定在对立的关系中;因此,两者之间很难作为对等的双方互补而共存。因此,希腊只有在反西方立场的框架中才能接受其巴尔干身份,……因此,即使希腊在巴尔干地区的相对立场从20世纪90年代已经开始改变,巴尔干认同仍是弱势认同,构不成协商的主体。<sup>29</sup>

尽管在艺术的层面,开幕式借用了欧美先锋派的语汇(帕派约安努已多次表达罗伯特·威尔逊是他的偶像),开幕式的内容让人脑中浮现希腊与世隔绝的景象,内部和外部的他者隐藏其中,模糊了古代和现代希腊历史中多种文化碰撞的影响。历史学家安吉洛斯·阿莱凡蒂斯批评了与历史无关却被赋予极大意义的水,认为这掩盖了希腊历史中的多元文化。

在仪式的众多象征中……却没有展现人们赖以生存的地球，在世界的这个角落中存在着多种类型的生者和死者：米斯诺人、佩拉斯吉人、莱勒格斯人、希腊人、加拉太书人、哥特人、罗马人、保加利亚人、土耳其人、萨拉塞尼斯人、阿尔巴尼特斯人、斯拉夫人、拉丁人、法兰克人、威尼斯人、加泰隆人、库曼人、犹太人、美国人……如果用半个小时讲述 3000~4000 年，只能选择性阅读，没有更好的方法。<sup>30</sup>

从古至今，希腊民族不断传承发展，这种压倒性的国家认同感在雅典奥运会的闭幕式中得以平衡。如果开幕式赞美了神话诸神，闭幕式则展示了最具特色的当代希腊的文化。表演开始于一段模拟的希腊婚礼，而后成为了展示希腊各地区人们欢庆的舞台。庆祝活动伴随着“出埃及记”的音乐，呈现了一场最具代表性的希腊民间音乐的表演秀。

然而，在闭幕式中虽然展示了文化多样性，但为保险起见，强调的是次国家层面，因为这样

In the multiple symbolism of the ceremony ... there was no interest in showing even a bit of earth where people lived and the dead were buried. And there were many types of living and dead in this corner of the world: Minoans, Mycenaeans, Pelasgians, Lelegs, Greeks, Galatians, Goths, Romans, Bulgarians, Turks, Saracenes, Arbanites, Slavs, Latins, Frankish, Venetians, Catalans, Vlachs, Cumans, Jews, Armenians.... If you want in half an hour to talk about 3–4,000 years, it is necessary that you will do a selective reading, there is no other way.<sup>30</sup>

This overarching identity of the Greek nation as a continuous entity that unfolds from prehistory to the present was counterbalanced by the closing ceremony of the Athens Games. If the opening ceremony celebrated archetypal or mythical figures, the closing ceremony presented distinct and recognizable cultures of contemporary Greece. The production began with a mock Greek wedding, which then became a platform for incorporating local celebrations from all regions of Greece. These festivities were followed by the Exodus concert, a live show by representatives of the contemporary folk music scene in Greece.

Nevertheless, the diversity displayed at the closing ceremony, with its emphasis on the sub-national, was a rather safe one, because it simply corresponded to the

regional divisions of Greece without revealing the country's true ethnic and religious diversity, especially considering the recent influx of immigrants. Here, the aesthetic language of the event was largely based on the ethnic, world-music genre, capitalizing on its contemporary popularity as an exotic commodity within the global market.

On a musical and performative level, it might be argued that the closing ceremony nullified the opening ceremony's claim that Greece belongs to the West, as most of the closing ceremony references in fact tied Greece to the Balkans and the East rather than to the Mediterranean or Western Europe. Even though the regional approach was a "safe" way of presenting internal diversity, the closing ceremony did take one unconventional step in the direction of answering the question of who is included in the Greek national body. Toward the end of the wedding section, in which recognizable segments of contemporary Greeks paraded and celebrated, a group of gypsies (Rom) joined the party. This provocative statement on the part of Papaioannou was met, however, with sharp disapproval by the majority of Greek citizens. As one journalist wrote, expressing such criticisms:

My admiration for Papaioannou did not blind me. I saw that the closing ceremony ... was atrocious. Tons

既展示了希腊的各个行政区域，又不需要揭示国家真正的民族与宗教多样性，尤其是考虑到近期移民涌入的现状。这里，闭幕式的艺术风格主要基于民族和世界音乐，利用了音乐这种异国产品在全球市场中的流行性。

在音乐和表演层面，闭幕式也许会被质疑没有与开幕式遥相呼应，开幕式中表达了希腊属于西方，但闭幕式则暗示了希腊与巴尔干半岛和东方相连，而不是地中海或是西方国家。即使行政区域的展示是一种很“安全”的方式来表达内部多样性，但闭幕式却用了非常规方法回答了希腊民族包含谁的问题。模拟婚礼结束的章节，有这样一个片段，希腊人游行和欢庆，一群吉普赛人（罗姆人）加入了队伍中。然而，帕派约安努这种挑拨性构思，却引起了大多数希腊公民的强烈不满，如一位记者的批判评论：

我对帕派约安努的敬意并没有使我变得盲目。我观看了闭幕式……简直糟透了。成千上万的人们无序奔跑在塑胶跑道上，而

迷人的吉普赛人却在售卖诱人的西瓜。<sup>31</sup>

从这些评论可以看出，人们对希腊的高雅艺术沦为低俗文化的显而易见的失望，此外，评论还隐藏了对希腊在全世界观众面前展示它“不可告人的秘密”的羞耻感。<sup>32</sup> 像罗马和现代民乐这些要素，暗指希腊是属于东方而不是西方的情感；这与其他章节所展示的现代化（一体化）的理念是不一致的。尽管罗马人的出现暗指了内部他者，闭幕式并未直接涉及现今希腊人口迁移盛行引起的复杂问题。然而，闭幕式作为奥运会的一部分，理不应当回避此问题：如今希腊体育，与世界各地一样，跨越国界招募和培养外国运动员；体育成为了世界范围内出现的新的、复杂的种族图景的“晴雨表”。例如，希腊奥运代表团的旗手，是阿尔巴尼亚出生的举重运动员和奖牌获得者迪马斯，他于1991年移民至希腊（他原名皮诺·达哈马，直到1990年，一直代表阿尔巴尼亚竞赛）。根据人类学家詹姆

of people were running disorderly on a plastic floor, and glamorous, ethnic gypsies were selling glamorous, ethnic watermelons.<sup>31</sup>

Beyond the obvious disappointment over what was perceived as a fall from high art to low culture, these comments hide a degree of shame for Greece having exposed its “dirty laundry” in front of an international audience.<sup>32</sup> Elements, such as the Roma and the overall endorsement of contemporary folk scene, allude to Greece possessing an “Eastern” rather than a “European” sensibility; a fact seen as incompatible with the ideals of modernization on which the other Olympic displays were based. Despite the appearance of the Roma as indicators of internal “otherness,” the ceremonies did not engage directly with the complex issue of demographic flow that prevails in Greece today. Yet, as part of an athletic event, neither could the ceremonies remain unaffected by this issue: sports in Greece today, as everywhere else in the world, bypasses all borders when it comes to recruiting and naturalizing foreign athletes; and has become a barometer of the new, complex ethnoscares emerging worldwide. The flag-bearer of the Greek Olympic team, for example, was the Albanian-born weight-lifter and medalist Pyros Dimas, who immigrated to Greece in 1991 (he was known as Pirro Dhima until 1990, when he was competing for



Albania). According to anthropologist James Verinis, the case of Dimas demonstrates that the “irregular, anomalous anti-hero may be well included and sanctioned through the ritual of the Olympics.”<sup>33</sup> Verinis’s commentary and Alefantis’s criticism on the lack of cultural pluralism in the opening ceremony suggest the need to expand the Greek national narrative from an emphasis on roots and essence to the question of encounters. Despite a long history of crosscultural encounters, Greece has valorized endurance and continuity in its national narrative rather than change. An unconventional view of Greece’s cultural history—one that searches for “contaminations” rather than “purities”—would instead reveal the influences of cultural encounters with others, both neighbors and conquerors, such as Italians, Turks, and various Balkan populations. The idealized notion of Europeanization is clearly not the only issue at stake in contemporary Greece. Rather, the “apparatus of recognition for post-national social forms” suggests that Greece must also look toward the East—to the Balkans, southeastern Europe, the Black Sea, and the Middle East—following the trajectories of Greek immigration patterns in the past as well as the present in order to come to terms with its internal and external otherness. If, at least idealistically, Europeanization has been Greece’s ultimate goal, the closing ceremony of the Athens 2004 Olympics clearly revealed Greece’s much more complex ties. From

斯·沃尼斯的观点，迪马斯的案例表明了“反常规的反英雄主义能够通过奥林匹克的仪式得到包容和制裁。”<sup>33</sup> 沃尼斯的评论和阿莱凡蒂斯对开幕式中缺少文化多元性的批判，表明了希腊需要跳出民族主义狭隘，从强调起源和文化精华上到面临遭遇的问题上。虽然跨文化碰撞在希腊由来已久，希腊却一直维护民族主义的持久性和连续性而不求改变。对希腊文化史认识的一个非传统观点——寻找“文化侵袭物”，而不是“净化文化”——而取代揭露文化碰撞的影响，不管是来自比邻的文化还是统治者的文化，如意大利人、土耳其人和多种族的巴尔干半岛。对欧洲一体化的理解绝非只使希腊一国遭遇危机。“后国家社会形态认同的方法”指出，按照过去和现在希腊移民模式的轨迹路线，希腊必须也要把目光投向东方——巴尔干半岛、欧洲东南部、黑海和中东地区——这样能够易于包容内部和外部的他者。至少在理想层面，如果欧洲一体化是希腊的终

极目标，2004 雅典奥运会的闭幕式清楚地透露出希腊非常复杂的国家联结。从后国家角度看，闭幕式是一种暗示，当被打压和抑制的文化冲破束缚，国家规范就会变得毫无效力，不但会破坏伟大的国家主义，也会将国家传统的习俗带进危机之中。“新”希腊和“新”欧洲有着相似之处，就是跨国和跨欧洲开始的同时带来了区域附属物。阿什·阿敏文中写到：慢慢地，（整个希腊）欧洲将出现多文化融合，中国人的、印度人的、吉普赛人的、阿尔巴尼亚人的、法国人的和意大利人的文化融合，基督教、伊斯兰教、佛教或新时代思潮的融合，美国人的、迪斯尼化的、同一种思维、审美的融合，或者欧洲将成为公有社会。欧洲正充斥着各种新奇的事物，并渐渐理解不同地区文化的形成。正因如此，文化才不停地向前推进。<sup>34</sup>

## 劫持国际赛事

体育自身是否可能真正有效地促进包容和接纳是值得质疑

a post-national perspective, the ceremony becomes an indication of the fragility of the normative at the very moment when what is repressed comes to the surface, undermining the grand national narrative and bringing the conventional national idiom into crisis. Similarities can be drawn between “new Greece” and the “new” Europe that is emerging today as a site of transnational and trans-European attachments. As Ash Amin writes: Slowly, [Greece as the whole] Europe is becoming Chinese, Indian, Romany, Albanian, French and Italian, Christian, Islamic, Buddhist or New Age, American, Disneyfied, one-earth conscious, ascetic, or locally communitarian. It is becoming a place of plural and strange belongings, drawing on varied geographies of cultural formation. And thus it is constantly on the move in cultural terms.<sup>34</sup>

## Hijacking International Events

It is questionable whether sports alone may be truly effective in initiating processes of inclusion and acceptance. Nevertheless, the public realm, as it unfolds from sport arenas to media spaces and street culture, requires assertive gestures that enact a shift from a nation-bound paradigm to one that is open to plurality and multiple belonging. If the discourse that surrounded Calatrava’s design revealed the politics of selfhood and otherness that define Greece’s views



of Europe, the Olympic ceremonies exposed the politics of inclusion and exclusion within the national body itself. Despite the message of multiculturalism that Calatrava attempted to send, the Olympic complex in Athens is not a space that signifies an open city with porous borders that, unlike the closed nationstate, welcomes “otherness.” On the contrary, within this overall scheme the otherness that seems to be welcomed is solely that of the European—still an “other,” the alter ego of the contemporary Greek citizen as personified by Calatrava, the European architect par excellence. As this discussion has illustrated, Olympic design has the capacity to mobilize identity politics and reveal the “crisis of the nation” as it is experienced by both citizens and others. Ben Carrington, among other critics, has argued that the nationalist/internationalist constellation within which Olympism operates is problematic in terms of achieving a global civil society based on the principle of cosmopolitanism. While internationalism is a doctrine that operates within the logic and affiliation of the nation-state, cosmopolitanism in its neo-Kantian form, claims a global civil society within which individuals see themselves as world citizens united by a common sense of species connection.<sup>35</sup> I propose that the national basis of the Olympics—as well as of major international cultural events such as the Venice Biennale that have been, until recently, acritically received—must be questioned. The constituents

的。然而，公共领域——随着其从体育场向媒体空间和街头文化的延展——需要以一种自信的姿态实现从拘泥于国家的模式向多元化开放的模式转变。如果说围绕卡拉特拉瓦的设计所产生的各种言论显现出自我和他者的政治观点，并从中体现了希腊人对欧洲的认识，那么奥运会开闭幕式则把希腊国家内部包容和排斥的政治角力暴露无遗。尽管卡拉特拉瓦试图传递出多元文化主义的信息，但雅典奥林匹克场馆设施群并没有意味着这是一座与封闭的民族国家不同的渗透性很强的欢迎“他者”的开放城市。相反，在总体设计中，看似被希腊欢迎的“他者”只是欧洲的“他者”，实际仍是“他者”，是欧洲最出色的建筑师卡拉特拉瓦展现出的当代希腊公民的“另一个自我”。正如这一讨论所阐明的那样，奥林匹克设计能够调动起身份认同政治，暴露出无论是公民还是其他群体所经历的“国家危机”。本·卡林顿和其他一些批评者指出，推动奥林匹克主义

发展的是一群国家主义者 / 国际主义者，他们对在基于世界大同主义原则基础上实现全球公民社会仍持怀疑的态度。国际主义奉行的是在民族国家关系的逻辑中去推动社会运转，而世界大同主义在新康德主义的框架下主张建立一个全球公民社会。在这样的社会中，每个个体把自己看作是世界公民，经由最本源的物种之间的联系团结在一起。<sup>35</sup> 我认为奥林匹克运动，还有其他一些大型国际性文化活动的国家基础，如威尼斯双年展，到目前暂时没有遇到危机而倍受欢迎的活动，必须要受到置疑。这些活动的构成元素应质疑而不是维系国家神话，应把对国际性活动的文化“劫持”作为争论已经建立的国家和他者分类的一种手段，从而促进跨越国家界限的另一种类型的国家忠诚。再次借用扎森的观点“权力越来越私有化、全球化且难以捉摸”，现在需要直接参与式的权力和公民身份的重塑，这是设计师作为文化使者可以去帮助表达和培养的。设计师不应诉诸于

of these events should interrogate rather than sustain the myth of the nation and perform a cultural “hijacking” of international events as a means of disputing established categories of nationhood and otherness, thereby promoting alternative types of allegiances across national borders. At the moment that, using again Sassen’s words, “power is increasingly privatized, globalized, and elusive” what is needed is directly engaging forms of power and reinvention of citizenship which designers as cultural agents could help express and cultivate. Instead of resorting to ethnic or parochial glorifications of the nation and its myths, or conforming to the market’s demands for ethnically identified design, designers should use their practice as a means of revealing the “crisis of the nation”—as it is experienced by both citizens and “others”—and mobilizing identity politics in order to articulate new allegiances.

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3.Saskia Sassen, “The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics,” *The New Centennial Review* 3:2 (Summer 2003): 43–44.

4.Jackie Hogan, “Staging the Nation: Gendered and Ethnicized Discourses of National Identity in Olympic Opening Ceremonies,” *Journal of Sports and Social Issues* 27:2 (May 2003): 101.

5.Examples are the controversy that followed the publication of editorial cartoons depicting the Islamic prophet Muhammad in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005, or the murder of the Dutch film director Theo Van Gogh by the second-generation Dutch-Moroccan citizen Mohammed Bouyeri in 2004.

6.According to Amin, “in a multi-ethnic and multicultural Europe, a failure to give open publicity to the principle of empathy with the stranger, and all that it represents in shaping identities as well as ensuring cultural change, will play into the hands of ethno-nationalists and xenophobes—abundant in number in both majority and minority communities—interested in perpetuating the fiction of homeland cultural identities in Europe.” Ash Amin, “Multi-Ethnicity and the Idea of Europe,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 21:2 (April 2004): 4.

对国家及其神话的民族的或狭隘的辉煌的依赖，也不应妥协于市场对设计的民族认同的要求，而应把他们的设计作为揭示公民和“他者”都在经历的“国家危机”的一种手段，调动起身份认同政治，从而形成新的国家忠诚观。

（陈文倩、赵卓译）

7. Daniel Dayan, “Narrative, Counter- Narrative and the Beijing Olympics: Hearts, Minds and the Projection of Modern China” lecture at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, November 28, 2007. Also see Daniel Dayan, “Beyond Media Events” in Monroe Price and Daniel Dayan, *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 399. Monroe Price in his essay “On Seizing the Olympic Platform” in the same book (page 86) uses the term “hijacking” in order to describe the “hunger by a multitude of groups,” in this case civil society advocacy groups, “to gain the extraordinary benefit of huge investments in platforms established by others and, in so doing, take advantage of elaborately created for and to advance political and commercial messages. Media events become marked by efforts by free riders or interlopers to seize the opportunity to perform in a global theater of representation.”

8. The commissioners asked for the “aesthetic unification” of the Olympic Athletic Complex, which was built in a hodgepodge manner since the early 1980s.

9. The total cost of construction of the Olympic complex was 220,000,000 Euros (\$320,000,000), out of which the cost of the Olympic stadium roof alone was 130,000,000 Euros (\$190,000,000).

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23.John MacAloon, “Olympic Games and the Theory of the Spectacle in Modern Societies” in *Rite, Drama,*

*Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, John MacAloon, ed. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 252–53.

24. Papaioannou founded the fringe dance company Ground Squad in the 1980s. After studies at the Athens School of Fine Arts, he received training at the La Mama Experimental Theater Company in New York, and in alternative theatrical forms such as Japanese Butoh dance.

25. Such were those of the Greek expatriate musician Vangelis Papathanasiou, whose “Olympian” music for the film *Chariots of Fire* was awarded an Oscar in 1981 for best musical score. Papathanasiou, however, was widely criticized by the Greek public for the extremely high budget (1.100.670.000 drachmas, approximately equal to \$4,700,000) of his 2001 performance *Mythodeia*. His opening ceremony for the International Field and Track Championship in 1997, produced soon after Greece won the bid for the 2004 Olympic Games, likewise engendered embarrassment for displaying a new Greek kitsch. See Pavlos Agiannidis, “Vangelis Papathanasiou, ‘I Mousiki einai h aylos Ylopoihs tou Theiou’” (“Vangelis Papathanasiou: ‘Music Is the Immaterial Materialization of the Divine’”), *Ta Nea* (June 23, 2001). (<http://ta-nea.dolnet.gr> [home page], accessed June 23, 2001).

26.The team was composed of Yorgos Koumentakis (Co-Creation and Music Concept Creator), Lili Pezanou (Production Design), Angeliki Stellatou (Choreographer), Eleftheria Deko (Lighting Designer and Director), Robert Dickinson (Co-Lighting Designer and Director), Sophia Kokossalaki (Costume Designer), Athina Tsangari (Video Director), Lina Nikolakopoulou (Ceremony Texts),

Christophe Berthonneau (Pyrotechnic Design), Roula Pateraki (Narration Workshop Director), Alexandros Balabanis (Hair Design), and Petros Petrohilos (Make-up Design).

27.Every Olympic opening ceremony is required to follow a protocol specified by the Olympic Charter, as well as an artistic program open to its creative team, to present the culture of the host city/nation. The protocol includes the athletes' parade, three speeches (by the president of the organizing committee, the president of the International Olympic Committee, and the head of state declaring the Games open), the playing of both the Olympic and the host-nation's anthem, the entry and raising of the Olympic flag, the last stage of the Olympic torch relay culminating in the lighting of the Olympic cauldron, the symbolic release of the dove as a tribute to peace, and the oath-taking by a competitor and a judge.



28. According to Dimitris Plantzos, since the 1930s, prehistoric Cycladic art has become emblematic of Hellenic culture and its roots. From a historical perspective, this is inaccurate, since the Cycladic, being a prehistoric civilization, predates the conception of Hellenism and the appearance of Hellenic culture. Members of the Greek 1930s Generation (writers, poets, visual artists, and intellectuals such as Yorgos Seferis, Odysseas Elytis, Yannis Tsarouchis, Yannis Moralis, Nikos Chatzikyriakos-Gkikas, and others) were the early proponents of *ellinikotita* (Greekness) as an aesthetic native to the Greek land, but considered through modern aesthetics. This group rehabilitated the Cycladic “as a bona fide Hellenic form of art, endowed with all the basic qualities of what in the Classical period would become the glory that was Greece.” Dimitris Plantzos, “From Here to Modernity: Cycladic Art as a Twentieth-Century Phenomenon,” Alexander Papamarkou lecture at Columbia University, Program in Hellenic Studies, February 26, 2007.

29. Christina Koulouri, “Elliniki Balkanikotita h Balkaniki ellinikotita” (“Greek Balkanness or Balkan Greekness”), *To Vima* (October 10, 2004). (<http://digital.tovima.gr> [home page], accessed October 10, 2004)

30. Angelos Elefantis, “Simvola kai Theamata” (“Symbols and Spectacles”), *I Avgi* (August 29, 2004). ([www.avgi.gr](http://www.avgi.gr) [home page], accessed August 29, 2004)

31.Lina Thivani, “Parti enilikiosis, As megalosoue pia, As...psihraimisoume” (“Graduation Party: Let’s Grow up, Let’s... Cool down”) *Ta Nea* (July 9, 2004). (<http://ta-nea.dolnet.gr> [home page], accessed July 9, 2004).

32.In recent years (and during the pre-Olympic period in particular) Roma dwellings in Greece have been dismantled to make room for the construction of cultural or athletic venues. Such was the case in Athens, with the 2004 Olympic Games; in Patras, the Cultural Capital of Europe in 2006; and the Votanikos area, the site of a new soccer stadium in Athens. Despite efforts at improvement, the living, health, and sanitary conditions of the Roma in improvised settlements still remain a major social and humanitarian emergency. *Migration, Citizenship, Education*. ([www. migrationeducation.org/23.0.html](http://www.migrationeducation.org/23.0.html), accessed June 15, 2004)

33.According to Verinis, “the Albanian and Vlach/ Aroumanian identification of his [Dimas’s] name, rather than bearing connotations of the ‘dirty’ and ‘barbaric,’ embodies pure ethic qualities that set him apart from the corrupt, sedentary life of the ordinary modern citizen.” James Verinis, “The ‘Aftóchthonous’ ‘Pallikária’ of the Hellenic Peninsula: Historical/ Cultural Continuity, the Olympic Games, and the Immigrant Heroes of Greece,” presentation at “Reconfiguring Identities in Greece and Abroad through the Athens 2004 Olympic Games” panel

chaired by Jilly Traganou, conference of the Modern Greek Studies Association, Chicago, November 2005.

34. Ash Amin, “Multi-Ethnicity and the Idea of Europe”:

2. Words in brackets added.

35. Ben Carrington, “Cosmopolitan Olympics, Humanism and the Spectacle of Race” in *Post-Olympism: Questioning Sport in the Twenty-first Century*, J. Bale and C. Krogh, eds. (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 86–88

## 多元文化背景下的马来西亚体育

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马来西亚是东南亚地区的一个发展中国家，是由不同文化、民族、宗教的人群融合而成的多元化社会。马来西亚主要有三大族群——马来人、华人和印度人，据 2010 年最新的人口和住房普查数据，在马来西亚 2600 万人口中，马来人占 54.6%，华人占 24.6%，印度人占 7.3%，还有 12.8% 的土著居民和 0.7% 的其他人群。马来西亚的官方宗教是伊斯兰教，但是也有人信仰其他宗教。宗教信仰与民族密切相关，马来人信仰伊斯兰教，华人主要信仰佛教或基督教，印度人则信仰印度教或基督教。伊斯兰教众占到马来西亚总人口的 61.3%，佛教为 19.8%，基督教为 9.2%，印度教为 6.3%。

马来西亚是一个热爱体育

## SPORTS IN MULTI-CULTURAL MALAYSIA

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Malaysia, a developing country in South East Asia, has a heterogeneous society which is multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious. The three main ethnic groups are Malays, Chinese and Indians. According to the most recent Population and Housing Census conducted in 2010, out of 26.0 million Malaysians, 54.6% were Malays, 24.6% Chinese, 7.3% Indians, 12.8% other indigenous ethnic groups and 0.7% others. Although Islam is the official religion of Malaysia, other religions are practised. In Malaysia, ethnicity and religion are closely related. Malays practice Islam, Chinese mainly practice Buddhism or Christianity and Indians practice Hinduism or Christianity. Islam is practiced by 61.3% of the population, Buddhism by 19.8%, Christianity by 9.2% and Hinduism by 6.3%.

Malaysia is a sport-loving nation. Malaysians are known to be good sports hosts, participants and spectators. The country has hosted world class sporting events, including the badminton Thomas-Uber Cup (1970, 1984, 1988, 1992,

2000, 2010), World Cup Hockey Tournament (1975 and 2002), Women's World Open Squash Championships (1996, 2004), the Commonwealth Games (1998), World Cup Golf tournament (1999), World Tenpin Bowling Championship (2003), 9th FESPIC Games (2006), the biggest cycling event in Asia le Tour de Langkawi (since 1996), the Petronas Malaysia Formula One Grand Prix (since 1999) and an international sailing event the Monsoon Cup (since 2005).

Malaysians have been taking part in international sports since the late 19th century (albeit unofficially before World War I) and have been winning competitions even before independence (1957). As Malaya (name given to a federation of 11 states which included nine Malay states and two of the British Straits Settlements, Penang and Malacca, which existed from 31 January 1948 until 16 September 1963), the country emerged champion in the 1949, 1952, 1955 Thomas Cup badminton championships. Malaysia regained the Thomas Cup twice after independence, in 1967 and 1992.

运动的国家，马来西亚人被认为是优秀的体育赛事组织者、积极的参与者和热情的观众。一些大型的世界级体育赛事都曾在这里举办，如羽毛球汤姆斯杯和尤伯杯（1970、1984、1988、1992、2000 和 2010 年）、曲棍球世界杯赛（1975 和 2002 年）、世界女子壁球公开赛（1996 和 2004 年）、英联邦运动会（1998 年）、高尔夫球世界杯赛（1999 年）、世界保龄球锦标赛（2003 年）、第 9 届远南运动会（2006 年）、亚洲规模最大的自行车赛——环兰卡威自行车赛（1996 年举办至今）、马来西亚一级方程式赛车大奖赛（1999 年举办至今）和季风杯国际帆船赛（2005 年举办至今）等。

马来西亚从 19 世纪末就开始参与国际赛事（尽管在第一次世界大战之前并非官方性质），在 1957 年独立之前就曾多次在比赛中夺得优胜。在马来亚时期（即马来亚联邦，成立于 1948 年 1 月 31 日，由 11 个州——9 个马来州、英属海峡殖民地的

檳城和马六甲组成，1963年9月16日解散重组），它获得了1949、1952、1955年三届羽毛球汤姆斯杯冠军，在独立之后的1967和1992年，马来西亚又续写了曾经的辉煌。

壁球、保龄球和草地滚球是马来西亚新兴的体育项目，日益受到大众的喜爱，这些项目也为国家带来了荣誉：如妮科尔·戴维是当今世界女子壁球冠军；马来西亚曾获得2003年世界保龄球团体杯赛冠军；艾斯特·谢是2005年保龄球世锦赛女子单打金牌获得者；马来西亚草地滚球队在2008年草地滚球世锦赛中收获男、女两枚铜牌。

## 马来西亚的体育组织

要分析体育对马来西亚的影响，深入了解马来西亚的体育组织机构非常重要。马来西亚体育系统包括政府机构和非政府组织，这两类机构在不同层面展开工作。马来西亚管理体育的主要政府机构有青年与体育部、国家

Comparatively newer sports in Malaysia, such as squash, tenpin bowling and lawn bowls have gained popularity among Malaysians. These are also sports that are bringing national glory; for example, Nicol David is the current women's world squash champion. In tenpin bowling, Malaysia was the World Tenpin Team Cup Champions in 2003 and Esther Cheah won the singles gold medal at the World Championship in 2005. The national lawn bowls team won the bronze medal in the men's and women's World Bowls Championship in 2008.

## Sports organisations in Malaysia

In order to appreciate the impact of sport in Malaysia, it is important to examine the sports organisation in the country. The Malaysian sports system involves both government and non-governmental organisations and institutions working together at various levels. The main governmental organisations are the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the National Sports Council and the Ministry of Education, while the non-governmental organisations are the Olympic Council of Malaysia and its affiliated sports associations.

Today's Ministry of Youth and Sports began as the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports on 3 May 1964.

When the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports was first established, its aims were to develop and raise the standard of culture and sport in the country. The Ministry was refocused to be the Ministry of Youth and Sports on 20 May 1987. Its objective was to build a united, disciplined youth population with high morals, who would take an active role in the social and economic progress of the country. Sport was seen to play a vital role in this government purpose. One of the functions of the Ministry was to promote a healthy lifestyle among the population by encouraging Sport for All activities. Its ultimate goal was to increase productivity and strengthen social and inter-racial relations.

The National Sports Council was set up in 1972 under the *National Sports Council Malaysia Act*, 1971, and the amended *National Sports Council Malaysia Act*, 1979. The main objective of the National Sports Council is to achieve excellence in competitive sports. The National Sports Council works with the Olympic Council of Malaysia, state Sports Councils and National Sports Associations to improve the standard of high performance sport at national and international levels. In addition to funding athletes for the South East Asian Games, Asian Games, Commonwealth Games and the Olympic Games, the National Sports Council also provides incentives and rewards to athletes who excel.

体育运动委员会和教育部，而非政府机构包括马来西亚奥林匹克理事会和其下属的项目协会。

青年与体育部的前身为文化、青年与体育部，成立于1964年5月3日，其成立之初旨在提升国家的文化和体育运动水平。1987年5月20日，随着职能调整，文化、青年与体育部改组为青年与体育部，其目标是培养道德高尚、团结合作、遵纪守法的青年群体，以使他们能为国家的经济和社会进步贡献积极的力量。而体育在实现这一政府工作目标的过程中被认为是起着至关重要的作用。青年与体育部的职能之一是通过鼓励大众体育活动培养一种健康的生活方式。其终极目标是提高生产率、巩固社会阶层和种族间的关系。

国家体育运动委员会是根据1971年颁布的《马来西亚国家体育运动委员会法案》于1972年建立的，该法案在1979年进行过修订。国家体育运动委员会的主要目标是促进竞技体育取得优异成绩。它与马来西亚奥林匹克



克理事会、各州体育运动委员会、国家各单项运动协会通力合作，以提高马来西亚在国家 and 国际赛事中的竞技水平。它不仅为运动员参与东南亚运动会、亚运会、英联邦运动会和奥运会提供资金支持，还对获得优异成绩的运动员予以奖励。

马来西亚的国家奥委会被称为马来西亚奥林匹克理事会。该机构（前身为马来亚联邦奥林匹克理事会）于 1953 年挂牌成立，并于一年后在国际奥委会获得正式席位。理事会的资金来自政府拨款、社会捐款以及国际奥委会（通过奥林匹克团结基金）和赞助商的资助。

马来西亚奥林匹克理事会是 由各国家单项运动协会组成的伞状机构。目前，其下共有 55 个单项运动协会，既包括奥运会项目，也包括非奥项目。理事会隶属于国家奥协、亚奥理事会、东南亚运动会联合会和英联邦运动会联合会。它与国家体育运动委员会紧密合作，选拔和培养运动员参与国际奥委会认可的国际体

The National Olympic Committee of Malaysia is called the Olympic Council of Malaysia. The Council (previously the Federation of Malaya Olympic Council) was registered in 1953 and officially affiliated to the International Olympic Committee a year later. The Council is funded through government grants, donations, the International Olympic Committee (through Olympic Solidarity) and sponsorships.

The Olympic Council of Malaysia is the umbrella body for all National Sports Associations. Currently there are 55 associations under the Council including both Olympic and non-Olympic sports. The Council is affiliated to the Association of National Olympic Committees, the Olympic Council of Asia, the Southeast Asian Games Federation and the Commonwealth Games Federation. It works closely with the National Sports Council to select and train sportspersons for international competitions recognised by the International Olympic Committee such as the South East Asian Games, the Commonwealth Games, the Asian Games and the Olympic Games. The Olympic Council of Malaysia also contributes towards the development and training of sports administrators and coaches.

The National Sports Association is responsible for developing its specific sport under guidance from its International Sports Federation. The specific role of the National Sports Association is to promote, develop and provide opportunities for participation and competition for a particular sport, both at national and international levels. These associations work closely with the National Sports Council and other relevant government agencies. The associations train and coach the athletes while the National Sports Council provides the funding. The associations are usually headed by those who contribute to the association or are politically influential enough to safeguard and advance the association's interests. Some association presidents are members of the Malay aristocracy.

## Historical background of sport in Malaysia

Before the introduction of Western sports, Malays took part in sports such as cock-fighting, kite flying, top spinning, sepak raga (a game where a group of four or five players keep a rattan ball in the air for as long as possible using all parts of the body except the hands), silat (a martial art), boat-racing and congkak (a game for two players using a board which has several holes).

育赛事，如东南亚运动会、英联邦运动会、亚运会和奥运会。此外，它还参与体育管理人员和教练员培训等事宜。

各国家单项运动协会的职责是在各国际单项运动协会的指导下促进所辖特定项目的发展。它们的具体任务是为各自项目参与国家级或国际级比赛提供机会并促进该项目竞技水平的提高。这些协会与国家体育运动委员会及其他相关政府机构密切合作，在国家体委的资金支持下负责运动员的训练和培养。协会主要领导人通常是该项目做出过杰出贡献的人物或是具有相当政治影响力、能够维护协会利益并促其发展的人物，一些协会的主席还是马来西亚上层社会的成员。

## 马来西亚体育发展的历史背景

在西方体育传入之前，马来人参与的体育活动主要包括斗鸡、放风筝、抽陀螺、藤球（4或5名运动员用除手之外的身体

其他部位保持藤球尽可能长的时间不着地）、马来武术、划船赛和马来播棋（两人对弈的一种游戏，以挖有洞的木板作棋盘）。

在 1786—1957 年殖民统治时期（1941 年 12 月—1945 年 8 月为日本占领），英国殖民者将西方体育项目推介到马来西亚。最初传入的一些体育项目包括骑马、赛跑、国际象棋和台球等，随后，很多其他项目逐渐被人们所认识。这些项目最初的推广者是一些男性群体和俱乐部。英国人发现通过在社区开展体育活动可以与当地居民建立良好的关系，并认为定期的体育活动对社会管制非常重要。在 19 世纪最后 20 年，英国在马来亚的殖民政府鼓励当地居民参与体育活动，于是到 20 世纪初，体育爱好者日众，西方体育运动在当地如火如荼地开展起来。

从 19 世纪末到第二次世界大战这一时期，马来西亚社会中逐渐开展并普及了一些新的项目，如板球、步枪射击、高尔夫球、曲棍球、田径、足球、橄榄球、

During the period of colonial rule, 1786–1957 (December 1941 until August 1945 Japanese interregnum), the British introduced Western sports. Among the first sports to be introduced were horse riding and racing, chess and billiards. More sports were gradually introduced. In the beginning, sports were introduced through groups of men and clubs. The British found that they could build good relations with the locals through playing sports in the community. They believed that regular exercise was important in maintaining public control. During the last two decades of the 19th century, British officials in Malaya encouraged the local population to participate in sports and by the early 20th century, sports had a large following in the country.

From the end of the 19th century till World War II, cricket, rifle shooting, golf, hockey, athletics, soccer, rugby, lawn tennis, cycling, swimming, motor racing, boxing and badminton became more socially visible. Due to a better perception of sports, more facilities were built. Soccer fields, golf courses, tennis and badminton courts and swimming pools were built in towns, villages and even rubber estates. Badminton proved to be very popular among the Malaysians after World War I and it soon rivalled soccer in popularity. Today, Malaysians of all ethnic groups still enjoy these two sports and in its own way each is the national sport.

The spread of modern sports in the local community was linked to the spread of English-language education where sport was part of the curriculum. By the end of World War I, soccer had become the most popular sport among the masses as it required only a ball and some open space. Fields were made available in all towns and government schools. The sport was even popular in remote Malay kampongs (villages) and the game's popularity among the Malays remains till today.

草地网球、自行车、游泳、赛车、拳击和羽毛球等。人们对体育的认识也有了很大提升，体育设施建设方兴未艾，足球场、高尔夫球场、网球和羽毛球场、游泳池等如雨后春笋般建立起来，在城镇，在乡村，甚至在橡胶园都可以看到。在第一次世界大战后，羽毛球在马来西亚人中变得十分普及，但是它很快就受到了来自足球的挑战。如今，羽毛球和足球仍然是马来西亚各族群人民都非常喜爱的体育项目，并以其自己的方式成为国球。

随着体育进入学校课程体系，现代体育项目在马来西亚本土社会中的传播与英语教育的推广联系在了一起。到第一次世界大战结束时，足球，由于其所需设施简单，仅需要一个球和一块空地，成为了最受欢迎的大众体育运动项目。所有城镇和公立学校都建有足球场地。而足球在偏远的马来乡村更是流行。直到今天，这个项目在马来人中依旧热度不减、人气颇高。

女性也参与体育运动，学校也为女学生开设强制性的体育课程。女性参加的体育活动主要有羽毛球、游泳、自行车、篮球和排球。

从18世纪末期起，一些华人开始来到马来西亚，在殖民经济中寻找商机。由于大多数学校缺乏运动场地，篮球、乒乓球和排球等项目仅在华语学校得到推广。如今，这些项目在马来西亚的华人中仍然广受欢迎。

在日占时期（1941年12月—1945年8月），体育运动也得到了进一步发展，至少在是感觉上或以间接的方式。例如，羽毛球运动的繁荣体现为国际比赛中的优异成绩。第二次世界大战后，马来人在这一项目上多次获得国际级赛事冠军。马来亚在首届汤姆斯杯羽毛球赛上一举夺魁，并于1952和1955年两度卫冕。据称，这支由华人和马来人运动员组成的羽毛球队极大地鼓舞了当地居民的自豪感，掀起了一股爱国主义热潮，这是政治运动都可能无法达到的效果。

Women also participated in sport, which was also compulsory in the curriculum for girls. Among the sports that women took part in were badminton, swimming, cycling, basketball and volleyball.

The Chinese came to Malaysia mainly to work in the colonial economy starting from the late 18th century. Basketball, table tennis and volleyball were promoted in Chinese vernacular schools because most of the schools did not have fields for practice. These sports are still very popular among the Chinese in Malaysia today.

During the Japanese occupation (December 1941 until August 1945), sports continued to develop at least by perceived and indirect occurrences. For instance, one sport which thrived was badminton as perceived by its results in international competitions. After the war, Malaysians achieved international sporting success in this sport. Malaya emerged as the champion of the inaugural Thomas Cup badminton championship and defended the title in 1952 and 1955. The badminton team of Chinese and Malay players was said to stir up local pride and nationalism that was not possible through a political movement.

## Government involvement in sport

In pre-1957 Malaya/Malaysia, the colonial government was rarely involved in the public promotion of sport. However, this changed after independence as the first Prime Minister of Malaya/Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, was a sport enthusiast, popularly known as the “sporting prince”. He felt that sport was important to the nation. Both Tunku Abdul Rahman and his successor, Tun Abdul Razak, established sport as a means of unity and solidarity in the country.

Since independence the Malaysian government has been increasingly involved in the organisation and promotion of sport. One reason for the government's increased interest in sport is its conviction that international sport is important in promoting an international image. At the international level, sporting success was a measure of national prowess. Thus, in order to gain national glory, high performance sport was emphasised.

In the early 1980s, the government decided that it was unwise to concentrate solely on high performance sport as national objectives could not be achieved exclusively through high performance sport. It was felt that the masses should also be involved in sport. In the late

## 政府对体育的介入

1957 年前的马来亚 / 马来西亚，殖民政府很少采取措施促进社会体育的发展。但这一切在马来西亚独立后有了明显改观，因为马来亚/马来西亚首任总理阿卜杜勒·拉赫曼王子恰是一位体育爱好者，以“体育王子”之称闻名于世。他深深感到体育对一个国家的发展具有重要价值。他和他的继任者阿卜杜勒·拉扎克都把体育作为促进国家团结的一种手段。

自独立以来，马来西亚政府越来越多地介入到体育运动的组织和推广中。政府缘何对体育如此青睐，原因之一是政府坚信参与国际体育对提升国家的国际形象具有重要意义。在国际层面，竞技场上的胜利是衡量国家实力的一个标尺，因此，为了国家荣誉，高水平竞技体育得到了政府的高度重视。

20 世纪 80 年代初，政府最终承认之前只重视提高竞技体育水平的发展方式并非明智之举，

因为仅通过高水平竞技体育难以实现国家发展目标。他们认识到大众也需要参与到体育中来。在 20 世纪 80 年代末, 马来西亚运动员的表现并不令人满意, 一些公众人士向大众媒体表达出对本国运动员的失望, 这种声音在 1986 年汉城亚运会之后尤其强烈。为走出这一体育发展的困局, 1988 年, 政府颁布了《国家体育方针》, 这一方针确立了整个国家未来体育的发展方向, 随着政策到位, 体育也将承担更多的责任。

《国家体育方针》(1988) 对竞技体育和大众体育两方面都做出了重要指示, 它表明政府已将体育摆在国家议事日程的重要位置。这种重视从政府对体育的强调中就可见一斑。马来西亚政府在竞技体育方面采取的措施有: 为国家队聘请外籍教练、为在训运动员提供津贴补助、建立体育运动学校 and 建设顶尖的体育场馆设施; 在大众体育方面, 政府推出了多种宣传、规划和活动, 促进居民体育参与, 如 “马来西亚

1980s, Malaysians were unhappy with the performance of Malaysian athletes. Members of the public had expressed their disappointment with the national athletes in the mass media, especially after the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul. In order to remedy the situation and develop sport, the government promulgated the *National Sports Policy* in 1988. The policy provides direction to sport in the country. With the policy in place, there would be more commitment given to sport.

*The National Sports Policy* (1988), which includes directives for both high performance sport and Sports for All, is evidence that the government placed sport high on the national agenda. This stress can be inferred from the emphasis the government has put on sport. The Malaysian government efforts in promoting high performance sport include hiring foreign coaches for national teams, playing allowances to athletes during training, building sports schools and constructing state-of-the-art facilities. In terms of Sports for All, the government has numerous campaigns, programmes and activities to get Malaysians involved in physical activity. They include the Malaysia Cergas (Fitness Malaysia) campaign, Fitness Month and Healthy Lifestyle campaign. There are also community sports complexes across the country.



## Reasons for government involvement in sport

There are various reasons for the government's involvement in sport, including international, national and community considerations. At the international level, sport is seen as a means of enhancing national image. Excelling in international sporting events is a source of national pride. One of the objectives of the *National Sports Policy* (1988) is to achieve sporting excellence at national and international levels and enhance national image and goodwill.

Enhancing national image is not only achieved with Malaysians excel at the world stage, but also when the country hosts international competitions. Hosting international sports events also promotes the country to the world. Although Malaysia has hosted international events in the past, the largest one was the 1998 Commonwealth Games. The 16th Commonwealth Games gave Malaysia international publicity and celebrated the country's multi-cultural uniqueness. The Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Games highlighted the country's diverse cultures.

No effort was spared to host the Games, which was declared a major success by the chief of the Commonwealth Games Federation, Michael Fennell and the Australian Sport Commission executive director, Jim Ferguson. There

健身运动”“健身月”和“健康生活方式运动”等，社区体育活动中心也在全国各地建立起来。

## 政府介入体育的原因

政府介入体育的原因是多方面的，包括国际、国家和社区层面的考量。在国际层面，体育被视为提升国家形象的一种方式，国际赛场上的优异成绩能够激发民族自豪感。《国家体育方针》（1988年）的目标之一就是国家和国际级赛事中力争取得辉煌成绩，以提升国家形象和促进友好交往。

马来西亚不仅通过在国际大赛中的优异表现提升国家形象，也利用承办国际体育赛事之机实现这一目标。承办国际体育赛事正是让世界了解马来西亚的窗口。马来西亚过去曾承办过一些国际赛事，最大规模的一次是1998年的第16届英联邦运动会。通过这届运动会，马来西亚的国际知名度迅速提升，其独特的多元文化得到了淋漓尽致的展现，

尤其是开闭幕式正是这一多元文化的精彩写照。

马来西亚在赛事的筹办过程中不遗余力，这得到了英联邦运动会联合会主席迈克尔·芬内尔和澳大利亚体育运动委员会执行官吉姆·弗格森的高度肯定，他们公开表示本届运动会取得了重大成功。70 个英联邦成员国史无前例地全数与会，喀麦隆、莫桑比克和基里巴斯都是首次参加英联邦运动会。无论政府还是普通居民都为运动会的成功举办不懈努力。马来西亚政府全力支持，企业也纷纷赞助。社会各界，无论年龄、民族，都积极支持运动会的举办，多达 5 万人申请成为赛会志愿者，最终 16800 人入选并接受培训。此外，马来西亚还为运动会兴建了一些世界级的体育场馆设施。

在国家层面，体育能够逾越国籍、性别、年龄、社会地位、地理位置和意识形态的隔阂，它所具有的人群聚合的潜在力量经常备受重视。而这一点对马来西亚来说尤为重要，因为族群关系

was 100% participation by all 70 member nations, which was unprecedented in the history of the Games. It was the first time that Cameroon, Mozambique and Kiribati took part in the Commonwealth Games. Everyone was committed to the Games, from the government to the man in the street. The Malaysian government gave its full backing to the Games and companies offered sponsorship. The Games attracted support from Malaysians from all walks of life, ages and ethnic groups. A total of 50,000 people signed up as volunteers although only 16,800 were chosen for training. World-class facilities were built for the Games.

At national level, sport transcends nationality, sex, age, social status, geography and political ideology. The potential of sport to unite wider sections of the population has often been emphasised. This is important to Malaysia, where ethnic relations are of major significance. Nation-building is important in a heterogeneous society such as Malaysia. The government sees this as an important objective and uses sport related activities to create national pride, for example, hosting the Formula One motor racing, Malaysians planting the Malaysian flag on Mount Everest and a Malaysian sailing solo round the world using a new route.

It is hoped that by the year 2020, Malaysia would be a cohesive Malaysian nation (Bangsa Malaysia). Sport has been a tool to integrate Asian and African countries which have various ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. This might also be true for Malaysia. Sport serves as a link between ethnic groups. It is also a tool for national unity and social integration. This point is illustrated by what happened in a significant soccer match between the Malaysian state of Selangor and Singapore. When a Selangor Chinese player fouled a Singapore Malay player, the Singaporean's Chinese team mate went to his aid. On seeing that, one of the Malaysian's Malay team mates joined in the fray against the Singaporeans. Soccer brings together various ethnic groups without provoking ethnic antagonism.

对这个国家的发展意义重大。国家意识的构建在马来西亚这个多元化的社会具有特殊重要的意义。马来西亚政府将此作为重要的发展目标，并通过与体育相关的活动树立国民的自豪感，如承办一级方程式赛车大奖赛；把马来西亚国旗插在世界最高峰珠穆朗玛峰；一名马来西亚人只身驾船开辟新的航线、环游地球。

到 2020 年，人们希望马来西亚会成为一个具有高度凝聚力的马来西亚民族国家。亚洲和非洲的一些多民族、多宗教和多语种的国家曾借助体育这一方式实现了社会融合，那么这种方式也应同样适用于马来西亚。体育能够成为不同族群联结的纽带，它也是国家团结和社会整合的一种手段。这一论点在一场关键的足球比赛中得到了很好的证明，对阵双方是马来西亚雪兰莪州队和新加坡队。在比赛中，雪兰莪队的一名华人球员对新加坡队一名马来人球员造成了犯规，双方争执不休，这时新加坡队的华人球员也前来支援队友。而看到这一

幕后，雪兰莪队的其中一名马来人球员也加入了对付新加坡队的队伍中。足球没有激起族群间的对立，来自不同族群的人们因足球而走到了一起。

这一本能反应恰恰生动地说明：在体育运动中，团队精神和国家自豪感被认为是至关重要的，而来自于哪个族群却显得无关紧要。国家队的支持者也是由很多不同族群的人们组成的。马来西亚人团结在一起，支持自己的祖国。在 1975 年于吉隆坡举办的曲棍球世界杯赛马来西亚队与印度队进行的半决赛中，创纪录的 4 万名观众涌进体育场，他们团结一心，为马来西亚队呐喊助阵。

团结被认为是如此重要以至于青年与体育部把它作为开展体育活动的目标之一。例如，“体育周”最基本的目标之一就是维护国家各族群之间的团结统一。青年与体育部组织的“大众体育联赛”要求，每支队伍必须由来自不同族群的成员组成以促进民族和谐和国家统一。教育部也认识到体育在促进学生团结方面的

This spontaneous reaction is an example that team spirit and national pride are valued while ethnicity is of little consequence. The supporters for the national sports teams are made up of various ethnic groups. Malaysians are united to support the country. In the 1975 World Cup hockey tournament in Kuala Lumpur, the semi-final match between Malaysia and India saw a record 40,000 spectators flood the stadium to give boisterous united support to the Malaysian team.

Unity is seen to be so important that it is one of the objectives of sports programmes by the Ministry of Youth and Sports. For example, one of the original objectives of the Sports Week was to foster national unity among the different ethnic groups in the country. In one of the Ministry's programmes, the Sport for All League, each team must consist of members from different ethnic groups. This is to promote ethnic harmony and national unity. The Ministry of Education also realises the role of sport in uniting students. Sport is a means of instilling the spirit of sportsmanship and fostering understanding and unity among the pupils. It is important for the physical, spiritual and mental development of pupils.

At the community level, sport is also supposed to improve community health, promote social interaction in addition to preventing crime and juvenile delinquency.

Sport is shown to improve physical and psychological well-being. With the growing incidence of lifestyle related diseases in Malaysia, sport is being promoted to play a vital role in physical health promotion. Research has shown that physical activity is able to prevent the onset of diseases as well as to treat these conditions. Sport has a positive relationship with health. In the workplace, improved health promotes efficiency as well as lowers rates of absenteeism and accidents. At the macro level, sport influences the creation and expansion of industries involving physical activity and sport. The government realises the importance of the sport industry and declared 2011-2012 as Sports Industry Year. The objective was to develop a strong and vibrant sports industry. In 2009, the Malaysian sports industry was estimated at nearly US\$10 billion or 5% of the total gross domestic product.

作用。体育运动潜移默化地向学生们传播着运动员精神，并让他们相互间增进理解、加强团结。这些对学生们身体、心灵和智力的发展都非常重要。

在社区层面，体育也能够提高人群的健康水平，促进社会交往，并能预防犯罪及青少年的违法犯罪活动。

体育被证明对身体和心理健康均具有积极作用。在马来西亚，与生活方式有关的疾病发病率不断攀升，因此，体育被推上历史舞台，在促进身体健康方面扮演着至关重要的角色。研究表明，身体活动能够预防疾病发生和治疗疾病。体育对身体健康具有正向的影响作用。在工作场所，人们健康水平的提升可以提高工作效率、降低缺勤率和意外事故发生率。在宏观层面，体育会激发诸如健身产业和赛事产业的创造力，促使其规模不断扩张。政府认识到体育产业的重要性，并宣布 2011—2012 年为“体育产业年”，其目标是打造具有竞争力并充满活力的体育产业。2009 年，马来西亚体育产业总产值据估计约为 100

亿美元，占国内生产总值的 5%。

## 体育参与情况

尽管政府在促进体育参与方面下了很大功夫，但效果却不甚理想。2006 年马来西亚第 3 次全国健康和发病率调查结果显示：43.7% 的马来西亚 18 岁以上成年人没有参与体育活动，其中女性的比例（50.5%）要高于男性（35.3%），城市居民的比例更高，达到 59.4%。随着年龄增长，体育活动水平也在下降，18~19 岁年龄组没有参与体育活动的人群比例为 40.2%，而在 80 岁及以上年龄段这个比例攀升至 80.3%。调查还统计分析不同族群、不同教育水平、不同职业和不同地域体育参与水平的异同。在族群维度，华人中没有参与体育活动的人群比例最高（47.1%），其后依次为印度人（44.5%）、其他马来西亚土著人（44.1%）和马来人（42.4%）；在受教育水平维度，最少参与体育活动的是未接受过正规教育的群体（57.4%）；在职业维度，是失业者（60.8%）和家庭主妇（54.4%）。

## Participation in sports and physical activity

Despite various efforts to promote participation in sports and physical activity, the results have not been encouraging. The Third National Health and Morbidity Survey (2006) found that a total of 43.7% of Malaysian adults aged 18 years were inactive. More females (50.5%) were inactive compared to males (35.3%). There is a higher level of physical inactivity among urban Malaysians (59.4%). Physical inactivity also increased with age. Physical inactivity in the 18-19 year old group was 40.2% and it increased to reach 80.3% in those aged 80 years old and above. The survey included similarities and differences between ethnic groups, education level, occupation and state. The highest prevalence of physical inactivity was seen among the Chinese (47.1%), followed by Indians (44.5%), other Bumiputras (44.1%) and Malays (42.4%). When compared by education level, those with no formal education had the highest level of physical inactivity (57.4%). When compared by occupation, those who were unemployed (60.8%) and housewives (54.4%) were the most inactive groups.



The Malaysian Adult Nutrition Survey (2003) found that only about one third of adults had exercised at least once in the two weeks prior to being interviewed for the survey. The number of men who had exercised at least once (40%) was nearly double that of women (22%). The number of urban Malaysians (35.7%) who had exercised was higher than the number of rural Malaysians (24.9%).

It is found that the participation rate of males in physical activity is higher than females. Some of the reasons given by females for not participating are lack of time, lack of interest and family commitments. Gender-specific constraints faced by women included role expectations and care-giving responsibilities. Family responsibilities are very important to Malaysian women and this takes precedence over participating in physical activity. In Malaysia traditional Eastern values are strongly held. A woman's role is to take care of her family. Once a woman marries, her family and home take priority. Less importance is given to exercising and keeping fit.

Islam does not discourage women from participating in sport. However, excessively free interaction between men and women is not encouraged. In addition to that, women should not expose their aurat (body). One of the reasons many Muslim parents are reluctant to allow their daughters

在 2003 年的马来西亚成年人营养调查中发现：仅有约 1/3 的成年人在接受调查前的两周内至少锻炼过一次，其中男性的比例(40%)约为女性的二倍(22%)，城市的比例(35.7%)高于乡村(24.9%)。

可见，男性参与体育活动的比例高于女性。女性不参与的原因主要有：没有时间、缺乏兴趣和家务。女性面临性别上的束缚，如（特定的）角色期待、需要承担照顾家人的责任。家庭责任对马来西亚女性非常重要，远重于参与体育活动。在马来西亚传统的东方价值观的强烈影响下，女性的角色就是照顾家庭。女性一旦成家，家庭事务重于一切，锻炼和保持健康较少得到重视。

伊斯兰教并不阻止女性参与体育活动，但是反对男女间过度的自由接触。此外，女性还被禁止暴露她们的身体。很多穆斯林父母不愿让他们的女儿参与体育活动，其中一个原因是体育活动管理被认为与伊斯兰教教义相违。



近年来，人们，尤其是非马来人，对体育的兴趣不断衰减。在现代马来西亚社会，教育（受教育水平）受到重视，而马来西亚教育体系注重的是获得优秀的学业成绩。家长和学生都生活在这样的假设中：如果一个人不能在学校取得优异成绩并进入大学，他将找不到好工作、拿不到很高的薪水。因为经济的保障如此重要，所以体育等未列入考试的课程遭到忽视。据称，体育课在马来西亚正在经历一场危机。民众，包括家长们，都对体育课漠不关心，因它不在考试科目之列，那么它在孩子的教育过程中也就无关紧要了。一些教师将体育课课时挪作他用，来教授其他理论科目。此外，学校有时还安排没有资格或毫无经验的教师来教授体育课程。

学校体育状况也令人堪忧，体育场地设施和活动项目不足，难以培养学生参与体育活动所必需的基本技能。例如，一些学校无年度学校运动会，还有一些学校没有体育场。教育部的一项研

to take part in sports is because the management of sports activities are thought to be contrary to Islamic teachings.

In recent years, interest in sports especially among non-Malays has declined. In modern Malaysian society, the emphasis is on education. The Malaysian education system emphasises academic excellence. Parents and students are of the assumption that if one does well in school and goes on to the university, one would be able to get a good job and earn a good salary. Financial security is important. As a result of this, non-examination subjects like Physical Education are neglected. It has been said that Physical Education in Malaysia is going through a crisis. The public, including parents, is indifferent towards Physical Education as it is a non-examination subject and, therefore, is of little importance in the education of children. Some teachers use the time allocated to Physical Education to teach academic subjects. In addition to that, Physical Education is sometimes taught by unqualified and inexperienced teachers.

The state of sport in schools has also been a source of concern as there are inadequate facilities and programmes to develop the basic skills essential for sports participation. There are examples of schools which do not hold annual sports days. Some schools do not have school fields. A

study conducted by the Ministry of Education found that only 10 out of the 67 secondary schools in Kuala Lumpur had fields large enough to accommodate a 400-metre track. Furthermore 12 schools had no fields. There have been reports of school fields that have been sacrificed for classrooms. Two schools were built on former playing fields leaving nearly 9,000 pupils without a proper sports field. The second largest primary school in the town of Gombak does not have a field because of the new blocks of classrooms had been built on it. When a choice has to be made between classrooms and playing fields, priority is given to classrooms.

With fewer schoolchildren taking part in sports, the pool of athletes is small. This could be one of the reasons why the standard of high performance sport has been declining. To combat this, the Ministry of Education launched the One-Student, One-Sport policy in 2011. This policy states that it is compulsory for every student (10-18 years old) to participate in at least one sport activity in school. The aim of this policy is to encourage a sporting culture among schoolchildren in order to maintain a healthy lifestyle. This policy encourages year round programmes like sports training, cross country runs, sports clubs and school sports competitions.

究显示：吉隆坡的 67 所中学仅有 10 所有可容纳 400 米跑道的场地，12 所学校根本没有体育场。一些报告曾指出学校体育场是为教学楼做出了牺牲。有两所学校是在运动场上建立起来的，让近 9000 名学生失去了合适的锻炼场所。鹅麦城规模第二大的小学仅有一块体育场，也被占用，盖了新教学楼。每当要在体育场地和教学楼之间做出选择时，天平总是倾向于后者。

随着参与体育的学生越来越少，运动员选材的基数也越来越小。这也是导致高水平竞技体育实力下滑的原因之一。为打破这种局面，教育部在 2011 年启动了“一个学生，一项运动”计划。这一计划要求每名学生（10~18 岁）必须在学校参与至少一项体育活动。其目标旨在在学生中培育一种体育的文化，让他们保持健康的生活方式。该计划鼓励在全年举办多种多样的活动，如体育训练、越野赛跑、体育俱乐部和学校体育比赛等。

其实，马来西亚人一向很喜欢体育运动。他们会追捧各大国际体育赛事，尤其是田径、篮球、足球、网球、曲棍球、高尔夫球、羽毛球和壁球。地方报纸和电视台等会对热门赛事进行报道或转播。电视台直播或者录播的一些热门比赛包括英超联赛、汤姆斯杯羽毛球赛、温布尔顿网球公开赛、一级方程式赛车大奖赛等。在当地餐馆约上三五好友，观看现场直播的足球赛已经成为马来西亚的一种传统。一些球迷还穿上他们所喜爱的球员或球队的队服，为那些绿茵健儿加油助威。

不幸的是，对体育的浓厚兴趣却没有转化成参与体育的热情。尽管政府在体育上投入高达数百万，但就像公众时常抱怨的，回报与投入不成比例。从1956年首次参加奥运会以来仅在1992年的羽毛球项目上获得过1枚奖牌（在该届奥运会羽毛球成为正式比赛项目）。截至2012年，马来西亚人一共获得了6枚奥运会奖牌（5枚奖牌源于羽毛球项目）。在2012年伦敦奥运会上，

Malaysians are usually interested in sports. They follow international sports events, especially in athletics, basketball, soccer, tennis, hockey, golf, badminton and squash. Popular events are broadcast and covered in the local newspapers. There are live and delayed broadcasts of popular competitions including the English Premier League soccer, Thomas Cup, Wimbledon and Formula One. It has become a tradition for Malaysians to gather at local restaurants to watch live soccer matches with friends. Some come in soccer jerseys to cheer for their favourite players and teams.

Unfortunately, this interest in sport does not translate into playing sport. Although the government invests millions in sports, the returns do not justify the cost as the usual public lament. Although Malaysia has been taking part in the Olympic Games since 1956, we only won a medal in 1992 when badminton was included. Malaysia has won 6 Olympic medals in total (5 of the medals are from badminton). At the 2012 Olympic Games in London, Pandelesa Rinong won a bronze medal in the women's 10m platform diving. In August 2012, the national men's soccer team was ranked 156 out of 206 countries in the FIFA/Coca-Cola World Ranking. Incidentally the highest ranking was 75th of the 167 in August 1993. Malaysians could not accept this as soccer gets substantial funding and it is one

of the richest sports associations in the country. Malaysia also has a semi-professional soccer league.

Soccer leagues have declined. Non-Malay soccer clubs are now defunct, for example, the Perak Chinese Recreation Club, Ramblers Sports Club and the Cheng Wah Sports Club. Chinese are not as interested in soccer. There were no Chinese players in the national men's soccer team to the 2010 Asian Games. The team included 16 Malays and 4 Indians. This is surprising considering the fact that Malaysia has produced Chinese soccer players in the past. They include national names such as Soh Chin Aun, Yip Chee Keong, Wong Hung Nung, Khan Hun Meng, James Wong, Ong Yu Tiang, Wong Kam Fook and Chow Kwai Lam. In the soccer team that qualified for the 1972 Olympic Games, there were 11 Malays, 3 Indians and 7 Chinese.

潘德利拉·丽农在女子10米跳台跳水比赛中夺得一枚铜牌。在2012年8月发布的世界足球排名中，马来西亚男足在206个国家中排在第156位，而在1993年8月发布的这一榜单中是排在167个国家的第75位。这一结果让马来西亚人难以坦然接受，因为足球项目得到了大量资金支持，足球协会也是马来西亚最有钱的协会之一，此外，马来西亚还有一个半职业的足球联赛。

马来西亚足球联赛日益衰落。非马来人的足球俱乐部现都已退出联盟，如霹雳州华人娱乐俱乐部、漫步者体育俱乐部和郑华体育俱乐部等。华人也对足球失去了兴趣。在参加2010年亚运会的男足国家队队员中，有16名马来人球员、4名印度人，但是没有一名华人。这不禁让人大惊失色，想当年马来西亚可是华人球员的摇篮，苏进安、叶志强、王康能、江汉明、黄才富、王耀添、黄金富和周贵林（部分人名译音）等华人球员都是鼎鼎大名。1972年奥运会预选赛时，

参赛球员有 11 名马来人球员、3 名印度人和 7 名华人。

马来西亚每个族群都有自己的品牌项目，如马来人的藤球、华人的篮球和乒乓球、印度人的曲棍球。参加 2010 年亚运会的马来西亚藤球队全部由马来球员组成。尽管在历史上，排球、篮球和乒乓球等项目颇受喜爱，但是华人现在更热衷于羽毛球和保龄球。在 2010 年亚运会上，马来西亚羽毛球球队有 16 名华人球员、1 名马来人和一名印度人；而保龄球队由 6 名华人球员和 6 名马来人球员组成。

## 结 语

自独立以来 50 多年，国家统一对这个国家依然十分重要。马来西亚政府在寻求各种方式以建立一个团结的国家。体育根植于传统文化，又广受欢迎，正是其中的一种方式。当所有马来西亚人竭力为国家队喝彩，而不论球员来自哪个族群时，历史证明了这一方式是有效的。马来西亚

Certain ethnic groups are identified with certain sports. For example, Malays are identified with sepak takraw, Chinese with basketball and table tennis, and Indians with hockey. The sepak takraw team to the 2010 Asian Games included only Malays. Although the Chinese were historically more interested in volleyball, basketball and table tennis, they are now interested in badminton and tenpin bowling. For the 2010 Asian Games, there were 16 Chinese, 1 Malay and 1 Indian in the badminton team and 6 Chinese and 6 Malays in the tenpin bowling team.

## Conclusion

After more than 50 years of independence, national unity is still important to the country. The Malaysian government is still looking for ways to build a united Malaysian nation. By its tradition and popular reception in the country, sport is one way to do this. It has proven successful in the past when all Malaysians came out in full force to support the national sports team irrespective of the ethnic groups of the athletes. Malaysians are proud of M Jegathesan, who was once the fastest man in Asia; Mokhtar Dahari, one of the best footballers in Asia in the 1970s; Nurul Huda Abdullah, who won 7 gold and 1 silver medal at the 1985 South East Asian Games and in the process broke 6 Games records; Shalin Zulkifli was candidate for

World Bowler of the Year 1994 by the World Bowling Writers Association and Nicol David, current world squash champion. Malaysians are proud when Malaysians win medals in international competitions. The media highlights world-class Malaysian athletes and the public applauds them. The government also supports all sports irrespective of the ethnic composition of the team.

Sports programmes by the government list ethnic unity as one of its objectives. For example, the teams in the Sports for All League must consist of members from the various ethnic groups. The Ministry of Education also uses sports to instil unity among students. There are also efforts to encourage non-Malays to take up sepak takraw, a game usually associated with Malays and non-Chinese to participate in table tennis, volleyball and basketball, sports which are linked to the Chinese. The national table tennis team has recently appeared with non-Chinese players. The Malaysian Basketball Association organises a non-Chinese basketball tournament and has a sub-committee for non-Chinese development. K. Saravanan was the first non-Malay national sepak takraw player. All of these are seemingly positive steps.

人不会忘记那些令他们无比自豪的名字：叶加森，曾是亚洲速度最快的运动员；莫达·达哈里，20 世纪 70 年代亚洲最好的足球运动员之一；庄淑玲，1985 年东南亚运动会 7 金 1 银得主，打破 6 项赛会纪录；莎琳·朱纪菲，1994 年世界保龄球作家协会推选的最佳投手候选人；妮科尔·戴维，当今世界女子壁球冠军。运动健儿在国际赛场上摘金夺银成为马来西亚人的骄傲。世界级的运动员得到媒体的高度关注和公众的交口称赞。政府也不论队伍的民族构成，对所有的体育运动队一视同仁、给予支持。

政府将促进种族团结作为开展体育活动的目的之一。例如，要求参与“大众体育联赛”的每支队伍须有不同族群的队员。教育部也通过体育增强学生间的团结。此外，鼓励非马来人群体参与马来人传统体育如藤球运动，非华人群体参与华人传统体育如乒乓球、排球和篮球运动。马来西亚乒乓球国家队已有非华人选手。马来西亚篮球协会还专门组

织非华人篮球锦标赛并设有专门委员会在非华人群中推广篮球运动。国家藤球队也有了首位非马来人的选手萨拉瓦南。所有这些举措似乎都颇具正面效果。

但是，需要重视的是，马来西亚人体育参与热情在不断下降，今后的研究更应着眼于体育对马来西亚的影响，以及如何吸引更多的人参与体育活动。毕竟，体育组织有责任通过不懈努力推动体育在这个以多元文化为基础的国家的繁荣发展。

( 赵卓译 )

However, with declining interest in sport participation, future research can look at the impact of sport on Malaysia as well as how to attract more Malaysians to be active in sport. After all the sports organisations have a role to play in continuing to promote sports in the country on a multicultural basis.

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# THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON AND THE LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC & PARALYMPIC GAMES AND THEIR LEGACY

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The University of East London in 2003 had no prior experience of or engagement with the Olympic and Paralympic Games or any other mega-event. A decade later, that picture looks rather different. This paper summarises benefits that UEL captured from its engagement with London 2012 in terms of sport, research, volunteering, estate, international partnership and reputation and ongoing work.

Those benefits resulted from a decision to use the Games in whatever practical ways we could to ‘build our business’. In some quarters there was early expectation that the Games would be a funding bonanza; by contrast, we determined that we might have to invest according to circumstance in order to get returns. We were conscious of wanting to avoid two outcomes: reaching 2013 and then thinking to ourselves ‘why didn’t we do that?’ or ‘what was

## 东伦敦大学与 2012 年伦敦奥运会 / 残奥会及其遗产的关系研究

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直到 2003 年，东伦敦大学还从未有过参与奥运会 / 残奥会或其他任何大型赛事的工作经验。但十年后，情况已截然不同。本文总结了东伦敦大学由于参与 2012 年伦敦奥运会筹办，在体育、科研、志愿服务、房地产、国际合作和声誉及一些正在开展的工作等多个方面获得的多种收益。

这些收益源于当初的决策，即采取所有切实可行的办法借奥运会之力“营建我们的事业”。在某些领域，奥运会早就被视为一个“聚宝盆”，而对东伦敦大学而言，我们则需要根据现实情况先期投入，以图回报。对此，我们有意识要避免两个结果：到 2013 年后悔道“当时我们为什么不那么做？”或“我们都瞎忙些什么？”

以已有的对外开发机构为基础，东伦敦大学建立了“2012办公室”，其后又设置了一个奥运会期间的管理机构。它们在2007—2012年期间运作，之后解散。最初我们并无正式的发展战略，因掌握的知识和经验极为有限，且无成例可循。当时处于这种状态的绝非东伦敦大学一家。一切都在摸索中渐渐前行，而不是按计划做。我们认为探索和渐进，就是前进的过程，并最终会导致在本文确定的各领域有计划的行动及干预。这表明，即便“从零开始”，一届夏季奥运会的时间跨度也足以进行实质性的参与并获得丰厚回报。

对东伦敦大学而言，奥运遗产有两种含义：①奥运会后，如何管理从奥运会/残奥会获得的永久性遗产。②如何参与到伦敦东区重建的大局中去，奥运遗产是其组成部分。第一种含义遗产的应对之策是通过社会主流机构开展志愿活动、体育活动或承办赛事方式实现；第二种含义遗产可通过大学的对外联络和发展机

all the fuss about?’

Based on existing external development structures, we established a 2012 Office and then a Games-time management structure. These operated 2007-12 and were then disbanded. We did not set out a formal strategy at the beginning as we had only very limited knowledge and experience to go on – and no role model. UEL was far from alone in this. Our process was therefore exploratory and evolutionary rather than extensively planned. That said, exploration and evolution were considered processes and led to planned actions and interventions in the areas identified in this paper. This indicates that the timescale of a summer Games is long enough for substantive engagement and robust outcomes to be developed even from a nil starting point.

Legacy has two senses for UEL: how we subsequently manage what we got out of the Olympics and Paralympics that is permanent; and how we engage with the wider pattern of east London regeneration of which Olympic and Paralympic Legacy is an embedded element. The answer to the first is through mainstream structures, whether volunteering, sport or hosting future events. The second is through the University’s mechanisms for external liaison and development.

Note: the UEL figures cited are taken from internal records.

## Research and scholarship

UEL is a successful modern university in research terms. In the 2008 UK Research Assessment Exercise, the University was the top modern university in London. However, in 2005, UEL had no research reputation in the area of Olympics, Paralympics, mega-events or Legacies. Over the period 2005-12, UEL staff undertook c.20 pieces of funded work related to the Games and Legacy with a value of c. £900,000 and produced a further 50 articles, books, theses and conference presentations<sup>1</sup>. One key theme of that work was engaging with policy from the local level (Newham Council, the local authority in whose area much of the Olympic Park is located) to the national (Department of Communities and Local Government) and international (OECD) on issues like Legacy and governance.

It is inevitably a challenge for any city and nation to think about how to manage the impacts of their Olympic and Paralympic Games. A base of policy and strategy has to be created, sometimes drawing on previous smaller events, often starting from scratch. The UEL work provided London and the British Government with important inputs

制来应对。

注：列举的一些东伦敦大学的数据取自内部记录。

## 科研与学术

东伦敦大学是科研水平出色的现代大学，在 2008 年的“英国研究评估考核”中，是伦敦顶尖的现代大学。然而，直至 2005 年，东伦敦大学在奥运会、残奥会、大型赛事及其遗产等领域的研究还籍籍无名。2005 至 2012 期间，该大学的教职工进行了约 20 项有关奥运会及其遗产的资助项目，资助经费约 90 万英镑，发表了 50 多项学术成果，包括文章、书籍、论文和会议报告等。<sup>1</sup> 这些研究项目的一个核心主题是关于从地方层面（纽汉姆市政府，奥林匹克公园大部分区域所在的地方政府）到国家层面（英国社区与地方政府部）和国际层面（世界经合组织）奥运遗产和治理问题的政策。

对任何一个奥运会 / 残奥会举办城市及国家而言，如何管理

奥运会带来的影响是不容回避挑战。需要构建制定政策和战略的基础，这有时是总结举办过的小型赛事的经验，更多的是从零开始。东伦敦大学的研究为伦敦和英国政府提供了重要的有关 2012 伦敦奥运会的信息：

东伦敦大学“伦敦东区研究所”（LERI）的研究不仅是重要的事实、背景和分析的资料来源，也是非正式的、易于获取的，激发争辩和讨论的资料来源。这在“开发可靠的奥运遗产”的语境中格外有价值。

“伦敦东区研究所做出的关键性的贡献是，促成了以改造伦敦东区为目的的奥运遗产项目，并使该项目更有根据、更加全面。需要指出的，是在申办时，政府包括我的部门，除了提交给国际奥委会的申奥材料中的一般性承诺外，此前没有一种政策机制，对“2012 伦敦奥运遗产”进行全面分析，明确表述，给出有计划的回应”。

“东伦敦大学早期提交给大伦敦议会的报告，以及包括评论

to the London 2012 process:

The work of the London East Research Institute (LERI) at UEL “provided both an important source of evidence, context and analysis, and an informal, accessible and stimulating source of debate and discussion. This was particularly valuable in the context of developing a credible Olympic legacy.”

“LERI’s critical contribution was to prompt the formation of a more informed and rounded Olympic legacy programme for the regeneration of east London. It is important to understand that at the time of the bid government including my Department had no prior policy mechanism in place for contextualising and articulating a structured response to London 2012 Legacy, beyond the general promises in the candidature file submitted to the IOC.”

“UEL’s early report for the Greater London Assembly, and the body of work which followed, including the ‘Thinkpiece’, provided a framework to enable policymakers at London and national levels to find ways to get a grip on how to think about Legacy. In that sense, it had a critical sense-making and way-finding impact.”

“Secondly, these specifically contributed to three directions policy then took (these specifically contributed to a three-direction policy): that Legacy should be seen as framed by London as a city and its development, not as a national project run by a Government department out of the city context; that East London legacy should be understood as part of a much broader and longer term regeneration ambition and programme, by and for London; and that its governance was a long-term challenge requiring a structural response. These understandings led directly to the creation of novel pre-games political and administrative institutions, the Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group, which drew together national regional and local politicians into a single body, and the East London Legacy Board, which similarly drew together public agencies, to structure and oversee a broad based regeneration programme for the region. Downstream its ultimate outcome is the creation of a new statutory structural entity, the London Legacy Development Corporation, as the focus to secure key legacy outcomes for the city. There is therefore now a London governance mechanism which 'owns' east London legacy.”

文章在内的研究，提供了一个框架，使伦敦和国家层面的政策制定者得以找到把握如何认识‘遗产’问题的方法。从这个意义上，其研究具有发掘意义和寻求方法的关键作用”。

“其次，这些研究尤其对三个方向的政策产生重要影响：

①‘遗产’应当被看做是伦敦基于其城市发展而架构的，而不是由伦敦市以外的国家部门运作的国家层面的项目；②‘东伦敦遗产’应被理解为由伦敦提出，为伦敦服务的一项大范围、长时期的更新改造计划的一部分；③‘遗产’的管理是一个长期性的挑战，需要有计划的回应。这些认识直接导致了新的赛前行政和管理机构——‘奥林匹克公园改造督导小组’（该组织汇聚了国家、地区和地方上的多位政要）和‘东伦敦遗产董事会’（该组织同样吸引了大批公共机构的加入）的成立，以便对基础广泛的地区改造项目进行组织和监管。对下游而言，这种影响体现在‘伦敦遗产开发公司’的组建，通过一个



新的法定结构实体对重要的遗产成果进行保护。于是，现在有了‘拥有’东伦敦遗产的治理机制”。

拉尔夫·沃德，2002至2010年间先后在副总理办公室和社区与地方政府事务部担任泰晤士河口计划以及奥运会和残奥会的规划与改造顾问。（注：沃德先生现为东伦敦大学客座教授）

艾伦·布里密科姆教授（2013年英国上议院奥运会和残奥会遗产的特别顾问<sup>2</sup>）将会把东伦敦大学的贡献纳入伦敦奥运会四个阶段的官方评估。<sup>3</sup>奥运会评估（奥运会的影响研究）是国际奥委会向主办城市/国家提出的一项合同要求。2012伦敦奥运会的评估工作由英国经济和社会研究理事会（ESRC）资助，其出版物及其他成果可使东伦敦大学的跨学科研究能力得到国内外同行的认可，还能让公共政策制定者直接了解2012伦敦奥运会对遗产的贡献。

东伦敦大学已经与多所大学和研究机构建立了稳固的工作伙伴关系，包括里约热内卢和巴塞罗那多所大学的奥林匹克研究中

Ralph Ward, Planning and Regeneration Advisor firstly to the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and subsequently to the Department for Communities and Local Government in respect of the Thames Gateway project and the Olympics & Paralympics, 2002 – 2010. [Note - Mr Ward is now a visiting professor at the University of East London.]

Professor Allan Brimicombe, a special adviser in 2013 to the UK House of Lords Committee on Olympic and Paralympic Legacy<sup>2</sup>, will have coordinated UEL contributions to four stages of official evaluation of the London Games<sup>3</sup>. The evaluations, the Olympic Games Impact studies, are a contractual requirement placed by the IOC on host cities/nations. They were funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and their publication alongside other work enhanced the international and domestic recognition of UEL's capacity for research that crossed disciplines and directly informed public policy on the legacies to be achieved by London 2012.

Academics have developed robust working relationships, for example, with Centres for Olympic Studies at universities in Rio de Janeiro and Barcelona and with the architecture nucleus (NUTAU) at the University of Sao Paulo (São Paulo). Professor Gavin Poynter was the

Olympic Visiting Professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2011-12.

In addition, we have developed good links with academics across the world. Through the Brazilian Government’s Science Without Borders programme, we have attracted a significant number of students. The latter is obviously not wholly attributable to 2012-related activity, but the UEL interest in Brazil and the Brazilian interest in London did undoubtedly play a role in achieving that substantive outcome.

In September 2013, we ran an international conference on the impacts of mega-events on cities<sup>4</sup>. The Conference attracted 112 papers, 174 registrations and 189 participants including 61 overseas delegates - the majority being academic researchers and post graduate and post-doctoral students from all parts of the world:

心（加文·波因特教授就是巴塞罗那自治大学 2011—2012 年度奥林匹克方向的客座教授），以及巴西圣保罗大学的建筑和城市设计技术研究中心（NUTAU）等。

此外，东伦敦大学与世界上多名学者建立了良好的联系。例如，依托巴西政府的“科学无国界”项目，东伦敦大学吸引了大批巴西学生。这虽然不能完全归功于伦敦奥运会的影响，但是东伦敦大学对巴西的关注及巴西人对伦敦的兴趣，无疑对这一实质性的成果发挥了作用。

2013 年 9 月，我们组织了一次国际会议，<sup>4</sup> 研讨大型赛会对城市的影响，有 174 人注册，发表论文 112 篇，189 人参会，其中 61 人来自海外。大部分与会者都是各国相关领域的专家、研究生和博士后，具体信息见下表：

Continent	Number Participants	Comment
North America	6	4 USA, 2 Canada
South/Latin America	11	9 from Brazil
Middle East	4	3 Iraq, 1 Saudi Arabia
Asia/Australia	9	3 Japan, 3 China, 2 Australia, 1 S. Korea
Europe (excl UK and Russian Federation)	26	Denmark 2; Switzerland 2, Norway 1, France 1, Ireland 1, Netherlands 1, Spain 5, Greece 2, Turkey 4, Cyprus 1, Italy 2, Germany 4
Russian Federation	2	2 Sochi
Sub-Sahara Africa	3	3 S. Africa
Overseas Total	61	
UK	128	UEL 15
所在地区 / 洲	参与者人数	说明
北美洲	6	美国 4 人，加拿大 2 人
南美 / 拉丁美洲	11	巴西 9 人
中东	4	伊拉克 3 人，沙特阿拉伯 1 人
亚洲 / 澳大利亚	9	日本 3 人，中国 3 人，澳大利亚 2 人，韩国 1 人
欧洲（不包括英国及俄罗斯联邦）	26	丹麦 2 人，瑞士 2 人，挪威 1 人，法国 1 人，爱尔兰 1 人，荷兰 1 人，西班牙 5 人，希腊 2 人，土耳其 4 人，塞浦路斯 1 人，意大利 2 人，德国 4 人
俄罗斯联邦	2	索契 2 人
撒哈拉以南非洲	3	南非 3 人
海外地区总计	61	—
英国	128	东伦敦大学 15 人

This conference was a direct result of the partnership with Brazilian and Barcelona universities and of a reciprocal process of international conference and seminar attendance since 2006. A further aspect of this work is a series of academic/policy seminars on themes related to regeneration and legacy organised jointly with the London Legacy Development Corporation. These are ongoing.

We hosted ASICS, the Japanese sportswear company, on our Stratford Campus during Games-time; the company has sponsored PhD students and supports student sport.

A further specific area of focus is health. UEL set up its Institute of Health & Human Development in 2006. That decision was unconnected to the Games. IHHD has become our main point of research partnership with UCL Partners, one of London's three Academic Health Sciences Partnerships, which we joined in 2012. UCLP is involved directly in the Sir Ludwig Guttmann Health & Wellbeing Centre on the Olympic Park, in effect seeing the former Olympic Polyclinic as a joint centre for innovation between academic, primary care, local government and community partners. We are engaged in this long term ambition with a particular focus on community-led health improvement.

这次研讨会是东伦敦大学与巴西和巴塞罗那大学建立伙伴关系后的直接产物，也是东伦敦大学自 2006 年以来出席国际会议交互效应的结果。接下来，东伦敦大学将和伦敦遗产开发公司合作组织一系列有关改造和遗产的学术 / 政策研讨会，相关工作正在进行中。

在伦敦奥运会期间，东伦敦大学在其斯特拉特福德校区款待了日本亚瑟士（ASICS）运动装备公司。该公司资助了多名博士研究生，并大力支持在校学生的体育活动。

下一个重点关注的领域是健康。东伦敦大学在 2006 年成立了“健康与人类发展学院”（IHHD）。虽然成立该学院的初衷与伦敦奥运会无关，但是现在却成为我们与“伦敦大学学院伙伴”（伦敦三大健康科学学术伙伴关系之一，东伦敦大学在 2012 年加入该组织）建立科研合作的关键。“伦敦大学学院伙伴”与奥林匹克公园的古特曼爵士健康与福利中心有密切关系，将这个前奥运综合

医院视为学术界、初级保健、地方政府和社会伙伴之间的联合创新中心。当前，东伦敦大学已经参与到这项长期的宏伟计划，重点关注以社区主导的健康改善。

这一实例表明，奥运遗产蕴含着巨大的牵引力，在这一案例中与伦敦东区面临的健康挑战相结合，从而形成原来不可能发生的、大规模的协同行动针对这一主题，伦敦遗产开发公司将伯克利大学、城市大学、拉夫堡大学、玛丽女王大学、伦敦大学学院、东伦敦大学等在内的“E20”高校集团组织起来，探索在其他领域，如经济开发，合作的可能性。

在伦敦提交给国际奥委的申奥材料中，承诺要成立一所奥林匹克公园研究所。这一承诺尚未兑现，但是在一定意义上，包括东伦敦大学参与的在奥林匹克公园开展的新的高等教育活动也视为履行承诺的一种方式。

## 志愿服务与人员安置

东伦敦大学有一项由学生会

This is an illustration of how the pulling power of Legacy potential, in this instance combined with east London's health challenges, is harnessing large scale collaborative actions which would otherwise not have happened. On that theme, the London Legacy Development Corporation has pulled together the 'E20' group of universities – Birkbeck, City, Loughborough, Queen Mary, UCL, UEL – to explore the potential to work jointly in other areas such as economic development.

The original London candidate file submitted to the IOC promised an Olympic Institute on the Park. This ambition has not come to fruition, at least not so far. It is though arguable that the new higher education activity on the Park, of which UEL is a part, is a form of fulfilment of that promise.

## Volunteering and placements

UEL had a volunteering programme run by its student union up to five years ago. This operated patchily according to the availability of limited external funding. UEL made no significant contribution. We invested in staff in our Employability and Enterprise Team in order to be able to organise support for volunteering and employment opportunities including LOCOG (ceremonies), G4S

(security: Bridging The Gap programme), Olympic Broadcast Service, Retail People, Olympic contractors, Team USA, Team Ireland, SERCO, Pictureworks, Capture the Event, ASICS and UEL itself.

- 2329 students completed an application with an expressed interest to take part in the Games
- 1945 students were successful in progressing to the next stage of a shortlisted application
- 448 students were confirmed by organisations to have successfully contributed their time and efforts to the delivery of the Games in an Olympic/Paralympic role

The latter figure is an underestimate as it certainly undercounts the numbers who were LOCOG Games-makers and London Ambassadors who were recruited by other processes.

运营的志愿者项目，迄今已有 5 年。由于依赖有限的外部资金，该项目的运营时断时续。东伦敦大学也未给予太多的扶持，我们的投入针对“就业能力与企业小组”的工作人员，以便能够组织支持志愿服务和就业的机会，这包括伦敦奥组委（开 / 闭幕式）、G4S（安保工作：弥合距离项目）、奥运会广播服务、奥运会承包商、美国队、爱尔兰队、信佳、迪彩、捕捉事件、亚瑟士等公司和组织以及东伦敦大学自身。

- 2329 名有意向 / 兴趣参与体育赛会（包括奥运会）的学生递交申请

- 1945 名学生经过筛选，成功进入下一环节

- 448 名学生最终由组委会选定，在奥运会 / 残奥会举办期间提供志愿服务

由于学生还可以通过其他渠道，以伦敦奥组委志愿者和城市志愿者的身份参与进来，所以，实际参与奥运会 / 残奥会志愿服务的学生人数要高于我们统计的 448 人。

我们参与组织了奥林匹克公园遗产公司的实习项目，并与该公司的继任者——伦敦遗产开发公司建立了联系。目前，东伦敦大学正在与伦敦遗产开发公司洽谈针对奥林匹克公园建立长期志愿服务的计划。总体而言，东伦敦大学组织学生志愿者和人员安置方面的能力因奥运会而转型，奥运会后继续作为专业服务机构在 2012—2013 年度支撑 300 名学生志愿者，并将 2013 年—2014 年度的目标扩充至 400 人（以上数字不包括由东伦敦大学学生会和体育协会支持的志愿者数量）。这种由东伦敦大学企业与就业中心、体育协会和学生会等组织围绕志愿服务而建立的内部合作关系蕴含着巨大的能量，与那些给我们的学生提供类似机会的雇主和组织相比，这种内部合作机制能够为学生提供更好的服务。

我们的员工也在不断做出自己的贡献。例如，我们一位负责带领学生为伦敦马拉松之类的体育赛会提供志愿服务的资深理疗

We organised the Olympic Park Legacy Company's internship programme and have taken this relationship forward with its successor body, the London Legacy Development Corporation. We are currently in discussions with LLDC about collaboration on the long-term volunteering scheme it is putting in place for the Olympic Park. In general, UEL's ability to organise student volunteering and placements was transformed by the Games and continues to operate as a professional service supporting 300 students post-Games in 2012/13 with a target of 400 for 2013/14. These figures exclude both UEL student union- and UELSports-supported volunteering. As a result of the collaboration built around volunteering internally, internal working relationships between Enterprise & Employability, UELSports and UELSU are far stronger across the University and students received a much better service as do employers and others offering the opportunities for our students.

Staff have contributed and continue to do so. For example, one senior member of our Physiotherapy staff, who runs a student-based volunteer service for events like the London Marathon, ran one of LOCOG's clinical areas. She will also work for the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, building reputation in this area.



## Sport

It is something of an understatement to say that ten years ago UEL had no reputation for sport. From the Docklands Campus opening in 1999, we had always planned to have a sports centre of some kind on the Campus. However, a proposed development was postponed around 2006/7 in order to prioritise investment in additional student residences.

A team of senior colleagues went out to the Beijing Games in 2008 where we made a connection with the US Olympic Committee regarding the possibility of the US Olympic and Paralympic Teams using our estate during Games-time. In 2009, we took the decision to revamp UEL sport completely. We committed to the centre that became SportsDock and appointed our first Director of Sport as a full-time member of staff. The outcome was a far more ambitious plan for facilities and organisation, very much situated in the context of the Olympic and Paralympic opportunity and the wider array of local responses in terms of sport.

人员，就曾负责伦敦奥组委的某一项临床应用。同时，她也将为格拉斯哥 2014 年英联邦运动会提供服务，在这一领域颇有声誉。

## 体育运动

十年前，东伦敦大学在体育运动方面几乎没有任何值得称道的地方。自从 1999 年多克兰兹校区启用以来，东伦敦大学一直计划建造一个校园运动中心。然而，这一拟定的计划在 2006/2007 年由于要优先投资建设学生宿舍而搁浅。

2008 年，东伦敦大学的资深员工组成的团队前往正举办奥运会的北京，并在这期间与美国奥委会建立联系，商讨了美国奥运 / 残奥代表团在伦敦奥运会期间使用东伦敦大学场地设施的可能性。2009 年，我们决定全面修缮学校的体育场馆设施，建设校园体育中心（现更名为“多克体育”中心），任命了首任全职的中心主任。随之实施了一个更大规模的计划，改善体育设施和组织，

使之更加切合奥运会和残奥会的环境及本地的多种体育需求。

多克体育中心在 2012 年对外开放，成为伦敦最大的高校室内体育场馆。其中，健身房及力量和身体训练区根据与美国队的协议，按照其标准和要求进行装配。体育用品网站“24 健身”通过美国奥委会捐赠了价值 20 万英镑的高端体育设施；英格兰篮球协会注资 50 万英镑，使其成为纽汉姆全明星运动学校（NASSA）的大本营（该校不到十年就成为英格兰最成功的一个青少年篮球和排球俱乐部）。其他一些东伦敦大学俱乐部也在使用多克体育中心。残奥会时，英国和美国轮椅篮球比赛在此进行。比赛举办得非常成功，该中心因此被指定为地区篮球中心。多克体育中心备有运动轮椅，以方便个人、团队及联赛等多层次残疾人体育活动的开展，这是十分罕见的。中心现对公众全年开放，并迅速成为社区的一个成员。

In 2012, we opened SportsDock, the largest covered university sports facility in London. The fitness suite and strength & conditioning areas were equipped to Team USA standard through a deal struck with them. Through USOC, 24-Fitness donated £200k worth of high-end equipment. England Basketball invested £0.5m in the facility which is now home to Newham All-Stars Sports Academy (in under (less than) ten years NASSA has become one of England's most successful youth basketball and volleyball clubs). Other non-UEL clubs also use SportsDock. The GB and US Paralympic wheelchair basketball teams played a match during Games-time, an event so successful that SportsDock has been designated as a regional centre for basketball. SportsDock is equipped with sports wheelchairs to facilitate disability sport at individual, team and league level which is highly unusual. The centre is open to the public all year round and has quickly grown a community membership.

UELSports in 2009 had some 300 students active out of 18,000 on campus. Today that number has risen tenfold. We have over 25 active clubs. We run high performance programmes for 40 young sports people (14+) in Newham and Waltham Forest, delivered in partnership with local clubs like Newham & Essex Beagles and Newham Swords (themselves with live associations with current and former Olympians).

UEL this year (2014) has 61 sports scholarship student (for students), all athletes competing at national and international levels. Including the local high performance programmes, that amounts to c100 elite athletes based at UEL this year. We didn't have a rowing team in 2009. Within four years, the UEL squad was winning gold, silver and bronze medals at the British Universities and Colleges Sports championships. The same story of growing success is occurring across a range of sports – tennis, judo, football, netball, basketball and so on. What capped 2012 was a former UEL student, Gemma Gibbons, winning a silver medal for judo.

2009 年东伦敦大学在校生为 18000 名，校体育协会约有 300 名积极参与者。今天，这一数字翻了十倍，有 25 个活跃的俱乐部。我们在纽汉姆和沃尔瑟姆福雷斯特为 40 名 14 岁以上的青少年提供高水平运动计划，与当地俱乐部，如“纽汉姆与埃塞克斯猎犬”田径俱乐部及“纽汉姆之剑”剑术俱乐部（这些俱乐部与现役及退役的奥运选手关系密切）合作培养。

东伦敦大学 2014 年有 61 名获得体育奖学金的学生，他们都参加国家和国际比赛。今年还有参与本地高水平运动训练的大约 100 名精英运动员，在这里训练。2009 年东伦敦大学还没有赛艇队，经过短短 4 年，其代表队就在“全英高校体育锦标赛”中斩获金、银、铜牌。诸多运动项目都有这种相同的成功经历，如网球、柔道、足球、篮网球、篮球等。2012 年最为辉煌的是校友嘉玛·吉布斯在伦敦奥运会中获女子柔道 78 公斤级银牌。

现在，多克体育中心几乎每周都要承办一次地区或全国体育比赛，这在很大程度上要归功于我们在参与伦敦奥运会时的表现。根据计划，奥林匹克公园水上运动中心明年重新开放后，东伦敦大学的纽汉姆游泳俱乐部在将会加入其“灯塔计划”。同样，东伦敦大学体育协会也与“伦敦雄狮”篮球俱乐部建立了联系，该俱乐部的活动场地是天空联盟的“铜盒”（奥林匹克公园的一个多用途体育馆）。我们还是由伦敦遗产开发公司及其合伙人推出的“残奥会遗产——东区激励”计划的董事会成员。

2011年，东伦敦大学因一年内在“英国大学体育联合会”（英国大学体育的管理机构，简称BUCS）的排名跃升40位而获“进步最快奖”，这样的跃进大概是其他高校不曾有过的。4年中，东伦敦大学的排名上升了67个位次。经过数年的努力，现已跻身“英国大学体育联合会”的高层梯队。这无疑表明，我们可以激励学生，在一系列的运动

SportsDock now hosts regional and national events on a near-weekly basis, in significant part directly attributable to the profile generated by being part of London 2012. It is planned that the UEL Newham Swimming Club will be part of a Beacon Programme in the Aquatics Centre on the Park when it reopens next year. Similarly, UELSports has working links with the London Lions basketball team playing out of the Copper Box (Olympic Park multi-use arena) in the Sky League. We are also a board member of the Motivate East Paralympic Legacy project set up by LLDC and partners.

In 2011, we won the Most Improved University award going up over 40 places in the British Universities & Colleges Sport (BUCS) rankings in one year – we believe the biggest leap any university has ever made. We have gone up 67 places in four years. It takes years of progression through leagues to reach the upper echelons of BUCS. UEL has undoubtedly demonstrated that we can mobilise student capability to aspire to this across a range of sports.

We are part of the Mayor of Newham's Every Child A Sports Person programme, which gives every 11-year-old child in Newham schools the chance to visit SportsDock and try new sports. That programme was a direct outcome of Newham's aspirations prompted by the Games.

## Estate development

The development of SportsDock is described above. This year we have opened University Square Stratford (USS), a joint development in the middle of Stratford with Birkbeck, University of London. USS houses our Law School and Institute for Performing Arts; it is situated next to the Theatre Royal Stratford East and Stratford Circus performing arts centre. USS is not a development with its origins in the Games, but it undoubtedly contributes to an emerging pattern of around Stratford, whereby higher education is clearly an important part of the asset base of Legacy.

For example, Loughborough University is opening a research, business and postgraduate campus with up to 1,000 post-graduate students as part of the iCity development in the former International Broadcast Centre/Main Press Centre. This opens in 2015. This will be co-located with the new BT Sport TV service. University College London

项目中发挥其潜能。

东伦敦大学还参与了纽汉姆市市长的“让每个孩子都成为体育人”计划，使该市所有11岁的孩子有机会参观多克体育中心并尝试新的体育项目。该计划直接源自伦敦奥运会的影响力。

## 房产开发

多克体育中心的开发上文已述及。今年，我们与伦敦大学伯克贝克学院共同开发的斯特拉特福德大学广场校区（USS）投入使用。法学院和表演艺术学院就位于该校区。该校区坐落在斯特拉特福德的中心，毗邻皇家东斯特拉特福德剧院和斯特拉特福德马戏团表演艺术中心。开发这一校区的初衷与伦敦奥运会无关，但却给斯特拉特福德的发展带来了一种新模式，因为高等教育无疑是伦敦奥运遗产的重要组成部分。

以拉夫堡大学为例，该校正着手在以前的国际广播中心/主新闻中心打造集研究、商业和研

究生教育为一体的校区，计划招收 1000 名研究生。这也是“i-城市开发”计划的一部分，将在 2015 年投入使用，与全新的“BT 体育电视服务”在同一地点。伦敦大学学院在 2013 年 12 月确认，将与维多利亚与阿尔伯特博物馆（V&A）一样，在奥林匹克公园的开发上承担重要角色。伦敦市长鲍里斯·约翰逊将伦敦大学学院和 V&A 的这个开发项目称为“奥林匹克城邦”，此语是参照了“阿尔伯特城邦”的说法，那是 1851 年伦敦大展览会后在肯辛顿进行的一系列建设。他说：

“奥林匹克城邦”项目背后的想法很简单，就是借鉴我们维多利亚时代祖先的非凡远见。我们希望通过伊丽莎白女王奥运公园的改造来带动伦敦居于世界领先地位的工业和技术的发展，从而创造出数以千计的就业机会”。<sup>5</sup> 约翰逊市长在其他地方也明确表示，高等教育是这一愿景的核心。

东伦敦大学斯特拉特福德精美绝伦的新图书馆在 2013 年年中开放，由负责建造伦敦奥运会

confirmed in December 2013 that it will be undertaking a major development on the Park as will the Victoria & Albert Museum. The Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, has termed the UCL-V&A developments ‘Olympicopolis’, a reference to Albertopolis or the array of developments at Kensington which followed London’s Great Exhibition of 1851. He stated: “The idea behind Olympicopolis is simple and draws on the extraordinary foresight of our Victorian ancestors. We want to use Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park as a catalyst for the industries and technologies in which London now leads the world in order to create thousands of new jobs”<sup>5</sup>. The Mayor has elsewhere made it clear that higher education is central to this vision.

UEL’s beautifully-crafted new library in Stratford, opened in mid-2013, was designed by Hopkins Architects, who were responsible for the Olympic Velodrome. Make, designers of USS, did the Copper Box on the Olympic Park. The designers of the new reception building at Docklands, Surface Architects, designed the major signage installations across the Park. So there is a real sense in which UEL is participating actively in terms of creating buildings of high quality for an area which has had an historic dearth of good design. This is a substantive contribution to the sense of aspiration for place which the Games have accelerated.



In 2004, when the London bid for 2012 was submitted, UEL's then Vice-Chancellor proposed that UEL would take over, own and operate the Aquatics Centre in Legacy as a University and public facility. By 2008, it was clear that this ambition could not be pursued. Anticipated local authority investment in expanding the Aquatics Centre post-Games was by then clearly not going to happen while the Olympic Delivery Authority had substantially value-engineered ZahaHadid's original design almost completely, removing space which might have been used for academic purposes. The University turned its attention to possible occupation of an area of the undercroft of the Olympic Stadium, prospectively to house its Sports & Exercise Science programmes. In the event, it was decided not to proceed with this option – not least the tortuous decision-making process caused by various legal challenges over awarding the Stadium to Legacy occupiers had an impact. The potential here, for the University and for the Park, was real. It is perhaps a lesson for future Games to organise Legacy occupation of facilities and venues post-Games as early and as cleanly as possible.

自行车馆的霍普金斯建筑事务所设计；斯特拉特福德校区是伦敦奥运会手球赛场“铜盒”的设计者——马克的作品；多克兰兹校区新接待大楼的设计者瑟菲斯建筑事务所还设计了伦敦奥运公园的主要标牌设备。由此可见，东伦敦大学的校园建设为长期缺乏优秀设计的地区带来了高质量的建筑作品。对于渴望通过奥运会实现发展和改变的地区而言，这种贡献是具有实质意义的。

2004年，伦敦递交2012年奥运会申请材料后，时任东伦敦大学的副校长就提出，希望该大学能够接管奥运遗产中的水上运动中心，将其作为大学的公共体育设施。直到2008年，这个颇具野心的愿望仍是不现实的。人们期望中的地方政府对奥运会后扩建水上运动中心的投资落空。而奥林匹克筹建局也几乎完全认可设计师扎哈·哈迪德的原始方案，在赛后拆除可用于学术活动的临时建筑。因此，大学将目光转向奥林匹克体育场，希望能够接管体育场的地下室，将其变为



“体育与运动科学”场地。最终，还是放弃了这一选择，因为决定遗产的归属是一个曲折的决策过程，在将体育场赠与遗产占有者后还要面临各种法律挑战。体育场有可能划归学校，也有可能归奥林匹克公园。这对以后的奥运会举办方来说是一个教训，即决定赛后场地设施的遗产占有应当越早越好，而且要干净利落。

### 声誉和未来发展机会

伦敦奥运会带来了许多机会，东伦敦大学抓住时机、积极参与，因此声名鹊起。否则，上述的一切将不会发生，或只在小范围产生微弱影响。奥运会让东伦敦大学在制度和学术两个层面得到了国际媒体的关注。与美国奥委会签订的合同更让东伦敦大学在美国得到大量媒体关注，这是我校自 1898 年建校以来从未有过的。

2012 年，东伦敦大学的市场营销与对外联络团队开展了两项相互关联的活动，目的是在

### Reputation and future opportunity

UEL's reputation has benefited from active participation in opportunities thrown up by the Games. All of what is described above either would not have happened or would have happened at a smaller scale with less impact. The Games gave UEL both institutionally and academically outstanding international media coverage. The deal signed with the US Olympic Committee got us more media coverage in the USA than we have probably had since our founding in 1898.

UEL's marketing and communications team ran two linked campaigns in 2012 targeting the launch of SportsDock in March 2012 and then Games-time, both with an emphasis on UEL's commitment to follow-through and to student recruitment. The key elements of these were to:

- Generate widespread media coverage about UEL and its involvement in the London 2012 Games

- Publicise UEL elite athletes’ participation in the London 2012 Games

- Showcase UEL as a world-class Olympic venue for future major sporting events

- Recruit elite athletes to UEL’s student population

- Win UEL and community SportsDock membership despite closing for the Games soon after opening.

A specialist media agency was commissioned to research a sample of 28 pieces of coverage during a two week period in Games-time and analyse value and reach. This independent analysis concluded that we achieved:

- Total PR value - £105,170

- Opportunity to See (OTS) – 15,336,000

2012 年 3 月和奥运会期间推出多克体育中心，强调东伦敦大学对后续活动和招生工作的一些承诺，主要包括：

- 邀请媒体广泛报道东伦敦大学及其参与 2012 年伦敦奥运会的情况

- 宣传参加 2012 年伦敦奥运会的东伦敦大学运动员

- 展示东伦敦大学可以承接大型体育赛事的世界级奥运场馆

- 招收优秀运动员前来就读

- 获得东伦敦大学和社区多克体育中心的成员资格，尽管体育中心在开放后不久就因奥运会暂时关闭。

东伦敦大学委托专业的媒体机构选取伦敦奥运两周内发布的 28 篇新闻报道，并对其新闻价值和传播范围进行独立分析，结果如下：

- 公关价值总额：105,170 英镑

- 广告能见几率：15,336,000 人次

东伦敦大学在英国和国际奥林匹克相关媒体上的点击率超过 1000 次，假如其他的报道也产生同样的公关价值总额，那么所有报道产生的价值将达到 3,756,000 英镑，远高于东伦敦大学的支出总额。这也将成为在不违反国际奥委会相关规则的前提下，如何利用参与奥运会的组织机构进行宣传的典范。

东伦敦大学通过一些联合活动在招生中招到 28 名精英运动员。在英国 9 月份招生中，100% 完成了我们全日制本科入学的招生目标，与全国平均数据下降 6% 的趋势形成鲜明对比。

伦敦奥运会期间，接待美国奥运代表团、日本亚瑟士运动装备公司、爱尔兰残奥会代表团、新加坡代表团和伦敦奥组委的 800 名中文广播员，证明东伦敦大学具备在国际体育赛中接待运动队和多种组织的能力，可为之提供训练、食宿、行政办公等服务。我们与大伦敦市政府（GLA）合作，帮助伦敦赢得了 2017 年“世界残疾人田径锦标赛”

Given that UEL generated more than 1,000 UK and International Olympic-related media hits, and assuming the remainder of the coverage was at the same total PR value, the total value of coverage was estimated at £3,756,000 – a sum vastly in excess of what UEL spent and an exemplar of how it is possible to leverage an institutional role within the Games for publicity without breaching IOC rules.

The combined campaigns recruited 28 elite athletes as students. We hit 100% of our full-time undergraduate UK September recruitment target for that year against a trend of a 6% drop nationally.

Hosting Team USA – not to mention ASICS, the Irish Paralympic team, the Singapore team and 800 Chinese broadcasters for LOCOG – proved that we could play host to teams and organisations for global events, in terms of sport and training, accommodation and administration. We worked with the Greater London Authority (GLA) and partners to bring the International Paralympic Committee World Games to London in 2017 – our Docklands Campus is planned to be the village for those Games as a result; colleagues visited the 2013 Lyons Games as part of the planning for this. We were an active backer of London's bid for the 2018 Gay Games – we would have provided the volleyball venue and other facilities. Although this was

unsuccessful, we were again seen as a natural partner for such projects as a consequence of our role in London 2012.

The combination of London's Olympic Park, the O2 and ExCel – all Olympic and Paralympic venues - has unique, worldwide brand recognition; these venues will attract major sports events for decades to come. UEL is prospectively positioned as an asset for the organisation of some of those events in terms of accommodation, sports facilities, volunteers, etc.

## Some observations about the Games and Legacy in the London and east London context

It was regularly asserted over the period 2005-12 that the Games would 'kick-start the regeneration of east London' – or words to this effect. This view misstates the position, obscuring some important aspects of how east London has redeveloped following economic collapse 30 years ago and might now continue to develop. The Games and their Legacy are not a starting point with no prior activity, but rather comprise new, critical milestones in the east London urban development process which, at a minimum, is likely to run through two generations or more than half a century. This is important – it situates the impact of the Games within city development, city policy and city strategy rather than giving legitimacy to a misleading claim

的举办权。届时，我们的多克兰兹校区将作为运动员村。为了更好地提供服务，东伦敦大学派人赴法国，从里昂举办的2013年“世界残疾人田径锦标赛”中吸取经验教训。东伦敦大学还积极支持伦敦申办2018年同性恋运动会，拟提供排球馆和其他场地设施。虽然申办失利，但是东伦敦大学又一次被视为这类赛事的天然合作伙伴，这些都源于其在伦敦奥运会中所发挥的作用。

伦敦奥运会和残奥会的场馆（如O2体育场和ExCel体育馆）与伦敦奥林匹克公园捆绑在一起，具有独特的全球品牌识别度，在未来几十年，对大型体育赛会都具有吸引力。而东伦敦大学能对这些赛事的组织发挥重要作用，尤其是在提供住宿接待、场地设施、志愿服务等方面。

## 从伦敦和伦敦东区发展的角度看奥运会及其遗产

从2005年到2012年，奥运会将“带动伦敦东区重建”的说

法就不绝于耳。然而，这一说法并不正确，忽略了一些重要事实：伦敦东区经历了 30 年前的经济崩溃后，已经在重建，并且还会继续重建下去。伦敦奥运会及其遗产并不是“从零开始”重建伦敦东区的起点，而是伦敦东区城市发展进程中新出现的一个重要里程碑，这一进程需要两代人或半个多世纪的努力才能完成。认识这一点是重要的，因为它框定了奥运会对城市发展、城市政策和城市战略的影响，避免奥运会是一大片城区重建的开始这种错误说法合法化。这一方面，伦敦与巴塞罗那十分相似。巴塞罗那的工业和港口基础设施在 1970 和 1980 年代受损严重。就一个更小的范围而言，这一观点也同样适用于像东伦敦大学这样一些个别的机构。伦敦之所以能够把握“充分利用奥运遗产”的理念，原因之一是其拥有包括大学在内的大量机构，它们理解遗产，因为它们开发者、践行者和交付者。对许多人来说，他们的学习曲线早在 20 世纪 80 年代和 90

that the Games were the beginning of regeneration a much bigger area. There are strong parallels with Barcelona here. The industrial and port base of Barcelona also endured great damage in the 1970s and 1980s. On a far smaller scale, it also situates individual institutions such as the University of East London. One of the reasons that London was able to grasp the idea of doing Legacy well was that it had a plethora of institutions, including the University, which understood Legacy because they understood regeneration as developers, practitioners and deliverers. For many, the learning curve was in the 1980s and 1990s, not 2005 when the IOC awarded the Games to London.

Defining the beginning of east London's regeneration in terms of a specific date is problematic, but in terms of strategic intent at London then national levels, the formation of the Docklands Joint Committee in the 1970s and then the London Docklands Development Corporation at the beginning of the 1980s represent plausible starting points.

This is important because the Games were made possible by what might be described as a 'regeneration ratchet' – a sequence of developments where each makes the next possible. Without the first phase of the Docklands Light Railway (DLR), there would have been no Canary Wharf. Without Canary Wharf, and the personal lobbying of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by Olympia & York developer Paul Reichman, the Jubilee Line Extension (JLE) and A13 road improvements announced in 1988 as part of the UK Government's Action for Cities programme would not have occurred when they did, if at all. JLE and DLR made possible the redevelopment of Greenwich Peninsula (a long-unused, toxically-polluted site formerly used for the manufacture of town gas), strategically sited between Canary Wharf and the Royal Docks. The Millennium celebrations drove this, resulting in the Dome, now the O2, which is claimed to be the world's most successful music venue by ticket sales. This was followed by the opening

年代就已经形成，而不是在 2005 年伦敦获得奥运会举办权之际。

要指出伦敦东区具体是从哪一天开始重建的非常困难，但是就伦敦市和国家层面的战略规划而言，20 世纪 70 年代码头区联合委员会的组建和 20 世纪 80 年代初伦敦码头区开发公司的成立似可视为起点。

这一点很重要，因为只有当一项项的发展，前后相接，滚动向前，形成“重建棘轮”，才会有 2012 年的伦敦奥运会：若无码头区轻便铁路的一期工程，就不会有金丝雀码头的开发；而没有金丝雀码头，奥林匹亚与约克公司的保罗·瑞克曼（金丝雀码头的开发商）就不会对时任的英国首相撒切尔进行游说，那么伦敦地铁银禧延长线建设和 A13 公路改善——这两项纳入英国政府 1988 年发布的“城市行动”纲领的工程就不可能实现；而这两项工程又促成了格林威治半岛的二次开发，格林威治半岛位于金丝雀码头和皇家码头之间，以前有个煤气厂，环境污染很严

重，导致这块地早已被废弃。在重建过程中，为“千禧庆典”而建的格林威治体育馆（又称“千年穹顶”），现更名为 O2 体育馆，已经成为世界上门票销售最多的音乐表演场地。随后兴建的 ExCel 展览中心不光成为英国最大的会展场所，还跻身世界前列。现如今，O2 体育馆和 ExCel 展览中心是伦敦奥运会和残奥会的主要场馆，而这一用途在最初并没有纳入规划。

由此可见，如果没有银禧延长线和码头区轻便铁路的建设，斯特拉特福德的交通就不会如此便捷，也就不会有途经那里的国际铁路线和国际车站。而没有上述这一切，斯特拉特福德就会因交通运输能力不足而与伦敦奥运会无缘。政府就不会承担如此大规模的投资，体育场馆也就不会有这么大的容量。从微观角度来看，东伦敦大学也不会作为举办伦敦奥运会的参与者。因为如果没有码头区轻便铁路，我们就无法将多克兰兹校区开发成美国队和其他组织的训练营。

of ExCel, the event and exhibition centre, now the UK's largest and increasingly one of the world's most successful. The O2 and ExCel were both key Olympic and Paralympic venues albeit neither was planned with this aim as a priority.

Arguably, without JLE and further DLR extensions, Stratford would not have been well connected enough to justify the final decision to proceed with routing the international rail line through Stratford and building an international station there. Without those developments, the Olympic Games could not have occurred in Stratford because the carrying capacity of the transport system would not have been sufficient. Nor would the venue capacity have been present without very large scale investment which Government would not have undertaken. And, in a smaller way, UEL would not have been there as an asset for Games delivery – we would not have developed our Docklands campus as used by Team USA and others without the DLR.



Without the Games, and the opportunity to share infrastructure costs, the Westfield shopping centre development would not have proceeded when it did and opened in 2011 (in 2008, Westfield mothballed every development in the world except for a scheme in Sydney and the one in Stratford). Without Westfield, the huge number of visitors coming to the Olympic Park would not have arrived amid what feels like a new and growing part of London. The opening of Westfield also enabled Games organisers to test transport resilience in terms of a sudden and large rise in transport use at the Games main location, a research project in which UEL was involved.

The London 2012 Games and their Legacy therefore are completely connected to the preceding 25 years of regeneration work. It is also worth noting that this history of a sequence of developments, one by one in series, is segueing into developments occurring at the same time. Prospectively, developments on the Park, at Canary Wharf, in the Royal Docks, and elsewhere are now happening not in sequence but in parallel with no loss of scale. This suggests that some kind of tipping point has been reached which is not least to do with the extent to which the market internationally now has a sense of the size of potential— this is London development, not just east London development. It is doubtful that this can solely be attributed to the Games;

如果没有伦敦奥运会及由此带来的基建费用共摊的机会, 韦斯特菲尔德购物中心的营建就不会进行, 并在 2011 年开业 (2008 年韦斯特菲尔德集团停止了其在全世界的开发计划, 除悉尼和斯特拉特福的一家以外), 来奥林匹克公园的大批游客也就感受不到古老伦敦日新月异的一面。该购物中心的开业也使得奥运会组织者可在此测试交通运输的适应力, 了解主要站点能否应对奥运会客流量的激增。东伦敦大学也参与了这项测试计划。

可见, 2012 年伦敦奥运会及其遗产与近 25 年来的重建工作一脉相承。值得注意的是, 这是一个系列发展史, 环环相接, 同时又与其他工作同时展开。可以预期的是, 奥林匹克公园、金丝雀码头、皇家码头和其他地方的发展不会依次进行, 而是齐头并进。这表明, 某种临界点已经出现, 这不仅与规模有关, 使国际市场觉察到了其潜力的大小, 更因为这是整个伦敦的开发, 而不仅仅是伦敦东区的开发。

奥运会与上述结果之间并不是唯一的因果联系，因此，将所有这一切都归功于伦敦奥运会难以让人信服。奥运会的确增强了对一些发展机遇的关注。例如，2012 奥运会筹备阶段，纽汉姆市议会、大伦敦政府、商业及其他合作伙伴（包括东伦敦大学）对国际商业地产投资交易会（MIPIM）、戛纳世界房地产开发交易会和其他场合的大力推广。

公共部门的职能使之与私人投资关联，从 20 世纪 70 年代起，公共部门一直在做三件事：征用和清理土地、大量投资基础设施（尤其是交通）、将场地出售给私人投资者。此外，公共部门逐渐停止保护前工业区的新产业，实际上也从未倒退，最终使新型发展更加容易。这一举措无论好坏，实际上也未经计划和部署，但却产生了巨大的影响，使伦敦东区能够在世界范围吸引投资，其规模之大使英国公共部门的资助望尘莫及。下表所示的投资模式已经持续了 30 多年。

there is no sole causal link. But the Games certainly intensified the focus on development opportunities, for example, in the lead-up to 2012 extensively promoted by Newham Council, the GLA and commercial and other partners (including UEL) at MIPIM (Le marché international des professionnels de l'immobilier), the world property development fair in Cannes, and elsewhere.

A related point is the role of the public sector, in relation to private investment. From the 1970s onwards, the public sector has done three things: aggregated and cleaned up land, invested heavily in infrastructure particularly transport, and sold sites to private investors. It has also steadily stopped protecting former industrial sites for new industry that, in reality, was never returning thus eventually making new forms of development far easier. For better or worse, this approach - which in practice was and remains relatively unstrategised and unplanned - has had a large scale impact, bringing investment from all over the world into east London on a scale which the UK public sector could never have funded. The pattern illustrated in this indicative table is consistent over 30+ years.

Development	Main developer origin
News International (until recently)	Australia, then UK, then North America
London City Airport	UK, then Ireland, now North America
Canary Wharf	North America, then North America/China
ExCel	Malaysia, then Abu Dhabi
O2	North America
Westfield	Australia
Canning Town	UK/France
The Crystal	Germany
Strand East	Sweden
East Village (athlete's village)	Australia, then Qatar
Arcelor Mittal Orbit	India
The International Quarter	Australia/UK
Westfield	Australia
Emirates Cable Car	Emirates
Business Park, Royal Docks (planned)	China
Silvertown Quays (planned)	UK

开发项目	主要开发人员的背景
国际新闻中心	先是澳大利亚，然后是英国，再是北美
伦敦城市机场	先是英国，然后是爱尔兰，现在是北美
金丝雀码头	先是北美，然后是北美 / 中国
ExCel 体育馆	先是马来西亚，然后是阿布扎比酋长国
O2 体育场	北美
韦斯特菲尔德购物中心	澳大利亚
景宁镇站	英国 / 法国
水晶大厦	德国
Strand East 社区	瑞典
东村（运动员村）	先是澳大利亚，然后是卡塔尔
阿赛洛米塔尔轨道（哈伯泡泡塔）	印度
西田集团	澳大利亚
中央国际商业区	澳大利亚 / 英国
阿联酋航空公司空中缆车	阿联酋航空公司
商业园，皇家码头（规划中）	中国
锡尔弗敦码头（规划中）	英国

如上表所示，参与投资开发的资本除了私人财富和主权财富外，显然还有广泛的来源。但是这种资本模式早在建设奥林匹克公园时就已经在拉克希米·米塔尔投资建造阿塞洛米塔尔轨道，卡塔尔主权财富基金旗下的地亚尔房地产公司与开发商德兰西两家公司接管奥运村、联盛集团 / 伦敦和大陆铁路有限公司投资中央国际商业区等项目中使用过了。除此之外，建造邻近的西田购物中心时，采用的也是这种资本模式。另一个深受私人 and 公共财产青睐的开发重点毫无疑问是房地产，采用的同样也是几十年前的资金模式。伦敦奥运会及其预期遗产的有型影响符合既有的、连续的模式。

以中介 / 代理机构为纽带，在政府（包括地方政府、区域政府和中央政府）和市场之间建立联系的机制也具有继承性和连续性。从 1980 年起，曾经发挥过重要作用的组织和机构包括：

Obviously capital to fund development will have been widely-sourced, beyond what has come from private or sovereign wealth, but this pattern is already entering the Olympic Park with Lakshmi Mittal's investment in the Orbit, Qatari DiarDelancey taking on the former athletes' village and Lend-Lease/London & Continental at The International Quarter – all in addition to neighbouring Westfield. The other main UK development focus, by private and public money, is arguably housing, again a pattern going back decades. The physical impacts of the Games and prospective Legacy fit an existing, continuing pattern.

There is continuity too in the use of agencies as a delivery mechanism, sitting between local, regional and central government and the market. Since 1980, the following have operated:

- London Docklands Development Corporation
- London Development Agency (now merged into Greater London Authority)
- London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
- Olympic Delivery Authority
- London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC started up pre-Games as Olympic Park Legacy Company)

LLDC is operational now. It is therefore appropriate to see the Games and Legacy as a form of continuation of the regeneration process: institutionally, structurally, methodologically and in outcome terms.

Over the last 30 years, new sectors have emerged to replace lost industry. These include:

- finance, business services
- events/entertainment, exhibitions, conventions
- sport
- tourism and hospitality
- transport
- health
- data hosting
- retail
- creative media.

- 伦敦码头区开发公司
- 伦敦发展署（现已并入大伦敦政府）
- 伦敦泰晤士河口开发公司
- 奥运交付管理局
- 伦敦遗产开发公司（前身为奥运会开幕前的奥林匹克公园遗产公司）

伦敦遗产开发公司现已投入运营。因此，将伦敦奥运会及其遗产作为东区重建过程中在制度、机构、方法、成果上的延续更为恰当。

在过去的30年里，新旧产业一直在有序更替。其中，新兴产业主要包括：

- 金融和商业服务
- 赛会 / 娱乐、展览、会议
- 体育
- 旅游与接待
- 交通运输
- 健康
- 资料代管
- 零售
- 创意传媒

在上述产业中，有一些是全新的，如资料代管；有一些经历了前所未有的行业 / 领域转换，如金融服务；还有一些在规模和转变上出现了新气象，如健康、交通运输。下一个大转变的部门可能是高等教育。东伦敦大学 / 伦敦大学伯贝克学院、拉夫堡大学、伦敦大学学院等上文提到的高校，还有周边一些对重建伦敦东区心怀抱负的高校，如伦敦大学玛丽女王学院和伦敦城市大学，都将牵涉其中。现任伦敦市长将科学、技术、数字、创意等领域的发展视为伦敦经济增长的关键，而高等教育是实现这一愿景的核心。

20 世纪 90 年代，东伦敦大学提出了“以知识为基础进行城市重建”的观点（参见《东伦敦大学在伦敦东区 1992 至 2013 年经济和社会重建过程中的作用及展望》一文，该文并未发表，在 2013 年于荷兰鹿特丹举办的“第 35 届欧洲院校研究协会论坛”上进行交流），这在当时曲高和寡。受这一观点的鼓舞和支撑，

Some of these are completely new, for example, data hosting. Some represent major shifts into an area in which they were not previously present, for example, financial services. Some are new in terms of scale and transformation, for instance, health or transport. Arguably the next major ‘sector shifting’ development could be higher education with the UEL/Birkbeck, Loughborough and UCL developments referred to above in addition to other nearby institutions such as Queen Mary, University of London, and City University, both with significant development ambitions focussed on London’s east. Certainly, higher education is central to the vision of the current Mayor of London to see science, technology, digital and creative as key growth areas for London’s economy.

In the 1990s in east London, UEL was largely a lone voice articulating the potential for ‘knowledge-based urban regeneration’ (the subject of an unpublished paper given to the 35th Forum of the European Association for Institutional Research in Rotterdam in 2013: The University of East London’s role in east London’s economic and social regeneration 1992-2013 and beyond). This concept underpinned the establishment of UEL’s Docklands Campus, which opened as a pioneering development in the Royal Docks in 1999 and has subsequently expanded in four further main phases, most latterly SportsDock. Further

expansion is planned. The core idea was that regeneration did not mean the recreation of a former industrial economy; rather it meant the wholesale reformation of place and economy and therefore of how people and communities fitted into new landscapes. Higher education, in terms of teaching, research and enterprise, could and should play a central and engaged enabling role.

That role would also fit the rebranding of the east of London as a mainstream part of a world city, not a socially-excluded, dirty area outside of the core ‘London’. In that light, post-Games, Stratford is on course to become the eastern edge of central London, i.e. part of the zone that brands the world city. It is evidence of the agglomeration effect in London whereby the centre is expanding outwards at all points of the compass from the central district as historically defined, i.e. the area within London’s Victorian railway termini.

Stratford is as close to the City of London as fashionable Knightsbridge and Kensington, some of London’s wealthiest areas. Stratford Station is now busier than many of London’s main railway termini. The 5.46 square kilometre Olympic zone is about 0.35% of the Greater London area and 13.5 times larger than the Canary Wharf estate. Prior to the bid for the Games, it had about

东伦敦大学开始建设其多克兰兹校区，并在1999年投入使用，成为皇家码头首批开发的项目。多克兰兹校区的扩建分为四个阶段，最近交付的是多克体育中心，还将进一步扩建。所谓重建，并非要恢复以前的产业经济，而是要对城市和经济进行大规模整改，进而考虑如何让民众和社区适应新环境。高等教育可以也应当积极参与其中，在教育、研究、规划等方面发挥重要作用。

发展高等教育还适于伦敦东区由社会排斥、脏乱的伦敦中心“边缘区域”向世界城市“主流区域”的转化。从这个角度来看，奥运会结束后，斯特拉特福德正在成为伦敦中心的东翼区，或世界城市品牌的一部分。伦敦发展呈现出集聚效应，即从历史上界定的中心区（伦敦维多利亚火车站周边区域）向各个方向发展扩散。

斯特拉特福德到伦敦中心的距离与伦敦桥、肯辛顿这些最富有、最时尚的区域差不多。现如今，斯特拉特福德车站比伦敦很多大火车站都要繁忙。占地5.46



平方公里的奥运区约为整个大伦敦地区面积的 0.35%，是金丝雀码头的 13.5 倍。在伦敦申奥前，斯特拉特福德约有 600 位居民，200 家企业，5000 个工作机会。我们可以在头脑里估算一下，参照伦敦住宅区或金丝雀码头的人口和工作密度，开发斯特拉特福德地区将会迁入居民 25000 人，增加 125 万个就业机会。当然这只是假想，但却表明了工业崩溃的不发达地区在扶摇直上后可以达到的程度，同时也展示了伦敦东区一跃成为世界城市新区的潜力。

斯特拉特福德的发展会更加多样化、人口密度会更小。但是肯定还是会与伦敦城市发展密集化、稠密化的趋势一致，并且通过吸引大量的资本，实现城市、商业、社会（包括高等教育）改造工作的推进。伦敦奥运会后，斯特拉特福德显然会被世人认为是伦敦的一个主流区域，因为 O2 体育场、ExCel 体育馆和金丝雀码头的影响力而成为游人“游览”而不是“路过”的目的地。与其他大学一样，东伦敦大学致

600 residents and 200 businesses with 5000 jobs. If, as a thought experiment, the area now developed at London residential or Canary Wharf job densities, that would translate into either 25,000 residents or 1.25m jobs. This will not happen, but it illustrates both the scale of under-development arising from the industrial collapse and the potential in east London for new world city districts to emerge.

Stratford will develop more diversely and less densely than that. However, it is clearly a part of London's intensification and densification as a city and is attracting assets to make the renewal of place, business and community work – including higher education. Post-Olympics it clearly is a place seen worldwide as a mainstream part of London and a destination (an effect increased by the impacts of the O2 and ExCel centres and Canary Wharf), a 'go to' not a 'go through' place. UEL aims to be an intrinsic part of that new identity - as increasingly do other universities – not least in terms of recruitment and of increased numbers of jobs in east London for our graduates to aspire to. Key attributes of development now include:

- good connectivity for people, goods, data and services
- social places and social life
- managed business environments (e.g. Canary Wharf, Westfield)
- engaged presence of higher education.

As definers of place, these are distinctive features which mark out new directions for London's east which break with the characteristics of the area in the preceding century and before. The Games have contributed positively to this potential in terms of infrastructure, amenity and the presence of higher education.

## Some conclusions

This is a case study of UEL as a small element of the Games and of London's expansion as a world city encompassing the renewal of one of the capital's most disadvantaged areas over a half century of more. It suggests that if the impacts of a mega-event like the Olympic & Paralympic Games are aligned with trajectories of city development, then value can be captured at the city-scale and the institutional scale, both large and small. It is also true at the individual level, and evidence exists for that related for example to employment impacts in London, but that is outside the scope of this paper.

It is clear, in institutional terms, that UEL was able

力于成为斯特拉特福德新发展的的重要组成部分，在伦敦东区的招生和就业上实现重大突破。开发的重点包括：

- 民众、商品、数据、服务的汇聚之地
- 社交场所与社会生活
- 受管理的商业环境（金丝雀码头、西田购物中心）
- 高等教育的参与

上述这些重点是伦敦东区抹去 20 世纪留下来的特征，朝新方向发展将会具有的属性。伦敦奥运会在基础设施建设、宜居和舒适性、高等教育的发展与建设等几个方面为伦敦东区的发展提供了可能，做出了积极的贡献。

## 结 论

本文是个案研究，将东伦敦大学作为伦敦奥运会微小的一员进行分析，同时描述了伦敦在作为世界城市的扩张中，对东区——半个世纪以来伦敦最落后的地区之一——进行的改造。研究表明，如果奥运会和残奥会这样的大型体育赛事产生的影响与

城市发展的轨迹相吻合，在城市层面和机构层面就会有大大小小的多种价值可供利用。在个体层面亦是如此，如奥运对伦敦地区就业的影响就是一例，只是这超出了本文的研究范围。

显然，在机构层面，东伦敦大学在参与 2012 年伦敦奥运会的过程中，贡献很多，收获也很多。它在 20 世纪末参与伦敦东区的重建过程中，提出了一种运作模式。下列因素对这一模式十分重要：

1. 与很多组织一样，东伦敦大学也是从实践中，而不仅仅是从理论上去理解地区重建的。因此，尽管它以前缺少参与大型赛事的相关知识，却能够现实地思考 2012 年伦敦奥运会可能带来什么影响，如何利用这些影响，及如何参与奥运遗产的思考与规划。

2. 乐于对可能获得回报的领域投资。东伦敦大学关注使校园生活和办学宗旨得到真正发展的某一方面，可以是体育、志愿服务，也可以是科研。

3. 清醒地认识哪些领域将会

actively both to contribute and to gain from its engagement with London 2012, a style of operation it had developed at the end of the last century to engage with east London regeneration. Several factors are suggested as important to this.

1. UEL, like many bodies, understood regeneration from a practice perspective, not just theoretically, and therefore could consider realistically what the impacts of London 2012 might be, how they could be harnessed, and how to engage in Legacy thinking and planning— even though the University lacked any prior knowledge of mega-events per se.

2. Willingness to invest where a return was likely was a key factor. We focussed on areas where we could genuinely develop one or other aspect of University life and purpose, whether sport, volunteering or research.

3. This clarity of thinking about areas of benefit meant we did not expend much effort where little outcome could be expected. A minimal central holding structure – 2012 Office – was able to act as a sensing and guiding mechanism.

4. The University's proximity to the Olympic Park, the O2 and ExCel (all reachable directly by rail from the Docklands campus for example) was a very important advantage.

5. Having acquired a direct role in Games delivery, as a residential host for LOCOG and a training/operational venue for Team USA and others, we were able to leverage that to promote UEL legitimately and effectively with lasting effects.

6. Lastly, persistence played a key role. From first thoughts about the Games in 2004, we are now almost a decade on and the focus on Legacy/regeneration continues. The University's engagement with east London regeneration goes back more than a decade prior to 2004 and can be expected to continue well into the future. In this sense, this wasn't a 'project', but an embedded behaviour.

获益，意味着不将过多的精力浪费在收效预期甚微的地方。一个小型的中枢控制机构——2012办公室，就足以对此感知和引导。

4. 东伦敦大学临近奥林匹克公园、O2体育馆和伦敦ExCel会展中心（这些地方到多克兰兹校区可乘地铁直达），具有突出的地理优势。

5. 东伦敦大学通过向伦敦奥组委提供住宿服务，以及为美国奥运代表团和其他机构提供训练/运营场馆等方式直接参与奥运会，从而以此为契机合法、有效地促进学校保持持久影响。

6. 最后，持之以恒也非常关键。从2004年东伦敦大学萌生参与伦敦奥运会的想法，迄今已过去了十年。我们始终关注奥运遗产和城市重建。东伦敦大学参与伦敦东区重建可以追溯到2004年之前的十年，而且这种参与还会延续到未来。从这个意义上说，它不是一个“项目”，而是一种内化了的行為。

（唐胜英、赵卓译）

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# THE LOS ANGELES CHALLENGE IN 1932 AND 1984

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Political intrusions, economic gigantism, excessive nationalism, misuse of drugs, and assassinations are just a few of the problems which have plagued the staging of the Modern Summer Olympic Games. Little did the promoters of the 1932 Olympic Games realize that fifty-two years later, Los Angeles would be faced once more with the challenge of providing creative financing and innovative use of facilities as well as the responsibility for world political opinions in sponsoring the Games.

The purpose of this study is to examine the innovative methods used to ensure the success of the 1932 and 1984 Summer Olympic Games.

Although the 1932 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games were described as a “typical flamboyant California production,” it was the 1936 Summer Olympics that set the pattern for the vastly expensive and extravagant facilities which were to follow. The thirty million dollars

## 1932 年和 1984 年洛杉矶 奥运会的挑战

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政治介入、经济巨人症、极端民族主义、兴奋剂滥用、恐怖暗杀……这些只是困扰现代夏季奥林匹克运动会诸多问题中很小的一部分。1932 年洛杉矶奥运会的发起者估计没有想到，52 年后，洛杉矶将会再次面对寻找新的资金来源、场馆充分利用等挑战，并面对全世界对奥运会赞助的不同政见。

本研究旨在分析确保 1932 年和 1984 年夏季奥运会成功举办所采取的一些创新性举措。

尽管 1932 年洛杉矶夏季奥运会被认为是“浮夸的加州产品的典型”，但是，投入大量资金大规模兴建场馆设施的模式是在 1936 年夏季奥运会才得以确立，并被之后历届奥运会所沿用：1936 年柏林奥运会斥资 3000 万美元，1964 年东京奥运会花费

30 亿美元，1972 年慕尼黑奥运会花费 10 亿美元，1976 年蒙特利尔奥运会是 15 亿美元，1980 年莫斯科奥运会的支出也达到 30 亿美元。但是，无论是美国政府、洛杉矶市议会还是美国的纳税人都无意于在 1984 年奥运会上延续这样的模式。但有趣的是，1932 年和 1984 年奥运会的融资和推广方式都极富创造性，并极好地展示了在全球经济衰退时期，美国资本主义极强的组织能力和创新的商业智慧。

洛杉矶申办 1932 年奥运会始于 1919 年，当时的美国奥运冠军弗雷德·凯利最早将他的申办想法告诉了加利福尼亚州嘉年华协会会长马克斯·伊默森。这个协会不久就更名为“社区发展协会”，它是五大出版商——《时代周刊》的哈利·钱德勒、《晚间新闻》的爱德华·迪克森、《先驱报》的格雷格·巴勒姆、《观察家报》的马克斯·伊默森和《先驱报》的 H.B.R. 布里格斯 1918 年会面后逐步建立起来的，旨在共同致力于“建设和发

spent for the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936, three billion dollars spent for the Tokyo Games in 1964, one billion dollars for the 1972 Munich Games, 1.5 billion dollars for the 1976 Montreal Games, and 3 billion dollars for the Moscow Games were precedents which neither the United States Government, the Los Angeles City Council, nor the American taxpayers were prepared to follow for the 1984 Olympic Games. But, interestingly, the financing and promotional methods used for both the 1932 and 1984 Games were similarly creative and provided an excellent showcase for the organizational skills and innovative business acumen associated with American Capitalism during a world recession.

The Los Angeles bid for the 1932 Games began in 1919 when Fred Kelly, a local Olympic medal winner, gave the idea to Max Ihmeson, a director of the California Fiestas Association. This particular California Fiestas Association, which quickly became the Community Development Association, had evolved after five major publishers, Harry Chandler of *The Times*, Edward Dickson of *The Evening Press*, Greg Barham of *The Herald*, Max Ihmeson of *The Examiner*, and H.B.R. Briggs of *The Herald* had met in 1918 and agreed to work together in “the upbuilding and advancing of Los Angeles.”<sup>1</sup>



Mayor Meredith Snyder named one hundred leading citizens to the California Fiestas Associations to “plan an intelligent development of one of our most productive national resources,” by “bolstering travel to Southern California, establishing new homes, and attracting new capital development.”<sup>2</sup>

The Los Angeles’s bid for the 1932 Games would be incomplete without the story of Exposition Park and the farsightedness of Zack Farmer and Harry Chandler, both newspapermen who as early as 1910 decided that a sports stadium was a civic necessity. Originally the tract of land, later to be known as Exposition Park, had a race track, hotel, garden, and house of ill repute. Both inside and outside the grounds, there were a total of three licensed saloons which catered to people of all ages. The only opposition for the cleaning up of the park came because the whorehouse was extremely profitable.<sup>3</sup>

Judge William M. Bower and his friends, Dr. Bovard, President of the USC Board of Trustees, were anxious to see the park cleaned up. Bovard promised Bower that if a coliseum was completed, the USC football team would play their home games there. Because of this initial guarantee of some income, the newly formed Community Development Association was able to secure the private backing they

展洛杉矶”<sup>1</sup>。

洛杉矶市长梅瑞迪思·斯奈德向加州嘉年华协会提名了100名市民领袖，“通过扶持南加州旅游业，在当地建造新房屋并吸引新的资金”，“为我们最具活力的国家资源设计智能化的发展道路。”<sup>2</sup>

如果没有博览会公园，如果没有两位媒体人扎克·法莫和哈利·钱德勒的远见卓识，他们早在1910年就视体育馆为公民社会的必需品，洛杉矶1932年奥运会的申办愿望大概难以实现。博览会公园所在的大片土地上原先建有跑道、饭店、花园和名声狼藉的住宅区。场地内外总共有三家公司政府许可经营的酒吧，可以为各个年龄的人群服务。公园里的妓院生意兴隆、利润不菲，这是人们反对整顿该地区的唯一原因。<sup>3</sup>

法官威廉·鲍尔和他的朋友南加州大学董事会主席波瓦德博士非常希望整顿公园地区。波瓦德向鲍尔许诺，如果建设一座大体育场，南加州大学橄榄球队可以将其作为主场。正是这样一些

最初的经济保证确保了新成立的社区发展协会在大体育场建设中获得私人资本的支持。

1920 年，一位洛杉矶杰出的市民领袖威廉·梅·加兰，也是不久之后的国际奥委会委员，被选派赴安特卫普，向国际奥委会表达洛杉矶申办未来奥运会的美好愿景。

考虑到洛杉矶是美国相对比较小的一座城市（美国第十大城市）且距欧洲大陆 6000 英里（这会导致交通成本很高），国际奥委会的美国委员试图阻止加兰的申办活动。尽管如此，在顾拜旦的鼓励下，加兰没有放弃，经过坚持不懈地努力，最终在 1923 年国际奥委会罗马会议上，洛杉矶获得了第 10 届奥运会的举办权。大体育场的建造对加兰申奥成功起到了决定性的作用，这个拥有 7.5 万个坐席的体育场，是“为举办工业博览会、农业展览会、街头巡游、运动博览会和其他表演活动”<sup>4</sup>而建立的。

威廉·梅·加兰的儿子约翰·朱伊特·加兰这样评价他的

received for the construction of the Coliseum.

By 1920, William May Garland, a prominent civic leader of Los Angeles, and later an IOC member, was selected to go to Antwerp to extol the virtue of Los Angeles as a future Olympic site.

Because Los Angeles was a relatively small American city (tenth largest in the country) and was 6,000 miles from the European continent (which would make travel costs high), the American members of the IOC tried to dissuade Garland from his mission. However, with Coubertin's encouragement, Garland persisted, and the IOC, at their conference in Rome in 1923, awarded the Games to Los Angeles. Crucial to Garland's success was the coliseum project—a 75,000 seat stadium, constructed “for the purpose of holding and maintaining industrial exhibitions, agricultural fairs, street pageants, athletic exhibitions, and other performances.”<sup>4</sup>

According to John Jewett Garland, William May Garland's son, the oral bid “was done with salesmanship and personality. He was a man of great persuasive abilities.” Garland himself explained, “In 1922, I had the distinction of being elected a member of the International Olympic Committee and met with them in Rome in

1923. At that meeting, the United States was selected as the nation to which would be given the Games of the Tenth Olympiad. Therefore, I suggested that a city of the shores of the Pacific be selected, as never in the history of Olympiads had this great international event been held here near these waters. I moved that Los Angeles be selected and that recommendation was unanimously approved.”<sup>5</sup>

The intriguing financing of the Coliseum is well documented elsewhere by Steven Reiss.<sup>6</sup> It is sufficient to mention here that the Community Development Association, a private organization of 22 influential business and civic leaders, built and maintained the Coliseum and rented it out to the city and county over a five-year period.<sup>7</sup>

Once awarded, the major issue of financial responsibility for the Games became paramount. In 1926, after a statement of financial assistance was prepared by the Community Development Association, Clare Woolwine, Assemblyman of Los Angeles, officially introduced a financial request to the California Legislature declaring that “When the Games come to California, the eyes of the sporting world would be centered on the State. Moreover, the State would profit by the advertising that would be done in as much as two years in advance of the Games.”

父亲：“他具有极强的说服力，申奥的陈述正显示出他非凡的推销艺术和个人魅力”。加兰自己也曾表示：“1922年，我非常荣幸地当选国际奥委会委员并于1923年参加了罗马会议。在会上，美国获得了第10届奥运会的举办权。因此，我建议可以选择一座太平洋沿岸的城市举办此次盛会，在此之前那里还从来没有留下过奥运会的足迹。继而，我提议洛杉矶为举办城市，这一提议得到委员们的一致同意。”<sup>5</sup>

斯蒂芬·瑞斯也曾在他的文章中阐述过洛杉矶体育场耐人寻味的融资问题。<sup>6</sup>在这里我们只想指出，社区发展协会，这个由22位影响力极强的商业精英和市民领袖组成的私人团体，建造了这座洛杉矶体育场、负责其运营，并将其租给洛杉矶市、县使用，租期5年。<sup>7</sup>

获得举办权后，谁来承担举办奥运会的经济责任成为至关重要的问题。1926年，在社区发展协会发表声明、表示愿意提供经济资助后，洛杉矶市议员克莱

尔·伍尔瓦恩向加利福尼亚州立法议会正式提出财政申请，其中指出，“奥运会在加利福尼亚州举办将会使全世界体育迷的目光聚焦于此；而提前两年左右的宣传推广会令整个加州获益颇丰。”

1927年4月25日，加利福尼亚州立法议会通过了宪法修正案，批准举办第10届奥运会<sup>8</sup>。

另外，加利福尼亚州议会就是将是否绑定发行100万美元债券的问题进行公投，并由此通过了《债券法案》。根据这一法案规定将建立由5名委员组成的加利福尼亚奥组委，负责管理向法案中提到的“奥林匹克公司”进行资金投入。在与当时国际奥委会主席巴耶·拉图尔伯爵通信后，这家公司定名为1932年美国洛杉矶奥运会组委会股份有限公司<sup>9</sup>。

1928年11月8日，加利福尼亚州公民也投票通过法案。根据本法案规定可发行100万美元的债券，这些融资将被用于支持在加利福尼亚州举办的1932年奥运会<sup>10</sup>。

A constitutional amendment was adopted by the California Legislature on April 25, 1927, authorizing the holding of the Games.<sup>8</sup>

Also, the California Bond Act, which put on the ballot a bind issue for one million dollars, was passed. Through this Act, the California Olympiad Commission of five members was created to administer the fund to the “Olympic Corporation” mentioned in the Act. This Corporation later became the Olympiad Committee of the Games of Los Angeles U.S.A. 1932 LTD., a title which evolved through correspondence with Count de Baillet-Latour, President of the International Olympic Committee.<sup>9</sup>

Californians voted approval on November 8, 1928. This act provides for the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of providing a fund to be used and disbursed for the purpose of an Olympiad to be held in California in 1932.<sup>10</sup>

The City of Los Angeles also voted a Bond Act of \$1,250,000, so it seemed that there was plenty of money available for Olympic preparations.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, Los Angeles's quest for another set of Games began in 1939 with the formation of the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games. However, it was not until October 24, 1976, that Los Angeles, finally chosen by the United States Olympic Committee as the U.S. designee, was able to bid for the 1976, 1980, and 1984 Games. The Los Angeles bids for the 1980 and 1984 Games were a joint effort between the City of Los Angeles, led by Mayor Tom Bradley, and the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games, led by President John C. Argue.

Again, a major factor in the bid was the existence of the 92,604 seat Coliseum and other sporting facilities.

The privately funded bid effort received the support of the United States Congress in October of 1977. However, several tense months of political and financial controversy, indecision, inconsistency, and compromise were to follow. The City of Los Angeles was not in agreement with Rule 4 of the International Olympic Committee, which required the City, to which the Games were awarded, to completely

洛杉矶市也投票通过了一项发行 125 万美元债券的法案，如此看来筹备奥运会的资金已经相当充足。<sup>11</sup>

与申办 1932 年奥运会的水到渠成相比，洛杉矶再一次申办奥运会始于 1939 年奥运会南加州委员会的成立，但是直到 1976 年 10 月 24 日，它才被美国奥委会选中，代表美国申办 1976、1980 和 1984 年奥运会。申办 1980 年和 1984 年奥运会的工作主要由市长汤姆·布莱德利领导下的洛杉矶市政府和约翰·C. 阿格主席领导下的奥运会南加州委员会协同进行。

拥有 92604 个坐席的洛杉矶体育场及其他体育场馆再一次成为影响洛杉矶申奥成功的关键因素。

1977 年 10 月，私人筹资的申奥之举得到了美国国会的支持，但是这却引来连续数月的政治和财政方面的激烈争论、犹疑、摇摆和妥协。根据国际奥委会申办规则的第 4 条，候选城市必须能够完全保证奥运会所需的资金

投入，而洛杉矶市并不具备这样的能力。因此，洛杉矶市提出一个替代方案：由私人组委会和美国奥委会共同承担 1984 年奥运会的财务责任。这一方案最终于 1978 年 8 月 30—31 日在瑞士洛桑召开的国际奥委会执委会上获得通过，并在 10 月 12 日得到洛杉矶市议会的批准。1978 年 10 月 20 日，洛杉矶市市长布莱德利和基拉宁勋爵在美国白宫的罗斯福办公室签署了《奥运会主办城市合同》。

1978 年 12 月 10 日，在科罗拉多州科泉市召开的美国奥委会执委会会议上通过了一项协议，同意将 1984 年奥运会的主要控制权交给洛杉矶奥组委这一私人机构，而美国奥委会也将承担奥运会的财政责任。<sup>12</sup>

在融资方面，协议约定：洛杉矶奥组委应在固定的财政预算外筹集 5000 万美元的资金以避免可能出现的亏损，而 5000 万美元以上的投资项目须获得组委会执行委员会 75% 的赞成票才能通过（这包括来自组委会之外

guarantee the financing of the Games. An alternative suggestion that the private organizing committee and the United States Olympic Committee accept joint financial liability for the 1984 Games was proposed and finally approved at the IOC Executive Board Meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland on August 30-31, 1978. The agreement was ratified on October 12 by the Los Angeles City Council, and finally Mayor Bradley and Lord Killanin signed the Olympic contract in the Roosevelt Room of the White House on October 20, 1978.

On December 10, 1978, the United States Olympic Committee Executive Board, meeting in Colorado Springs, agreed that major control of the 1984 Olympics would be in the hands of the private Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, and the USOC would agree to have financial liability for the Games.<sup>12</sup>

The main financial aspects of the agreement were that the Organizing Committee would set up a \$50 million fund outside of the regular budget to guarantee against possible losses, and there had to be a 75% affirmative vote of the Organizing Committee's Executive Board for approval of capital investments over \$50 million. (This included federal or private funding sources from outside of the committee). Any profits would be shared on the basis of



40% to USOC and 20% to amateur sports in the U.S.<sup>13</sup>

The organization of both 1932 and 1984 Games had many similarities (e.g., the Boards of Directors of the Organizing Committees of the 1932 and 1984 Games each had a membership of what could be considered the local power elite, and previous successful business experience and excellent public relations skills were part of the credentials of both sets of organizers).

In the face of a world recession, it was important in both cases, to sell Los Angeles and the Olympics Games to the local public and the International Olympic Committee.

In 1932, the Board of Directors included Harry Chandler of *The Times*, H.B.R. Briggs of *The Record*, Harry McKie, a businessman, Russell Ballard, a utilities magnate, and Andrew Chaffey, President of California Bank of Los Angeles.<sup>14</sup>

The Board of Directors of the 1984 Games included prominent local businessman, Peter Ueberroth as President, Harry Usher and Paul Ziffren, prominent local attorneys as Executive Vice President and Chairman, respectively, and such luminaries as Bob Hope, J. Robert Fluor, Leonard Firestone, David Wolper, Richard Zanuck, Peter O'Malley,

的联邦或私人的资金)。所有收益的 40% 归美国奥委会所有, 另有 20% 将用于发展美国业余体育。<sup>13</sup>

1932 年奥运会和 1984 年奥运会的组织机构存在着很多共同点(如这两届奥运会组委会的董事会成员都是当地的权力精英, 过去成功的商业运作经验和卓越的公共关系能力使他们成为组织者的绝佳人选)。

在世界经济衰退的大背景下, 对于两届奥运会来说, 向当地民众和国际奥委会推销洛杉矶和奥运会都至关重要。

1932 年洛杉矶奥运会组委会的董事会成员包括《时代周刊》的哈利·钱德勒、《记录报》的 H.B.R. 布里格斯、商人哈利·麦基、大资本家罗素·巴拉德和洛杉矶加州银行行长安德鲁·查菲。<sup>14</sup>

1984 年奥运会组委会的董事会成员也是云集了各路精英: 当地杰出的商人彼得·尤伯罗斯出任主席, 当地知名律师哈利·亚瑟和保罗·齐弗伦分别出



任执行副主席和主任，此外还有鲍勃·霍普、J·罗伯特·福陆、莱昂纳德·费尔斯通、大卫·沃尔普、理查德·扎努克、彼得·奥麦利、贾斯汀·达特和伊冯·布莱斯怀特·伯克等精英人士。<sup>15</sup>

通过查阅文献我们很容易相信，尽管第10届和第23届奥运会举办期间，整个社会的经济形势都十分严峻，但是经济的衰退和萧条却几乎没有影响到组委会成员和相关商业赞助商的命运，也没有影响奥运会的顺利筹备。然而，进一步深入分析我们会发现，组织者的英明决策才使1932年和1984年奥运会得以成功举办。

两届奥运会组委会的董事会都认真研究了以往奥运会在管理和运营方面的经验。1932年奥组委研究的样本是刚刚过去的1928年安特卫普奥运会；1984年奥组委则对1976年奥运会和1932年同样在洛杉矶举办的奥运会的总结报告进行了分析。<sup>16</sup>1932年奥组委还不遗余力地向全世界推广第10届奥运会，它早在1929年

Justin Dart, and Yvonne Braithwaite Burke.<sup>15</sup>

A survey of literature would lead one to believe that the recession/depression, which was part of the economic climate during both the 10th and 23rd Olympiads, had little noticeable effect on the fortunes of the members of either committee, the associated commercial sponsors, and the smooth preparations for the respective Olympic Games. However, a closer look will reveal that it was the determination of the organizers which made the Olympic Games a success in 1932 and perhaps in 1984.

Both Boards of Directors had made studies of the management and finances of previous Olympic Games. The 1932 Committee closely studied the management of the Antwerp Games of 1928, and the 1984 Committee studied the reports of the 1976 Games and a report of the 1932 Games which they had commissioned.<sup>16</sup> The 1932 Organizing Committee went to great lengths to promote the Games of the Xth Olympiad throughout the world. The Press Department was organized in September of 1929, and Olympic bulletins were published in five languages and sent throughout the world. The Organizing Committee recruited Los Angeles residents who were natives of competing countries to be in touch with the latest Olympic news. Much advertising began and commercial businesses and

leading hotels were urging people to travel to California for their vacations in 1932.

By July of 1930, the 1932 Committee had committed itself to aiding the financing of the travel of foreign athletes to the Games, by building an Olympic Village and guaranteeing that the housing, meals, and autobus transportation of each athlete for thirty days in Los Angeles and return to Europe would be approximately \$400.00. “The extremely low cost was made possible by a low Trans-Atlantic base rate, a 40% reduction below normal rates granted by the American railroads, and a special rate of \$2.00 per day per athlete for housing, meals and local transport while in Los Angeles.” The cost to Pan American countries and countries bordering the Pacific Ocean was much lower.<sup>17</sup>

Even with such help, the Brazilian athletes, whose government had no money to sponsor their trip, were forced to pay their way by selling coffee at points along the way from a naval ship. They were unsuccessful salesmen and unable to disembark in Los Angeles.<sup>18</sup> The Los Angeles Organizing Committee finally came to the rescue and they were able to compete.

9月就组建了宣传部门，并以5种语言编写“奥运简报”向世界各地发行。此外，组委会还招募了一些居住在洛杉矶的参赛国国民，让他们了解最新的奥运动态。一时间广告铺天盖地，商业机构和高级酒店也同时竭力向消费者推销1932年加利福尼亚州的度假产品。

到1930年7月为止，1932年奥组委已承诺对外国运动员前来洛杉矶参赛的旅费给予资助，具体的举措一是建立一座奥运村，二是保证为每一位运动员承担约400美元的费用，这包括在洛杉矶市30天的食宿和公共交通以及返回欧洲的费用。“费用之所以如此低廉，其一是因为横跨大西洋的基本价格较低，其二是美国铁路部门给予了40%的运费优惠，其三是每个运动员每天在洛杉矶市的食宿和市内交通也享受优惠价——仅2美元。”对于泛美国家和环太平洋国家来说，费用还会更低。<sup>17</sup>

但即使有组委会的大力资助，来自巴西的运动员仍然为他

们的路费发愁，由于没有政府的资金支持，他们没钱支付前往洛杉矶的旅费，于是不得不乘坐军舰并在沿途港口兜售咖啡来凑盘缠。结果，咖啡卖得不好，到洛杉矶时他们被扣住、无法登岸。<sup>18</sup>幸亏后来洛杉矶奥组委前来营救，他们才得以顺利参赛。

与巴西队相比，西班牙队的情况则正相反，“他们有充足的资金用于训练，但是却疏于备赛”<sup>19</sup>，所以没有来洛杉矶参赛。

洛杉矶奥委会的高层还计划派出客轮、专赴欧洲搭载参赛运动员，但是这一提议被国际奥委会以有悖业余原则为由拒绝。<sup>20</sup>

尽管到 1932 年初全球经济大萧条仍未结束，但是那些与奥运会紧密联系在一起的人们却下定了决心，正如艾弗里·布伦戴奇所说，我们的确遇到了困难，但是我们也勇敢地战胜了困难，我们对本届奥运会的成功充满信心……现在社会上流言漫天，说经济衰退会影响运动员前来参赛，但是事实上，全世界几乎所有一流的知名运动员都将云集洛杉矶。<sup>21</sup>

In contrast, a Spanish team did not come to Los Angeles, “because they are not prepared, even though funds were available for their training.”<sup>19</sup>

When the Los Angeles leaders proposed sending a charter liner to Europe to pick up their athletes for the 1932 Games, the IOC turned this offer down as being against the principles of amateurism.<sup>20</sup>

Even though the Depression was not over by the beginning of 1932, those associated most with the Olympic Games had decided that, to quote Avery Brundage, the discouragements had been met and conquered and nothing but complete success is assured for the Games of this year...Virtually every star of the first magnitude in the world will compete in Los Angeles, despite rumors that business conditions would keep them home.<sup>21</sup>

His words were echoed by Grantland Rice:

The tides of sport swing back and forth, now toward grandiose schemes of international combat, and then to sharp reactions of economy. Thoughtful folks, numbed by reading depression written all over the front pages, should take heart when they run across the Olympic doings in the sports sections...The world can't be in such desperate straits if sports has such support.<sup>22</sup>

Their sentiments seemed to be part of the publishing policy of the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers that only “good news” in relation to the Olympic Games be printed. It must also be remembered that Harry Chandler and other publishers had a vested interest. They were members of the Organizing Committee.

The Sports Section of *The Times* in the months prior to the 1932 Olympic Games was replete with descriptions of the lavish preparations of the various facilities for the Games, especially the Olympic Village.

The Olympic Village was described as “A total of 331 acres of land commanding a superb view of Los Angeles and Hollywood and cooled by ocean breezes to a temperature of 10 degrees less than the city proper.”<sup>23</sup>

他的这番言论得到了格兰特·兰德·赖斯的响应：

体育的发展如潮涨潮落，如今它展开了国际竞争的宏图，这将会刺激经济的复苏。报纸头版充斥着悲观的报道，有思想的人们已经对此麻木，但是当人们不经意间翻到体育版的奥运新闻时，他们应该会振作起精神……如果体育能够得到人们这样的支持，世界便不会陷入如此绝望的境地。<sup>22</sup>

他们的这种情绪似乎从一个侧面反映出《洛杉矶时报》和其他一些报纸的报道口径——报纸上只能出现关于洛杉矶奥运会的“正面新闻”。当然我们也不能忽略一点，哈利·钱德勒和其他出版商实际上是既得利益获得者，因为他们是奥组委的成员。

在1932年奥运会开幕前的几个月，《时代周刊》体育版连篇累牍地报道了各大奥运场馆为大会所做的慷慨而充分的准备，尤其是奥运村的建设。

奥运村被这样描述道：“在这片331英亩的土地上，洛杉矶

市和好莱坞的美景可尽收眼底，受海风影响，这里比城区凉爽，气温要低 10 度。”<sup>23</sup>

社会的关注点还被吸引到其他一些地方。洛杉矶市中心的一家迪亚斯公司商店展示了奥运村的其中一幢住宅。<sup>24</sup>官方推出了“奥林匹克空中巡航”，载着奥运选手穿梭西部各州，而俄勒冈州、华盛顿州和内华达州州长则在各自的州迎接飞机。<sup>25</sup>

1932 年奥组委尽最大努力为国外参赛运动员在洛杉矶期间提供便捷舒适的环境，正如 1932 年 2 月《时代周刊》上的一篇文章提供了最好的例证：

“7 月 30 日—8 月 14 日举办的这届奥运会能否成功，在芬兰运动员看来，将取决于柔软的白桦树枝能否及时地从阿拉斯加运到洛杉矶。”芬兰奥运代表团的专员、知名体育人士萨莫·奥斯这样说，“在芬兰奥委会的授意下，奥斯昨天向洛杉矶奥组委提出强烈要求，让他们为芬兰运动员准备白桦树枝。对于芬兰人来说，生活中如果缺少了芬兰浴

The public's attention was also drawn to the fact that one of the Olympic Village houses had been placed on display at Dyas Company Store in downtown Los Angeles<sup>24</sup> and there was to be an official Olympic Air Cruise, throughout the Western States with Olympians on board, and the governors of Oregon, Washington, and Nevada would greet the cruisers in their respective states.<sup>25</sup>

That the 1932 Organizing Committee was committed to making the international athletes as comfortable as possible during their stay in Los Angeles was exemplified in a piece that appeared in *The Times* in February 1932:

Insofar as the Finnish athletes are concerned, the success or failure of the Games of the Olympiad to be celebrated July 30-August 14, inclusive, will depend upon timely arrival in Los Angeles of tender birch twigs from Alaska, according to Summer Ohls, Finnish Olympic attaché and noted sports authority! Ohls, at the behest of Finland's NOC, yesterday importuned the Los Angeles Organizing Committee to have a supply on hand. To the Finns, life without a Finnish bath is like an egg without salt, it has no flavor. And a Finnish bath without a bouquet of birch twigs is like a honeymoon without a kiss, it has no kick. In order that the Finnish team may return to Finland singing praises of the Games of the 10th Olympiad, the

Organizing Committee will build a bath and equipment with all the comforts of home sweet home. In fact, the plans for it are already drawn. The one thing lacking is a supply of birch twigs and the nearest place they grow, a survey shows, is Alaska.

Other such items as “Feeding Athletes in Forty Languages: The Olympic Gastronomical Problem Has Been Neatly Solved,” which referred to the fact that each nation was to have its own chef in the Village, with his own kitchen, to prepare each country’s national dish, were also headlined.<sup>26</sup>

Commercialism was not absent from the 1932 Games. It was not clear, however, if the companies associated with the produced using the Olympics Games in their advertising had any official financial agreement with the Organizing Committee.<sup>27</sup>

就如同煎蛋没有放盐，无滋无味；而芬兰浴如果缺少了白桦树枝那就好像蜜月中的情人少了浪漫一吻，精华尽失。”为了能让第10届奥运会得到芬兰队的肯定和好评，组委会决定为他们打造专门的浴室并提供各种设施，让他们在这里能感受到家一般的舒适。事实上，组委会已经对此问题早有准备，唯一没做到的，就是无法提供白桦树枝，据组委会调查，白桦树最近的生长区域远在阿拉斯加。

还有的报纸头版头条这样写道：“为40种不同语言的运动员提供餐饮服务：巧解奥运会烹饪难题”，文章中提到，每个国家的参赛队伍在奥运村中将会有自己的厨师和其专用的厨房，可以烹饪适合本国运动员口味的菜肴。<sup>26</sup>

商业化与1932年奥运会如影随形。但是，那些利用奥运会进行广告营销的供货公司是否与奥组委签订了正式的商业协议，我们却不得而知。<sup>27</sup>

赫尔姆斯面包房因掌握了国外面包配方，成为了奥运村指定面包供应商。它的产品而后更名为“赫尔姆斯奥运面包”并在外包装上使用了奥林匹克五环标志，这一行为直到1952年艾弗里·布伦戴奇当选为国际奥委会主席才被制止。布伦戴奇扬言，如果赫尔姆斯不停止使用奥林匹克五环标志，他将向法院提起诉讼。<sup>28</sup>

韦尔奇葡萄汁在《洛杉矶观察家报》的一则广告中这样向奥运参赛运动员推销他们产品的神奇效果：

1. 为提高能量供给水平，果糖的最佳来源就是韦尔奇葡萄汁。
2. 韦尔奇葡萄汁可以替代水分，从而保持血液中适当的粘稠度。
3. 韦尔奇葡萄汁有助于血红蛋白再生。<sup>29</sup>

圣达非雪茄烟的一则广告选择了一位十项全能运动员作代言人，广告题为“看他播土扬尘”——“在奥运赛场”。

Helm Bakery supplied bread to the Olympic Village after Helms acquired the recipes of foreign breads. The produce became Helms Olympic Bread and used the Olympic rings on its wrapper and its building until Avery Brundage became President of the IOC in 1952. Brundage threatened to take Helms to court if he did not refrain from using the Olympic rings.<sup>28</sup>

Welch's Grape Juice's advertisement in the *Los Angeles Examiner* suggested that Olympic athletes train on Welch's Grape Juice as follows:

1. For increased supply of energy the best source of fruit sugar is Welch's Grape Juice.
2. To replace moisture and keep blood properly liquefied with Welch's Grape Juice.
3. Hemoglobin regeneration properties come from Welch's Grape Juice.<sup>29</sup>

Santa Fe Cigars had an advertisement featuring a decathlete with the caption “Watch his Smoke” —“At the Olympic Stadium.”



A gasoline company suggested that readers should  
“Select your gasoline by the Olympic Motto.”

Citrus Altius Fortius

For Hill Strength of

Climbing Power<sup>30</sup>

Arrowhead-Puritas provided the drinking water for the  
Village.

The financial condition of the world had not improved  
by May, 1932, and it appeared that foreign nations would  
not be able to send their athletes to the Games. As Bill  
Schroeder, Managing Director of the Athletic Foundation,  
stated:

The people were dead broke and the promoters thought  
that the Olympics would have to be called off. We were in  
a terrible financial situation. There were hardly any tickets  
sold in advance of the Games.<sup>31</sup>

The Organizing Committee did not slow down and just  
two weeks prior to the opening ceremonies of the Games,  
the Central ticket office which had reduced ticket prices  
was flooded with ticket requests. The sum of \$1,140,888.25  
in ticket sales was realized within days.<sup>32</sup>

一家汽油公司的广告这样写  
道：“以奥林匹克格言为标准选  
择你的汽油”

更快、更高、更强

登山更高动力更强<sup>30</sup>

箭头牌纯净水成为奥运村饮  
用水供应商。

到 1932 年 5 月，世界经济  
形势仍未见好转，这导致其他一  
些国家无法派遣运动员前来参  
赛。正如运动员基金会总经理比  
尔·施罗德所说：

人们倾家荡产、身无分文，  
奥运会的发起者们也认为比赛可  
能会被取消。当前的经济形势糟  
糕透顶，比赛开始前门票几乎完  
全卖不出去。<sup>31</sup>

但是，组委会并没有停下  
脚步。在距开幕式仅有两周时，  
随着票务中心降低票价，购票者  
如雪片般涌来，几天时间奥运会  
门票销售收入就达到 1140888.25  
美元。<sup>32</sup>

第 10 届奥运会成功的原因似乎可以归结为以下两点：①在当地报纸上不断对奥运会进行积极、乐观的宣传报道；②国外运动员提早抵达位于市中心的奥运村的消息见诸报端后提高了其他国家的关注度与参与热情。

不同于 1932 年奥运会依赖政府资助，1984 年洛杉矶奥组委确立的目标是要办成一届斯巴达式的奥运会，在不需政府资助的情况下最终实现盈利。四项主要的目标收入来源为：①广播电视转播权；②从私人公司获取的赞助费用；③门票销售；④纪念币销售。

由于筹集资金的基础是企业赞助——依据赞助协议，企业将为奥运会提供定额的资金或物质支持“以换取使用奥运会这一品牌进行广告和市场营销的权利”。因此，1984 年洛杉矶奥组委决定将赞助企业的数量限定在 50 家以下。<sup>33</sup>

It seems that the reasons for the success of the 10th Olympiad were: (1) the continuous upbeat publicity of the coming events in the local newspapers; and, (2) the early arrival of the foreign athletes at the centrally located Olympic Village, which was heralded in the newspapers and helped increase the intensity of anticipation.

In contrast to the government supported 1932 Olympic Games, the 1984 LAOOC set a goal of running a Spartan Olympics without government support which would realize a surplus of revenues at the time of final accounting. The four major targeted sources of revenue were: (1) television and radio rights; (2) private corporations through the sale of sponsorships; (3) ticket sales; and, (4) souvenir commemorative coins.

Because the cornerstone of the financing was in the sponsorship agreement whereby a corporation agrees to support the Games in specified amounts of money and materials “for the right to use the Games in their advertising and marketing,” the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee decided to limit the sponsors to no more than 50.<sup>33</sup>

On November 3, 1979, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) paid the first of two installments of a \$225 million contract giving ABC all United States television rights to the 1984 Games. The agreement included the following:

1. \$33.5 million to go to the IOC;
2. 19 Olympic sports to be covered;
3. The finals of the most popular event to be held late in the afternoon for prime time viewing;
4. The LAOOC may sell for a single showing to a cable television company the entire Games eight months after they are over, and after one year the committee can syndicate and sell free television, non-network educational, theatrical, and other rights involved in the Games;
5. ABC and LAOOC will share equally the profits from the sale of Olympic video tapes;
6. No advertising discount will be given to a company that has been signed as official sponsor of the Games;
7. ABC will provide services to foreign broadcasters at its own expense; and,
8. ABC is formally obligated to 50 hours of coverage.<sup>34</sup>

1979年11月3日,美国广播公司(ABC)以分两期支付2.25亿美元的价格获得了1984年奥运会在美国境内的电视转播权,并在当时按照合同支付了首付。赞助合同约定:

1. 其中3350万美元的赞助费归国际奥委会所有;
2. 电视转播覆盖19个比赛项目;
3. 最受欢迎的比赛项目的决赛应安排在下午早些时候举行,以保证黄金时段的收视率;
4. 奥运会结束8个月后,洛杉矶奥组委可以将所有比赛的一次性放映权出售给任何一家有线电视公司,1年后组委会可以垄断出售免费的电视节目,非网络的教育、戏剧及其他涉及奥运会版权的节目产品。
5. 奥运会录像带的销售收入由美国广播公司和洛杉矶奥组委均分;
6. 不得为奥运会的官方赞助商提供广告折扣;
7. 美国广播公司为外国广播公司提供服务所需费用由其自身

承担；

8. 美国广播公司须负责至少 50 小时的报道量。<sup>34</sup>

随后，奥组委还与其他一些公司签署了类似的协议。

对于西欧和北非的电视转播权，国际奥委会主席萨马兰奇禁止其以竞标的方式出售，最终的协议价格为 1980 万美元。相对于美国 1.35 亿电视用户、欧洲 - 南非地区 1.2 亿电视用户来说，这一转播价格非常之低。此外，澳大利亚 10 号电视台为转播权支付了 1060 万美元，相当于由 31 个国家组成的欧洲广播联盟所付费用的一半，而它所面向的电视观众仅为 300 万。<sup>35</sup>

1980 年 8 月 7 日，洛杉矶奥组委获得麦当劳公司一项具有约束力的承诺，该公司将斥资 400 万美元在南加州大学校园内建设一座露天游泳和跳水池。人们认为这是奥运历史上第一次完全由一家私人公司出资修建体育场馆。<sup>36</sup>

麦当劳公司是奥组委选定的赞助商之一，这些赞助商享有灵

Many similar contracts were to follow.

IOC President, Juan Samaranch, refused to permit competitive bidding for the Western Europe and North African television rights, and the final agreement was \$19.8 million. This was extremely low when one considers that there were 135 million sets in the United States and 120 million in the Europe-South African area. Also, Australia's Network 10 paid half as much (10.6 million) as the European Broadcasting Union of 31 countries, yet represented only 3 million television sets.<sup>35</sup>

On August 7, 1980, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee obtained a binding commitment from McDonald's Corporation to build a \$4 million open air swimming and diving stadium on the University of Southern California campus. It is believed that this is the first time in Olympic history that an athletic facility has been fully funded by a private firm.<sup>36</sup>

McDonald's was one of a select group of sponsors who committed themselves to flexible royalty-type payments. Some others were Coca-Cola for \$15 million, Anheuser-Busch for \$10 million, Canon USA, Southland Corporation, United Airlines, and First Interstate Bank, each for \$6 million. Arrowhead-Puritas Water, which also sponsored

the 1932 Games, and Dentsu, Inc. made similar financial commitments.<sup>37</sup>

Coincidentally, a few weeks after the signing of the Anheuser-Busch contract, the State Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control changed its long standing rule prohibiting an alcoholic beverage from being designated as the official product of a sporting event. This led the way for Budweiser to become the official beer of the 1984 Olympic Games.<sup>38</sup>

Atlantic Richfield signed an agreement to finance seven international class tracks in the Los Angeles area and to help with the refurbishment of the Coliseum. Coca-Cola's investment in the Games was brought to \$25 million when Minute Maid became the official fruit juice of the Games for \$25 million.<sup>39</sup> Twentieth Century Fox received exclusive movie-film sponsorship rights. This meant that no one other than Fox films may be advertised on Olympic telecasts. In addition, in February, 1982, ABC successfully vied for the radio rights for \$500,000.<sup>40</sup>

活的特许经营权。其他一些赞助商包括：可口可乐公司（赞助费1500万美元）、安海斯布希公司（赞助费1000万美元）、佳能美国、南方公司、美国联合航空公司和第一洲际银行（赞助费分别为600万美元）。曾经赞助过1932年奥运会的箭头牌纯净水公司，以及日本的电通公司也采取类似的赞助方式。<sup>37</sup>

巧合的是，在奥组委与安海斯布希公司签订赞助合同仅过了几周后，全国酒精性饮料管理局取消了早前设立的一条禁令，从而允许酒精性饮料成为体育赛事的官方指定产品。于是，百威公司成为了1984年奥运会官方啤酒赞助商。<sup>38</sup>

大西洋富田公司也与奥组委签订了赞助合同，将在洛杉矶地区修建7条国际级赛道并帮助整修洛杉矶体育场。而随着美汁源公司以2500美元的赞助费成为奥运会官方果汁赞助商，可口可乐公司的赞助额也提高到了2500万美元。<sup>39</sup> 20世纪福克斯公司在电影行业中获得了独家赞

助权，这就意味着奥运电视节目中只会出现福克斯公司出品的影片的广告。此外，美国广播公司于 1982 年 2 月以 50 万美元成功竞得无线电广播权。<sup>40</sup>

在汽车品牌竞争中，经过一番政治争论并考虑到日本和德国汽车制造商中标后可能引发的威胁，洛杉矶奥组委最终确定美国通用汽车公司旗下品牌别克汽车作为奥运会官方指定用车。通用汽车公司签了 400 多万美元的合同，为组委会委员提供 500 辆别克轿车和一定数量的卡车。<sup>41</sup>

许多其他赞助商也都与组委会签署了类似的合作协议。

随着奥组委与以下一些公司达成了协议，曾经看似遥不可及的 1.16 亿美元的赞助融资目标几近实现：

- 美国运通公司：官方指定信用卡；官方指定旅行支票
- 佳能美国：官方指定 35mm 照相机
- 匡威橡胶及联合集团：官方指定运动鞋
- 日本富士胶片公司：官方

After much political discussion and threat that a Japanese or German manufacturer would get the bid, the LAOOC finally signed Buick as the official automobile of the 1984 Games. The GMC agreement of more than \$4 million provided 500 Buick cars for the Committee members and a number of GMC trucks.<sup>41</sup>

Numerous other sponsors signed similar agreements.

The Committee's goal of raising \$116 million sponsorships came close to becoming a reality when looking at the rest of the other signed sponsors:

- American Express Company: Official Charge Card; Official Traveler's Checks
- Canon USA: Official 35mm camera
- Converse Rubber Company/Allied Corporation: Official Athletic Shoe
- Fuji Photo Film Co., Ltd.: Official Photographic Products
- Levi Strauss, Inc.: Official Outfitter
- Sanyo Corporation: Official Video Products
- Sports Illustrated: Official Magazine; Official Olympic Program
- Westinghouse Electric Corporation:
  - Westinghouse: Official Office Furniture
  - Longines-Wittnauer: Official Clocks and

## Watches

- Swiss Timing: Official Timekeeper
- Perrier: Official Mineral Water
- Xerox Corporation: Official Copiers

In addition, the Committee licensed fourteen licensees of high-quality products.<sup>42</sup>

As can be seen, the financial picture through the first quarter of 1982 appeared excellent; the only shadows on the horizon were the souvenir commemorative coins and the financing of security arrangements.

## 指定摄影器材

- 里维斯公司: 官方指定套装
- 日本三洋电气公司: 官方

## 指定摄像器材

- 《体育画报》: 官方杂志;

## 官方的奥运会日程

- 西屋电气公司:
  - 西屋: 官方指定办公家具
  - 浪琴 - 威那欧: 官方指定钟表
  - 瑞士计时: 官方指定计时器
  - 毕雷: 官方指定矿泉水
- 施乐公司: 官方指定复印机

此外, 14 家厂商还被组委会授予高质量产品特许经营权。<sup>42</sup>

由此我们可以看到, 1982 年一季度过后, 奥运会的财务状况表现良好、前景光明, 但美中不足的是纪念币销售和安全保障部署方面出现困难。



1980年3月，洛杉矶奥组委预付66.7万美元（约合102.05万人民币）邀请突袭者橄榄球队（从奥克兰）将主场移回洛杉矶，但直到突袭者队在14个月内经过两次庭审最终赢得对美国橄榄球联盟（NFL）的反垄断诉讼，并推测即使NFL大肆宣扬将一路上诉至最高法院也难以翻案的情况下，该队才得以着手计划移师回洛杉矶体育场。洛杉矶奥组委支付的这笔资金是用于翻修洛杉矶体育场，这里不仅将是突袭者队的主场，也将是1984年洛杉矶奥运会的主体育场。然而在合同中双方约定，奥运会比赛的400米跑道不在修缮范围之内。<sup>43</sup>

尽管洛杉矶奥组委决心不用政府的任何钱，但铸造和发行纪念币却成为其绕不开的一个政治难题。1981年4月，奥运会纪念币计划浮出水面，该计划称将通过销售特制的美元硬币来获取2亿美元以上的资金，该收入将资助1984年奥运会的举办，以及永久捐赠给美国奥委会（洛杉矶奥组委将参与分成）。各国家

The LAOOC advanced \$667,000 to the Raiders in order to bring them back to Los Angeles in March of 1980. It was not until 14 months and two trials later that the Raiders won their anti-trust suit against the NFL and, then made plans to move to the Coliseum, presuming that the NFL would be unsuccessful in their declared appeal of the decision all the way to the Supreme Court. The amount that the Committee paid was for the refurbishing of the Coliseum both for the Raiders and the 1984 Games. Written in the contract was the agreement that nothing would be done to the stadium to repair the 400 meter track needed for the Olympic Games.<sup>43</sup>

One of the biggest political issues facing the LAOOC's determination not use any government money was the minting and distribution of souvenir commemorative coins. A Plan to raise \$200 million or more to help finance the 1984 Olympic Games and permanently endow the USOC (who would split the revenue with the LAOOC) through the sale of special U.S. coins was revealed in April of 1981. The coin program would also aid athletes from other countries as NOCs would receive a small percentage of the revenues generated through sales in their respective countries. Under the proposal, a \$1 allow coin, a \$10 silver coin, and \$50 and \$100 gold coins would be marketed to coin collectors throughout the world by the private firms of Lazard Treves and Occidental Petroleum.<sup>44</sup>

Bills proposing issue of U.S. commemorative coins, which had the support of White House officials, were introduced in the U.S. Senate on May 20, 1981, and the House of Representatives on June 18, of the same year. The Senate Bill finally passed in October, 1981.

Passage of the Coin Bill in the House was delayed for 12 months by key House member Frank Annunzio who stated “A world scandal might result from such a plan.”<sup>45</sup> Although two amendments were adopted in October of 1981 to audit the sale of the coins, Annunzio still refused to call a hearing on the Bill because “reports had reached him that the Olympic Committee had shown favoritism in the initial letting of the bids.”<sup>46</sup>

奥委会还可从这一计划中获得纪念币在本国销售的一小部分分成，这有助于资助其他国家的运动员前来参赛。根据此提案，一套四枚纪念币，包括一枚 1 美元的硬币、一枚 10 美元的银币和面值分别为 50 美元和 100 美元的两枚金币，将由两家私人公司——拉扎德特里尔公司和美国西方石油公司向全世界的收藏爱好者出售。<sup>44</sup>

发行美元纪念币的这一议案得到了白宫官员的支持，并于 1981 年 5 月 20 日和 6 月 18 日分别提交参议院和众议院审议。1981 年 10 月，参议院通过了此项法案。

“纪念币法案”在众议院却没那么顺利，由于众议院关键人物弗兰克·阿农齐奥认为“这一计划将导致世界性的丑闻”，<sup>45</sup>该议案被搁置了 12 个月未能通过。尽管 1981 年 10 月议案经过两次修正增加了对纪念币销售的审计条款，但是阿农齐奥仍然拒绝召开听证会，因为“据他了解，奥组委在招标之初就有不公问题”。<sup>46</sup>

1982年3月，阿农齐奥终于决定于4月6日召开听证会，但是他却严令禁止洛杉矶奥组委和其他的纪念币项目推广者到庭作证。

“纪念币法案”迟迟得不到通过，这对寄希望于纪念币销售收益的洛杉矶奥组委和美国奥委会来说无疑是一场危机，他们担心私人销售商会撤出已投入该计划的3000万美元保证金。由于预期的纪念币担保资金化为泡影，美国奥委会不得不举债为1984年美国奥运代表队的组织工作筹集经费。<sup>47</sup>

1982年4月14日，美国奥委会主席唐·米勒提出，如果国会不批准铸造美元纪念币，其他国家很有可能捷足先登，“假若洛杉矶奥运会的纪念币是加拿大币或者西德马克，那岂不成为后人的笑柄！”米勒还暗示出，如果1984年奥运会遭到联合抵制，那么美国广播公司可能不会全额支付之前向奥组委承诺的2.25亿美元赞助费，而如果这一缺口没有纪念币销售收入来弥补，那么洛杉矶奥运会将陷入严重的财政危机。<sup>48</sup>

In March, 1982 Annunzio further informed the LAOOC that they and other proponents of the coin program would not be permitted to testify for the legislation at the hearing he had finally called for April 6th. As the delay in the passage of the Coin Bill continued, both the Organizing Committee and the U.S. Olympic Committee, who were counting on the revenue from the coin program, expressed fear that the private marketers would cancel the \$30 million guarantee they had entered into for the program. The U.S. Olympic Committee had been forced to borrow money to pay for its organizational efforts for the 1984 team because it had not received the coin guarantee funds that it had expected.<sup>47</sup>

On April 14, 1982, the President of the U.S. Olympic Committee, Don Miller, suggested that another country might offer an Olympic coin if Congress refused to authorize the U.S. minting. “Wouldn’t that be quite a commentary to have Canadian dollars or West German marks to commemorate the Los Angeles Games!” Miller also suggested that if a boycott of the 1984 Games developed, ABC television would not be liable for the entire \$225 million pledged to the Organizing Committee, and would, therefore, place the Los Angeles Games in financial jeopardy if the revenue from the coin program was not forthcoming.<sup>48</sup>

The Reagan Administration ultimately threw its support behind the private marketing of the coins.<sup>49</sup>

In April, 1982 Annunzio, still vehemently opposed to the private marketing plan, introduced his own legislation pro-silver dollar to be handled domestically by the U.S. Treasury,<sup>50</sup> and finally, on May 13, 1982 it was thought that the deadlock over the U.S. coins legislation was broken when the House Banking Committee beat back a series of 14 Annunzio amendments and voted 32 to 7 for a plan allowing private companies to market the coins.<sup>51</sup> However, the *Los Angeles Times*'s headlines on May 21, 1982 read "House Defeats Private Sale of Olympic Coins." By a lopsided 302 to 84 vote, the House on Thursday rejected private marketing of government Olympic coins giving Representative Frank Annunzio a surprising victory for his countermeasure which calls for government marketing of coins.<sup>52</sup>

Comparatively few coins were sold, and the issue was far from settled. The House of Representatives and Senate passed markedly different bills; it was unclear how long it would take to iron out the differences. As much as two hundred million dollars rested on the outcome.

里根政府最终还是支持了这一计划，允许非官方销售奥运纪念币。<sup>49</sup>

1982年4月，依旧强烈抵制私人营销计划的阿农齐奥提出自己的立法案，建议由美国财政部负责在国内销售纪念银币。<sup>50</sup> 1982年5月13日，众议院银行委员会驳回阿农齐奥提出的14项修正案，以32比7的投票表决结果允许私人公司销售纪念币，人们一度以为美元纪念币法案的僵局就此打破。<sup>51</sup> 但是，1982年5月21日，形势又急转直下，《洛杉矶时报》头条新闻标题为“众议院挫败私人销售奥运纪念币”，众议院在周四的投票中以302票对84票的压倒性优势驳回了私人销售奥运官方纪念币的提案，这使得众议员弗兰克·阿农齐奥提出的相反方案——由政府销售纪念币取得了意想不到的胜利。<sup>52</sup>

纪念币的销售十分惨淡，问题还远没有解决。众议院和参议院通过的法案明显相悖，但何时才能消除分歧却不得而知。多达

2 亿美元的收入取决于这一问题的解决与否。

1984 年洛杉矶奥运会的最后一项收入是门票收入。对此奥组委一直未能完全规范化。1981 年 7 月，奥组委宣布，它正在起草门票销售计划，在奥运会前 18 个月发售门票，“首轮将向国内和海外发售 500 万张门票，以防止黄牛倒票的方式进行。国内门票将由各百货商店和奥运会官方赞助商第一洲际银行来向各地居民销售。”<sup>53</sup>

用于奥运会消防安全和医疗救护的费用预计为 700 万美元，由洛杉矶市政府负担，而奥组委则支付工作人员加班的各项费用。<sup>54</sup>

人们预期，洛杉矶市议会将用该市累积约 1400 万美元的信托基金来支付奥运会安保费用。该基金首先来自旅馆税，1978 年政府决定对酒店床位增加半美分销售税。其次来自征收 6% 的奥运门票销售税。这两项税收政策均于 1978 年在市议会获准通过，1982 年 5 月加州最高法院

The final source of revenue for the 1984 Games, the sale of tickets, had not yet been fully formalized by the LAOOC. In July of 1981, the Committee announced that it was developing a ticket plan to begin 18 months in advance of the events, “distributing the first five million tickets at home and abroad in ways to hold scalping to a minimum. Distribution to residents might take place through department store outlets and the First Interstate Bank, an official sponsor of the Games.”<sup>53</sup>

Such things as fire protection and ambulance costs, which were expected to reach \$7 million for the Games were to be borne by the City of Los Angeles with the LAOOC paying any extra costs for increased man-hours.<sup>54</sup>

It was anticipated that the Los Angeles City Council would use the City’s accumulated trust fund of approximately \$14 million to pay for security expenses during the Games. These funds were to come first, from a half-cent increase in the hotel bed tax which was approved by the City Council in 1978 and judged legal by the California Supreme Court in May, 1982, and second from a 6% Olympic ticket distribution tax approved at the same time.<sup>55</sup>

Some of the other expenditures for the LAOOC included \$3 million in guaranteed rents toward construction of a \$4 million administration building at UCLA, which would be used as headquarters for the 1984 Games.<sup>56</sup>

In 1981, the LAOOC, realizing that it must engender public support, began the direct selling of its concept of a privately operated and financed 1984 Games with its first newsletter mailed worldwide to 2,000 Olympic officials and journalists. The mailing was in response to the IOC's suggestion that the Committee take steps to convince the World Olympic Community that the Games in Los Angeles would be thoughtfully organized.<sup>57</sup>

As far as athletes' housing was concerned, the Los Angeles Olympic officials had refused to comply with a request by leaders of the IOC that they reveal the room and board fees that they intended to charge the athletes in 1984.<sup>58</sup> They would only guarantee that the price set in January of 1984 would remain constant until July of 1984. The athletes would be housed by the Nation in the UCLA and USC dormitories with branch housing at University of California, Santa Barbara for the Lake Casitas competitions.

也确认其合法有效。<sup>55</sup>

洛杉矶奥组委还须支付 300 万美元的租用保证金，以用于加州大学洛杉矶分校新建一座 400 万美元的行政楼，该建筑将作为 1984 年奥运会的指挥中心。<sup>56</sup>

1981 年，洛杉矶奥组委意识到有必要激发公众对奥运会的支持，于是向全世界 2000 多位奥委会官员和新闻记者邮寄了第一期“奥运简报”，宣传其私人筹资兴办奥运会的新理念。国际奥委会此前建议组委会，采取措施向奥林匹克大家庭表明洛杉矶奥运会是精心组织的。此举也是对国际奥委会的回应。<sup>57</sup>

至于运动员的住宿，奥组委官员拒绝按照国际奥委会领导的要求透露计划向运动员收取的食宿费用，<sup>58</sup>只承诺将 1984 年 1 月开始执行的收费标准保持到 7 月。运动员依其国籍被安排在加州大学洛杉矶分校和南加州大学的学生宿舍。在卡西塔斯湖参赛的运动员住在加州大学圣塔芭芭拉分校。

一位奥组委委员在私下访谈中表示，奥组委曾考虑过为第三世界国家运动员参赛提供资金支持。可预料的是，即便确有其事，也不会公之于众。

对于 1932 年洛杉矶奥运会来说，积极的宣传和集中修建的奥运村是其成功的关键因素，但是 1984 年奥运会要想再创辉煌却远没有这么简单，组织者将期望寄托在全国和世界范围的电视转播以及对运动员个性化的关怀，并希望藉此燃起人们对 1984 年奥运会的热情。

( 赵卓译 )

In a private, off-the-record interview with one of the members of the Organizing Committee, it was revealed that the Committee would consider aiding athletes from Third World Nations by providing financial assistance for travel to Los Angeles in 1984. It was anticipated that if the financial assistance occurred, it would most likely not be made public.

Neither of the characteristics of upbeat publicity nor a centrally located Olympic Village, which were important to the success of the 1932 Games, were a prospect for the 1984 Games, but it was hoped that television publicity on the national and international scene and the individualization of attention to the athletes would supply the necessary enthusiasm in 1984.

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# ANCIENT AND MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES: A HISTORICAL APPROACH

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Nothing is comprehensible or explicable without  
history  
Pierre de Coubertin, 1930.<sup>1</sup>

The Olympic Games and sports are today a basic constituent of world mass, international and everyday culture. This may be confirmed by the place occupied by sports in printed and electronic media, the importance of sports and gymnastics in the educational process within and outside school, the extremely rapid spread of special premises for exercise and training, the football fans, sport advertising and the economic weight possessed by sport enterprises, as well as the increasingly sophisticated and elaborated spectacle of the modern Olympic Games. No one disputes, in any event, that the modern Olympic Games are one of the most important institutions of the twentieth century in which worldwide developments have been reflected.

## 古代奥运会和现代奥运会： 历史研究法

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离开了历史，一切都是无法理解或解释的。

皮埃尔·德·顾拜旦，1930年<sup>1</sup>

奥运会和体育是当今世界大型、国际性、日常性文化的一个基本组成部分。无论是在印刷和电子媒介中体育信息占据的位置，在校园内外的教育活动中体育和体操运动的重要性，专业健身教室的快速传播和发展，球迷、体育广告和体育企业的经济比重，还是现代奥运会越来越复杂精美的壮观场景，或许都能够印证这一点。无论如何，毋庸置疑，现代奥运会是20世纪最重要的体系之一，是全世界发展的一个缩影。

根据这些观察结果，实际上我们有理由认为体育是一项“全

球性的”或者“整体性”的现象，它是社会发展的“产物”，同时也是社会的缩影。因此，在研究体育运动时将其与当时独特的历史背景相结合是十分有意义的，或者反言之，对体育的研究能引导我们归纳推理出每项特定体育活动发生时社会状况。简言之，尽管体育活动，与游戏类似，是一项经久不衰的、普遍的人类活动，需要从历史的视角来看待和理解它。

接下来，我将尝试比较古代奥运会和现代奥运会，我将19世纪的欧洲作为现代奥运会的一个起点，在那一时期奥林匹克运动实现了复兴。事实上，奥运会在历史上经历了三个不同的时点：①古代奥运会（在欧洲中世纪前的历史进程中它也经历了很多变化，所以不应将其看成是一成不变的）；②19世纪末复兴时的奥运会；③当今经历了20世纪转型发展的奥运会。本研究将比较限于古代奥运会和19世纪实现复兴的奥运会两者之间，并批判性地参考了相关文献（不

In the light of these observations, we can in fact argue that sport is a 'global' or 'holistic' phenomenon, an epitome of the society which 'produces' it. Consequently, it is meaningful for the study of sport to be integrated into its historical context in each instance, or, conversely, the study of sport can lead us, inductively, to knowledge of the society to which each particular sport activity belongs. To put it briefly, in spite of the fact that sport, like play, is an enduring and universal human activity, an understanding and interpretation of them require their historicization.

I shall attempt, then, below to compare the ancient and the modern Olympic Games, taking as a starting-point the European nineteenth century – the century, that is, in which the Olympic revival took place. In reality, it is a case here of three different moments in history: (a) the ancient Games (which also underwent many changes in the course of antiquity, so that it would be incorrect to treat them as uniform and unaltered); (b) the Olympic Games as they were revived in the late nineteenth century; (c) the present-day Olympic Games, as they have been transformed during the twentieth century. The comparison, then, will be limited to that between the ancient Olympic Games and their revived version in the nineteenth century and will be critically informed by the concepts of continuity and discontinuity which have been used by the relevant

– and not only the scholarly – bibliography. The relation between the ancient and the modern Olympic Games will be examined at two levels:

(a) at the level of imitation and legitimization. Admiration for ancient Greek civilization and the imitation of ancient institutions and arts are to be found at the starting-point of the idea and the praxis of revival from the eighteenth century onwards. The invocation of the ancient Games was, furthermore, a legitimizing reference for their modern counterparts, linking them with the authority of antiquity.

(b) at that of the affinity between the ancient and the modern Olympic Games: that is, what are the features which they have in common and what are the differences between them, both from the point of view of content (contests, rules, etc.) and from that of culture and ideology (the ideals which they represent, their function in society, etc.)?

## 1. Imitation and legitimization

### 1.1 Western Europe and ancient Greece

The imitation of a glorious example, whether of the present or from the past, permeates history in general, but we cannot explain this phenomenon simply by

仅是学术性的)使用的延续性与非延续性的概念。研究将从两个层面来详细分析古代奥运会与现代奥运会的关系:

①在效仿和继承的层面: 18世纪后复兴的观念和实践出现之初, 我们就能发现其对古希腊文明的赞赏和对当时制度和艺术的模仿。进一步看, 重新提起古代奥运会作为现代奥运会正当化的一个参考, 将现代奥运会与古代的权威联系在一起。

②古代奥运会和现代奥运会的关系: 它们从内容(竞赛活动、规则等)和文化观念(表达的理念、社会功能等)的角度看相同点和不同点是什么?

## 1. 效仿和继承

### 1.1 西欧与古希腊

对一个光辉典范的效仿, 无论是现在的还是过去的, 总是渗透在历史长河的各个角落, 但是我们不能仅通过简单记录它们去解释这些现象。许多早期社会从古希腊文明中寻找灵感和思维模式, 却出于不同的原因和不同的



目的。从罗马和拜占庭到意大利文艺复兴和启蒙运动，视觉艺术、哲学和文学的很多特点都源于被欧洲文明称为“黄金时代”的那一时期。然而，据我们已知的情况，直到 19 世纪，复兴古代奥运会的想法还十分鲜见，当然在此之前更没有付诸实践。<sup>2</sup>因此，与奥运会复兴相关的最基本的问题就是为什么这一想法非常有说服力地出现在 19 世纪而不是之前。

在 19 世纪，复兴古代奥运会的想法实际上在希腊和其他欧洲国家广泛流行。当时，许多教育家、政治家或知识分子都不谋而合、不约而同地萌生了复兴奥运会的想法，有的还付诸了实践。<sup>3</sup>这里仅提及两个互不相干的例子：

① 1860 年至 1895 年由威廉·彭尼·布鲁克斯医生在英国举办的奥林匹亚竞技场。

recording it. Many earlier ages have sought inspiration and models for thought in ancient Greek civilization, but for differing reasons and with different aims. From Rome and Byzantium to Renaissance Italy and the Enlightenment, the visual arts, philosophy, and literature derived a variety of features from the period which European civilization has described as a 'golden age'. And yet, up to the nineteenth century, as far as we are in a position to know, the idea of the revival of the ancient Games made its appearance very rarely and certainly was not put into practice before then. <sup>2</sup>Consequently, the basic question which arises in connection with the revival of the Olympic Games is why this idea presented itself so persuasively in the nineteenth century and not before.

In the nineteenth century the idea of the revival of the ancient Games was actually widely current, both in Greece and in the rest of the countries of Europe. In parallel, then, and without one necessarily copying the other, various pedagogues, politicians or intellectuals conceived, and sometimes put into practice, the idea of the revival of the Olympic Games. <sup>3</sup>Let us here mention two instances, far removed from one another:

(a) The Olympian Games which were held in England from 1860 to 1895 by the physician William Penny Brookes.

(b) The proposal made in 1835 by the Greek Minister of the Interior to King Othon that annual Panhellenic Games should be instituted in imitation of the ancient Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian Games to celebrate the anniversary of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 against the Ottoman Empire which led to the creation of the Greek state.<sup>4</sup>

The various versions of the idea of revival should be linked with the relation between modern Europe and Greece on the one hand and antiquity on the other, as that took shape in the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment. In the second half of the eighteenth century, West's interest in ancient Greece was renewed. In an age of optimism and self-confidence, Western Europe recognised itself as the genuine descendant and heir of classical civilisation.

Joachim Winckelmann's work on ancient Greek art, the teaching of Ancient Greek in secondary education in Western Europe, the fashion for travel and the Grand Tour to classical lands, the archaeological missions to Greece and the resultant publications of Greek antiquities, and, last but not least, the movement of Philhellenism, are manifestations of precisely this 'discovery' of Greece by the West in the Age of Enlightenment. Since the Renaissance, the publications of works by Pausanias, *Description of*

② 1835 年希腊内政部长向国王奥托提议, 应仿效古代奥林匹克、伊斯玛斯、尼米亚和皮西安运动会, 每年举办泛希腊运动会, 以庆祝 1821 年反对奥斯曼帝国, 使希腊立国的独立战争。<sup>4</sup>

恢复奥运会想法的各种版本既与现代欧洲和希腊间的关系有关, 又与古代有关, 在启蒙运动的精神氛围初具形态。在 18 世纪下半叶, 西方对古希腊的兴趣重新被激发。在那个乐观和自信的时代, 西欧认为自己是古典文明的正统后裔和继承人。

约阿希姆·温克尔曼的古希腊艺术著述、西欧中学古希腊的课程, 旅游的时尚及古典地区巡旅, 去希腊的考古团体及希腊文物的各种出版物, 最后但同样重要的因素——泛希腊主义的运动, 都明确表示, 希腊是在启蒙时代被西方“发现”的。自文艺复兴以来, 保萨尼亚斯的“记希腊”, 品达的“胜利颂歌”等出版的著述, 已经将古代奥运会及其举办地的知识四处传播。外国游客怀揣着

鲍萨尼亚的书，在这片古老的土地上游荡，许多人也曾造访了奥林匹亚。但其时，这片废墟仍然深藏地下，等待着考古学家的铁锹。最后，由德国考古团队进行的奥林匹亚挖掘在1874年至1881完成，那些重见天日的艺术品，证实古希腊的辉煌。

现代奥运会的创始人顾拜旦也是如此。启发他恢复奥运会的灵感，首先源于古典学习的普通知识及古希腊文明对他的吸引力（他的灵感第二个来源是当代英格兰）。与此同时，他利用了古希腊的权威及由此延伸而来的奥林匹亚的权威，使恢复奥运会的主张在那些不懂体育和竞技的群体中有了权威。<sup>5</sup>此外，通过援用西方文明共同的遗产，他防止了自己的设想在民族主义崛起的时代仅为法国所认同，而是在全球引起了共鸣。

*Greece*, and Pindar, *Victory Odes*, had disseminated widely knowledge of the ancient Games and the place in which they were held. With Pausanias in their luggage, foreign travellers were to journey to the classical land. Many of them were to visit Olympia. But its ruins were still hidden and awaiting the archaeologist's spade. Excavations at Olympia were in the end carried out from 1874 to 1881 by the German archaeological mission. These brought to light examples of art which confirmed the glory of classical Greece.

It was also the case with Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games, that the first source of inspiration for their revival can be sought in the common pool of classical learning and in the attraction exerted upon him by ancient Greek civilisation (his second source of inspiration came from contemporary England). At the same time, he used the authority of ancient Greece – and, by extension, of Olympia – in order to lend authority to an idea which was viewed with distrust by circles which were alien to sports and athletic activity.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, by invoking the shared classical heritage of Western civilisation, he prevented his plan from being identified exclusively with France, in an age of rival nationalisms, and so gave it worldwide resonance.

## 1.2 Modern Greece and its ancient ancestor

While Europe defined itself as the lawful spiritual heir of ancient Greek civilization, modern Greeks defined themselves as genuine descendants of ancient Greeks. During the nineteenth century, admiration for ancient Greece and the pre-eminence of its example permeated every aspect of modern Greek intellectual life. In the homeland of the Olympic Games, imitation of the ancient ancestors was regarded as a necessary condition for the progress of their modern Greek descendants. Imitation was not confined to art or, more generally, intellectual creativity, but included, par excellence, formalistic features such as the language (imitation of Ancient Greek by the official, written language) or manners and customs of the ancient Greeks.

The ancient Games, one of the basic elements of classical civilisation, could not but inspire, sooner or later, their prompt imitators in Europe and Greece. At the same time, physical education gradually became valued not least for its connection with antiquity. Athleticism was related to antiquity on two levels: first, through the revival of the ancient Games and second, through the advancement of the ancient educational ideal of *καλός καγαθός*, i.e., the balanced development of body and mind through education. <sup>6</sup>On both levels, but particularly on the first,

## 1.2 现代希腊与其古代先祖

欧洲自认为是古希腊文明精神的合法继承人，而现代希腊人则认为他们才是真正的古希腊人的后裔。在 19 世纪，对古希腊及其卓越文明成果的敬仰渗透到现代希腊精神生活的方方面面。在奥运会的故乡，对远古祖先的仿效被认为是现代希腊后裔发展进步的必要条件。这种仿效，并不局限于艺术领域，或更普遍的知识的创新，还包括最卓越的形式主义的特征，如古希腊人的语言（官方书面语言模仿古希腊）或礼仪和习俗。

古代奥运会作为古典文明的一个基本要素，或早或晚总会激发欧洲和希腊进行模仿。与此同时因其与古代的关联，体育价值逐渐为人们所认识。竞技运动在两个层面与古代相联系。首先，通过古代奥运会的复兴；其次通过古代教育“美与善”的理想状态的促进，即，通过教育使身体和心灵均衡发展。<sup>6</sup>在这两个层面，尤其是第一个层面，符号极为重要，包括语言和庆祝仪式。<sup>7</sup>

这些外部特征几乎完全出自古代。最典型的例子是 1859 年至 1889 年在雅典举办的扎巴斯奥林匹克运动会。以古奥运会为模板，运动项目照搬古代比赛，与当代的现实并无任何关系。这些运动会的公共符号叙事，几乎完全源于古代的启示。

这样似乎是，尽管体育运动在现代社会的社会功能和文化内涵与古代的完全不同，但是它的外部形态——外部符号，却是相同的。因此可以说，其相似在一定程度上是表层的，因其只基于外部特征。

类似的根据也见之于其他体育活动。19 世纪最后二十五年间期间成立的许多希腊体育协会的名称、印章及标志受到古希腊的启迪。最常见的代表是古典世界英雄主义的典范赫拉克勒斯和掷铁饼者，而名称则多取自与身体力量有关的本地英雄。同时，大多数协会将身体和智力的发展，奉为它们的基本目标。这一事实也与古代希腊“美与善”的理想状态有关。<sup>8</sup>

symbols are very important, including the language and rituals of the festivities.<sup>7</sup>

These external features were drawn almost exclusively from antiquity. The most typical example is that of the Zappas Olympiads, which were held in Athens from 1859 to 1889 on the model of the ancient Games. The events in the athletic programme copied ancient contests and had no connection with contemporary reality. The public symbolic discourse which was formulated in these Games was also almost exclusively inspired by antiquity.

It seems, then, that whereas the social function and the cultural content of sport in the modern world is completely different from that of antiquity, it has the shell – the external symbols – in common. It could, therefore, be argued that the similarity is somewhat superficial, since it is based on external features.

Similar references are also to be found in other sport activities. Both the names and the seals and emblems of Greek sport associations which were set up in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are of ancient Greek inspiration. The most frequent representations are of Heracles, who was the model of heroism in the ancient world, and of the discobolus, while the names are taken

from local heroes whose name was associated with physical strength. At the same time, bodily and intellectual development was stated to be the basic aim of most of the associations – a fact which is also a reference to the ancient Greek ideal of the 'καλός καγαθός'.<sup>8</sup>

The way in which the Games were held, the symbols of the sport associations, the discourse which propagated physical exercise in education and, more generally, the modernist relation with the body refer back to antiquity, either because of the widely accepted belief in the effectiveness of imitation, or because of the need for legitimization of modernity. Every innovation seeks to be connected with a past in order to minimize opposition and to be more easily accepted.

The 1896 Olympics were undoubtedly the culmination of the linking of ancient with modern Greece. The likeness was sought everywhere: in the words, in the images, in the bodies and the beauty of the athletes. *The Olympic Hymn* of the poet Kostis Palamas invited the "ancient immortal spirit" to descend and illuminate the modern Games, succinctly condensing the self-evident connection. Following the ancient tradition, torch processions and performances of dramas accompanied the Games; the winners were awarded olive branches from Olympia.

奥运会举行的方式、运动项目协会的标识、教育中强调身体练习的叙事，及更为普遍存在的现代主义与身体的关系，都可追溯到古代，或因广泛接受的对模仿效力的信赖，或因现代性合法化的需要。每一项创新都设法与过去产生联系，以降低阻力，使其易于为人们所接受。

1896 年的奥运会毫无疑问是古代与现代希腊相接的巅峰之作。两者的相似处比比皆是，见之于其语言、图像，身体及运动员的健美。诗人科斯蒂斯·帕拉马斯的《奥林匹克颂》邀请“古代不朽之神”下凡并照亮现代奥运会，简洁地浓缩这种不言而喻的联系。因仿效古老的传统，有了火炬传递、伴随奥运会的戏剧表演以及将奥林匹亚的橄榄奖励优胜者。

因此，19 世纪复兴奥运会的先行者们在古代寻求其榜样，他们所仿效的是其外部特征。此外，他们援引古代的权威以使自己的创新合法化，因为学界和政治当局对其创新缺乏信任。然而，



这种外部的相似及口头宣称的联系，是否意味着古代和现代奥运会之间具有历史延续性？

## 2. 延续性与非延续性

### 2.1 18 世纪的转型

对于许多人来说，现代希腊的声望源于其经典的过去，古希腊在价值观念方面的优越性是不可争议的。对另一些人来说，现代和古代奥运会的关系存在认识上的混乱，所以他们认为，1896 年奥运会在某种程度上不是古代奥运会的复兴，而是古代奥运会的延续——在具有完整的、历史延续性的希腊文化框架下。然而，在体育史上这两个时点之间的距离不仅仅是时间上的，也关乎文化和思想观念层面的内容。

对于古希腊人，竞技运动和奥运会是一种生活方式，是其日常生活中不可或缺的特征，是其文明的一个基本理念。实际上若不理解竞技运动和奥运会的文化涵义，我们就无法理解希腊古风时期和古典时期的精神。在其古代史的各个时期，竞技运动表示

Thus the inspirers of the revival of the Olympic Games in the nineteenth century looked for models in antiquity, which they imitated as regards the external features. Furthermore, they invoked the authority of antiquity to legitimize an innovation which was looked upon with distrust by learned circles and the political authorities. However, did an external resemblance and rhetorical linkage of the ancient and modern Games entail historical continuity between them?

## 2. Continuity and discontinuity

### 2.1 The transition of the eighteenth century

For many, the prestige of modern Greece is due to its classical past, and the superiority of antiquity on the scale of values is beyond dispute. For others, there is some confusion as to the relation between the modern and the ancient Games, so that it is considered that, in some way, the Games of 1896 were not a revival but a continuation of the ancient Olympic Games – within the framework of the unbroken historical continuity of Hellenism. However, the distance between these two points in the history of sport was not only chronological but also a matter of their cultural and ideological content.

For the ancient Greeks, athleticism and the Olympic Games were a way of life, an integral feature of their



everyday life and one of the basic ideals of their civilisation. In real terms, we cannot understand the spirit of Archaic and Classical Greece without understanding the cultural content of athleticism and the Games. In each period of ancient history, athleticism gave expression to the stratification and the dominant ideology of society. In Archaic times (seventh – sixth century BC), when the aristocrats were the ruling class and fierce political competition between the city-states was the order of the day, athleticism expressed the ideal of superiority. Through competition, the best, the *aristos* emerged victorious and was superior to all the rest. In the Classical period (fifth – fourth century BC), democratic ideals prevailed, and these proposed the balanced development of spirit and body, as expressed by the ideal of '*καλοκαγαθία*'. In that period par excellence, athleticism became the basis of the educational process, with a view to the training of able soldiers and worthy citizens. Gymnasiums were not places simply for exercise, but places of education, both physical and intellectual. It is no accident that the term '*gymnasium*' was chosen in modern times for a type of secondary school in Germany and later in Greece.<sup>9</sup>

The whole of this world, the way of life and of thinking, and, of course, athleticism disappeared around the fifth century AD with the final triumph of Christianity

社会分层和社会主导意识形态。在古风时期（公元前 7 世纪 ~ 公元前 6 世纪），贵族是统治阶级，城邦之间激烈的政治竞争是当时的常态，竞技运动彰显崇尚强者的理念。通过竞争，最优秀者胜出，凌驾于其他所有人之上。在古典时期（公元前 5 世纪 ~ 公元前 4 世纪），民主理念盛行，提出精神和身体平衡发展，体现于“美与善”的理想。在这一追求卓越的时代，竞技运动成为教育的基础，以期培训出优秀的士兵和有价值的公民。健身房并不仅仅是锻炼的场所，而是对身体和智力进行教育的地方。在现代社会，“健身房”一词在德国，后来在希腊，用作一类中学的名称，并非偶然。<sup>9</sup>

这个世界，连同它的生活与思维方式及竞技运动，随着基督教在罗马帝国地理空间的最后胜利，在公元 5 世纪左右统统消失了。早在公元 393 年，狄奥多西一世就废除了奥运会。<sup>10</sup> 不仅因为这个正式的法令，基督教世界观本身就不能容忍任何竞技活

动，将其视同犯罪。与古希腊相反，基督教认为肉体是灵魂的卑微容器。除了给灵魂做仆人，肉体本身没有价值。于是，不用奇怪，竞技运动在它曾经存在的各种活动中，在政教合一的中世纪及在近代早期的各种活动中，统统消失了。当然，其时也有一些流行的或贵族的游戏，但与古希腊的体育比赛毫无关系。

在 18 世纪，通过有时几乎近乎无神论的宗教批评，引进新的价值观和新的态度，启蒙运动为道德剧变创造了前提条件，这也包括对待体育的态度。科学的胜利，颠覆了一切形而上的干预，强力推行现实整体合理化的理念。作为哲学和科学思维主题的人的知识得到强化：人的精神、人的身体和人类（作为一类生物，是自然历史的一部分）是启蒙思想的基本支柱。将对人性的研究置于自然主义的、经验的和分析的基础上。于是，人类学学科首次出现，作为研究人的一般科学——“人的自然历史”，它包含体质人类学、民族学和语言学。

in the geographical space covered by the Roman Empire. As early as 393 AD, the Emperor Theodosius I abolished the Olympic Games.<sup>10</sup> This was not just a formal act. The Christian worldview had no room for any athletic activity, which it associated with sin. In opposition to antiquity, Christianity regarded the body as the lowly vessel of the soul. The body had no value in itself except as the servant of the soul. It is, then, no surprise that athleticism disappeared in what were, in any event, the theocratic Middle Ages, as well as in the early modern period. There were, of course, popular or aristocratic games, but nothing connected these with the ancient athletic contests.

In the eighteenth century, through the criticism of religion, which sometimes verged on atheism, and the introduction of new values and new attitudes, the Enlightenment created the preconditions for a significant change in morality, which included also the attitude to the body. The triumph of science ousted every involvement with the metaphysical and imposed the idea of total rationalization of reality. Knowledge of man was enhanced as the principal subject of philosophical and scientific thinking: the human spirit, the human body and the human species (as part of natural history, as just another living creature) were the basic poles of Enlightenment thinking. The study of human nature was placed on naturalistic,

empirical and analytical foundations. It was then that the discipline of Anthropology first appeared, as a general science of man – a ‘natural history of man’ – which subsumes Physical Anthropology as well as Ethnology and Linguistics.

From as early as the seventeenth century the sciences of the body – primarily anatomy – had begun to take shape, and concurrently population (relationship between population and wealth, population and the labour force or labour potential, etc.) appeared as an economic and political problem. From the mid-eighteenth century we passed slowly from the ‘enlightened’, which is in accordance with the precepts of the Enlightenment, rationalist knowledge of the human body to solicitude for public health. With the fall of the ancien régime in 1789, and within the framework of the ideology of equality, hygienist care of the body was considered a social boon to which everyone had a right, even the lowest classes.

The Industrial Revolution and the growth of the capitalist system attributed an entirely new function to the body: the human body, like a machine, should be incorporated efficiently into the production process; its power was to be harnessed and utilized rationally in the new economic system. This new economic function of the

从 17 世纪早期开始，关于身体的科学，主要是解剖学，已初具形态。同一时期，有关人口（人口与财富，人口和劳动力或潜在劳动潜力的关系等）的经济和政治问题也出现。自 18 世纪中叶以来，我们逐渐从依据启蒙运动的规则的“启蒙状态”，从人体的理性知识，走向对公众健康的关怀。随着旧制度在 1789 年的结束，在平等的意识形态的框架内，关注身体卫生被视为社会的福音，是包容社会底层在内的所有人都拥有的权利。

工业革命和资本主义制度的发展归功身体的一个全新功能：身体就像一台机器，可有效地纳入生产流程；身体的力量被驾驭并有效地用于新的经济体制。身体的这种新经济功能、国家在人口管理问题上的关注点、人口的各种变量（出生率、死亡率、健康、疾病，饮食、住房等），国家军队的组织和公民战士新角色，以及将身体运动纳入儿童培养的新教育观念等这一系列的新因素决定了身体观念的变化，走

出传统的基督教世界观。在任何情况下，到 19 世纪末，教会本身，主要是新教徒，已经完全接受了身体锻炼并已形成了强身派基督徒的观念：强壮的身体意味着强壮的灵魂。因此，从传统到现代社会的转变，标识为一系列经济、社会和文化的变化。在这一时期，体操和田径重新出现在历史舞台。

根据上述分析，我们可以坚持认为：

①从古希腊到 19 世纪并没有延续性，所以使用“复兴”这个词非常得当的。

②身体锻炼在古代社会和现代社会有着完全不同的意识形态和社会功能。

human body, the state's interest in issues of population management and its diverse variables (birth rate, death rate, health and diseases, diet and housing, etc.), the organization of national armies and the new role of the citizen-soldier, as well as the new pedagogical interest in the upbringing of children, which incorporates bodily exercise, are some of the parameters that define the change in conceptions about the body and the disengagement from the traditional Christian worldview. In any case, by the late nineteenth century, the Church itself, mainly Protestants, was to have accepted bodily exercise completely and to have modelled the ideal of the muscular Christian: the strong body then meant a strong soul. Consequently, the transition from traditional to modern society, as signified by a series of economic, social and cultural changes, is the period when gymnastics and athletics reappeared on the stage of history.

In the light of the above, we are able to maintain that:

(a) there was no continuity from antiquity down to the nineteenth century, and so the term 'revival' is very properly used;

(b) bodily exercise had an entirely different ideological and social function in antiquity, on the one hand, and in the modern world, on the other.

## 2.2. Differences between the ancient and modern Games

The differences between the ancient and modern Olympic Games (meaning the Games in the form in which they were revived in 1896) could be summed up in the religious character of the Games, amateurism, performance (records), the position of women, and the events. A further difference, moreover, is the international character of the modern Games, in contrast with the national character of their ancient counterpart.

### 2.2.1 Religion

In antiquity, the Games were integrated into an entirety of cult practices and had no autonomy. They were not, that is to say, an autonomous form of recreation and activity but a feature incorporated into religious observances in honour of the dead and the gods. Religious feeling was the ideological underpinning of ancient sport, as is demonstrated by the sacrifices and processions which were held during the course of Games, by the worship which was rendered to some Olympic victors, and by the siting of the venues of the Games next to sanctuaries. We also know that it was the custom for dead heroes to be honoured with games.

## 2.2 古代奥运会和现代奥运会的差异

古代奥运会和现代奥运会（即1896年以其形式复兴的奥运会）之间的差异可以概括为：奥运会的宗教特征、业余原则、竞技表现（纪录）、女性的地位和比赛项目。此外，进一步的差异还表现在与古代奥运会的民族性特征相比，现代奥运会具有国际化的特征。

### 2.2.1 宗教

在古代，奥运会被纳入崇拜习俗而没有自治性。也就是说，奥运会不是自治形态的娱乐和活动，而是纪念死者和神的宗教仪式的组成部分。宗教感情是古代体育运动的思想基础，这体现于在奥运会期间举行的牺牲和游行，渲染的对奥运优胜者的崇拜以及奥运会场地紧邻神域等。我们也知道，以竞技活动纪念死去的英雄，是一种传统。

现代社会则与此相反，体育运动与其他任何庆典完全脱离，有着自己的活动时间安排。它们自身已经成为目的。体育运动时间安排是周期性的，是独立于宗教和政治事件的。当然，现代体育比赛也有仪式，也纳入了从古代奥运会选择出来的符号语言。但均以现代世俗化的功能取代了传统社会的宗教功能。

同时，顾拜旦设想的奥林匹克主义，是参照宗教建构的。正如诺伯特·穆勒所说：“顾拜旦将古代奥运会的宗教目标重新引入奥运会的现代版，基本上没有改变奥运会的精神意义”。<sup>11</sup>然而，这里讲的并不是宗教的，而是哲学和道德体系的“宗教化的运动员”。

### 2.2.2 业余主义

奥运会复兴的一个要素是业余运动的意识形态，它表达了崛起的中产阶级的价值体系。业余主义是现代社会的特征，在古代是不存在的。其事实依据是体育锻炼是为了获得在体育运动过程

In the modern world, on the contrary, sports have been completely dissociated from any other celebration and have acquired their own calendar; they have also become an end in themselves. The sports calendar is based on periodicity, but it is independent of religious and political events. Modern sport contests adopt, of course, a ritual and a symbolic language which incorporate selected features from the ancient Olympic Games. These are modern secularised functions which have replaced the religious functions of traditional society.

At the same time, Olympism, as conceived by Coubertin, is structured with religious references. As Norbert Müller writes: “Coubertin reintroduced the religious goals of the ancient Olympic Games into the modern version, essentially without changing the spiritual sense of the Games”.<sup>11</sup> This is not, however, a religion but a philosophical and moral system – the *'religio athletae'*.

### 2.2.2 Amateurism

A constituent element of the revival of the Olympic Games was the ideology of amateurism, which gave expression to the system of values of the rising middle classes. That amateurism is a feature of modern society which did not exist in antiquity is proved by the fact that physical exercise takes place for 'recreation' and the

pleasure it gives lies in the actual carrying out of the sport activity. For the amateur athlete, the aim is not only victory but – above all – taking part. On the contrary, in ancient Greece, the concept of ‘amateur athlete’ did not exist at all, since ‘athlete’ means a competitor for a prize.<sup>12</sup>

Amateurism condenses in an optimal way the values which dominated in Western Europe at the time of the revival of the Olympic Games. It was a feature of the ideology of British elite of birth and wealth. A basic characteristic of it was that sport activity was dissociated from any practical usefulness – in essence, that is, the contrasting of sport with the very concept of work. Sports were, then, engaged in for ‘amusement’ and were an end in themselves. They made reference to ‘conspicuous leisure’ – the non-productive consumption of time – which, as Thorstein Veblen has shown, ensured the symbolic superiority of the ‘leisure class’.<sup>13</sup>

The second feature of amateurism was the so-called ‘fair play’, that is, ‘civilized’ competition, governed by rules voluntarily accepted by those taking part. The rules of athletic competition were determined by modern, bourgeois values: meritocracy, equality, solidarity, individualism. The contest on the track or the pitch was based on ‘democratic’ competition between ‘equals’, and the ‘best athlete’ won not

中产生的“娱乐”和“快感”。对于业余运动员，其首要目的不是获胜，而是参加。与此相反，在古希腊，“业余运动员”的概念根本不存在，因为“运动员”意为奖金的争夺者。<sup>12</sup>

业余主义以最佳的方式浓缩了奥运会复兴时期西欧国家占主导地位的价值观，具有血统和财富的英国精英意识形态的特征。其基本特点是，体育活动与实用性分离。体育运动在本质上与工作的概念相对立。人们参与体育运动，是为了“娱乐”，活动以其自身为目的。他们参考了“炫耀性休闲”——非生产性的时间消费，这就是凡勃伦所说的，确保“有闲阶级”的象征性优势。<sup>13</sup>

业余主义的第二个特点是“公平竞争”，即由参加者自愿接受的规则支配的“文明”竞赛。体育比赛的规则是由现代资产阶级的价值观决定的，这包括精英治理、平等、团结、个人主义。运动场地上的较量基于“平等”的“民主”竞争。“最优秀的运动员”胜



出不是因其社会地位或继承权，而是靠其个人的价值和个人的努力。正如在普选情况下，所有选民都是“平等”的，在竞技比赛中对手也都是“平等”的，此前存在的任何社会差别都不予考虑。

平等是业余主义的固有概念要素，但是我们须对此做出一个基本的区分，以理解隐蔽于业余主义中的社会排斥：① 平等是就比赛而言的；② 平等是指参与比赛的平等。事实上，比赛遵循对所有竞赛者都平等的规则。在体育场或在球场上，一切都是平等的。但是参与赛事却没有平等。业余主义强化这一具有明确社会限制的界线，于是职业运动员因其参加体育运动不是为了“愉悦”而是为获得经济报酬，因此被排除在外。

### 2.2.3 运动表现

古代奥运会对记录成绩没有兴趣，只看是否取胜。因此，完全没有关于获胜者铁饼投掷距离，或赛跑成绩的记录。其比赛当然定规则，也有受过专门训

because of social status or inherited right, but because of his individual worth and his individual effort. As in the case of universal suffrage, all voters are 'equal', so in athletic competition, opponents are 'equal', and any previously existing social differences are not taken into account.

Equality was a component concept of amateurism, but we must make a basic distinction in order to understand the covert social exclusion which amateurism cultivated: (a) equality as to the terms of competition, and (b) equality as to access to the competition. The game was, in fact, regulated by rules which were common for all those competing. In the stadium or on the pitch all were equal. But there was no equality of access to the contest. Amateurism imposed this limit, a clearly social limit, since the professional sportsman who did not take exercise for 'pleasure' but for financial remuneration was excluded.

### 2.2.3 Performance

In the ancient Games there was no interest in the recording of performance. Only victory counted. For this reason, there is no record anywhere of the distances of the victor's throw in discus-throwing or of the time achieved by runners. The rules of the contests were, of course, codified and there were specially trained judges, the hellanodikai, who decided, at a time when there were no chronometers

or photo-finishes, who was the winner. By way of contrast, since the revival of the Olympic Games down to the present a detailed record of achievements has been kept at a world level, to such a point that the pursuit of the record has become an end in itself and has led to the phenomena of doping.<sup>14</sup>

As Jean-Pierre Vernant points out, in antiquity "victory was self-sufficient. There was no need for it to be measured by anything else except itself. It is absolute". In ancient sport, the idea of 'accomplishment' dominated, whereas modern sports are defined by the idea of 'surpassing'.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, the victor in antiquity was an 'Olympionikes' – an Olympic victor – and not a champion who had achieved a provisional record. The victor's body in fact encapsulated the essential difference between the ancient and the modern Games: in antiquity, the body of the victor was like the body of a deity, it had a religious identity and made reference to the heroes of epic poetry; in the modern world, it is a body which is controllable, measurable, and médicalisé.<sup>16</sup>

练的裁判，称为 hellanodikai。在没有计时器或终点摄影设施的时代，由他们确定谁是优胜者。与之形成对照的是，自现代奥运会复兴以来，直到今日，一直保持着世界水平运动成绩的详细记录。追求纪录，成为目的本身，并导致了兴奋剂现象。<sup>14</sup>

正如让·皮埃尔·凡尔农所说，在古代“胜利是自我满足的，除了胜利本身，没有必要用其它尺度进行丈量。胜利是绝对的”。在古代体育运动中，“成就”的观念占主导地位。而现代体育则将其代之以“超越”。<sup>15</sup>因此，古代的优胜者是奥运获胜者（Olympionikes），而不是创造一个临时纪录的冠军。实际上，优胜者的身体就体现了古今奥运会之间的本质区别：在古代，优胜者的身体类似神的身体，具有宗教身份，并以史诗中的英雄为参照；而在现代社会，优胜者是一个可控、可测，并可医学化的身体。<sup>16</sup>

#### 2.2.4 妇女

与古代的一个重要区别可从妇女地位看出。妇女被排除在古奥运会之外，不仅不能参赛，而且不能观看。在古代社会，妇女的角色仅限于家庭和家务。在 19 世纪，尽管事实上，妇女在体育领域处于被边缘化的位置，但并不禁止她们观看比赛。与古代相比，女性迅速获得现代体育运动场上的位置及在传统的田径项目中运动员的角色。此外，也与古代形成对照的是，自 19 世纪初开始，体操被视为不只是男孩，也是女孩的教育中不可或缺的内容。

1906 年在雅典举办的届间奥运会，尽管人们认为是“健美和男性活力的盛会”<sup>17</sup>，但是也有女运动员公开亮相。丹麦女子体操队向世人展示了瑞典体操，在网球比赛中，希腊获得女子奥运冠军。萨维季斯在 1906 年奥运会的专辑——“发展与文明”中写道，“沉重的长矛为灵巧的球拍所替代，标枪换成轻盈的橡胶球，这就给了现代女性按照现代

#### 2.2.4 Women

An important difference from antiquity, moreover, is to be seen in the position of women. Women were excluded from the Games, not only from the track, but also as spectators. In ancient society, the role of women was confined to the home and its care. In the nineteenth century, in spite of the fact that the position of women was marginal in terms of physical exercise, their attendance at sport spectacles was not banned. In contrast with antiquity, women rapidly won a place on the pitches of modern sports and on the classic track as athletes. Moreover, from the early nineteenth century – again in contrast with antiquity – gymnastics were considered essential for the education not only of boys but of girls as well.

The Intermediate Olympics held in Athens in 1906, though considered "a great celebration of beauty and male vigour"<sup>17</sup>, involved the public presence of sportswomen in the form of the Danish women gymnasts' team, which gave a display of Swedish gymnastics and in that of the tennis contests, in which Greece produced a woman Olympic champion. "Development and civilisation", wrote P.S. Savvidis in the Album of the Games of 1906, "have exchanged the heavy spear for the neat racket, the javelin for the light rubber ball, and have given to modern woman the means of forming her body in accordance with the

conditions and requirements of the modern era, while the Olympic Games, held in the country which gave birth to ancient athleticism, have not forgotten the modern woman, as the elegant game of tennis has been appointed the field for the display of female performance".<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.2.5 Events

Finally, the modern world has created events which did not exist in antiquity, chiefly team events of British origin, such as football, or events which are associated with new technologies, such as the bicycle or motor car. In the case of the Olympic Games in particular, events were added from the very start which though they existed in antiquity, were not Olympic (such as swimming, rowing, and weight-lifting), as well as others which were entirely new, such as tennis. Besides, the Marathon race, although inspired by antiquity, was also an invention - very successful, indeed - for the 1896 Games in Athens.

#### 2.2.6. International Olympic Games

The revived Olympic Games were, unlike their ancient prototype and their forerunners up to 1892, international. The international character of the Olympic Games, underscored by the rituals and symbols which have been selected and gradually established, defines them as a 'modern' phenomenon. Internationalism is part of

社会的条件和要求塑造自己身体的手段。在孕育了古代竞技运动的国家举办的奥运会，没有忘记现代女性，优雅的网球比赛用做展示女性竞技风貌的场地<sup>18</sup>。”

#### 2.2.5 竞赛项目

最后，现代社会创造出古代没有的诸多运动项目。团体项目主要源于英国，如足球。还有与新技术相关的项目，如自行车或摩托车。尤其是奥运会，古代已有的非奥运会项目从一开始就被增设为奥运项目（如游泳、划船和举重），还有一些是全新的项目，如网球。此外，虽然马拉松比赛的灵感来自古代，它也是一项发明，在1896年的雅典奥运会大获成功。

#### 2.2.6 国际性的奥运会

复兴的奥运会，与它们的古代原型及1892年之前的先驱不同，具有国际性。被人们选定并逐步建立起来的仪式和象征符号强调了奥运会的国际性特征，恰恰将其定义为一种“现代的”现

象。国际性是现代性的一部分。现代奥运会与当时其他国际性活动——世界博览会相互关联，一方面反映出竞技活动日益国际化，另一方面反映出“理想主义的国际主义”。

## 结论：复兴而不是残存

体育运动在 19 世纪出现，它并不是身体锻炼或游戏从古代到当代的延续。体育是一个现代现象，体现在当时欧洲一系列广泛的社会、人口和文化变革中。城市化和工业化将大量人口集中到城市，改变了人们对时间的认知方式，时间被清晰地划分为工作时间和余暇时间，新的社会交往和娱乐方式应运而生。

因此，现代奥运会不是其古代原型的一种延续。它创造了现代世界的价值观念，也正因如此，也成为了解现代世界的一个因子。在欧洲就是如此，尤其是希腊。所以，为了理解一个古老制度体系的复兴，我们必须描述并解释现代欧洲和 18、19 世纪

modernity. The modern Olympic Games related to other internationalist projects of that period: the international exhibitions, on the one hand, which gave expression to the increasing internationalization of competition and 'idealistic internationalisms', on the other.

## Conclusion: Revival but not Survival

Sports made their appearance in the nineteenth century and do not belong within a continuity of physical exercise or play from antiquity to the present time. They are a modern phenomenon embodied in a series of broader social, demographic and cultural changes which occurred in Europe at that period. Urbanization and industrialization concentrated the population in the cities, changing the way in which time was perceived by clearly dividing working from free time, and by nurturing new forms of social contact and recreation.

The modern Olympic Games are not, therefore, a continuation of their ancient prototypes. They are a creation of the values of the modern world and, for that reason, a factor in an understanding of it. This is true of Europe, and especially of Greece. Thus, in order to understand the revival of an ancient institution, we must describe and interpret the particular relation between modern Europe

and antiquity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and throw light upon the specific social and ideological conditions which permitted it.

的古代欧洲之间独特的关系，并阐明使其得以复兴的特定社会和意识形态环境。

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2. From the seventeenth century, in many European countries but primarily England, athletics festivals were held that were called 'Olympic Games'. In all these cases these were national games that included contemporary sports. Before the nineteenth century, there are records, to be found in the existing bibliography, of three instances of revival: in England, the Olympic Games of Robert Dover (from 1612), in France at the time of the Revolution – the proposal for 'French Olympiads' (1792), and the athletic competitions in the Champ de Mars in Paris on the Ancient model (1799), and in the Ionian Islands under French rule – the proposal for a revival of the Olympic Games and the customs of the Ancient religion (1797).

3. There have been recorded the following 'Olympic Games': at Much Wenlock (from 1850), Shropshire (1860-1862, 1864), Liverpool (1862-1867), the Olympic Games at Morpeth in Northumberland, with participation of

professionals (1870-1958) and the National Olympian Games (1866-1868, 1874, 1877, 1883) of the National Olympian Association. In Germany, Olympic Games were held in Drehberg (1776-1799, 1840-1842) near Dessau, which was the centre of physical education. Olympic Games are also recorded in France (in the Catholic school at Rondeau, 1832-1954), Sweden (Ramlösa 1834, 1836), Canada (Montreal 1844), the USA (New York 1853) and Hungary (Palić 1880-1914). Finally, the Zappas Olympic Games in Greece (1859-1889). See J.K. Rühl, 'The Olympian Games at Athens in the year 1877', *Journal of Olympic History*, Fall 1997, 28-31; 'Olympische Spiele ausserhalb Griechenlands' in W. Decker – G. Dolianitis – K. Lennartz (eds), *100 Jahre Olympische Spiele. Der Neugriechische Ursprung*, Ergon, Würzburg 1996, 60-79; K. Georgiadis, *Olympic Revival: The Revival of the Olympic Games in Modern Times*, Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 2003.

4. See Wolfgang Decker, *Praeludium Olympicum. Das Memorandum des Jahres 1835 von Innerminister Ioannis Kolettis an König Otto I. von Griechenland über ein Nationalfest mit öffentlichen Spielen nach dem Muster der antiken panhellenischen Agone*, *Nikephoros Beihefte Band* 13, 2006.

5. N. Müller (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis*, vol. 2: *Olympisme, Comité International Olympique*,



Weidmann, Zurich/Hildesheim/New York 1986, 7.

6. David Young argues that the development of mind was not part of Ancient Greek athletics and that the motto 'a sound mind in a sound body' is a modern one. D. C. Young, *A Brief History of the Olympic Games*, London: Blackwell, 2004, 80-91.

7. See Ch. Koulouri, 'Athleticism and Antiquity: Symbols and Revivals in nineteenth-century Greece', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15 / 3 (Dec. 1998), 142-149.

8. On Greek sports clubs, see Ch. Koulouri, 'Voluntary associations and new forms of sociability: Greek sports clubs at the turn of the 19th century', in Ph. Carabott (ed.), *Greek Society in the Making, 1863-1913: Realities, Symbols and Visions*, London: Variorum, 1997, 145-160.

9. See Panos Valavanis, *Games and Sanctuaries in Ancient Greece: Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Los Angeles*: Getty Trust Publications, 2004; cf. Wolfgang Decker, *Sport in der griechischen Antike. Vom minoischen Wettkampf bis zu den Olympischen Spielen*, Munich, Beck, 1995; *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece*, Athens, *Ekdotike Athenon*, 2003.

10. However, the memory of the Games had been preserved until their revival. See Karl Lennartz, *Kenntnisse und Vorstellungen von Olympia und den Olympischen Spielen in der Zeit von 393 bis 1896*, Schorndorf, Hofmann,

1974.

11. Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937, op.cit., 44.

12. See D.C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*, Chicago: Ares, 1984.

13. See Thorstein Veblen's famous book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, August M. Kelley, 1991 (1st ed. 1899).

14. See the seminal work of A. Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record. The Nature of Modern Sports*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

15. Isabelle Queval, *S'accomplir ou se dépasser. Essai sur le sport contemporain*, Paris : Gallimard, 2004.

16. Jean-Pierre Vernant, Jeux anciens-Sport moderne, *Imeros* 5.1, 2005, 19-28.

17. P.S. Savvidis, *Album of the 2nd International Olympic Games at Athens 1906*, Athens 1907, 125 (in Greek).

18. Ibid., 118-119.

# ANTHEM, SYMPHONY AND OLYMPIC GAMES IDEALISM

Jeffrey O. Segrave  
The David H. Porter Endowed Chair Skidmore  
College

“All Men Will Become Brothers” (“Alle Menschen  
werden Brüder”):

## SAMARAS’S OLYMPIC ANTHEM

On the afternoon of Easter Sunday, April 5th, 1896, an estimated 100,000 or more spectators assembled in and around the reconstructed Panathenean Stadium in Athens to bear witness to the opening of the first Olympic Games of the modern era. Despite dark and overcast skies, “the joyous and motley” (Coubertin, 1896 42) crowd thrilled at the extraordinary sight that was unfolding before their eyes. “The decoration of the Stadium was really splendid. At the entrance, were elevated masts topped by flags and ornamented with escutcheons; on each side of the facade were tripods copied from ancient art; all around the circumstance of the Stadium were flagstaffs decorated with coats-of-arms; at each end of the sphendrome, the Hermes discovered in the ruins were placed. The tiers were covered with little cushions on which the spectators

# 颂歌、交响曲和奥运会 理想

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四海之内皆兄弟

## 萨马拉斯的“奥林匹克颂”

1896年4月5日复活节下午，约10万多观众聚集在重建的雅典帕那辛纳体育场，见证第一届现代奥运会的盛大开幕。尽管天气不好，阴云笼罩着天空，“兴高采烈，服饰斑驳”的人们（顾拜旦，1896年，p.42）亲眼看到奥运非凡的场景徐徐展开，激动万分。“体育场的装修实在精彩。入口处，高耸的旗杆上彩旗招展，并饰有铭牌。体育场正面的每一边都有仿古的三脚台座；体育场四周是饰有盾形纹章的旗杆。在sphendrome的每一端，放置着从废墟挖出的赫尔墨斯塑像。看台座席上铺有垫子”（LES JEUX Olympiques, p.53）。快到下午三点时，运动场外的广场上

喧声四起，越来越强烈，随之王室一行抵达。陪同国王乔治一世和王后奥尔加的有公主玛丽和她的未婚夫俄罗斯乔治大公，索菲公主，塞尔维亚国王和奥地利王储鲁道夫的遗孀和女儿。当他们走进运动场，迎接他们的是王储康斯坦丁和他的兄弟西奥多·德里安尼斯和内阁成员、希腊组委会和包括奥运会的创始人顾拜旦在内的国际奥委会委员。王室一行落座后，康斯坦丁致开幕辞，然后国王起立，以其“洪亮的声音”（LES JEUX Olympiques, p.53）（顾拜旦，1931年36）“正式核准了以神圣方式恢复的奥林匹克运动会”，“我宣布第1届国际奥运会在雅典开幕”（LES JEUX Olympiques, p.55）。

当会场“重归寂静”（奥林匹克运动会, p.56），一个由陆军、海军、市和州多个乐队组成的大型管弦乐团集结在体育场中心，伴着其他弦乐器和150人的和声，在作曲家斯皮罗斯·萨马拉斯的指挥下，献上了一首“奥林匹克运动会大合唱”——《奥

sat”（Les Jeux Olympiques 53）。Just before 3:00, the murmur in the square outside the stadium crescendoed into a roar as the royal party arrived. Accompanying King George I and Queen Olga were Princess Marie and her fiancé Grand Duke George of Russia, Princess Sophie, the King of Serbia, and the widows and daughters of Crown Prince Rudolph of Austria. As they entered the stadium, they were met by Crown Prince Constantine and his brothers, Theodore Delyannis and the Cabinet, the Greek Organizing Committee, and the IOC, including the founder of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin. The party processed to their seats, and following Constantine’s inaugural address, the King rose and “in a sonorous voice”（Les Jeux Olympiques 53）“sealed the restoration of the Olympic Games by pronouncing the sacramental formula”（Coubertin, 1931 36),” “I proclaim the opening of the first international Olympic Games at Athens”（Les Jeux Olympiques 55).

Once “silence had been reestablished”（Les Jeux Olympiques 56), a huge massed orchestra composed of the army, navy, municipal, and provincial bands, assembled in the center of the stadium, and accompanied by supplementary strings and a chorus of 150 voices, and under the baton of the composer Spyros Samaras, delivered the “Cantata for the Olympic Games,” the Olympic

Anthem: “these words sung in the open air under streaming sunlight... had a marvelous effect. The harmonious strains of the music floated on the air and kindled a fire of enthusiasm... everyone was profoundly touched” (Les Jeux Olympiques 56), Samaras’s music set to the lyrics of the influential poet, Costis Palamis, drew thunderous applause; audience and monarch alike demanded and received an encore.

Performed again at the 1906 Intercalated Games, Samaras’s work was subsequently replaced by anthems specifically commissioned for official Olympic occasions, including compositions by Walter Bradley Keeler, Richard Strauss, Roger Quilter, Jaako Linjama, and Michael Spisiak. Although Richard Strauss’ Olympic hymn, written for the 1936 Berlin Olympics, was temporarily adopted by the IOC as the official Olympic hymn, it was not until its 55th Session in Tokyo, that the IOC, at the proposal of IOC member Prince Axel of Denmark, unanimously adopted Samaras’s hymn as the official Olympic hymn (Barker). Replying to the overtures of the Greek IOC member, Ioannis Ketseas, Samaras’s widow, Anna, wrote, “I declare that I make no claim to the author’s rights due to me through inheritance and I would be very happy if this anthem were adopted as the international Olympic hymn”(“The Olympic Hymn throughout the Games” 141).

林匹克颂歌》：“在流动的阳光和空气中流淌的歌词……具有神奇的效果。和谐的旋律在空中飘浮，点燃了激情的火花……所有人都被深深感动了”（奥林匹克运动会，p.56）。这首萨马拉斯作曲，著名诗人科斯蒂斯·帕拉马斯作词的歌曲引来雷鸣般的掌声，在观众们和希腊国王的要求下又重新演唱了一遍。

1906年的届间奥运会再次演奏了萨马拉斯的作品，此后这首歌曲便为专门为正式奥林匹克场合创作的一些曲子所取代，这些曲作者包括沃尔特·布拉德利基勒、理查·施特劳斯、罗杰·奎尔特、Jaako Linjama 和 Michael Spisiak。虽然理查·施特劳斯为1936年柏林奥运会创作的“奥林匹克圣歌”一度为国际奥委会确定为正式奥运赞歌，但在国际奥委会在东京召开的第55届全会根据丹麦委员阿克塞尔王子建议，一致通过将萨马拉斯的颂歌为正式奥林匹克颂歌（Barker）。在回应国际奥委会希腊委员Ioannis Ketseas的好意时，萨马

拉斯的遗孀安娜写道：“我声明，我不会要求通过遗产继承给我的著作权。只要这首歌曲用作国际奥林匹克圣歌（“整个运动会的奥林匹克颂歌”，p.141），我就十分高兴了”。在1960年斯阔谷冬奥会的开幕式上，庆典委员会主任沃尔特·迪斯尼以其演艺圈的视角，组织了2000人的“奥运史上最大的合唱团”与1000人的乐团，来演奏奥林匹克颂歌（斯阔谷奥运快讯，p.3）。在同一年罗马夏季奥运会上也演奏了这一颂歌。

此后，《奥林匹克颂歌》成为奥运会开幕仪式经久不衰的一大特色，根据《国际奥委会礼仪指南》规定，当奥林匹克会旗水平展开、进入体育场并升旗杆顶点时，需要演奏《奥林匹克颂歌》。时至今日，这仍然是奥运会开幕式上，或许也是整个赛事中，最为庄严肃穆的时刻之一。

## 贝多芬第九交响曲

1998年2月7日中午12:45，以雄伟的日本的“阿尔卑斯山”

Under the showbiz eye of Pageantry Committee chairman, Walt Disney, 2,000 voices, “the largest choral group in Olympic history” joined “a 1,000 piece band . . . to present the Olympic anthem” at the opening ceremonies of the 1960 Squaw Valley Winter Games (Squaw Valley Olympic Newsletter 3). The Anthem was also played in the same year at the Summer Games in Rome.

Since then an indelible feature of the opening ceremonial, the Olympic Anthem is, as mandated by the IOC Protocol Guide, played as the Olympic flag, unfurled horizontally, is brought into the stadium and hoisted atop the flagpole. It remains to this day one of the most solemn and dignified moments in the opening ceremonies, and perhaps in all of sport.

## BEETHOVEN'S NINTH SYMPHONY

At precisely 12:45 p.m. on February 7th, 1998, against the backdrop of the majestic Japan Alps, 50,000 spectators assembled under a milky midday sky in Minami Stadium to watch Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor Seiji Ozawa raise his baton in the Nagano Prefecture Cultural Hall to lead a worldwide rendition of Beethoven's famed Ode to Joy as part of the opening ceremonies of the Nagano Winter Olympic Games. Ninety Tokyo Opera Singers, including eight soloists, were accompanied by 2,000 singers in

the Olympic Stadium as well as 200-member choruses in Berlin, New York, Cape Town, Beijing, and Sydney. Shivering in the cold in front of the Brandenburg Gate, the Ernst Senff Choir joined the globally synchronized chorus at exactly 4:45 a.m. At 10:45 p.m. the Boston Symphony Orchestra's Tanglewood Festival Chorus began singing in the United Nations Assembly Hall in New York while on the other side of the world in Beijing the China National Symphony Orchestra Chorus chimed in at 11:45 a.m. The Sydney Philharmonic Choir linked in at 1:45 p.m. and three choruses sounded off at dawn from a sun drenched beach in Cape Town, South Africa.

Previously rendered impossible by momentary lags in satellite transmission, time lag adjuster technology developed by NHK Engineering Services, a branch of Japan's national television company, allowed audio and visual signals to be captured and held, making possible for the first time images and sounds from around the globe to be perfectly coordinated in a simultaneous live performance. As the *New York Times* quipped, musical and technological virtuosity combined to bring to a worldwide viewing audience the latest Olympic sport of "synchronized singing" (Strom C3).

为背景，5 万名观众集聚在南体育场在正午乳白色的天幕下，准时看到波士顿交响乐团指挥家小泽征尔在长野文化大厅挥动指挥棒，领导一场全球参与演唱的贝多芬名曲《欢乐颂》，这是长野冬季奥运会开幕式的一个部分。包括 8 名独唱家在内的 90 名来自东京的歌剧演唱家，与奥林匹克体育场的 2000 名歌手，以及在柏林、纽约、开普敦、北京和悉尼的 200 人组成的合唱团，同一时间放声歌唱。凌晨勃兰登堡门前寒气逼人，厄恩斯特塞夫合唱团在 4:45 准时加入全球大合唱，10:45 波士顿交响乐团坦格尔伍德音乐节合唱团纽约联合国大会堂开始歌唱。同一时间在世界另一边，中国国家交响乐团合唱团在北京时间 11:45，悉尼爱乐合唱团在下午 1:45 加入，而在南非开普敦的 3 个合唱团则在黎明时分，在阳光普照的海滩上放歌。

此前这种演出由于卫星传播瞬间滞后是不可能的，由日本国家电视公司的分公司 NHK 工程



服务公司开发出来的瞬间滞后调节技术可捕获并保持音频和视频信号，这就首次使来自全球各地的图像和声音得以完美协调，同时实况表演成为可能。正如纽约时报打趣所说，音乐和科技精湛结合，给全世界观众带来了“同步歌唱”的最新奥运项目（Strom C3）。

贝多芬第九交响曲终曲在奥运语境中演奏，首见于1936年柏林奥运会开幕式已成为现代奥运会仪式中极受欢迎的主流内容。它也出现在奥运庆典的其他场合。在20世纪50年代和60年代，它一度作为两个德国联队的临时国歌，1992年作为苏联解体后独联体代表队的队歌。在若干年里为罗得西亚所用，直到1980年为津巴布韦所用。它也多次在闭幕式上演出，最难忘的一次是1980年莫斯科奥运会闭幕式，当烈焰慢慢地在体育场圣火坛熄灭，欢乐颂伴随着烟火乍然而起，“旋律激昂，盘旋而上，如火箭直冲云霄。”（Austin C1）。

First performed in an Olympic context as part of the opening ceremonies of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony has become a popular mainstay of modern Olympic protocol. The Ninth has also been featured on other occasions within the Olympic ceremonial; as the temporary national anthem of the unified German teams of the 1950s and 1960s, the Unified Team of the post-USSR era in 1992, and for several years, Rhodesia until it became Zimbabwe in 1980, and as the part of the closing ceremonies, most memorably at the end of the 1980 Moscow Games, when as the flame was slowly extinguished from the urn in the stadium, the Ode to Joy burst out and fireworks "that boomed and whooshed like rocket guns exploded in the skies"(Austin C1).

But it is as part of the opening ceremonies that the Ninth is most readily identified as a dimension of the Olympic ritual. As part of the opening ceremonies in the 1936 Berlin Games, for example, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was accompanied by the choreographed movements of thousands of young gymnasts; during the 1984 Los Angeles Games by 2,000 residents from various ethnic groups, all in native dress; in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics it was interpreted by opera singers Eleazor Colomer, Montserrat Caballé, Teresa Berganza, Joan Pons, Giacomo Aragail, José Carreras, and Plácido Domingo; and in 1998, at Nagano, delivered in the form of Osawa's digitally synchronized, trans-continental choral extravaganza. Majestic and awe-inspiring, vast and sublime, the finale of Beethoven's famed Symphony has risen to the level of an Olympic hymn.

## OLYMPIC IDEALISM

From the very beginning, Coubertin saw the Olympic Games as "something else" (2000 543); as "more than just games," to use Guttman's phrase (1). "It is," Coubertin wrote, "just this "something else" that matters, as it is not to be found in any other variety of athletic competition" (2000 543). The "something else" was an ideology, a complex admixture of ethics, world-view, metaphysics, and

但由于它常作为奥运会开幕式组成部分，第九交响曲似乎最容易确定为奥林匹克仪式的内容。例如，贝多芬的《第九交响曲》，在1936年柏林奥运会开幕式上曾为上千名年轻的体操运动员精心设计的舞蹈表演伴奏；在1984年洛杉矶奥运会上为2000名不同民族居民身着各自民族服装的表演伴奏；在1992年巴塞罗那奥运会上由歌剧歌手埃莉诺·科洛莫尔、蒙特赛拉特·卡芭叶、泰蕾莎·贝尔冈萨、琼·庞斯、贾科莫·阿拉盖尔、何塞·卡雷拉斯和普拉西多·多明戈演绎；在1998年长野冬奥会上又以数字化同步的跨大洲合唱表演的形式展现出来。庄严宏大、令人惊叹，贝多芬著名交响曲的最后一个乐章被提升到奥林匹克颂歌的高度。

## 奥林匹克理想主义

从一开始顾拜旦就看到了奥运会的“不同寻常”（2000，p.543），用古特曼的话来说（p.1）

其“不仅仅是运动会。”。顾拜旦写道“正是这种不同寻常”是极为重要的，因为它是任何其他体育比赛所不具备的（2000，p.543）。“这不同寻常的”是指一种意识形态，一种多种元素的混和物，包括伦理、世界观、形而上学及顾拜旦从古代泛希腊主义、中世纪的骑士精神、英国强身派基督教和19世纪的国际主义概括出来的神话。顾拜旦称其理念为奥林匹克主义。对此，他写道，是“道德纯洁的贵族的学校，也是耐力和体力的学校”（2000，p.511）。他也称其为“围绕着艺术和思想，基于适宜的卫生和公共精神，通过男性运动实践所形成的能量宗教和强化训练。”（2000，p.44）。他的最终目标是重新发现散落于世界的道德力量的各种元素，使复兴的奥运会成为实现现代社会转型的手段。“先生们”，他写道，

这是一个观念秩序，我试图从中引伸出指导和保护竞技运动复兴的精神力量。健全的民主、智慧及和平的国际主义会以它们

mythology that Coubertin derived from ancient Hellenism, medieval chivalric codes, English Muscular Christianity, and 19th Century Internationalism. Coubertin called his philosophy Olympism, which, he wrote, is a “school of nobility and of moral purity as well as of endurance and physical energy” (2000 511). He also called it “a religion of energy, the cultivation of intense will developed through the practice of manly sports, based on proper hygiene and public-spiritedness, surrounded with art and thought” (2000 44). His ultimate goal was to rediscover all the elements of scattered moral force in the world, to endow his refurbished Olympic Games with the means to help bring about nothing less than the transformation of modern society. “Gentleman,” he wrote,

this is the order of ideas from which I intend to draw the elements of moral strength that must guide and protect the renaissance of athletics. Healthy democracy and wise and peaceful internationalism will make their way into the new stadium. There they will glorify the honor and selflessness that will enable athletics to carry out its task of moral betterment and social peace, as well as physical development. (2000 537)

An idiosyncratic philosophy, Olympism has remained to this day the wellspring of the Olympic Movement. The current *Olympic Charter* defines Olympism as:

a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will, and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles. (International Olympic Committee 10)

And the goal of Olympism, according to the *Charter*, “is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity” (International Olympic Committee 10). As past IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, once put it, the difference between ordinary sport and Olympic sport is that the latter has “a culture and a mission” (*Olympic Review* 311).

的方式进入新的体育场。在那里，它们会崇尚使竞技运动能够实现其道德提升、社会安定及身体发育的任务所需的荣誉和无私。

(2000, p.537)

作为一种特殊的思想，奥林匹克主义直到今天依然是奥林匹克运动的源泉。目前的《奥林匹克宪章》将奥林匹克主义定义为：

“将身、心和精神方面的各种品质均衡地结合起来，并使之得到提高的一种人生哲学。它将体育运动与文化和教育融为一体。奥林匹克主义所要建立的生活方式是以奋斗中所体验到的乐趣、优秀榜样的教育价值和対一般伦理基本原则的推崇为基础的。”（国际奥委会，p.10）

依其章程，奥林匹克主义的目标“是体育运动服务于人的和谐发展，以促进一个维护人的尊严的和平社会”（国际奥委会，p.10）。正如国际奥委会前主席萨马兰奇曾说过的，寻常的体育运动和奥林匹克体育运动之间的区别在于，后者具有“文化和使命”（奥林匹克评论，p.311）。

总的来说，奥运会的独特之处是它有一套精心设计和振奋人心的典礼、仪式和符号体系。顾拜旦具有预见性地指出，“奥运会必须主要通过仪式来把自己和一系列单纯的世界锦标赛区分开来。”（2000，p.596）尤其是开幕式传递了奥林匹克主义的意义：放飞和平鸽象征着追求和平；升奥林匹克会旗体现了国际友好和兄弟情谊；奥运圣火传递代表着和平和奥运会的国际性；而奥林匹克宣誓体现了对公平正义的期望。作为开幕式的其中两个内容，官方的《奥林匹克颂歌》和贝多芬《第九交响曲》的最后一个乐章也展现了奥林匹克理念。本文旨在解构这些用音乐形式对奥林匹克主义的表达，并展现这两首乐曲如何强有力地诠释奥林匹克主义的深刻内涵。我将以库克提出的“宗教、和平和美”这奥林匹克主义的三大支柱来组织本篇论文。

Overall, the Olympic Games have been distinguished by an elaborate and provocative system of ceremonies, rituals and symbols. It is “primarily through the ceremonies,” Coubertin presciently noted, “that the Olympiad must distinguish itself from a mere series of world championships” (2000 596). The opening ceremonies in particular mediate the meaning of Olympism: the release of doves symbolizes the quest for peace; the Olympic flag embodies the spirit of international amity and brotherhood; the Olympic torch relay stands for peace and the international scope of the Games; and the Olympic oath instantiates the hope for justice and fairness. As two embedded dimensions of the opening ceremonies, the official *Olympic Anthem* and the finale of *Beethoven’s Ninth* also encode and present the Olympic ideology. The purpose of this paper is to deconstruct these tonal expressions of Olympism and show how both serve as powerful and compelling representations of Olympism. In order to structure my paper I will use the three underpinnings of Olympism as articulated by Cook: “religion first, then peace, and finally beauty” (11).

## Religion

From the very beginning, Coubertin endowed the modern Olympic Movement with a philosophico-religious doctrine; “Like the athletics of antiquity,” he once declared, “modern athletics is a religion, a belief, a passionate movement of the spirit that can range from “games to heroism” (2000 576). Grounded in a secularized amalgam of muscular Christianity and Hellenic pagan theology, Coubertin coined the phrase *religio athlete* to describe the religious asceticism of Olympic sport:

The primary, fundamental characteristic of ancient Olympism, and of modern Olympism as well, is that it is religious. By chiseling his body through exercise as a sculptor does a statue, the ancient athlete ‘honored the gods.’ In doing likewise, the modern athlete honors his country, his race, and his flag. Therefore, I believe that I was right to restore, from the very beginning of modern Olympism, a religious sentiment transformed and expanded by the internationalism and democracy that are distinguished features of our day. Yet this is the same religious sentiment that led the young Hellenes, eager for the victory of their muscles, to the foot of the altars of Zeus. (2000 580)

## 宗 教

从一开始顾拜旦就赋予现代奥林匹克运动以哲学—宗教的涵义。他曾明确表示, “与古代体育运动一样”, “现代体育运动是一种宗教, 一种理念, 一种充满激情的精神运动, 其范围包括“从运动会到英雄主义”(2000, p.576)。立足于强身派基督教和希腊异教神学的世俗混合物, 顾拜旦创造了短语“宗教化运动员”一词来形容奥林匹克体育运动的宗教禁欲主义。

古代奥林匹克精神与现代奥林匹克主义最重要的基本特征, 是其宗教性。通过锻炼塑造自己的身体, 如同雕塑家做雕像, 古代运动员用于“礼神”。同样, 现代运动员则用于崇敬他的国家、种族和国旗。因此, 我确信, 在现代奥林匹克运动之初, 恢复由我们这个时代显著特征的国际主义和民主转化而来且得到扩展的宗教情怀是正确的。也正是这种相同宗教情怀, 引导年轻的希腊人, 渴望将自己肌肉的胜利,

供奉于宙斯的祭坛脚下。(2000, p.580)

纵观现代奥运会在仪式和言辞，仪式和礼仪，着装和歌曲方面的历史，显然，奥运会已将体育运动的超然意境物化为现实。宗教的主题、动机和语言注入奥运会的意识形态和设计，并在萨马拉斯的颂歌和贝多芬的欢乐颂中表露无遗。

伴随开幕式礼仪过程中的歌唱，奥林匹克颂歌紧紧扣住与奥林匹意识形态相关的、崇高的宗教情感，将该届奥林匹克庆典与古奥林匹亚的庆典联系在一起，通过这种联系固化和圣化了现代奥林匹克思想。正如诗人品达曾经写道的：

但是，我的心啊，倘若你想  
歌颂比赛的辉煌，

那就凝视太阳吧，

荒凉的天际，再无另一颗星，  
能在白昼比它更为明亮

我们也不会为胜过奥林匹亚  
的比赛而歌唱

繁复的颂歌从那里传出

通过诗人的描述，歌颂克罗

Throughout the history of the modern Games, in ritual and rhetoric, ceremony and rite, dress and song, the Olympics have reified a transcendent conception of sport. Religious themes, motifs and language infuse both the ideology and design of the Games and are presented overtly in both Samaras's Anthem as well as Beethoven's Ode to Joy.

Sung in keeping with protocol during the opening ceremonies, the Olympic anthem captures the exalted religious sentiments associated with the Olympic ideology, linking the current Olympic festival with the ancient celebrations at Olympia and anchoring and sanctifying the modern Olympic ideology by association. Just as the poet Pindar once wrote:

But, my heart, would you chant the glory of the games

look no further than the sun

by day for any star shining brighter through the desert air,

nor shall we sing games greater than the Olympian.

From there the manifold song is spread

by the skill of the poets, to celebrate

the son of Kronos, visiting

the magnificent hearth of Heron; (1)



So now the *Olympic Anthem* intones, “Immortal Spirit of antiquity, father of the true, the good, and the beautiful, descend, appear, shed over us thy light upon this ground and under this sky first witnesses to thy glory” (MacAloon 215).

The religious sentiments of Olympism are equally well reflected in the *Ninth* which, as Solomon puts it, is an “extended metaphor of a quest for Elysium” (14). The language of Schiller’s text clearly serves as a self-conscious affirmation of a spiritual intent:

Be embraced, millions!  
This kiss for the whole world!  
Brothers, above the starry canopy  
Must a loving father dwell (Levy 12).

Akin to Olympism, the purpose of the *Ode to Joy*, as Rolland avers, is to preach “the kingdom of God on earth, established by the brotherhood of man, in reason and in joy” (977).

But the grand and profound appeal of Beethoven’s historic work which most theologically suits Olympism is not only that it assumes ecclesiastical overtones but that it does so in a non-denominational sense; it appeals to a deity

诺斯之子，

到达快乐富有的希耶罗家的壁炉旁。

因此，今天的《奥林匹克会歌》这样唱道：“古代不朽之神，美丽、伟大而正直的圣洁之父。祈求降临尘世以彰显自己，让数人瞩目的英雄，在这大地穹苍中，作为你荣耀的见证”。(MacAloon, p.215)

奥林匹克主义的宗教情怀同样也见之于第九交响曲，正如所罗门所说，它是一个“追求极乐世界的扩展隐喻” (p.14)。词作者席勒诗句清楚表明对精神意向的自我意识的肯定：

拥抱吧，万民！

这一吻送给全世界！

兄弟们，星空的高处，  
定住着慈爱的天父。

与奥林匹克主义相同，欢乐颂的目的，如罗兰所断言的，就是要宣扬“尘世间的上帝之国，通过人们之间的兄弟情谊，在理性和欢乐中建立” (p.977)。

但是贝多芬这部历史性作品在神学上十分符合奥林匹克主

义，其伟大和深远的感染力不仅在于它呈现的宗教色彩，而且在于它非宗教控制的方式；它趋向一个超越各种宗教教义和教条的神，融合了基督徒和异教徒的信仰。用所罗门的话来说，是“浮士德与海伦联姻”（p.22）。毫不奇怪，即使顾拜旦也承认贝多芬的作品具有宗教魅力，“和谐的乐曲似乎在与神沟通”（2000，p.583）。直到今天它仍保持勾人魂魄的教理，极为适合奥林匹克主义世俗雄心的人类大合唱。

总之，无论萨马拉斯的颂歌，还是贝多芬的著名交响曲，都具有传递奥林匹克主义理想的宗教主旋律，顾拜旦力图让他所理解的现代奥运会的崇敬和活力到达他所景仰的古代奥运会的水平，这使之成为现实。这两部作品反映了古希腊文化巨大的号召力，以令人回味的神话理想诉说着我们正进行的令人着迷的事业。创作了几届奥运会主题曲的作曲家约翰·威廉姆斯正确指出：“灵感对我来说……来自大家似乎都能感觉到神话想法。那

who transcends particularities of religious creed and dogma; it offers a fusion of Christian and pagan beliefs, “a marriage of Faust and Helen” to use Solomon’s phrase (22). Not surprisingly, even Coubertin acknowledged the religious allure of Beethoven’s work noting that the “harmony of the piece seemed to communicate with the Divine” (2000 583). It remains to this day a catechism of the soul that serves as a universal chorus of humanity well-suited to the secular ambitions of Olympism.

In short, both Samaras’s anthem and Beethoven’s famed symphonic work present the religious leit motif that informs the idealism of Olympism and instantiate Coubertin’s intent to bring to the modern Olympiad the same level of reverence and vitality that he construed as ennobling the Games of antiquity. Both pieces reflect the authoritative appeal of ancient Hellenism and speak to our ongoing fascination with an evocative mythological ideal. As composer of several Olympic pieces, John Williams appropriately notes: “the inspiration for me . . . comes from the mythological idea that we all seem to feel. It’s all about deities and heroes that lived up in the mountain somewhere that could do something we couldn’t do” (Guegold xiv).

## Peace

The sentiments of peace and universal brotherhood were written into the Olympic ideology, encoded into the Olympic ritual and celebrated in the Olympic liturgy from the very beginning. “Wars break out,” Coubertin wrote, because nations misunderstand each other. We shall not have peace until the prejudices which now separate the different races shall have been outlived. To attain that end, what better means than to bring the youth of all countries periodically together for amicable trials of muscular strength and ability. (2000 360)

The claim of peace and reconciliation through Olympic sport has endured, even during the most inauspicious times. “We Germans,” German Foreign Minister Baron Neurath proclaimed during the 1936 opening ceremonies, “accept with pride and joy the Olympic idea . . . Strengthening the body and steeling the will in peaceful and comradely competition for the laurel of victory, cooperation, mutual assistance and friendship” (Birchall 6). Past International Olympic Committee President Juan Antonio Samaranch expressed the perspective of many an Olympic leader when he told the world that “our philosophy proceeds from the belief that sport is an inalienable part of the educational process and a factor for promoting peace, friendship,

是生活在某处山顶上神和英雄，他们有能力做我们无法做的一些事情。”（Guegold, p.xiv）。

## 和 平

和平与博爱的情感在奥林匹克意识形态里有所表述，从一开始就编制进了奥林匹克礼制，在奥运仪式上加以庆祝。顾拜旦写道：“战争爆发”，是因为国家的相互误解。我们将不会有和平，直至造成当前种族分离的偏见得到克服。为实现这一目标，有什么让各国的年轻人定期在一起进行肌肉力量 and 能力的友好比赛更好的方法吗。（2000，p.360）

通过奥林匹克体育运动实现和平与和解，经历了时间，甚至最凶险时期的考验。德国外交部长诺伊拉特男爵在1936年开幕仪式宣称“我们德国人”，“以自豪和喜悦心情接受奥林匹克理念……增强体质，强化意志，在为争夺胜利桂冠的和平的同志式的比赛中，合作、互助，友爱。”（伯查尔，p.6）。国际奥委会前主席胡安·安东尼

奥·萨马兰奇表达了诸多奥运领导者的看法，他告诉世人，“我们的信念，即体育是教育过程中不可分割的组成部分，是促进各国人民之间和平、友谊、合作及相互理解的一个要因素。”

（p.12）。前不久，联合国大会通过一项决议，敦促全世界在伦敦举办的第30届奥运会期间，遵守奥林匹克休战。国际休战中心主任最近指出“体育运动不会强制实现和平”，“但它可激发和平，鼓励人类向往和平”（国际奥林匹克休战中心）。

相比而言，《奥林匹克颂歌》歌词中传递的和平与人类文明的信息要少于颂歌演奏的仪式场景。当颂歌提及“古代不朽的神”（MacAloon, p.215），蕴含了古代奥林匹克休战的愿望以及古代奥运会传播希腊人之间的文化共同性的含义。1960年斯阔谷冬季奥运会开幕式演出的颂歌歌词中包括“和平中的人类，将永远站立享受你那金色的光芒”

（组委会，p.35）。现在使用正式奥林匹克颂歌不直接涉及和平

cooperation and understanding among peoples” (12). Most recently, the United Nations Assembly adopted a resolution urging the world to observe the Olympic Truce during the Games of the 30th Olympiad in London. “Sport will not impose peace,” the Director of the International Truce Center recently stated, “but it might inspire it, encouraging humanity to imagine peace” (International Olympic Truce Center).

The message of peace and enlightened humanity is conveyed less by the lyrics of the *Olympic Anthem* than it is by the ceremonial circumstance in which the Anthem is performed. While the *Anthem* makes reference to the “Immortal Spirit of antiquity” (MacAloon 215), a phrase that connotes the aspirations of the ancient Olympic truce as well as the use of the ancient Games to promulgate a sense of cultural commonality among the Hellenes, and while the text for the *Anthem* played at the opening ceremonies of the 1960 Olympic Winter Games at Squaw Valley included the line “Mankind in peace shall ever stand to take thy golden light” (Organizing Committee 35), the current official version of the *Anthem* does not reference peace and international cooperation per se.

But in the case of the *Olympic Anthem*, text is less important than context, and performed most notably during the opening ceremonies, the coupling of the *Anthem* with the flag ceremonial locates the *Anthem in the* wheelhouse of the ritualized presentation of the universalist aspirations of Olympism. Nowhere was the Olympic message of peace and brotherhood better expressed in powerful orchestrated ceremony than during the opening ceremony of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games during which the Olympic flag arrived in the stadium to the accompaniment of a band playing traditional Korean instruments Chitadae. After white doves of peace were released, the familiar fanfare of the *Olympic Anthem* was performed by a mass Korean choir dressed in white as the flag was hoisted to the top of the flag pole. An iconic symbol, the multicolored flag with its five interlaced rings remains a widely recognized “international emblem” (Coubertin, 2000 594) that represents the union of nations and the Olympic goals of peace, mutual understanding and cooperation.

While the themes of peace and brotherhood are inherently covert in the *Olympic Anthem*, expressed primarily in the ritual context in which the *Anthem* is presented rather than language, they are most distinctly overt in Beethoven’s *Choral Symphony*. In fact, deeply symbolic of the quest for universal brotherhood and

与国际合作。

然而，就《奥林匹克颂歌》而言，其文本远没有演出的语境那样重要，颂歌在开幕式中伴随着会旗仪式，引人瞩目地演出，这就将颂歌置于奥林匹克主义普世愿望的仪式展示的中心位置。1988年汉城奥运会开幕式中，精心策划的仪式将奥林匹克和平与友爱的信息传递，表演得淋漓尽致。奥林匹克会旗伴随着传统乐器的国家交响乐团的演奏抵达运动场，象征和平的白鸽腾空而起，身着白色服装的韩国大众合唱团高唱人们熟悉的奥林匹克颂歌，此时奥林匹克会旗缓缓升到旗杆顶部。这就是那个著名的象征性符号：五环交错相接的彩色旗帜，全球广泛认可的“国际象征”（顾拜旦，2000，p.594），表示着世界各国的团结及和平、相互理解与合作的奥林匹克目标。

如果说隐含于《奥林匹克颂歌》的和平和友好主题，主要是通过仪式的语境，而不是语言来展现的，那么这些主题在贝多芬

的《合唱交响曲》中则得到更为明确的表达。事实上，贝多芬的《第九交响曲》深刻象征着对全世界友好的追求，有力地呼唤全世界对于和平的渴望，在现代历史进程的几个划时代节点上，它都曾经登上历史舞台，诉说我们最崇高的和平主义和国际主义理想：1918年12月31日，在第一次世界大战结束后两个月，阿瑟·尼基什在柏林一场“和平与自由”主题的音乐会上指挥演奏了《第九交响曲》；1989年圣诞节期间，为庆祝柏林墙的拆除，伦纳德·伯恩斯坦也指挥演奏了这一乐曲。

在第九交响乐中，贝多芬有意借助席勒的文字来描绘“神性的欢乐、美丽的火花”，“极乐世界的女儿”。这一定会使我们大家团结，让我们大家感动。“一切善”与“一切恶”，“兄弟们沿着你的道路奔跑”“像获胜的英雄享受快乐”（列维，p.9-12）。它是人类社会经久不衰的音乐符号，20世纪初期泛欧组织创始人 Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi，

powerfully evocative of a global yearning for peace, Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* has graced the stage of several epochal moments in modern history that speak to our highest pacifist and internationalist ideals: on December 31, 1918, two months after the armistice, Arthur Nikisch conducted a performance of the *Ninth* in a concert in Berlin dedicated to 'Peace and Freedom'; during Christmas 1989, it was performed under the baton of Leonard Bernstein to celebrate the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.

In the *Ninth*, Beethoven specifically employs Schiller's text to portray "Joy, beautiful spark of divinity" ("Freude, schooner Götterfunken"), Daughter of Elysium ("Tochter aus Elysium"), which must unite and touch us all, "All good" ("Alle Guten") and "all bad" ("alle Bösen"); "Run, brothers, your path" ("Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn"), "Joyful, as a hero to victory" ("Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen") (Levy 9-12). An enduring sonic symbol of a community of mankind, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of the early twentieth century Pan Europa organization, announced in 1929 in reference to Beethoven's Ninth that "Ludwig van Beethoven composed the melody that supremely expresses the will and desire of the masses for joy, union, and brotherhood" (Buch 203). Coubertin shared the sentiment welcoming its inaugural Olympic performance on the evening of August 1st, 1936, at the



Berlin Games, by invoking Schiller's lines in honoring the "physical harmony stronger than death itself that was being fashioned under the auspices of the five-ringed Olympic flag" (Brohm 141). In short, both Samaras's Anthem and Beethoven's Ninth encode a lofty indeed transcendent mythological religiosity that speaks to a classical ideal of an enlightened humanity with its eternally optimistic promise of peace, joy and reconciliation.

## Beauty

From the very beginning of his Olympic sojourn, Coubertin was inspired by the beauty of ancient Olympia in all its geographical, ceremonial, architectural, religious, artistic and athletic dimensions. "Anyone who studies the ancient Games," he wrote in 1908, "will perceive that their deep significance was due to two principal elements: beauty and reverence. If the modern Games are to exercise the influence I desire for them they must in turn show beauty and reverence – a beauty and a reverence infinitely surpassing anything hitherto realized in the most important athletic contests of our day. The grandeur and dignity of processions and attitudes, the impressive splendor of ceremonies, the concurrence of all the arts, popular emotion and generous sentiment, must all in some sort collaborate together." (2000 545)

在 1929 年提及贝多芬的第九交响乐时,认为“路德维希·冯·贝多芬创作的这一乐曲无与伦比地表达了广大民众向往欢乐、团结和兄弟情谊的意志和愿望。”(巴赫, p.203)。顾拜旦在 1936 年 8 月 1 日晚柏林奥运会上的首次奥林匹克演出致辞时表达了同样的情怀,他借用席勒诗句,崇尚“身体和谐比死亡本身强大,这正是奥林匹克五环旗倡导的时尚。”(布罗姆, p.141)。总之,无论萨马拉斯的颂歌还是贝多芬第九交响曲都蕴含着高尚的神话宗教,诉说着文明人类的古典理想,对和平、欢乐与和解的永恒而乐观的希望。

## 美 丽

顾拜旦在其奥林匹克之旅启程之时,就为古代奥运会在地理、仪式、建筑、宗教、艺术和竞技运动等各个方面的美所深深地激动。他在 1908 年写道:“任何研究古奥运会的人,都会感到其深刻的意义基于两个基本元



素：美和崇敬。如果能让现代奥运会产生我所希冀的影响，它也同样必须显示出美和崇敬，它的美和崇敬要无限超越我们时代迄今最重要的各种体育比赛所表现出的一切。壮观的游行、庄重的态度，壮丽而感人的庆典，各种艺术交相映辉，大众情感及慷慨情怀，所有这些以某种方式整合在一起。”（2000，p.545）

为了美化奥运会，使其成为光荣、崇高、不同凡响的盛会，顾拜旦提出他称之为“和谐”

（eurythmy）一词，用这一术语来蕴含他所指的姿势、平衡、和谐。他开启了奥林匹克艺术比赛，即“缪斯五项”，艺术比赛与奥运会体育比赛相结合，以实现顾拜旦主张的“肌肉和头脑”的联姻（2000，p.611）、成为“通过调和矛盾，促进和谐”的一种方式（2000，p.620）。这与约翰·拉斯金的美学思想一脉相承，注重发挥仪式和典礼、装饰与建筑的作用，即便只是些如花环、会徽、旗帜、奖杯、证书、招贴画和奖牌等似乎平常的主题。装饰艺术

To beautify the Games, to honor, dignify and distinguish them, Coubertin advocated for what he called “eurythmy” (2000 202),” a term that encoded his notions of poise, balance and harmony; he established the Arts Competitions, the Pentathlon of the Muses, which in conjunction with the Games created what Coubertin called a marriage of “Muscle and Mind” (2000 611), a way of “promoting harmony by reconciling opposites” (2000 620), and in keeping with the aesthetics of John Ruskin paid close attention to the role of rituals and ceremonies, decorations and architecture, even such seemingly mundane topics as garlands, emblems, flags, trophies, diplomas, poster design, and medals. The decorative arts in particular were vital to Coubertin’s agenda of beautification and in the ultimate expression of his Ruskian vision, he argued that the Games should exhibit unity between athlete, spectator, environment, decoration, landscape, and ceremony.

Music, not surprisingly, has remained a central and powerful ingredient in the celebration and beautification of the Games. During the opening and closing ceremonies, the medal presentation, the media production of the Games, the arts festivals, and as accompaniment to some of the sports themselves, audiences are regaled with an infinite variety of music – from national anthems to popular music,

from opera to rap, from classical to gospel. But the music officially and traditionally linked to the Games, the music that defines and connotes the modern Games, that ennobles and distinguishes them, remains to this day the classical hymns, marches, fanfares, and processions that stir the imagination, speak to the sacred, historical heritage of the Games and instantiate the Olympic ideology. Both Samaras's *Anthem* as well as Beethoven's *Ninth* serve as hallmark works that most clearly capture the idealism of the Games and ennoble the opening ceremonial by instantiating the beauty, solemnity and reverence that Coubertin sought to bring to his modern sporting edifice. In reference to the Olympic Anthem, former IOC President, Lord Killanin, wrote: "I am pleased this hymn has not been changed in spite of efforts to this end over the years. It is very moving, especially when performed as it usually is, by a good orchestra and choir" (141). And BBC TV's Barry Davies commented that for him "The Olympic hymn continues to evoke a feeling of warmth of man's humanity to man" (Olympic Grandstand).

对顾拜旦美化奥运会计划至关重要，为充分展现其对拉斯金美学思想的憧憬，他认为奥运会应该表现出运动员、观众、环境、装饰、景观和仪式的和谐一致。

不出所料，音乐在奥运会的庆典和美化中一直是一个强有力的核心要素。在开幕式和闭幕式、颁奖仪式、奥运会的媒体制作、艺术节以及一些体育项目的伴奏中，观众在各类音乐中尽情享受，从各国国歌到流行音乐，从歌剧到说唱音乐，从古典到赞美诗，无所不包。但是正式的并在传统上与奥运会相关的音乐，确定和蕴含现代奥运会意义的音乐，使奥运会升华并将其突显出来的音乐，直到今天依然是古典颂歌、进行曲、仪式短曲及游行曲，以激发人们的想象，讲述奥运会神圣的历史遗产和奥林匹克思想的典范。萨马拉斯的颂歌和贝多芬的第九交响曲都作为标志性作品，都极为清晰地捕捉到了奥运会的理想主义，将顾拜旦为构建其“现代体育大厦”所寻求的美、庄严和崇敬具体化，从而升华了

开幕式。国际奥委会前主席基拉宁勋爵在提及奥林匹克颂歌时，写道：“我很高兴这首颂歌没有被换掉，尽管多年来一直有人试图这样做。这首歌曲非常感人，尤其是当由一个良好的乐团和合唱团表演时，通常都是这样。”

（p.141）。BBC 电视的巴里·戴维斯评论也评论道，“奥林匹克颂歌在持续不断地激发人们对他人的温暖之情”（奥运看台）。

贝多芬第九交响曲也激发了人们类似的反应。顾拜旦预感到第九交响曲会出现在柏林开幕式时，曾公开说过“没有什么可以让我更快乐了，因为在我童年时，这一乐章就打动了，让我感动不已”（2000，p.583）。他还写道，贝多芬作品不仅对奥运会有意义，而且显示了历史的力量：

我希望在未来，这种非常适合传递青年们希望和欢乐的力量的合唱音乐，会越来越多地伴随他们的奥运壮举。同样，我也希望与奥运会同时举办的知识展览中，历史获得与诗歌一样重要

Beethoven's *Ninth* elicits similar responses. Anticipating the inclusion of the *Ninth* in the Berlin opening ceremonies, Coubertin once declared that “Nothing could make me happier, because during my childhood this particular movement stirred and moved me deeply” (2000 583). He further wrote, tying the presence of Beethoven's work not only to the Games but to the force of history:

I hope that in the future choral music, which is so well-suited to translating the power of the hopes and joys of youth will accompany their Olympic feats more and more. Similarly, I hope that history will hold a major place alongside poetry in intellectual exhibitions held alongside the Games. This is only natural, since Olympism is a part of history. To celebrate the Olympic Games is to lay claim to history (2000 583).

Or as Seiji Osawa remarked on the eve of the Nagano production of the *Ninth*; “People all over the world singing about joy – that’s the purpose” (Strom C3).

In other words, Samaras’s *Hymn* and Beethoven’s *Ninth* are components of a complex organizational matrix and in communion with a wide variety of other well established rituals, especially during the opening ceremonies, constitute the beauty and beautification of the Olympic Games Movement, in particular as art forms that instantiate the harmony and balance that Olympism propounds.

## CONCLUSION

Nowhere perhaps is the idealism of the Olympic Movement captured more fully or more movingly, and for many more inspirationally, than in the Olympic Anthem and the final movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, each in their own way expressing the three fundamental characteristics of Olympism – religion, peace and beauty. Whether performed by military bands, official Olympic orchestras, children or adult, secular or church choirs, during the opening or closing ceremonies, and in the case of the anthem, in Greek, Korean, English, or Norwegian, solo soprano or mass choral, both remain popular and expressive mainstays of the modern Olympic pageant

的位置。这是十分自然的，因为奥林匹克就是历史的一部分。庆祝奥运会就是重申历史（2000，p.583）。

或者就象小泽征尔于长野指挥第九交响曲前夕所说：“全世界的人们齐唱欢乐——这就是目的”（斯特罗姆，C3）。

换言之，萨马拉斯的《奥林匹克颂歌》和贝多芬的《第九交响曲》都是复杂的组织化“矩阵”的组成部分，尤其是在开幕式中，它们与其他业已成熟的诸多仪式交相辉映，将奥林匹克主义倡导的和谐与平衡的理念具象为特有的艺术形式，构建了奥林匹克运动之美。

## 结 论

大概没有其他什么能像《奥林匹克颂歌》和贝多芬《第九交响曲》的最后一个乐章将奥林匹克运动的理想主义把握地如此充分、如此动人，而且给人如此多的启迪。它们以各自的方式表达奥林匹克精神的三大基本特征：

宗教、和平和美。不论其演奏者是军乐队，正式的奥运乐团，儿童或成人，世俗的或教会的合唱团，是在开幕式还是在闭幕式上表演，《奥林匹克颂歌》是希腊语唱，还是韩语、英语或是挪威语唱，是女高音独唱或是群体合唱，这两者一直是现代奥林匹克盛会最受欢迎且最具表现力的支柱，也是奥林匹克思想有力表达方式。这两者当然都有其批评者。Lekarska 谈颂歌时，评论道，“奥林匹克仪式仍然需要一首能够鼓舞全世界运动员的流行乐曲，以不辜负五环，燃烧的圣火和放飞的鸽子”（p.157）。而 Ned Gorem 曾经将贝多芬《第九交响曲》说成“风格豪华的头号垃圾”（Taruskin, p.244）。

但是，支持也好，反对也好，这两个作品都为奥林匹克礼仪提供了强有力的音响元素并与其他一系列令人印象深刻且广泛认可的仪式相结合，如纳入开幕式、闭幕式和颁奖礼仪的礼仪，构建了一个庄严肃穆、壮观永存的框架，使奥运会超凡拔俗，不

and powerful expressions of the Olympic ideology. Both pieces have their detractors of course. Lekarska writes of the Anthem that “What the Olympic ceremonies still need is a popular tune capable of inspiring the sportsmen of the world, a tune that lives up to the five circles, the burning flame and the flight of doves” (157) and Ned Gorem once described Beethoven’s Ninth as “the first piece of junk in the grand style” (Taruskin 244). But supporters and detractors alike, both compositions serve as powerful sonic components of the Olympic protocol and in conjunction with a wide array of other impressive and well recognized rituals – rituals embedded in the opening, closing and medal ceremonies – provide the solemn and invariably spectacular framework that distinguishes the Olympics from all other sport competitions, precisely what Coubertin envisioned for the Olympics from the very beginning and precisely what contributes to their worldwide spectatorial appeal and success to this day.

Of course, the ceremonies too, especially the opening ceremonies, have their critics. The acclaimed British athletics coach, Geoffrey Dyson, an otherwise avid supporter of the Games, once remarked that the opening ceremonies were “fawning, fake, pseudo pomp-and-circumstance” (Lucas 186). Nor are the Games themselves without their censors. Many like Rose have argued that the Games should be eliminated because they are simply “too big, too commercial, too professional, and too political” (394). And indeed, throughout the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, the Games have teetered on implosion, mired in a wide variety of trenchant issues that have not only tarnished their idealism but threatened their very existence. But at their best, the Olympic Games remain a bold cosmopolitan social experiment and Olympism a prodigious ideal of human life that seeks, as Lekarska writes, “to bring into harmony physical and mental effort, the strife for perfection and moral stamina, the endeavour for friendship and the conditions for its manifestation, the link between personal glory, national pride and international understanding,” in addition, the Olympic Games were not only to “encourage peace. They were to embody it” (157).

同于其他任何体育比赛。这正是顾拜旦从一开始所设想的奥运会愿景，这也对奥运会今日的成功和享有全球瞩目的吸引力，多有贡献。

当然，奥林匹克仪式，尤其是开幕式，也有其批评者。备受赞誉的英国田径教练杰弗里·戴森，是奥运会的热情支持者，但对开幕式却另有看法，他曾批评道，开幕式“媚俗、虚假、装腔作势”（卢卡斯，p.186）。对奥运会本身也并非没有批评者。许多人像罗斯一样认为，奥运会应当淘汰，仅需提及其“太大，太商业化，太政治化”就够了（p.394）。事实上，在整个20世纪和21世纪中，奥运会已濒临崩溃，为各种问题所困扰，这不仅玷污了它所倡导的理想主义，而且威胁它自身的生存。但是，当奥运会处于最佳状态时，它依然是一个极具胆识的世界性社会实验，奥林匹克主义则是关于人类生命令人称奇的理想，正如Lekarska所写道的，它“使身心和谐，追求完美和道德耐力，

促进友谊及其实现的条件，建立个人荣誉，民族自豪感和国际理解之间的联系；“此外，奥运会不仅“促进和平，它就是和平的体现。”（p.157）

综上所述，奥运会试图清晰地表明 Osterhoudt 所说的“体育运动与人类经验中不可分割的其他方面的和谐、平衡和统一的关系”（p.354）。奥林匹克主义在这一方面所设的目标也许过高，但并非如 Osterhoudt 所指出的，“其最大弱点的根源，与传统观点相反……在于其最伟大的力量和最持久的见解的来源，因为它只将目标限定于显示体育运动最终所能做出的贡献”（p.358）。在这个意义上，无论是萨马拉斯的颂歌，还是贝多芬的欢乐颂都体现了奥林匹克主义的理想主义倾向和对我们的召唤，每当我们听到这两首乐曲，考虑到的是不仅在体育运动中，而且在人的一生中可能实现的最高目标。

（赵卓译）

In short, the Olympic Games were intended to make explicit what Osterhoudt calls “the harmonious, balanced and unified connections between sport and other integral aspects of human experience” (354). That Olympism may have aimed so high in this regard is not, as Osterhoudt notes, “the root of its greatest weakness, as conventionally supposed, but the contrary...the source of its greatest strength and its most enduring insight, for it is just this aim that shows what is ultimately possible in sport” (358). In this sense, both Samaras’s *Anthem* and Beethoven’s *Ode to Joy* embody the idealistic inclinations of Olympism and call upon us every time we hear them to consider the highest possibilities not only in sport but also in life.

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# 2016 年里约奥运会计划中的奥林匹克教育：理论和方法论

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一些研究指出，体育运动能对其参与者的社会行为产生积极影响（基德，1997；马丁内克等，2006；桑福德等，2006；卢比奥，2009）。然而，仅参与体育运动并不足以达此效果，体育运动训练方法对体育活动拟培养的价值观具有重要影响（桑福德等，2006；2008；宾得，2002；2005）。因此，各体育项目计划应仔细考量其教学方法，以在日常体育实践中引导价值观教育并使之系统化（宾得，2002；2005；卡珊德拉等，2007；桑德福等，2006；2008；莱沃拉蒂，2010；弗雷泽-托马斯等，2005；让森斯；斯特格曼，2004）。然而，却有“少量而有

# OLYMPIC EDUCATION IN THE RIO 2016 PLANNING: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

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Several studies point out that sport can bring a better social behavior among its participants (KIDD, 1997; MARTINEK et al, 2006; SANDFORD et al, 2006; RUBIO, 2009). However, it is not enough to merely practice sports. The sport training methods also have an important impact over the values that are developed in sports programs (SANDFORD et al, 2006; 2008; BINDER, 2002; 2005). Hence, sports programs should consider their pedagogical approach in order to guide and systematize values education within their daily practice (BINDER, 2002; 2005; HASSANDRA et al., 2007; SANDFORD et al., 2006; 2008; LEVORATTI, 2010; FRASER-THOMAS et al, 2005; JANSSENS; STEGEMAN,2004). However, there is "little robust research evidence" (SANDFORD et al, 2008, 424) to support "illusion that physical education or sports programs can provide miracle cures for what

are deep-rooted and multidimensional social problems” (SANDFORD et al 2006, 259).

The purpose of this paper is to produce a reflection about Olympic Education (OE) programs that aim to promote values education. The empirical stimulus for our considerations comes from the foundation concepts of the Second Half Program (SHP, Programa Segundo Tempo), an OE program that has been featured as one of the most important OE initiatives in the Rio 2016 Olympic bid (COMITÊ OLÍMPICO BRASILEIRO, 2009).

There are three axes underpinning our reflections: Olympic Education as values education throughout sport; a literature review about the pedagogical procedures on values education through sport; and the Brazilian sport national public policies and its effects in the educational sport.

The analysis of the pedagogical propositions of the Second Half Program (SHP) is grounded on its two official books (OLIVEIRA; PERIM, 2008; 2009). These books provide the rationale for the pedagogical work of the SHP instructors across the country. We have scrutinized these pedagogical tools having the OE literature as background to raise questions about the efficacy of the SHP in

力的研究证据”（桑福德等，2008，424）支持“体育或体育项目可为解决那些根深蒂固、复杂多样的社会问题提供‘特效药’的幻想”（桑福德等，2006，259）

本文旨在对以促进价值观教育为目标的奥林匹克教育（OE）计划进行深入思考。研究的实证动因源于“下半场计划”（SHP）基本理念。“下半场计划”（SHP）是里约申办2016年奥运会时最重要的奥林匹克教育倡议之一（巴西奥委会，2009）。

本研究基于以下三方面支撑：奥林匹克教育是以体育为手段的价值观教育；以体育为手段的价值观教育在教学过程方面的文献综述；涉及体育教育价值的巴西国家公共体育政策及其影响。

对“下半场计划”（SHP）的教育学观点的分析基于它的两本官方手册（奥利维拉；佩瑞姆，2008；2009）。这两本书为全国各地从事“下半场计划”（SHP）教学工作的教师提供依据。我们

详读了这两本教学工具书，以奥林匹克教育文献为背景，对“下半场计划”（SHP）促进价值观教育的功效提出质疑。对此，提出以下问题：作为一项奥林匹克教育计划，“下半场计划”（SHP）是否有可靠的教学指导方针？它是否有明确的教学论依据帮助该计划的教师以体育运动为工具来广泛促进价值观教育？

### 通过体育运动和奥林匹克教育实施的价值观教育

有关儿童伦理和道德培养的国际研究表明，价值观教育是一个多方面的社会化过程（阿尔梅达，2011；桑福德等，2006；圣马丁，1995）。因此，每个价值观教育计划都应当成为“多部门合作”的一部分（桑福德等，2008，p.422）。这意味着体育教育项目也要采用体育以外的其他活动来增加其学生价值观教育的学习体验。体育运动本身即可传授价值的狭义观点已被所有国际性研究全面否定，所不同的是，

promoting meaningful values education. In doing so, we ask: does the SHP have reliable pedagogical guidelines as an OE program? Does it show clear evidence of a precise pedagogy to help its instructors to broad promote values education using sport as a tool?

### Values education through sport and Olympic Education

International research about children's ethical and moral development demonstrates that values education is a multifaceted socialization process (ALMEIDA, 2011; SANDFORD et al, 2006; SANMARTIN, 1995). Consequently, every values education program should be part of -a multi-agency approach-(SANDFORD et al 2008, 422). That means that sports educational projects have also employed other activities beyond sports to increase values education learning experiences for their students. The narrow view that sport, per se, would teach values has been broadly denied for all and every international research; unlike, researchers have acknowledged that the mere "participation in sport and physical activity does not lead to a more positive self-image, less deviant behavior or closer social contacts per se" (STEGEMAN, 2004, 28). As stated by Binder (2012, 279), "There still seems to be a great deal of discussion in the field of sport about 'what' needs to be taught to help students develop good characters through

sport participation, and very little about ‘how’ to teach it”.

Additionally, researchers on moral development and values education have suggested that practical experiences rather than rules, commands or lectures are a more effective means of instilling values in young people. Practical experiences in the form of games, role plays and simulations can be used to provide situations of moral conflict and thus opportunities for children to develop their abilities in moral reasoning from various points of view (BINDER, 2005; CARVALHO, 2002; PIAGET, 1996; PUIG, 1998; ZABALZA, 2000). As Collinson (2012, 326) states “values appear to be learned through relationships and in communities. They also appear to be learned and refined over time: in childhood, by emulation of others and through experiences and practice”. The practical experiences offered by sport and physical activity which contribute to a child’s moral, psychological and social development are the rationale that justifies their presence in educational settings (STEGEMAN, 2004).

研究者已认可仅仅“参与体育运动和身体活动本身并不能引致更积极的自我认知、更少的异常行为或更密切的社会交往”（斯特格曼，2004，p.28）。正如宾德（2012，p.279）所说：“在体育运动领域，人们大量讨论的是应当教‘什么’才能促进学生通过体育参与培养良好品格，而很少讨论‘如何’教”。

此外，道德培养和价值观教育的研究者建议，向年轻人灌输价值观，实际体验比规章、指令或说教更有效果。以游戏、角色扮演和模仿方式进行的实践体验，可用来给孩子们提供道德冲突的情景，进而给他们提供在各种观点中培养自己道德思维的机会（宾德，2005；卡瓦略，2002；皮亚杰，1996；普伊格，1998；扎巴拉，2000）。正如柯林斯（2012，p.326）指出的，“价值观可通过人际关系在社区中习得。价值观也是在时间过程中学习和完善的：在孩提时代，通过模仿他人、体验和实践”。体育运动和身体活动提供的实践



体验有助于孩子在道德、心理和社会维度的发展，这就是其在教育环境中存在的理由。

《传授价值观：奥林匹克教育工具包》（IOC 2007）是教师和教育工作者的参考书，它以体育和价值观教育的有关研究成果为参照，以通过体育运动推广奥林匹克主义价值观为目标。该书提出了4种教学方法准则：①使用讨论（“讨论或交谈是价值观培养的关键性学习策略”）；②使用困境（当竞争性目标存在，每项决定都很重要时，困境使学习者面对做出道德决策的复杂挑战）；③使用角色扮演（角色扮演提供设身处地进入他人角色的机会，使书本描述的经验通过戏剧化，变得鲜活）；④使用小团体（使用小团体有助于学习者分享创意，提升技能，专注于团队协作）。

### 作为奥林匹克教育的“下半场计划”（SHP）

“下半场计划”（SHP）是巴西联邦政府体育政策的主要项

A reference document for teachers and educators which complies with these research findings about sports and values education, and which is aimed at promoting the values of Olympism through sports is *Teaching Values: an Olympic Education Toolkit* (IOC 2007). It presents four methodological guidelines: [1] Using discussion (“discussion or conversation is a key learning strategy for values development”); [2] Using dilemmas (“Dilemmas introduce learners to the complex challenge of making ethical decisions when there are competing goals, and every decision has consequences”); [3] Using Role Plays (“Role playing offers the opportunity to step “into the shoes” of someone else, and make the experiences described in writing come alive through dramatization”); [4] Using small groups (“Using small groups helps learners to share ideas, develop skills and focus on teamwork”).

### The Second Half Program as Olympic Education

The SHP is one of the main programs within the sports policies of the federal government in Brazil. It reaches one million children and adolescents across 1,300 cities (SOUZA et al., 2010). The SHP aims to be a tool for social inclusion and values education (MINISTÉRIO DO ESPORTE, 2007). Despite being a federal policy, the SHP is managed and implemented by different actors,

such as state and local governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and not-for-profit institutions. Usually, each SHP nucleus has a coordinator, two instructors and 100 children or adolescents. They are to follow a few guidelines like: (a) offer activities before or after school (as a rule in Brazil, students go to school in the morning and finish before lunch, or go in the afternoon, after having lunch); (b) deliver at least two team sports and an individual sport discipline no less than three times per week, from two to four hours each day and (c) deliver supplementary activities such as support in literacy or numeracy, or even cultural classes – for instance drama or dance classes. SHP nucleuses are to give sports uniforms and a daily snack to their students.

The SHP has a clear proposal for training and developing its human resources. Within this structure, there are two books (OLIVEIRA; PERIM, 2008, 2009) which give to the program its philosophical and educational parameters. Inside these books, the chapters that cover the ‘attitudinal dimension’ of the learning experience (GAYA, 2008; INSTITUTO AYRTON SENNA, 2008; OLIVEIRA; MOREIRA, 2008) come up with a traditional set of the so-called values of sport: the value of efforts, respect the other, fair play, cooperation, team work, discipline, respect for the rules and friendship. According Oliveira & Moreira

目计划之一，它将惠及遍布 1300 个城镇的 100 万青少年儿童（索萨等，2010），其目标是成为一种促进社会融合和价值观教育的手段（体育部，2007）。尽管是一项联邦政策，“下半场计划”

（SHP）的管理和运行由诸如州政府、地方政府、非政府组织、非营利机构等不同执行人实施。

通常情况下，每个“下半场计划”

（SHP）小组会有 1 名协调人，2 名老师和 100 名青少年儿童组成。他们会遵循一些指导原则，如①提供课前或课后的活动（巴西规定，学生上午上学，午餐前放学，或午餐后的下午上学）；②提供至少 2 个团体项目，1 个个人项目的体育活动，每周不少于 3 次，每天 2~4 小时；③提供补充活动，如文学或算术，再或者是文化课，比如戏剧或舞蹈课。“下半场计划”（SHP）小组将为组内的孩子提供运动服和日常甜点。

“下半场计划”（SHP）对人力资源培训与发展提出了明确建议。在此方面，有 2 本书（奥利维拉；派瑞，2008，2009）为

“下半场计划”（SHP）提供哲学和教育学的依据。书中有关学习体验的“态度维度”章节中提出一套所谓传统体育运动价值观：努力拼搏、尊重他人、公平竞争、合作共赢、团队精神、遵守纪律、尊重规则、友谊第一（加雅，2008；埃尔顿 - 塞纳基金会，2008；奥利维拉；莫雷拉，2008）。例如，奥利维拉和莫雷拉就认为（2008，p.148）体育运动发展“克己，自信，守纪，意志力，友爱，责任感、尊重，团结，合作，融入”。然而，遍布这两本书并由此贯穿整个“下半场计划”（SHP）的基本观点却是以体育运动本身即可提供价值观教育这一假设为前提的。

这些工具书既没有对体育教学的最新进展加以分析，也没有提供任何有关教学建议或方法的指导。在“下半场计划”（SHP）的相关出版物中既没有采用科勒的教学维度，也没有对其价值观给出哲学和政治的理由，就认为其在价值观教育的教学方面提供了切实可行的方法。这些书仅包

(2008, 148), for instance, sport develops “self-control, self-confidence, discipline, will, fraternity, responsibility, respect, solidarity, cooperation, among others”. However, the underpinning approach that pervades the books - therefore, the whole SHP - is grounded on the assumption that the sport practice per se will provide values education.

The reference books analyzed neither advance nor offer any didactic or methodological procedures to sport teaching. Neither the adoption of Coll’s teaching dimensions nor the philosophical and political justifications of values in the SHP publications appear to contribute in a practical way to the pedagogical aspects of values education. The books contain only eight practical suggestions for activities that support the social skills and the development of the attitudinal dimension of sports education. A feature of these pedagogical approaches is the lack of a systematic methodology of questioning and reflection towards an education of values. An extract of one of the pedagogical suggestions shows the typical pedagogy represented there:

The teacher, while developing a sports activity, notices that some students are cheating on the rules to their own team benefit. Once s/he tries to restrain this cheating, the teacher is disrespected by the group. This is the right moment for the teacher to stop the activity and to bring all the students to reflect on what is going on (Darido and Oliveira 2009, 226).

After posing this potential problem-solving situation, the authors show seven key-questions that could be useful in order to help the students' reflections and discussions about rules and respect. For instance: "don't you want this type of rules; are they not suitable for what your expectations on this game?" Yet, the reader cannot find any systematic, conceptual or methodological direction or even a single teaching principle explaining how s/he is supposed to address and plan the attitudinal dimension teaching.

含 8 条实践建议，用于教授为社交技能和培养运动教育态度提供支撑的活动。这些教学方法的特点是缺乏系统的方法对价值观教育进行质疑与思考。将这种教育代表性观点的一条教学建议摘录如下：

在体育活动过程中，教师注意到有学生为了自己团队的利益而作弊。一旦试图阻止这种作弊行为，老师就会失去这个小团队的尊重。对于这位老师来说，这个时刻正是叫停这个活动并让全体学生反思到底是怎么回事的好时机（达里奥 & 奥利维亚 2009，226）。

在摆出解决这一问题可能的情境后，作者称有 7 个关键问题，会有助于学生对规则与尊重进行讨论和思考。例如，“你不想要此类规则吗，它们不适用于你对这一比赛的预期吗？”然而，读者得不到任何系统的、观念的或方法论的指导，或者哪怕是一条简单的教学原则，来告诉他 / 她应当如何处理，并对态度方面的教育做出计划。

由于“下半场计划”（SHP）的工具书没有对如何开展价值观教育提出任何类型的建议；由于其没有提及体育教师应当如何，或在何时将价值观教育纳入计划过程；由于我们从中无法找到任何建议或一点点教学指导来处理价值观教育，我们只能这样结论道：上述方法，只可称之为“偶然教学法”。没有系统的计划来应对体育体验中态度方面的问题；在这方面会或不会发生的一切，显然都是偶然的；如果环境允许，教师可以处理这些问题。我们不能说它是“错”的，但对一个试图做到高度计划，完善准备的建议，其局限性是明显的。

“下半场计划”（SHP）有关出版物提出各种建议的另一特点是说教。这种说教式教学法的例证可见之于达里奥和奥利维娅的著述（2009，p.215）。作者建议道，与学生做伸展练习时，教师应强调尊重自己的局限性，及尊重其它学生与练习伙伴的空间和局限性。“这样做，教师肯定会达到态度方面的目标”。

As the SHP reference books do not present any type of suggestion on how to address values education; as there is no mention about how or when the sport teacher should include values education in the planning process; as we could not find whichever recommendation or a slightly pedagogical guideline on how to deal with values education, we can only conclude that the procedures alluded above are what we call incidental pedagogy. There is no systematic planning to tackle the attitudinal dimension in the sport experience; everything that might or not happen within this dimension is clearly conditioned by chance; the teacher may deal with these topics if the context allows it. We cannot say that this is “wrong”, but it is a clear limitation of a proposal that intends to be highly planned and prepared.

Exhortation is another feature of the proposals found in the SHP publications. One illustration of this exhortative pedagogy can be seen in Darido and Oliveira (2009, 215). The authors suggest that, while doing stretching exercises with their students, the teachers should highlight the importance of respect one's own limits, as well the boundaries and limits of other students and exercise partners. “Doing this, the teacher will certainly reach the attitudinal dimension”.

Olympic Education literature has already provided enough evidence that, to achieve values education, students should be involved in situations that are similar to reality; the OE pedagogical literature has made clear that strategies such as role plays, where students are actively involved in the scenarios provided by the teachers – or even constructed by the students themselves - are the best way to reach values education (BINDER, 2005). As stated a long time ago by Pierre de Coubertin himself, to teach and to learn values “is not enough talking about them; one must practice and live them” (cited in BINDER, 2005, 15).

Another example of this ‘exhortative teaching’ can be found in a tag game activity. Those who are running can save themselves from the one who is chasing when they touch another colleague, first on some specific body parts (the teacher is to state those) and finally by hugging a colleague. The authors claim that:

in the activity, the children realize the value of the other in order to save themselves, and so they try to cooperate with the other, trying to catch him or her to save themselves from the one who is ‘in’, who is chasing them (Instituto Ayrton Senna, 2008, 46-47).

奥林匹克教育的文献已有足够例证证明，为实现价值观教育，应将学生置于和现实相类似的情境之中。奥林匹克教育教学法文献也已清楚表明角色扮演之类的策略，是实现价值观教育的最佳途径。学生按照教师提供的，或者甚至是学生自己编写的剧本，积极参与活动（宾德，2005）。正如顾拜旦本人早就说过的，价值观的教与学，“仅空谈那些价值是不够的，人必须践行并拥有些价值”（引自宾德，2005，15）

这种“说教式教学”的另一例子是标签游戏。这个游戏中，逃跑的被逐者可通过自救来摆脱追逐者。他要做的是先触碰另一个伙伴身体的某些部位（由老师指定这些部位），然后抱住伙伴。作者声称：

在这一活动中，孩子们会意识到他人对自救的价值，由此他们便会尝试与他人合作，通过抓住他或她，将自己从“中招”者，即追赶者的追逐中解脱出来（埃尔顿 - 塞纳基金会，2008，p.46-47）。



然而，在这些游戏中我们注意到的是，直接而清晰的价值观教学方法的缺失。尽管作者强调，相互连贯的教育氛围对“下半场计划”（SHP）致力推广和传授的价值观具有重要意义，这些活动多数仍应界定为偶然教学法。换言之，它看起来似有道理，只要教师能确保适宜的氛围，价值观学习（态度维度）便会自然发生。虽然这可能是真的，但却似乎不够。同样，对教师干预的评论之后，也没有指出教学方向，或提出超越说教特征的教学方法建议，从而让教师掌握通过体育运动进行价值观教育的有效手段。

### 观点：SHP 能否促进巴西的奥林匹克教育？

就“下半场计划”（SHP）的运行和管理的指导方针以及它的理念、方法论和教学法而言，它是高度集中的项目；但另一方面，它的实施却是高度分散的，依靠遍布全国数以千计的小组来实施。各小组间存在的差异、政

However, what draws our attention in these games is the lack of a direct and clear pedagogy to teach values. Although the authors stress the importance of a coherent educational atmosphere connected to the values that the SHP intends to promote and to teach, most of the activities may be defined as incidental pedagogy. In other words, it seems to be believed that if the teacher guarantees an adequate atmosphere, the learning of values (attitudinal dimension) will occur intuitively. While this may be true, it seems inadequate. In the same way, the comments on the teacher's interventions are not followed by pedagogical orientations or methodological suggestions that would go beyond the exhortative character of the teacher's talk to give teachers efficient tools to teach educational values through sports.

### Perspectives: can the SHP contribute to Olympic Education in Brazil?

The SHP is, on the one hand, a centralized program in regards to its operational and managerial guidelines, as well as its concepts, methodologies and pedagogies. On the other hand, its implementation is highly decentralized, with thousands of nuclei operating across the country. The differences that exist between the SHP nuclei, and also the gap between the policies and what happens on the ground can be considered acceptable. Considering the enormous



task of implementing any educational project in such a huge and diverse country as Brazil, any evaluation of the SHP must be tentative and should take into account the multiplicity of institutions that run the program and the diversity of local conditions and social actors that adds a tremendous complexity to the system.

However, there are many reasons to question the SHP as an OE program. As the OE literature attests, OE is not defined solely by an increasing democratization of access to sports education programs or by the social objectives of the programs. These characteristics by themselves do not define an Olympic education program, which should also include a group of features in which Olympic history, its traditions and symbols, and most importantly Olympic values, play a central role. Without this, there can be no particularity of Olympic Education. Our analysis demonstrates, however, an absence of OE features in SHP policies, pedagogies, teaching practices and methodologies. This absence indicates that it would be at least controversial to showcase the SHP as an Olympic education program.

策与实际执行之间差距是应当接受的事实。鉴于在巴西这个幅员辽阔，地区差异显著的国家实施这种教育计划的任务艰巨性，对“下半场计划”（SHP）进行的任何评估都应当是尝试性的，并应充分考虑实施机构的多样性、各地条件的多样性以及使系统复杂性大为增加的社会行动者们。

然而，可以诸多理由对作为奥林匹克教育计划的“下半场计划”（SHP）提出质疑。奥林匹克教育文献表明，奥林匹克教育不能仅仅界定为提高参与体育运动教育项目的民主化程度，或这些项目的社会目标。这些特性本身不能用来界定奥林匹克教育项目，它还应包括发挥着核心作用的一组特性内容，如奥运历史、奥林匹克的传统与标识，最重要的是奥林匹克价值。没有这组内容，就没有奥林匹克教育的特性。然而，我们分析表明，“下半场计划”（SHP）在政策、教学方法、教育实践和方法论等方面，均缺乏奥林匹克教育的特性。这种缺失表明将其作为奥林匹克教育的

示范至少是存在争议的。

在诸多政策和“下半场计划”（SHP）出版物中发现的一些教学原则显示，其对体育运动教育维度的界定纳入了规划的价值观具体内容，并将在“下半场计划”（SHP）小组实施教学。然而，这些雷同的教学原则却未提供帮助老师们传授价值观的方法。我们的分析表明，这些教学原则和实践活动具有“偶然教学法”的特征，未给教师传授价值观的工作提供依据。

科尼基尼克和塔瓦雷斯的研究（2012）表明，对“下半场计划”（SHP）协调员和教师的培训，未能有效地使他们认识到该计划广泛的社会目标，尤其是价值观教育的目标。奥林匹克主义知识似乎是不存在的，就像价值观教育的系统方法似乎是不存在一样。于是，足够的证据表明，提供体育活动，是“下半场计划”（SHP）教育实践的唯一策略，并试图以此实现该计划政策和出版物中提出全部目标。

The pedagogical guidelines that are found in the policies and publications of the SHP reveal definitions of the educational dimensions of sports that incorporate values as specific content to be planned and taught in the SHP nuclei. However, these same guidelines offer no methodology to help teachers work with values. Our analysis demonstrates that the guidelines and the practical activities are characterized by an incidental pedagogy which does not provide a background for teachers' work with values.

A research conducted by Knijnik and Tavares (2012) indicated that the training of the SHP coordinators and teachers does not efficiently prepare them to put in place the broad social aims of the program, in particular the education on values. Knowledge of Olympism seems to be non-existent just as a systematic approach to teaching values is non-existent. Thus, there is enough evidence to be able to state that the teaching practices in the SHP offer sports practice as the sole strategy to achieve the whole range of objectives stated in the SHP policies and publications.

SHP sport practice is based on the belief that the ‘natural’ outcome of sports participation is the learning of positive values, and that teachers do not need to undertake any pedagogical interventions to achieve this. However, from Pierre de Coubertin’s legacy to the most recent research on sport and education, the evidence has demonstrated that participation in sport may or may not enhance educational goals; thus, to achieve values education, sports education must include clear pedagogical guidance. Sports policies in Brazil are still constructed around the idea of the ‘miraculous powers’ of sport to educate young people, but without a clear pedagogical methodology. It will be difficult to implement an OE throughout the Brazilian SHP promised as a legacy of Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics.

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“下半场计划”（SHP）的体育实践是建立在这样的认识基础上的：学习积极的价值观是体育参与的“自然”结果，教师不必采用任何教学干预就可实现这一目标。然而，从顾拜旦“遗产”到体育和教育的最新研究都表明，参与体育可提升或不提升教育的目标。因此，为实现价值观教育的目标，体育运动教育必须纳入明确的教学指导。巴西体育政策的制定仍然基于体育运动具有教育青年人的“神奇力量”这一理念，缺乏清晰的教学方法。要通过“下半场计划”（SHP）实施奥林匹克教育，并使之成为承诺的2016年里约热内卢奥运会的一个遗产，是有困难的。

（王芳、赵卓译）

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# HOST CITY ELECTIONS, OLYMPIC CANDIDATE CITIES, AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF URBAN PLANNING

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Since the early 1990s, bidding to host Olympic Games has become a significant driver of urban planning policy, on a global scale. While each Olympiad can only have one host city, 56 cities have prepared bids to host Summer and Winter Olympic Games between 2000 and 2020 (the bid competitions date from 1993 to 2013). Likewise, 14 cities have bid to host the Games multiple times, incorporating Olympic planning into their long term urban planning strategies in the process (Figure 1). This highlights that Olympic planning has a major impact on urban planning more broadly: bids to host a ‘mega-event’ like an edition of Olympic Games require large amounts of capital; the design and implementation of strategies for fundamentally redeveloping a city’s landscape; and extensive coalition-building across urban, national, and international institutions. Even though only a handful of these cities have

## 奥运会举办城市的遴选、候选城市和城市规划的国际化

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自 20 世纪 90 年代初以来，申办奥运会在全球范围内已经成为城市规划政策的重要推动力。虽然每届奥运会只能有一个主办城市，但已有 56 个城市曾准备申办 2000 年至 2020 年的夏季和冬季奥运会（申办角逐的时间自 1993 年至 2013 年）。而且，有 14 个城市多次申办过奥运会，在这一过程中将奥运规划纳入其长远的城市战略规划中（见图 1）。这突显出奥运规划对城市规划起到了更为广泛的重要影响：申办一项“大型赛事”如一届奥运会，需要大量资本；城市景观基础性重建的设计计划和实施；城市、国家和国际组织间广泛联盟的建立。尽管在申办城市中只有少数最终申办成功，但申办方案的设计本身就是一个复杂的、大

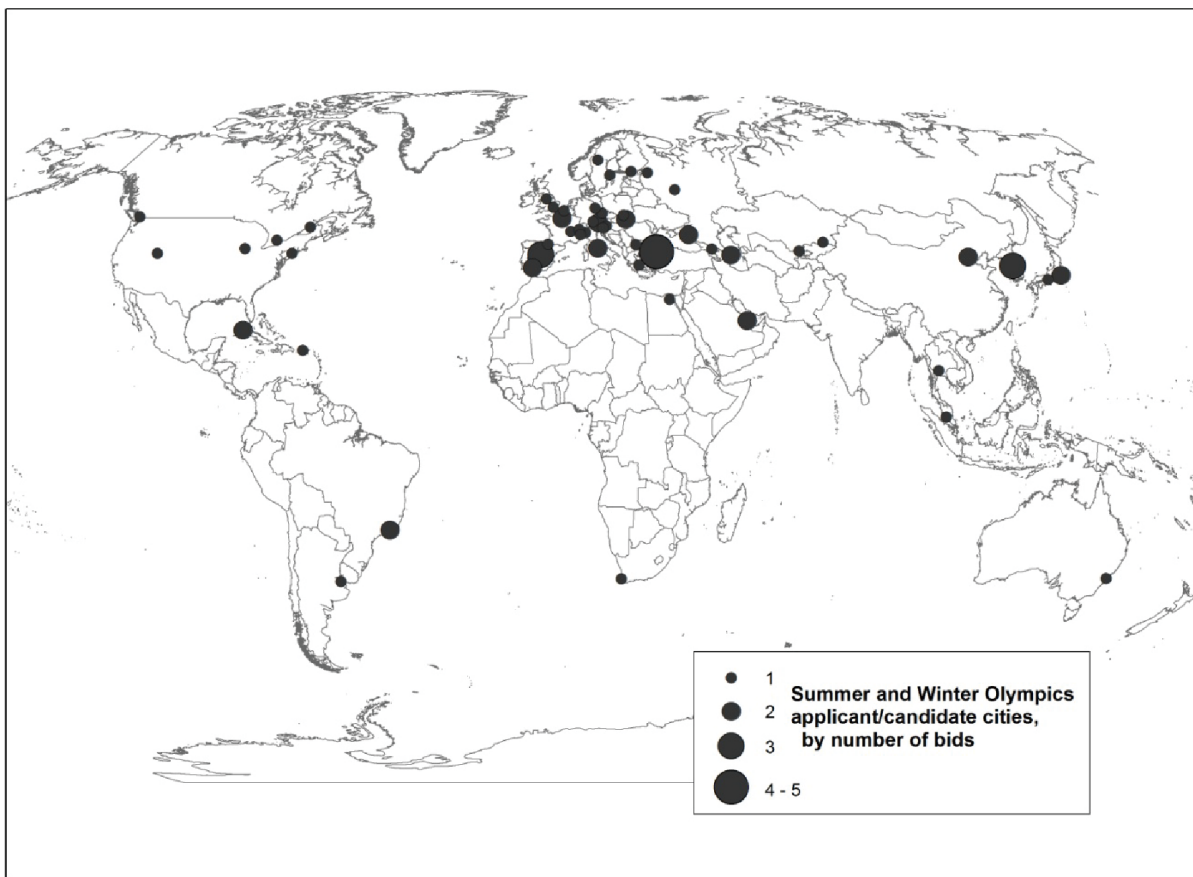
规模的城市规划项目。而且，许多申办奥运会的城市同时在寻求其他一些举办机会。申办某一类活动往往与申办另外一些活动依赖于相同的规划。因此，即便申办奥运会失败，仍可能有助于获得青年奥林匹克运动会、英联邦运动会、国际足联世界杯的重要赛事或许多区域性体育赛事的主办权。<sup>1</sup>

本文阐述了候选城市间竞争未来奥运会举办权——即国际奥委会 (IOC) 所谓的“主办城市遴选”的过程。文中提出的文献和证据突显出自 20 世纪 90 年代初以来奥运规划（和其他大型赛事的城市规划）越来越国际化。申奥候选城市的城市规划者和赛事组织者越来越多地利用奥运会举办城市和其他候选城市的政策模型、规划模板和最佳实践。本文认为，国际奥委会在建立城市规划知识和专门技术的国际网络方

been ultimately successful in hosting an edition of Olympic Games, designing a bid to host is a complex, large-scale urban planning project in itself. Likewise, many cities bidding to host Olympics simultaneously pursue other hosting opportunities. The bids for one type of event rely often on the same plans as those proposed in other event bids, and thus even unsuccessful bids to host the Olympics may help with a successful bid to host a Youth Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games, significant components of a FIFA World Cup™, or various regional sport events.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter explains the process during which candidate cities compete with each other to host upcoming Olympic Games – what the International Olympic Committee (IOC) terms ‘host city elections’. The literature and evidence presented here highlights the increasing internationalization of Olympic planning (and urban planning for other sport mega-events) since the early 1990s. Urban planners and event organizers in Olympic candidate cities increasingly draw on policy models, planning templates, and best practices used in Olympic host cities and in other candidate cities. It is argued that the IOC has

[1] Some examples of these institutional connections between bids include links between: the Manchester 1996 & 2000 Olympic bids and the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games; the Cape Town 2004 Olympic bid and the South Africa 2010 World Cup; the Doha 2016 & 2020 Olympic bids and the Qatar 2022 World Cup; the Rio de Janeiro 2004 & 2012 Olympic bids and the 2007 Pan-American Games, Brazil 2014 World Cup, and Rio 2016 Olympics.



**Figure 1: Olympic Games applicant and candidate cities, 1991-2013**

Host city elections for Olympic Games 2000-2020 (80 bids from 56 cities)

Constructed from IOC bidding records, cartography by the author

**图 1：1993—2013 年奥运会申办和候选城市一览图**

2000—2020 年奥运会举办城市遴选数量（56 个城市 80 次申办）

材料来源：国际奥委会申办记录，作者绘图。

面扮演了重要角色，不仅涵盖申办成功的奥运会主办城市，也包括更广泛的奥运会申办城市。

本文对奥林匹克研究的贡献还在于文章论证了拟定奥运遗产计划不仅局限在正式的赛事活动策划中，也不仅局限在申办成功的主办城市。申办本身影响着没有申办成功的候选城市，尤其是多次申办奥运会城市的城市规划策略。而且，本文强调，主办城市的规划者和组织者只是设计和传播关于发展的知识的一分子；国际奥委会、各种跨国私人和非政府组织也是重要的中介机构。

## 举办城市遴选

规划奥运会需要大约 10 年的筹备期，即从历时 2 年多主办城市遴选开始，到奥运会正式举办大约 8~10 年的时间（故 2020 年夏奥会的遴选过程是在 2011 年到 2013 年间）。<sup>2</sup> 在申办过

played a significant role in building international networks of urban planning knowledge and expertise, not just in successful Olympic host cities, but in the much wider group of cities bidding to host an edition of the Olympic Games.

This chapter contributes to Olympic Studies by demonstrating that Olympic legacy can be planned for not only during the formal event planning, and not only in successful host cities. Bidding itself has impacts on cities' planning strategies, in unsuccessful candidate cities and especially in those cities which have bid for the Games multiple times. Likewise, the chapter highlights that planners and organizers in host cities are only one part of the international networks that design and transfer knowledge about development; the IOC and various transnational private and non-governmental organizations are also important intermediaries.

## Host city elections

Planning an Olympic Games requires almost a decade of preparation, starting with host city elections which take place over a two-year period, approximately 8-10 years before the actual event (thus the elections process for the 2020 Summer Games occurred from 2011 to 2013).<sup>2</sup> Before

[2] For an overview of this process in general, or for individual host city elections, please consult the IOC's host city election 'Working Group' and 'Evaluation Commission' reports for each election. These are available on the IOC's institutional document repository <<http://www.olympic.org/host-city-elections/documents-reports-studies-publications>>

the bidding process formally commences, public and private stakeholders interested in organizing a Games will form a temporary corporation or non-governmental organization, usually called a ‘bid committee’. This committee petitions the National Olympic Committee (NOC) in its country for sponsorship, and then gathers financial and legal support from local public and private stakeholders. Approximately nine years before the event, the IOC will release ‘Candidature Acceptance Procedure’ documents, a compilation of contracts, technical manuals, and a survey to guide bid committees on technical requirements and bid document standards. The IOC started developing these procedures in the early 1990s, with a questionnaire for bid committees used in the preparations for the 1996 Summer Games.<sup>3</sup> Any NOC may nominate a candidate city, and the bid committee pays an application fee (USD 150,000 in the host city elections for the 2020 Summer Games) to access the IOC’s proprietary knowledge management systems and planning manuals. Knowledge sharing programs were first developed through Olympic Knowledge Services – a joint partnership between the IOC, the Sydney 2000 Organising Committee, and a local university. This venture went through several mergers and splits, and eventually was used to develop the IOC’s Olympic Games Knowledge

程正式开始前，对组织奥运会感兴趣的公共和私人利益相关者会建立临时的公司或非政府组织，通常被称为“奥申委”。该委员会首先会向其所在国的国家奥委会提出正式申请，然后汇集当地公共和私人利益者，得到其经济和法律支持。在奥运会正式举办约9年前，国际奥委会将发布“候选接纳程序”文件，文件内容包含合同、技术手册、指导各奥申委技术要求的调查以及申办文件标准。早在20世纪90年代初，国际奥委会就开始制定这些程序，并对1996年夏奥会筹备期的各个申办委员会进行问卷调查。<sup>3</sup>任何国家奥委会都可以提名申办城市，奥申委通常要向国际奥委会支付申办费（如2020年夏奥会主办城市遴选费为15万美元）以获得国际奥委会专有知识管理系统和规划手册。知识共享计划源于奥林匹克知识服务系统——是由国际奥委会、悉

[3] IOC 1996 *Report of the Study and Evaluation Commission for the Preparation of the Games of the XXVIth Olympiad*. Lausanne: IOC.

尼奥组委和一所地方大学共同建立的合作项目。该项目经历了数次合分，最终发展成为了国际奥委会奥运会知识管理系统，成为各类技术文件、研究以及规划素材数据库，供各奥申委参考。<sup>4</sup>

奥运会主办城市遴选分为两个阶段：“申办”阶段向所有国家奥委会提名的奥申委开放。各奥申委参加国际奥委会专题研讨会，还要准备简短（75-100 页）的“申办”报告，报告由国际奥委会执行委员会任命的专家委员会进行评估。申办阶段大约持续 10-12 个月，此后国际奥委会执行委员会将从各奥申委中选出少数几个，进入主办城市遴选的“候选”阶段。这些“候选城市”通常会应邀参加奥林匹克观察家计划，即知识共享计划，该计划的成员由即将举办奥运会的奥组委员工和各候选委员会的人员组

Management System, a database of technical documents, studies, and planning materials available for reference by bid committees.<sup>4</sup>

There are two phases in a host city election: the ‘applicant’ phase is open to all bid committees nominated by a NOC. Applicant committees attend an IOC seminar and prepare a short (75-100 page) ‘applicant’ file, which is evaluated by a commission of experts appointed by the IOC Executive Board. Approximately 10-12 months after the beginning of the applicant phase, the IOC Executive Board will invite a smaller number of bid committees to advance to the ‘candidature’ phase of the elections. These ‘candidate cities’ are invited to attend the Olympic Observer Programme, a knowledge sharing program in which staff from upcoming Games and candidature committees are invited to a series of seminars and debriefings during the current Games. For instance, during London 2012 observers from Rio de Janeiro 2016 and the 2020 bid committees (Istanbul, Madrid, and Tokyo) participated in the program.<sup>5</sup> The candidate committees eventually submit a formal ‘candidature file’ to the IOC, a 300-500 page technical

[4] Huet, John (22 July 2012) “The knowledge Games.” Olympic News <<http://www.olympic.org/news/the-knowledge-games/168760>>

[5] IOC press release (5 August 2012). “2020 learns from 2012.” < <http://www.olympic.org/news/2020-learns-from-2012/170857>>



document detailing the committees' plans for designing, financing, and implementing infrastructure, the event, and event legacy. During the subsequent months the IOC's commission of experts visits each candidate city, and each city has an opportunity to present its proposal to sessions of the IOC and other international sporting federations (events like the annual SportAccord Convention and the annual meeting of the Association of National Olympic Committees).

The evaluation commission assesses each candidature file using 'OlympicLogic', an analytical hierarchy process for comparing each bid based on a set of criteria chosen by the IOC Executive Board. OlympicLogic was introduced during the elections for the 2008 Summer Games, and is used to establish consistent comparisons of each candidate city on each evaluation category (11-15 categories are used, corresponding to the sections of the candidature file in each host city election cycle). Each member of the evaluation commission ranks a candidate on each category, and then a proprietary algorithm is used to weigh the categories and stabilize scores across evaluators, categories, and cities. The end result is a set of rankings on which the evaluation commission bases its recommendations.<sup>6</sup> Using this

成，应邀参加在当前奥运会期间举办的一系列专题研讨会和任务报告会。例如，在 2012 伦敦奥运会期间，由 2016 里约热内卢奥运会和 2020 各申办委员会（伊斯坦布尔、马德里和东京）组成的观察团参与了该项目的活动。<sup>5</sup> 奥运会各候选委员会最终将向国际奥委会呈交正式的“候选报告”，该报告是一份 300~500 页的技术文件，具体内容包括各奥申委的设计规划、财政规划、预实施的基础设施规划、奥运会赛事规划以及奥运会遗产规划。在接下来的几个月内，国际奥委会专家委员会会对每个候选城市进行考察，每个候选城市都有机会向国际奥委会执行委员会和其他国际单项联合会提出建议（如体育联盟年度大会和国家奥委会协会年会）。

评估委员会采用“奥林匹克逻辑”框架（即层次分析法，基于国际奥委会执委会选择的一套标准对每个申办城市进行比较）

[6] IOC (18 August 2000) *Candidature Acceptance Procedure for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad 2008*, Lausanne Switzerland

对所有的候选报告进行评估。“奥林匹克逻辑”框架在遴选 2008 夏季奥运会主办城市中首次引用，现用来对所有候选城市的每项评估指标进行一致的比较（现采用 11~15 个指标，与每个奥运会主办城市遴选期间候选文件的组成部分一一对应）。评估委员会每位成员要对候选报告的每项指标进行排序，然后采用专门的算法计算每项指标的权重，统筹各评估者、类别及候选城市的得分。最终的结果是一系列排名，以及评估委员会的相关建议。<sup>6</sup> 依据这些信息，最后一步是在所要申办的奥运会前 6~7 年的国际奥委会年度大会上进行投票。

## 举办城市遴选和城市规划的国际化

城市规划与城市研究的学者注意到一种趋势，越来越多的城市倾向于利用其他奥运城市的范例开展自身的规划项目。奥运规划一直被利益相关者认为是一种实现多方面城市规划目标

information, the final step of the voting for a host city takes place during the annual IOC Congress 6-7 years before the Olympiad.

## Host city elections and the internationalization of urban planning

Urban Planning and Urban Studies scholars have noted an increasing tendency for cities to draw on examples from other Olympic cities to pursue their own planning projects. Olympic planning has long been viewed by stakeholders as a means to pursue various urban planning objectives (Andranovich, Burbank, & Heying, 2001; Liao & Pitts, 2006); for instance, Olympic planning was part of Istanbul's master plan as early as 1937 (Bilsel & Zelef, 2011). Olympic planning – from early stages of the bid to post-Games legacy implementation – has been viewed as an opportunity to use urban planning and investment to pursue a variety of legacy objectives: urban 'competitiveness' (Hall, 2006), 'brand value' or 'image' (Black & Peacock, 2011; Gold & Gold, 2008), 'sustainability' (Davidson, 2010; Mol, 2010), 'social inclusion' (Edelson, 2011; van Wynsberghe, Surborg, & Wyly, 2012), or 'pro-poor development' (Hiller, 2000; Pillay & Bass, 2008). In fact, it is quite common for city stakeholders to use bids on Olympics and other sport events to facilitate planning strategies, regardless of actual success in hosting events (Figure 2). What is unique

about recent trends in Olympic planning is a tendency for planners in one candidate city to draw on planning templates, policy models, and best practices used in other host and candidate cities. International networks between cities form as planners participate in Olympic and other event observer programs (Cook & Ward, 2011) and travel to cities perceived as Olympic planning success stories, especially Barcelona (González, 2011).

的方式（安德拉诺维奇、伯班克和 heying, 2001；廖、皮茨, 2006）。例如，早在 1937 年奥运规划就是伊斯坦布尔主要规划的一部分（比尔赛尔、泽勒夫, 2011）。奥运规划——从早期的申办到赛后遗产的实现——被视为通过城市规划和投资追求多种遗产目标的一个契机：这些目标包括城市“竞争力”（霍尔, 2006）、“品牌价值”或“形象”（布莱克、皮科克, 2011；高德、高德, 2008）、“可持续发展力”（戴维森, 2010；摩尔, 2010）、“社会包容”（埃德尔森, 2011；范维斯贝尔福、西博格和威利, 2012）或“扶贫发展（希勒, 2000；皮莱、巴斯, 2000）。事实上，城市管理者利用奥运会和其他体育赛事的申办促进城市规划策略完善的情况是十分常见的，无论其是否实际申办成功（见图 2）。奥运规划近年发展趋势的独特之处在于某一候选城市的规划者可以参照使用其他主办城市和候选城市的规划模板、政策模型和最佳实践。随着规划者参加奥运会和其他赛事

的观察者计划，城市间建立起了国际网络（库克、沃德，2011），访问其他城市被视为奥运规划的成功事例，特别是巴塞罗那（冈萨雷斯，2011）

**Figure 2 Case study – leveraging one plan for multiple events**

Planning for and bidding to host mega-events have emerged as major planning strategies for some city governments (and/or their respective national governments), as local stakeholders bid successfully and unsuccessfully on many events ranging from regional football championships to Olympic Games. However, these frequent entrants in global bidding competitions are certainly not developing new plans for each event. Rather, cities that bid frequently for multiple sporting events tend to either (a) develop a city master plan in tandem with event planning, building on past event plans to formulate new ones, or (b) base the various bids on a pre-existing infrastructure plan. Istanbul represents the first strategy: developing a city master plan gradually around various event bids. Stakeholders in the city have bid five times to host the Summer Olympics since 1992, though plans for Olympics and international exhibitions were part of the city master plan as early as 1937 (Bilsel & Zelef, 2011). Doha (Qatar) represents the second strategy: city planning takes place around Qatar’s National Vision 2030 master plan (Scharfenort, 2012), which seeks to establish economic alternatives to circumvent dependence on petroleum extraction. A short list of successful bids includes bids for the 2001 World Trade Organization Summit, 2006 Asian Games, 2011 Pan-Arab Games, 2012 United Nations Conference on Climate Change, and the 2022 FIFA World Cup (also unsuccessful bids for the 2016 and 2020 Summer Olympics). These various bids are all planned around the same National Vision strategy, and rely on the same infrastructure investment plans: for instance, 20 of the 23 venues (and all of the transportation infrastructure investment) cited in the 2020 Olympic applicant file were slated for construction regardless of a successful Olympics bid outcome.

不论当地的利益相关者们是否成功申办像区域性足球锦标赛或是奥运会，规划申办大型赛事已经成为一些市政府的重要规划战略（也是 / 或者其所在的国家政府）。然而，这些经常申办国际赛事的城市，一定不会为每个赛事制定新的规划。实际上，经常申办多种体育赛事的城市，要么将赛事规划和城市总体规划相连，在原有赛事规划的基础上起草新的规划，要么基于已有的基础设施规划来规划赛事申办。伊斯坦布尔属于第一种战略，围绕多样的赛事申办制定城市主体规划。1992 年以来，城市中的利益相关者们 5 次申办夏季奥运会，但早在 1937 年，奥运会和国际博览会规划就是城市主体规划的一部分（比尔赛尔 & 杰尔夫，2011）。多哈（卡塔尔）则属于第二种战略，城市规划产生于 2030 卡塔尔国家愿景规划，此愿景规划意在探寻除石油开采外国家的其他经济选择。申办成功的活动包括：2001 世界贸易组织峰会，2006 亚运会，2011 泛阿拉伯运动会，2012 联合国气候变化会议和 2022 世界杯（也包含为申办成功的 2016 和 2020 夏季奥运会）。这些多样活动的申办规划全部围绕同一个国家愿景战略，依据于同一个基础设施投资规划：比如，2020 奥运会申办材料中提及的 23 个场馆中，有 20 个场馆（所有的交通基础设施投资）出自基础设施规划，无论奥运会是否申办成功。

图 2 个案研究——采用一套规划，申办多项赛事

Indeed, the perceived success of Barcelona's (1992 Summer) Olympic urban planning experience provided a major impetus for the internationalization of Olympic planning practices. Definitions of the 'Barcelona model' vary, but in general it refers to a successful integration of the 1992 Olympic plans into the city's long-term planning strategies (Smith, 2012, chapter 5). Many bid committees reference the Barcelona model explicitly in their candidature files, and often send planning staff to Barcelona to learn how to replicate its success (González,

事实上，巴塞罗那奥运会（1992 年夏季）城市规划被认为是成功的经验，为奥运规划实践的国际化提供了重要推动力。“巴塞罗那模式”有很多不同的定义，但总的来说，它是指将 1992 年奥运会规划融入城市长远规划策略的成功实践（史密斯，2012 年，第 5 章）。许多城市的申办委员会在其申办报告中明确参考了巴塞罗那模式，并经常派遣工

作人员赴巴塞罗那学习借鉴其成功经验（冈萨雷斯，2011）。伦敦2012奥申委和奥组委主席塞巴斯蒂安·科简述如下：

当我们决定申办的时候，我最先做的事就是去了巴塞罗那，与管理体育的国务大臣（前任市长）交谈以便更详细地了解他们的经验。巴塞罗那奥运会对我们所有人来说都是一个好范例。我听到好多市长们说起他们的感受，他们愿意体验巴塞罗那奥运会期间的转变。伦敦也要向巴塞罗那学习，我们并不为此感到羞愧。<sup>7</sup>

然而，巴塞罗那模式并不是进行国际化共享的唯一的城市规划策略。另外两个奥运规划创新也推动了城市规划策略的国际化。首先，许多学者指出1984年洛杉矶奥运会是奥运规划的一个关键时点（安德拉诺维奇、伯班克，2011；舒瓦尔，2002）。

2011)。Sebastian Coe, chairman of the London 2012 bid and organizing committee, put it succinctly:

When we decided to present the candidacy, the first thing I did was come to Barcelona and speak with [the former mayor] and the Secretary of State for Sports to get to know their experience in more detail. The Olympic Barcelona is an example for all of us. I have heard many mayors say that they would like to experience a transformation like that of Barcelona during the Games. London also wants to be like Barcelona and we are not ashamed of this.<sup>7</sup>

The Barcelona model, however, is not the only city planning strategy to generate international knowledge sharing. Two other Olympic planning innovations internationalized urban planning strategies. First, a number of scholars point to Los Angeles 1984 as a key moment in Olympic planning (Andranovich & Burbank, 2011; Shoval, 2002). It was the first Games planned around privatized funding, and encouraged the IOC and host cities to more actively pursue marketing and private-sector partnerships (Horne & Whannel, 2012, chapter 3; Payne, 2006, chapter 2). Second, recent initiatives to design Olympic sustainability planning protocols highlight

[7] Sebastian Coe (9 March 2012) Global Sports Forum press conference; also published in IOC press release (3 July 2012), “London 2012 organisers inspired by Barcelona legacies.” <<http://www.olympic.org/news/london-2012-organisers-inspired-by-barcelona-legacies/167851>>

this internationalization in action. The IOC adopted a sustainability policy in 1999 (IOC & UNEP 2012), and sustainability in urban design emerged as a major goal of the Olympic Movement in the following years. Bid committees were required to discuss local environmental issues as early as 1994,<sup>8</sup> but bid committees began addressing sustainability concerns in earnest in response to the IOC initiative during the 2008 Summer Games host city elections (which occurred in 1999-2000). A number of the bid committees that year incorporated sustainability plans, and the Beijing bid was planned to ISO 14001 standards (a generic environmental management system standard).<sup>9</sup> Event sustainability was formalized during the preparations for London 2012; the organizing committee helped write ISO 20121, a policy standard specifically developed for events planning.<sup>10</sup> This policy standard is also increasingly cited in new bidding competitions: the 2016 and 2020 Tokyo bid committees promised a ‘carbon-minus games’ book, and promised to adhere directly to ISO 20121.<sup>11</sup>

These trends are significant for Olympic Studies – and for questions of internationalism in the Olympic Movement

它是利用私有化资金运作的第一届奥运会，促进了国际奥委会和主办城市更积极地寻求与市场 and 私营部门建立伙伴关系（霍恩、惠内尔，2012，第3章；佩恩，2006，第2章）。第二，最近提出的设计奥运可持续发展规划协议的方案表明这种国际化开始付诸行动。国际奥委会在1999年通过了一项可持续发展政策（国际奥委会和联合国环境规划，2012），城市规划设计的发展成为未来几年奥林匹克运动的一个主要目标。早在1994年申办委员会就被要求谈及当地环境问题，<sup>8</sup>但直到2008年夏季奥运会主办城市遴选时（发生在1999年至2000年），申办委员会才开始回应国际奥委会的倡议，认真解决可持续发展问题。当年的部分申办委员会在申办中

[8] IOC (February 1994), *Manual for Cities Bidding to Host the XIX Olympic Winter Games* – 2002, Lausanne

[9] Beijing Olympic Games Bid Committee (2000). *Beijing 2008 Candidature File*, vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, pp. 3-5

[10] International Organization for Standardization (2012) *ISO 20121:2012 Event sustainability management systems – requirements with guidance for use*. Geneva: ISO.

[11] Tokyo 2016 Bid Committee (2009). *Tokyo 2016 Candidature File*, vol. 1, p. 26; Tokyo 2020 Bid Committee (2013). *Tokyo 2020 Candidature File*, vol. 1, p. 8



纳入可持续发展计划，北京的申办是参照 ISO 14001 标准（一个通用的环境管理体系标准）。<sup>9</sup> 赛事可持续性上升到官方正式的要求始自 2012 年伦敦奥运会筹备期间，伦敦奥组委协助编写了 ISO 20121——一个为奥运赛事规划制定的具体政策标准。<sup>10</sup> 这一政策标准也越来越多地运用在新的申办竞争中：2016 年和 2020 年东京奥申委编制“减碳奥运会”手册，并承诺直接遵守 ISO 20121 标准。<sup>11</sup>

这些趋势对奥林匹克研究、对质疑奥林匹克运动国际化的声音来说十分值得注意，因为他们突出体现了国际奥委会在为城市规划建立国际知识共享网络方面所起的作用。在国际奥委会内部，奥运会知识管理体系和奥林匹克观察员计划等直接进行知识的国际化转移。更广泛地说，国际奥委会的这些创举已经助推了大型赛事规划顾问这一小型产业的发

— because they highlight the role the IOC has played in building international knowledge sharing networks for urban planning. Within the IOC itself, programs like the Olympic Games Knowledge Management System and the Olympic Observer Programme directly transfer knowledge internationally. More broadly, these IOC initiatives have helped launch a small industry of international mega-event planning consultants. In some cases – like that of Lausanne-based Event Knowledge Services – these firms emerged as offshoots of IOC private ventures. In other cases – like that of Atlanta-based Helios Partners – IOC staff left the organization to found or take senior management positions in the firms. These private-sector consultants play an important role in internationalizing Olympic urban planning policies and models, since many bid committees rely on them for technical expertise while preparing Games master plans (Helios Partners, for instance, has consulted for Beijing 2008, Vancouver 2010, Sochi 2014, and Pyeongchang 2018, as well as for numerous other non-Olympic event bids).<sup>12</sup>

[12] Helios Partners corporate materials ([www.heliospartners.com](http://www.heliospartners.com)); Interview with Terrance Burns, CEO of Helios Partners (16 February 2012), published in *iSportConnect* trade journal <[http://www.isportconnect.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=10544&Itemid=327](http://www.isportconnect.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10544&Itemid=327)>

In 1995, IOC contracts with host cities began to require the future organizing committee to implement “computerised solutions which can improve the efficiency and productivity of the Olympic Games Organising Committee as an enterprise”.<sup>13</sup> This was a first attempt at transferring planning knowledge between Olympic cities: this and subsequent contracts required organizing committees to (i) send technology staff to the preceding Olympics to learn from previous management systems, and (ii) to sign over all copyrights on systems, source codes, documentation, and data developed during a Games planning to the IOC, for use in subsequent host cities (Figure 3). By 2002 the IOC formalized these contractual obligations through *Olympic Knowledge Services*. This was initially a research partnership with Monash University and the Sydney 2000 Organising Committee, but was absorbed by the IOC after the 2000 Summer Games, and eventually spun off (in 2005) as a private consulting firm, *Event Knowledge Services*.<sup>14</sup> Sydney 2000 was the first organizing committee required to produce mechanisms for knowledge transfer, and developed a series of videos, guides, manuals, and workshops to disseminate best practices learned

展。在某些情况下——例如总部设在洛桑的“赛事知识服务公司”——这些公司作为国际奥委会私营企业的分支出现。在其他一些情况下——例如总部设在亚特兰大的赫利奥斯公司——国际奥委会前工作人员创立或者在公司担任高管。这些私营部门顾问在奥运城市规划政策和模型国际化方面扮演着重要角色，因为许多申办委员会在设计总体规划时依赖他们的技术专长（例如，赫利奥斯公司为北京 2008 年奥运会、温哥华 2010 年冬奥会、索契 2014 年冬奥会、平昌 2018 年冬奥会和许多其他非奥运赛事提供了咨询）。<sup>12</sup>

自 1995 年开始，国际奥委会与主办城市签订的合同要求未来的奥运会组委会实施“计算机化的解决方案以提高奥组委作为一个企业的效率和生产率”。<sup>13</sup> 这是在奥运城市间进行规划知识

[13] IOC (1995) *2004 Host City Contract for the XXVIII Olympic Summer Games*, Lausanne, Switzerland. p 89

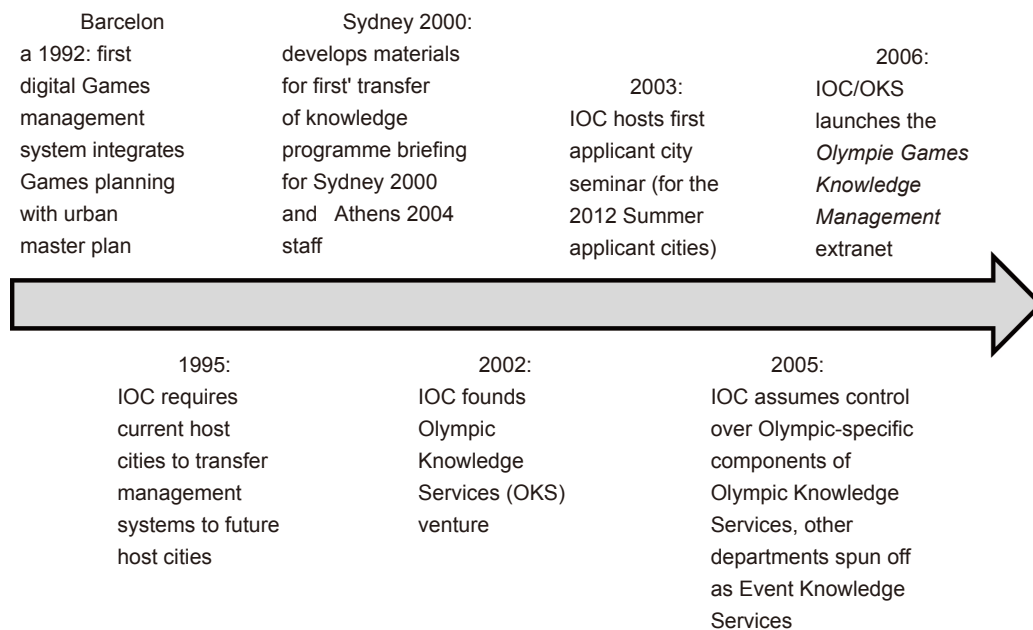
[14] IOC press release (12 August 2004). Olympic Games knowledge services becomes IOC fully owned company. <<http://www.olympic.org/content/news/media-resources/manual-news/1999-2009/2004/08/12/olympic-games-knowledge-services-becomes-ioc--fully-owned-company/>>

转移的首次尝试：这和后续合同要求组委会①派遣技术人员去前奥运城市学习管理体系；②向国际奥委会签署转让所有在奥运会规划期间开发的系统、源代码、文档和数据的版权，交由后续的举办城市使用。2002 年，国际奥委会将这些合同规定的义务通过“奥运知识服务”正式固化。这最初是莫纳什大学和 2000 年悉尼奥组委合作的一个研究项目，但在 2000 年夏季奥运会后被国际奥委会采纳，并最终（在 2005 年）衍生出私人咨询公司“赛事知识服务公司”。<sup>14</sup> 2000 年悉尼奥组委是第一个被要求建立知识转移机制的奥组委，它开发出一系列视频、指南、手册，并组织研讨会传播在奥运会期间摸索出的最佳实践。<sup>15</sup> 如今，奥运会知识管理计划实现着同样的功能：在线数据库包含技术文件、工作手册和一个实时清单，为国际奥委会监控正在进行的奥运会

during the Games.<sup>15</sup> Today the *Olympic Games Knowledge Management Programme* performs the same function: the online database contains technical documents and manuals, and a real-time checklist for the IOC to monitor ongoing Games preparation. The program also includes a series of workshops for applicant and candidate cities conducted in parallel with observer programs in current Olympic cities (see figure 3).<sup>16</sup>

[15] IOC (28 November 2000). *Transfer of Knowledge programme Sydney 2000*: ATHOC briefing. Athens & Lausanne: IOC (Olympic Studies Centre archives, document CIO MA 16962 327(04))

[16] Huet, op cit note 4



**Figure 3: An institutional timeline of Olympic knowledge management programs**  
 Assembled from the Olympic Review, IOC media releases, and IOC special publications (TOP Bulletin and OGKM Bulletin)



图 3 奥林匹克知识管理计划实施时间轴

筹备工作。这个计划还包括在实施对当前奥运城市的“观察员计划”的同时为申办和候选城市组织一系列研讨会（见图3）。<sup>16</sup>

## 结 论

本文仔细审视了主办城市遴选作为奥林匹克运动国际化的一种机制是如何发生作用的。具体来说，申请举办一届夏季或冬季奥运会促进了国际间、城市间城市规划政策模型、范例和最佳实践的转移。通过分享知识和专业技能的国际化网络，奥运规划实践得以不断发展，这些网络其中一些由国际奥委会管理，另外一些由公共或私营部门的利益相关者管理。这些网络不仅对申办成功奥运会的举办城市的城市规划项目起到重要作用，也往往影响着没有申办成功的候选城市。

奥林匹克研究揭示出，奥运遗产规划不仅局限于正式赛事活动期间的规划，也不仅局限于申办成功的主办城市。申办奥运会本身影响着城市规划策略，

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined how host city elections act as a mechanism for internationalizing the Olympic Movement. Specifically, bidding to host an edition of the Summer or of the Winter Games facilitates international, inter-city transfers of urban planning policy models, templates, and best practices. Olympic planning practices are constantly evolving through international networks for sharing knowledge and expertise, some managed by the IOC and others by public or private sector stakeholders. These networks make impacts on urban planning projects not only in successful Olympic host cities, but often in unsuccessful candidate cities as well.

The implication for Olympic Studies is that Olympic legacy can be planned for not only during the formal event planning, and not only in successful host cities. Bidding itself has impacts on cities' planning strategies, especially in those cities which have bid for the Games multiple times. Likewise, planners and organizers in host cities are only one part of the international networks that design and transfer knowledge about development. There is a need to better understand the networks that design and implement Olympic planning models, templates, and best practices. This paper has contributed by analyzing the role of the IOC

in building these international urban planning networks. Future research might also consider:

1. The mechanisms by which urban-level planning stakeholders are able to build international connections.
2. The role of national governments and international relations in facilitating urban planning for Olympics.
3. The ways in which international knowledge and expertise networks can be positive (e.g. transferring best practices and empowering city stakeholders) and negative (transferring worst practices or exploiting cities).

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特别是对那些多次提出申办奥运会的城市。同样，奥运会主办城市的规划者和组织者只是构建发展知识并实现知识转移的国际化网络的一部分。我们需要更好地理解设计和实现奥运规划模型、范例和最佳实践的这些网络。本文做出的贡献在于分析了国际奥委会在这些国际化城市规划网络建设中的作用。未来的研究也可以考虑：

1. 城市层面参与规划的利益相关者建立国际联系的机制。
2. 国家政府和国际关系在促进奥运会城市规划方面起到的作用。
3. 知识和专业技术的国际网络如何运用能起到积极作用（如转移最佳实践和向城市利益相关者授权）和消极作用（转移最差实践或利用城市）。

（茹秀英、赵卓译）

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